

SIR WALTER SCOTT, QUEEN VICTORIA, THE
RAILWAYS, AND SCOTTISH ROMANTICISM

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As always, all mistakes and errors are my own.



“Where are we going?”—M.

“Back in time.”—James Bond.---*Skyfall*

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ABSTRACT: This work examines the role Sir Walter Scott, Queen Victoria, and the railways played in the rise and popularization of a romantic, mythic Scotland. Scott's works captured the imagination and were used as guidebooks when traveling in the northern kingdom. Victoria grew up reading Scott's works, and his romantic ideals of a mythic Scotland shaped her views of Scotland. The royal family visited Scotland three times before they leased the Balmoral estate. With the acquisition of this estate, the royal family had a Highland home. Railways facilitated the monarch's travel to Scotland and allowed others a relatively cheap method of visiting the romantic wilds of the country.

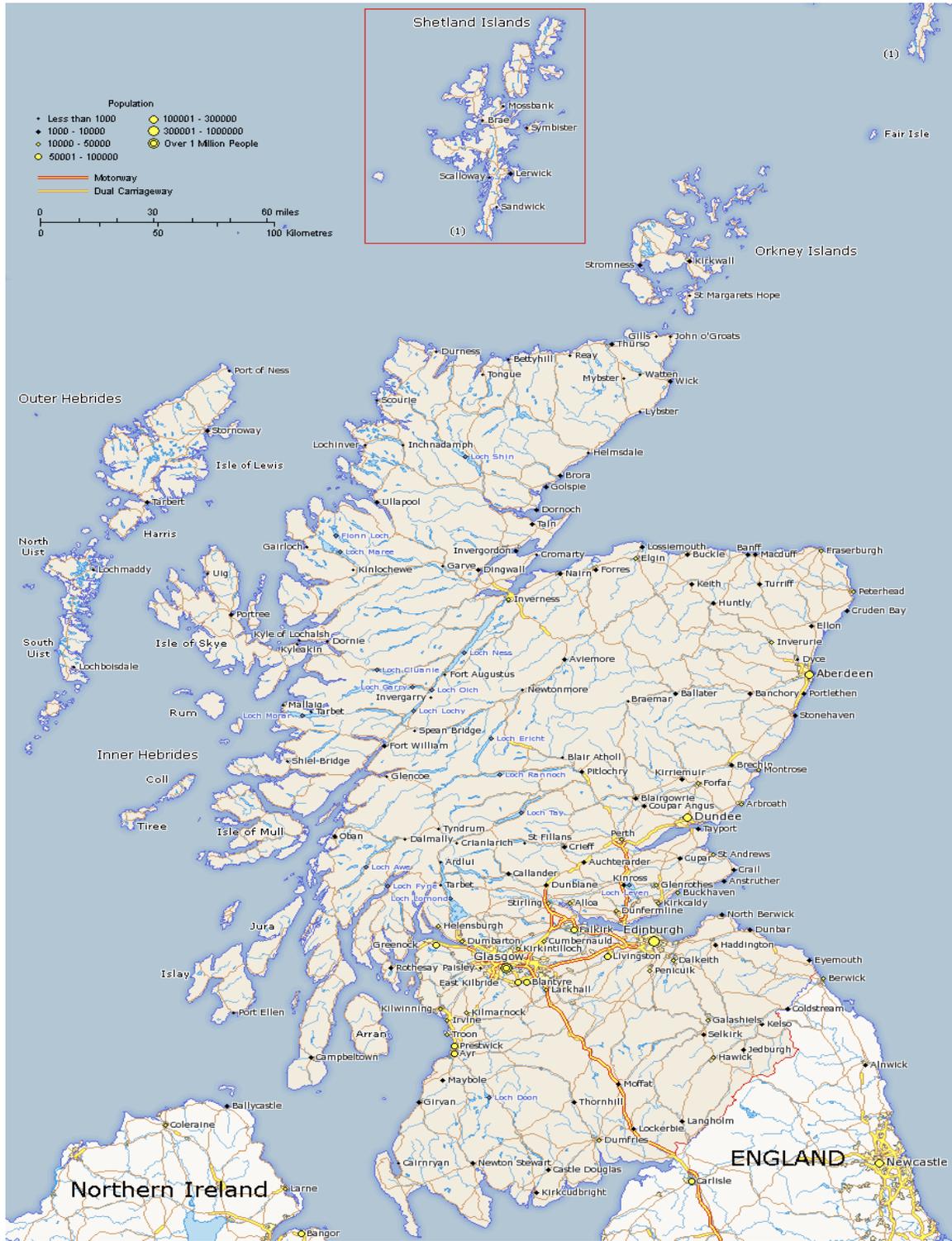
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Figure 1-Map of Scotland¹



¹ "Scotland Map," <http://www.itraveluk.co.uk/maps/scotland.html> (accessed April 22, 2013).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scotland as a land of kilts, Highland games, castles, beautiful scenery, shortbread, and bagpipes is a longstanding image. The transformation of the perception of this nation from a barbarian backwater into a romantic region happened over the span of a few hundred years. It is worth examining the rise of romantic Scotland, and Scottish Romanticism, to understand the rise and popularization of the conventional Scottish image. Sir Walter Scott was the inspiration for, Queen Victoria was a major influence on, and the railways were a means to produce popular Scottish romanticism. The influence of Sir Walter Scott and the popularity of his romantic quasi-historical writings, Queen Victoria and her frequent trips to Scotland culminating in the purchase of Balmoral, and the railways' ability to connect the Highlands and Lowlands with England as well as the ease of transport into the north, helped create and perpetuate the Scottish myth, the Scotland of perception, but not reality.

Central to this work is the relation of Scott, Victoria, and railways to Scottish Romanticism. Scottish Romanticism developed later than English, Italian, French, and German Romanticism. Taken as whole, the era of British Romanticism can be defined as lasting from the 1780s to the 1830s, lasting from “when [William] Blake and [Robert] Burns began to publish” to the deaths of “[Samuel Taylor] Coleridge, [Sir Walter] Scott, [Charles] Lamb and [William]

Hazlitt.”¹ The study of Scottish Romanticism as separate from English or British Romanticism is a recent occurrence. Unlike the German *romantisch* as a contrast to the *Aufklärung*, Scottish Romanticism had a tense relationship with the Scottish Enlightenment: the latter is “accepted” as a historical era, while the former “is still undergoing a process of conceptual recognition.”² Scotland’s romanticism used, and built upon, the Scottish Enlightenment to create a new “Romantic feeling.”³ The country could be viewed as “a center of skeptical criticism, religious intolerance, and utilitarian attitudes,” while “also a land of poetry, truth, and visionary possibility.”

Scholars have written much about Sir Walter Scott, Scottish Romanticism, and the Battle of Flodden Field individually. Scott research either discusses his poetry and novels, or seeks to place the author in relation to some other historical theory. Some examples of the presentation of Scott’s works include *Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by J.G. Lockhart (and a later edition by Herbert J.C. Grierson), *Recollections of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by James Fraser, and *Some Account of the Life and Works of Sir Walter Scott*, by Allan Cunningham. These are, of course, in addition to Scott’s own literary output. The aforementioned titles offer commentary on Scott’s life and his writings, but little to no connection to prevalent literary themes is established.⁴ Scholars have also analyzed Scott and connected him with larger concepts and ideas. Jana Davis’s *Sir Walter Scott and Enlightenment Theories of the Imagination: Waverley and Quentin Durward* discusses imagination within two of Scott’s works, wondering if these two concepts are opposites, or if

¹ Simon Haines and Christopher A. Strathman, “British Romanticism,” in *European Romanticism: A Reader*, edited by Stephen Prickett (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010) : 23-28, 24.

² Michael Ferber, “Introduction,” in *A Companion to European Romanticism*, edited by Michael Ferber (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 1; Murray Pittock, “What is Scottish Romanticism?” in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, edited by Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 4, 8, 6.

³ Pittock, “What is Scottish Romanticism?”, 8.

⁴ See J.G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852); Horace A. Eaton, Review of *Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by Herbert J.C. Grierson, *Modern Language Notes* 54 (December 1939): 612-613; Review of *Recollections of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by James Fraser, *North American Review* 46 (April 1838): 431-474; Review of *Some Account of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, by Allan Cunningham, *North American Review* 36 (April 1833): 289-315.

imagination holds some aspect of truth. Sona S. Hoisington's *Pushkin's Belkin and the Mystifications of Sir Walter Scott* connects Russia's and Scotland's premier poets, while Harry E. Shaw examines *The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors*.⁵ This work examines two of Scott's writings, and seeks to connect them with Scottish Romanticism. . The current study is similar to the titles mentioned above in that it connects Scott and a few of his works to a larger idea.

Studies of Scottish Romanticism as its own distinct entity, considered separately from English Romanticism, are relatively recent. Murray Pittock explores *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, focusing on such subjects as Robert Ferguson, Maria Edgeworth, Scott, and the Gothic. Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen examine this new field in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Their essay collection shows that Scotland had its own version of Romanticism. The selections discuss Scott, Robert Burns, and Joanna Baillie, among other topics. Duncan turns to the genre with his *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, in which he explores Scott's role in the creation and sustainment of Scottish Romanticism. Fiona Stafford's "Scottish Romanticism and Scotland in Romanticism" argues for the duality of this ideal: of the austere influence of criticism, the church, and utilitarianism and the creativity of "poetry, truth, and visionary possibility." She notes McPherson, Burns, and Scott, and comments upon literary tourism. Caroline McCracken-Flesher's "Walter Scott's Romanticism: A Theory of Performance," argues that Scott's contemporaries viewed him as a Romantic, but as the meaning of Romantic changed (to be Romantic, one could not be "commercially successful"), Scott did not fit the definition.⁶ This work views Scott as the leading member of Scottish Romanticism, and

⁵ See Jana Davis, "Sir Walter Scott and Enlightenment Theories of the Imagination: *Waverly* and *Quentin Durward*," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 43 (March 1989): 437-464; Sona S. Hoisington, "Pushkin's *Belkin* and the *Mystifications of Sir Walter Scott*," *Comparative Literature* 33 (Autumn 1981): 342-357; Alistair M. Duckworth, Review of *The Forms of Historical Fiction: Sir Walter Scott and His Successors* by Harry E. Shaw, *Victorian Studies* 28 (Winter 1985): 308-310.

⁶ See Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen, eds. *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, (Cambridge:

argues that his works helped create a “Highland” vision of Scotland, or a mythic Scotland, a popular Scotland, not the real Scotland. Scott made this mythic vision manifest, first for the 1822 tour of King George IV, and then, indirectly, as an influence on Queen Victoria as she traveled the nation.

Scholarship regarding the Battle of Flodden Field is sparse. More often, writers and historians speak of the Battle in the wider context of the Anglo-Scottish Border Wars. William F. Elliot’s *Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513*, Robert Jones’s *The Battle of Flodden Field: Fought September 9, 1513*, and Francis M. Norman’s *The Battle of Flodden: a Lecture delivered on the Field to the Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club on 24th September, 1908* provide a narration of the battle, but do not provide substantial analysis of the event. Peter Reese’s *Flodden: A Scottish Tragedy* and John Sadler’s *Flodden 1513: Scotland’s Greatest Defeat* go into more detail, not only narrating the battle but also discussing prevalent European warfare tactics and the reasons why the Scottish lost.⁷ Flodden Field is examined in the current work to show that Scott took historical license with the battle, and also to show that his sense of romanticism began early.

Sir Walter Scott’s novel, *Waverley*, is considered in connection with its impact on romanticism and the transformation of Scott into a novelist. Authors have placed *Waverley* in context to suit their own purposes. P.D. Garside examines “Waverley’s Pictures of the Past,” and focuses on *Waverley*’s interaction and handling of Jacobitism. John H. Raleigh’s work, “What Scott Meant to the Victorians,” asserts that Scott was “an original and powerful cultural and

Cambridge University Press, 2004); Ian Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Fiona Stafford, “Scottish Romanticism and Scotland in Romanticism,” in *A Companion to European Romanticism*, edited by Michael Ferber (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 50; Caroline McCracken-Flesher, “Walter Scott’s Romanticism: A Theory of Performance,” in *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, edited by Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 140, 142.

⁷ See William F. Elliot, *The Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513*, (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1911); Robert Jones, *The Battle of Flodden Field: Fought September 9, 1513*, (Coldstream, [UK]: A. & R. Robb, 1869); Francis M. Norman, *The Battle of Flodden: a Lecture delivered on the Field to the Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club on 24th September, 1908*, 3rd edition, (Berwick-on-Tweed: Geo. C. Grieve, 1915); Peter Reese, *Flodden: A Scottish Tragedy* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003); John Sadler, *Flodden 1513: Scotland’s Greatest Defeat*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006).

intellectual force” whose novels, though historically incorrect, readers viewed as “realistic.” Finally, Paul Hamilton’s “‘Waverley’: Scott’s Romantic Narrative and Revolutionary Historiography” looks at the dichotomy of the novel’s criticism of romanticism while being, itself, romantic.⁸ Within the current study, *Waverley* is noted as a work that popularized the recent past and brought the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion into the public consciousness, not as a feared event, but as a nostalgic one.

The term “Balmorality,” or “Balmoralization,” is a concept over which authors have argued. Ian R. Mitchell, in his *On the Trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands*, defines the term as “the idealization of the picturesque and the non-urban in British society.” Alex Tyrrell, in his “The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’: The Royal visit to Scotland in 1842,” notes that Victoria’s first trip to her northern kingdom began Balmorality in that she embraced a vision of the nation that she wanted to see. In H.J. Hanham’s “Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism: Romantic and Radical,” the author mentions that Balmorality began before Victoria, noting Scott and the 1822 visit of George IV. In Katherine H. Grenier’s *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*, the author notes that Balmorality is “the process by which the country’s culture was reduced to a few stereotypes which appealed to foreign visitors but reflected little of the reality of Scottish life.” The author looks at Balmoralization and tourism.⁹ The current study contends that

⁸ See P.D. Garside, “Waverley’s Pictures of the Past,” *ELH* 44, (Winter 1977): 659-682; Mark M. Hennelly, “Waverley and Romanticism,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 28, (September 1973): 94-209; 194; John H. Raleigh, “What Scott Meant to the Victorians,” *Victorian Studies* 7, Symposium on Victorian Affairs (2), (September 1963) : 7-34; 9, 10, 12; Paul Hamilton, “‘Waverley’: Scott’s Romantic Narrative and Revolutionary Historiography,” *Studies in Romanticism* 33, (Winter 1994): 611-634; 613; Tom Hubbard, “‘Bright Uncertainty’: The Poetry of Walter Scott, Landscape, and Europe;” *Hungarian Journal of English and American Studies (HJEAS)* 13, no. 1/2 The Long Eighteenth Century (Spring-Fall 2007): 49-64.

⁹ See Ian R. Mitchell, *On the Trail of Queen Victoria in the Highlands* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2000), 2; Alex Tyrrell, “The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’: The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 82, (April 2003); H.J. Hanham, “Mid-Century Scottish Nationalism: Romantic and Radical,” in *Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain: Essays in honour of George Kitson Clark*, edited by Robert Robson (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1967); Katherine H. Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 3.

Balmorality, the mythic vision of Scotland, began in 1842, as Tyrrell's work indicates, as the monarch fell in love with the nation, or rather, with the image of the nation she wanted to see.

Within romantic tourism, George Dekker examines three nineteenth-century authors in his *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley*. This work discusses these authors' merging of "Romantic sensibility" and the "ideal tourist object" with the realities of "Romantic tourists." These authors were tourists themselves, and they enriched tourism with their works. Katherine H. Grenier, in her *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*, looks at the disparate threads of literature, transportation improvements, and royal oversight and how these notions helped create the Scottish myth. Richard W. Butler's essay "The History and Development of Royal Tourism in Scotland: Balmoral, the Ultimate Holiday Home?" talks about the British royal family's love affair with Scotland. He notes that Victoria did not create Scotland as a tourist place, but her trips to Balmoral helped. Mario Sievers's work, "The Highland Myth as an invented Tradition of the 18th and 19th Century and its significance for the image of Scotland," notes that Scott greatly aided the "Scottish tourist economy" due to his descriptions of Scotland within his works. Sievers connects Highland regiments, romanticism, tartans, and a tourist economy with the creation of the stereotypical Scotland.¹⁰ The current study contends that Scott and Victoria gave rise to, and the railways enabled, romantic tourism,

The railways were an important part of romantic tourism. E.R. McDermott's *Railways* discusses the creation of railways, from their first use in collieries, the invention of the steam engine, through to a discussion of railways as investments. In "Railroads and the changing face of Britain, 1825-1901," Eric L. Waugh has, as a few of his topics, the impact of the railroads on

¹⁰ See George Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott, and Mary Shelley* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 1, 2; Katherine H. Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 3; Richard W. Butler, "The History and Development of Royal Tourism in Scotland: Balmoral, the Ultimate Holiday Home?" in *Royal Tourism: Excursions Around Monarchy*, edited by Phil Long and Nicola J. Palmer (Clevedon, UK: Cromwell Press, 2008); Mario Sievers, "The Highland Myth as an invented Tradition of the 18th and 19th Century and its significance for the image of Scotland" (Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2005), 23.

local business, and railway passenger traffic. C. Hamilton Ellis contributes to the field with his *British Railway History: An Outline from the Accession of William IV to the Nationalisation of Railways 1830-1876* and *The North British Railway*. The first work is a general look at the railways, while the second narrows to a specific railway, one of the predominant railways in Scotland. O.S. Nock takes a look at various British railways in his *The Railways of Britain*, while Wray Vamplew speaks specifically about Scotland and the rise of indigenous engine building in “Scottish Railways and the Development of Scottish Locomotive Building in the Nineteenth Century.” H.A. Vallance notes that geography and a dearth of people and resources meant that the Highland Railway was opened in the late 1880s in his *The Highland Railway*. John Thomas examines some of the 146 railway companies extant at one time in Scotland in his *Forgotten Railways: Scotland*. F.G. Cockman, in his *British Railways’ Steam Locomotives* discusses various steam engines, including *City of Truro*.¹¹ The current study uses these works as the basis for a history of Scottish railways. This synthesis allows the study to then look at tourism and the numbers of passengers using the railways, in addition to the influences of Victoria and Scott.

