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The End of the World?

Representations of Scandinavia in Nineteenth-Century Scottish Travel Literature

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Present-day Scandinavia and its highly praised Nordic welfare state model are symbols for modernity, structure and wealth. There is a general fascination with this Northern concept of progressiveness but also the nature of the European north that provides both resources and sublime beauty. Accordingly, more and more countries are interested in creating or re-creating a closer connection with Scandinavia. Faced with the inevitability of Brexit, Scotland has, again, begun to consider independence from the historical Union with England and Wales.[1] Already in 2014, before the first independence referendum, the search for identity and integration had led Scotland northwards, considering collaboration with the Nordic countries and an adaptation of their societal model. Debates about an independent Scotland joining the Nordic council were met with great interest from the Scottish side.[2]

The idea of strengthening the Scottish connection with the North[3] has roots in a shared history and heritage. The Norwegian Vikings came to Scotland during the ninth century. Their influence can still today be traced linguistically – in the relation between Lowland Scotch[4] and the Scandinavian languages as well as various place and family names of Scandinavian descent.[5] The interest in this shared history with Scandinavia is not necessarily a new development. In times of uncertainty and change, a return to tradition and the past creates a sense of belonging. Investigations of the past and peoples' origins, accordingly, were triggered by the establishment of the British Union in 1707. The ideas connected to Scandinavia were, however, different from the modern perception of the progressive North. During the eighteenth century, Norway and Sweden and partly Denmark represented the northern boundaries of Europe. They were considered places of outstanding natural beauty but little civilisation or political and economic importance.

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[1] Libby Brooks, "'Pivot point' for Scotland as Brexit boosts independence bids", *The Guardian* 2019-10-19, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/oct/19/pivot-point-for-scotland-as-brexit-boosts-independence-bid (Accessed 2019-11-21).

[2] Allan Little, "Would the Scandinavians want Scotland?", *The Guardian* 2014-01-26, https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/shortcuts/2014/jan/26/would-scandinavians-want-scotland (Accessed 2019-11-21).

[3] In this thesis, I will use Scandinavia and the North interchangeably to avoid constant repetitions.

[4] Lowland Scotch is the vernacular language spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland, it is related to English unlike the Gaelic spoken in the Highlands of Scotland.

[5] See e.g. Russel Jackson, "Viking influence on Scotland's vocabulary and places names" *The Scotsman,* 2017-03-04, https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/viking-influence-on-scotland-s-vocabulary-and-place-names-1-4437454 (Accessed 2019-12-17), for the modern interest in these cultural traces of the Viking expansion to Scotland.

This image of Scandinavia did not change much during the nineteenth century. There were, however several factors that contributed to a rise in interest. The romanticism of the era, academic investigations of the concept of race, as well as a negotiation of a distinct Scottish identity helped to shape a new interest in these northern characteristics. The North also provided a contrast to the heavily industrialised Britain. At the same time, an idealisation of the past resulted in a heightened interest in "medieval and Viking Britain [...] as an alternative route to the future"[6], making Scandinavia a place of common interest. As a result, travellers set out to explore the unknown, yet close land of the North, turning away from the well-trodden path of the Southern Grand Tour[7]. They expected adventure and solitude, but travelling also became a search for identity within a bigger context, as documented in the accounts of these early nineteenth-century travellers.

1.1 Background

In April 2019, the Central Library in Edinburgh showed an exhibition titled "Of Wild Grandeur and Simplicity. Journey to the Nordic Countries in 18th- and 19th-Century Travel Books"[8]. The yellowed books filled with travellers' experiences, maps and pictures of the North bear witness to the British fascination with Scandinavia, its nature and historic civilisations. The showcasing of these accounts itself suggests that fascination in the North continues today.

The exhibit also paid tribute to the rising interest in travel literature, its history and theory. With the rise of postcolonialism and the focus on power mechanisms, attention has been drawn to the fact that "the genre played an integral role in European imperial expansion"[9]. It allows scholars to identify "the attitudes and ideologies that drove European expansionism"[10] by showing the "interplay between alterity *and* identity, difference *and* similarity"[11]. Travel writing, thus, is "a report on the wider world, an account of an unfamiliar people or place. Yet it is also revelatory to a greater or lesser degree of the traveller [...] and of his or her values, preoccupations and

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[6] Peter Fjågesund, *The Dream of the North. A Cultural History to 1920*, Amsterdam – New York 2014, p. 306.

[7] The Grand Tour was meant to "round out the education of young men of the ruling classes by exposing them to treasured artefacts and ennobling society of the Continent" (James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after 1600-1840" in *Travel Writing,* ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, Cambridge 2002, s. 38.) and included the journey to Paris and Italy (Buzard, p. 39).

[8] Hailey Brock, "Of Wild Grandeur and Simplicity. Journeys to the Nordic Countries in 18th- and 19th-Century Travel Books", Exhibition, Central Library Edinburgh, April 2019.

[9] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing*, New York 2011, p. 3.

[10] Thompson, p. 3.

[11] Thompson, p. 9.

assumptions"[12]. As a consequence, it allows the analysis of perceptions of a specific place and concepts of the travellers' own identity. Travel writing was a particularly popular genre in Britain during the Georgian and Victorian era, paying tribute to the expansionist tendencies of the kingdom. Therefore, the genre also allows an analysis of the currents of these eras, making them a generally well-researched topic.

The authors I have chosen to analyse in this thesis follow the conventions of Georgian/Victorian travel writing to maximise their chances of becoming successful travel writers. They wrote during a period where travel, especially towards the North, became much more common: "The turn of the century therefore conveniently marks a transition [...] to a more modern mode of travel, considerably inspired by the Romantic movement itself and spearheading one of the transformative phenomena of the period, namely tourism"[13]. In line with their Romantic perspective, the authors choose a pastoral mode of narration, "in which the emphasis is on seeking out the last vestiges of a vanishing way of life, or a culture perceived as less complex and less stressful than the traveller's own"[14]. This allows them to present themselves as explorers and adventurers, "ideal types of imperial masculinity, who embodied the highest ideals of science and Christian civilization"[15], rejecting the earlier mentioned image of the tourist. They, accordingly, resemble each other concerning their background, gender, mode of narration and self-presentation as well as their objective. However, the differences in the interpretation of their experiences and reflection of their background allow for the exploration of the complexity of Scottish identity during the early nineteenth century.

1.2 Purpose, method and research questions

The purpose of this thesis is to analyse the representations of Norway, Sweden and Denmark in Scottish travel literature towards the end of the Georgian Era. At the same time, there will be a focus on the Scottish authors' reflections on their own national identity in the travel accounts chosen. This asks for a reading of the texts in their historical and cultural context, which covers

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[12] Thompson, p. 10.
[13] Fjågesund, p. 298.
[14] Thompson, p. 17.
[15] Thompson, p. 53. Though this characteristic is identified for Victorian rather than late-Georgian travellers in Thompson's text, I would argue that the authors in this analysis aim for the same type of self-representation, which is supported by the following analysis.

the end of the Georgian Era and the on-going Romanticism that influenced the cultural, aesthetic and literary life. The texts that I will be analysing were published in 1826, on the verge of the Victorian Era that confirmed Britain's imperial status. The second part of the thesis also requires an awareness of the different elements of the Scottish struggle for identity, that by 1826 was largely embedded into the successful union. Drawing on earlier research on the Georgian and Victorian Era's travel literature, several analytical concepts taken from postcolonial research will be used for a comparative approach to the primary sources chosen. The authors' descriptions will be divided into different areas of interest to allow for a thorough analysis of their perception of Scandinavia, comparing their perspectives and attitudes. A similar approach will be used to analyse the questions of Scottish identity, which will be divided into subcategories of belonging.

This thesis is a literary analysis and does not question the historical accuracy of the sources chosen. The texts are used only to give insight into the representation of the countries and national identity according to genre, audience expectations, cultural climate of the time and the perspective of the respective authors written into the text. The texts create specific constructions of the Scandinavian countries from an outsider's perspective. This approach includes an analysis of how the texts are composed in order to influence their readers in a specific way.

The research questions I will be considering are the following: How are Sweden, Norway and Denmark presented in the two texts chosen, specifically their nature, people and culture? Which constructions of Scottish identity are written into the texts considering the travellers' ideological and temporal background and the similarities and differences described in comparison with Scotland?

1.3 Disposition

This thesis begins with a summary of the available research on the topic in chapter *2. Earlier research.* This allows for a contextualisation of the sources used and the time they were written. I will also give a general overview of the British perceptions of Scandinavia during the Georgian and Victorian Era. In chapter *3. Theoretical Foundations,* the theoretical concepts relevant for the genre and time of publication, such as primitivism, applied in this analysis will be discussed. This includes critical approaches to the imperial mindset often adapted by British travel writers and a discussion of the concepts of (national) identity. Chapter 4 – the analysis of the primary sources –

is divided into two parts. *4.1 Representations of Scandinavia* focuses on how Scandinavia is portrayed within different chosen areas, while *4.2 Scottish identity* deals with the Scottish identity as presented in the texts. Lastly, *5. Conclusion* offers a summary and critical evaluation of the findings, as well as suggestions for further research in this subject.

1.4 Primary sources

In this thesis, I will make use of primary sources that were published during the early nineteenth century by Scottish travellers. The material available that fulfils these criteria is limited. Although travel literature was popular during what Carl Thompson calls "the long eighteenth century"[16], the distinct criteria of nationality and travel destination make these books marginal. The material does, however, include the chosen authors Henry David Inglis and William Rae Wilson, as well as the renowned travel writer Samuel Laing. All three share a similar background. They are more or less experienced male travellers and writers who have chosen to explore the connections to Scandinavia and write about their experiences in a pastoral mode of narration.[17] They are, also, all born and brought up in Scotland, which allows the discussion of their personal concept of Scottish identity and their take on the union with England. By choosing similar authors from the same time period, it is possible to analyse their similarities and differences in style, focus and attitude starting from a common basis. The authors' background would suggest similar experiences, making differences in interest valuable insights. I have, however, chosen to eliminate Samuel Laing's texts from the analysis, as he is already well-researched. His socio-political observations of the three Scandinavian countries have generated much interest, both with his contemporaries and today. This is mostly due to the fact that he is the translator of an Icelandic saga[18] into English, making him a major contributor to the Northernist movement during his lifetime.[19] Therefore, I will use the research available about Laing's writings to contrast the findings of my comparative analysis.

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[16] Thompson, p. 44.

[17] Kassis' analysis of Laing shows that though he focuses on the socio-political situation in Sweden, his account is still tainted by a romantic approach, emphasising the role oft he Swedish peasantry and countrylife, especially valid for his descriptions of Gotland, p. 90ff.

[18] *Heimskringla* – "A collection of sagas about Norwegian kings written in Old Norse by the famous Icelandic writer Snorri Sturluson, which became one of the main national symbols of Norway throughout its Romantic Nationalist movement in the nineteenth century" (Kassis, p. 66 in the footnote)

[19] Kassis, p. 66f.

The first source I have chosen for this analysis is William Rae Wilson's *Travels in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hanover, Germany, Netherlands &c.* The travelogue was published in 1826 in London. Born in the Scottish Lowlands, in Paisley, Wilson soon found a wealthy patron, the duke of Kent, to finance his travels. Before travelling to Scandinavia, he had already visited Egypt, Israel and the Mediterranean, accompanied by his second wife. His first travels were mostly motivated by his strong Christian beliefs, interesting him in 'the Holy Land'. However, more travelogues followed in later years, always featuring a religious perspective. His account of Scandinavia and northern Europe comprises of a lengthy introduction, 522 pages of travelogue and nearly 100 pages of an appendix that lists information about the countries visited. Written for a British audience, the travelogue gives extensive details about Scandinavia from a British perspective. It follows the conventions of the period's ideas about travel literature, choosing a romantic perspective on the destination, which is completed with statistical information, maps and other material that emphasises Wilson's authority on the matter. As stated in the title, Wilson's route leads him from Norway, through Sweden and Denmark back to the continent. The most-part of his travelogue is though focused on Norway and Sweden.[20]

The second source is Henry David Inglis' *A Personal Narrative of a Journey through Norway, Part of Sweden and the Islands and States of Denmark.* Also first published in 1826 – though only the posthumous published editions from 1835 and 1837 are now available – his travelogue was only his second work after the successful *Tales of the Ardennes* (1825). Inglis was born in Edinburgh and though educated in commerce, he soon decided to pursue a career as a travel writer. His first travel book has 335 pages and, just like Wilson's, follows the norms of its genre. It heavily focuses on Norway and features extensive, introspective passages as well as maps and more functional information. Though Inglis also travels through Sweden and Denmark, he only comments on them briefly. After this first travelogue, he went on to report on more travels and to produce more literary material.[21]

Both books' romantic perspective and the authors' imperial attitude were met with some success during their time. This means that the comparative analysis of the travelogues allows an analysis of common audience expectations and agreed-upon ideologies. However, it can be said

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[20] T.W. Bayne (revised by Elizabeth Baigent), Wilson, William Rae (1772-1849), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29703 (Accessed 2019-12-04).
[21] W.C. Sidney (revised by Elizabeth Baigent), Inglis, Henry David (1795-1835), traveller and writer, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2003. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14400 (Accessed 2019-11-20).

that Inglis' account has since "fallen into well-deserved obscurity"[22]. Similar deprecative comments exist concerning Wilson's travelogues which were "criticized in his lifetime as trite and ill-written, [...] [and] rapidly forgotten after his death"[23]. Accordingly, both authors are not researched so far, making this thesis a first attempt to compare their works.

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[22] Sidney on Inglis.
[23] Bayne on Wilson.

2. Earlier Research

Travel literature is interdisciplinary, thematising historical, geographical, literary, ideological and cultural connections and ideas. This means that its analysis allows for a multitude of perspectives, theories and research questions. In the following, I will give a quick overview of the earlier conducted research concerning especially the British perceptions of Scandinavia expressed within travelogues. The late Georgian and early Victorian Era were the most important period for travel literature, even on an international scale. Driven by expansionism, travellers started documenting their journeys eventually creating a distinct genre. There is little evidence of this type of travel writing before the Georgian Era, while twentieth century travel literature focuses on different attitudes and themes, such as tourism.[24] Accordingly, I have chosen the research that is relevant within the temporal and cultural frame of my primary sources. Written in 1826, the texts are situated in a transitional period between two eras of reign, which also brought about cultural changes. I am therefore considering both the travel ideals of the Georgian Era and the strong imperialism – and assumed British superiority – of the Victorian Era, as well as other motifs and currents typical of the time. H. Arnold Barton describes this development in his comparative analysis of Georgian travel literature, *Northern Arcadia. Foreign Travelers in Scandinavia, 1765-1815*: "By the turn of the century, travel literature had become a largely, if not predominantly, romantic genre of an escapist nature. Thus the public wanted picturesque or sentimental idealization. […] This not withstanding, they also craved ultimate reassurance that, for all its faults, home was best after all"[25]. This positioning will allow for my thesis to place itself within the bigger picture but also to emphasise the gaps it is filling. Secondly, I will summarise some of the research available presenting the complex history and situation of Scottish national identity in a national and a British context.

2.1. British Receptions of Scandinavia

In his doctoral thesis *Representations of the North in Victorian Travel Literature* (2015), Dimitrios Kassis has undertaken the task of analysing British receptions of Scandinavia and Iceland in

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[24] See Thompson, p. 40-44 and 56ff.
[25] H. Arnold Barton, *Northern Arcadia. Foreign travelers in Scandinavia 1765-1815*, Carbondale and Edwardsville 1998, p. 172.

