



The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland 1800–1990

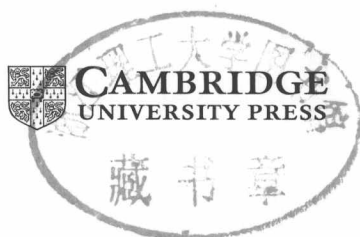
Edited by K. D. M. Snell

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The regional novel has been remarkably neglected as a subject, despite the enormous number of authors who can be classified as having written regional fiction. This interdisciplinary collection of essays from leading literary critics, historians and cultural geographers, addresses the regional novel in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England. It establishes the broader social and political contexts in which these novels emerged, and by combining historical and literary approaches to the subject explores contemporary manifestations of regionalism and nationalism in Britain and Ireland. *The Regional Novel in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1990*, covers novels from the eighteenth century to the present day, and will be of interest to literary and social historians as well as cultural critics.

Preface and acknowledgements

This project began in the mid 1980s, as part of an investigation into cultural regions in the British Isles. It grew out of a widely shared concern over political and cultural centralisation during the last two decades of the twentieth century, and the effects of this on regional cultures. Such issues have taken many forms in political debate, and their prominence has been growing for many years. In this book on the regional novel, we hope to encourage interdisciplinary study of a literary subject that has received very little attention in the relevant academic fields, despite its obvious importance and popularity among so many local readers in Britain and Ireland.

It was originally planned to include county-by-county and city bibliographies of regional fiction in this book, covering all four countries of the British Isles. Work for these was funded by the British Academy, and very large bibliographies resulted. These bore testimony to the extraordinary array of (sometimes forgotten) regional fiction that has been written over the past two centuries. Limitations of space and production costs inhibited the publication of these bibliographies here, and this bibliographical work will now be published as a separate volume. The two books – one scholarly and interpretative, the other bibliographical – should serve as a welcome aid to interdisciplinary study and appreciation of regional fiction in the future.

This book's scholarly chapters have been written by some of the leading literary critics, cultural historians and geographers working today in Ireland and Britain. I have been most fortunate in their participation, and for their tolerance of this editor, an historian prone to cross disciplinary boundaries. Some contributors also waited a long time for their chapters to appear, and Wynn Thomas and Liz Bellamy abided the delay with considerable patience and courtesy. Another chapter was planned on East End London fiction, by Raphael Samuel, but the illness and sadly premature death of this fine scholar and friend

has meant that London regional fiction goes uncovered here. I am indebted also to W. J. Keith, John Lucas, Linda McKenna, Ray Ryan, Joanne Shattock and Tony Wrigley for many helpful comments, and to Simon Ditchfield, Ian Dyck, Andreas Gestrich, Ralph Gibson, Franco D'Intino, Barry Reay, Tom Sokoll, Steve Taylor, David Thomson, Hiroko Tomida and Michael Yoshida for advice on regional fiction outside the British Isles. The assistance in particular of my colleagues Charles Phythian-Adams, Harold Fox, David Postles, Margery Tranter and Alasdair Crockett has been a constant pleasure. The University of Leicester, in sustaining the Department of English Local History, created excellent facilities that were indispensable for the project. To these colleagues, and this institution, I extend my warmest gratitude.

John Barrell's chapter, and the chapter by Stephen Daniels and Simon Rycroft, were published respectively in the *Journal of Historical Geography*, 8:4 (1982), pp. 347–61, and in the *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 18:4 (1993), pp. 460–80.

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CHAPTER I

The regional novel: themes for interdisciplinary research

K. D. M. Snell

DEFINITION

'Novels of character and environment' – that was how Hardy described his 'Wessex novels'.¹ What is meant by 'the regional novel'? Inevitably, there are problems of definition, even definitions that rival each other in scope. Yet most readers agree about who the quintessential 'regional' writers are. The definitions on offer have much in common, although there will always be a large number of novels that fall into borderline categories. By 'regional novel' I mean fiction that is set in a recognisable region, and which describes features distinguishing the life, social relations, customs, language, dialect, or other aspects of the culture of that area and its people. Fiction with a strong sense of local geography, topography or landscape is also covered by this definition. In such writing a particular place or regional culture may perhaps be used to illustrate an aspect of life in general, or the effects of a particular environment upon the people living in it. And one usually expects to find certain characteristics in a regional novel: detailed description of a place, setting or region, whether urban or rural, which bears an approximation to a real place;² characters usually of working- or middle-class origin (although in some regional novels people of these classes may be absent, and in a few the focus may be on a family or lineage and its connection with local landscape or history); dialogue represented with some striving for realism; and attempted verisimilitude.³

¹ Thomas Hardy, 'General preface to the Novels and Poems', Wessex Edition, vol. 1 (1912), J. Moynahan (ed.), *The Portable Thomas Hardy* (1977; Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 694. (Place of publication is London unless otherwise indicated.)