By drawing together the aforementioned themes, this work will show the inspiration for, popularization of, and means to partake in, a romantic, mythic Scotland. The first element is Sir Walter Scott, who became one of the main members of the literary Scottish romantic movement. Gaining early fame with his poetry, including *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion*, Scott attained the height of his popularity with the publication of *Waverley* in 1814, as indeed the novel

¹¹ See E.R. McDermott, *Railways* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904); R.W. Kidner, *A Short History of Mechanical Traction and Travel* vol. II-Rail (Chislehurst, U.K.; The Oakwood Press, 1947); Eric L. Waugh, “Railroads and the Changing Face of Britain, 1825-1901,” *The Business History Review* 30, (September 1956); C. Hamilton Ellis, *British Railway History: An Outline from the Accession of William IV to the Nationalisation of Railways in 1830-1876* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1954); C. Hamilton Ellis, *The North British Railway* (London: Ian Allan, Ltd., 1955); O.S. Nock, *The Railways of Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1947); Wray Vamplew, “Scottish Railways and the Development of Scottish Locomotive Building in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Business History Review* 46, (Autumn 1972); John Thomas, *Forgotten Railways: Scotland* (Newton Abbot, U.K.: David & Charles, 1981); F.G. Cockman *British Railways’ Steam Locomotives* (Princes Risborough, U.K., Shire Publications Ltd., 1998); E.G. Barnes, *The Rise of the Midland Railway 1844-1874* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969); E.G. Barnes, *The Midland Main Line 1875-1922* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970).

was the bestseller of that year.¹² *Marmion* and *Waverley* are dealt with in the second chapter—*Marmion*, to show how Scott romanticized the battle; *Waverley*, to show that, sixty years hence, the previously taboo subject of the Jacobite rebellion could be discussed and dismissed nostalgically. Scott's works are also examined as part of romantic tourism—the desire to visit places mentioned in literary works.

Queen Victoria popularized the romantic, mythic Scotland, and chapter three examines the connections between Scott, the monarch, and Scotland. Scott arranged the 1822 visit of King George IV, the first visit of a British monarch to Scotland since the reign of Charles II.¹³ Twenty years later, Victoria, Albert, and their entourage visited the realm, using Scott and his works as a guide. Aristocrats and politicians showed Victoria an idealized version of the nation and of the Highlands, and she fell in love with this mythic image. An interesting part of the trip concerned the various gaffes in organization and the lack of knowledge regarding the rights of the monarch's Scottish bodyguard.

Queen Victoria's Scottish trips kept Scotland in the public's attention, and chapter four discusses Queen Victoria's Scottish visits from 1844 to 1861. She stayed at Blair Atholl in 1844, the home of the Dukes of Atholl, and then at Ardverikie in 1847, a property owned by the Earl of Abercorn.¹⁴ It was in 1848 that the monarch first stayed at Balmoral, and three years later, in 1852, Albert bought the estate.¹⁵ The royal family now had a Highland home, and nearly yearly excursions to the Highlands ensued. The new Balmoral castle was built in the Scottish baronial style.¹⁶ Albert oversaw the furnishings and decorations. Victoria retreated to Balmoral often

¹² British Broadcasting Corporation, "A History of Scotland," episode 9, YouTube, 58:40, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LN2QQWCPG-o> (accessed September 12, 2012).

¹³ Sir Thomas Lauder, *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1843), 2.

¹⁴ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands: From 1848 to 1861*. ed. Arthur Helps (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1868), 27-37, 51.

¹⁵ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands From 1848 to 1861*, 59; United Kingdom, *Journals of the House of Lords*, 84:269.

¹⁶ *The Times (London)*, September 8, 1855, 6.

during her widowhood. This chapter examines the romantic link between the monarch and the Highlands. With Albert's death in 1861, Victoria's retreat to Balmoral may have been from a desire to grieve in private for a man whom she loved dearly. As such, her motives for going to Balmoral may not have been purely of a romantic nature. The years 1848-1861 cemented the monarch's love of the Highlands, because she saw it as a place of comfort and a place of quiet retreat.

The railways allowed Queen Victoria and tourists to reach Scotland and to perpetuate the mythic vision. Chapter Five examines railway history, with an emphasis on Scotland, Scott, and the connection with Victoria. Railways began in 1825 with the opening of the Stockton to Darlington Railway.¹⁷ Railway companies, by 1850, established complete lines to Scotland, with the East Coast Main Line.¹⁸ England had the larger population and more resources, so the railways were focused on linking English population centers and then moving northward. The Highlands were not reached by rail until the 1880s, as the region's population was sparse and no desired resources existed.¹⁹ The North British Railway named its "Waverley Line" and station after Scott's series of novels, and the author's image graced terminals.²⁰ Several engines of the line were also named after Scott's characters.²¹ Queen Victoria used the railways. The monarch had her own special carriages and used the railways to travel to Balmoral.²² Tourists used steam transport to reach Scotland.²³

In the conclusion, this study will connect Scott, Victoria, the railways and tourism. These elements combined to popularize a mythic Scotland. And, to end on a contemporary note, a few remarks about the current British royal family are included to show that the sense of romanticism

¹⁷ E.R. McDermott, *Railways* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), 8.

¹⁸ David Joy, *A Regional History of the Railways of Great Britain: XIV The Lake Counties* (London: David & Charles, 1983), 26.

¹⁹ H.A. Vallance, *The Highland Railway* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 40.

²⁰ C. Hamilton Ellis, *The North British Railway* (London: Ian Allan, Ltd., 1955), 33.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 192.

²² Ellis, *British Railway History*, 279.

²³ *The Times (London)*, August 31, 1857, 9.

continues to the present day. Steam locomotive preservation is cited to show the regard in which these machines are still held.

CHAPTER II

THE INSPIRATION FOR 'MYTHIC SCOTLAND': SIR WALTER SCOTT, HISTORICAL LICENSE, AND ROMANTIC TOURISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Sir Walter Scott is perhaps the best known of the Scottish authors of the late eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth century. Born in Scotland, he wove the stories and histories of his childhood into works of poetry and prose that became popular with readers in Great Britain and throughout the world. By examining two of his works, *Marmion* and *Waverley*, one can see the factual bases used to fabricate such stories. The poem is the author's attempt to keep the Scots united with Great Britain against the Bonapartist threat, while the prose delves into the not too distant past, a past that was once dangerous but, after sixty years, became nostalgic and harmless.

Scott was born into the Scottish gentry, descended on both his mother's and father's side from ancient families.¹ His great-grandfather had fought for the Stewart dynasty and was a Jacobite, his grandfather became a Whig and a farmer, and his father was an attorney.² One of twelve children (though five survived childhood), the future author was born on 15 August 1771 in Edinburgh.³ Scott grew up hearing songs and stories of the Jacobite uprisings and the Battle of Culloden.⁴ By his own admission, he "detested the name of Cumberland with more than infant hatred."⁵ Scott did not like William, Duke of Cumberland, as the duke commanded the British

¹ J.G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1852), 1.

² *Ibid.*, 1-3.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

forces against those of Bonnie Prince Charlie at the Battle of Culloden in 1746.⁶ The author attended the University of Edinburgh, became apprenticed to his father, and during 1791, visited the site of Flodden Field.⁷ This visit must have left an impression on Scott, as his later work *Marmion* referenced this battle. Scott's other excursions through Scotland no doubt inspired him in writing *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*, as people told him tales of the '45 and of border reivers.⁸ It makes sense that Scott, raised on Scottish legends and songs, turned to this rich tradition in his novels. Although historically informed, Scott's works do take liberties with facts. Some might cite poetic license, but an author who incorporates elements from history has a duty to the reader to portray them accurately, lest the reader believes the author's "skewed" version of events. Scott's first popular work, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, published in 1802, was one of the most popular works in a literary career that also produced *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), and the fourth series of *Tales of My Landlord* (1831).⁹ Sir Walter Scott died on 21 September 1832 at the age of sixty-one.¹⁰

The clash of steel on armor, the "sickening thud" of pike men crashing into an enemy, the smell of blood and death—the English and Scottish armies experienced these sounds and smells on September 9, 1513, at the Battle of Flodden Field. As often happens throughout history, authors have subverted and twisted the facts of the battle to suit various agendas. By taking license with historical fact, skewing time and place, and writing *Marmion* to provide a poem that unified the British people against the Napoleonic threat, Scott's work provides a romanticized view of the Battle of Flodden to play down the nationalistic pride of the Scots.

⁶ *Historical Memoirs of His Late Royal Highness William-Augustus, Duke of Cumberland* (London: 1767), 319.

⁷ Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 13, 36, 49-50.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

⁹ Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 188; Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 764, 765.

¹⁰ Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, 753.

Scott's *Marmion*, published in 1808, integrates the Battle of Flodden with the story of the eponymous English knight.¹¹ One may wonder about the complicated events that led to the English and Scottish fighting each other on September 9, 1513. The Battle of Flodden became as a "side show" to the fighting on the Continent.¹² This conflict, known as the War of the League of Cambrai, lasted from 1508-1516 and involved some of the most powerful nations in Europe, including the Papal States, Venice, France, England, the Holy Roman Empire, and Spain.¹³ Scotland became involved in the conflict due to its alliance with France.

Louis XII of France needed the Scottish navy in addition to his own to defeat England, so the French king told his ally that he would, at his own expense, provide food and other materials to the Scottish fleet, as well as "pay James IV 50,000 francs."¹⁴ James IV apparently did not accept, as Louis XII later repeated the offer and added weapons, ammunition, and a personal entreaty from his wife, who "appealed to James IV's sense of chivalry."¹⁵

The year 1513 was a memorable one for both England and Scotland. The two countries continued arming themselves for potential conflict.¹⁶ Henry VIII prepared to invade France, while James IV readied for an invasion of England.¹⁷ The "Auld Alliance" meant that England had to fight a two-front war, should it begin hostilities against either France or Scotland. If Henry VIII attacked Scotland in force, then he had fewer troops to fight France. If the English king moved against France, he had to leave some units at home, protecting against the Scottish threat. Either way, England could not fully move against one enemy, for fear of attack from the other. Henry VIII left his northern army to protect against Scotland, while his southern army went to the

¹¹ Walter Scott, *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field*, Edited by George B. Aiton, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1900), xxiii.

¹² John Sadler, *Flodden 1513: Scotland's Greatest Defeat*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2006), 30.

¹³ *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, 31 vols. (London: Charles Knight and Company, 1843), 26:241.

¹⁴ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁶ *The Battle of Flodden*, VHS, (Cromwell Productions, 1999).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Continent.¹⁸ In early July 1513, James IV mustered his soldiers, and Scotland and England were at war by 26 July 1513.¹⁹

James IV continued to move his army towards England. By August 24, the entire Scottish host had crossed the border, camping at Twizelhaugh.²⁰ The king exempted those “who died of wounds or disease” from paying the customary “wardship, relief, or marriage fees.”²¹ This was a good decision, as it no doubt provided some comfort to the Scottish. The exemption also allowed those men to focus more fully on the battle with the English, instead of worrying so much about their loved ones.

The Scottish army then began to besiege strategic border castles. The day the army gained Twizelhaugh, it besieged Norham Castle; the structure surrendered five days later.²² Ford Castle capitulated on September 1, and Etal and Wark at about the same time.²³ By capturing these castles, the Scots protected themselves from further attack so that they could focus on an enemy in front of them, instead of potential enemies on their rear.

At the same time, the English army continued its movement north. The twenty-sixth of August saw Surrey at York, three days later at Durham, and on August 30, at Newcastle, where the English army had assembled.²⁴ By September 1, the English moved to Bolton, where Lord Admiral Thomas Howard joined his father’s, the Earl of Surrey, command.²⁵

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 13; J.S. Brewer, ed., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 1: 1509-1514* (1920). <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=102692> (accessed 10 November 2009).

²⁰ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 13.

²¹ Peter Reese, *Flodden: A Scottish Tragedy*, (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), 110.

²² Ibid., 13.

²³ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 13; William F Elliot, *The Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513*, (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1911), 9, 10.

²⁴ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 13.

²⁵ Ibid.

The ninth of September, a day that would see death on both sides, dawned. In the morning, the English were still moving into position, fording the Till and heading for Branxton.²⁶ It took some time for the vanguard and rearguard of the English army to get into position. James IV was aware of a gap of some one and one-half miles between the two sections of the English army, but he did not act on his advantage, as he wanted to fight the entire force at once.²⁷ The Scots moved from Flodden Edge to Branxton Edge to be in a better position. The English then began to deploy in their battle line, and soon after, the Battle of Flodden commenced.²⁸

The two armies fielded about twenty thousand men.²⁹ Surrey organized his men into a vanguard, commanded by Edmund Howard, Lord Admiral Thomas Howard, and Marmaduke Constable, and a rearguard, commanded by Lord Dacre and himself, with Edward Stanley's troops in reserve.³⁰ The Scottish army comprised five divisions: The earls of Home and Huntly on the left, the earls of Crawford, Montrose, and Errol in the center along with the king's division, the earl of Bothwell in reserve, and the earls of Argyll and Lennox on the right. The English army was still very much an army of the medieval era, as it contained militia and regular troops, most of which were infantry, while having little artillery or cavalry.³¹ The Scottish army was nearly all militia, as James IV had to call up men to serve for forty days.³² The king had more artillery, and his army used *landsknecht* tactics.³³ The Swiss developed this fighting style, which was prevalent on the Continent and required speed and cohesion.³⁴

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁹ *Battle of Flodden.*

³⁰ *Battle of Flodden*; Elliott, *The Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513*, 70.

³¹ *Battle of Flodden.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 20.

On the afternoon of September 9, the Battle of Flodden commenced. The English and Scottish artillery began firing at each other and continued to do so throughout the battle.³⁵ Then, Home and Huntly's division, employing *landsknecht* tactics, advanced from its position, attacked Edward Howard's men on the extreme right, and forced this division to flee.³⁶ The terrain on this part of the field was relatively even, which aided the Scots and their Continental tactics, as it was easier to keep to the strict deployment schedule.³⁷ The earls of Crawford, Montrose, and Errol were the next division to attack. These men were not able to attack the English so quickly, as they had to ford a narrow stream and climb up to the larger English contingent of Lord Admiral Thomas Howard.³⁸ His men repulsed the three earls' attack, and Lord Dacre's horsemen moved to prevent Home and Huntly's men from turning to attack the Lord Admiral's division.³⁹ James IV led his division against Surrey's soldiers.⁴⁰ Surrey and the Lord Admiral, who had brought his division to his father's aid, stopped and crushed the king and his men.⁴¹ The Scottish reserve under Bothwell then moved to reinforce the king's division from the back.⁴² The Highland division engaged quite late in the battle.⁴³ Edward Stanley's men attacked the Highlanders with arrow and bill, and the Highlanders ran.⁴⁴ With the majority of his army no longer engaged, James IV should have withdrawn. James IV led his division once more against Surrey, dying within feet of the English earl.⁴⁵ The Scottish army was routed. Lord Dacre identified the Scottish king's body the day after the battle, and the corpse went to London, "encased in a lead casket."⁴⁶

³⁵ Elliott, *The Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513*, 75.

³⁶ Elliott, *The Battle of Flodden and the Raids of 1513*, 75; Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 65.

³⁷ Reese, *Flodden*, 149.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 153.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 159-160.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁴⁶ Reese, *Flodden*, 165; Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 86.

The Battle of Flodden Field affected both sides. The Scots lost some ten thousand men, including the king, one archbishop, two bishops, two abbots, and nine earls, “fourteen lords of parliament, [and] three hundred lesser gentry.”⁴⁷ The English lost about fifteen hundred men.⁴⁸ Peace occurred in early 1514.⁴⁹ Scotland was never a viable threat afterwards. There seemed to be an air of “business as usual” in Scotland after Flodden. No contemporary Scottish accounts survive, most likely because the Scottish people anticipated an English invasion that never happened.⁵⁰ Beating the Scottish was nothing new as England had defeated its northern neighbor multiple times over the centuries. Flodden was viewed as a sideshow, and a side note it certainly became.

Marmion, though historically inaccurate, draws attention to the battle. Canto I tells of Marmion and his retinue’s journey to Norham Castle. There the Lord Hugh of Heron greets them and they stay with him.⁵¹ The next selection reveals Marmion’s trip to see Clara, who is ensconced in a convent. Scott provides background for the lady Clara and relates the history of the convent, as well as the story of the death of De Wilton, killed by Marmion for slandering his honor. Clara did not want to marry Marmion, and so he came to Scotland to find her.⁵² The third Canto rejoins Marmion’s journey. He and his men stop at an inn. The innkeeper tells a story, and later that night Marmion, inflamed by the tale he had heard, and one of his men ride out to discover the story’s setting.⁵³ Canto IV finally brings the Scottish army in to the story. Marmion and his men leave the inn and happen to come across the Scottish army. The Lyon King at Arms

⁴⁷ John Skelton, *A Ballade of the Scottyshe Kyng*, (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, Book Tower, 1969), 75; Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 86.

⁴⁸ Reese, *Flodden*, 164.

⁴⁹ Sadler, *Flodden 1513*, 88.

⁵⁰ Reese, *Flodden*, 171.

⁵¹ Scott, *Marmion*, 14-33.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 43-64.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 73-94.

(Scotland's most senior herald) tells the English knight that James IV wants to meet with him, and that his men are to follow the army. The Canto then mentions a description of the soldiers.⁵⁴

The next portion of the story continues the description of the Scottish army, and mentions James IV's meeting with Marmion. The Scottish army is soon on the move, and the reader hears the story of De Wilton, Clare's fiancé. Marmion, his entourage and others, including Clare ride to Tantallon Castle, home of Lord Douglas. While at the castle, Marmion hears the news of James IV's victories against the English. The knight decides to leave the castle and join the fight.⁵⁵

The sixth and final Canto relates the Battle of Flodden Field. Marmion and his men leave the castle, and make their way to the English camp. The Earl of Surrey, the English commander, places Marmion in the vanguard. Guarded by Marmion's men, Clara is behind the battle line. The battle commences—Marmion and his men survive the initial Scottish attack. The knight, injured mortally, gives his ring to a messenger, telling him to hurry and bring up an English reserve unit. Clara gives Marmion drink and comforts him. The English reserve enters the battle. Marmion urges them to victory, and then dies. Marmion's men die as well, but the English win the battle.⁵⁶

One might wonder why Scott's hero is an Englishman, rather than a Scotsman. The reason most likely concerns the time when the author wrote the work. In 1806, when Scott began writing, Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, controlled much of Europe.⁵⁷ Great Britain was an enemy of France. Nationalist sentiment galvanized the British populace against Napoleon.⁵⁸ Great Britain could not afford to have separate English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish nationalistic feelings emerge, as France could have taken advantage of the sentiment and invaded one part of the

⁵⁴ Ibid.102-125.