Victorian travel literature. He concludes that "[...] in spite of the fact that the Nordic countries are regarded as unspoiled places by the majority of the British writers of the nineteenth century, at the same time they are heavily criticised for their low morals, disorganisation, poor cultural heritage and the reserved character of their people, thus highlighting through contrast the virtues of an idealised socio-political system in Britain"[26]. This finding is the consensus in the relevant literature on British travel writing. Scandinavia is presented as the periphery of developed Europe. Its ambiguous character and descriptions are grounded in the perceptions and ideology of the travellers more than necessarily representing an accurate description of the countries encountered.

Kassis' analysis also features the thoroughly researched and well-perceived Scottish travel writer Samuel Laing and his reflections on Sweden: "Though not overtly exhibited in his narrative, Scottishness occupies a prevalent position in his comparison between Sweden and Britain, and there are various occasions in his work which suggest that what is at stake is not the Anglo-Saxon connection but its Scottish variant, as the author addresses linguistic, educational and moral issues"[27]. This shows that a specifically Scottish perspective on Scandinavia exists, even if it is hidden within the framework of Britishness. According to Kassis, Laing attempts to "dismiss the positive, pure and natural image of nineteenth-century Scandinavia in Victorian consciousness"[28]. To Laing, "Scottish society is endowed with more idealistic traits"[29] than the Scandinavian one. This statement proves awareness of the 'othering' of both civilisations and a clear understanding of the differentiation between past and present. However, there is no comparison with other Scottish travel writing available in Kassis' thesis. I have, therefore, chosen to analyse two other Scottish primary sources, contrasting them with the available research on Laing, when productive.

Besides Kassis' general account of British travel writing about Scandinavia, there have been several efforts to pinpoint the British image of individual countries. While Peter Fjågesund and Ruth A. Symes focus on perceptions of Norway i*n The Northern Utopia. British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century* (2003), Mark Davies presents images of Sweden in his *A Perambulating Paradox, British Travel Literature and the Image of Sweden c. 1770–1865* (2000). Both countries' characteristics are primarily discussed in comparison with Britain. Norway is

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[26] Dimitrios Kassis, *Representations of the North in Victorian Travel Literature*, Cambridge 2015, p. 5.
[27] Kassis, p. 93.
[28] Kassis, p. 88.
[29] Kassis, p. 88.

presented as a country with a "'flattened' class structure"[30] with "the Norwegian as a primitive rural creature [a depiction that] relied upon the idea that there was a causal relationship between climate and environment and national character"[31]. The focus in the descriptions of Norway lies heavily on the simplicity found "in almost every aspect of Norwegian cultural life"[32]. This mirrors the general perception of Scandinavia as uncivilised and rural in opposition to the industrialised and progressive Britain. At the same time, there is a longing in the travellers for this natural state of content. Similar images can be found in the depictions of Sweden. Mark Davies concludes that "Sweden as a socio-economic entity was coherently and consistently, if dialectically, identified in this discourse as a nation (a) reprehensibly backward, and (b) commendably archaic"[33]. It is presented as "economically stifled and lethargic"[34] with no "ambition, or ability, to improve"[35], while also being depicted "as an ideal, suggestive of an earlier, happier England (or Britain) *and* with inspirational – utilitarian – relevance for the future of the society at home"[36].

Interestingly, there is little evidence of extensive research or travel literature on Denmark. This could be caused by its closer connection to the continent and the British Isles as well as less impressive nature - contrasting especially with Norway's remoteness and grand wilderness.

It can thus be argued that all the considered research on British receptions of Scandinavia – and Sweden and Norway in particular – comes to the same conclusion. The northern periphery is described as economically and culturally underdeveloped but also possesses positively archaic (or natural) characteristics. This perspective is driven by the British efforts to justify their imperial project by emphasising ancient ties with other countries as well as the need to accentuate the superiority of the economically strong Union, its people and culture including the English, Welsh and Scottish.[37]

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[30]Peter Fjågesund and Ruth A. Synes, *The Northern Utopia. British Perceptions of Norway in the Nineteenth Century,* Amsterdam - New York 2003., p. 181.
[31] Fjågesund and Synes, p. 163.
[32] Fjågesund and Synes, p. 173.
[33] Mark Davies, *A Perambulating Paradox, British Travel Literature and the Image of Sweden c. 1770-1865,* Malmö 2000, p. 342.
[34] Davies, p. 344.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Davies, p. 346.
[37] Fjågesund and Synes, p. 114

2.2 Scottish National Identity as an opposition

The struggle with identity is emblematic for a nation like Scotland, where it cannot be connected to a distinct nation-state or language.[38] According to Neil Davidson in *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood* (2000), the building of a national identity in Scotland started late, as its basis "was laid between 1746 and 1820"[39] and was an ongoing process throughout the nineteenth century. While the Scottish shared "a very long history of mutual hatred, mistrust and conflict"[40] with England, there was both a desire for the connection with the English as well as for a cultural distinction. Apart from this problematic relationship, Linda Colley also remarks on the divide within Scottish society itself in her study *Britons. Forging the Nation 170 –1837* (1992): "In terms of language, religion, levels of literacy, social organisation and ethnicity, Scottish Lowlanders had far more in common with the inhabitants of northern England than they did with their own Highland countrymen"[41]. This is something that the Highlanders were aware of. For them, "these two people [English-speaking Scottish Lowlanders and the English, A/N] were virtually indistinguishable, and both were equally alien"[42]. The same perception of difference was adopted by the Scottish Lowlanders who, according to Colley, "regarded their Highland countrymen as members of a different and inferior race, violent, treacherous, poverty-stricken and backward. They called them savages or aborigines [...] well into the 1830s, despite Sir Walter Scott's literary efforts to romanticise and sanitise the glens, clans and tartans of the far north"[43]. This suggests a split within the Scottish society that complexed the building of a national identity. It could, therefore, be argued that most Scottish people had strong regional or local identities that interfered but were also interconnected with the national one. However, in an effort to strengthen the Union, "the British army had been able to recruit men on a massive scale from the Scottish Highlands"[44] by 1763. Colley concludes that "clans that had taken up arms again the Union in 1715 and 1745 had been wooed to the British cause by way of favours and promotions for their former chieftains,

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[38] See for example, nation, *Cambridge Dictionary*, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/nation (Accessed 2019-12-04), where language is listed within the first three definitions as an integral part of a nation.
[39] Neil Davidson, *The Origins of Scottish Nationhood*, London and Sterling, 2000, p. 200.
[40] Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, New Haven and London 1992, p. 117.
[41] Colley, p. 14.
[42] Colley, p. 15.
[43] Colley, p. 15.
[44] Colley, p. 103.

and transformed into the cannon-fodder of imperial war"[45], turning them into essential supporters of the imperial project.

In his article *Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition* (1995), Colin Kidd comments extensively on the Scottish engagement with nationality, identity and nineteenth-century racial theory. According to him, there was a general enthusiasm of the Scottish nation to be integrated into the British imperial experience, and the nationalist subcultures were unconnected and insignificant.[46] Kidd argues that nationalism – and in addition to that the establishment of a distinct national identity – did not develop in Scotland because of the lack of "a viable and hegemonic ethnocentrism congruent with an ideology of nationhood"[47]. Kidd also identifies the gap seen by Linda Colley: "In the nineteenth century, the supposed libertarian and industrious characteristics attributed to the Teutonic stock [including the people of the Scottish lowlands, A/N] were commonly and starkly contrasted with the stereotypical picture of the Celts as a race sunk in vice, indolence and slavery"[48]. The Teutonic ideology also considered connections with Scandinavia.[49] The already mentioned travel writer Samuel Laing, for example, challenged the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon in favour of the Nordic settlers. Kidd states that Laing argued that it was not "until a fresh infusion of libertarian blood from later colonies of the 'same seed', the Norse, who had remained ruggedly individual"[50] that the British developed their specific character.

In general, it can, therefore, be argued that Scottish identity is ever-changing throughout the nineteenth century. It possesses a continuous allegiance with the British imperial project by emphasising connections to England but also preserves traditions, language and heritage that are essentially Scottish. The incredulity towards Highland and Celtic culture is encouraged by the cultural climate of the time and can be found in all parts of life.

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[45] Ibid.
[46] Colin Kidd, "Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880", *The Scottish Historical Review.* 1995:1, p. 46, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25530660 (Accessed 2019-11-28).
[47] Kidd, p. 46.
[48] Kidd, p. 48.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Kidd, p. 54., as cited from Samuel Laing, *The Heimskringla; or, Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, London 1844, p. i, 3-11, 103-107.

3. Theoretical Foundations

In order to discuss and compare the analysed texts within an appropriate framework, it is vital to choose a suitable and applicable theory. Considering the available research in the study of travel literature and Scandinavia, this thesis will use an approach that emphasises the importance of the authors' imperial mindset. This includes the use of different concepts that allow to analyse the ideals and notions of the late Romantic current, namely primitivism, the noble savage and the *Northern Utopia*. Texts are always situated in the conventions of their time, making it most productive to use theoretical foundations that were employed for similar works. This is the case in both Dimitrios Kassis' thesis *Representations of the North in Victorian Travel Literature* (2015) and Linda Andersson's *Northern Noble Savages? Edward Daniel Clarke and British Primitivist Narratives about Scotland and Scandinavia c. 1760–1822* (2012). They cover the periods just before and after the publication of the primary sources, thus showing a continuity in ideology present in the texts of the Georgian and Victorian period. The theory used is therefore specifically valuable for this period as it allows to analyse the distinct ideals expressed during this time rather than a more general approach. At the same time, it also provides a tool for the effective comparison of the ideas expressed in the texts based on their similar origins and ideologies.

3.1. The *Northern Utopia*

The *Northern Utopia* is a term used and explored by the earlier mentioned scholars Peter Fjågesund, Ruth Symes and Dimitrios Kassis in their respective research. It describes the rising British interest in the North and the historical ties to Scandinavia. The concept of utopia describes "distant places which retained traits of the past and were untouched by the obliterating effect of civilisation"[51]. Even though there is geographical proximity between Britain and Scandinavia, it was perceived as distant in terms of the state of civilisation. This means that the "interplay between the backward and pastoral worlds which the North came to embody is perfectly compatible with what underlies the notion of utopia [...]: the cultural contrast between one's native country and the travel destination"[52]. The utopia both allows the free examination of specific ideas about culture and nature and a better understanding of the self and the identity of the native country of the

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[51] Kassis, p. 12.
[52] Kassis, p. 12.

travellers. The first-person narrative of the travelogue supports this kind of thought experiment: "[It] [...] is inherently divagatory, simply in the sense that it allows the subject of commentary to move easily between one domain of objects and another, to shift back and forth at will between specific objects of commentary, and to pause in the account of a particular place, in order to reflect at length on some idea that springs to mind"[53]. Fully emerging in the romantic introspection, the authors comment extensively on their utopian experience of Scandinavia.

According to Kassis, the image of the North regularly changed between dystopian and utopian fascination with the furthermost frontiers of the European continent.[54] The challenging natural circumstances and uncivilisation presented deterrence and fascination at the same time. However, there is a particularly positive approach to the North apparent starting at the end of the eighteenth century. Kassis argues that the "political stability of the Northern nations was much praised by the Victorians who were accustomed to witnessing social mutations in Victorian Britain"[55] as well as unrest, revolution and war in all of continental Europe[56]. The engagement with the North also had its roots in culture and literature. The idea of Scandinavianism, developed mostly during the era of national romanticism in Scandinavia, relied heavily on the concept that linguistic and cultural unity were crucial for the building of a nation.[57] During these efforts, leading Danish scholar, Nikolaj Grundtvig laid the groundwork for a British-Scandinavian connection. According to Kassis, "his use of *Beowulf* to address a cultural union with Britain was of pivotal importance, given the desire of the Britons to be link [sic] their culture to the ancient Viking imagery"[58]. This is mirrored in the British fascination with the North. Overall, the idea of the *Northern Utopia* allows a discussion of power mechanisms, ideologies, cultural background and accounts for the complex combination of the different approaches and identities the authors bring into their travelogues.

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[53] Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and guilt on the grand tour: travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830*, Manchester 1999, p. 6f.
[54] Kassis, p. 15.
[55] Kassis, p. 17.
[56] Kassis, p. 16.
[57] See Scandinavianism, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2018, https://www.britannica.com/event/Pan-Scandinavianism (Accessed 2019-12-10).
[58] Kassis, p. 19.

3.2 Primitivism and the *Northern Noble Savage*

The term of the *Northern Noble Savage* is closely related to the earlier discussed idea of the *Northern Utopia* as well as the general concept of primitivism, which entails "a celebration of all things uncultivated, wild and 'natural'"[59], specifically popular during the nineteenth century. The 'noble savage' describes "a representative of primitive mankind as idealized in Romantic literature, symbolizing the innate goodness of humanity when free from the corrupting influence of civilization"[60]. Adding the prefix Northern, this concept is extensively used by Linda Andersson Burnett in her doctoral thesis *Northern Noble Savages? Edward Daniel Clarke and British Primitivist Narratives about Scotland and Scandinavia c. 1760–1822* (2012), where she refers to representations of Scottish Highlanders and the Sami people as peoples of the periphery.[61]

In my analysis, I will broaden the meaning of the term to encompass all Scandinavians encountered during the authors' travels. I argue that the same mechanisms as described by Burnett, are at work in my chosen travel literature. The imperial mindset of the British travellers encourages them to portray the natives of the countries travelled in a specific way: "If the British characteristically exhibited xenophobia in the nineteenth century, they were, by contrast, highly complimentary of foreigners from certain nations thought to have historical connections with Britain. In short, Britons differentiated themselves from most other nations and cultures, but also sought antecedents through whom they might strengthen their own claims to world ascendancy"[62]. They are therefore mostly perceived as 'the other', even if there are certain efforts to emphasise the virtues of the people of Scandinavia and the ties they share with the British. These concepts are closely connected to the term *'Borealism'*, which, though sparingly used within postcolonial studies, describes a fascination with the marginalised North in opposition to the south.[63] It is based on Edward Said's *Orientalism*, a decision regularly questioned by scholars.[64] In this thesis,

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[59] Linda Andersson Burnett, 'Northern Noble Savages? Edward Daniel Clarke and British Primitivist Narratives on Scotland and Scandinavia c. 1760-1822', PhD Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2012, p. 4.

[60] noble savage. *Oxford Dictionary of English.* 2010. https://www-oxfordreference-com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/view/10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001/m_en_gb0560440 (Accessed 2019-11-19).

[61] Andersson Burnett, p. 85

[62] Fjågesund and Synes, p. 114.

[63] See Kristinn Helgi Magnusson Schram. 'Borealism : Folkloristic Perspectives on Transnational Performances and the Exoticism of the North', PhD Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2011, p. 99.

[64] See Schram, p. 98f. Dr Norbert Götz from the University of Helsinki, for example, argues that the Northern countries were only ever colonised from within (as quoted by Schram - Norbert Götz, 'Blue-eyed angels at the

however, the term will be used in connection to the idea of the *Northern Noble Savage* as both rely on the same theoretical background. *Borealism* is solely a broadening of postcolonial theory to encompass the effect of the imperial British empire's perceptions and descriptions of a peripheral area considered as an inferior. As Kristinn Schram, in *Borealism. Folkloristic Perspectives on Transnational Performances and the Exoticism of the North (2011)*, argues for the case of Iceland and its image in the European conscience, "banal marginalisation or ennoblement of the north in transnational everyday communication should not be underestimated in terms of power and its effect on people's lives"[65].