² Hence for example one would not include Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* as a regional novel: the place names and terrain may occasionally be based on recognisable fragments of a known landscape, yet this is clearly an imagined landscape. Hardy's 'Wessex', however, far more tightly located in English geography, provides a setting one would certainly class as regional.

³ See P. Bentley, *The English Regional Novel* (1941), pp. 45–6.

'Regional' thus conceived is not the same as 'national', but it does not exclude that: the term includes regional writing within the four countries of the British Isles. A 'nationalist' novel, say of Wales, lacking clear regional specificity within Wales would not be included here; but a Welsh regional novel might in some cases be open to interpretation as a 'national' novel. We should note that such an understanding of the subject allows it to overlap with other literary genres, like regional romances, regional historical novels, novels dependent upon local folklore, industrial novels, or novels dealing with the life and times of people associated with a certain place, exploring their relation to that place.⁴

It is worth considering how the regional novel has been defined by the few literary critics who have approached it as such. The Yorkshire regional novelist Phyllis Bentley, author of the short book that is one of the few available discussions, argued that the regional novel may be seen as 'the national novel carried to one degree further of subdivision; it is a novel which, concentrating on a particular part, a particular region, of a nation, depicts the life of that region in such a way that the reader is conscious of the characteristics which are unique to that region and differentiate it from others in the common motherland'.⁵ She was writing during the Second World War, and the language of those years is prominent in her definition. More recently, the important (and virtually the only) discussions have come from W. J. Keith, R. P. Draper and Ian Bell.⁶ These justify their careful usages, but I

⁴ Extensive county-by-county and city bibliographies of regional novels set in Ireland, Wales, Scotland and England will be published as a separate volume by K. D. M. Snell in due course. These should aid local readers, librarians and academics. The two main works currently available are Stephen J. Brown, *Ireland in Fiction: A Guide to Irish Novels, Tales, Romances and Folklore* (New York, 1969), and L. LeClaire, *A General Analytical Bibliography of the Regional Novelists of the British Isles, 1800-1950* (Paris, 1954). Both these include items that are not fiction, and Brown includes works on the Irish abroad. LeClaire is still valuable, but is very incomplete, dated and most inaccessible.

⁵ P. Bentley, *English Regional Novel*, p. 7. She wrote that 'locality, reality and democracy are the watchwords of the English regional novelist'; and as the main merits of regional novels she stressed verisimilitude, representations of landscape, and her view that 'the regional novel is essentially democratic. It expresses a belief that the ordinary man and the ordinary woman are interesting and worth depicting', pp. 45-6.

⁶ W. J. Keith, *Regions of the Imagination: the Development of British Rural Fiction* (Toronto, 1988), see especially his valuable discussion on pp. 3-20; R. P. Draper (ed.), *The Literature of Region and Nation* (1989); I. A. Bell (ed.), *Peripheral Visions: Images of Nationhood in Contemporary British Fiction* (Cardiff, 1995), which in addition to some valuable essays on regional fiction also contains essays by novelists; R. Williams, 'Region and class in the novel', in his *Writing in Society* (1983). See also M. Drabble (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (1932; Oxford, 1985), p. 816, who refers to the regional novel as 'a novel set in a real and well-defined locality, which is in some degree strange to the reader'. She added that from about 1839 'the localities described in regional novels were often smaller and more exact . . . Later novelists became ever more