⁵⁵ Ibid.133-166.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 175-212.

⁵⁷ Ibid., xxv.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

nation. The other sections could have fallen quickly. Scotland especially needed watching, as although dormant for just over two hundred years, it was conceivable that the “Auld Alliance” could be renewed.⁵⁹ Scotland was a way into England. To have a Scottish hero might have encouraged those Scots unhappy with union to agitate for separation. Ethnicity does not factor into Marmion’s death. It does not matter that he is English. Rather, the reader focuses on the manner of his death—heroic to the very last. One can see the analogous situation: Marmion represents the sons of Great Britain. Though Marmion dies—though the sons might die—the country is, and would be, victorious. In essence, *Marmion* is a piece of propaganda, with Scott twisting and manipulating historical fact for his own ends. *Marmion* is not an accurate representation of the Battle of Flodden Field, nor does it claim to be. Given the propaganda spin of the poem, the reader must work harder to decipher fact and fiction.

Scott was a leading figure of the Scottish Romantic movement. Romanticism is the use of feelings, emotions, senses and images to convey a work’s deeper meaning. Romanticism does not rely on form and structure, but rather on reaction and detail to tell a story. *Marmion*, while typifying the Enlightenment historiographical “view that Scotland was ethnically divided between Celt and Teuton” as shown in the description of Celtic Scots and Saxon English, does contain Romantic elements.⁶⁰ Scott’s imagery and writing style pulls the reader into the poem, and one can see “St. George’s banner...faded” hoisted in the keep of Norham Castle, hear the creak of the portcullis as Marmion is admitted, taste the food at the king’s banquet, smell the smoke from the Scottish camps, and touch the dying hero.⁶¹

⁵⁹ The Auld Alliance effectively ceased in 1603 upon James VI of Scotland’s accession to the English throne.

⁶⁰ Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, 69, 191.

⁶¹ Scott, *Marmion*, 14, 16, 138, 199, 206.

As may be expected, the events portrayed in *Marmion* have little to no relation with the actual events of Flodden. The English and Scottish armies did fight each other, and the English did win. Scott altered the rest of the conflict's facts for his own ends.

It is not often that one action has the power to affect countries so greatly. The Battle of Flodden was such an event. By destroying the Scottish army, the English eliminated the fear of northern invasion. The Scots were no longer a threat. Such was the memory of the "Auld Alliance," however, that nearly three hundred years after the battle, a Scottish author chose to cast his knightly hero as an Englishman. Scotland was by this time part of Great Britain, but with Napoleon taking over Europe, Scott did not want to risk a resurgence of Scottish nationalism or a renewal of the alliance that encircled England. Thus, he wrote a romanticized version of Scotland's worst battle that safely unified the public against the French threat.

Scott's romantic license occurred early, and continued through his career. With *Waverley*, the author became known as a novelist instead of a poet. The tale of Edward Waverley's journey into the Highlands of Scotland made that locale an object of romantic interest as Scott wrote about, and confronted, Scotland's dangerous Jacobite past. Scott's works provided a historically romanticized view of Scotland, and tourists used the author's works as guidebooks when traveling the nation.

To Scott, "romance" was "a fictitious narrative in prose or verse; the interest of which turns upon marvelous and uncommon incidents."⁶² A novel, by contrast, was "a fictitious narrative, differing from the romance, because the events are accommodated to the ordinary train of human events, and the modern state of society."⁶³ By having the hero go to the Highlands, and by having him encounter the MacIvors and struggle to understand the recent past, Scott's work is a romance by his definition, as it was not common to discuss the Jacobite Rebellion.

⁶² Walter Scott, "Essays on Chivalry, Romance, and The Drama," (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1887); 65.

⁶³ Ibid.

Given the popularity of Scott's writings, society faced a conundrum, forcing readers to consider ideas of Scottishness as cloaked in the idealized, historic, past, or in the political reality of the time.⁶⁴ The author promoted an antiquated view of the past, one that was set against the realities of the day. The Highland Clearances was a name given to the widespread peasant depopulation of the Highlands in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries so that the nobility could enclose the land to raise sheep. The wool helped meet demands of the Industrial Revolution while the meat provided a food source for the growing industrial centers in England.⁶⁵ The Clearances, and the disparity between England, Wales, and the Scottish Lowlands compared to the Highlands were glossed over, and the adoption of Highland dress and fanaticism for all things tartan reduced the region and its people to stereotyped tropes and resulted in the popularization, if not the creation, of the mythic Scotland.

Scott was important to the rise of mythic Scotland, though he was not the only author lauding North Britain. James McPherson, poet in the eighteenth century of the fictional works of *Ossian* gave the Scots a national epic, a literary beginning, even if faked, while Robert Burns's use of Scots kept the language and the region separate and distinct from England.⁶⁶ Scott's *Waverley* examined "the new Romantic sensibility and its ideal tourist object."⁶⁷ Authors themselves took part in the tourist sojourns by writing works that contributed to tourism.⁶⁸ Scott's other works mentioned Scotland, but it is the tale of the British man and his interactions with the MacIvors that changed things, for it was with this work that the "romantic tourism" became popular in the nineteenth century.

⁶⁴ Caroline McCracken-Flesher. *Possible Scotlands: Walter Scott and the Story of Tomorrow* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); 14.

⁶⁵ British Broadcasting Corporation. "The Cultural Impact of the Highland Clearances," http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/scotland_clearances_01.shtml (accessed April 21, 2013).

⁶⁶ James McPherson, *The Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1842); Robert Burns and Allan Cunningham, *The Complete Works of Robert Burns* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1857).

⁶⁷ George Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

Prose and poetry were the basis for romantic tourism. Novels were readily apparent fiction that transported the reader from his life into a realm of fiction and fantasy.⁶⁹ Those who were romantic tourists desired to be transported as well, and readers used romance novels as aids in touring the country, and in escaping life for a time.⁷⁰ Novels in the romantic era differed from novels in the eighteenth century. In the 1700s, novels were presented as “true, unvarnished history,” whereas the appeal of the romantic novel lay in its obvious fiction.⁷¹ The reader was whisked away from everyday life while reading a romantic novel.

Authors wrote about their surroundings, and so, as travel improved throughout Britain, authors began to take their readers along to various regions. The appeal of Scotland after the quashing of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 can be seen in the scenery. The scenery in the wilds and Highlands of Scotland differed from that of England, and it was this difference that made this region a prime setting for romantic novels of the time. By using Scotland as the location, the trip readers took was “picturesque” due to the dissimilar nature of the two nations.⁷²

Scotland, post-rebellion, was safe for travel. During the Napoleonic Era, travel to mainland Europe became hazardous, and so British travelers looked to the north for a sense of difference and adventure.⁷³ Authors and other trip-takers used “the military roads in the Highlands,” while Scott took a voyage around some of the Scottish isles.⁷⁴ As Britain industrialized, the Highlands’ lack of industrialization served to render the region nostalgic in the eyes of tourists.⁷⁵ The Highlands epitomized the wilds, a region almost forgotten by time, full of stunning beauty and proctor of traditional events, dress, and ways of life.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid., 14.

⁷³ Katherine H. Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited 2005): 3.

⁷⁴ Dekker, *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism*, 15, 16, 155.

⁷⁵ Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914*, 4.

Travel to Scotland, was rooted in ideas of identity. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, separate regional identities held greater sway than a unified “British” one. Highlanders were the outsiders, and so one facet of eighteenth-century tourism was to civilize and take over the northern nation.⁷⁶ Scott wanted to place romantic Scotland within the boundaries of the union. Scottish tourism created a special relationship for Scotland by associating the nation with the Highlands.⁷⁷ The tourist experienced the packaged, false, fake Highland ideal. Societal and cultural differences were still apparent, though it was Scotland’s sense of being behind, of being old-fashioned, that drew people to the country.⁷⁸

Scott organized the visit of King George IV to Scotland in 1822. This visit was the first royal visit to the region since Charles II’s reign, and the first for a reigning member of the House of Hanover.⁷⁹ Scott took charge of arranging the festivities as he was “perhaps the only Scotsman capable of providing the kind of spectacle” that was desired.⁸⁰ For the royal visit, the government gave the people of Scotland a month’s notice.⁸¹ The trip lasted from August 15 to August 29 and during this time the monarch and company visited Leith, Edinburgh, and Dalkeith, in the southeast of Scotland, among other places.⁸² George IV wore a tartan and kilt, enjoyed listening to Scottish music and bagpipes, and called the Scots “a proud nation,” and “a nation of gentlemen.”⁸³ Sir Walter Scott treated this royal progress to splendid pageantry, with soldiers, whitewashed buildings, and triumphal arches.⁸⁴ It seemed as if an appropriate reception had to reflect upon the past. The author enacted what the king was familiar with—romantic Highland

⁷⁶ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁹ Sir Thomas Lauder, *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1843), 2; Gerald Finley, “J.M.W. Turner’s Proposal for a ‘Royal Progress,’” *The Burlington Magazine* 117, no. 862 (January 1975): 28.

⁸⁰ Finley, “J.M.W. Turner’s” 28.

⁸¹ *A Narrative of the Visit of George IV to Scotland in August 1822*, (Edinburgh: 1822), 5.

⁸² Ibid., 14-90.

⁸³ Ibid., 42, 29.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 8, 15.

scenes and picturesque views, a distinctly romanticized portrayal of Scotland.⁸⁵ The people looked forward to it, as many people flocked into Edinburgh, crowding the streets to such an extent that travelling was nearly impossible and lodgings scarce.⁸⁶ More importantly, George IV was pleased with the journey. The monarch instructed Robert Peel, a Member of Parliament, to write to Scott, thanking him for his efforts.⁸⁷ George IV's royal tour, the pageantry, the large numbers of people who came for a chance to see their monarch, the Highland theme all set a precedent.

Scott's advocacy of the Highland myth was influential. The *Waverley* novels enchanted with their escapism into a world long past. Scott was also a member of the Celtic Society of Edinburgh, an organization that had as one of its goals "to promote the general use of the ancient Highland dress *in the Highlands of Scotland*."⁸⁸ Members did not have to be Scottish to join, though members were to wear Scottish garb at societal meetings.⁸⁹

Scott's planning of George IV's trip to Edinburgh was another step in the myth of Scotland. The trip, by associating the Highlands with the entirety of Scotland began a "tartan fashion that seized the whole of Europe."⁹⁰ Scott was important to this process: his writings popularized, romanticized, and made Scotland accessible. Queen Victoria, a voracious Scott

⁸⁵ D.B. Horn, "George IV and Highland Dress," *The Scottish Historical Review* 47, no. 144 part 2 (October 1968): 210.

⁸⁶ *A Narrative*, 9.

⁸⁷ Robert Withington, "Scott's Contribution to Pageantic Development: A Note on the Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822," *Studies in Philology* 17, no. 2 (April 1910): 124.

⁸⁸ William McKenzie, "To the Editor of the Edinburgh Observer," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* vol. XII, July-December 1822 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1822 and Strand, London: T. Cadell, 1822):368.

⁸⁹ McKenzie, "To the Editor.." 368.

⁹⁰ Marco Sievers, "The Highland Myth as an invented tradition of 18th and 19th century and its significance for the image of Scotland" (Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2005): 23.

reader, was eager to visit Scotland so she could “see as many of the scenes from *Waverley* as possible.”⁹¹

⁹¹ Alex Tyrell, “The Queen’s ‘Little Trip’: The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 82, no. 213 part 1 (April 2003) 65.

CHAPTER III

THE ‘HIGHLAND FAIRY TALE’: THE 1842 ROYAL VISIT TO A ROMANTICIZED SCOTLAND

Scottish historical romanticization did not begin with this Queen Victoria, but her fondness for Scott and the romantic Highlands, coupled with the length of her reign, ensured that she was one of the main reasons Scottish romanticism endured. Her trips into the Highlands were not regular in the beginning—the monarch had no royal Highland home for her 1842, 1844, and 1847 visits.¹ It was with the renting, and subsequent purchase, of the Balmoral estate that Victoria had her home in the Highlands, a home that provided an outlet for her love of “the Highland fairytale.”

Queen Victoria read Scott’s works as she travelled the country. She fell in love with the Highlands, and the acquisition of Balmoral allowed the monarch to go to the Highlands for certain periods per year. With the Royal family festooned in plaid and embracing nature, those who could (the nobility and the middle class with money) came to Scotland, lured by fashion and romanticism. With the Highlands standing for all of Scotland, and with revenues coming in, it was beneficial for the tourist industry to embrace Balmorality, tartanry, and Highlandism. Romanticism provided a retreat from the world, and that retreat provided revenue, which in turn popularized Scotland.

¹ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands: From 1848 to 1861*. ed. Arthur Helps (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1868), xi.

Victoria and Albert, and perhaps those around them, believed in, and enjoyed, a romanticized portrayal of the Scottish past. This past was rife with the lauding of Highland culture, the embracing of all things tartan, the love of bagpipes and the convenient misremembering of history.² These themes are evident in a study of Victoria's Scottish sojourns, as well as in the works of Sir Walter Scott. The barbarian, backward Scot of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern periods transformed into the noble savage, the romantic Highlander of the early nineteenth century.

Victoria's role in this transformation was in the selling of Scott's view of the past. The monarch used Scott as a guide on her first trip to Scotland in 1842, and his writings, and Victoria's journeys into, and commented upon, nature lead to "Balmorality"—in one sense the romanticization of the Scottish past, but in another sense the dread and boredom that resulted from frequent trips to Scotland. Balmorality was also linked with tartanism, and means, in a different context, the desire of the British royal family to be as normal as possible, to have a retreat from the world.³ It is the intention to explore the romantic meaning of Balmorality.

The monarch had read about Scott and his works for years. She was familiar with his poem *Rokeby* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* was the first novel she ever read.⁴ One can see how she used Scott's works as a guide while traveling in Scotland. Scott's works showed Victoria what she wanted to see—a romanticized image of her northern kingdom—while ignoring its the realities.

² Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15.

³ *The Times (London)*, August 26, 1847, 5.

⁴ "September 3, 1836," "January 9, 1838," in the edited *Queen Victoria's Journals*.

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert wanted their first journey to Scotland in 1842 to be “a strictly private” trip, without “festivities or ceremonies.”⁵ The royal couple wanted a holiday to last no longer than three weeks, as they did “not wish to be longer away from home this year.”⁶ They did not spend a quiet and uneventful holiday. Rather, from August 29-September 17, the royal couple and their entourage traveled to Scotland, visiting Edinburgh, Leith, Dalkeith, Taymouth Castle, and other places.⁷ This royal tour was the first sojourn of a monarch into the Highlands for centuries, the trip altered the queen’s perceptions of her northern subjects, and her acceptance of a staged, romanticized version of the Scottish past helped to promote Highland culture.

The success of the 1822 journey deprived a new monarch and her husband of a quiet family outing. Initially, Victoria and Albert planned a sea voyage to either Edinburgh or Dalkeith then five nights later traveled up to Dunrobin Castle in Sutherland, in the Highlands; and three nights later making the return trip.⁸ Sir Robert Peel, then prime minister, vetoed Dunrobin, writing to the Duke of Wellington, a Member of Parliament, that the royal couple would visit the “most picturesque parts of the Highlands within reach.”⁹ By “within reach,” Peel probably meant within reach of the populace. Dunrobin Castle was in the north, near no large city; no large crowds would see the Queen and Prince Albert, and that is what they wanted—the trip was a vacation, not a state occasion. Peel turned the venture into a royal journey rivaling that of 1822. Peel had attended George IV’s progress as a member of the government; now he organized Victoria’s journey. The young monarch visited many of the same places as her uncle, but also

⁵ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to Sir Robert Peel, August 1, 1842, in *Sir Robert Peel: From His Private Papers*, ed. Charles Stuart Parker 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1899), 2:538.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 1, 26.

⁸ Victoria to Peel, August 1, 1842, in *Sir Robert Peel: From His Private Papers*, 3 vols., 2:538.

⁹ Sir Robert Peel to The Duke of Wellington, August 4, 1842, in *Sir Robert Peel: From His Private Papers*, 3 vols., 2:539.

traveled to other places, such as Dunkeld, home of Lord Glenlyon, and Taymouth Castle, and home of The Marquess of Breadalbane.¹⁰

On September 7, 1842, Victoria witnessed an amazing display of Highland imagery at Dunkeld. Lord Glenlyon and his eight hundred to one thousand Highlanders met the monarch and her party.¹¹ The men “looked very romantic” in their “fine dress,” and they were armed with all manner of weapons, including axes, swords, and shields.¹² Sword dancing occurred, as did dancing to reels.¹³ The entourage had lunch and then journeyed onward.¹⁴ The popular perception, if not the reality, of Highland culture was on display at Dunkeld—dress, dancing, and music. The Highland dress worn in the nineteenth century was not of ancient lineage. Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman, created the kilt in 1720, and George IV elevated “the kilt and tartan into Scottish national dress.”¹⁵ The sword dance was different from an earlier dance of the same name.¹⁶ Bagpipes kept alive the traditional songs.¹⁷

The same day, Victoria observed another memorable Highland experience at Taymouth. Taymouth Castle, located near Kenmore, in Perthshire, was also in the Highlands.¹⁸ The Marquess of Breadalbane, owner of Taymouth Castle, wore Highland dress to receive the

¹⁰ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 13; “The Royal Visit to Perthshire,” *The Times (London)*, September 3, 1842, 3; Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 14.

¹¹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 13; “The Royal Visit to Perthshire,” *The Times (London)*, September 3, 1842, 3.

¹² Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 8, 1842, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, eds. Arthur C. Benson and Viscount Esher, 3 vols. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 1:537.

¹³ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Jeffrey Jay Ritchie, “Culture, Natural History, and Nationalism: 1765-1850,” (PhD diss., Arizona State University, 2000), 56; D.B. Horn, “George IV and Highland Dress,” *The Scottish Historical Review* 47, (October 1968), 209.

¹⁶ Sir Thomas Lauder, *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1843), 260.

¹⁷ Neville T. McKay, “A History of the Office of Piper to the Sovereign,” *Folk Music Journal* 7, no. 2 (1996): 189-190.