Dimitrios Kassis also uses postcolonial terminology to describe the British perspective on Scandinavia. According to him "late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century travelogues focus largely on the impact of nature on people's overall disposition, the depiction of the Scandinavians as noble savages gave them significant appeal"[66]. He argues further that "the harsh living conditions of the Northerners and the more delicate, refined aspects of the Greco-Roman tradition of the Southerners signal a significant polarity between the primitive and the civilised world"[67]. Both primitivism and the *Northern Noble Savage* are exploring mechanisms of power and their effect on perceptions and images during the nineteenth century. As a result, they allow a detailed analysis of the representations of Scandinavia and its people in the texts chosen. In addition, they are vital for the analysis of the connections and mechanisms influencing the relationship between Scottish identity and the Scandinavian experiences of the authors.

3.3 Questions of Identity

Identity is a much-discussed concept in several disciplines. It can, for example, be defined by factors like ethnicity, nationality or language. As this thesis aims to compare constructions of Scottishness, it is particularly interested in concepts of national identity. Generally, identity is most easily defined in comparison with others. Through the similarities and differences encountered when confronted with others, the subject is able to identify their own traits. In his article *National Identity – A Multiculturalist's Approach* (2018), Varun Uberoi puts it as follows: "We often

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League of Nations: the Genevese construction of Norden', *Regional Cooperation and International Organizations: Transnational Alignment and the Nordic States,* New York 2008, p. 26.)

[65] Schram, p. 9.

[66] Kassis, p. 17.

[67] Ibid.

conceptualise the members of a polity or a nation as being connected to one another by focusing on the territory that they share, or on what is common among many of them, such as a race, a religion or tendencies in thought and behaviour"[68]. National identity, accordingly, focuses on common traits and uses differences with others to establish the common. However, these conceptions can also change depending on the context. For example, in its simplest form, a Stockholm-native would tell another Swedish resident that they were from Stockholm. However, faced with a Central-European resident, they would refer to being Swedish. In an even broader context, for example, on a different continent, they could both identify as being Scandinavian, Nordic or European. Suddenly, the perceived differences between being from Stockholm, Gothenburg or Malmö do not seem relevant anymore.

It is also important to consider that the lines between author and narrator become blurry in travel literature. The reader is presented with a narrator that shares many qualities with its author. However, travel literature is not necessarily a direct report of the travels undertaken.[69] This implies that, just like the travel experiences, identity can be consciously constructed within the narrative. The characteristic first-person narrator telling their own travel experiences brings specific ideas of identity into their comments and depictions. Accordingly, the episodes chosen, the way the narrator portrays themselves and the remarks about country, politics or other things allow for an exploration of the authors' constructions of identity.

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[68] Varun Uberoi, "National Identity – A Multiculturalist's Approach", *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21:1, 2018, p. 51. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2017.1398475 (Accessed 2019-12-04).
[69] seeThompson, p. 14f.

4. Analysis

4.1 Representations of Scandinavia

Both authors open their travelogue with a reflection on their motivation to conduct travels in Scandinavia. The introduction also functions as a self-presentation and validation of their authority as travel writers. Concerning Scandinavia, they emphasise its unique position within the European context and partly even the opposition to Southern Europe, its people, culture and nature. William Rae Wilson, for example, describes his motive as follows: "I felt a desire to visit the north of Europe, which affords a strong contrast [to the southern parts of Europe, A/N], as much by the manners of its inhabitants as its situation"[70]. Within this short sentence, he does not only point out the peculiarity of the North but also states his authority as a well-travelled author who can compare the different parts of Europe from a valid point of view. Henry David Inglis, who commenced his journey to Norway around the same time, states similar reasons for his choice of destination. "I consider it a fortunate circumstance for me, that I had not reached the travelling age at the time when a right of highway through Europe was purchased at Waterloo, for I should doubtless have followed the general example, and hied to France"[71]. In this introductory comment, Inglis presents himself as an anti-tourist by thematising his decision – even if shaped by circumstances – not to follow the traditional route of the Grand Tour. Instead, he selects the country "the least familiar to [...] [him] and to which the steps of the tourist had been the seldomest turned"[72]. Not unlike Wilson, he has, accordingly, chosen the Nordic countries because of the contrast they represent to the well-travelled south of Europe. However, he is a first-time traveller, granting him less possibilities of comparison than the older and more experienced Wilson.

Generally, Wilson and Inglis have similar approaches to their journeys which fit the conventions for travel literature at the time. They see themselves as travellers and adventurers that go off the beaten path and explore countries that little has been written about before. Their interest includes the countries' nature, people, culture and politics. On top of that, Wilson in particular

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[70] William Rae Wilson, *Travels in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Hanover, Germany, Netherlands &c.,* London 1826, p. 2.
[71] Henry David Inglis, *A personal narrative of a journey through Norway, Part of Sweden and the Islands and States of Denmark*, London 1837 (4th edition), https://archive.org/details/apersonalnarrat01inglgoog/page/n9 (accessed 2019-11-24), p. 3.
[72] Inglis, p. 4.

points to the connections between the Scandinavians and English, in descent and disposition. This allows a clearer understanding of the constructs of identity present in the text, building on similarities and differences with the countries entailed.

4.1.1 Cities

Both authors visit some of the major cities of Scandinavia – Oslo, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Copenhagen. They arrive by ship, which means the confrontation with one of the most important harbours and trade cities in the respective country. These are typically meeting points for traders from all over Europe and have a more international approach to culture with many languages spoken and people passing through. Henry David Inglis sees that difference when he talks about the honesty of the Swedish people: "excepting at Stockholm and Gottenburg, where a taint of foreign manners and morals may be expected, every description of property may be considered as safe from dishonesty"[73]. Consequently, he sees the contact with the outside world and the foreign traders as having an effect on the Swedish character and the international inhabitants that cause a different atmosphere. Any confrontation with 'foreign manners' taints the natural goodness and trustworthiness of the Scandinavians.

William Rae Wilson arrives in Gothenburg in Sweden. He instantly recognises the distinctive characteristic of a trade city and remarks on the amount of fellow British citizens: "Here commerce has naturally brought into the public walk the busy merchant: and most of these traders are British residents from the northern part of our island, who are as much distinguished here as in other countries for their spirit of activity, industry and prudence"[74]. He speaks with pride and sympathy of the Northern Britons he encounters, which are most likely Scottish. Their distinct traits and positive influence on other countries are much in the focus of his attention, and he presents them as role models. This appreciation continues when Wilson emphasises the importance of his fellow countrymen for the flourishing trade in Gothenburg: "On the whole, Sweden, unless we except Stockholm as the capital, does not, perhaps, possess a more rich, commercial, or flourishing city than Gothenburg; and the Scotsmen, who constitute the greatest part of the foreign population, maintain a deservedly high character"[75]. The author is impressed with the city and sees

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[73] Inglis, p. 304.
[74] Wilson, p. 21.
[75] Wilson, p. 45.

the Scottish population make a positive impact.   In general, he presents Gothenburg as international more than Scandinavian, owing much of its cultivation to the British – and particularly Scottish – population.

Henry David Inglis, who instead starts his journey on the shore of Norway, decides not to comment on Gothenburg to the same extent as Wilson. He is passing through the city on his travels back towards Britain and barely remarks that it "has been too often described to warrant me in requesting the company of the reader during my stay here"[76]. There is no novelty to describe anymore, which would fit the author's mission of adventure and education of the reader. Wilson does not seem to share this impression as he describes his stay in detail. Both authors, however, can be said to experience Gothenburg as a progressive, internationally known and populated place of trade. While Wilson uses his description of Gothenburg to emphasise the connections between Sweden and Scotland, facilitating the introduction to Scandinavia for both himself and the reader, Inglis decides not to comment on Gothenburg as it does not support his narrative. Accordingly, both authors choose to construct the description of their journey in a specific way that communicates their own intentions for the travelogue.

Henry David Inglis chooses another route to start his journey in Scandinavia. He derives from his original plan to debark in the Norwegian capital of Christiania. Instead, he leaves the ship when reaching the small town of Mandahl. Accordingly, he is not met by the energy of a bustling trading town like Gothenburg but concludes that in "Mandahl all is stillness"[77]. This introduction to his Scandinavian journey has a different effect to that of Wilson. Instantly, Inglis is confronted with only Norwegian people, and communication is a barrier. At the same time, he describes his arrival as a direct fulfilment of his – and the reader's – expectations. Mandahl is presented as stuck in time, with little inhabitants and pre-industrialised trades as well as set in a beautiful and quiet location. A sense of otherness is, therefore, much sooner introduced as in Wilson's account, who relies on the help of the Scottish hotelkeeper Tod who can speak Swedish[78].

After a long journey through different parts of Norway, Inglis finally ends up in the "metropolis"[79] of Christiania, nowadays Oslo. On arrival, he comments on the surprise that he feels when faced with its beauty and charm: "For my own part, I went to Norway, prepared to

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[76] Wilson, p. 305.
[77] Inglis, p. 8.
[78] Wilson, p. 18.
[79] Inglis, p. 130.

worship its sublimity and grandeur; but I was not prepared to expect that picture of charming variety, and gay and laughing fertility, which is spread around the capital of Norway"[80]. Particularly, Christiania's location and "the romantic beauties by which it is surrounded"[81] impress the traveller. According to Inglis, the city can be compared to Italy and Greece with its "extraordinary combination of rich, *riante,* and picturesque beauty"[82]. The romantic idea of the Scandinavian nature is, thus, still traceable around the city and exceeds the traveller's expectations. Though Inglis emphasises his surprise, this can also be read as a stylistic device which supports the earlier formulated image of Norway as the *Northern Utopia.*

From an economic perspective, Christiania is in decline, but it is yet described as neat with streets "spacious and straight, and the houses, for the most part, built of stone"[83]. On top of that, it is free from smoke and "ten minutes walk will carry [...] [one] into the midst of the beautiful scenery and pure air that surround it"[84]. With these characteristics, it represents the opposite of a British, fully industrialised city. Usually, the travellers look for this kind of contrast in the wild nature of the North, but even the Norwegian capital can provide beauty, purity and space. Concerning the social aspect, however, Inglis describes his experience in Christiania as "a sufficient contrast to the solitude which had attended my steps for some weeks before"[85]. Generally, the city also is more modern and more connected to the outside world, even if it is just one British ship and a dozen that are "Danish, French, and Hanseatic"[86]. Inglis describes a ball he attends and comments on the "home-spun and home-made dresses [of the rural nobility] singularly contrasting with the more fashionable attire of the belles of the metropolis"[87]. This implies an awareness of foreign fashion and, in addition to that, the international ties of Christiania.

Wilson, comments somewhat more extensively on the situation, customs and composition of Christiania. His account, even though written around the same time, sees a different state of the city. He describes the houses as "constructed entirely of wood, and some of brick"[88] and the university "in a state of infancy"[89]. Both remarks show a patronising view of the city that cannot

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[80] Inglis, p. 131.
[81] Inglis, p. 130.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Inglis, p. 131.
[84] Inglis, p. 132.
[85] Inglis, p. 140.
[86] Inglis, p. 132.
[87] Inglis, p. 147.
[88] Wilson, p. 105f.
[89] Wilson, p. 108.

compete with the state of progress of other European capitals. However, he comments positively on the trade of the city: "Wood is the principal article for exportation to Britain and France, and goats' skins to the former country. Iron and glass are are [*sic*] also sent in considerable quantities to Denmark"[90]. This suggests a more successful trade than in Inglis' account and good connections with the named countries, including Britain.

Generally, both authors experience Christiania differently. Wilson describes himself as faced with a city that is still increasing in prosperity. The international trade is profitable, and the wooden houses are all waiting to be replaced with the more permanent and fire-proof brick houses of European style. At the same time, Inglis already sees certain improvements. Christiania has been modernised with good streets and new houses, but to him, it is in economic decline. Apart from this difference in circumstances, the authors also adopt a different approach to the city. Inglis is impressed with the city, its neatness and social life. For him, it represents a combination of city life and natural beauty with honest and welcoming inhabitants. Wilson, however, is more critical towards Christiania. Although both him and Inglis describe the hospitality as "actually overwhelming"[91], exceeding even that of the Scottish Highlands,[92] Wilson describes having "little opportunity of seeing what is called Norwegian genteel society, since most of the nobility and gentry retire to their country seats for the summer months"[93]. Commenting upon the inhabitants of the city, Wilson concludes that the " natives, on the whole, are frank, hospitable, and temperate. Separated by mountains from other nations, they appear to be kept in a certain degree of ignorance, and uncontaminated by the vices and bad examples of crowded cities"[94]. According to his favourable description of the city and its people, Inglis seems to agree with this impression. Interestingly, these statements are in line with the romantic ideas of the time, although usually connected to nature. The *Northern Noble Savages* of Christiania are, according to Wilson, full of virtues because of their secluded place in the world. City life does not influence their natural goodness and disposition since it is small, clean and positively backward. The different descriptions of Christiania serve as a reminder that the books analysed are literary adaptations of the travels conducted rather than historical sources. Both authors shape their travelogues according

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[90] Wilson, p. 109.
[91] Wilson, p. 122 and see Inglis, p. 140.
[92] See Inglis, p. 140 and Wilson, p. 122.
[93] Wilson, p. 121.
[94] Wilson, p. 123.

to different criteria and the story they want to tell. Travel literature can, therefore, influence the reader's perception of the country or place described because it is mediated through the perspective of an author with their own ideology and intention.

Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, is described in detail by Wilson. However, Inglis' journey takes him directly from Christiania to Gothenburg and the Sound, without a visit to Stockholm. Wilson describes the capital as "highly pleasing and picturesque"[95] with a palace with an "uncommon degree of splendour and magnificence"[96]. It also features all the conveniences of any European city: a public library, a theatre, an opera house and numerous churches. Again, he describes the city in a favourable manner, even if it cannot necessarily be compared to other European cities.

Concerning Denmark, the authors adopt a different perspective. Their experiences are no longer guided by their ideas about the people and nature of the North as described within the concept of the *Northern Utopia.* Passing by the famous Elsineur and exploring the connection with Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* both authors already feel a deeper cultural connection with Denmark than the other countries visited. This introduction to the country, together with the preconceptions held by the two travel writers, causes a positive attitude towards the country, its capital and its inhabitants. Inglis' expectations of a "spacious, well-built city, containing many handsome structures"[97] are met. On top of that, he comments that "Copenhagen may furnish occupation for several days; the libraries, the churches, the museums, the statues, the hospitals, the arsenal, the bazaar, the harbour, the citadel, the university, are all worthy of notice, and will certainly afford the traveller gratification"[98]. It possesses all the qualities of other European cities and cannot necessarily be compared to the beautiful yet simple Christiania or the, not even commented upon, Gothenburg. William Rae Wilson is also impressed with Copenhagen, "one of the best built cities in Europe"[99]. According to him, the city offers more amenities than the Swedish capital. "The shops are very numerous, and make an appearance infinitely superior to those in the Swedish capital, having an abundant and gaudy display in the windows and about the doors, as in England"[100]. However, he also emphasises the lack of a certain level of European sophistication

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[95] Wilson, p. 216.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Inglis, p. 318.
[98] Inglis, p. 322.
[99] Wilson, p. 380.
[100] Wilson, p. 386.

and culture in Copenhagen: The theatre "by no means possesses, either externally or internally, that elegance and splendour which might be expected in a metropolis; nor will it bear any comparison with the theatres of other European capitals"[101].

