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development of tourism in the Yorkshire dales & county durham 1750- 1860*

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Michael D C Rudd

**The Picturesque & Landscape Appreciation
The development of tourism in the Yorkshire Dales
& County Durham 1750-1860**

The Picturesque is a particular way of appreciating landscape, with its beginnings in the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century.

Its development in Britain is traced through the associated arts of literature, landscape gardening and especially painting. The Picturesque later developed into a more Romantic view of Nature, before a more scientific or geological study of landscape predominated by the middle of the nineteenth century.

In Britain, the Lake District, Wales and Scotland attracted most picturesque attention. The focus here is on the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham. The main features of 8 case studies are identified. The development of interest in each site is traced, with an analysis of the choice of detail and viewpoints chosen, by artists and writers. The extent of distortion and plagiarism is discussed.

Artists visiting the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham, often depending on local patronage, helped to promote the Picturesque Tour, as did the published Tours of travellers who were either wealthy or had the leisure to travel- clergy or lawyers. Visitors were attracted by published engravings, poems, novels and Tours; roads and maps were improved. The routes followed by the major visitors, with the waterfalls, gorges and caves they sought out, are analysed on maps of the region.

A general Picturesque perception outweighs the individualistic interest of the varied visitors. This perception is evident in the artists' choice of viewpoint, in the use made of foregrounds, in the use of exaggeration, and in the contrasts between beauty and horror. Written descriptions may be composed in terms of a painting, convey a sense of difficulty and even peril; the revelation of the culminating view is often delayed. Imagery of beauty and horror, with noise, is conveyed with Sublime terms of terror, gloom and savagery. There are often references to the Italian paintings and early British 'nature' poetry.

THE PICTURESQUE AND LANDSCAPE APPRECIATION

**The development of tourism in
the Yorkshire Dales & County Durham**

1750 - 1860

Michael Dominic Chadd Rudd

M.A.

University of Durham

Department of Geography

1990

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25 APR 1991

CONTENTS

List of Tables	3
List of Maps	4
List of Plates	5
Preface	8
Introduction : The Picturesque	9
The Picturesque in Britain : the development of the Picturesque Tour	13
The Picturesque Tour & Tourists in the Yorkshire Dales & County Durham	26
Case Studies:	
River : Greta	52
Waterfalls : High Force	72
Cauldron Snout	95
Aysgarth Force	103
Hardraw Force	115
Gorges : Castle Eden Dene	124
Gordale Scar	131
Caves : the Ingleborough area	143
Picturesque Description	163
Conclusion : The Picturesque Legacy	183
Bibliography	191
Acknowledgements	200

LIST OF TABLES

I	Word Analysis: Number of Picturesque terms - by site	171
II	Word Analysis: Groups of Picturesque terms - by site	173
III	Word Analysis by Author	174
IV	Plagiarism : High Force	179
V	Plagiarism : Gordale Scar	180

LIST OF MAPS

1	Edward Dayes the route followed in 'A Picturesque Tour in Yorkshire and Derbyshire' 1803	27
2	Thomas Gray journeys to and from Old Park and Durham 1753-1769 Sites listed in the 1773 'Catalogue'	32
3	Arthur Young the route followed in 'A six months tour through the North of England' 1768	34
4	Thomas Pennant the routes followed in 'A Tour in Scotland' 1772 'A Tour from Downing to Alston-Moor' 1773 'A Tour from Alston-Moor to Harrowgate, and Brimham Crags' 1773/1777	36
5	Natural sites visited on the Picturesque Tour, with turnpiked roads and case study sites	40
6	John Byng the route followed in 'A Tour to the North' 1792	42
7	William Wordsworth the routes of journeys; the suggested routes to the Lake District from 'Guide through the Lakes'	44
8	Walter White the route followed in 'A Month in Yorkshire' 1858	48
9	The River Greta showing sites and viewpoints used by artists	56
10	Locations in 'Rokeby' sites used by Walter Scott	62
11	The Ingleborough Area showing the caves and turnpiked roads	144

LIST OF PLATES

- | | | |
|----|--|-----|
| 1 | J M W Turner
'Frosty Morning'
exhibited 1813 oil | 30 |
| 2 | John Sell Cotman
'Brignall Banks on the Greta'
sketched 1805 watercolour c.1806 | 58 |
| 3 | J M W Turner
'Junction of the Greta and Tees at Rokeby'
sketched 1816 engraved for T D Whitaker's
"History of Richmondshire" 1823 | 65 |
| 4 | J M W Turner
'Brignall Church'
sketched 1816 engraved for "History of
Richmondshire" 1823 | 67 |
| 5 | J M W Turner
'Junction of the Greta and the Tees'
sketched 1831 engraved for Sir Walter
Scott's "Poetical Works" 1832 | 69 |
| 6 | George Lambert
'The Great Fall of the Tees, Co.Durham'
1761 oil | 75 |
| 7 | 'View of the Remarkable Cataract, on the River
Teese'
engraved for "The Complete English Traveller"
1773
copied from Thomas Smith's 'The High Force'
(1751) | 79 |
| 8 | J M W Turner
'High Force or Fall of Tees'
sketched 1816 engraved for
"History of Richmondshire" 1823 | 85 |
| 9 | J M W Turner
'The Fall of the Tees'
sketched 1816 for "Picturesque Views in
England & Wales" 1827 | 87 |
| 10 | Thomas Allom
'High Force of the Tees, Durham'
engraved for "Westmorland, Cumberland,
Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated" 1832 | 89 |
| 11 | J M W Turner
'Chain Bridge over the River Tees'
sketched 1816 engraved for "Picturesque
Views in England & Wales" 1838 | 100 |

- 12 Moses Griffith
'Aysgarth Force'
engraved for Thomas Pennant "Tour in
Scotland" 1772 106
- 13 engraving of Aysgarth Force dated 1774
in Francis Grose
"The Antiquities of England and Wales" 1785 108
- 14 J M W Turner
'Aysgarth Force'
sketched 1816 engraved for "History of
Richmondshire" 1823 111
- 15 Nathaniel Whittock
'Aysgarth Force'
engraved for Thomas Allen "History of the
County of York" 1828-1831 113
- 16 J M W Turner
'Hardraw Fall'
sketched 1816 engraved for "History of
Richmondshire" 1823 119
- 17 Nathaniel Whittock
'Hardrow Force'
engraved for Thomas Allen "History of the
County of York" 1828-1831 121
- 18 Thomas Allom
'The Grotto, in Castle Eden Dean'
engraved for "Westmorland, Cumberland,
Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated" 1832 127
- 19 Thomas Allom
'Castle Eden Hall, Durham'
engraved for "Westmorland, Cumberland,
Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated" 1832 129
- 20 Nathaniel Whittock
'Fall at Gordale'
engraved for Thomas Allen "History of the
County of York" 1828-1831 139
- 21 J M W Turner
'Weathercote Cave, near Ingleton'
watercolour c.1820 for engraving for
"History of Richmondshire" 1823 155
- 22 William Westall
'Waterfall in Weathercote Cave'
engraved 1818 158
- 23 John Phillips
'Plan and Section of Ingleborough Cave'
engraved for "The Rivers, Mountains
and Sea-coast of Yorkshire" 1855 161

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PREFACE

The Picturesque is defined as an art of landscape, with its beginnings in the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century.

The work begins with a description of the evolution of the Picturesque in Britain, through the associated arts of literature, landscape gardening and especially painting. The Picturesque later developed into a more Romantic view of Nature, before a more scientific or geological study of landscape predominated by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The main thrust of this work is the analysis of the development of these strands in the growth and change of the Picturesque, with reference to the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham. The emphasis is on the growing interest in the natural scenery of this region from 1750 to 1860. No previous study of this aspect of the Picturesque for this region has been undertaken.

The detailed responses of poets, novelists, painters and travellers to the waterfalls, gorges and caves in the region is then discussed in a number of case studies. These studies provide the basis for an analysis of the nature of Picturesque description in the region.

The pervasive nature of the Picturesque is traced in today's tourist literature of the region.

INTRODUCTION : THE PICTURESQUE

In the second half of the eighteenth century the term Picturesque was not only discussed and defined, but was also a *pervasive movement of taste*.¹ Most writers today see the Picturesque as an *interregnum* between classic and romantic art², involving an appreciation of landscape chiefly by reference to painting³.

'Pittoresco' was in common use in Italy in the seventeenth century, but meaning 'painter-like', rather than 'picture-like'. 'Pittoresque' was not accepted by the French Academy until 1732.⁴

William Gilpin's writings had much influence on the picturesque, the word appearing on the title-page of his **Essay on Prints** in 1768, "the Principles of Picturesque Beauty". Gilpin provides an 'Explanation of Terms' in which picturesque is defined as *a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture*.⁵ The fourth edition of Johnson's **Dictionary** (1773) uses the word picturesque to define one sense of 'prospect'; *A view delineated; a picturesque representation of a landscape*.⁶

By 1797 another dictionary defines 'picturesque' as *suited to the pencil, though destitute of regular beauty*; the compiler was influenced by Gilpin and by the literary debate on the place of beauty in the picturesque, between Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight. This debate is now viewed as marking a decline from when the picturesque *provided the eighteenth century with a vigorous and useful method of*

appreciating nature.

The Picturesque was a cult which flourished in the eighteenth century, involving the appreciation of landscape firstly with reference to painting, though all the arts, especially those of writing and gardening, became fused into a single 'art of landscape'. The Picturesque was a taste *for seeking out views in the landscape which, by virtue of their historical association, curious form, dramatic or romantic setting attracted the eye and satisfied the intellect.*⁸

For the beginnings of the Picturesque in Britain we must look to the eighteenth century when the lengthy Grand Tour to the sites of classical civilisation in Southern Europe was deemed essential to complete the cultural education of the young English nobleman. These Grand Tourists were confronted by the calm, peaceful scenery of the Roman Campagna warmed by the Italian sun, and by the *terrible majesty of the more awful scenes of the Alps.*⁹

While on the Grand Tour with Horace Walpole in 1739 Thomas Gray, who may be considered the pioneer of the picturesque school, wrote of

*the most romantic, and the most astonishing scenes I ever beheld ... savageness and horror ... the immensity of the precipices, the roaring of the river*¹⁰

It became fashionable for the aristocratic tourists to act as connoisseurs and to bring home pictures of what

they had seen. It was the works of Claude Lorrain and Gaspard Poussin, depicting a serene plain bathed in the warm Italian light of sunrise or sunset, and those of Salvator Rosa, characterised by images of ruin set in a scene of chasms, crags and torrents, that found their way into English collections. In 1785 William Cowper admired

the painter's magic skill,
Who ...
... throws Italian light on English walls¹¹

English artists such as John Mortimer (1743-1779), Philip Louthembourg (c.1740-1812), Joseph Wright (1734-1797) and George Lambert (1710-1765) were soon imitating these Italian scenes, to meet the growing demand for

Whate'er Lorrain light-touched with softening hue,
Or savage Rosa dashed, or learned Poussin drew.¹²

The demand from English visitors to Italy also led to the development of engraving; by the close of the eighteenth century no person of taste could be without a collection of prints.