¹⁸ “The Royal Visit to Perthshire,” *The Times (London)*, September 3, 1842, 3.

monarch.¹⁹ During Victoria's time at Taymouth, she considered the dancing "very wild and pretty."²⁰ Victoria later imitated Breadalbane's use of bagpipers at dinner, as she resolved to have a personal piper after growing "fond of" hearing the music.²¹ The queen so enjoyed bagpipes that she appointed Angus Mackay to be her official piper on July 25, 1843.²²

The sojourn to Dunkeld and Taymouth intimated that Victoria was eager to visit both the Highland and Lowland parts of her northern kingdom, which was a marked shift in royal policy towards visiting both regions of Scotland. The regional language and religious divide had its roots in the fourteenth century.²³ The Highlands were pastoral, and the people spoke Gaelic and were Roman Catholic, while Lowlands were industrialized, and its inhabitants spoke Scots or English, and subscribed to various Protestant denominations.²⁴ Crowds turned out to see the queen as she progressed through the Highlands, residents cleaned up their towns and built triumphal arches, just as they had around Edinburgh.²⁵ Residents of Edinburgh were accustomed to the pomp that comes with visits of noble personages, while those of Aberfeldy and Kenmore, villages near Taymouth Castle, were not. A royal progress in which Scottish people turned out to see their monarch reflected the people's curiosity for their sovereign.

The royal progress did not proceed entirely as planned. Upon the queen's arrival in Edinburgh, town officials were unprepared for the royal entry.²⁶ Those people gathered in

¹⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 14.

²⁰ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 8, 1842, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 1:538.

²¹ McKay, "A History," 193, 188.

²² *Ibid.*, 188.

²³ Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 124.

²⁴ Christine Kinealy, *A Disunited Kingdom?: England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, 1800-1949* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 25; William Donaldson, *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 38; Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 69; Richard J. Finlay, ed., *A Partnership for Good?: Scottish Politics and the Union since 1880* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1997), 22.

²⁵ Lauder, *Memorial*, 292, 132.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

Edinburgh, locals as well as those who had travelled far to see the queen, expected Victoria to land in the afternoon, not the morning, and many missed her ride through the city.²⁷ The monarch and her dragoon escort did not know of the right of the Royal Company of Archers to provide the monarch's bodyguard in Scotland, so when the group took its rightful place near Victoria's carriage, her dragoon escort tried to push them back.²⁸ Eventually, the monarch and dragoons were told about the group, and the archers lined the carriage.²⁹ In Edinburgh and other cities, no sufficient crowd control existed, so her bodyguards fought to keep the people away.³⁰ Victoria thought the people "friendly and kind," but worried about the "quite alarming" crowding around the carriage.³¹ Finally, the monarch angered some people when she worshipped privately at Dalkeith Palace, instead of attending the local Church of Scotland service. A newspaper writer did not blame her, but the government, for the service with an Anglican priest instead of a Presbyterian one. The author noted it was the usual practice to worship in a Church of Scotland kirk.³² These incidents show carelessness of the planners and symbolizes the lack of understanding of the role of the church in Scotland.

Victoria's perceptions of Scotland and its people changed during this journey. Her views of the "dark, rocky, bold, and wild" Scottish coastline, "totally unlike our coast" were indicative of a sense of Scotland as an "other"—separate and distinct from what the monarch knew— from England.³³ This view of Scotland as "the other" should not be surprising—Victoria lived in Kensington Palace as a child, and utilized Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle as monarch.³⁴

²⁷ Ibid., 87, 93.

²⁸ Ibid., 94.

²⁹ Ibid., 134.

³⁰ Ibid., 95.

³¹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 4,8.

³² "Queen Victoria in Scotland," *Christian Observer*, November 18, 1842.

³³ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 2.

³⁴ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 14; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 19, 1837, Windsor Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 1:118; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain

She was monarch of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, but England was paramount. It held more prestige; many of the aristocracy had homes around London, the capital, the royal court, and Parliament were all in the southern nation.³⁵ The “wild” Scottish land she thought beautiful in the end, and she noted to Viscount Melbourne that she wanted to visit the nation for a longer period next time.³⁶ Her remark that the English and Scottish “have quite a different character” is also revealing.³⁷ She acknowledged that the two largest parts of her realm differed, and she admitted that she was not familiar with the Scottish character prior to this journey. This unfamiliarity is understandable as the monarch associated more with England than Scotland. This trip taught the monarch about a romanticized version of Scotland, though perhaps not the real one.

Peel and other ministers planned Victoria’s 1842 visit to show the monarch a version of Scotland, which was historic, loyal, and Highland. These views captured Victoria’s imagination with this fanciful, antiquated ideal that would cause her to remark to that she was “most anxious to return there again.”³⁸ She saw many historic sites, including the Battle of Stirling, as well as a Roman ruin. The people, who turned out to see her as she progressed from one point to another on her route, felt some sense of loyalty to her as upwards of thirteen thousand people came into Edinburgh on the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway alone. The prevalence of tartan and kilt, seen in Scottish regiments, guards of honor, and peers dressed as chieftains, as well as bagpipes, and music, represented Scotland, but they were not all of it.³⁹

and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, July 3, 1837, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 1:107.

³⁵ R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 55; Amy J. Devitt, *Standardizing Written English: Diffusion in the Case of Scotland, 1520-1659* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 11.

³⁶ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to Viscount Melbourne, September 10, 1842, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 1:538-539.

³⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 5.

³⁸ Victoria, to Viscount Melbourne, September 10, 1842, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 1:538-539.

³⁹ Lauder, *Memorial*, 52, 410, 425.

The poor and agitated were not mentioned in the official record. The less fortunate existed, naturally. The organizers did not want Victoria to see this part of society. In the preparation of the journey, Peel and other ministers were concerned about “the prudence” of a trip through riotous parts of the nation, such as Lancashire and Yorkshire, which in early August, 1842, experienced riots as dye and machine shops were closed, so Victoria travelled by sea.⁴⁰ Safety concerns were one issue, as the young monarch travelling through less-than-friendly areas increased the odds that something would happen. Peel’s relief at navigating through Edinburgh was understandable, as he believed the monarch did not hear “a disagreeable word” from the crowd.⁴¹ For the picturesque, “Highland fairy-tale” journey to be successful, the monarch needed to be safe and not have disagreeable moments. Clean cities, loyal people, and romantic Highland scenes and costumes, all impressed her. Victoria’s view of Scotland was not reality. Not everyone wore Highland dress and not all of Scotland was beautiful scenery. Chartist disturbances, the Anti-Corn Law League, and the burgeoning religious division within the Church of Scotland all plagued the region during her royal visit, yet she never seemed to know, or perhaps knew but did not want to acknowledge.⁴²

Prince Albert’s views of the northern nation were similar to his wife’s. He noted the scenery, the sport, the character of the people, the preservation of historical traditions, and Sir Walter Scott. Albert considered the country beautiful and well suited “for sport of all kinds.” The air was better than that in England, and he found the Scottish “more natural.” Nearly every place in Scotland was connected to an historic event, and Albert was familiar with these events via

⁴⁰ Sidney Lee, *Queen Victoria: A Biography*, (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1904), 144; The Victorian Web. “Chartism: Framework of Events,” <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/chartism7.html> (accessed April 21, 2013).

⁴¹ Sir Robert Peel to Sir James Graham, September 3, 1842, in *Sir Robert Peel: From His Personal Papers*, 3 vols., 2:543.

⁴² Tyrrell, “The Queen’s ‘Little Trip,’” 57.

Scott's descriptions of them.⁴³ Albert also thought the trip was "exciting," and he recommended that King Frederick William IV of Prussia visit the country.⁴⁴

The allure of the monarch was immense, as the royal trip provided somewhat of a distraction to events. Newspapers reported on the tour, including *The Times*, which noted the journey in detail. An August 19, 1842 article mentioned that the progress took priority over other topics, reminded its readers about showing due loyalty to the monarch and evoked George IV's journey, as it was the last royal visit to Scotland.⁴⁵ The September 3rd edition discussed the journey thus far and mentioned briefly that "disgraceful riots" in the areas through which the monarch would pass had been brought under control.⁴⁶ Subsequent editions updated the readership, and the September 17th edition noted the royal couple's return to England.⁴⁷ The coverage of the trip was not printed every day; when it was printed, the accounts usually took up several columns on either page 3, the first fully-news page—earlier pages were classifieds or reported on money, or page 4. *The Times* issues during Victoria's progress also mention riots, Chartist imprisonment, and the Anti-Corn Law League, sometimes on page 3, but usually later, where they were less likely to be seen. When royal news appeared, it was typically reported before the riots, Chartists, or Anti-Corn Law League meetings. The trip was a distraction, but it could not erase current events. The reporting of Victoria and her entourage journeying through a remote, picturesque landscape and having lords and men in Highland dress fête them provided some escape from current events for the people, as well as the monarch.

The "Highland fairy-tale" image owed much to Sir Walter Scott, and his works captivated and charmed her, along with throngs of other people. With the *Waverley* series, Scott

⁴³ Prince Albert to Duchess Caroline of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, September 18, 1842, Windsor Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, ed. Kurt Jagow, trans. E.T.S. Dugdale, (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1938), 81.

⁴⁴ Prince Albert to King Frederick William IV of Prussia, October 1, 1842, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 82.

⁴⁵ "Royal Visit to Scotland," *The Times (London)*, August 19, 1842, 3.

⁴⁶ "Her Majesty's Visit to Scotland," *The Times (London)*, September 3, 1842., 3.

⁴⁷ "The Anticipated Arrival of Her Majesty from Scotland," *The Times (London)*, September 17, 1842, 5.

transformed Jacobitism from the desire to have the House of Stuart restored into an idealized Highland representation of days past.⁴⁸ He created the romanticized Scotland by writing about historical events with a sympathetic voice. His works were popular in an age when the threat of Highland rebellion no longer existed. Victoria's acceptance of a romanticized Highland Scotland was not a belief she held alone. This concept of Balmorality, an idea wherein clans and rituals created the "romantic, backward-looking vision of Scotland," in which the monarchy held an important position, shifted the focus from the Lowlands to the Highlands.⁴⁹ Those praising Highland clothing and music in the 1810s and 1820s forgot about the very real threat of rebellion some sixty years earlier, and one can credit Scott for this lapse in memory. Victoria read *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *The Lady of the Lake*, and *Marmion*, while on the progress.⁵⁰ Scott shaped her view; it was this view that she wanted to see, and this view that Peel, Breadalbane, and others gave her.

Victoria's 1842 progress was important for several reasons. Her sojourn ventured into both the Lowland and Highland regions of Scotland, allowing many backgrounds of Scottish people to see her, which was something George IV's visit did not do. Victoria's perceptions of Scotland as an "other"—something separate and distinct from the England she was accustomed to—changed, as she fell in love with the people and the country. Most importantly, she managed the "Highland fairy-tale" captivated and delighted the monarch. Her desire to see Sir Walter Scott's Scotland, to visit places he had written about in his prose and poetry, helped perpetuate the notion of a romanticized Scotland, and began her long affection for her northern kingdom, an affection that ended only with her death some fifty-nine years later.

⁴⁸ Donaldson, *Jacobite*, 1.

⁴⁹ Alex Tyrrell, "The Queen's 'Little Trip': The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842," *The Scottish Historical Review* 82 no 213 part 1 (April 2003): 65.

⁵⁰ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 19; Lee, *Queen Victoria: A Biography*, 145; Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 26.

CHAPTER IV

A LOVE AFFAIR: ROYAL VISITS TO SCOTLAND, 1844-1861

Queen Victoria visited Scotland frequently after her 1842 trip. While she fell in love with Scotland in 1842, it was her subsequent trips that cemented her enjoyment and love of the country. The monarch and her company took two more trips before renting, then buying, a permanent home. This section begins with the 1844 trip to Blair Athol and ends with the 1861 trip to Balmoral. This latter date, 1861, was chosen, as it was the year in which Prince Albert died. Subsequent Balmoral trips allowed the monarch to be a recluse and to be around the estate that Albert had built. By visiting Scotland so often, the royal family created a strong connection with the nation by 1861.

1844 trip

Victoria's second journey to Scotland was not in an official capacity. From Monday, September 9th to Thursday, October 3rd, 1844, the monarch, Prince Albert, their eldest child Princess Victoria, and other members of the government and the royal household visited Blair Castle, home of Lord Glenlyon.¹ This journey was a sojourn in which nature was important. The royal party journeyed to Scotland via the same methods as they had two years earlier. The group traveled by rail from Windsor to Paddington, and then by carriage to Woolwich.² From Woolwich, the party travelled in two steam ships of the "royal squadron;" five other ships sailed

¹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 27-37.

² *Ibid.*, 27.

ahead to Dundee.³ Other vessels accompanied the royal party for a part of its journey north.⁴ Victoria and company arrived at Dundee on September 11th, and the arrival occasioned much excitement not only within Dundee, but also in the areas surrounding the town.⁵ Town officials erected arches, constructed seating, and laid out the red carpet for the monarch.⁶ The party landed and transferred to carriages.⁷ Honor guards accompanied the party to Blair Athol.⁸ Victoria noted her thoughts of Dundee in her journal. She found the port “large and open.”⁹ The monarch noted that Dundee officials handled the crowding well, with the only instance of crowding occurring when people ran after the carriage.¹⁰ After the crowding in Edinburgh two years earlier, one can understand why the monarch was concerned.

The queen compared Scotland with England. She noted that the country, houses, and people along her route were different: the country was “much greener,” “all the houses built of stone,” and the people had “sandy hair [and] high cheek-bones” with Highlanders having “prettier faces.”¹¹ Once at Blair Athol, the monarch commented often upon the “rural and romantic” walks she and Albert took.¹² One, was “the most delightful, most romantic ride and walk I ever had.”¹³ The monarch, Albert, and a sole Highland attendant were the only people on that walk that day.¹⁴ From Albert’s perspective, the royal entourage was living “a somewhat primitive, yet romantic, mountain life.”¹⁵ Albert viewed the primitiveness as healthy for the nerves.¹⁶ Sir Walter Scott’s writings do not appear to have played such an important role on this trip. This journey was not a

³ *The Times (London)*, September 9, 1844, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 10, 1844, 4.

⁴ *The Times (London)*, September 10, 1844, 4.

⁵ *The Times (London)*, September 13, 1844, 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28, 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, 30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Prince Albert to Duchess Marie of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha., September 22, 1844, Blair Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 95.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

state occasion, but a vacation. Deer stalking and sketching were among other events during the month.¹⁷

The monarch did not want to leave Blair Athol. Her month of “quiet liberty” was “so pleasant,” and she “had become attached to” “every little trifle and every spot.”¹⁸ As she journeyed back to England, she despaired of “the country becoming flatter and flatter” and she mentioned her attachment “to the dear, dear Highlands.”¹⁹ Victoria mentioned the chivalric nature of the Highlanders, the “beautiful scenery” and the “retirement,” “liberty, and a solitude” that she and Albert enjoyed.²⁰ A few days after her return to Windsor, Victoria wrote about her inability to adjust to life at Windsor because of her desire “for [her] dear Highlands, the hills, the pure air, the quiet, the retirement, [and] the liberty.”²¹ The monarch was once again enamored with the Highlands. This time, she noted the sense of liberty and retirement. Soldiers and policemen guarded Blair Athol to keep the curious out and to protect the royal party’s privacy.²² The September 17th edition of *The Times* reported those who wanted to glimpse the monarch had lessened.²³

Victoria and the royal party attended church services during their stay. The *Times* correspondent mentioned the service of September 15th, noting that the parish church experienced an increase in its congregation due to the monarch’s visit.²⁴ Victoria and her party sat in a newly-constructed pew, and the minister did not acknowledge the royal party specifically.²⁵ The

¹⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 33, 34.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain to King Leopold I of the Belgians, October 8, 1844, Windsor Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:28.

²² *The Times (London)*, September 16, 1844, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 17, 1844, 4.

²³ *The Times (London)*, September 18, 1844, 4.

²⁴ *The Times (London)*, September 19, 1844, 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

monarch “paid the deepest attention during the service,” as the correspondent wrote.²⁶ The royal party and most of the congregation left the church before the next sermon commenced, in Gaelic.²⁷ The next Sunday, September 22nd, the royal party again attended church in Blair. Many people, from various social classes, came to see the monarch.²⁸ The crowd gawked at her as she entered the building and throughout the service.²⁹ The monarch and company did not hear service at the parish church, but in the castle, on September 29th.³⁰ Many people again filled Blair and the adjoining towns, but they did not see Victoria, as she had apparently caught a cold.³¹ One wonders if the monarch did not wish to attend service where she, not the sermon, would be the main focus.

Highland dress and dancing were on display during this trip as well. The Highlanders guarding the monarch performed Scottish dances in Highland dress.³² Victoria enjoyed herself—*The Times* correspondent noted that she laughed and “kept time with her hands and feet in the true Highland style to the irresistible music.”³³ Her enjoyment of the songs and dances that encapsulate the pseudo-historical romanticism should not be surprising. For a child brought up on Sir Walter Scott, Victoria’s reaction was as one would expect. She had read Scott since she was a child—she took his love of Scotland as her own.

1847 trip

It would be three years until the monarch, her family, and her retinue returned to the Highlands, due in part to the birth of Victoria and Albert’s daughter Helena. This trip lasted from

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *The Times (London)*, September 25, 1844, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 26, 1844, 5.

²⁹ *The Times (London)*, September 26, 1844, 5.

³⁰ *The Times (London)*, October 2, 1844, 5.

³¹ *The Times (London)*, October 3, 1844, 4.

³² *The Times (London)*, October 1, 1844, 4.

³³ Ibid.

August 11th to September 21nd, 1847 and visited points of interest in southern England, Wales, and western Scotland. The party stayed at Ardverikie, Lord Abercorn's lodge near Loch Laggan.

The monarch and her party disembarked from a different place for this trip. They left from Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, Victoria and Albert's southerly vacation home, and travelled west via the English Channel, then the Irish Sea, then to the Firth of Clyde to Glasgow.³⁴ The monarch commented on the reception in Glasgow and on the differences between western and eastern Scotland.³⁵ The monarch mentioned that western Scotland had "grand hills, with such beautiful outlines, and [was] very green," in contrast with eastern Scotland.³⁶ About the Highlanders, she noted that they "are very enthusiastic" about the royal progress.³⁷

The royal party encountered a further example of Highland culture on August 18th. Victoria and her suite went to Inverary, a seat of the Duke of Argyll, where over three hundred Highlanders, the Celtic Society, and other nobles met the group.³⁸ With pipers in front of the carriages and Highlanders on the outside, the group went to Inverary Castle, wherein the monarch and her company lunched with the Duke and Duchess of Argyll.³⁹ On August 26th, the royal suite witnessed another instance of Highland culture. That day was Albert's twenty-eighth birthday, and a Highland gathering was held in commemoration.⁴⁰ The prince noted the "ancient games of a warlike kind."⁴¹ Sailors also serenaded him.⁴²

Victoria commented on the scenery in particular. As her party neared Ardverikie, she noted both her sadness at leaving the sea and the scenery she had seen, calling it "so full of poetry

³⁴ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 43.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 46.; *The Times (London)*, August 21, 1847, 5.

³⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 47.

⁴⁰ Prince Albert to the Duchess of Kent, August 27, 1847, Ardverikie, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 116.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *The Times (London)*, August 30, 1847, 3.

and romance, traditions, and historical associations.”⁴³ Later, she referred once more to the “beautiful, wild and romantic” lands around the lodge.⁴⁴ Her husband reflected on his love of nature and wrote “that the trouble is well repaid of visiting the west coast of Scotland.”⁴⁵

The trip to Ardverikie was a vacation, inasmuch as a monarch could take a respite from governing a nation. The desire for privacy was noted in a *Times* article of August 26th while Victoria’s journal and *Times* articles detail the royal party’s nature sojourns and hunting trips.⁴⁶ The monarch kept up her correspondence while at Ardverikie, writing at least three letters.⁴⁷ Once the royal entourage was settled at Ardverikie, the *Times* articles become repetitive, with many references to shooting, carriage and pony rides, and to walks.⁴⁸ A *Times* correspondent noted that the monarch sought “in that quiet and wild retreat the pleasures of privacy and freedom from observation” and that is what happened.⁴⁹

The London newspaper’s articles evolved over the course of Victoria’s stay. The articles from August 11 through August 25 note the journey to Scotland, the royal entourage’s reception in several towns, and journeys to interesting places. From August 26th to September 21st, the articles are mostly repetitive about shooting, walking, riding, and lengthy articles become scarce, replaced by short court circulars. The September 13th article apologized for the lack of reporting, conceding that “court circulars are very meagre documents,” but also noting that the royal

⁴³ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 50.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴⁵ Prince Albert to the Duchess of Kent, August 27, 1847, Ardverikie, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 116.

⁴⁶ *The Times (London)*, August 26, 1847, 5.; *The Times (London)*, August 28, 1847, 5.

⁴⁷ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to Lord Fitzwilliam, September 3, 1847, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:150; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to Lord John Russell, September 3, 1847, Ardverikie, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:150-151; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 7, 1847, Ardverikie, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:151-152.

⁴⁸ *The Times (London)*, August 26-September 21 1847 (not all inclusive.)

⁴⁹ *The Times (London)*, August 26, 1847, 5.

entourage has a right to privacy.⁵⁰ The article mentions deer shooting.⁵¹ The articles then are of some length in describing the royal journey back to London, noting in the September 22nd edition that the party landed at Fleetwood, on the western coast of England, and took the railway to London.⁵²

The two-month stay at Ardverikie differed from previous trips to Scotland. This journey occasioned less pageantry than in 1842, and this sojourn was a private getaway. This can be seen in the style of newspaper reporting and also in the amount of public duties performed. The reporters acknowledged the drudgery and monotonous reporting in 1847 as seen by the royal family's right to privacy. In 1842 and 1844, the *Times* correspondents had much to report, but not in 1847. In 1842, it was the monarch's first trip to Scotland and she entered her northern kingdom with pomp and pageantry. In 1844, the family visited Blair Athol and the novelty of the monarch in Scotland had not worn off. The 1847 visit had the character of a private holiday. There was not much to report as the royal party did not do much.

1848 trip

The next Scottish visit occurred in 1848. In that year, the royal family first leased the Balmoral estate, visiting for about a month, from September 5th through October 1st.⁵³ At last, the royal family had a Scottish Highland home of its own. No longer did it have to lodge with nobility. The travel to Balmoral was similar to other Scottish excursions. The royal entourage left from Woolwich on September 5th, travelling by sea to Aberdeen.⁵⁴ The group reached Aberdeen

⁵⁰ *The Times (London)*, September 13, 1847, 5.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*.

⁵² *The Times (London)*, September 22, 1847, 5.

⁵³ *The Times (London)*, September 6-October 2, 1847.

⁵⁴ *The Times (London)*, September 6, 1848, 4.

on September 8th, and many townspeople turned out to see the royals.⁵⁵ Town officials gave speeches and by mid-afternoon, the party arrived at Balmoral.⁵⁶

The monarch described her first impressions of Balmoral castle. She noted the castle “in the old Scottish style,” and commented upon the woods running near the river.⁵⁷ The scenery reminded her of the *Thuringerwald*, the Thuringian forest, and the idyllic, “wild and solitary” surroundings fostered a sense of “freedom and peace” that made “one forget the world and its sad turmoils.”⁵⁸ The monarch thought that Balmoral was “more prosperous and cultivated” than her previous Scottish locale, and that the weather was not too cold.⁵⁹ Victoria’s love of scenery is evidenced here, as is her comparison of landscapes with Germany.

Others had similar opinions of Balmoral. Charlotte, Countess Canning, a lady-in-waiting to Victoria, liked the scenery, noting the hills around the estate, as well as commenting on the suitability of the region “for walks, rides, and drives.”⁶⁰ Albert viewed the trip as a retreat “into a

⁵⁵ *The Times (London)*, September 11, 1848, 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 59.

⁵⁸ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 13, 1848, Balmoral Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:231; Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 60.

⁵⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 60, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 13, 1848, Balmoral Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:231.

⁶⁰ Viscountess Canning to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, September 15, 1848, Balmoral, in *The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford* ed. Augustus J.C. Hare, 3 vols. (London: George Allen, 1893), 1:319; Viscountess Canning to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, September 16, 1848, Balmoral, in *The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford*, 3 vols., 1:319; Viscountess Canning to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, September 18, 1848, in *The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford*, 3 vols., 1:319; Viscountess Canning to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, September 21, 1848, in *The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford*, 3 vols., 1:320; Viscountess Canning to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, September 24, 1848, in *The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford*, 3 vols., 1:320.

complete mountain solitude,” an area with snow and deer.⁶¹ Balmoral, it would seem, had captivated more than just the monarch.

European nations were in revolt at the time that Victoria sojourned north. It was 1848. The monarch’s commentary on the events is timely as uprisings flared throughout the Continent. Her established habit of holidaying in Scotland served to get her out of London and away from population centers, should those areas rise in revolt. *The Times* coverage of this first Balmoral trip was even sparser than normal. Longer articles appeared mentioning the queen’s departure to and arrival from Balmoral, as well as the Braemar Highland gathering on September 14th.⁶² For the remainder of the royal visit (at least thirteen different entries), brief court circulars were printed, noting briefly the royal actions: walking, riding, hunting, going to church.⁶³ More space was given to the events of Europe during this time-revolutions made for more interesting reading than a monarch going out for a ride.

The sojourn back to London did not go as planned. In the first place, Victoria did not want to leave Balmoral. Her enthusiasm and fondness for her northern kingdom and the Highlands had grown, and she “despaired” at the idea of returning to the capital.⁶⁴ Voyaging via

⁶¹ Prince Albert to the Dowager Duchess of Coburg, September 11, 1848, Balmoral, in *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort* by Sir Theodore Martin, 5 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1876) 2:109.

⁶² For departure to Balmoral, see: *The Times (London)*, September 6, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 7, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 8, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 9, 1848, 4-5; *The Times (London)*, September 11, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 12, 1848, 4. For arrival from Balmoral, see: *The Times (London)*, October 2, 1848, 5. Braemar Gathering- *The Times (London)*, September 18, 1848, 4.

⁶³ *The Times (London)*, September 13, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 15, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 16, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 19, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 20, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 22, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 23, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 25, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 26, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 27, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 28, 1848, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 29, 1848, 4; *The Times (London)*, September 30, 1848, 4.

⁶⁴ Viscountess Canning to Lady Stuart de Rothesay, September 24, 1848, in in *The Story of Two Noble Lives, being Memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford*, 3 vols., 1:320.

the sea did not occur as the seas were too rough, so the royal entourage utilized the railway.⁶⁵

This was not the first time that Victoria travelled via train on a portion of her trip to Scotland—she had returned from her 1847 trip by rail.⁶⁶ As the trip home by carriage and rail was not initially planned, the three days from leaving Balmoral to reaching London was the same length of time it took the monarch to reach her new Scottish home by sea.

With this first Balmoral trip, one can see reflected the various themes of Scott, fondness of nature, and love of the Highlands. The *Times* correspondent mentioned Scott a few times in the write-up about the Braemar Gathering, while, in Countess Canning's mention of kilts, one detects an air of excitement about being in Scotland. *The Times*, Victoria, Albert, and Canning all mentioned the natural scenery of the Balmoral estate, and Canning's views on, Victoria's regard for, and desire to remain at, Balmoral, coupled with the monarch's own views of the estate, reflected Victoria's regard for her northern kingdom.

1849 trip

The 1849 sojourn differed from those in previous years as the royals did not come from England to the north, but from Ireland. The entourage landed on the west coast of Scotland and travelled to Glasgow, where the royals heard the usual speeches and progressed through the city.⁶⁷ From Glasgow, the suite went by rail to Perth and then by carriage to Balmoral.⁶⁸ This trip lasted from August 13-September 30.⁶⁹

The royal party stayed at another house on the Balmoral estate during part of their 1849 trip. The cottage, Alt-na-Giuthasach, comprised two dwellings: one that contained bedrooms, a “dining-room, sitting-room...and dressing-room” for the royals and the queen's maids, while the

⁶⁵ *The Times (London)*, October 2, 1848, 5.

⁶⁶ *The Times (London)*, September 22, 1847.

⁶⁷ *The Times (London)*, August 15, 1849 4,5; *The Times (London)*, August 16, 1849, 4.

⁶⁸ *The Times (London)*, August 16, 1849, 4; *The Times (London)*, August 17, 1849, 4.

⁶⁹ *The Times (London)*, August 15, 1849, 4; *The Times (London)*, October 1, 1849, 4.

other contained the kitchen, a servants' dining room, a "store-room, and a loft above" for the men.⁷⁰ Victoria called the place "charming" and "delightful."⁷¹ The monarch wrote about the scenery of Alt-na-Guithasach. It was to her "beautiful..so wild and grand" and she "wish[ed] an artist could have been there to sketch the scene; it was so picturesque."⁷² Victoria commented on the "silence and solitude" noting that it was "very solemn and striking."⁷³ She then wrote about hunting. At Abergeldie, Albert shot a roe and a black cock.⁷⁴ The monarch did not take part in the sport; she just watched. Nature was the topic once again as the monarch wrote about her visit to a nearby loch. It was "very wild," and the hills adjacent "very rocky and precipitous."⁷⁵ Victoria and Albert and their entourage were explorers and nature-lovers.

Much of *The Times* reporting of this visit was quite brief. Of the thirty-nine mentions of the trip, the brief court circular coverage appeared twenty-one times. Four segments were carried from the *Glasgow Daily Mail* while six articles mentioned arrival to or departure from Balmoral. The most substantial coverage of the trip occurred while reporting the events of the Braemar Gathering.⁷⁶ One *Glasgow Daily Mail* article noted that the royals "pursued here the life of a country squire's household."⁷⁷

Albert's love of Balmoral is apparent. To Sir Robert Peel, Albert wrote that he hoped the Prime Minister enjoyed his home in the Highlands "as much as we do ours," and that it benefitted him as it did the royal family.⁷⁸ To Baron Stockmar, the prince wrote about how the monarch was "happy and cheerful" and how the people love her in "the glorious Highlands."⁷⁹ In his next letter

⁷⁰ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 69.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 71.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ *The Times (London)*, September 10, 1849, 2.

⁷⁷ *The Times (London)*, August 24, 1849, 5.

⁷⁸ Prince Albert to Sir Robert Peel, August 21, 1849, Balmoral, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 152.

⁷⁹ Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, August 26, 1849, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 153.

to Stockmar, Albert noted that he had not had any luck at shooting.⁸⁰ The prince also wrote a letter mentioning labor markets.⁸¹

Once again, nature -drives, hikes and hunting-was the dominant theme. The scarcity of *Times* coverage could be due to the lack of news to report. An article from the *Glasgow Daily Mail* noted that policemen from London were brought up “to keep out intruders,” but that the policemen had nothing to do as no one wanted to disturb the royals.⁸² Albert’s birthday, celebrated with Highland dancing and a ball, and the Braemar Gathering received press coverage.

1850 trip

The 1850 trip lasted from August 27th to October 11th. This year, the royals travelled from Osborne to Gosport, then from Gosport to London and then to Cupar Angus by rail.. En route, the suite stopped at Castle Howard and the Palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh.⁸³ On the way to Edinburgh, *The Times* correspondent made several allusions to past hostilities between England and Scotland, noting that Alnwick Castle was “celebrated in border warfare,” and that Berwick was contested between the two nations and eventually belonged to neither.⁸⁴ The writer mentioned Scott and his influences, as well as the great families of Douglas, Percy, and Armstrong.⁸⁵ The article then noted Cromwell’s and Sir John Cope’s connection with the area from Berwick to Edinburgh.⁸⁶ The references to the past continued once the monarch reached the

⁸⁰ Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, September 10, 1849, Balmoral, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 153.

⁸¹ Prince Albert to Colonel Sir Charles Phipps, September 20, 1849, Balmoral, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 154.

⁸² *The Times (London)*, August 27, 1849, 5.

⁸³ *The Times (London)*, August 28, 1850, 4.

⁸⁴ *The Times (London)*, August 31, 1850, 5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh, as the correspondent noted the similarities between Victoria and Mary, Queen of Scots.⁸⁷

Once the royals reached Balmoral, reporting became repetitive. Riding, walking, driving, hunting, with the occasional longer excursion up a mountain or visit to the Braemar Gathering occurred.⁸⁸ One of the largest write-ups occurred when the royal court headed back to London. *The Times* correspondent noted that the royal suite had remained a week longer in Scotland because of the “good weather” and because the monarch had “been so delighted with her Highland home.”⁸⁹ The article then detailed the journey by carriage and rail from the castle to London—the trip took two days, with the royal suite staying overnight at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh.⁹⁰ The royal party wore plaids or kilts.⁹¹

For the 1850 trip, Victoria wrote about at least four events. Three of her journal entries related to nature or the outdoors, while the fourth one mentioned the Braemar Highland Gathering. The three nature entries were about ascending a mountain, catching salmon, and the scenery around Loch Muich. The royal suite were over 3,900 feet above sea level with the ascent of Ben-na-Bhourd and the monarch commented upon the view, noting that she could see other mountains.⁹² The estate’s inhabitants caught fish with poles and nets, and some of the men carried others on their backs, earning the remark that the event was “very courteous and worthy of chivalrous times.”⁹³ Regarding Loch Muich, the monarch commented on the “picturesque” scenery, describing being on the lake with a moon rise. One of the servants played music and the monarch thought the scene had “beauty, poetry, and wildness,” and she was reminded of Scott’s

⁸⁷ *The Times (London)*, September 2, 1850, 5.

⁸⁸ *The Times (London)*, September 16, 1850, 4.; *The Times (London)*, September 17, 1850, 4.

⁸⁹ *The Times (London)*, October 12, 1850 5; *The Times (London)*, September 30, 1850, 4.

⁹⁰ *The Times (London)*, October 12, 1850 5.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 75.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 79.

The Lady of the Lake.⁹⁴ The Braemar Gathering similarly received a mention, as Victoria recounted the competitive events and the dancing.⁹⁵ Within these journal entries, one sees the part that nature, images of Highlandism, and Scott play. The queen was keen on them both. With the Highland Gathering, the queen commented upon a cultural event that she enjoyed.

Albert wrote about Balmoral and nature during this visit. After noting the travel arrangements and official duties, he mentioned that the entourage would “bury [itself] for a few weeks at Balmoral.”⁹⁶ When at the Highland home, Albert wrote that they were “safe in [their] haven of rest and retirement.”⁹⁷ One can see that the royals were out of doors during much of their time at Balmoral. The monarch and company must have enjoyed their visit as they stayed for a week longer than intended. One can see the royal love of Scotland increasing.

1852 trip

The royal family bought Balmoral outright in 1852. On June 17th, an act passed the House of Lords that allowed the executors of the estate of James, Earl of Fife, to sell Balmoral to Prince Albert.⁹⁸ Albert noted that the estate was “in full splendor,” and mentioned that “the people there are very glad that it is now entirely our own.”⁹⁹ The royals went once again to Balmoral in 1852. The suite left from Osborne House, travelling via ferry, carriage, and rail to their northern home. On the return trip, the entourage visited Wales and returned via rail to the capital.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Ibid., 80-81.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 76-77.

⁹⁶ Prince Albert to Prince William of Prussia, August 20, 1850, Osborne, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 164-5.

⁹⁷ Prince Albert to Prince William of Prussia, September 7, 1850, Balmoral, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 166.

⁹⁸ United Kingdom, *Journals of the House of Lords*, 84:269.

⁹⁹ Prince Albert to Duchess Marie of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, September 3, 1852, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 183.

¹⁰⁰ *The Times (London)*, October 15, 1852 4.

On the royals' last day at Balmoral, they erected a memorial cairn commemorating their acquisition of the estate.¹⁰¹ The royals and staff, as well as neighboring people attended the ceremony that had piping, drinking, and dancing.¹⁰² Victoria thought the event "beautiful and *gemuetlich*" and invoked the blessing of the Almighty in her desire to return often to her Highland home.¹⁰³

A torch-lit ball and the annual Braemar Highland Gathering were two events that differed from the usual driving, walking, travelling, or hunting. At Corriemulzie, ladies and gentlemen danced out of doors. Pipers played while the attendants danced reels and other Scottish dances.¹⁰⁴ Victoria thought the event "admirably done, and very well worth seeing."¹⁰⁵ The other event, the Braemar Gathering, received a mere mention in the *Times* Court Circular listing. The games happened on September 10th, a day before the ball. "The usual Highland games" were held.¹⁰⁶ The article does not elaborate, perhaps because the readers were (or should have been) already familiar with the foot race, caber toss, hammer throws, and dancing.