In general, both authors describe the Scandinavian cities they visit similarly. The cities themselves and their inhabitants are more influenced by the habits and culture of other countries than the Swedish and Norwegian peasant population. They do, therefore, not necessarily represent what the authors might consider an authentic image of the Scandinavian people. Christiania seems to be the city that is the most in line with the expectations formulated by both travellers in terms of its romantic and natural appeal. Gothenburg and Stockholm, however, are already too connected to the rest of Europe by means of travel and trade to represent the northern, utopian experience. Lastly, Copenhagen is comparable to other European cities in most senses, even if it still lacks sophistication in some respects. Wilson visits all cities during his travels, allowing him to give a complete picture of the cities of Scandinavia and to present them in comparison to each other. Inglis, on the contrary, focuses solely on Christiania. His interest mainly lies on Norway that he describes as unexplored. It is thus the country that is most suitable for his search after the *Northern Utopia*. Sweden, especially its cities, are already too close to the continent. His interest in Copenhagen is also restricted by this, even if he describes it as beautiful and worthy of a traveller's attention. The literary constructions of the different cities show that the authors are heavily influenced by their expectations, ideologies and intentions. Though visited at the same time, the authors explore, experience and present the cities differently, giving them different amounts of space in the narrative.

4.1.2 Nature

As mentioned in the introduction to their travelogues by Wilson and Inglis, they are both looking for qualities in Scandinavia that are closely connected to the concept of the *Northern Utopia*. This is, however, difficult to combine with cities, their inhabitants and the general availability of all amenities. The concept is instead based on romantic ideas about nature and the peasantry in the Scandinavian countries visited. These pastoral qualities are often presented in contrast with the travellers' experiences of their own countries, as discussed in *3.1 The Northern Utopia*.

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[101] Wilson, p. 417.

In line with these ideas, nature is mostly commented upon in terms of sublimity and solitude. William Rae Wilson describes "a grandeur highly sublime, nay terrific, in travelling through these 'woods and wilds', vexed and groaning during the period of high winds and storms"[102]. Nevertheless, he does not see the wild and monstrous within nature, but rather the existence of God[103]: Every "feature of nature must strike a reflecting mind with the most powerful conviction of the existence of a God. In whatever direction we turn our eye, whether to lofty mountains, beautiful vallies or rich plains, even the great ocean itself, all – all, I say, demonstrate unrivalled skill and proclaim the power of an Almighty hand"[104]. Wilson is a Christian, who has previously undertaken journeys for their religious appeal. This focus of the narrative is also reflected in his statements on Scandinavia. His flow of thoughts is, however, aimed at the traveller ("In the very deepest solitude, indeed, the traveller has a conviction he is in company with the greatest of Beings"[105]) more than the imagined Scandinavian's experience of their nature. He, thereby, underlines both the religious power of the untouched nature and the Scandinavians' failure to comply with it. Still, he does not necessarily equate wildness of nature and character but rather the universal power and existence of the Christian God. To him, the *Northern Utopia* represents the romantic idea of finding meaning in nature and sublimity.

Concerning the wildlife of the Scandinavian forests, neither traveller expresses a scientific interest in the Humboldtian or Linnaean sense.[106] They are mostly interested in the animals that emphasise the wild aspects of nature, like bears, wolves and moose, which are not found in a more cultivated environment. While Inglis comments rather rationally on the unlikelihood of a wolf attack,[107] Wilson is more dramatic in his assessment and states that "during the winter months, these animals frequently prowl about the highways, and are so voracious, that they are known to

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[102] Wilson, p. 186f.
[103] This approach is probably based on the romantic pantheism of the time. According to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Pantheism is "the doctrine the the universe conceived of as a whole is God and, conversely, that there is no God but the combined substance, forces, and laws that are manifested in the existing universe. [...] The poetic sense of the divine within and around human beings, which is widely expressed in religious life, is frequently treated in literature. It is present in the Platonic Romanticism of William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge" (Wiliam L. Reese, "Pantheism", *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2012, https://www.britannica.com/topic/pantheism (Accessed 2019-12-09)).
[104] Wilson, p. 187.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Both travel writers explored countries with a botanical and zoological interest, documenting flora and fauna of the visited countries, rather than the romantic approach chosen by the late-Georgian/Victorian travellers.
[107] Inglis, p. 71f.

attack persons"[108]. The "most respectable authority in the capital"[109] supports this assertion by informing the traveller about the wolves' seizure of several teenage girls, a vulnerable and tragic group. The animals' behaviour is described in the same dramatic, supernatural beast-like way: "[They] then suck the blood and afterwards drag the carcase to their den [...] they are observed to take the carcase in their fore paws, and walk with it on their hind legs only"[110]. Accordingly, Wilson describes the wolves as nearly human, using suggestive language like "observed" that supports the credibility of his statements. He does not comment on the account told to him but leaves his reader with the gruesome and scary image that emphasises the natural state of the fauna in Sweden. This description stands in clear contrast to the pantheistic approach he adopted before and highlights the dangers of Scandinavia's wilderness. Again, this discrepancy supports the assumption that the authors choose to describe episodes in specific ways to influence and convince their readers. Before, the religious influence of nature was the focus. In this episode, however, the dangers of an uncultivated wilderness are more important to emphasise. This means that the descriptions possibly contradict each other, moving from an idyllic to a threatening image of Scandinavian nature.

Henry David Inglis does not necessarily make the same connections as Wilson. Even though he also generally remarks upon the solitude and sublimity of nature, he interprets his experiences differently. He mostly explores Norway and "her dim mountains, her silent forests and her lonely lakes"[111] which contrast with the usual sights of other European cities.[112] This romantic perspective on Scandinavia is continuously featured in the descriptions of the nature encountered during his travels: "the sinking sun poured a flood of golden light upon the dark pine woods and pinnacled rocks that jutted out from among them and crowned with a rosy glory the snowy summits of the eternal hills"[113]. The poetic word choice directs the reader's attention to the fantastic grandeur of this untouched and eternal nature. In this context, he also mentions the romantic idea that people are shaped by nature and climate.[114] The theory suggests that the rigorous climate of the North is an indication for the primitive state of their population.[115] When Inglis

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[108] Wilson, p. 345.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Wilson, p. 346.
[111] Inglis, p. 4.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Inglis, p. 174.
[114] See 3.2 Primitivism and the *Northern Noble Savage.*
[115] See Kassis, p. 17.

describes "the dark hue of the pine forests"[116] he is travelling, he sees a parallel to his impression that "we only have dim knowledge of mysterious rites and the wild and monstrous traditions that people the solitude of the north"[117]. This perspective establishes the difference between the traveller and the people of the North. The use of the inclusive we creates a bond between the reader and author while emphasising the 'otherness' of the northern people and their archaic and pagan society. Darkness, solitude and unspoilt nature are the conditions that produce the 'savage' disposition foreign to the British mind and are not necessarily proof for the existence of an almighty God. The authors, accordingly, explore different ideas of the romantic current but are both focused on the wilderness as opposed to cultivated landscape.

Inglis also describes the romantic potential of nature, defeating man and man's constructions: "Ossian's most celebrated picture of desolation scarcely comes up to it. [...] I am not learned in ruins; – I love their silence and solitude, and luxuriate among the dreaming fancies that fill the mind, while standing in their desolate courts"[118]. The mentioning of Ossian emphasises the comparison with the Scottish Highlands in terms of wilderness and seclusion. According to Inglis, in these regions, nature is more powerful than its people, bringing back silence and solitude. Reflecting on his travels, Inglis states "how much it is to be regretted that the lover of nature should so often make choice of the uninteresting plains of France, and the comparatively tame scenery of Germany, in place of hieing to Norway, where Nature has not one charm which she does not display"[119]. According to him, "[the] very perfection of picturesque beauty, verging upon grandeur, is spread over the country through which [...] [the] route now lay; and in a hundred directions, north and west, savage sublimity appears in its hundred forms"[120]. The personification of nature and its description as sublime but 'savage' are connected to the idea of the *Northern Utopia.* The charming but wild nature represents Inglis' romantic admiration of the North and its people. He goes on to describe "[...] [pines], gigantic as those which once shrouded the Druid rites, [...] streamlets of the purest crystal [...], while across the lake [...] the sunlit peaks of mountains lifter themselves against the sky and _____ like giants seemed to stand/To sentinel enchanted land"[121]. Here, a connection to the author's own country is made. Both the Celtic Druid rites and

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[116] Inglis, p. 202.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Inglis, p. 86.
[119] Inglis, p. 55.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Inglis, p. 55.

the excerpt from Sir Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) refer to the Scottish Highlands, "their scenery and manners"[122]. Inglis, therefore, establishes similarities between the countries, possibly implying a cultural connection of their peoples.

In conclusion, both authors comment extensively on the Swedish and Norwegian nature, its sublimity, beauty and the solitude they experience. However, they interpret these observations differently, drawing on varied currents in both travel literature and romanticism. For Inglis, the wilderness of Norway stands in line with its people's 'savage' disposition, combining romantic goodness, a pagan past and a slower process of civilisation in comparison to Britain and the rest of Europe. Sweden, even though not as secluded as Norway, features comparable characteristics. Wilson sees a similar connection between nature and the peoples of both Norway and Sweden. At the same time, he also focuses on the effect the encountered nature has on the civilised traveller. Enjoying its beauty and solitude from a Christian perspective leads to a fortification of faith, an effect not necessarily accessible for the Scandinavians. Again, Denmark provides an exemption in the travellers' descriptions. Its nature is referred to as dull and uninteresting by Inglis[123] and not in length commented upon by Wilson. It does, accordingly not have the same grand sublimity as the other countries but is mostly cultivated and flat, resembling the agriculturally used land in Europe. The level of cultivation and civilisation are, in both authors' minds, clearly connected. This shows that both authors are looking for a specific expectation to be fulfilled in the Scandinavian countries visited. Only the nature and landscape that reflect their ideas of the *Northern Utopia* is the focus of the travelogues and extensively featured in the descriptions. For example, Inglis comments on this choice in his decision to not describe his visit to Gothenburg. On top of that, the authors also discuss the *Northern Utopia* in connection with the effect it has – according to them – on human disposition, culture and other defining features of a country's state. The authors clearly have a borrealistic view on Scandinavia, analysing its specifically 'Northern' characteristics in every aspect.

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[122] "Lady of the Lake", *Oxford Reference*, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority. 20110803100047515 (Accessed 2019-12-10).
[123] Inglis, p. 331.

4.1.3. Culture and people's disposition

Besides the authors' discussion of the Scandinavian nature, culture and the encounter with the inhabitants of the different countries – especially the peasantry – play an essential role in their accounts. The characteristics of the people are subject to the authors' search for the *Northern Noble Savage,* an idea fuelled by the travellers' experience of sublimity and grandeur in nature. At the same time, the exploration of culture also offers a space for self-exploration and comparison of the foreign with one's own habits and the home country's system.

William Rae Wilson prefaces his travelogue with a general comment on Scandinavia and its people, inviting the reader to share his perspective. His approach is both educational, historical and investigative, as well as to some extent genealogical: "It was with the latter purpose [– to study the manners, the political institutions, and the national power[124] –] that I was induced to direct my attention to Norway, Sweden and Denmark, [...] comparatively little known to my countrymen; although there is much, both in their natural scenery and in the character of their inhabitants, to render them congenial to Englishmen"[125]. From the start, he establishes a favourable attitude towards the natives of the countries visited. Travel literature naturally adopts a comparative approach. As Carl Thompson argues, it always features the confrontation of the self and the other,[126] and the "negotiation between similarity and difference that it entailed"[127]. Wilson supports this comparative perspective with the introduction to his travels. Here, he describes the English harbour town of Harwich in an equal manner as later used for the depiction of the towns and cities visited. He thus establishes the – what could anachronistically be termed popular scientific – approach of his authorial persona but also an illusion of similarity between his native country and the travel destinations.

Wilson's description of the Swedes is in line with the idea of the *Northern Noble Savage*, who is considered to be untouched by all the faults of civilisation: "These people appeared to be laborious, of sober and regular habits, and inoffensive in manner, with a degree of frankness that wins our regard, they having never been perverted from the good old paths trodden by their forefathers, seduced by political and factious demagogues, or ever shewn a spirit of resistance or

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[124] Wilson*, p. v.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Thompson, p. 10.
[127] Ibid.

discontent with the king and government"[128]. They carry the same qualities as their ancestors as they, according to Wilson, never have been faced with any kind of unrest or rebellion. The description also stresses the differences between the Scandinavians and the inhabitants of industrialised Britain. There is an inherent, romantic goodness in the people encountered, which makes them more agreeable than the troubled but critical and enlightened Britons. Wilson remarks further that "[radicalism], with all its train of wild and mischievous consequences, has never contaminated the minds of the inhabitants of this part of the world"[129]. Taking into account his introductory statement on the congeniality of the British and Scandinavian people, they could be considered to represent an initial state of society and civilisation with a firm belief in authority the British have lost.

At the same time, Wilson comments extensively on the vices of the Scandinavians, some of those standing in direct opposition to his earlier description of the romantic nature of the Scandinavian people. For example, he criticizes the population's morality: "I cannot fail to remark it required no great penetration to discover that principles of morality were not very scrupulously observed during the fair, and what an Englishman would call decency was quite out of the question"[130]. The misconduct of the Swedish peasants comprises consumption of alcohol, gambling and promiscuity. Introducing the comparison with the English, emphasises their superiority in moral and conduct but also questions the Scandinavians' awareness of their misbehaviour. Their disregard for certain rules of morality can also be seen in his description of their religious behaviour,[131] which from a British perspective forms the core of society and civilisation. Again, these differences in description show that Wilson favours his own intentions over the overall continuity and constancy of his narrative.

Furthermore, Wilson also comments on the bad state of Swedish and Norwegian agriculture. "One observation, which may in general be applied to every part of Sweden, is, that the potatoe, that esculent root, and so properly denominated by the French *pomme de terre*, or apple of the earth, and so highly beneficial and nutritious is very little cultivated"[132]. This implies an opposition between France and Britain on the one hand and the Nordic countries on the other

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[128] Wilson, p. 76.
[129] Wilson, p. 76.
[130] Wilson, p. 175f.
[131] See 4.1.4 Religion
[132] Wilson, p. 185.

hand. The useful and nutritious crop is not rightly used in Sweden, which is equated with a worse state of civilisation as indicated by poor farming choices and, consequently, hunger. In his last remarks on Sweden, Wilson again criticises the state of the Swedish farming, stating the English superiority: "Sweden may be considered a century and a half behind England in point of agriculture. [...] [It] is impossible to calculate on the change and advantage that would be derived"[133] from introducing knowledge as accumulated by Britain. Similar remarks can be found about Norway. "I remarked, however, that none of the peasantry had gardens attached to their cottages; and no poultry were seen moving about"[134]. Looking for reasons for this lack in cultivation of helpful resources, Wilson first comments on the climate. He then, however, concludes that "the more probable cause of this deficiency is, that the natives have not generally acquired the art of rearing tame fowls, and of cultivating vegetables"[135].

Wilson finds a similar deficiency in knowledge and skill in the state of arts in Sweden and Norway. This is despite the fact that – as H. Arnold Barton states in his *Northern Arcadia. Foreign Travelers in Scandinavia 1765-1815* (1998) – "the eighteenth century marked a new phase in Scandinavian culture [...] [when] native Scandinavians, working in the established international styles, came to dominate creative activity in their homelands"[136]. Wilson, however, describes the following for the painting of the Norwegian King's coronation: "This painting has been executed by a northern artist, and certainly shows considerable skill, but is very inferior to what we should be led to expect from an English artist on so important a subject"[137]. Even though there is no lack of talent, the painting is not comparable to those of his native country. When travelling through Sweden, he again remarks on the superiority of British artists: "I could not help regretting that no British artist had yet found his way to this country, to represent with unrivalled skill those sublime objects which nature in her grandeur here presents for the exercise of the pictorial art"[138]. Scandinavian culture – and in line with this also civilisation – is not able to compete with the skilful British artists who represent the measure of all things. Wilson's mindset shows that Scandinavia is better mediated through a British perspective, taking away the voice and autonomy of the *Northern Noble Savages* and replacing it with new power structures. Even though this

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[133] Wilson., p. 356.
[134] Wilson p. 97.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Barton, p. 31.
[137] Wilson, p. 118
[138] Wilson, p. 126.

happens on a symbolic level rather than a political one, it still illustrates the attitude Wilson adopts towards Scandinavian culture. The reference frame is always the British convention, which marks the British superiority in all contexts. By learning from – and through – the British, Scandinavia could benefit and develop into a version of the advanced British society. Wilson's descriptions of Scandinavia support the idea that the North is heavily dependent on the British influence and support and cannot reach this level of modernity and skill alone.