depart here from Keith's focus only on rural fiction. The urban regional novel is such a crucial part of the genre that one cannot omit it. Nor does one want to regard cities as any less 'regional' than other areas: without making any value judgements, London and its districts in this regard are as 'regional' as parts of County Kerry, and the regional fiction of such cities should be treated accordingly. For our purposes, a sense and description of region may be wholly urban, as in the start of *Alton Locke*: 'I am a Cockney among Cockneys. Italy and the Tropics, the Highlands and Devonshire, I know only in dreams. Even the Surrey hills, of whose loveliness I have heard so much, are to me a distant fairy-land, whose gleaming ridges I am worthy only to behold afar . . . my knowledge of England is bounded by the horizon which encircles Richmond Hill'.⁷ Alternatively, the idea of region may be as rural as Hardy's account of the Blackmoor Vale, which to Tess was 'the world, and its inhabitants the races thereof . . . Every contour of the surrounding hills was as personal to her as that of her relatives' faces; but for what lay beyond her judgement was dependent on the teaching of the village school'.⁸

Any definition must also stress the way in which such novels seek to conceive a regional or local world and its people. In such fiction the apparently real is mixed with the imaginary, the known with the unknown. W. J. Keith's book was rightly entitled *Regions of the Imagination*. The relation between fact and fiction varies considerably in regional fiction, between authors, and between the different literary movements which informed the artistic and social purposes behind many of the novels. The variety of such relationships has been especially marked during the twentieth century. If one compares regional fiction with documentary or historical writing, it is clear that work from the latter forms differ from much regional fiction in laying claim to deal with 'facts', with truth as perceived by the author. However, in conceptual schemes, choice of detail, and manners of evocation, historical or documentary writing can be as much an art form as regional

interested in precise regional attachment and description'. One should also draw attention to the definition in F. W. Morgan, 'Three aspects of regional consciousness', *Sociological Review*, 31, no. 1 (1939), pp. 84-6. He stressed the novel's 'absorption in a particular locality: absorption and not merely interest . . . The area, too, must not be too small', and, he continued, 'The true regional novel has people at work as an essential material: it has become almost the epic of the labourer'; the regional novel 'produces a synthesis, a living picture of the unity of place and people, through work'; and with regard to landscape, it provides 'an atmosphere which is not transferable'.

⁷ C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke* (1850; Oxford, 1983), p. 5.

⁸ T. Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891; Harmondsworth, 1982), ch. 5, p. 75.

fiction, where the latter deals with a perceived reality.⁹ Referential claims by historians are similar to those often made by novelists – think for example of Hardy's assertion that

At the dates represented in the various narrations things were like that in Wessex: the inhabitants lived in certain ways, engaged in certain occupations, kept alive certain customs, just as they are shown doing in these pages . . . I have instituted inquiries to correct tricks of memory, and striven against temptations to exaggerate, in order to preserve for my own satisfaction a fairly true record of a vanishing life.¹⁰

There are many differences between regional fiction and other forms of writing, but in this context I would not assert them in too rigid a way. For regional fiction may often supplement other descriptions as a further way of imagining, realising or knowing life, character and social relations, with unique imaginative and evocative potential.

We shall turn shortly to interdisciplinary possibilities for study. But it is important here to point to the variety of the regional novel, which is one reason why it has usually been subsumed within other literary genres. Beyond its most predictable forms, and retaining strong elements of the above definition, this genre may on occasion encompass romance, historical novels, mystery or detective novels, novels dependent upon regional folklore (even turning folk tales into fictional form), and in a few cases – like Colin Wilson's account of a future Nottingham – may even stretch to science fiction. One could take any region of the British Isles to illustrate this point. Let me do this for the neglected literature of the Channel Islands. These islands have certainly provided a setting for regional fiction that comes close to the usual associations of the genre, like Ethel Mannin's *Children of the Earth* (1930), comparable to rural regional novels by Kaye-Smith or Mary Webb. Yet besides this, one finds historical novels like Edward Gavey, *In Peirson's Days: a Story of the Great Invasion of Jersey in 1781* (1902), J. E. Corbiere, *Mont Orgueil Castle: a Tale of Jersey During the Wars of the Roses* (1890), Philip Billot, *Rozel: an Historical Novel* (1945), or William Ferrar, *The Fall of the Grand Sarrasin* (1905). A further historical subject concerns the German occupation of the Islands, which has been the theme for novels such

⁹ I think here also of E. Leach's defence of social anthropology as a form of art, and his view of social anthropologists 'as bad novelists rather than bad scientists', in his *Social Anthropology* (Glasgow, 1982), pp. 52–4.