While the royals were in Scotland, they received news of the death of the Duke of Wellington. The news ruined the monarch's nature outing at Glassalt, a place "quite beautiful, so wild and grand."¹⁰⁷ The royal entourage cancelled invitations to Balmoral in the wake of the Duke's death and entered a one-week mourning period.¹⁰⁸ Victoria's uncle, Leopold I of the Belgians commented on Victoria "enjoying the Highlands."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 87-88.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁰³ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 88. Note that *gemuetlich* is an older spelling, the modern of which is *gemütlich*.

¹⁰⁴ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 82-83.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *The Times (London)*, September 13, 1852, 4.

¹⁰⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 84, 86.

¹⁰⁸ *The Times (London)*, September 20, 1852, 5; *The Times (London)*, September 24, 1852, 5.

¹⁰⁹ King Leopold I of the Belgians to Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, September 17, 1852, Laeken, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:479.

The news of the Duke's death dampened what was otherwise a typical Balmoral trip. The monarch went out somewhere almost every day, and Albert went deer stalking quite often. As was tradition, the older children (Victoria, Albert, Alice, Alfred, and Helena) were in Scotland with their parents, while the younger ones (Louise and Arthur) stayed at Osborne.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the rigors of a northern journey were too much for Louise, aged 4, and Arthur, aged 2.¹¹¹

1853 trip

The royals returned to Scotland in 1853. They travelled to Scotland from Ireland on September 5th and stayed at Balmoral for over a month.¹¹² The *Times* correspondent noted that the royals and their entourage were "seeking with all convenient speed the seclusion and the mountain air and exercise of Balmoral."¹¹³ Balmoral had become a haven, a place of late summer/early fall rest and retirement. The article gave notice that its coverage would be sparse, once the monarch arrived at Balmoral. She was on a "simple journey" as "the first lady in the land."¹¹⁴ This visit, like the many before it, was not a state occasion, but merely a family returning to its beloved northern home.

By 1853, work had started on the new castle at Balmoral. This new castle would "present a noble appearance" to visitors.¹¹⁵ Many people were invited to the laying of the foundation stone of the great tower of the estate in September, 1853.¹¹⁶ Coins, newspapers, and a piece of parchment with signatures was sealed in a bottle and placed below the keystone.¹¹⁷ The *Times* correspondent noted that Albert wanted the monarch to lay the first stone so that the royal family

¹¹⁰ *The Times (London)*, October 15, 1852, 4.

¹¹¹ Day Otis Kellogg, ed., "Victoria Alexandrina," *New American supplement to the latest edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica* (New York: The Werner Company, 1898), 3044.

¹¹² *The Times (London)*, September 6, 1853, 7; *The Times (London)*, October 15, 1853, 6.

¹¹³ *The Times (London)*, September 6, 1853, 7.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, September 12, 1853, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 192.

¹¹⁶ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 93.

¹¹⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 93; *The Times (London)*, October 1, 1853, 7.

would be identified “with their future Highland residence.”¹¹⁸ Highland games and dancing occurred in the evening.¹¹⁹

1854 trip

The hostilities in the Crimea occurred during the royals’ stay at Balmoral in 1853 and 1854. Albert discussed the situation with his friend and advisor, Stockmar, while Victoria corresponded with the Earl of Clarendon and the Earl of Aberdeen.¹²⁰ It is perhaps naive to expect the royals to disconnect entirely from society, but at least at Balmoral the family enjoyed the setting while fulfilling its duties. In 1854, the monarch wrote about the Crimean War while at Balmoral. Victoria wrote the Earl of Clarendon about the subject.¹²¹ The Earl of Aberdeen and the Marquis of Dalhousie also briefed the monarch on other foreign policy.¹²² Balmoral was not a place of complete rest and relaxation, as the flurry of letters between the monarch and her government officials attests, but the monarch could do as she pleased.

Some twelve years after first setting foot in the country, Victoria was still enamored with the ambience of the Highlands. Lamenting having to depart her Highland home, the monarch noted in a letter to Leopold I, King of the Belgians, that Scotland and the Highlands were “beautiful” and that “a lovelier country with a more beautiful combination of wood and

¹¹⁸ *The Times (London)*, October 1, 1853, 7.

¹¹⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 94.

¹²⁰ Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, October 5, 1853, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 199; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to the Earl of Clarendon, September 24, 1853, Balmoral, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:549; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to the Earl of Aberdeen, September 25, 1853, Balmoral, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:550; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to the Earl of Clarendon, October 11, 1853, Balmoral, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 2:554-555.

¹²¹ Queen Victoria to the Earl of Clarendon, October 10, 1854, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 222-223; Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to the Earl of Clarendon, September 30, 1854, Balmoral Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:55.

¹²² Earl of Aberdeen to Queen Victoria, October 1, 1854, Haddo House, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:55-57; Marquis of Dalhousie to Queen Victoria, October 2, 1854, Government House, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:57-59.

mountain...and...with the greatest wildness” could not be found.¹²³ It is clear that she had fallen in love with her northern home—she and her suite had sojourned north nine years out of twelve. The royals even had bought a home in the Highlands.

1855 trip

In 1855, construction continued on the new Balmoral Castle. The royal apartments were finished but the castle itself was not.¹²⁴ *The Times* write up explained that the new building would have a very picturesque view of the scenery, and that Albert wanted nearby roads “diverted for more privacy.”¹²⁵ For this visit, the entourage (excepting the royal family) lived in the old castle.¹²⁶ Victoria wrote her impressions of the new castle. She thought the building “charming,” the rooms “delightful,” and the building “perfection,” while also enjoying the “beautiful” view.¹²⁷

The Crimean War still figured in events at Balmoral. Sevastopol’s fall was met with great joy. The men climbed a hill and lit a bonfire to celebrate, “in Highland fashion.”¹²⁸ Tenants praised the monarch, her husband, and the Emperor and Empress of the French.¹²⁹

The beloved Scottish home was the setting for the engagement of Victoria, Princess Royal and Prince Frederick William of Prussia¹³⁰ Albert’s correspondence during this trip is filled, understandably, with talk of his eldest daughter’s engagement.¹³¹ The monarch also

¹²³ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, October 13, 1854, Hull, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:63-64.

¹²⁴ *The Times (London)*, September 8, 1855 6.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 96-97.

¹²⁸ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 98-100, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 11, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:180.

¹²⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 100.

¹³⁰ Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, September 20, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 236.

¹³¹ Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, September 20, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 236; Prince Albert to the Earl of Clarendon, September 21, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in

corresponded at least twice about the occasion.¹³² That Balmoral, the picturesque, romantic, Highland home, was the setting for the engagement is not surprising, as the scenery around the estate added much to the romantic act.

1856 trip

A scathing criticism appeared in *The Times* edition of September 16, 1856. This article's point was to contrast the Highland loyalty to the monarch and fighting in the Crimean War.¹³³ The author notes how the local Highland lairds hold the games every year and wonders if the "Saxon" element of the court believed that "Celtic Scotland was as warlike" as it was during the Jacobite Rebellion.¹³⁴ The author noted that the "prestige of Highland character" played a role in the monarch's acquisition of Balmoral.¹³⁵ The piece mentioned that none of the Highlanders fought in the Crimea, and pointed out that this year only the Farquharsons attended the Braemar Gathering; the "others were ashamed."¹³⁶ Because the Highlanders would not fight, the author desired the end of the "pageantry."¹³⁷ One wonders at the author's biases. The Highlanders who were near the monarch and who participated in an annual event evoking the romanticism and pageantry of the past, an event that the monarch enjoyed, were attacked. Those Highlanders who joined the military and fought for the monarch and the nation did more for the nation than those who did not. The "Celtic" and "Saxon" allusions were present in the column, as were romantic

Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861, 236-237; Prince Albert to Prince William of Prussia, September 21, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 237-238; Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, September 29, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 238-239; Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, October 2, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 239; Prince Albert to Baron von Stockmar, October 7, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *Letters of the Prince Consort 1837-1861*, 239-240.

¹³² Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to King Leopold I of the Belgians, September 22, 1855, Balmoral Castle, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:186-187; Viscount Palmerston to Queen Victoria, September 22, 1855, Piccadilly, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3:187-188.

¹³³ *The Times* (London), September 16, 1856, 7.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

illusions to the Jacobite Rebellion and the symbolism of the Highland Games. Romanticism versus patriotism—this is the dichotomy. One could serve the monarch and shirk one’s national duty, or one could enlist and go fight in the Crimea.

Victoria’s letters during 1856 discussed the Highlands. Leopold I, King of the Belgians, Victoria’s uncle, understood the monarch’s reluctance and sadness “to leave the Highlands,” her home.¹³⁸ The monarch had written to her uncle about her love of the Highlands and Balmoral before. She was in love with her Highland home—there, in the romantic wild country, she was a woman, a wife, a mother, who could visit the tenants or go for outdoor excursions when she wanted. Balmoral was her home, not the nation’s.

The queen’s adoration of her home is seen in a journal entry. With the construction of the new castle, Balmoral became a truly royal home. Victoria noted that Albert’s influence was everywhere, from the idea and design to the creation of the new castle.¹³⁹ It was no wonder that her “heart [became] more fixed in this dear Paradise” year after year—she loved the locale and her dear husband’s influence was seen everywhere.¹⁴⁰ Balmoral could be decorated as they wished, as it was their home.

1857 trip

In 1857, *The Times* wrote about the renovation of the Balmoral estate. The old castle had been completely removed by 1857, the old furniture replaced with “American ash,” the furnishings “remarkable for simplicity of character and purity of taste.”¹⁴¹ The nearby railways were quite popular, having had twelve thousand passengers in the previous year¹⁴² The popularity of the railway and the surrounding area spurred Albert to action. He paid for a bridge

¹³⁸ King Leopold I of the Belgians to Queen Victoria, October 10, 1856, Laeken, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:267-268.

¹³⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 106.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *The Times (London)*, August 31, 1857, 9.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

over the River Dee, as he did not want public roads too close to the estate.¹⁴³ The royals and others celebrated the bridge opening. The royals wore Highland dress for the opening ceremony.¹⁴⁴

The monarch and her daughters visited the poor. The royals gave presents to elderly women, such as petticoats, dresses, and handkerchiefs.¹⁴⁵ Many of the women blessed the royals, and the monarch noted that “the affection of these good people...is very touching and gratifying.”¹⁴⁶ The monarch was so taken with the Highlanders near the estate that she gave the old women gifts. Caring for the poor was something that the monarch probably could not do in London, but near her estate was a different matter. These were the women who sired the Highlanders that she was fond of—perhaps she felt a duty to them.

1858 trip

In 1858, *The Times* coverage of the Balmoral holiday was typical. The paper ran a column from *The Aberdeen Herald* which noted that the monarch was “quietly located among her humble Highland subjects at Balmoral,” and that the journey was “so unostentatious and unobtrusive” as to be “void of any fresh features requiring special attention.”¹⁴⁷ *The Times* noted the daily happenings (visits, hunting, walking, driving) via the Court Circular and commented upon the Braemar Highland Games.¹⁴⁸

The monarch noted, at length, her impressions of a snowfall while she was at Balmoral. She and her daughter Helena went out of doors and had to be carried over some water, and the monarch noted that “all the Highlanders are so amusing, and really pleasant and instructive to talk

¹⁴³ *The Times (London)*, August 31, 1857, 9.

¹⁴⁴ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 107.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *The Times (London)*, September 14, 1858, 8.

¹⁴⁸ See *The Times (London)*, September 13, 1858, 7, *The Times (London)*, September 14, 1858, 7, and *The Times (London)*, September 22, 1858, 7 for examples.

to.”¹⁴⁹ The snow-covered scenery affected the monarch, as she “implanted and fixed” the scene in her memory, because she knew that the snow-covered landscape would “not often [be seen] again.”¹⁵⁰

1859 trip

In 1859, *The Times* wrote about the royal visit to the Trossachs and Loch Katrine, but what is interesting is the commentary on the tourist. The article noted that the town of Callander, was a tourist haven, the “neutral ground for the meeting of the Lowland and Highland races,” and it was here that “the kilt and philabeg...begin to be discovered by the English tourist” who might have expected everyone in Highland dress.¹⁵¹ The Highlanders did not wear Highland dress “except on dress occasions and for...keeping up...old traditions.”¹⁵² Tartan was on display for the monarch’s visit, and the “non-Celtic population” wore “it as badges, scarves, and vestments.”¹⁵³

The monarch wrote about a few of the events during this sojourn. The love of nature is seen again in the ascents of Morven and Ben Muich Dhui. The monarch enjoyed the view these hills/mountains had, noting the “seas of mountains with blue lights” at Morven, and the dispersal of mist at Ben Muich Dhui, which “exhibited the grandest, wildest scenery imaginable.”¹⁵⁴ The queen wrote about a party given for the members of the British Association. The men were in Highland dress, the women in tartan skirts and shawls, and pipers and other Highlanders, when coupled with the mountain view “rendered the scene wild and striking in the extreme.”¹⁵⁵ The

¹⁴⁹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 112-113.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁵¹ *The Times (London)*, October 17, 1859, 10.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 115, 124.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

royal opinion of the Highlanders was expressed once again in another entry that mentioned the royal appreciation of “the good-breeding, simplicity, and intelligence” of the Highlanders.¹⁵⁶

1860 trip

The 1860 trip happened earlier than normal. This trip lasted from August 6th-September 18th.¹⁵⁷ The royals travelled overnight so that the monarch could review volunteers at Edinburgh and not lose a day.¹⁵⁸ Victoria used the railway to spend more time in Scotland.

One event did occur that was new, and that was the installation of the telegraph at Balmoral.¹⁵⁹ The Balmoral clerk communicated with one in Berlin.¹⁶⁰ This communication connected Balmoral more fully to the outside world. Now the monarch could receive news more quickly and the ministers could communicate with the sovereign when they were not in residence, or with their colleagues when they were. The telegraph in some ways lessened the seclusion of Balmoral as news could now be relayed within the residence. Albert had diverted public roads at his own expense to preserve the estate’s isolation, but the telegraph shattered that seclusion.

Victoria wrote about a lengthy excursion during the 1860 Balmoral stay. The so-called “First Great Expedition” saw the monarch, Albert, and a few retainers head further afield, to Glen Fische and Grantown. The suite stayed overnight in Grantown, where a few people noticed the royal groups.¹⁶¹ The monarch found the solitude “very refreshing,” and thought this expedition “delightful” and “successful.”¹⁶²

1861 trip

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 125.

¹⁵⁷ *The Times (London)*, August 7, 1860, 9; *The Times (London)*, September 19, 1860, 6.

¹⁵⁸ *The Times (London)*, August 8, 1860, 9.

¹⁵⁹ *The Times (London)*, August 21, 1860, 9.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 126, 130.

¹⁶² Ibid., 129, 132.

The Times article about the 1861 Braemar Gathering spoke a little about tourists and how many timed their visit to Scotland to coincide with the Braemar Games.¹⁶³ One wonders if the tourists did so to see examples of Highland Games, or, as seems more likely, if they wanted to see the monarch and the royal family. If the latter, then tourists were disappointed in this year, as some of the children attended the event, but the sovereign and her consort did not.¹⁶⁴

The Second, and Third Great Expeditions took place during this year. These expeditions, much like the First one, had the monarch, Albert, and a few retainers visiting areas well away from Balmoral, areas that caused the group to be absent from the castle for multiple days. The Second trip took the suite to Invermark and Fettercairn beginning on September 20th.¹⁶⁵ The suite ate lunch “in a little room of a regular Highland cabin,” then went to the Ramsay Arms at Fettercairn, where they were not recognized.¹⁶⁶ The next day the group rode a ways from Fettercairn then went back to Balmoral, covering in total eighty-two miles.¹⁶⁷ The Third Great Expedition saw the royals return to familiar sites. This journey went to Glen Fishie, Dalwhinnie, and Blair Athol.¹⁶⁸ The monarch noted the beauty of the scenery and that the suite stayed in an inn at Dalwhinnie.¹⁶⁹ On October 9th the group headed to Blair Athol, last visited by the monarch in 1844.¹⁷⁰

The monarch wrote a lot during her stay. Finally, Victoria corresponded with her uncle about the Balmoral trip. Leopold I commented upon “all the good” that the Balmoral journey did for Victoria, and she noted the last week at the castle, going out every day, eating lunch, as well

¹⁶³ *The Times (London)*, September 10, 1861, 10.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 134.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 135, 136.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 139, 140.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 143, 146.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 144, 145.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 146.

as the “invaluable Highland servant” in her employ, noting that it was “quite a sorrow...to leave him behind.”¹⁷¹