From these largely Italian-based beginnings, then, did the Picturesque in Britain evolve.

- 1 Watson (1970) p.21
- 2 Hussey (1927) p.4
- 3 Watson (1970) p.11
- 4 Manwaring (1925) pp.167-8
- 5 (p.xii) Manwaring (1925) p.168, Watson (1970) p.19
- 6 Manwaring (1925) p.168
- 7 Watson (1970) p.18
- 8 Tyne and Wear County Council (1982) p.10
- 9 William Wordsworth on a walking tour 1790 Shaver
Vol.I (1967) p.33
- 10 Toynbee (1935) Vol.I pp.122-6
- 11 **The Task** Book I lines 422-425
- 12 James Thomson **The Castle of Indolence** (1748) Canto I,
stanza 38

THE PICTURESQUE IN BRITAIN :
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PICTURESQUE TOUR

It is usual to cite the wars with France from 1793 to 1815 with a brief lull in 1802 as making travel on the continent difficult and encouraging the Tour within Britain itself, but by 1786 *men of Sense and real information* were beginning *to visit, to admire, ... to pourtray ... the majestic scenery of our own Clime.*¹

It is possible to trace some of the beginnings of this 'Picturesque' movement through the various arts of poetry, literature, landscape gardening and painting. The development of the Picturesque Tour in Britain was associated with this changing view of Nature. The first signs may be detected in poetry of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, above all in the poems of John Dyer and James Thomson.

The Arts

In his preface to the second edition of *Winter* in 1726 James Thomson explains his *poetical enthusiasm for wild romantic country ... far from the little busy world.* This first part of *The Seasons* included scenes of vivid natural detail:

*Wide o'er the brim, with many a torrent swelled,
And the mixed ruin of its banks o'erspread,
At last the roused-up river pours along:
Resistless, roaring, dreadful, down it comes,
From the rude mountain and the mossy wild,*

*Tumbling through rocks abrupt, and sounding far;
Then o'er the sanded valley floating spreads,
Calm, sluggish, silent; till again, constrained
Between two meeting hills, it bursts a way
Where rocks and woods o'erhang the turbid stream;
There, gathering triple force, rapid and deep,
It boils, and wheels, and foams, and thunders
through.²*

This view of the majestic works of Nature may be considered as landscape painting in verse. Various commentators have shown how Thomson's poetic techniques reflect those of the artists revered at the time; the scene quoted is a large sweeping vista, described from a high viewpoint and arranged into planes. The use of the present tense and imagery reminiscent of savage Rosa is matched later in the poem by Claudian sunrises and sunsets, extended views and pastoral scenes.

The poets' way of looking at landscape was soon adopted by the reading public. In *The History of Miss Greville* by Susanna Harvey Keir, the heroine, whilst walking in an area never seen by Thomson, comes to one of the grandest prospects she had ever seen, and immediately takes out her pocket volume of *The Seasons* and finds in it *a lively description of the whole surrounding scenery.*³

In 1756 appeared the first volume of Thomas Amory's novel *The Life of John Bunclie, Esq.* The story of the matrimonial ventures of the eccentric hero is interspersed with various digressions and descriptions of the scenery of the very wild and wonderful land of Stanemore. Amory occasionally slips into a classical enthusiasm, but his choice of words generally seems to indicate an early awareness of the Picturesque; and he

overlays his descriptions of the local landscape with references to the Italian scenes so well known from the Grand Tour. Thus in 1725 John Buncler saw Stainmore for the first time:

I travelled into a vast valley, enclosed by mountains whose tops were above the clouds, and soon came into a country that is wilder than the Campagna of Rome, or the uncultivated vales of the Alps and Apennines.

Buncler journeyed a great many miles in search of a friend's house, round unpassable hills, over ... alps upon alps, and by the sides of rivers it was impossible to cross, through a shaking bog, admiring a vast variety of caves and at one point making an ascent in the inside of a mountain from the bottom to the top. Amory, though conscious of the earlier feeling of the inhospitality of mountains, seems aware that his descriptions of wild scenery in Britain break new ground for a novel, and gives footnote directions to shew you how to get into Stanemore, if you have the curiosity and heart to visit that very wild and wonderful land. Subsequent tour writers, such as Arthur Young in 1768, mention following in Buncler's footsteps through these scenes, an amazing mixture of the terrible and the beautiful.⁴

A third thread in the development of the Picturesque movement can be traced in the landscaping of their estates by the returning Grand Tourists. The art of the landscape gardener was called 'place-making' by its best known practitioner, Lancelot "Capability" Brown. Brown was responsible for many transformations, as described in 1785 by William Cowper in *The Task*:

*Lo! he comes,
The omnipotent magician, Brown appears.
.....*

*He speaks. The lake in front becomes a lawn,
Woods vanish, hills subside, and valleys rise,
And streams, as if created for his use,
Pursue the track of his directing wand,
Sinuous or straight, now rapid and now slow,
Now murmuring soft, now roaring in cascades,
Even as he bids.*

The creations of other landscape gardeners, especially William Kent, show a stronger influence of Italian landscape painting. The contrived 'prospects' of extensive vale and meandering river, copied from Claude's paintings, were combined with artificial ruins, contrived cascades and even dead trees to echo the works of Rosa.

Of the various arts, it was above all in painting that the Picturesque exhibited itself most vividly in Britain. By 1807 Robert Southey could write of the passion for the picturesque that had sprung up in the previous thirty years. Southey identified the Picturesque as a *new science for which a new language has been formed*, and extolled *the beautiful landscapes in water-colours, in which the English excel all other nations*. Two years previously the Society of Painters in Water-Colours had held its first exhibition, and in 1808 an observer was struck by the overwhelming proportion of landscapes at an exhibition of the Associated Artists in Watercolours:

In pacing round the rooms the spectator experiences sensations somewhat similar to those of an outside passenger on a mail-coach making a picturesque and picturizing journey to the North. Mountains and cataracts, rivers, lakes and woods, deep romantic glens and sublime sweeps of country, engage his eye in endless and ever-varying succession.⁵

The origins of the trend towards landscape painting in Britain can be traced back to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Francis Place (1647-1728) of Dinsdale near Darlington was one of the first English amateur artists to take views of the country; as well as sketching trips in the North of England he toured Ireland, Wales and Scotland. Francois Vivares (1709-1780) was one of the most eminent landscape engravers of his time; he came to London about 1727 and engraved many of the picturesque views painted by Thomas Smith "of Derby" (?-1769).

The better-off tourist, in search of the Picturesque, was accompanied by an artist; the Welsh artist Moses Griffith produced the drawings for Thomas Pennant's *Tours*; other travellers themselves created a demand for the topographical print. Alexander Hogg issued *England Display'd* about 1769, *The Complete English Traveller* in 1771 and *The Modern Universal British Traveller* in 1779. *The Copper Plate Magazine, or a Monthly Treasure for all the Admirers of the Imitative Arts* started in 1774.

Advice for artists producing beautiful landscapes was available in the new language of the Picturesque. The Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804) in *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, published in 1786, takes

a sort of analytical view of the materials, which compose ... a picturesque view ... The sky is laid in; a mountain fills the offskip; and a lake, with its accompaniments, takes possession of a nearer distance. Nothing but a fore-ground is wanting; and for this we have great choice of objects- broken ground- trees- rocks- cascades- and vallies.^e

Some of Gilpin's observations were followed by the publishers of engravings such as Edward Brayley and John Britton who produced 25 volumes of *The Beauties of England and Wales, or Delineations, Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive; of all the Counties*. John Britton's *Select Views in Great Britain*, engraved by S. Middiman, were published in parts from 1784 to 1792 and republished in a single volume in 1814.

By the end of the eighteenth century the general intellectual climate in Britain had imposed, in all the arts, a certain uniformity of landscape perception which outweighed any individualistic interest. It was as if there was a shared image of British landscape, refracted through cultural lenses and focussed on a general *Romantic retina*.⁷

The Picturesque Tour

Only the wealthy had access to the scenery of Italy through the Grand Tour, through the pictures by Lorrain, Poussin or Rosa, or through English imitations of these pictures or imitations of the landscapes themselves. The growing interest of the middle class, fostered by the poems and novels, helped to promote not only the development of the engraving of Italian scenes, but also the search for substitute scenery in Britain and thus the Picturesque Tour.

By the 1770s the picturesque travellers in Britain were talking of 'scenes', 'views' and 'landscapes' not only in the grounds they visited, but also in the natural scenery they sought out. A flurry of published Tours and Travels appeared, among them:

Thomas Pennant's second Tour in Scotland 1772

Rev William Gilpin's Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland 1786

Nathaniel Spencer's Complete English Traveller 1773

William Hutchinson's Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland, August 1773.

The Lake District especially attracted the painters and writers whose work still reflected the European influence. Hutchinson quotes a letter from Dr. John Brown which had been printed at Newcastle in 1767, but probably written before 1756. This letter played no unimportant part in making the scenery of the Lake District famous; it contains all the Picturesque elements. There is a *perpetual change of prospect of picturesque forms, from a rich and beautiful landskip of cultivated fields to the horrrible grandeur of rocks and cliffs of stupendous height with a variety of waterfalls ... pouring ... in rude and terrible magnificence.* Inevitably, there is the overlying influence of Italian painting:

the full perfection of Keswick consists of three circumstances, beauty, horror and immensity united ... But to give you a complete idea of these three perfections, as they are joined in Keswick, would require the united powers of Claude, Salvator, and

Poussin. The first should throw his delicate sunshine over the cultivated vales, the scattered cots, the groves, the lake, and wooded islands. The second should dash out the horror of the rugged cliffs, the steeps, the hanging woods, and foaming waterfalls; while the grand pencil of Poussin should crown the whole with the majesty of the impending mountains.