However, there are also positive evaluations of Scandinavian practices in Wilson's text, which, according to him, could also be beneficial to British society. For example, he describes extensively the advanced and valuable practices of the Swedish legal system, which is owed to the King and "his distinguished humanity"[139]. In this context, it is important to mention that the King is of French descent, and "always converses in French, not speaking with fluency the Swedish language"[140]. This emphasises specific education and upbringing that he enjoyed in France, therefore not growing up amongst Swedish people. He is thus not necessarily a representative of his people in disposition, but could be argued to take in the role of the 'coloniser', in the sense that he is serving as the European control instance over the *Northern Noble Savages*. These power structures reproduce the image given earlier by Wilson and emphasise the importance of the characteristics of the King. His French background supports Wilson's narrative of the simple yet noble 'savage' that seems to be incapable of improving and governing its society without cultivated and enlightened support.

At the same time, the strongly religious Wilson believes in the Swedish system of criminal punishment, where only murder was punished by death, contrasting Britain where capital punishment was widely used for a variety of offences.[141] "Most devoutly is it to be wished by every philanthropist, and true patriot, that a similar system [as in the Netherlands, a more developed version of the Swedish system according to Wilson, A/N] may ere long be introduced into the United Kingdom, as the only mode, in my apprehension, which is calculated most powerfully to repress crime, and, as consulting at once, both prudence and humanity"[142]. In conclusion, he sees the Scandinavian society's approach as applaudable and more suitable than the

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[139] Wilson, p. 259.
[140] Wilson, p. 274.
[141] See Wilson, p. 259f.
[142] Wilson, p. 264.

British one, if not as developed as the Dutch system, which combines labour and religion for the reform of criminals.

Concerning their habits and the general state of society, Wilson is also speaking of the Swedish in a favourable manner: "In the first place, the natives are distinguished for bravery, love of freedom, and every manly virtue, and there is simplicity in their manner, blended with cheerfulness"[143]. This evaluation of the Swedish people coincides with the ideas of the time. Dimitrios Kassis comments upon this when discussing the definition of the *Northern Utopia.* He mentions Montesquieu's influence on the racial theories of the nineteenth century, who sees "the North as a region inhabited by sturdy and masculine people in juxtaposition with the effeminate and fallen condition of Southern nations"[144]. Accordingly, the Northerners possessing certain qualities that are considered desirable is seen as a result of their heritage and environment. This evaluation can be found constantly in Wilson's travelogue as well as the general travel literature of the time.

Henry David Inglis also shares Wilson's primitivist perspective on the northern countries. His emotional connection to and perspective on Norway is the exact definition of the *Northern Utopia:* "In no journey that I have ever made through any part of Europe, have I experienced an excitement of mind equal to that which I felt [...] with the conviction of being in Norway, and with the certainty of exploring a country which had ever from childhood been present to my mind, as the *ideal* of solitary grandeur and savage sublimity"[145]. Supporting this idea of primitivism and backwardness is his remark on Norwegian travelling doctors who cure disease but also are seen to possess "some power over future events"[146]. Inglis states that "nearly as many applications are made to him [the Norwegian doctor, A/N] in his capacity of a seer, as in that of physician"[147]. This description bears resemblance to several elements of the pagan practice of shamanism[148] combining healing and magical powers. The idealising of science, an important feature of the Enlightenment period across Europe, is corrupted by superstition. By implying this connection,

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[143] Wilson, p. 272.
[144] Kassis, p. 17.
[145] Inglis, p. 39f.
[146] Inglis, p. 172.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Mircea Eliade, whose definition of shaman is considered in the Oxford English Dictionary, sees the shaman as a "magician and medicine man; he is believed to cure, like all doctors, and to perform miracles [...] beyond this, he is a psychopomp and he may also be priest, mystic and poet." Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, London 1989, p. 4.

Inglis suggests a similarity between the Norwegian society and other cultures of the world considered primitivist from the British imperial perspective of the nineteenth century.

In line with this – and in agreement with Wilson's account – he comments on the lack of desire for improvement inherent within the Norwegian people. According to Inglis, "the poverty of Norway is to be attributed neither to the climate nor the deficient capabilities of soil, but to want of energy among the natives. They are certainly indolent in mind, and, particularly in the interior remarkably obstinate, and averse from every species of improvement, or rather, despise it"[149]. Inglis emphasises that a different system would allow for instant improvement. Interestingly, he favours the Scottish system of husbandry. He states that Norwegian farms which operated according to it had a return "quite disproportionate to those of all other Norwegian estates managed up the old system"[150]. However, even the English could learn from the Scots if prejudice did not stand "much in the way of improvement"[151]. Clearly, Inglis has a specific intention when referring to these problems. His first statement which elaborates on the lack of energy for change is directly connected to the fact that there are farms, managed by Scottish descendants in Norway, that produce more. This implies, again, that it is not the climate but the "want of a spirit of industry, and a disposition to despise improvement"[152] influencing the poor return. Accordingly, his descriptions are supposed to construct a specific image of the Norwegian peasants which represents them as backward and critical towards change, especially from the outside. At the same time, his presentation of Scottish husbandry states superiority over both Scandinavia and England. In line with his contemporary Laing, he supports the positive image of the Scots and their abilities.[153]

Concerning the societal system, both Scandinavia and the British Union are traditionally Western in their approach. Their system is a monarchy that is based on patriarchal structures. The part of females in Scandinavia, especially those of young ladies, however, is defined differently to that of an English noblewoman. Inglis remarks the following when talking about the expected qualities: "It has been usual to judge of the civilization of a country by the estimation in which the female character is held [...]. If by this test we judge of the civilization of Norway, we shall place

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[149] Inglis, p. 98f.
[150] Inglis, p. 100.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] See Kassis, p. 88ff.

it low indeed in the scale of nations"[154]. According to him, a Norwegian woman is so engaged with her household duties that she is not able to master other skills considered essential in Britain. On top of that, "it is scarcely possible to conceive, that a lady who passes the greater part of everyday in the kitchen should not carry away from it some taint of coarseness, if not of vulgarity"[155]. Again, the British society is portrayed as advanced in comparison to the Norwegian one that is shaped by necessity rather than refinement. However, the Norwegian habits as dictated by need have according to Inglis a favourable effect on the overall health of the people. The high levels of disease in England he considers the result of "certain refinements and luxurious indulgences incident to a highly civilized state of society"[156]. It is "early rising, early hours, daily and nearly constant exercise"[157] that form the strong and robust nature of the Norwegian. This depiction, again, fits the idea of the *Northern Noble Savage,* whose nature and disposition is shaped by the harsh conditions of their environment.

Even in terms of culture and art, Inglis agrees with Wilson's stance. In his conclusion, he states as follows: "One thing I *did* regret, that I possessed no pictorial representation of the scenes I had passed through. Of all the countries I have seen, Norway would best reward the painter who should visit it from the love of his art. A Claude, a Poussin, and a Rosa, might find subjects for the pencil"[158]. Though the artists referred to are French or Italian, the statement denies the native artists the ability to depict their own country in a way that satisfies within a European context. He makes similar observations for the state of literature in Norway, stating that "literature of every kind is at a very low ebb in Norway"[159]. The Scandinavian literature that is mentioned is, much like the society, a relic of the past: "The poetry of which I have been speaking, as coupled with the ancient mountain airs, forms part of that body of chivalrous poetry, once the only literature of the European nations; and which we may still look to as a curious interpreter of ancient habits and feelings"[160]. Again, Norway is presented as inferior to the rest of Europe in these cultural aspects, suggesting that Inglis occupies a similar mindset of superiority as Wilson. Interestingly, the Scandinavian literary connection to Iceland and its sagas is nearly not mentioned by the authors. This lack of

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[154] Inglis, p. 183.
[155] Inglis,, p. 185.
[156] Inglis., p 219.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Inglis, p. 278.
[159] Inglis, p. 264.
[160] Inglis, p. 60.

interest changed only a few decades after when "late 1850s travellers began to relish the fact that there were also saga-steads to visit and contemplate"[161]. Unlike Samuel Laing, Inglis and Wilson are not openly interested in the Viking past of Scandinavia. They are, instead, giving a contemporary and personal account of the Scandinavian culture and society that is indirectly tinted by ideas about the past and the primitive.

In general, Wilson and Inglis describe a similar state of culture, society and people's disposition. While Wilson focuses more on Sweden and its population, Inglis is concentrating his descriptive efforts on Norway. In their attempts to illustrate the Scandinavian culture and the lives of the Scandinavian people, both authors have to negotiate the positive and negative characteristics of the *Northern (Noble) Savage*. On the one hand, Scandinavia stands for beauty, truth and 'savage' purity, while it, on the other hand, cannot fulfil the expectations regarding people's refinement, modest behaviour and overall standards of civilisation. The authors possess a degree of admiration for, especially, the Scandinavian peasantry and their robust and healthy physique. They are described as hard-working and not having lost any of the qualities their forefathers bore. This description, however, also positions the Scandinavians described by the authors within the past, showcasing old farming techniques and a general state of mid-civilisation. In comparison with Britain, the countries are archaic and do not possess any of the modern comforts that the British travellers enjoy in their native country. On top of the outdated farming techniques and living standards, Wilson and Inglis emphasise that the Scandinavians have not developed a fully civilised state of society, which even includes the state of literature and art in the Northern countries. Instead, they believe in pagan superstitions and ignore British ideas of decency and morality.

Again, both authors approach Denmark from a different perspective. Commenting on the country and its capital, Henry David Inglis states the following: "It is connected with the ancient history of our own country. The records of its literature are venerable and wonderful"[162]. This is a clear contrast to the comments made on Norwegian and Swedish literature. Denmark is considered civilised, with "one of the worthiest monarchs in Europe"[163], and generally different from Norway and Sweden, their peasants and poverty. However, he also thematises the recent conflict that the

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[161] Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians. Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge 2000, p. 287. This interest is, for example, mirrored in the success of Laing's travelogues, which was connected to his translations from Icelandic being an integral part of the Northernist movement.
[162] Inglis, p. 306.
[163] Ibid.

Danes are not inclined to forget. Hoping that Denmark will be allowed to keep control over the Sound, he comments that "[...] [s]he has suffered enough at the hands of England; and if England be now for her, who dare be against her?"[164] This shows not only his sympathy for Denmark but also the belief in the imperial power of Britain that no other country dares to question. For him, Denmark is not necessarily a part of the Northern countries, and he compares its beauty to that of "the finest parts of Nottinghamshire, or the Scotch Lothians"[165]. Unlike Norway, that bears similarity to the Highlands, Denmark's pleasant and cultivated nature reminds him of that of England or the Scottish Lowlands. Wilson also makes this distinction, when travelling from Swedish Helsingborg to Danish Elsineur: "Every thing had a totally different aspect in this town from that I had left: it is remarkably neat, and more like an English one than any I had seen abroad"[166].

This distinction between the three countries shows that the authors have specific expectations written into their travelogues. The further north and the more separated from the rest of Europe, the less civilised the countries become in the authors' perception. In this sense, secluded Norway becomes the ideal *Northern Utopia*, while Denmark shows a state of civilisation that the other countries could achieve in the future. In conclusion, the depictions of the different countries show the focus that the authors have chosen to support their – and their readers' – preconceptions. The northern countries portray sublimity and natural grandeur, as well as a romantic breed of people. However, their shortcomings and 'savagery' highlight the superiority of Britain and its people, supporting the validity of the imperial project and portraying the British imperialists as bringers of civilisation and advance. This area of tension between admiration and improvement is typical for the time and genre: "Linnean natural-history travellers often had a poetical outlook and celebrated what was raw, wild and unusual, while at the same time looked to codify and transform the periphery through introducing improvement schemes"[167]. Within this attitude, there is a certain amount of "desire for controlling both the natural landscape and its human inhabitants"[168], which is another imperialist mindset reproduced by the travel writers of the time and their readers.

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[164] Inglis, p. 313.
[165] Inglis, p. 314.
[166] Wilson, p. 363.
[167] Andersson Burnett, p. 86f.
[168] Andersson Burnett, p. 87.

4.1.4 Religion

In line with these ideas of British imperial superiority, Henry David Inglis and William Rae Wilson are travellers and authors who aim to represent a certain ideal "of science and Christian civilization"[169]. As representatives of Christianity and religious morals, they comment critically and extensively on the role of religion in Scandinavia. Again, a superior stance is taken by the authors, implying a lack of knowledge and willingness in the Scandinavians. It is mainly superstition that is presented as the enemy of both religion and science. Accordingly, only the enlightened British practice is the right interpretation of Christianity. This virtue, they are willing to teach the *Northern Noble Savages,* who are kept from it by natural and cultural circumstances.

Even though once pagan, Wilson suggests that Sweden possesses the general framework to establish the advised state of faith, as it is a country "released from the darkness and superstition of Catholicism, and where the principles of Protestantism or Lutheranism form a fundamental article of the constitution"[170]. Interestingly, his description of Catholicism could be compared to the general perception of paganism, as a religion of darkness and superstition. To Wilson, both religions seem to be similarly dangerous. During the beginning of his travels, he also observes "a considerable number of churches scattered about, denoting at once a wide spread and religious people"[171]. However, he does not see this potential fulfilled, as he repeatedly comments on the negligence of the proper Sunday rituals, with people working or even engaging in card games.[172] He states that it is "deeply to be regretted, that [...] so little attention should be paid to what I should humbly conceive the proper observance of the Sabbath; and that the inhabitants are so little aware how widely this is at variance with the rules of that faith which they profess, and the practice of their brethren, especially in England, Scotland, Germany, and other parts where the blessed light of the reformation is allowed to shine forth with such unrivalled lustre"[173]. The Swedish population's "indulgence in frivolity, amusement, and dissipation on this sacred day must be considered in no other light than that of degrading it"[174]. Wilson's condemning choice of words supports his religious superiority, even though he humbly asks not to take his testimony alone "as

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[169] Thompson, p. 53.
[170] Wilson, p. 247.
[171] Wilson, p. 72.
[172] Wilson, p. 329.
[173] Wilson, p. 247.
[174] Wilson, p. 250.

an authority for the fact"[175]. This, however, only establishes a balance between the imperial reader and the author, rather than supporting the Swedish interpretation of the sabbath.

Consequently, one of his wishes is the establishment of a British church in Stockholm that is "consecrated to the service of God, where worship may regularly take place"[176]. This would, according to him, allow the British citizens in Stockholm to enjoy privileges as at home in Britain and benefit them greatly.[177] He argues the same for Copenhagen, where he cannot "perceive any difference between the Danes and Swedes with regards to a proper observance of that day"[178]. Again, these suggestions remind the reader of the British superiority, indicating that only the establishment of a British church – rather than a reform of the Swedish or Danish one – would allow the British citizens in Scandinavia an adequate place of worship and righteous morals and religion. This statement differs from the earlier comments on, for example, agriculture where British intervention was considered the pathway to improvement. While British knowledge is considered influential enough to change the countries' economy, the statement questions the Scandinavians' ability to reach the state of religiousness represented by the superior Britons. This suggests an inherent inability of the *Northern Noble Savages* to succeed in abandoning their immoral and pagan features. Wilson also criticises the clergy for their habits: "Having occasion to visit a family here on a Sunday evening, I own I was surprized to see a minister of the church sit down, and keenly engage in a game at whist"[179]. He reminds the reader of the opposite being the case in their native Britain. Adding a footnote to this statement, he emphasises the superiority of the Scottish clergy, which already 300 years earlier had outlawed this kind of behaviour.[180] Even though he continuously employs comparisons between Scandinavia and Scotland,[181] it is clear that Scotland is the superior and more civilised country that has overcome their 'savagery' centuries earlier. Accordingly, the Scots possess the inherent ability that Wilson denies the Swedish population, making them a prime example for morals and character. He does not comment at length on religion in Norway.