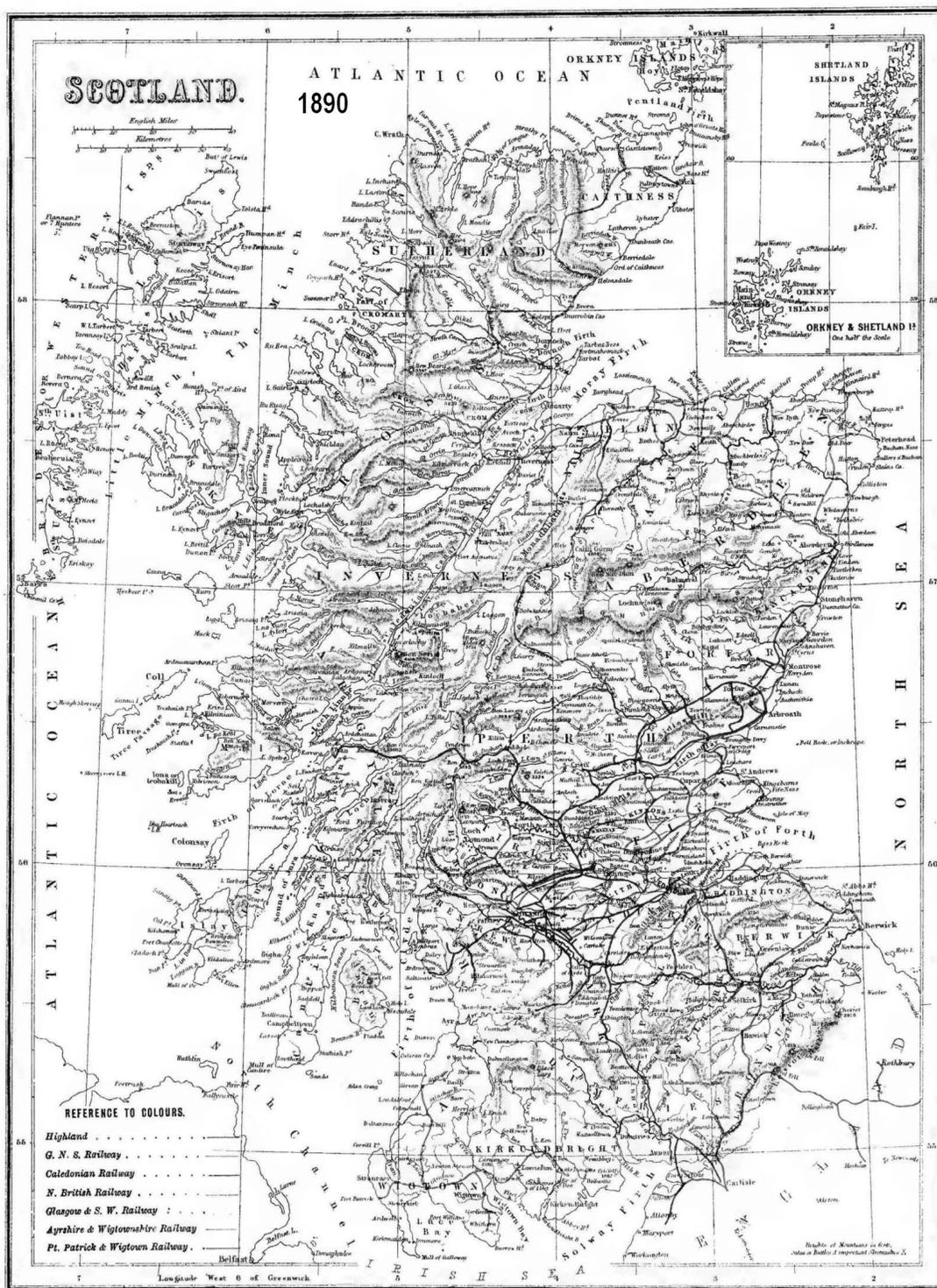
From 1844-1861, Victoria and her family visited Scotland many times. It is apparent from her writings and from newspaper reports that the royal family enjoyed their stays in Scotland. They could be as normal as they ever were to be in the north. Shooting, Highland games, rides and walks all afforded chances to be out in nature and to enjoy the beauty of the Highlands. Balmoral as a private Highland home still exists—the royal family continue to sojourn north every summer. While they are away, from March to July, the estate is open to tourists who can visit the castle ballroom, the grounds, and some of the cottages.¹⁷² It is rather fitting that Balmoral has become a tourist center, as one can argue that the acquisition of the estate helped popularize Scottish travel. An August 31, 1857 article in *The Times (London)* noted that, in 1852, “one coach was sufficient for all the passengers travelling between Aberdeen and Braemar,” while in 1856 “12,000 persons [used] the railway” with the majority headed further into the Highlands.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ Leopold I, King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria, October 17, 1861, Laeken, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:579; Queen Victoria to the King of the Belgians, October 21, 1861, Balmoral, in *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Correspondence between the years 1837 to 1861*, 3 vols., 3:587.

¹⁷² “Admissions,” <http://www.balmoralcastle.com/admissions.htm>, (accessed March 15, 2013).

¹⁷³ *The Times (London)*, August 31, 1857, 9.

Figure 2—Scottish Rail Map, 1890.¹



¹ “1890s Scottish Railways Map,” Electric Scotland.
<http://www.electricscotland.com/images/1890ScottishRailwaysMap.jpg> (accessed April 22, 2013).

CHAPTER V

RAILWAYS AND ROMANTICISM: STEAM TRAVEL, QUEEN VICTORIA, AND SCOTLAND, 1825-1903

Whereas Sir Walter Scott was the inspiration for, and Queen Victoria made popular, a romantic Scotland, rail transport provided the means for the public to journey to the north for modest prices. The monarch utilized rail travel often in her Scottish travels, while the North British railway named a station, a line, and an engine class after the author. Railways thus provided a crucial link in the popularization of a mythic Scotland as they tied together the monarch and her travels, Scott and his works, and made possible trips into the wild, picturesque scenery for which many yearned, a yearning that guidebooks and organized tours sought to fill.

The use of railways allowed access to the romantic wilds of Scotland without having to trudge through the untamed wilderness¹ The romantic Scottish image created by Scott and embraced by Queen Victoria was accessible to the lower-classes by rail. The slow integration and connection of Scotland with England and Wales was due to the focus upon the south, upon England. This delay in construction/integration meant that tourism to the north occurred around the same time as the monarch began sojourning to Scotland regularly. Scott created romantic Scotland, the monarch popularized it, and the people used rail to visit.

One must understand early British railway history to place the railway connection to Scotland in its proper context. Collieries were among the first places to have railways.

¹ British Broadcasting Corporation, "A History of Scotland," episode 9, YouTube, 58:40, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LN2QQWCPG-o> (accessed September 12, 2012).

Industrialization meant that metals were in demand, and so railways were laid to facilitate the increased movement of metals.² On these railways the first steam engines were used. Richard Trevithick, an engineer, used an engine “at Pen-y-darren ironworks at Merthyr Tydfil” in Wales in 1804.³ Steam engines carried freight until 1825, when the Stockton and Darlington Railway carried mixed traffic (90 tons freight and 450 passengers) at an average of 12 miles per hour.⁴ The Liverpool and Manchester Railway, the first dedicated passenger railway, opened in 1830.⁵

It is important to remember that no systematic rail system existed in the early nineteenth century. Major cities were connected with each other, or with areas that had goods in demand. In 1838, London, the capital, first had rail traffic.⁶ Large trunk lines developed and many of them went through London on their way to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol.⁷ Joint-stock companies developed quite rapidly after 1825 and in the latter 1830s, leading to speculation, railway optimism, and termination of “less fit” railway schemes.⁸

The year 1845 saw the consideration of various routes to connect cities within Scotland, as well as England and Scotland. Railway company owners created the idea for West Coast and East Coast routes.⁹ These routes went from London to either Glasgow (the West Coast route) or Edinburgh (the East Coast route).¹⁰ The Great North of Scotland Railway wanted to connect Aberdeen and Inverness.¹¹ Another line from Inverness, the main Highland city, to Perth was

² E.R. McDermott, *Railways* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), 1.

³ R.W. Kidner, *A Short History of Mechanical Traction and Travel* vol. II-Rail. (Chislehurst, U.K.: The Oakwood Press, 1947), 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵ M.B. Syngé, *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1919), 16.

⁶ Lee, *Queen Victoria: A Biography*, 141.

⁷ Hamilton Ellis, *British Railway History: An Outline from the Accession of William IV to the Nationalisation of Railways 1830-1876* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1954): 49, 62; E.R. McDermott, *Railways* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904) 8.

⁸ Richard S. Lambert, *The Railway King 1800-1871: A Study of George Hudson and the Business Morals of his Time* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1934) 36.

⁹ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 153.

¹⁰ *The Scottish Law Reporter*, vol. 34 (October 1896-July 1897) (Edinburgh: John Baxter & Son), 183; Waugh, “Railroads the Changing Face of Britain,” 275.

¹¹ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 244.

created during this year, and also the construction of what would become the Caledonian Railway from England to Scotland began as well.¹²

Railway growth allowed for the expansion of the Scottish locomotive building industry. During manias, or popular building times, English firms could not satiate demand, so many locomotive contracts were given to Scottish builders.¹³ Railway companies began constructing their own engines and stock by the late 1850s.¹⁴ Scottish firms and railways gained experience building locomotives and rolling stock. All that was missing were Anglo-Scottish rail connections.

The major railway lines during the early nineteenth century were located in England. It was England that experienced the railway boom initially, and it was England that held the seat of government and the rich financiers. English cities were connected with each other before connection into Scotland was viable. The East Coast Main Line, connecting Edinburgh and London via York and Berwick, was a venture of the Great Northern, North Eastern, and North British Railways.¹⁵ This route opened in July, 1847.¹⁶ The West Coast Main Line, running from London to Glasgow, opened by 1850.¹⁷

Railway development in Scotland lagged behind English development. Steam transport was in use on the Kilmarnock and Troon Railway in 1817.¹⁸ Scotland's first public line, the Monkland and Kirkintilloch Railway, opened in 1826 and had horses and engines pulling its traffic.¹⁹ These railways were local lines. One of the first large lines in Scotland was the Edinburgh to Glasgow Railway. This line, opened in 1842, required the use of a stationary engine

¹² O.S. Nock, *The Railways of Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd., 1947): 27.

¹³ Wray Vamplew, "Scottish Railways and the Development of Scottish Locomotive Building in the Nineteenth Century," *The Business History Review* 46, no. 3 (Autumn, 1972): 326.

¹⁴ Vamplew, "Scottish Railways," 329.

¹⁵ *The Scottish Law Reporter*, vol. 34 (October 1896-July 1897) (Edinburgh: John Baxter & Son), 183.

¹⁶ Lambert, *The Railway King*, 212.

¹⁷ Waugh, "Railroads the Changing Face of Britain," 275.

¹⁸ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

to navigate the incline between Glasgow Queen Street and Cowlairs.²⁰ During 1845, 2,170 miles of railway were built within Britain, and of those, Scotland had 423.25 miles.²¹ The amount of rail had increased three years later. By 1848, 5,127 miles of track had been laid with “over 2,000 more under construction.”²² The industrial Lowlands were the first sections of Scotland to be joined by rail. Inverness had rail service in 1861, and the rest of the Highlands were accessible by the 1870s.²³

The Highlands were reached relatively late due to a few reasons. The geography led to engineering challenges. The sparse Highland population did not lend itself to many goods from the south—few people, lower goods demand, so transporting goods to the Highlands was not profitable. Railways into the remote sectors of the Highlands cost, but the coasts were connected to the Lowland centers with Perth joined in 1848 and Aberdeen in 1850.²⁴ The Highland Railway made accessible these heretofore unreachable areas in the late 1880s.²⁵

One of the great Scottish lines was the North British Railway. This line, the largest in Scotland, had two of the country’s three connections with the south.²⁶ The route from Edinburgh Waverley to Berwick began construction in 1844.²⁷ One of the company’s most well-known routes, completed in 1862, was the “Waverley,” which ran from Edinburgh to Carlisle.²⁸ The naming of a route after Scott’s most famous novel reflects the regard in which he was held. A mere thirty years had passed since the author’s death, and for a man who so radically changed and affected novel-writing and society, perhaps one should not be astonished at the honor he was given.

²⁰ Ibid., 111.

²¹ Ibid., 155.

²² Waugh, “Railroads and the Changing Face of Britain,” 275.

²³ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 249, 247, 338.

²⁴ H.A. Vallance, *The Highland Railway* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), 12.

²⁵ Ibid., 40.

²⁶ C. Hamilton Ellis, *The North British Railway* (London: Ian Allan, Ltd., 1955), 1.

²⁷ Ibid., 5.

²⁸ Ellis, *The North British Railway*, 33, 74; The “Waverley” Route closed on January 4th/5th 1969. See John Thomas, *Forgotten Railways: Scotland* (Newton Abbot, U.K.; David & Charles, 1981), 56.

There was an increase in passenger traffic over time. The ten railways listed in *The Railway Times* for Saturday, February 9, 1839, carried 44,765,590 passengers from September 10, 1830 to November, 1838.²⁹ As railway companies expanded, the numbers of passenger journeys increased. By 1845, the total number of passenger journeys was 33,791,253, and by the end of the decade, 60,398,159 journeys had occurred.³⁰ In 1874 the number of passenger journeys (not including season-ticket holders) was 477,840,841 across Great Britain, and that number expanded to 562,732,890 by 1879.³¹ From 1880 to 1891, the number of journeys increased from 603,885,025 to 845,463,668.³² These numbers indicate an increase in rail traffic and it is not unreasonable to view a part of the rail traffic increase as either travelling to, or within, Scotland. The nineteenth century brought about a change in the perception of scenery. No longer decried as “harsh, horrid and hideous,” by a society focused on “letters, music, and domestic arts,” nature, from a distance, became beautiful, picturesque, and desired.³³ The growth of Scottish railways through less populated areas allowed tourists to experience nature while remaining separate from it.

Inasmuch as the North British Railway named a route in honor of Scott, one should not be surprised that engines were also named after Scott’s characters. The North British Railway’s Scott Class Locomotives featured such names as *Rob Roy*, *Redgauntlet*, and *Sir Walter Scott*.³⁴ The next year, *Helen Macgregor*, *Ivanhoe*, and *Guy Mannering* made their debuts, among

²⁹ *The Railway Times* 2, no. 58 (Saturday, February 9, 1839): 120. The railways in question were: London and Birmingham, Grand Junction, Bolton and Leigh and Kenyon and Leigh, Newcastle and Carlisle, Edinburgh and Dalkeith, Stockton and Darlington, Great Western, Liverpool and Manchester, Dublin and Kingstown, and London and Greenwich. These railways did not report numbers over the same length of time, however. The total number shown is less than it would be, had all the railways reported over the same period. The number does provide a starting point for analysis, however.

³⁰ G.R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation; its various Social and Economical Relations, from the beginning of the nineteenth century* (London: John Murray, 1851), 330.

³¹ United Kingdom, *General Report to the Board of Trade upon the Accidents that have occurred on the Railways of the United Kingdom during the Year 1891* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892), 4.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Ellis, *The North British Railway*, 145.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 192.

others.³⁵ Scott's influence was not only seen in engine names, however. From posters to timetables, "Scott's benevolent countenance beamed," and the line travelled past the author's monument in Edinburgh.³⁶ The route was elevated to "mainline status in 1875" and was considered the "hardest mainline in Britain" due to the severe gradients.³⁷ Queen Victoria's train traversed the line in 1866 and the rough journey made the monarch ill, so much so that she demanded "the speed [be] reduced."³⁸

The grandeur and majesty of steam locomotives is a fanciful image, one that overshadows what it was like to ride on the rails during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. At the creation of railways, the beginnings of passenger service, carriages would be designated first, second, and third class. Third-class seating often involved passengers sitting on wooden boards in either opened cars or partially-walled cars. Third-class seating was cheap but also hazardous. When one railway eliminated third-class, the others had to follow.³⁹ Not everyone enjoyed or approved of railroads. This new mode of transportation made it possible to travel farther than before. Local traders and innkeepers went out of business because people could get goods elsewhere or did not have to stay in a nearby inn.⁴⁰ The relatively low fare of the railroads meant that more people could afford rail travel⁴¹ Early engines had poor brakes so travel was not as fast, but by 1903, the *City of Truro*, a Great Western Railway engine, exceeded 100 miles per hour.⁴²

Railway growth happened primarily during the reign of Queen Victoria, and it is fitting that the monarch utilized this new transportation mode. Queen Victoria's opinions on railways fall into three categories: early observations, speed concerns, and safety concerns. As a child she

³⁵ Ibid., 197.

³⁶ Thomas, *Forgotten Railways*, 60.

³⁷ Ibid., 62.

³⁸ Ibid., 62-63.

³⁹ Logan G. McPherson, *Transportation in Europe* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1910), 88-89.

⁴⁰ Waugh, "Railroads and the Changing Face of Britain," 276-77.

⁴¹ Ibid., 288.

⁴² F.G. Cockman, *British Railways' Steam Locomotives* (Princes Risborough, UK: Shire Publications Ltd., 1998), 10.

noted watching slate-laden railcars that “rolled down a rail-way by themselves,” while as a young monarch she commented on, and apparently agreed with, Lord Melbourne’s pronouncements that the railway would ruin towns, were the province of Liberals, and that railroads (along with other modern inventions) did not “consider human life.”⁴³ In 1838 she was incredulous that an “Engine... could run the Engine without a train 100 miles an hour,” and mentioned that engines “(with the train) go 40 miles an hour.”⁴⁴

The queen first travelled by train on June 13, 1842.⁴⁵ She utilized the Great Western line from Slough to Paddington, and the Great Western Railway superintendent drove the engine and the great industrialist Isambard Kingdom Brunel rode the footplate.⁴⁶ Some public opinion did not want the monarch to travel by rail as a newspaper noted the potential for a long regency, should anything happen to the monarch, and the paper advocated the limited or abandonment of rail travel.⁴⁷ So, this relatively new method of travel was not without risk. Indeed, the monarch did not want engines to go faster than forty miles per hour, perhaps because of the idea that slower trains would mean fewer rail accidents.⁴⁸ Railway accidents still occurred, however. In the 1860s so many had happened that Queen Victoria had her personal secretary inform every railway board located in London of her “deepest misgivings on the subject.”⁴⁹ But, the monarch continued to use the rail because it was the quickest way to reach her Highland home.

Queen Victoria’s interaction with the railways changed over time. She first travelled on the railway in 1842, but she had seen and discussed railways for years beforehand. At a slate quarry as a 13 year old, she noted that “little carts about a dozen at a time rolled down a rail-way by them-selves,” and about a month later, noted that “we have just passed under a bridge over

⁴³ “September 8, 1832,” in the edited *Queen Victoria’s Journals*, “August 24, 1839,” “July 25, 1838,” “April 6, 1838.”

⁴⁴ “April 10, 1838,” *Queen Victoria’s Journals*.

⁴⁵ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 85.

⁴⁶ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 85; Nock, *The Railways of Britain*, 77.

⁴⁷ Nock, *The Railways of Britain*, 77.

⁴⁸ Ellis, *British Railway History*, 384-385.

⁴⁹ E.G. Barnes, *The Midland Main Line 1875-1922* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1970) 112.

which the railways go.”⁵⁰ Railways were often the topic of conversation during her first few years as monarch.

Queen Victoria travelled via rail for a part of her first trip to Scotland in 1842. She travelled from Windsor to Paddington by rail, then switched to other methods of transport (coach, steam ship) to reach Scotland.⁵¹ She repeated the process for her 1844 visit to and from Blair Athol, in Perthshire.⁵² The monarch used the railway to return from her 1847 trip to Ardverikie, travelling from Fleetwood into London via rail.⁵³ The first journey from Balmoral via rail occurred in 1848. Victoria and her entourage travelled to the castle by sea, but the seas were too rough on the return trip and the railway was utilized.⁵⁴ In 1849 she took the railway from Glasgow to Perth, and carriages into Balmoral.⁵⁵ Railway usage for the monarch was becoming common place. The Deeside Railway, connecting Aberdeen to Ballater (close to Balmoral to be of use, but far enough away to not spoil the royal family’s retreat or privacy), was finished in 1865, and the railway not only served the royals, but also allowed government documents to be sent up from Windsor.⁵⁶

The monarch took precautions while going by rail. Victoria did not like the train moving too fast. She wanted the speed reduced when travelling along the Waverley route in 1866.⁵⁷ Even toward the close of her reign, Victoria took precautions with the railway. Her equerry was told to check the line via telegraph from Balmoral to Windsor to ensure the track was in working order.⁵⁸ An separate locomotive always ran ahead of the monarch’s train, checking the condition of the

⁵⁰ “September 8, 1832,” “October 19, 1832,” *Queen Victoria’s Journals*.