Thirty years after his Grand Tour, Thomas Gray was writing to his friend Dr Wharton of his Tour in the Lake District, where he gave *much employment to the mirror, a tinted 'Claude glass' in which the viewer saw the scene as a Claude-like picture with all the softness of its living colours.*⁸

In 1778 the *Monthly Magazine* reported that

to make the Tour of the Lakes, to speak in fashionable terms, is the ton of the present hour.

Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* was published in 1778 to encourage the taste of visiting the lakes. As well as selecting the best stations and points of view, itself a Picturesque task, West plans his tour so that

*The change of scenes is from what is pleasing, to what is surprising; from the delicate touches of Claude, verified on Coniston lake, to the noble scenes of Poussin, exhibited on Windermere-water; and, from these to the stupendous, romantic ideas of Salvator Rosa, realized on the Lake of Derwent.*⁹

Travellers were increasingly catered for by the improvement of roads and the production of maps and guides. John Ogilby's large strip road maps were produced in 1675. In 1719 John Sennex brought out a new version, which in his own words was *improved, very much corrected, and made portable*. In 1773 *A Catalogue of the Antiquities, Houses, Parks, Plantations, Scenes, and Situations in England and Wales, arranged according to the alphabetical order of the several counties* was

published. As the introduction stated, *this catalogue was originally drawn up on the blank pages of Kitchen's English Atlas* by Thomas Gray, using his *extensive researches into the topography and the summer tours which he made*. By 1787 **County Maps** were produced by John Cary, whose **Traveller's Companion** was added in 1791.

The Hon. John Byng made about 15 tours in Britain between 1781 and 1794, *lounging about The Country, in Search of Antiquity, and the Beauties of Nature*, viewing old castles, old manors and old religious houses, or a wild waterfall. By 1782 Byng could comment that *Tour writing is the very rage of the times*¹⁹, and by 1807 Robert Southey could write of the diversification of Tours.

*While one of the flocks of fashion migrates to the sea-coast, another flies off to the mountains of Wales, to the lakes in the northern provinces, or to Scotland; some to mineralogize, some to botanize, some to take views of the country, -all to study the picturesque.*²¹

Changes in the Picturesque

The early work of the most famous British painter of the time, J.M.W. Turner, is in the Picturesque mould, but the bulk of his work may be attributed to the Romantic approach, which many argue was a mutation of the Picturesque. Turner's diary of a tour in Wales in the summer of 1792 shows that although he is mainly concerned with visiting the beautiful ruins of Crucis Abbey, which he finds *a fine remain of the Gothic*, he spends more time noting

the swelling hills folding as it were over each other & beautifully gradating till they blend softly into

*the Horizon all blue & tender grey tints irradiated
in the summit in the distances by the setting sun.*¹²

Turner was commissioned to paint the houses of the wealthy and to illustrate books, at first with antiquarian subjects, and then with picturesque views. There are many records of Turner's interest and involvement in the engraving of the plates for these books, at first in copper and, after 1818, sometimes in the more durable steel, from which many more copies could be made.

Copper continued to be used by some publishers, as with Charles Heath's **Picturesque Views in England and Wales**. Nineteen engravers were employed producing the copper plates from Turner's watercolours; the engravings were published in three parts a year from 1827 to 1838, each part containing four engravings and a description.

In 1832 Thomas Rose argued that *steel-plate engraving* had helped the *energetic .. efforts of Publishers and British Painters to create a refined taste ... for faithful and vivid delineations of native scenery*. Even then, echoes of Italian influence coexisted with the Romantic approach; Rose writes of the artists having *revealed, with Claude-like grace and effect the .. charming picturesque of the British landscape.*¹³

Parallel with changes in painting and engraving were changes in the poems and novels the artists were illustrating. It may be argued that the Picturesque, itself with a recognition of the power of nature,

developed into a more naturalistic Romanticism.

William Wordsworth's local scene was a picturesque landscape of lakes and mountains; the poet read the picturesque writers, and shared their methods of appreciating that landscape. In *The Prelude* Wordsworth described his early cult of the Picturesque, *making quest for works of art, or scenes renowned for beauty*. The poet reasoned that this

giving way
*To a comparison of scene with scene,
Bent overmuch on superficial things,
Pampering myself with meagre novelties
Of colour and proportion*

developed into an intercourse between himself and nature until he

again
*In Nature's presence stood, ...
A sensitive being, a creative soul.*

As one critic expressed it, Wordsworth *painted place as it had never been painted before, and connected it in new ways with man's thought processes and moral being*.¹⁴ Instead of viewing landscape as did the true pilgrims of the picturesque, the Romantics preferred to feel it.

In 1811, Jane Austen had Edward Ferrars, in *Sense and Sensibility*, dispute the Picturesque perception of landscape; he liked *a fine prospect, but not on picturesque principles*. Ferrars' idea of a fine country involved a combination of beauty and utility. He could not admire crooked trees, ruined cottages or thistles; and had *more pleasure in a snug farm-house than a*

watch-tower, and in happy villagers than a group of banditti. Marianne Dashwood agrees with him that admiration of landscape scenery has become mere jargon.

As Southey had detected as early as 1807, the study of science in nature affected the cult of the Picturesque and one is aware of a change in emphasis; sometimes the Claude glass is replaced by the geologist's hammer or the specimen-box. John Phillips in 1836 argued that the geologist

of all men should be the most affected by the charms of nature, who, in addition to the pleasure derived from contemplating the external aspect of creation, feels himself irresistibly led to ... unite the present with the past.¹⁵

Even here, aspects of the picturesque remain; antiquities are described, artists mentioned and viewpoints given.

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Picturesque had lost its exclusiveness. William Howitt in 1840 argued that the poems of Southey, *full of a pensive beauty*, and those of Wordsworth, *stricken .. by the mighty power of nature*, had given *the slave of the desk, the warehouse, the bank, and the shop a love of nature and out-of-door liberty*. Improved roads and the development of railways enabled a wider audience to participate in a form of the Picturesque Tour. Some of the middle classes were able to take a summer tour in one of the wilder parts of the country, drawn by the widening

love of poetry and nature, of picturesque scenery and summer-wandering.¹⁶

In one sense, the Picturesque, at least in its early eighteenth century form, was in decline, though aspects of it may be said to have spread to a wider audience and be found in tourist literature to this day.

This analysis of the development of the Picturesque in Britain will now be applied to an hitherto neglected area which has been chosen for study, the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham.

- 1 Hurltley (1786) Introduction
- 2 From the 1746 edition of *Winter* lines 94-105
- 3 Barrell (1972) p.43
- 4 Amory (1756 & 1766) Vol.I pp.285, 100, 327, 165, 496;
Vol.II p.211; Vol.I pp.362, 285, 54
- 5 *Repository of Arts* quoted in Hardie (1967) Vol.II
p.117
- 6 Vol.I pp.81, 103
- 7 Lowenthal (1961) p.260
Zaring (1977) pp.410, 417, 398
- 8 Toynbee (1935) pp.1076, 1090
- 9 7th Edition (1799) pp.2, 10
- 10 Byng (1934-36) Vol.IV p.90, Vol.II p.39, Vol.I p.69
- 11 *Letters from England* Letter XXX
- 12 Gage (1980) pp.13, 15
- 13 Rose (1832) Vol.I Address
- 14 Drabble (1979) p.151
- 15 Phillips (1836) Part 2 p.164
- 16 Howitt (1840) pp.201-202

THE PICTURESQUE TOUR & TOURISTS
IN THE YORKSHIRE DALES AND COUNTY DURHAM

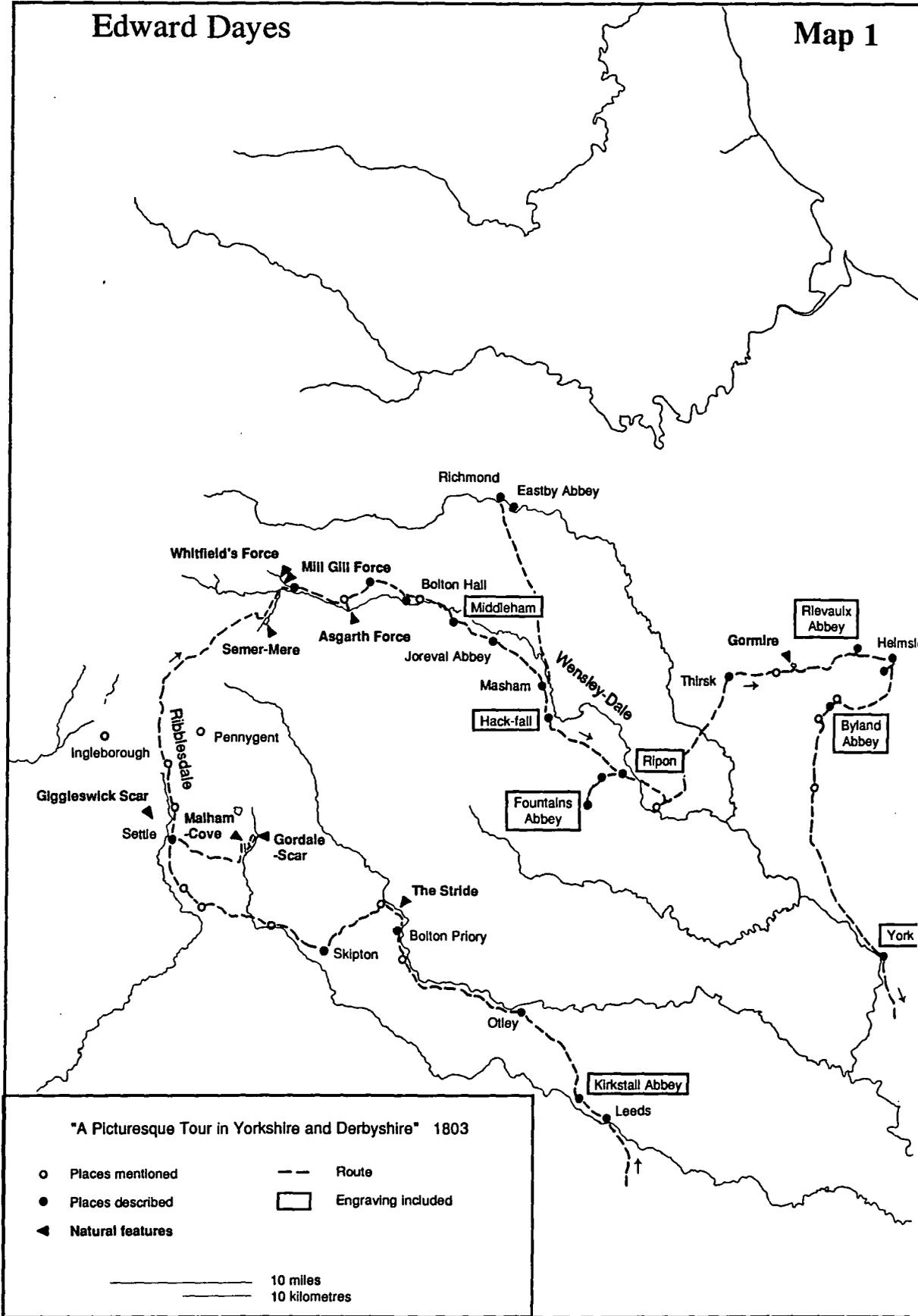
Much has been written of the Picturesque Tour in the Lake District, but the only survey of the present region, *The Picturesque Tour In Northumberland and Durham* is a catalogue for an exhibition in 1982. Even then it rather neglects the natural scene.