¹⁰ Hardy, 'General Preface', pp. 695–6. The role of 'oral history' in regional novels by Scott, C. Bronte, George Moore, Dickens, Bennett, Hardy and others, is discussed in P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (1978; Oxford, 1984), pp. 28–9.

as Sheila Parker, *An Occupational Hazard* (1985), Michael Marshall, *The Small Army* (1957), Peggy Woodford, *Backwater War* (1974), John Ferguson, *Terror on the Island* (1941), Sheila Edwards, *The Beloved Islands* (1989), and Jack Higgins, *Night of the Fox* (1986). There are also detective novels with a strong local setting, such as the Bergerac series, that are derived from other media;¹¹ novels that make use of certain financial connotations of the islands, like Nicholas Thorne, *Money Chain* (1987); and those which take issues of local and national politics as their subject matter, like Desmond Walker's *Bedlam in the Bailiwicks* (1987) or *Task Force Channel Islands* (1989). Here, as elsewhere, one also finds novels heavily dependent upon the actual or assumed folklore of the islands, best known among them being Victor Hugo, *Travailleurs de la Mer*,¹² but also including such works as Sonia Hillsdon, *Strange Stories from Jersey* (1987). The islands have also provided the setting for much children's fiction, which is less my concern here,¹³ as well as novels that might be termed science fiction, like Hugh Walters, *The Blue Aura* (1979); fiction dealing with the lives of well-known figures connected with the islands, such as David Butler, *Lillie* (1978), or Pierre Sichel, *The Jersey Lily* (1958); as well as romances like Anabella Seymour, *Dangerous Deceptions* (1988), and other forms of regional writing that fall outside the above classifications, or which combine elements of them. The regional novel can encompass many such works, beyond the usual equation of the genre with essentially rural and 'provincial' works like *Adam Bede* or *The Return of the Native*.

EARLY ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF REGIONAL FICTION

The circumstances from which the earliest regional novelists emerged deserve special attention. Sir Walter Scott, drawing in part upon Maria Edgeworth, interpreted character and speech within a Scottish historical setting, using vernacular surroundings which were often lowly and imbued with local narratives and folkloric traditions. His 'anthropological' work did not recognise distinctions between biography, fiction and history, so that one reads him as if 'in a suspension between

¹¹ Michael Hardwick, *Bergerac: The Jersey Cop* (1981).

¹² Translated as *The Toilers of the Sea* (1888). Compare the view that Hugo's book cannot 'in any way be relied upon as giving anything like a correct view of the popular superstitions of Jersey', in J. S. Cox (ed.), *Guernsey Folklore, Recorded in the Summer of 1882* (1971, 1986), p. 5, as reprinted from an article by 'A. P. A.' in *The Antiquary* (November 1882).

¹³ For example Viola Bayley, *Jersey Adventure* (1969).

creative writing and historiography'.¹⁴ In particular, the social range of his characters was to be a common feature of subsequent regional fiction.¹⁵ Before him, one may take Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent* (1800), written it seems in 1797–9, as probably the first regional novel. Prior to this regionality in fiction had frequently been presented in terms of regional stereotypes, epitomised by supposed traits of people from different areas. Thus John Barrell, in discussing *Roderick Random*, draws attention to the range of provincial character and dialectal 'types' in Smollett's work, to characters who have become isolated from their regional settings, losing some of their identity as they are abandoned to the mobile plots and loose form of the picaresque novel.¹⁶ In contrast to such use of regionality – involving much regional stereotype in characterisation and a stress on an elite overview that alone could coordinate such great diversity – the regional novel came to establish much firmer regional settings, developing characterisation within such contexts, showing awareness of regional influences on people and social relationships, and, in a great variety of ways, interpreting these relationships or using them to develop more complex and explanatory depths of character.