⁵¹ Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, 27.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *The Times (London)*, September 22, 1847, 5.

⁵⁴ *The Times (London)*, October 2, 1848, 5.

⁵⁵ *The Times (London)*, August 16, 1849, 4; *The Times (London)*, August 17, 1849, 4.

⁵⁶ Ronald W. Clark, *Balmoral: Queen Victoria’s Highland Home* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 82-83.

⁵⁷ Thomas, *Forgotten Railways*, 62-63.

⁵⁸ Clark, *Balmoral*, 83.

track.⁵⁹ Level crossings were secured before the train passed, and bridges were guarded.⁶⁰ The monarch did not want to travel over forty miles an hour, perhaps a hold over from the early days of rail, and her saloon car had a lever that told the engineer when to slow down or stop.⁶¹ Victoria showed reluctance to embrace technological advancement on a wide scale, but she tolerated the “modern invention.”

For all that railway travelling was dirty and dangerous, the monarch and her suite did not experience these deprivations while travelling. After the queen began travelling to Scotland exclusively by rail, railway companies created carriages for her party. Among the early royal coaches was an eight-wheeled Great Western Railway coach that had a lavatory.⁶² The 1861 royal carriage, constructed by the London and North Western Railway contained a bed that could be replaced by a couch.⁶³ The 1869 royal carriages joined together “by a closed, flexible gangway” and the Great Western Railway carriage of 1873-74 contained a dome and had eight wheels.⁶⁴

As travelling to Scotland became easier, many Scottish tourist books were published during the 19th century. These books invoked Sir Walter Scott, with later ones also alluding to the monarch. *The Scottish Tourist*, in its 1825 edition, noted “to Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Of Abbotsford, this work is respectfully dedicated by the publishers.”⁶⁵ This dedication appeared again in the work’s seventh edition.⁶⁶ That the publishers reprinted the dedication showed that they were linking their work with Scott as does the author’s mention a further twenty-two times within the work.⁶⁷ In the 1850s, tourist guidebooks still used Scott’s name. *Lizars’ Scottish Tourist* mentioned the author nineteen times, while *The land of Scott* had, besides its title, at least

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ellis, *British Railway History*, 374.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ *The Scottish Tourist, and Itinerary; Being a Guide to the Scenery and Antiquities of Scotland and the Western Islands*. 7th edition (Edinburgh: Stirling, Kenney, & Co., 1838), dedication page.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., ii, iii, vi, 12, 13, 69, 70, 75, 82, 83, 99, 141, 248, 259, 264, 286, 291, 292, 302, 304, 309, 312, 345.

seventy references to the author.⁶⁸ *Oliver and Boyd's Scottish Tourist* continued the connection with Scott, as mention of him occurred seventy-one times.⁶⁹ This work also makes a connection with Queen Victoria, as the title page showed Balmoral Castle.⁷⁰

Of all the publishers of guidebooks, Thomas Cook was the most popular. He became one of the leading “packaged tour” distributors. His first Scottish tour occurred in the summer of 1846 and utilized rail from London to Fleetwood, steamship from Fleetwood to Ardrossan, and railway from Ardrossan to Glasgow, and again from Glasgow to Edinburgh.⁷¹ His trips used either the West Coast or East Coast route and by 1861 his company had used over two thousand miles of railway, steamboat, and coach roads.⁷² In 1861, his guidebook offered nine different tours beginning at Edinburgh and Glasgow, with other tours starting at Stirling, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Oban.⁷³ Railways used by Cook included: the North British Railway, Peebles Railway, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Caledonian, Scottish North Eastern, Great North of Scotland, Inverness and Aberdeen Junction.⁷⁴ Customers could also use steamers and coaches.⁷⁵

Cook then lists the rates for railway, steamboat, and coach travel. Via the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway, first class accommodations began at 4s. to travel from Glasgow to the head of Loch Lomond in a steamer cabin, while the cheapest second class rates were 2s. 9d. for a one-

⁶⁸ William Home Lizars, *Lizars' Scottish Tourist* (Edinburgh: W.H. Lizars, 1850), 13, 67, 71, 72, 78, 81, 82, 83, 98, 135, 236, 241, 254, 250, 263, 283, 287, 329, 366; John Marius Wilson, *The land of Scott; or, Tourists' guide to Abbotsford, the country of the Tweed and its tributaries, and St. Mary's Loch* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1858), 2-49, 51, 54, 59-61, 63-69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83-85, 87. For this last source, individual mentions of Scott occurring on consecutive pages are shown as a series to save space.

⁶⁹ *Oliver and Boyd's Scottish Tourist: A Hand-book to the Picturesque Scenery, Cities and Towns, Historical Places, Works of Art, and Antiquities of Scotland*. 20th edition. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd: 1860), 13, 15, 18, 21-23, 38, 31, 34-35, 38, 42, 44, 49, 55, 65, 69, 90, 99, 106, 112, 147, 151, 154-160, 162, 170-172, 181-182, 189, 190, 198, 200-202, 205, 213, 219, 222, 225, 230, 240, 254, 257, 264-265, 269, 279, 284, 288, 293, 309, 313-314, 327, 339-340, 30, 355, 361, 443, 475, 549, 551. Individual mentions of Scott occurring on consecutive pages are shown as a series to save space.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, title page.

⁷¹ Thomas Cook, *Cook's Scottish Tourist Official Directory* (London: W. Tweedie, 1861), 129.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 137.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

way journey from Edinburgh or Glasgow to Stirling.⁷⁶ The Caledonian railway offered one-way tickets from Edinburgh to Lanark and Glasgow, or Glasgow to Edinburgh for 6s for first class and 4s. for second class.⁷⁷ Customers could choose between two routes of the North British Railway, both costing 5s for first class, and 4 s. for second class: these were day tickets from Edinburgh to Galashiels, Merles, and Newton and back, or from Edinburgh to Hawthorn Den, Roslin, and Peebles and back.⁷⁸ Steamboat trips from Glasgow to the Western Islands and then to Inverness began at 24s for four days, while coaches from Inverness began at 30s 6d. Customers could also use the railway beginning at 32 s.⁷⁹

Cook also discussed the difference between “tourist” and “excursionist,” concern for lower class people, and the reasons that customers went to Scotland. A “tourist” paid higher rates than an “excursionist,” with the tourist taking the higher-priced season ticket, while the excursionist paid for the fifteen-day ticket.⁸⁰ Both the tourist and excursionist had the same accommodations.⁸¹ Thus, with the cheaper tickets, those of the lower classes could afford to travel to Scotland. Cook made mention of his “special regard for the humbler class of travelers,” and noted that one did not need a “labored description of natural beauties,” or “far-fetched historical notices...to invest [in] a Trip to Scotland with popularity.”⁸² Cook then named pipers, childhood tales, Scottish melodies, literature, and cited “the close affinity of Englishmen and Scotchmen” which “have familiarized us with Scotland, Scottish history, and Scottish scenery” and noted that “the heart turned with longings to the solid and substantial realities of the heather-mantled Highlands of Scotland.”⁸³

⁷⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Cook, *Cook's Scottish Tourist Official Directory*, 135.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Cook, *Cook's Scottish Tourist Official Directory*, 22.

⁸³ Ibid.

Cook's work is important for several reasons. The affordable fares, public desire to see the land of Burns and Scott, and (by the 1850s), the royal popularization of Scotland as a vacation destination meant that many customers availed themselves of Cook's tours. By 1861, Cook estimated that "nearly forty thousand visitors" went "by special trains" to Scotland, "four thousand" went to "the Western Islands," and "at least 10,000 have promenaded the decks of Lochlomond Steamers."⁸⁴ He then noted that many customers returned year after year.⁸⁵

The Scottish trips that Cook organized availed themselves of popular transport. By connecting rail, steamboats, and coaches, Cook allowed his customers to get from one place to another with some modicum of ease. Usage of these means of transport also popularized them—satisfied and returning customers created increased traffic for the railways, steamboats, and coaches and brought more people to Scotland.

British railway development reflected societal beliefs and the railway mirrored and aided nineteenth-century events. The railway paid homage to Sir Walter Scott and his status in society by naming a station, a line, and engines after him and his creations. Rail furthered tourism and romanticism as people took trains into the scenic countryside to view the beautiful images without actually setting foot in nature. Finally, a monarch who had come of age with the railroad used it to travel to her much-beloved Highland home. The railway can be used as a looking glass into some topics of nineteenth-century British life.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 137.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This work has discussed Sir Walter Scott and his role in promoting a romantic image of Scotland, chiefly through his *Waverley* novels, Queen Victoria's role in promoting Scotland as a fashionable vacation spot as well as her creation or furtherance of the idea of Balmorality and the notions of tartanism, and the usage of railways as a means to travel to the northern country. Scott's portrayal of a romantic Scotland, the monarch's embracing of this idea and her status, and the railway mode of transport that combined to allow all classes of people the opportunity to travel to a land previously not considered as a real holiday destination.

As a native Scot, Scott believed in a unionist sense of nationalism—that is, a nationalism that could co-exist within Great Britain.¹ Scotland as a nation was not the dominant member of the nation, but Scott's works gave the nation an outlet for its nostalgic past. With *Waverley*, the setting is crucial. Sixty years after the 1745 Rebellion, it was safe to speak of the Jacobites. The Highlanders were viewed as noble savages, members of a romantic, yet doomed, group. It is this reclaiming of history, this subversion of the feared past into the nostalgic present that was appealing. Scott's membership in a Celtic society and his role in George IV's journey to Edinburgh in 1822 also aided Scotland's rehabilitation from a poor, second-rate nation into a prime area for adventure and excursion.

¹“Scott, Sir Walter,” *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* 2 vols. (London: Academic Press, 2001) 2:463.

Many of the educated classes, authors, scientists, and such, came to Scotland from 1820 and after.² Tourists came not only for the kitsch, but also for the sport. The Duke of Bedford set the trend for aristocratic shooting in the country in 1818, and within a few decades the idea of going north for the stalk and shoot was ingrained, at least for the upper class.³ With Victoria and Albert's love affair for the north, those who could travel to Scotland did. For those of the upper-class, one wonders if they were treated to the piping in of dinner, arousal in the morning with pipes, days of stalking and images of romantic scenery as were the family and servants of the Earl of Grantham in ITV/Masterpiece Theatre's *Downton Abbey*.⁴

And so, Scott popularized this Highland world, but it was Victoria and her love affair with the Highlands that kept focus on Scotland. The Balmoral estate currently has over 85,000 visitors per year.⁵ This is astounding when one considers that the estate itself is only 165 years old. Balmoral is an embodiment of Scotland as a packaged product. The royal family continues to go to Balmoral during the late summer/early fall months, where they wear the tartan, enjoy nature, and have the closest thing to an actual holiday that they get. The Dee is a popular river, known for its salmon-fishing, and many sporting estates grace the area, boosted by the royal presence.⁶

Queen Victoria's role in the popularization of Scotland cannot be emphasized enough. The monarch read Scott's works as a child, and she used his works as a guide while making her first trip to Scotland. Scott was the monarch's favorite author, and she had many of his works at Balmoral. After her first Scottish trip, the monarch desired to return to her northern kingdom, and she did so many times in subsequent years. Victoria's acquisition of a permanent Highland home

² Richard W. Butler, "The History and Development of Royal Tourism in Scotland: Balmoral, the Ultimate Holiday Home?" in *Royal Tourism: Excursions around Monarchy*, edited by Phil Long and Nicola J. Palmer. (Clevedon, UK: Cromwell Press, 2008): 54.

³ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴ *Downton Abbey*, season 3, "Journey to the Highlands," DVD, Carnival Film & Television Limited, 2012.

⁵ The Royal Household, "The Royal Residences>Balmoral Castle>Today," The official website of the British Monarchy, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/TheRoyalResidences/BalmoralCastle/Today.aspx> (accessed April 3, 2013).

⁶ Butler, "The History...", 59, 60.

signaled her enjoyment of the region, and her journals are filled with references to the people and the land and her many trips into nature. The royal family's annual Scottish trips gave rise to "Balmorality, Balmoralization, and tartanry." These terms all refer to the kitsch view that Scotland is bagpipes, tartans, Highland games, romantic scenery, and shortbread cookies. Victoria embraced Scott's romanticized view of the nation, and thus this romantic ideal came to represent Scotland. The monarch's journeys also aided tourism to the region, as the upper class enjoyed the hunting while the lower classes enjoyed the scenery. The monarch was the focus of the nation and her trips to Scotland popularized the location.

Railways took a while to reach Scotland and took even longer to reach the Highlands. The coastal areas were connected to England first. This makes sense as most major Scottish cities were along the coasts. Also the shipment of goods, which had gone through coastal cities via water, now went through by rail. More people also lived along the coast or in the cities than in the Highlands. The "Waverley," the Highland line, and other routes allowed passengers to experience the romantic Scottish landscape. Fares priced for all classes meant that even the lower classes could afford a trip to the north. Evoking Scott and his novels, the North British Railway was one line that catered to the public perception of Scotland, and perception was key. The perception of Scotland as a romantic wilderness makes the region desirable for tourists. Going into nature, emulating the monarch, following along in the footsteps of one of the country's foremost authors--all of this combined to foster a popular, if skewed, sense of Scottish identity, one that continues to this day.

The legacy of Scott, Victoria, and steam engines can be seen today. Sir Walter Scott's works have been continuously in print and are available in many languages and formats (like Kindle). Places throughout the world carry Scott-inspired names, and a railway station in Edinburgh was named Waverley. Victoria's legacy can be seen, in this case, in the routine she established in attending Balmoral. The monarch travelled north during the summer and early fall,

attended the Braemar Highland games, went deer stalking, and took rides into nature. The current (2013) British royal family continues this tradition, as well as the traditions of wearing the kilt while at Balmoral. The monarch has a personal piper who plays every morning for about fifteen minutes, wherever the monarch is in residence.⁷ In terms of steam engines, many are preserved at the National Railway Museum in York, while others routinely run on heritage lines throughout the country.⁸ Victoria's use of the railway popularized that form of travel, and so it may come as no surprise that the present royal family uses a royal train from time to time. The Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall dedicated a newly built steam locomotive, the Peppercorn A1 *Tornado* and Prince Charles has used the engine to pull the royal train on occasion.⁹ Prince Charles also restored the British Rail Standard Class 7 MT locomotive *Britannia*'s name—the engine had had its name revoked when British railways nationalized.¹⁰ The LMS-Patriot Project also shows the regard in which steam locomotives were held. The project is building a new steam locomotive, *The Unknown Warrior*, to be completed by “the 100th Anniversary of the Armistice in 2018.”¹¹

⁷ The Royal Household, “The Queen’s Piper,” The official website of the British Monarchy, <http://www.royal.gov.uk/TheRoyalHousehold/OfficialRoyalposts/TheQueensPiper.aspx> (accessed March 15, 2013).

⁸ National Railway Museum, <http://www.nrm.org.uk/> (accessed March 15, 2013); Severn Valley Railway. <http://www.svr.co.uk/> (accessed March 15, 2013).

⁹ The Telegraph, “The Prince of Wales names the new Peppercorn class A1 steam locomotive, the *Tornado*,” <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/royalty/4698043/The-Prince-of-Wales-names-the-new-Peppercorn-class-A1-steam-locomotive-the-Tornado.html?image=1> (accessed March 13, 2013); The A1 Steam Locomotive Trust, “*Tornado* to take HRH The Prince of Wales on The Royal Train to Northumberland,” http://www.a1steam.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=902:tornado-to-take-hrh-the-prince-of-wales-on-the-royal-train-to-northumberland&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=123 (accessed March 15, 2013).

¹⁰ The Railway Magazine, “HRH Prince Charles to re-name ‘*Britannia*,’” <http://www.railwaymagazine.co.uk/news/hrh-prince-charles-to-re-name-britannia> (accessed March 15, 2013).

¹¹ The LMS-Patriot Project, “The LMS-Patriot Project,” <http://www.lms-patriot.org.uk/project.html> (accessed April 2, 2013).

The Scottish tourism board has embraced the centuries-old, romantic, kitsch image of Scotland.¹² There is money to be made in tapping into a long-standing stereotype. Scotland is the land of Scott, the Highlands, shortbread, and tartans. While the nation may wish this were not so, the embracing of this stereotype popularized by Scott and Victoria must continue to yield profits for as long as people continue to believe in the mythical, romantic, Scotland.

The popularity of Scott's works shaped the perception of Scotland. Scott's organizational role in the historic visit of George IV to the Scottish Lowlands allowed him to provide the monarch with a reception in which Scottish chiefs, and others, were in Highland dress. This visit helped popularize the wearing of the "Garb of Old Gaul." Victoria read Scott's works and used them as a guide during her initial visits to Scotland. She read from Scott to Albert as they travelled to the country in 1842, and the author's work remained important in her life. The monarch rented Balmoral in 1848 and acquired the estate in 1852. Victoria now had a home in the Highlands. The rise of the railway and usage of steam engines facilitated easier access to Scotland. All classes could theoretically travel into the wild—some may have taken part in prepackaged tours, like Thomas Cook's, while others may have travelled north on their own. Those with means made the journey, as it was fashionable to do so.

With the rise of romanticism and the popularization of Scotland, romantic tourism came to the fore. Authors wrote about trips, taking their readers on a literary sojourn to escape everyday life. Victoria was perhaps the most famous person to use Sir Walter Scott's works as Scottish guidebooks. With her captivation by Scotland, one can argue that Victoria was a romantic tourist as well, falling in love with Scotland in 1842 and acquiring her Highland home six years later.

Many strands came together to create the romantic Scottish myth. The works of a poet-turned-novelist, the voracious reading of a monarch and her desire to see Scott's works made real,

¹² Scotland's National Tourism Organisation. "Visit Scotland," <http://www.visitscotland.com/> (accessed March 15, 2013).

and the transportation improvements combined to formulate an enduring romantic, Highland Scotland.

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