The Lake District, the Wye Valley or North Wales are the first places usually associated with the Picturesque but such areas attracted attention to their grandeur and wildness. Northumberland and Durham attracted the interest of antiquarians and topographers who were seeking out that aspect of the Picturesque which reveals itself in ruins, castles, abbeys and cathedrals.¹

This statement, reinforced by the inclusion of a mere two natural scenes in the total of 64 listed paintings of County Durham, disappointingly neglects the cataloguing, painting and engraving of the more sublime aspects of the Picturesque by the travellers to County Durham. It is with the development of interest in the natural scene, and the Picturesque tourists' perceptions of that scene, in County Durham and the Yorkshire Dales - the latter's chasms, caverns and cascades admittedly being grander and wilder - that this study is concerned. The main natural sites are identified on Map 5.

Artists

The work of certain local artists had some influence on the Tour, especially if they had connections with London. Among the first topographical views to be produced in Britain were Francis Place's drawings of the



Dropping Well at Knaresborough (1711) and the Cascade at Richmond (1718). Place drew these while on sketching tours from his home at Dinsdale near Darlington. Scenes in Teesdale, Swaledale and Wensleydale were painted by George Cuiitt who returned around 1820 to Richmond from London for health reasons. Teesdale was also featured in the first works of George Fennel Robson to be exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1807.

Better known visiting artists brought the chasms, caverns and cascades to the attention of a wider audience, helping to promote the Picturesque Tour. William Gilpin, as well as painting 'The Banks of the Tees' in 1767, mentions the River Greta and the effects of the floods of the previous year in his *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772*. Edward Dayes explained the purpose of his *Picturesque Tour in Yorkshire and Derbyshire* (shown on Map 1) in 1803:

to inspect and to make Drawings of the principal features in the sublime and picturesque scenery of... Yorkshire.

The influence of the Grand Tour may be seen in Dayes' description of the scenery of Yorkshire:

the country I passed over, afforded scenes as wild and romantic as any from the pencil of Salvator Rosa; some equally as grand as Poussin; and others, as elegant as Claude.

Dayes also acknowledges the influence of James Thomson, quoting lines from *The Seasons*, published in 1746.

Most visiting artists depended upon the interest of

patrons, themselves influenced by the Grand Tour. In 1797, at the age of 22, J.M.W. Turner made his first tour to Northern England during which he painted watercolours of Harewood House, in the grounds landscaped some 20 years earlier by Capability Brown. In 1808 Edward Lascelles' patronage was replaced by that of Walter Fawkes of Farnley Hall near Otley.

Turner's favourite painting 'Frosty Morning' (Plate 1) illustrates some of the features of this aspect of the development of the Picturesque. The scene was probably sketched while the artist was travelling to Farnley in the late autumn of 1812; it may be his patron Fawkes who is shown waiting with two of his children for Turner's arrival on the coach from London. When 'Frosty Morning' was exhibited at the Royal Academy, Turner showed the influence of James Thomson when he added a line from *Autumn* :

The rigid hoar-frost melts before his beam.

Walter Fawkes' granddaughter, Edith Mary Fawkes², wrote of the close and unbroken friendship between artist and patron; the popular 1819 exhibition of Turner's watercolours at the Fawkes' family town-house in Grosvenor Place must have brought Yorkshire scenery to the attention of many.

J.B.S. Morritt of Rokeby Hall near Greta Bridge was another patron of the arts. John Sell Cotman's famous watercolours of the River Greta, and Walter Scott's poem *Rokeby* resulted from Morritt's interest and encouragement. Morritt predicted that the popularity of



Plate 1 J M W Turner
 'Frosty Morning'
 exhibited 1813 oil

Scott's poem, published in 1813, would bring an *influx of cockney romancers, artists, illustrators, and sentimental tourists*³ to Greta Bridge.

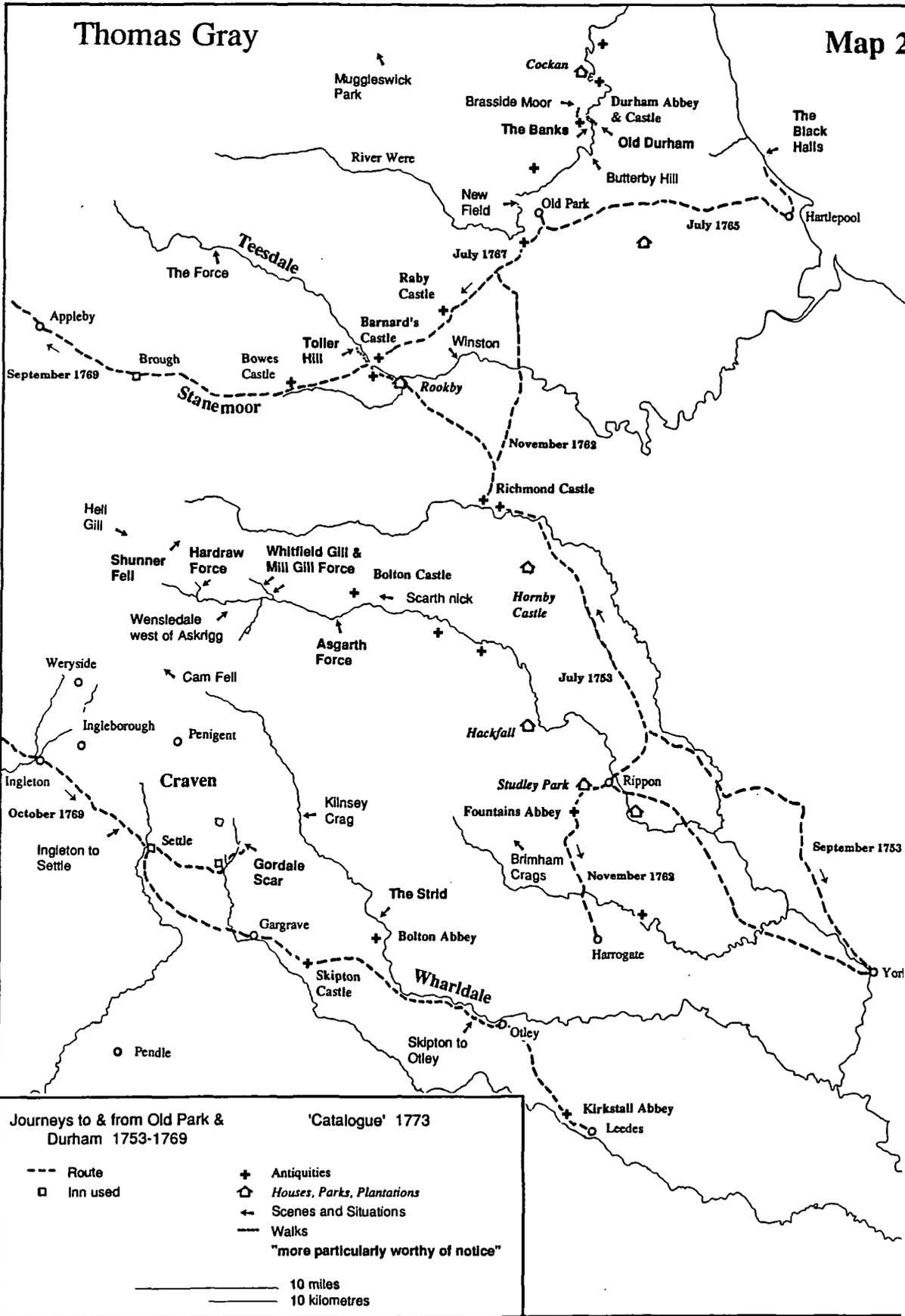
Accounts by Travellers

Many of the early travellers were wealthy, in holy orders or lawyers, actively or vicariously influenced by the Grand Tour. The accounts of those with the money and leisure to seek the Picturesque in the region persuaded others to visit the area. In September 1769 Thomas Gray was staying with his friend Dr. Thomas Wharton in Durham. When they set off on a Tour to the Lakes and Yorkshire Dr. Wharton became ill and Gray continued on his own, writing a detailed daily account which he forwarded to his friend at intervals. Gray's route through County Durham and Yorkshire is shown on Map 2. As this 'Journal' was published by William Mason in 1775 it would have had some influence on potential tourists. Gray's descriptions, especially of Gordale Scar, must have prompted many others to follow.