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[175] Wilson, p. 248.
[176] Wilson, p. 257.
[177] See ibid.
[178] Wilson, p. 411.
[179] Wilson,, p. 154.
[180] Wilson p. 154.
[181] See 4.2.1 The Scottish Highlander.

Inglis, however, remarks on the difficulties of introducing the Christian faith to Norway – a country disconnected from other nations as well as sparsely populated: "The Catholic faith [...] had a long and arduous struggle with the relics of paganism, whose superstitions even now continue to have a strong hold upon the minds of the people"[182]. This could also be interpreted as a shortcoming of Catholicism as opposed to Protestantism. At length, he discusses the circumstances that have led to the difficulties of introducing the Christian faith, commenting that the "Christianity that existed in Norway down to the middle of the last century, was merely nominal, combining the vices of ignorance and the delusions of an erroneous worship with the idolatries of a hideous mythology"[183]. He returns to this reasoning when talking about the superstitions in Norway. "Its pagan idolatries continued many centuries after the rest of Europe had owned a more rational faith; and even when under the Olafs, Christianity was introduced in name, some hundred years still elapsed, during which Christianity struggled with the relics of paganism; nor indeed, to this day, has the religion of the Bible been so widely diffused throughout Norway, as in any other of the European countries"[184]. Inglis sees the reason for this in the isolation of the country, as well as the proximity to the "dreary regions of Lapland, whose natives are little removed from savages"[185]. Accordingly, the Norwegians are influenced by their surroundings and circumstances which make the adaptation of Christianity a lengthy and challenging process. This is another evaluation by Inglis connected to the romantic idea of the *Northern Noble Savage.* The Norwegian peasantry is described as untouched, which means that they are "free from the corrupting influence of civilization"[186] but, by default, also from the positive effects that come with it. However, he also emphasises that the "belief in the superstitious notions and traditions of Norway is not entirely confined to the peasantry of the lower class [...] [the] peasantry of the higher class, also, puts implicit faith in the superstitions of his country; nay, even among the landowners of the highest class, a disposition appears rather to encourage, than repress those usages, which owe their observance to their supposed propitiatory power"[187]. Superstition is, therefore, not just a condition of the uneducated lower classes, but a characteristic trait within all Norwegians, uniting them no matter their wealth or level of education. Accordingly, Inglis sees its existence as

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[182] Inglis., p. 144.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Inglis, p. 232.
[185] Ibid.
[186] noble savage. *Oxford Dictionary of English.*
[187] Inglis, p. 233f.

something inherent in the people of this country, which supports the idea that it is caused by their specific environment. This characteristic fits the general image of the Norwegian that he is constructing for his reader.

Inglis, however, attests Sweden better morals and religious education, commenting that the "cities and towns of Norway, from the geographical position of the country, and the little intercourse with strangers, ought certainly be able to boast as pure a morality as Sweden, a country more connected with surrounding nations; but I have reason to believe, that the standard of morals is considerably higher in Sweden than in Norway "[188]. The reason cited is his travels through Sweden, where he describes his experiences as follows: "I was exceedingly pleased with the respectable appearance of the peasantry. I know they are poor – wretchedly poor; but they had neither forgotten the way to the House of God, nor omitted in their poverty to provide decent apparel for their appearance there"[189]. This description shows that, according to Inglis, morality and piety are entirely possible even in poverty. However, it craves real commitment to Christianity, and this is what he attests the Swedish peasantry. There is no further comment on the religious or moral state of Sweden, as Inglis focuses mostly on Norway in his travelogue. This shows that Wilson and Inglis do not necessarily share the same evaluation of the Scandinavian approaches to religion.

In conclusion, both travellers see a lack of piety and morals in the countries visited, especially in comparison to Britain. They include exceptions but mainly focus on the misconduct of the Scandinavians in terms of religion. Linda Andersson Burnett takes up this phenomenon in her analysis of the idea of the *Northern Noble Savage* in both Scotland and Sàpmi: "Even once conversions to the Protestant faith had taken place, there was often anxiety that the 'savage' Highlanders or Sami were either just pretending to be good Christians or were expressing their religion in unorthodox ways"[190]. By introducing superstition as well as the concept of shamanism, especially Henry David Inglis, questions the factuality of the Norwegian conversion to Christianity. He presents the Norwegians, from all classes, as 'savages' who are restricted in their ability to convert to the 'correct' religion by natural and cultural circumstances. In this context, he also thematises their connection to the Sami people in the North, emphasising the problematic

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[188] Inglis, p. 142.
[189] Inglis, p. 303.
[190] Andersson Burnett, p. 86.

existence of superstition again.[191] Accordingly, his evaluation of the Norwegians follows a similar structure to the phenomenon described by Burnett. Wilson adopts a somewhat different perspective on the religious state of the Scandinavian countries. Generally, he comments more regularly on the matter as Inglis, who is more interested in natural phenomena. At the same time, Wilson presents the same amount of anxiety about the Scandinavians' ability to become what he considers good Christians. This shows especially in his descriptions of the sabbath in Scandinavia, and his wish to establish British churches to allow for better accommodation of the British citizens. He, however, does not remark as extensively on the amount of superstition as Inglis does in his travelogue. To Wilson, there is no difference between the superstitious beliefs of the Scandinavians and Catholicism. Catholicism's practices of praying to crosses, for example, he refers to as a "debasing superstition, more allied to paganism than Christianity"[192]. Therefore it can be argued that his perception of the Scandinavians is different from Inglis'. In comparison to Catholicism, the Northern people are on the right path towards true faith. Generally, however, both authors believe in the superiority of Protestantism and the British faith and see the Scandinavians as in need of improvement. In this context, the cultural, economic and religious inferiority are connected as vices of the 'savage', that cannot be considered noble anymore. Only British intervention can guarantee the quick and successful establishment of a fully developed and acceptable faith. However, it remains open in both travelogues whether a true conversion to British standards is possible.

4.1.5 Closing remarks

In the preliminary analysis of representations of Scandinavia in William Rae Wilson's and Henry David Inglis' travelogues, several structural depictions are studied with the romantic ideas of the first half of the nineteenth century in focus. The authors adopt a two-fold perspective on Scandinavia and its inhabitants, that is fuelled by the developing climate and race theory of the time. On the one hand, they are fascinated with the Northern people, their sturdy character and physique as well as their exclusion from the civilised culture of the rest of Europe. Both Wilson and Inglis fully commit to the idea that the cold climate and challenging yet beautiful nature of Scandinavia has shaped its peoples' disposition. On the other hand, the authors also emphasise

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[191] Inglis, p. 232.
[192] Wilson, p. 524.

some of the vices of these people who are unaware of concepts of decency, morality and piety. It becomes clear in the analysis, that the travel writings of Wilson and Inglis are not necessarily historically accurate representations of their journeys. They are, on the contrary, heavily modified and literary retellings of the journeys undertaken with the authors creating a traveller persona and choosing specific episodes and incidents that fit their perspective on Scandinavia, the expectations of their audience and their overall intention and tone. The creation of a specific and modified narrative, for example, becomes obvious in Wilson's travelogue. To preserve the notion of the traveller persona as an adventurer and explorer, the reader is given the impression that he travels alone. However, Wilson was accompanied by his wife and possibly other companions ensuring a safe and comfortable journey. The omission of this information emphasises the level of alteration in the text.

In connection with this set of contrasts, concepts of time and place become important to make sense of this gap in the description. For the travellers turning northwards, the journey almost followed the logic of time travel, from modern Britain with its ideals of science and religion, to the archaic North with people untouched by the negative influences of civilisation. By moving place, the travellers are able to find the traces of an otherwise inaccessible, yet glorious past. Carl Thompson also remarks on this ability of travel (literature), when he describes the pastoral mode of narration, "in which the emphasis is on seeking out the last vestiges of a vanishing way of life, or a culture perceived as less complex and less stressful than the traveller's own"[193]. This pastoral approach is, furthermore, reinforced by the implied ancient ties between Scandinavia and Britain. The Scandinavians represent the travellers' forefathers in terms of physical and mental strength, virtues that the Northern people possessed both according to the times' general knowledge and the authors' descriptions during their travels. Constant comparisons to other countries, such as England, Scotland and France, allow the travellers to paint the picture of the *Northern Noble Savage* and Scandinavia as its only left European refuge. Through the introduction of concepts of 'the same' and 'the other' the texts allow its authors and readers to admire the good and romantic qualities of the Scandinavian people from the perspective of good-willed superiority.

However, it is also vital for the authors to dissociate themselves from the 'savage' vices by distinguishing themselves from the Scandinavians in terms of reason and progress. Even though the Northern people symbolise strength and health, they are the representatives of the past in many

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[193] Thompson, p. 17.

respects. Through the description of their failure to comply with the standards of British society and the clear need for improvement in many areas, the authors successfully mark them as 'the other'. Only by combining their romantic virtues with those of the imperialist Britons, an ideal state of men and society can be achieved. For the Scandinavian virtues are only valuable in the past, when the knowledge of nineteenth-century Britain had not been obtained yet. To bring the *Northern Noble Savage* into the nineteenth century, British intervention is needed. This does, however, not mean that there are not some means of improvement that Britain can (re-)learn from the North. This includes honesty, hard work and a more humanist approach in the legal system, values connected to the romantic image of the Scandinavians.

It is also important to note that – just like the past figures of the travellers' ancestors – the people described are not given a voice but only come alive through the description of the British imperialist. This reinforces power structures of the colonial kind, which marginalise the North's and its inhabitants' importance. Accordingly, Scandinavia is represented as a place of admiration and inferiority at the same time or as Linda Andersson Burnett describes it: "The values associated with the 'noble savage', moreover, could easily transform from positive to negative attributes"[194], turning the 'noble savage' into a mere 'savage'.[195] In line with this, the authors only extensively represent the Scandinavian peasantry, who best fit the concept of the 'savage'. This introduces the notion of class into the authors' perspectives. While their own countrymen are travellers, merchants or soldiers, the Northerners are described as a country of peasants without means of participation in their national project. Samuel Laing, who also examines the nature of the Scandinavian people, sees a similar distinction in his travelogue. Dimitrios Kassis analyses Laing's attitude as follows: There is an "implied disparity between class and national character, according to which the Scots are destined to occupy leading posts whereas the Swedes are easily led to exaggerations when they are granted excessive power"[196]. Therefore, "it is clear, that he advocates a superior position for his countrymen as born-to-be leaders"[197]. By implication, this suggests that the Scandinavians are defined by being voiceless peasants, inferior to the British and in need of their impulses for improvement.

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[194] Andersson Burnett, p. 85.
[195] See A. Smith, *National Identity*, London 1991, p. 24 as cited in Andersson Burnett, p. 85.
[196] Kassis, p. 84f
[197] Kassis, p. 85.

All in all, Wilson and Inglis work within the tropes of their time and the rules of their genre, guaranteeing them a satisfied readership. Their authorial personas are travellers and explorers in a romantic sense. Even though they are interested in nature, its forms of expression and effect on human disposition, they are by no means scientific travellers. Wilson's appreciation of Linnaeus as "the great natural philosopher of Sweden"[198] does not prompt him to adopt a similar perspective as a travel writer. However, the authors do see themselves as successors of these scientific travel writers. Wilson does not only mention Linnaeus but also refers to Edward Daniel Clarke, the natural historian and travel writer analysed by Linda Andersson Burnett. His primitivist approach can be compared to that of Wilson and Inglis, showcasing an English perspective on Scandinavia and Scotland.[199] While Wilson only refers to Clarke in a footnote,[200] Inglis remarks on his observations more frequently. Though Inglis has much respect for the travel writer, he still allows himself to questions his statements to some extent: "Some apology seems to be necessary, for calling in question any statement made by that learned and most intelligent traveller; and I need scarcely say, that in nothing relating to science, or to matters that came under his personal observation, should I be justified in offering the smallest correction; but in any thing wherein my own observation is at variance with what Dr. Clarke seems only to have gathered, I feel myself at liberty to make my own statement"[201]. This is especially valid for the comments on the "manner in which the lower orders in Norway live"[202], as he mostly thematises food. Accordingly, Inglis, specifically, makes an effort to build up the connection with Clarke as a respectable predecessor. However, both authors choose sentimental and subjective approaches, completed with some facts on society and historical background information, instead of following the tradition of the natural scientist turned travel writer.

It can be argued that it is their generic approach that has earned them the harsh assessment of being "trite and ill-written"[203] as well as the lack of audience and researcher interest[204]. Both authors suggest that their travelogues' novelty lies within their choice of destination. However, they reproduce stereotypes rather than providing new perspectives on Scandinavia and its

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[198] Wilson, p. 196.
[199] Andersson Burnett, p. 20ff.
[200] Wilson, p 194.
[201] Inglis, p. 159.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Bayne on Wilson.
[204] See Bayne on Wilson and Sidney on Inglis.

inhabitants. This, ultimately, simplifies the role of Scandinavia and reinforces the European order with Britain as the ruling imperial power. A result that is also in line with the earlier research presented at the beginning of the thesis, suggesting that the authors adopt a mainly British perspective rather than a distinct Scottish one.

4.2 Scottish identity

For the Scottish travel writers, several factors played into the understanding of their own identity. After the union with England and Wales in 1707, there were several focal points for the self-understanding of the Scottish population. Generally, they were in favour of being British, creating a shared identity with England and its people while also dissociating themselves from the Scottish Highlander. The union had meant various positive changes for the Scots, including a better school system and better means of participation in the imperial project.[205] As Linda Colley remarks, the union also established a sense of equality for its Scottish members: "If Britain's primary identity was to be an imperial one, then the English were put firmly and forever in their place, reduced to a component part of a much greater whole, exactly like the Scots, and no longer the people who ran virtually the whole show"[206]. However, there was also a return to the traditionally Scottish, foremost in literature. Here, the differences to England were emphasised, and the English were seen as the other. The inclusion of Scots as well as specific stylistic devices marked the Scottish voice in literature.[207] In general, it can though be said that this return was set within the past, emphasising the importance of cultural heritage but not necessarily questioning the British Union per se. Although there was a romanticisation of Highland culture in the nineteenth century, Colin Kidd remarks that Gaeldom was generally downgraded, eliminating the "very element of Scottishness which rendered the nation distinctive from England"[208]. In the following, I will analyse the travellers' perspective on the Scottish Highlanders in comparison with the Scandinavian people as well as their ideas about their own identity.

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[205] See Colley, pp. 119, 121.
[206] Colley, p. 130.
[207] Gerard Carruthers, *Scottish Literature,* Edinburgh 2009, p. 47.
[208] Kidd, p. 207.

4.2.1 The Scottish Highlander

In their travelogues, the authors consistently and easily switch between the national terms British, English and Scottish both when referring to themselves or others, which shows a general interest in identifying with all of these nationalities. As already discussed, Scottish identity in the nineteenth century was complex and defined by a divide, which Colin Kidd describes as "a vast regional gulf between Highlands and Lowlands"[209]. In line with this, the only British group both authors continuously single out by their origin is that of the Scottish Highlander, or as William Rae Wilson often calls them – "the natives of the heath-covered mountains of Scotia"[210]. This description already suggests Wilson's perspective on the Scottish Highlanders and a certain element of comparison between Scandinavia and the Scottish Highlands. Both peoples are, according to him, defined by their harsh and bleak environment.