Walter Allen, in *The English Novel*, made a considerable claim for Maria Edgeworth's *Castle Rackrent*. He commented that its date of publication, 1800, marks 'a date of the first importance in the history of English fiction, indeed of world fiction'. Edgeworth, he argued,

occupied new territory for the novel. Before her, except when London was the scene, the locale of our fiction had been generalized, conventionalized. Outside London and Bath, the eighteenth-century novelist rarely had a sense of place . . . Maria Edgeworth gave fiction a local habitation and a name. And she did more than this: she perceived the relation between the local habitation and the people who dwell in it. She invented, in other words, the regional novel, in which the very nature of the novelist's characters is conditioned, receives its bias and expression, from the fact that they live in a countryside differentiated by a traditional way of life from other countrysides.¹⁷

¹⁴ R. Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Oxford, 1992), p. 126, and see his ch. 3, on 'Anthropology and Dialect'.

¹⁵ See for example K. Tillotson, *Novels of the Eighteen-Forties* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 86–91, 142; H. Auster, *Local Habitations: Regionalism in the Early Novels of George Eliot* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 24–6.

¹⁶ J. Barrell, *English Literature in History, 1730–1780: An Equal Wide Survey* (1983), ch. 3. And see J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England, 1770–1800* (1932, 1969), pp. 187–8, on national and regional character 'types' in fiction in the late eighteenth century.

¹⁷ W. Allen, *The English Novel: a Short Critical History* (1954; Harmondsworth, 1986), p. 103.

We can note here the acknowledgement of London and Bath settings in earlier fiction, a point (following our genre definition) that others may wish to pursue. However, Allen's emphasis has since been adopted by others. George Watson for example, in his introduction to *Castle Rackrent*, saw this book as 'the first regional novel in English, and perhaps in all Europe'.¹⁸ It was, he suggested, documentary in purpose, concerned with that branch of human knowledge later termed sociology, and as such Edgeworth's regional writing – together with Scott, Burns and Crabbe (and Rousseau in France)¹⁹ – may represent a 'vast literary revolution', that was continued by Turgenev. *Castle Rackrent* promoted 'an aspect of human knowledge which novelists and poets, not historians, inaugurated . . . the novels of Maria Edgeworth and of her first pupil [Scott] are decades in advance of the historians in their social concern'.²⁰

In many ways, *Castle Rackrent* is a generic description or caricature of the life and manners of a 'certain class of the gentry of Ireland some years ago', as Edgeworth put it, a class of Irish squires that could have existed in virtually any part of Ireland. It is sometimes thought that her subject is Ireland rather than any region within it. She wrote of how 'Nations as well as individuals gradually lose their identity', as will occur, she felt, in the union with Great Britain – a misjudgement of interest today.²¹ Her preface contained no hint that her concern lay with the characteristics of specific regions of Ireland. Yet one senses elements of this in her details of dialect, local agricultural terms (for example, a *loy*),²² tenurial arrangements, characteristics of middlemen or 'journeymen gentlemen'; popular superstitions and folklore like the fairy mount,²³ or the right to be buried in certain churchyards;²⁴ mention of the regionality of Caoinans (funeral songs),²⁵ and the burning of death-bed straw and of funerary practices. Such detail places the novel in a broad region of the Irish midlands, and the main setting appears to be County Longford.²⁶ Her novel is also regional in having a certain gentry family as its subject. Other novels subsequently appeared that one might think of as 'regional' in a similar sense, especially with regard to a tight association of such families with particular areas, and

¹⁸ G. Watson, Introduction to *Castle Rackrent* (1800; Oxford, 1980), p. vii. Or see H. Zimmern, *Maria Edgeworth* (1883), p. 108, and particularly the essay by Liz Bellamy in this volume.

¹⁹ J.-J. Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), presented a view of country life in the Vaud, set in romantically landscaped gardens at Ermenonville, thirty miles north-east of Paris.

²⁰ Watson, Introduction to *Castle Rackrent*, p. viii.

²¹ M. Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent* (1800; Oxford, 1980), pp. 4–5.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 16. ²³ *Ibid.* ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

the often unquestioned assumption that the history and identifying features of an area may be entwined with its gentry family, so closely were they identified. It might be argued that the regional novel could only develop in a fuller social sense when such neo-feudal signification was relinquished, that the gentry themselves had become the least regional of classes. One certainly finds a move away from such gentrified focus in Scott and most succeeding authors. Yet the narrator of *Castle Rackrent*, Old Thady, is himself a lowly gentry servant, and the issues of land, tenure and lineage (so important in Edgeworth's account) themselves tie the novel to lowland Irish land issues in a way that justifies the label 'regional'. The national question is always present however, justifying LeClaire's view that the regional novel in its early years, until about 1830, and notably in Edgeworth and Scott, was a genre above all concerned with this issue – one, we should add, to which it has repeatedly returned.²⁷ The point is reinforced in Edgeworth's presentation of her work, which she laid