*The principal horror of the place was the dreadful canopy with loose stones that hang in air, & threaten visibly some idle Spectator with instant destruction.*⁴

Similarly, many followed Thomas Amory's directions to visit the *very wild and wonderful land* of Durham and Yorkshire.⁵

A contributor signing himself 'Pastor' wrote an account of Ingleborough in the **Gentleman's Magazine** of 1761, describing the swallow holes and underground streams:



what seemed very remarkable to me, there was not one rivulet running from the base of the mountain that had not a considerable subterraneous passage.⁶

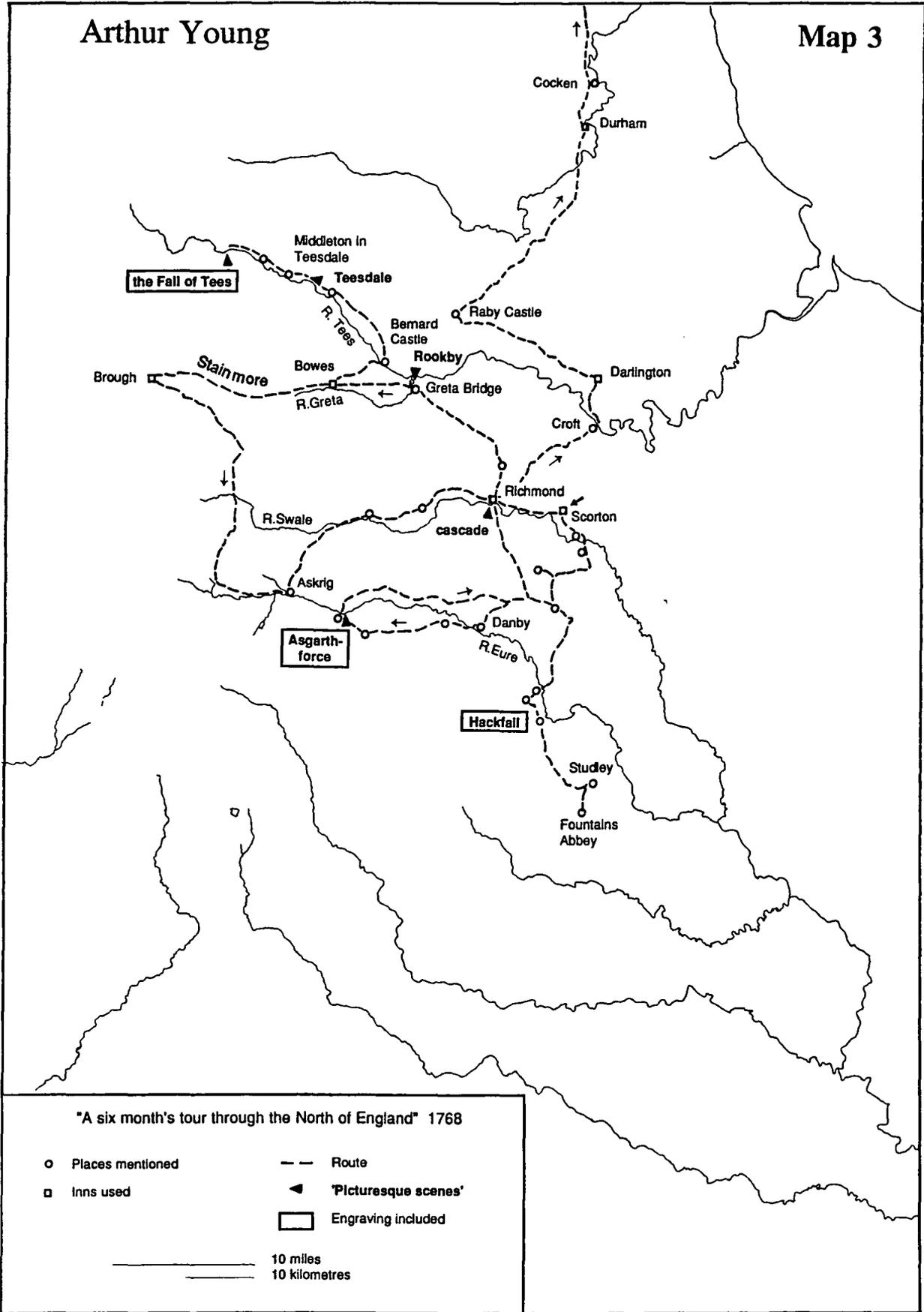
A number of gentlemen were encouraged to go to Ingleborough and explore these mysteries. Twenty years later the Rev. John Hutton wrote his *Tour of the Caves* including Weathercote Cave:

the most surprising natural curiosity of the kind in the island of Great Britain. It is a stupendous subterranean cataract in a huge cave.⁷

These descriptions of the sublime and terrible features of limestone attracted more Picturesque tourists. In his *Descriptive Tour, and Guide to the Lakes, Caves, Mountains and other Natural Curiosities, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire and a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* of 1802 John Housman advised that the caves should be visited *either before or after the lakes*; by now Housman can hire a *proper guide* and take the *most commonly adopted route*.⁸

The farmer and writer, Arthur Young, while collecting information on British agriculture for his *six months tour through the North of England* in 1768, made diversions to view the art collections of the gentry and *some picturesque scenes*. These diversions are shown on Map 3. Young demonstrates his knowledge of the Picturesque, not only by his references to artists, but also in his perhaps unconscious use of words such as 'view' and 'scene' and his preference for the 'prospect' or 'station' reminiscent of the works of those artists. In Teesdale he writes *more of the terrible sublime, than the pleasing and beautiful, the gloriously romantic scene*:

Would to heaven I could unite in one sketch the



cheerfulness of Zuccarelli with the gloomy terrors of Pousin, the glowing brilliancy of Claud, with the romantic wildness of Salvator Rosa. Even with such powers it would be difficult to sketch the view which at once broke upon our ravished eyes.

Arthur Young acknowledges that Thomas Amory's novel *The Life of John Bunclre, Esq* had alerted him to such views in Teesdale. Subsequent writers were to copy these early descriptions, even when themselves drawn by Young's eulogy to visit the

glorious range of black mountains, fertile valleys, beautiful inclosures, hanging woods, steep precipices, raging torrents, tremendous rocks, winding streams, and beautiful cascades... A morning's ride well worth a journey of a thousand miles to travel.⁹

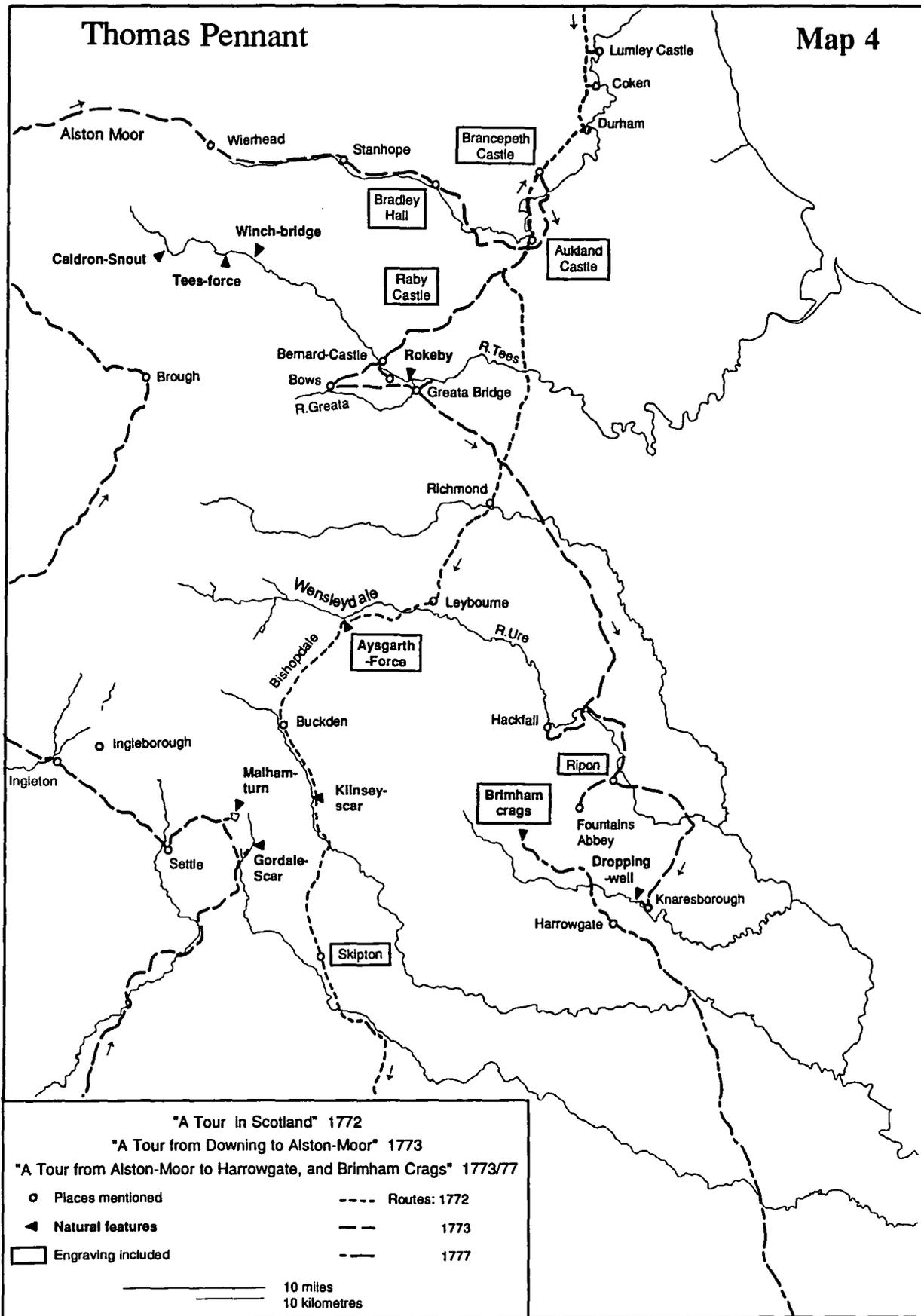
Young here bridges the change from the early eighteenth century landscape taste for prosperous cultivation to the beginnings of interest in the dramatic in nature.

The antiquarian topographers, again largely clergy or lawyers, had a part to play in the development of the Picturesque Tour in this part of the country. The language of the picturesque is, naturally, adopted, viewpoints or 'stations' are sought, and it is interesting to detect plagiarism in the descriptions. It is not always possible to deduce whether the later writers actually visited a particular site or merely re-wrote accounts by earlier travellers.