One of the characteristics of the Highlanders described by Wilson has apparent roots in this romantic perspective of the traveller:

> When there exists, as we find to be particularly the case among the Swiss and the Scotch Highlanders, a deep attachment to their native land – when all the associations of man are local, and not one sentiment or thought ever arises in the mind which is not united with the bleak form of a gigantic hill, or the more quiet retreat of some lonely and beautiful glen – when the heart conceives that neither body nor spirit can rest but in the spot whence its endearment have sprung, and it has felt and loved existence; – it must prove a melancholy consideration to give up our breath in a foreign land![211]

In the author's mind, humankind, especially when born and raised in a specific landscape and climate, is deeply connected to nature and formed by it. The northern climate conditions, which are valid for both Scotland and Scandinavia, are connected to the idea of a primitive northern world.[212] Not unlike a believer, buried in unholy ground, the Highlander cannot find peace in foreign places. This strong sense of belonging seems to be singular to those raised in a specific context, such as mountainous and therefore remote environments. It cannot be erased by travel or relocation as the bonds between place and self are considered unbreakable.

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[209] Kidd, p. 50f.
[210] Wilson, pp. 86, 122, 254.
[211] Wilson, p. 34.
[212] See Kassis, p. 17.

In comparison, Wilson also describes another sense of belonging: "Perhaps, indeed, such emotions do not operate so powerfully in the natives of a city and commercial country like England, where all that is local is swallowed up in the proud spirit of nationality [...] [where] all individuality is lost; and we cease to be deeply attached to particular spots and scenes"[213]. Here, the author marks a clear difference in character between the Scottish Highlander and the English. The inclusive we ("We think only of that great nation which was before our existence and which will remain after"[214]) suggests the author's inclination towards the latter mentality. His identity is shaped by the idea of being part of something bigger than himself or his region. However, this contrast does not necessarily exist between England and Scotland per se. It is more likely to highlight the gap between the unity of the English and Scottish Lowlanders on the one side and the Scottish Highlanders on the other side. Divided by language, culture, and – according to the Teutonic theory of the nineteenth century – also race, only the people of the Highlands are able to understand this attachment to the nature and landscape of one's country, preferring the local over the national. Constant comparisons between the Scottish Highlanders and the Scandinavians suggest, however, a similar element of belonging within the Scandinavian people.

Interestingly, the term Celtic does not often appear in any of the texts analysed. Both authors stick to the term Scottish Highlander to describe the Gaelic-speaking population of Scotland. Dimitrios Kassis also find this in the Scotsman Samuel Laing's accounts of his Scandinavian travels:

> In his travel narrative, Scottish identity is fully incorporated into the nation-building project of the Britons; hence the absence of the term Celtic when he addresses the alleged similarities between Scotland and the North. Laing presumably seeks to provide the reader with significant insights into an alleged cultural relation between Scotland and Scandinavia as an attempt to foreground Scotland not as a periphery, but rather as an integral part of Britain.[215]

Just like Wilson, Laing sees himself as an integral part and supporter of the British Union and its imperial project. Consequently, the elimination of a definition of a distinct cultural characteristic of part of the people of Scotland makes it easier for the authors to stress the similarities between Scandinavia and Scotland. At the same time, this practice shows a willingness to adapt Scottish

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[213] Wilson, p. 34.
[214] Wilson, p. 34f.
[215] Kassis, p. 82.

identity in order to succeed in the integration of Scotland into the economically and politically beneficial Union and to strengthen Scotland's position in comparison with England.

The depiction of the Scottish Highlander brings up a similar paradox to that of the Scandinavian people as *Northern Noble Savages*, who possess romantic, admirable virtues and uncivilised vices. Drawing on the concept of 'the same' and 'the other', the authors position themselves in relation to both groups. On the one hand, there is a clear distinction between the travellers and the Highlanders. The travellers were born, raised and educated in the Scottish Lowlands,[216] a fact they stress when talking about the relations between Scots and the Scandinavian languages. Wilson, for example, argues that "[...] [from] its great affinity to the German, Scotch, and English tongue, the Swedish language will be learned with facility by a native of these countries; he will, at all events, have little difficulty in picking up a few phrases, which will enable him to explain his wants"[217]. This establishes a linguistic relation which also hints at a common point of origin for the groups involved, singling out the Scottish Highlanders with their Gaelic language and descent.

On the other hand, though, the Highlanders are described as similar to the Scandinavians concerning their state of civilisation as well as their appearance and character. For example, Wilson compares the lower orders of Sweden, with the Scottish Highlanders who both "walk about without shoes or stockings"[218]. Again, commenting on appearance, he attests that "[...] [the] women, like the men, have a healthy and masculine appearance, not unlike the brawny inhabitants of the heath covered mountains of Scotia"[219]. This focus on health and strength aligns with the before-mentioned belief that people are shaped by the conditions and nature around them.[220] In this context, the Scottish Highlanders accordingly, are not distinctly different from the Scandinavians anymore. Even their countryside is depicted with significant similarity in an attempt to emphasise that connection: "The country was sterile, bleak, and uninteresting, bearing a resemblance to some of the wildest parts of the Highlands of Scotland"[221].

While William Rae Wilson portrays himself as an educated, religious and duty-bound British gentleman, distinct from both regions' people, he also praises their simple qualities as

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[216] See Sidney on Inglis and Bayne on Wilson.
[217] Wilson, p. 316.
[218] Wilson, p. 86.
[219] Wilson, p. 122.
[220] Kassis, p. 17.
[221] Wilson, p. 72.

beneficial. This depiction falls in line with the cultural climate of the time. Judging by his relatively arbitrary use of the terms British and English, Wilson can be argued to be proud of his Teutonic heritage which promotes the idea of Britishness, thus rejecting a direct connection with the Scottish Highlanders. In his travelogues, he comments indirectly on the different racial concepts involved: "The Gothic club is an institution found here, similar to that of the Celtic in some cities of the North, which is composed of the most respectable inhabitants, and intended to preserve some vestiges of the manners of the ancient people of Scandinavia"[222]. He does not address the matter any further. In some sense, he establishes a certain similarity between the Celtic and the Gothic in this remark. Furthermore, the description also features a certain sympathy towards the Celtic and the idea of the preservation of cultural heritage, be it Gothic or Celtic. This impression is supported by his favourable account of the Scottish Highlanders' appearance, including the "distinguished grace and agility which animate the Scots Highlander"[223]. However, the comment can also be read to emphasise the connection between the Teutonic heritage of the English, the Scottish Lowlanders and the Scandinavian people. In general, Wilson occasionally comments on Gothic details in, for example, architecture, showing an awareness of the current and the connection it established between Britain and Scandinavia. Clearly, he is shaping his narrative by including the different episodes discussed and shows an awareness of the question of belonging. At the same time, his commentary is also influenced by readers' expectations, making it likely for him to stress his traveller persona's difference to the Scottish Highlander.

Dimitrios Kassis also discusses the difficult position of the Scottish Highlanders in nineteenth-century travel literature. He concludes that "the wild Highlander certainly reminded the English reader of the Celtic character of Scotland, while at the same time, they attributed to rural Scotland an appealing and nostalgic image that was perfectly compatible with the masculine, "bellicose" ideals of the nascent British empire"[224]. This then results in the ability to "draw a link between this idealistic contemplation of the wild Highlander and the subsequent veneration of the Viking warrior in mid-Victorian literature"[225]. Accordingly, there is a certain willingness to idealise and romanticise both people while still stressing the differences between the state of civilisation. Again, it becomes evident that the Scandinavian population and their depiction as

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[222] Wilson,, p. 59.
[223] Wilson, p. 175.
[224] Kassis, p. 33.
[225] Kassis., p. 33f.

Viking 'savages' is set within the past. This means that they possess some ideal, archaic characteristics but are not equipped for the modern realities of cultivated and civilised Europe. Wilson seems to make a similar evaluation for the Scottish Highlanders who struggle to adapt to the standards of British society, even though they possess masculine and admirable qualities.

Henry David Inglis' description of the Scottish Highlander features a similar romantic approach. Compared to Wilson, however, he mentions the region and its inhabitants much less or generally refers to Scotland rather than a single group. He only directly refers to them twice and both times in comparison to his Norwegian experience. Firstly, he remarks on the Norwegians' affinity for alcoholic excess: "I do not think, however, that the use of strong liquors is either more universal or carried to greater excess here than in most parts of the Highlands of Scotland"[226]. In conclusion, there seems to exist a similarity between the Scottish Highlanders and the Norwegians, in both habit and tradition. At the same time, the comment is not necessarily condescending, even if excessive alcohol consumption is generally considered a misconduct. Secondly, Inglis thematises the hospitality of the Norwegians, stating that "the hospitality of even the Highlands of Scotland will bear no comparison with that of Norway, – the cities and towns of Norway I mean, – for in the interior, I believe a stranger might soon cease to be a stranger"[227]. Both evaluations of Highland culture, however, show Inglis' general stance towards the Highlands. The vice of alcohol consumption and the virtue of great hospitality fit the concept of the 'savage', who does not abide by the rules of the civilised society but has an inherent goodness – and maybe even a naive approach to the welcoming of guests. Just like for Wilson's travelogue, this suggests an awareness for his readership who are not interested in patriotically Scottish remarks. If an interest for Scotland exists, they are more likely to prefer statements that reproduce the ideas of the time.

In general, both authors tend to draw the suggested link between the Scandinavian people and the Highlanders. They find many similarities between the two groups which are based on culture, habit, appearance and disposition. Their accounts are, however, not generally negative but feature an admiration of the simple virtues, especially the strength and health of both peoples. William Rae Wilson, for example, compares the Dalecarlians with the Scottish Highlanders, by

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[226] Inglis, p. 32.
[227] Inglis, p. 140.

stating that, "this hardy race[228], who might rival in point of strength the inhabitants of the heath-covered mountains of Scotia, are distinguished from all the other inhabitants of Sweden"[229]. This shows a belief in the general strength and resilience of people leading simple lives full of work and hardship. The Highlander is, accordingly, presented positively but in the nostalgic way that Kassis describes. Just like the Scandinavians, they bear the same qualities as their forefathers and are mostly defined by their natural features rather than intellect or political importance other than masculine strength. This concept is even assigned to the women and their appearance, which is not defined by the delicate nature of English noblewomen. Andersson Burnett describes this perspective as a general British mindset, stating that "the Scottish Celt, despite a slow and ambivalent start in the eighteenth century, was now rendered harmless and picturesque and was integrated into a Scottish Imperial narrative"[230]. This narrative – together with the positive attitude towards the Vikings – allows for the establishment of a Scottish identity within the British context.[231]

Lastly, the authors do not see any resemblance between themselves and the Highlanders. Even though they are often named in the travelogues, they function simply as a point of reference for the reader. Wilson and Inglis never mention a connection with them but refer to themselves as English, British or Scottish and ultimately part of the empire. Unlike Laing, who published his travelogue not much more than a decade later and who aims to "dismiss the positive, pure and natural image of nineteenth-century Scandinavia in Victorian consciousness"[232], both authors are generally sympathetic towards both groups, even if they do not identify with either.

4.2.2 Perspectives on Scottish identity

The discussion of the Scottish Highlanders' position in the travelogues shows both authors' involvement in questions of identity. This concerns the construction of a primarily British self-image but also includes the negotiation of ideas of Scottishness. Considering the already discussed

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[228] I would argue that Wilson does not use "race" in the problematic sense that the word and concepts behind it might refer to today as this would be anachronistic. Judging from his use of the term, he refers more to groups within society that today would be considered to be divided only by economic status. In Wilson's time, though, birth determined a person's status and there was no social mobility, which could explain the use of the word here, as a marker for an inherent belonging to a certain class.

[229] Wilson, p. 254.

[230] Andersson Burnett, p. 270.

[231] Andersson Burnett, p. 270f.

[232] Kassis, p. 88.

divide in Scottish national identity, the Highlander is often presented as 'the other'. The same is true for the discussion of the Scandinavian people. This distinction is meant to highlight the enlightened qualities of the travellers. Wilson and Inglis present themselves as British gentlemen, who possess the authority to comment on these groups and mediate their characteristics to the reader. At the same time, both authors have their roots in the Scottish Lowlands. Therefore, their accounts of travel allow an analysis of their understanding of identity in relation to the Scandinavians, the English and the Scottish.

As analysed earlier, both authors often use the image of the Scottish Highlanders as a point of reference for the British reader. Supporting the general perception, they describe them as the romantic ideal of strength, health and hospitality but also emphasise their 'otherness' to the British population's more refined character. The authors do not describe any direct relational connection to this group. They also do not use any inclusive language, accordingly, positioning themselves as distinct from the Highlanders. However, they also comment on the Scottish population in general, without a specific link to the Highlands. This often happens in comparison with the Scandinavian people. Wilson, for example, sees similarities in particular, beneficial habits. Not unlike the comparisons with the Scottish Highlanders, these habits often have to do with physical appearance. He suggests that the custom to let children run without any shoes "promotes both the health and the growth of youth, especially during summer, and contributes to make them strong and hardy, as is evident, when we perceive what a sturdy race the Scotch children are"[233]. He, thereby, implies the superiority in health and growth of the Scottish and Scandinavian children, especially as he emphasises that "this custom offends the eyes of Englishmen"[234]. This suggests that English children are more restricted in their upbringing, due to certain ideas of etiquette and tradition.

Interestingly, this remark is identical to an earlier description of the Scottish Highlanders not using shoes or stockings. This time, however, he comments more extensively on the benefits of the custom, emphasising the contrast between the English and the Scottish. The repetition indicates several things. Firstly, it minimises the differences between the different Scottish regions and reduces the element of the 'other'. Arguably, Wilson could also be referring to only the Highlands, but his otherwise precise word choice when addressing this region suggests otherwise. This could, therefore, be an indication of similarity in Scottish culture that the author praises.

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[233] Wilson, p. 348.
[234] Ibid.

Secondly, the gap between English and Scottish is evident in this comparison. Wilson favours the possibly less refined but resilient youth of Scotland over the softer English equivalent. Inglis shares this assessment when commenting extensively on the positive effect of the Norwegian habits on health, as compared to that of the British elite.[235]

Wilson's attitude towards England and the Union is, however, generally favourable. He includes a comment by a Frenchman on the Scottish character and system, which praises both the country and the Union:

> No person who visits Scotland can fail to be struck with the religious and moral habits of the people, their patience under toil, high sentiment, and above all, the superior degree of instruction which distinguishes them. If we enquire into the circumstances which produce this superior civilization, several causes present themselves, – the superior education of the families of rank, their concern in the welfare of the people, and the affection of the latter towards them, which, powerful and active as it is, is dissimilar from that absolute devotion which the ancient system of clanship had established. To these favourable circumstances must be added the more recent effects of a regular and stable government, with a highly improved system of agriculture, and an immense encouragement to the industry of the Scottish population, in consequence of their complete union with the rich and flourishing country of England.[236]

This evaluation of the Scottish status includes several opinions. First of all, it establishes respect for Scottish society, its government and its inhabitants. The education system forms the population into righteous and honest people. This state is achieved through caring and enlightened upper classes guarding and tending for their people. Scotland, accordingly, possesses all the qualities of a genuinely civilised country, including exceptional religious and moral habits. At the same time, the comment opens up the gap between Lowlands and Highlands again. It diminishes the Highland traditions, which – according to the French commentator – reduced people to absolute devotion when the enlightenment favoured critical thinking. In opposition to the earlier analysed rapprochement in Wilson's rhetoric, this shows a general reluctance against the Scottish Highlanders, and, in effect, the Celtic. Lastly, there is a clear advocacy for the union with England. It allows Scotland to thrive both economically and socially, improving its industry and introducing a stable government. Wilson's inclusion of the statement suggests agreement on his opinions but also pride. His identity is partly shaped by this positive perspective on Scotland and its inhabitants.