before the English reader as a specimen of manners and characters, which are perhaps unknown in England. Indeed the domestic habits of no nation in Europe were less known to the English than those of their sister country, till within these few years. Mr Young's picture of Ireland,²⁸ in his tour through that country, was the first faithful portrait of its inhabitants. All the features in the foregoing sketch were taken from the life, and they are characteristic of that mixture of quickness, simplicity, cunning, carelessness, dissipation, disinterestedness, shrewdness and blunder, which in different forms, and with various success, has been brought upon the stage or delineated in novels.²⁹

The role of the regional novel in regional stereotyping, and further issues of regionalism and nationalism, will occupy us later.

An important feature accompanying this emergence of the regional novel was an interest in the more realistic portrayal of regional topographical, economic and cultural traits. Representations of barely recognisable British landscape elements heavily overlaid with classical imagery increasingly gave way to ways of depicting people in their

²⁷ L. Leclaire, *Le Roman régionaliste dans les Iles Britanniques* (Paris, 1954).

²⁸ Arthur Young, *A Tour in Ireland* (1780), an account by the agricultural commentator and improver of Ireland in 1776–9.

²⁹ Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*, p. 97.

regional settings.³⁰ A taste for fidelity in imitations of nature, for close attention to detail, as in the Dutch painters, became more manifest after about 1770. This was especially so from the early 1780s 'in a good measure, in consequence of the direction of the public taste to the subject of painting', as Hazlitt wrote in his essay on Crabbe; a poet who, like Goldsmith, Clare or Elliott, was strongly associated with such realist preference.³¹ In addition to this poetry of the anti-pastoral – and growing out of the picturesque writing of the period from the late 1760s – a very large topographical literature of exploration developed, notably of the Lake District and north Wales, but also of many other regions.³² The popular guides of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and in particular the tours of Arthur Young or Gilpin³³ – blending as they did practical agrarian instruction with the fading ethic of melancholy ruin, and, in the case of some of Young's tours, information about landlord artistic taste – were important aspects of the changing nature of internal tourism and instructive travel. There was certainly a tradition of topographical writing, such as that by Fiennes, Kilburne or Defoe, but the scale of the late eighteenth-century developments was unprecedented. Between 1770 and 1815, for example, at least eighty books describing trips through Wales were published; and among the imaginative writers 'discovering' this principality were Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Shelley, Scott, Peacock, Landor and De Quincey.

³⁰ See in particular J. Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge, 1980); D. Solkin, *Richard Wilson: the Landscape of Reaction* (1982).

³¹ W. Hazlitt, *The Spirit of the Age, or Contemporary Portraits* (1825, 1969), p. 267. See also J. Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730–1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge, 1972).

³² See T. Gray, *Journal in the Lakes* (1769); J. Clarke, *Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire* (1787); W. Hutchinson, *Excursion to the Lakes in Westmoreland and Cumberland, in the Years 1773 and 1774* (1776); W. Gell, *Tour of the Lakes made in 1797* (1968); J. Housman, *Descriptive Tour and Guide to the Lakes, Caves, Mountains and other National Curiosities in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire* (Carlisle, 1800); T. West, *Guide to the Lakes, Dedicated to the Lovers of Landscape Studies* (1778); W. Wilberforce, *Journey to the Lake District from Cambridge, 1779* (1983); N. Nicholson, *The Lakers: Adventures of the First Tourists* (1955); M. Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Aldershot, 1989). On north Wales, see T. Pennant, *A Tour in Wales* (1784); W. Bingley, *North Wales; Including its Scenery, Antiquities, Customs and some Sketches of its Natural History* (1804); and on Scotland, the very saleable work by T. Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland* (1771, 1772), one of the aims of which was to 'conciliate the affections' of England and Scotland.

³³ A. Young, *A Six Weeks Tour Through the Southern Counties of England and Wales* (1769), *A Six Months Tour Through the North of England* (1770), *The Farmer's Tour Through the East of England* (1771); W. Gilpin, *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the Year 1772 on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 volumes (1786).