William Hutchinson, a solicitor of Barnard Castle, in the first edition of *An Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland, August 1773*, set out to include the natural scenery of Teesdale; and twenty

Thomas Pennant

Map 4



years later in *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* accompanies engravings of the waterfalls with romantic descriptions of their *august beauties*.¹⁰ Thomas Pennant in his second *Tour in Scotland* in 1772 (shown on Map 4), while describing the *fine arch over the Ure built in 1539 at Aysgarth*, also supplies an account of the beautiful cascades.

*The scenery above and below is most unusually picturesque. The banks on both sides are lofty, rocky, and darkened with trees. Above the bridge two regular precipices cross the river, down which the water falls in beautiful cascades, which are seen to great advantage from below.*¹¹

In 1804 Richard Garland from Barnard Castle commented on the proliferation of published 'Tours' at the time:

"Somewhat too much of this!" is the apt exclamation of every Reader, at the sight of a new publication, prefaced by the title of a Tour. But it seems to be rather the repetition over one beaten road, than that there are too many books of this class, of which the public has to complain. From the Lakes to the mountains of Wales; from the Cambrian hills to the Highlands of Scotland; (with very rare deviations from the accustomed stages,) we follow every Traveller, whom fashion, or the view of reimbursement, induces to journalize.

Garland's self-appointed task is to promote his own area, presumably also for reimbursement. He bases his *Tour in Teesdale* on Greta Bridge and Barnard Castle, and while he does not fail to give directions to the most obvious places of interest such as Raby Castle, Bowes and Egglestone Abbey, he concentrates on scenic viewpoints and the natural sights.

It is by a very slow and gradual progress, that the wild graces of Nature are won to the enjoyment of Taste. My design is, by tracing the leading and most prominent features of particular scenes, to give

*Teesdale its due place and character in picturesque scenery; and to introduce the Naturalist, as well as the Tourist, to explore a country almost new to their different pursuits.*¹²

Later topographers tended to confirm the interest in the natural scene that others had moulded; often their comments were largely commentaries on the engravings commissioned for their Histories; the language of the Picturesque persisted well into the nineteenth century. By 1816 Turner had been commissioned to produce 120 watercolours to illustrate the Rev. Thomas D Whitaker's **General History of the County of York**, starting with **Richmondshire**. However, after Longmans had purchased only 20 watercolours at 25 guineas each and paid 80 guineas for the engraving of each plate, they backed out of this costly venture in 1819. **Richmondshire** was published as a separate volume in 1823. Whitaker describes the scene near Rokeby, to accompany Turner's view:

*A short walk from the house leads to a modern bridge over the Greta, and to an apartment placed on the brink of the rock ... from which all the outrages of this dreadful torrent may be contemplated in perfect security.*¹³

Northern scenes figured prominently in the sets of engravings published from 1827 as **Picturesque Views in England and Wales**. As well as scenes such as "Richmond Castle and Town, Yorkshire", there were those reflecting Turner's interest in the natural landscape, "The Fall of the Tees" and "Chain Bridge over the Tees", the latter based on Cauldron Snout.

Engravers producing book illustrations rather than sets of engravings used the more durable steel. In his **New and Complete History of the County of York** Thomas Allen

in 1831 accompanies Nathaniel Whittock's drawing of Gordale Scar with a description of

*one of the most stupendous scenes in Yorkshire, immensity and horror being its inseparable companions, uniting together to form subjects of the most awful cast.*¹⁴

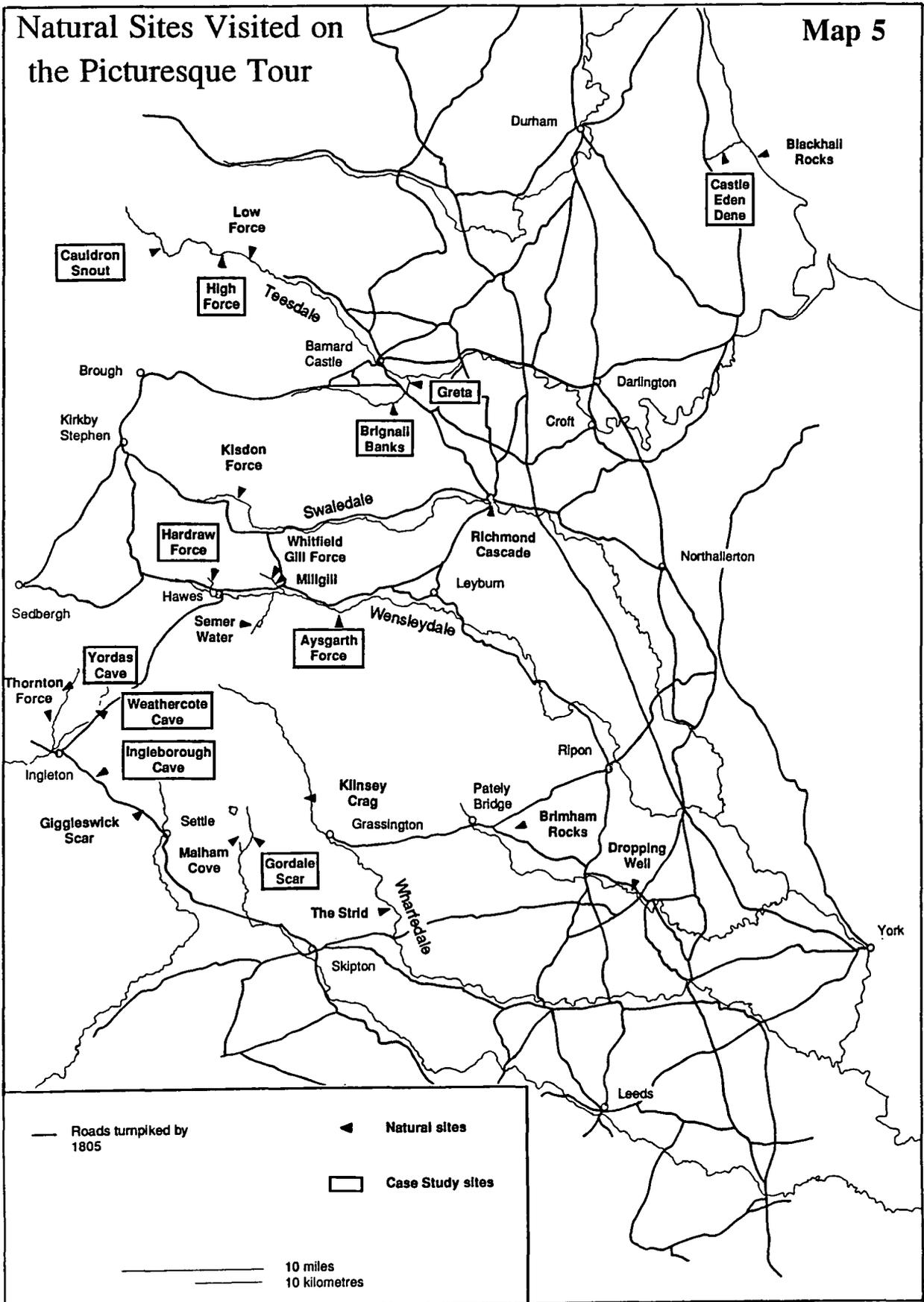
Even allowing for the exaggeration of the conditions inherent in any appreciation of the sublime, the waterfalls of upper Teesdale posed difficulties of access. Arthur Young in 1769 had to *ride through rapid streams, struggle along the sides of rocks, cross bleak mountains, and ride up the channel of torrents as the only sure road over bogs.*¹⁵ The roads themselves were much criticised; in 1769 the *great north road* from Croft Bridge to Darlington was *execrably broke into holes.*¹⁶ (Map 5) The upland roads were usually *tedious, exceeding bad, rocky, and dangerous.*¹⁷

Such conditions however did not prevent visitors coming. In 1773 *a party on pleasure, consisting of several gentlemen and ladies were enjoying the beauties of the scene* at High Force; *the rocks were spread with their repast, and the servant attending caught the living spring to mix their wine.*¹⁸ By 1792 John Byng was able to hire a guide, but still had to endure *a most fatiguing descent, and a very dangerous crawl* at High Force,¹⁹ and he was not writing for an audience.

Most writers on the Picturesque relate the growth of tourism to the spreading network of turnpiked roads. Map 5 shows the extent of roads turnpiked by 1805. By the third decade of the nineteenth century it took 36 hours