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[235] Cp. 4.1.3 Culture and People's disposition, p. 32.
[236] Wilson, p. 241.

Even though Wilson often uses British, English and Scottish as interchangeable, there are certain passages in which the distinction seems to be important. For example, he refers to being English in a passage on the military strength of Britain, but then goes on to praise the "British men of war"[237]: "These have somewhere justly been said to speak all languages, to be the interpreters, most profound politicians, and the wisest ministers of state that ever existed"[238]. In this case, the term British can be considered more inclusive as it includes the qualities of English and Scottish men for the protection of the country. In this episode, Wilson seems to see himself as an English gentleman but does not see an inferiority in being Scottish, as long as participation in the British imperial project is guaranteed.

Henry David Inglis is less engaged with questions of identity and focuses mostly on his personal experience of Scandinavia. However, he does occasionally comment on Scotland, its customs and people. For example, he describes the Scottish national pride as follows: "In Norway, love of country is the same enthusiastic passion that love of music is in Italy. In England, there is no toast which stands in the place of *Gamlé Norgé*, [...]. In Scotland, "the Land o' Cakes" is nearly an equivalent to *Gamlé Norgé*; but then, how do Scotsmen drink it? they drain their glasses indeed, but they remain upon their seats if they be sober"[239]. This observation is comparable to that made by Wilson about the Scottish sense of belonging. Inglis, though, makes a distinction between all three groups mentioned. He explains that patriotism is a virtue that is "indeed, less or more, the patrimony of the inhabitants of all mountainous countries"[240]. This could explain the lack of national pride and the accompanying toast in England. For Scotland, he states an average amount of patriotism, especially in comparison to Norway. His reference to mountainous countries could indicate that his statement is mostly directed at the Scottish Highlands. However, the inclusion of the 'Land o' cakes' which is a poetical expression for all of Scotland, used by both Robert Fergusson and Robert Burns,[241] suggests a broader approach. Both poets composed their poems in Lowland Scotch but also had an affinity for the romantic image connected to the Scottish Highlands[242]. Accordingly, Inglis suggests the existence of a general Scottish national pride which is rooted in nature but not defined by the usual gap. This pride is referred to once more when Inglis

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[237] Wilson, p. 365.
[238] Ibid.
[239] Inglis, p. 33.
[240] Inglis, p. 33f.
[241] Robert Burns, *The Collected Poems of Robert Burns,* Ware 1994, pp. 127, 578.
[242] See for example Robert Burns "My Heart's in the Highlands" in Burns, p. 337.

remarks the following: "Although the Norwegians of these days pride themselves scarcely less upon their legendary poetry, than the Scotch upon their border minstrelsy, literature of every kind is at a very low ebb in Norway"[243]. Here, he does not only criticise the Norwegian's state of civilisation but also identifies another item of Scottish pride. Scottishness is defined through the country's literature and the culture and heritage it describes. While Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders* (1802/1830) is set within the Lowlands, it partly thematises the difference between England and Scotland and aims to establish a national identity.[244] Furthermore, Inglis remarks on the progressive state of Scottish husbandry, which is more effective than even the English system. Again, a certain pride in the national achievements is portrayed, which suggests a positive outlook on Scotland as a whole.

Wilson makes a similar literary connection when describing some of the Norwegian countryside. As often in his travelogue, he uses poems and quotes from well-known authors to support his illustrations of nature and people. While constituting himself as an educated and literate gentleman, these passages also draw comparisons to Scotland as a whole: "Lasses were chaunting o'er the pail/And shepherds piping in the dale"[245]. The described scenery lies in the Scottish Lowlands and features elements of Lowland Scotch, like the stereotypical word 'lass'. Accordingly, Wilson sees similarities between Norway and the Scottish Lowlands. This also suggests a more comprehensive view of Scotland and its specific characteristics than the Highland/Lowland-divide. It is not only the 'savage' qualities of the Highlanders and the Scandinavians that he describes but a more general connection between the countries and their sublime beauty.

Concerning the union with England, certain parallelisms in evaluation with the union between Norway and Sweden can be argued for. Inglis, for example, remarks the following about the Scandinavian situation: "It may now be anticipated, that the jealousy which has so long and so virulently existed between Norway and Sweden, will gradually give way to the union of political interests, and that they will mutually import advantages from each other"[246]. This reflects a general positivity towards the joining of two countries that can benefit each other. As argued earlier by Wilson, the union has brought much progress for Scotland, including a stable government, better

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[243] Inglis, p. 264.
[244] Carruther, p. 98f.
[245] Tobias Smollett, "Ode to Leven Water" in Wilson, p. 138.
[246] Inglis, p. 224.

economy and generally more power and importance in the European context. However, England also profits from the union – especially if it is willing to adopt some Scottish practices. Generally, the Scottish participation in the imperial project guaranteed broad military recruitment starting in the eighteenth century.[247] Inglis' assessment of the Scandinavian union suggests a preference for the British one. Similar remarks are made by Wilson, who sees both unions as natural, favoured or even demanded by the geographical situation of the countries: "In a geographical point of view, Norway appears evidently to be more closely connected with Sweden than with her former ruler; and although the prejudices of the Norwegians, from their long connexion with the latter, naturally occasioned an aversion to a union with Sweden, yet it might perhaps be laid down as a rule with some, not to occasion a separation of that which nature herself has united"[248]. In conclusion, Wilson also advocates for the unification of the British island, which is connected geographically. Both authors' positive perspective on the Swedish-Norwegian union, therefore, also proves a general agreement with the British union as a bringer of progress, peace, power and advantages for all countries involved.

In conclusion, Scottish identity is not directly defined in either travelogue. To begin with, both texts are dedicated to a royal endorser in the preface. While Wilson addresses the Duke of York and Albany, Inglis dedicates his to Lord Erskine, the British Envoy at the royal court of Bavaria.[249] The books are thus written for a non-Scottish addressee and a British readership, possibly limiting the significance of a negotiation of Scottishness. In order to make their texts accessible and relevant to the audience, certain expectations, including a British perspective, must be fulfilled. This imperial angle is followed by both authors, who endorse the importance and superiority of their native country in comparison to Scandinavia. There are, however, indices that the authors have, if indirectly, written their own conceptions of Scottish identity into the text. The emphasis on Scottish innovations in agriculture and the benefit of some traditionally Scottish customs shows an awareness for this region. An English author, arguably, would not have included this information. They might have solely reproduced the Highlander stereotype or not mentioned Scotland at all. The positive remarks on Scotland as a whole and the focus on the Scottish Highlander, however, put Scotland on the map. Especially Wilson comments rather extensively

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[247] Colley, p. 103.
[248] Wilson, p. 78f.
[249] See Wilson, p. iiif and Inglis, p. vi.

on the favourable political and socio-cultural situation in Scotland. Even though he does not refer to himself as Scottish in his texts, he follows the same objective as Kassis assumes for the infamous Samuel Laing: "Laing presumably seeks to provide the reader with significant insights into an alleged cultural relation between Scotland and Scandinavia as an attempt to foreground Scotland not as a periphery, but rather as an integral part of Britain"[250]. The same can be argued for Henry David Inglis. Though he is not as invested in the political situation of Scotland, he also thematises Scotland and its culture. Laing shows the same preoccupation with Scottish customs and traditions, which Kassis interprets as follows: "Even though the author does not seem to be at odds with his British identity, his habitual reference to Scotland or Scottish culture as the main point of comparison between Sweden and Britain underlies his travel narrative and expresses his desire to come to terms with his dual national identity"[251]. This results in the "idea of a separate Scottish identity on account of common cultural bonds with Sweden and the other Nordic countries"[252]. Both Wilson and Inglis can be argued to share this mode of reference, if to a lesser extent as Laing who travelled during the Victorian Era. Unlike Laing, they also do not focus on the Viking connection to Scotland, which became more important several decades later. In their travelogues, Scottishness is foremost culturally defined – by the nature of its people, its literature and language – and willingly positioned within the framework of the British Union. Scottish identity, if national, regional or local, does not necessarily collide with the idea of Britishness but is embraced as a part of it.

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[250] Kassis, p. 82.
[251] Kassis, p. 82.
[252] Ibid.

5. Conclusion

Travel literature is an ambiguous literary genre. It is not neatly defined, it is on the borderline between fact and fiction, and it tells the reader as much about the travels as it does about the traveller.[253] Consequently, the travelogues analysed in this thesis contain some information about Scandinavia during the nineteenth century. This information is, however, distorted by the British travellers who conduct their travels with specific preconceptions and goals, such as literary ambitions. Throughout the analysis, it has become clear that the travellers' approach to the North is shaped by the ideas and cultural climate of their time. This also includes audience expectations and genre conventions. The concepts of the *Northern Utopia* and the *Northern Noble Savage* in connection with the general theory of primitivism have allowed an in-depth analysis of the mechanisms at work in the chosen books. The British imperial mindset, mirrored by the authors, views the North as primitive. This is shown in their descriptions of nature through to the selective depiction of the Scandinavian cities. Both authors compose long descriptive passages about the wild yet beautiful landscape of the romantic North. They are dominated by poetic reflections on woods, lakes and mountains, creating a scene of sublime grandeur in the reader's mind. Even the cities are characterised by their location, rather than their cultural or economic achievements. Both authors create a narrative rather than a factual recollection of their travels, which is shaped by their own distinct intentions, the addressees' expectations and the authors' background.

The selective and romantic focus on natural beauty is also reflected in the description of the Scandinavian peoples. The authors primarily concentrate their accounts on the peasantry, their appearance, customs and character. This is in line with the concept of the simple, yet hardy and independent *Northern Noble Savage*, who is shaped by the landscape and climate of the North. Through this characterisation of nature and culture, the authors emphasise the differences to Britain, which represents a more complex and stressful culture.[254] To them, Scandinavia symbolises the vices and virtues of the European past. The considered concepts mostly express admiration for the simple North. However, they also uncover power mechanisms internalised by the British travellers. Fascination with the natural and archaic state of the North means, by implication, a condescending attitude. Here, at least, not only the travellers' preconceptions about

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[253] Thompson, pp. 17, 28.
[254] See Thompson, p. 17.

their destinations, but their values, attitudes and ideologies begin to matter. They are the subjects and products of the British Empire and its constant will for expansion and superiority. Installed in them, is - as Brian Doley implies in his Exploring European Frontiers (2000) - "a nationalist sentiment suggesting that Britain was *the* measure of all other degrees of modernity and civility"[255]. Though Doley refers to the eighteenth century, this attitude is still very much evident in the travelogues analysed, supporting the agenda of British expansion. In their descriptions, the primitive also includes a lack of piety, and a love for alcohol, gambling as well as other vices. Only British intervention could improve their society to a European standard, teaching the Scandinavians religious and moral habits,[256] better agricultural standards and international culture. This also includes better accessibility of the Bible and British literature in translation to the Scandinavian languages. Generally, Scandinavia is not necessarily represented as the end of the world, but it status as the peripheral borders of the civilised European continent is emphasised by both authors.

This ambivalent perspective on the North is identical in both travelogues, suggesting a general mindset concerning Scandinavia, its nature and people. It also features in Samuel Laing's *A Tour in Sweden 1838. Comprising observations on the moral, political, and economical state of the Swedish Nation* (1839), which is, as indicated by the title, specifically concerned with Sweden as a nation rather than its romantic landscape. However, Laing still comes to the same conclusion as Inglis and Wilson in their more general accounts. Kassis comments on this as follows: "The image of the Swedish peasant, who is a direct descendant of the ancient Goths, is as attractive to Laing as the picture of the independent Highlander. It is only this nostalgic glance at both countries' past that brings them together"[257]. The archaic nature of the North and its inhabitants is fascinating, as it illustrates the past and its pastoral appeal. At the same time, the British imperial project is – not unlike the modern image of Scandinavia – defined by modernity and progress, ultimately proving its superiority. The travelogues are an assessment of Scandinavia in accordance with these values and criteria. As Linda Burnett Andersson suggests, the depiction of a group as

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[255] Brian Dolan, *Exploring European Frontiers. British Travellers in the Age of Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, New York, p. 180.
[256] See here, the French comment included by Wilson, emphasising these virtues in Scottish society - a clear difference to the Scandinavian problems. 4.2.2. Perspectives on Scottish identity, p. 48.
[257] Kassis, p. 89.

'savages' is mostly about control.[258] By emphasising the British superiority, the authors justify the British imperialism and the connected power mechanisms.

However, the authors do not only measure Scandinavia's potential and state by English-orientated standards. In relation to their Scottish background, they also analyse the connections between Scandinavia and Scotland. Even though similarities are discussed, especially in comparison to the Scottish Highlanders, the Scottish superiority is always evident. Both authors struggle to develop a stringent concept of Scottish identity. Its complexity is caused by the different cultural currents of the time. Romanticism, Teutonic racial theory and "the notion of Britishness"[259] suggest different perspectives on the development of a Scottish national identity. This explains the authors' discussion of Scottish Highland culture in comparison to Scandinavia and its archaic state. It also justifies their attempt to imply connections between Scandinavia and the Scottish Lowlands, or Scotland as a whole. Scottishness is divided into local, regional and national concepts of language, culture, heritage and tradition. It can, accordingly, be unified within the borders of Scotland, or as Kassis describes within "a solid multiethnic nation"[260], the union with Britain. The imperial mindset and attitudes of the authors suggest an inclination towards the latter, however with Scotland as an emancipated partner, aware of its ability to conduct the success of the Union. This evaluation is supported by the authors' commentary on the political situation of Norway and Sweden. They both argue that the two countries are united geographically and politically for their general advantage, suggesting a similar case for the British Union.

In conclusion, I would argue that the travelogues by William Rae Wilson and Henry David Inglis show clear evidence of a particularly Scottish perspective on Scandinavia. Even though both authors comply with the rules of the genre, the constant comparison and reference to Scotland as opposed to Britain or England, suggests the importance of the region. Written into the text is the identity of the authors, which is shaped by their class, descent and education. They use constant cultural references to support their authority as travel writers and British gentlemen, while also acknowledging the complexity of the personas they create in their writing.

This thesis has been an attempt to analyse the representations of Scandinavia from a specifically Scottish perspective. Even if seen in relation to Dimitrios Kassis' dissertation and

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[258] See Andersson Burnett, p. 271.
[259] According to Kassis this unification was a Scottish invention, see Kassis, p. 33.
[260] Kassis, p. 33.

other analyses including Scottish authors' travelogues about Scandinavia, this topic is far from being exhausted. Several more Scottish authors, most of them mentioned in the Edinburgh exhibition curated by Hailey Brock, have written down their accounts of the travels they conducted in Scandinavia during the nineteenth century. A comparative analysis on a broader scale would allow for a more inclusive approach, tackling some of the questions that have arisen from my findings. This encompasses, for example, the inclusion of female Scottish travel writers. Though Wilson was accompanied by his second wife during his travels, she is never mentioned, emphasising the ignorance for female travel experiences. Other travelogues interesting in comparison are those with an affinity for Celtic culture as well as accounts of Scandinavia after and during its industrialisation. In addition to new perspectives on Scandinavia, broadening the time frame would also further illustrate the complexity of Scottish national identity and how it shapes the perception of the North.

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