Natural Sites Visited on the Picturesque Tour

Map 5



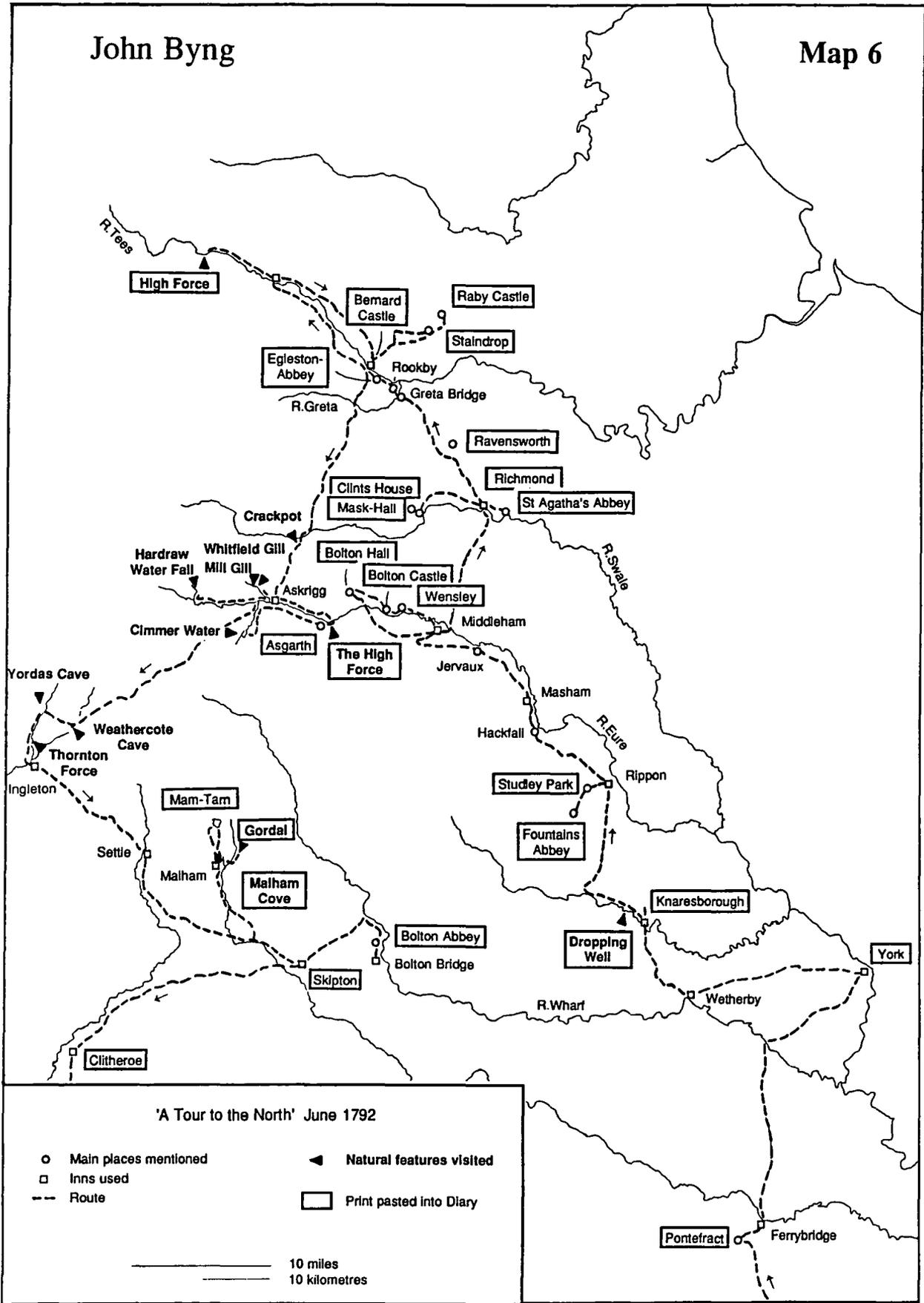
by coach from London to Newcastle; it cost 2s. per mile to travel post; and the cost of feeding one's own two horses and coachman was 9s. per day.²⁰ It was not until 1834 that a *good road*²¹ was constructed in upper Teesdale and a footpath with a *flight of rude steps*²² provided from a *recently erected inn* to High Force.

Publicity was as important as access to the natural sites; the Tours, the engravings, the novels and poems encouraged more visitors. John Byng explains his tour to Durham and Yorkshire (shown on Map 6) in 1792.

I am here in that sort of wild country, and unvisited village that I wish to explore; and wherein to lose the memory of all the midnight follies, and extravagant foolish conversations of the Capitol.

Byng's diary explains that he would not have visited the area if he had not read the poem **Wensleydale** by Thomas Maude and Hutton's **Tour of the Caves**; he also took care to examine a friend's *collection of topographical prints; that I may not trot by a place which I shall afterwards learn was an object of admiration.*²³ Map 6 identifies the topographical prints that Byng pasted into his diary.

Poems based on locations in the region played some part in attracting the pilgrims of the picturesque; the influence of James Thomson has already been mentioned. The second edition of Richard Garland's **Tour in Teesdale** (1813) included extracts from the recently published poem **Rokeby** by Walter Scott; the poem incorporated descriptions of the *beauties of Teesdale*²⁴ as well as "a *good robber's cave and an old church of the right sort*".²⁵



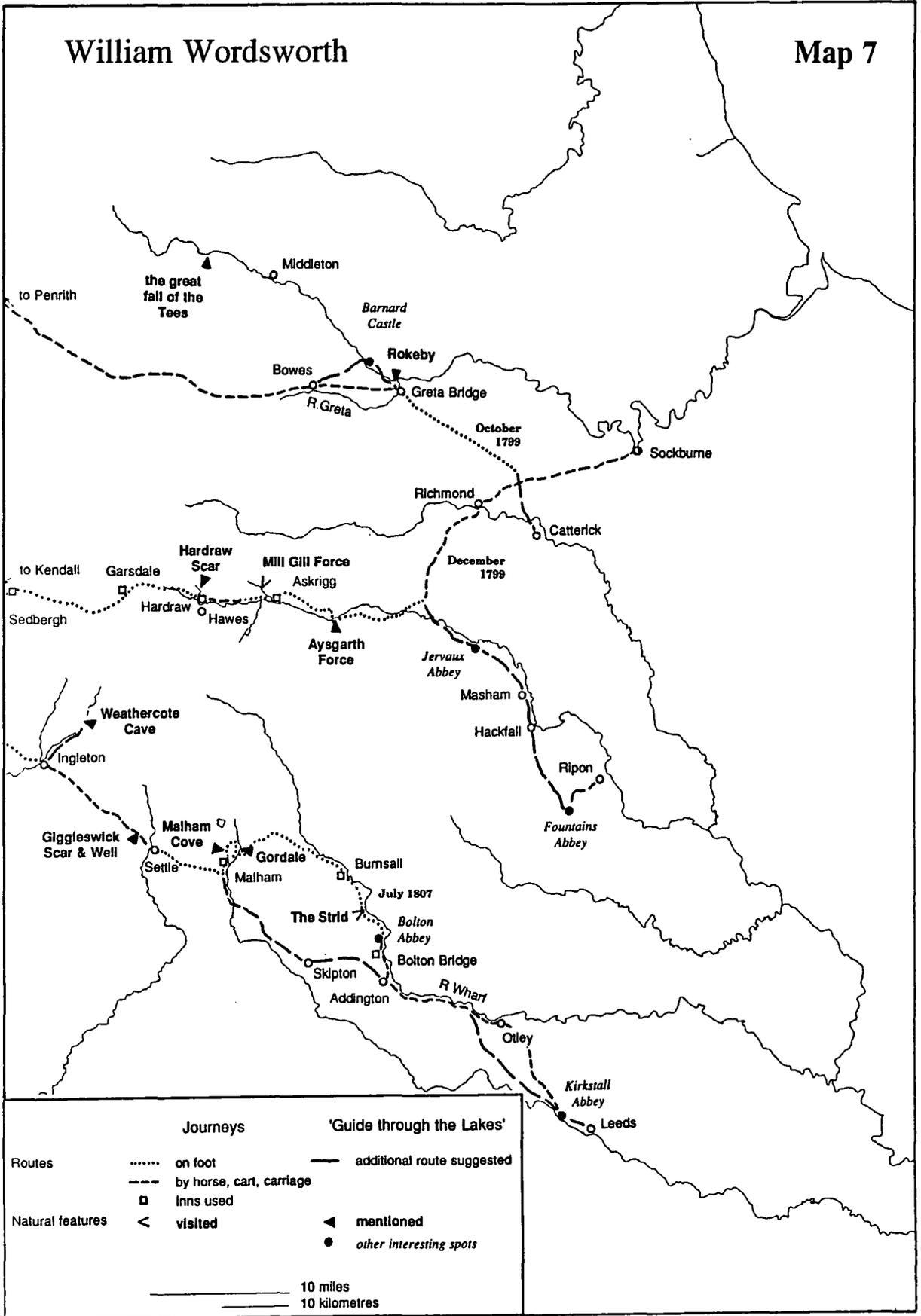
To promote the sale of later editions of poems, publishers commissioned engravings, increasingly of natural scenes by well-established artists. In 1831 Turner sketched -for the second time- the Meeting of the Waters (of the Greta and Tees) for a new edition of Scott's **Poetical Works**. A year later Turner painted a small watercolour to be engraved as a head-piece to Samuel Rogers' poem 'The Boy of Egremont', which was based on a legend of the Strid in Wharfedale. William Wordsworth read about the same legend in the Rev T D Whitaker's **History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven** after visiting the Strid and Bolton Abbey in 1807. Within two months of the visit Wordsworth had written a ballad based on the legend, later published as **The Force of Prayer or The Founding of Bolton Priory - A Tradition.**²⁶

William and Dorothy Wordsworth saw some of the picturesque sites in the region on three journeys in 1799 and 1807. Map 7 shows how these sites were used when the poet came to supply, in his **Guide through the District of the Lakes, the Tourist or Persons of taste, and feeling for landscape with a list of certain interesting spots which may be confidently recommended.** Eight or nine of the thirteen sites recommended on the *three approaches to the Lakes through Yorkshire* are natural features.

One of Wordsworth's tourist routes included Bolton Bridge, comprising the Picturesque elements of the Strid, the 'Abbey' and the landscaped grounds. In the Notes to one of the poems based on his visit here,

William Wordsworth

Map 7



Wordsworth is complimentary about the way in which William Carr has *most skillfully* created a landscape garden from the *woody glen*, with stepped riverside pathways, high level walks with viewing seats and a surprise view, *by working with an invisible hand of art in the very spirit of nature.*²⁷ Other *beautiful spots* such as Rokeby, Cocken near Durham and Castle Eden Dene possessed the necessary Picturesque ingredients of a *fine river* flowing below *noble rocks* and *hanging woods*, and perhaps a view of a *ruined abbey*²⁸ or *mansion-house*. Such sites were improved and *rendered accessible*²⁹ by their owners. Many such Picturesque gardens were inspired by William Aislabie's reconstruction from 1730 of the celebrated Hackfall in the Ure gorge near Masham, also recommended by Wordsworth. In the absence of a ruin, eye-catching follies were constructed; *artificial cascades*³⁰ were engineered and stations designed *in a very natural and masterly manner*³¹ to reveal prospects of the *finely foaming rapid Ure*³² to produce a *bewitching landscape in the pure stile of ornamented nature.*³³

Changes in the Picturesque

Wordsworth's *Guide through the District of the Lakes* hints at the study of science in nature affecting the cult of the Picturesque in the Dales of Durham and North Yorkshire.

Every one has heard of the great fall of the Tees above Middleton, interesting for its grandeur, as the avenue of rocks that leads to it, is to the geologist.

In 1802 John Playfair used the Ingleborough area to illustrate the geological theories of James Hutton published seven years earlier.³⁴ Charles Fothergill, travelling around Yorkshire in 1805 gathering information for a *Natural and Civil History* of the county, comments on the potholes at Aysgarth Force *which have so much occupied the attention of Natural Philosophers*. He also entreats *all Natural Philosophers who are not afraid of their necks* to visit High Force to see the *numerous and perfect petrifications of cockles, oysters and muscles*.³⁵

John Phillips, Keeper of the York Museum from 1824, later becoming Professor of Geology at London, Dublin and Oxford, wrote two books on Yorkshire geology. He interpreted the rocks at High Force and the formation of the waterfalls in the Yoredale rocks in *Illustrations of the Geology of Yorkshire* (1836), and the origin of Malham Cove and Ingleborough Cave in *The Rivers, Mountains and Sea-coast of Yorkshire* in 1855.

*In this long and winding gallery, fashioned by nature in the marble heart of the mountain, floor, roof and sides are everywhere intersected by fissures which were formed in the consolidation of the stone. To these fissures and the water which has passed down them, we owe the formation of the cave and its rich furniture of stalactites.*³⁶

Within the change of emphasis to the science of landscape evolution, however, some strong Picturesque elements can still be found. At Aysgarth Phillips suggests the bridge as being *commendable as a station for looking on the river and church*, and describes the *powerful cataracts on which Turner has bestowed some touches of his magic pencil*. The same geologist

recommends that

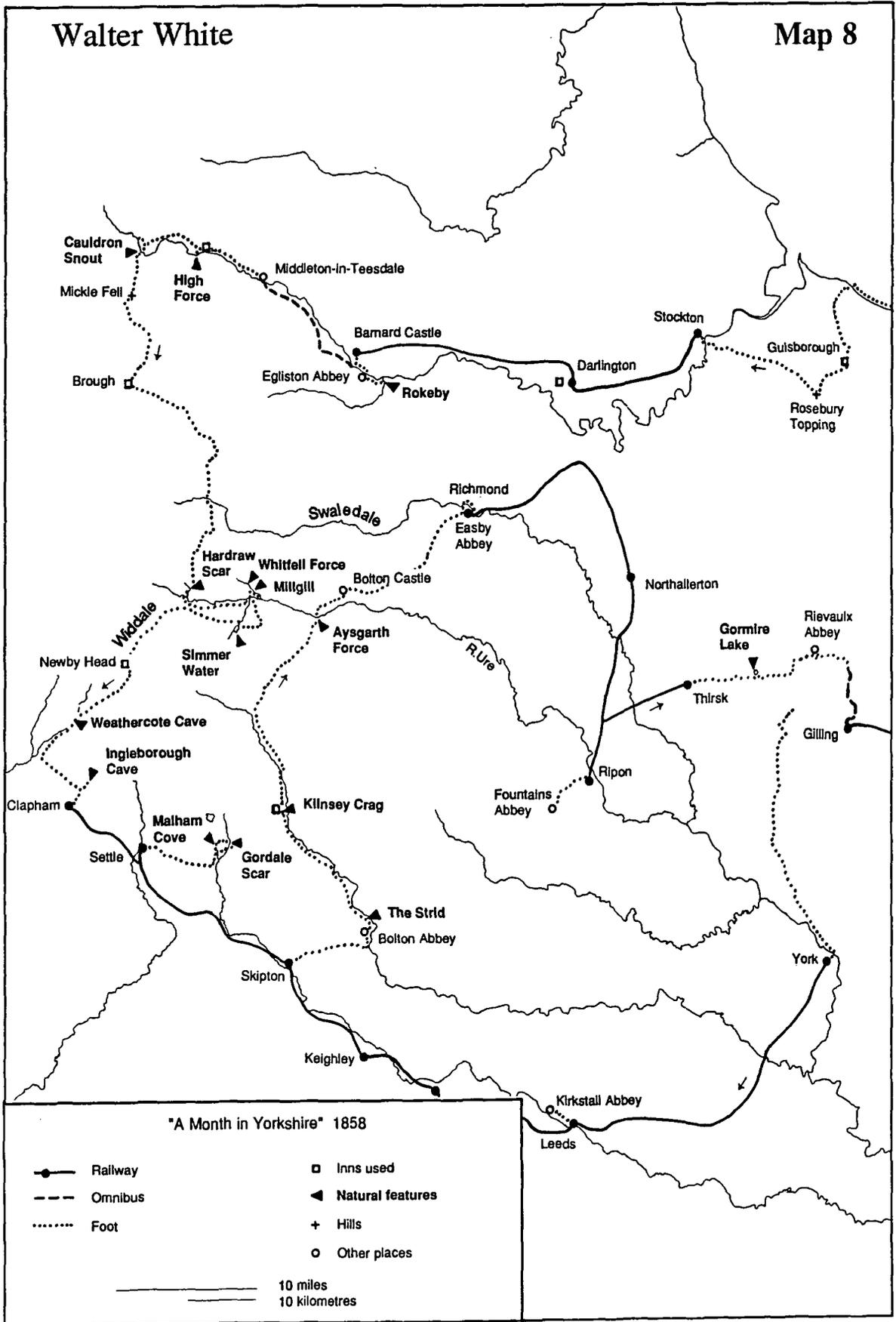
'Barnard's Towers', the Castle of Baliol, will not be neglected by the artist or antiquary who has any reverence for the genius of Scott.³⁷

By the middle of the nineteenth century the more romantic approach to landscape was also evident. Walter White in *A Month in Yorkshire* describes Millgill Force in Wensleydale as a spot

which Nature keeps as a shrine approachable only by the active foot and willing heart ... To sit and watch the fall deep under the canopy of leaves, catching glimpses of sunshine and of blue sky above, and to enjoy the delicious coolness, was the luxury of enjoyment.

White's account (his route is shown on Map 8), published in 1858, is directed at the newer type of tourist coming into the region, willing to walk but helped by the improved roads and the extending railways. White takes the train from Darlington to Barnard Castle, then *the omnibus, which starts at half-past five for Middleton-in-Teesdale, nine miles distant on the road to the hills.* He spent two hours on the journey and walked *to sleep at the High Force Inn, nearly five miles farther.* After visiting the waterfall next morning, White was informed by the waitress *how in summer the place was kept alive by numerous visitors to the fall.*

At the Greta, Walter White concentrates on the *romantic glen through which the river flows, referring to Scott's poem, and leaving a numerous detachment of the excursionists from Newcastle ... to view the grounds of Rokeby.*



Though the type of tourist had changed, some aspects of the Picturesque may be seen to have persisted; the same sites were sought, artists and poets who had helped to promote the Picturesque in the area were mentioned and quoted. At Egglestone Abbey, for instance, White spoke to an artist and his wife who

*were enjoying a happy holiday. They had come down into Yorkshire with a fortnight's excursion ticket, and a scheme for visiting as many of the abbeys and as much picturesque scenery as possible within the allotted time. Sometimes they walked eight or ten miles, or travelled a stage in a country car, content to rough it, so that their wishes should be gratified.*³⁸

A Picturesque Perception

Although the pilgrims of the Picturesque 'discovered' the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham at about the same time as they did the Lake District and North Wales, the Picturesque Tour took longer to develop in the Pennines.

An assessment must be made of the extent to which there was a general 'Picturesque' way of looking at the natural landscape in the paintings, engravings and descriptions of the travellers through the region. That there was a general perception is evident from the repeated references to, and exaggeration of, the looked-for difficulties of travel, the sense of danger, thunderstorms, evening light, 'prospects' and 'views'. This perception overlays the different backgrounds and attitudes of the artists and travellers- the aristocratic, the fashionable, the ecclesiastical, the antiquarian and the scientific. The question is best discussed with reference to detailed case studies in the chosen region. For each site the development of interest by travellers will be traced; an analysis will be made

of the choice of detail by artist or writer; and the extent of distortion and plagiarism encountered in the paintings, engravings and writings will be discussed. The sites chosen for detailed study, and identified on Map 5, reflect the Picturesque search for the sublime landscape of beauty tinged with horror. Compared with North Wales and the Lake District, the Pennines offered less dramatic mountains and very few lakes, but a combination of climate and rocks produced the limestone chasms of Castle Eden Dene and Gordale Scar, the caverns of Ingleborough and the cascades of Wensleydale and Teesdale, as well as the more Romantic river Greta.

- 1 Tyne and Wear County Council (1982) p.7
- 2 mss notes (1890), York City Art Gallery
- 3 Lockhart (1882) Vol.III pp.380-381
- 4 Toynbee & Whibley (1935) Vol.II p.1107
- 5 **The Life of John Bunclø, Esq. I** (1756) p.285
- 6 pp.127-128
- 7 2nd Edition (1781) p.25
- 8 pp.2, 32-33
- 9 Vol.II pp.198, 200, 202
- 10 Vol.III p.280
- 11 pp.350-351
- 12 1st Edition (1804) pp.9, 10, 7
- 13 p.164
- 14 VI p.86
- 15 Young (1770) Vol.II p.198
- 16 Young (1770) Vol.IV p.578
- 17 Pennant (1804) p.2
- 18 Hutchinson (1774) pp.327-330
- 19 Byng (1934-36) Vol.III p.70
- 20 Baines (1823) Vol.II p.255
- Kitchiner (1827) pp.148-149
- 21 Sopwith (1833) p.143
- 22 Mackenzie & Ross (1834) Vol.I p.250
- 23 Byng (1934-36) Vol.III pp.69, 95-96, 3
- 24 Grierson (1932) Vol.III p.40; letter from Scott to
 J.B.S. Morrìtt of Rokeby Hall
- 25 Lockhart (1882) Vol.IV pp.19-20; Morrìtt quoting
 Scott's words when on a visit to Rokeby
- 26 Letter from Dorothy Wordsworth 18 October 1807;
 de Selincourt (1937) pp.145-146
- 27 **The White Doe of Rylstone** (1815) pp.152, 162
- 28 Young (1770) Vol.III pp.2, 5
- 29 Mackenzie & Ross (1834) p.404
- 30 Brayley (1805) 1825 Edition p.125
- 31 William Gilpin 1772 (1786) p.191
- 32 Pennant (1804) p.55
- 33 Young (1770) Vol.II pp.334, 338
- 34 Playfair (1802)
- 35 Never published. Romney (1984) pp.99, 197
- 36 p.31
- 37 Phillips (1855) pp.60-61, 47
- 38 White (1858) pp.235-236, 202-208, 199, 198

The River Greta is noted for the speed with which it can rise after heavy rain in its upper catchment area. The river in its lower section, before its junction with the River Tees, has produced a steep-sided section through a Carboniferous Yoredale sequence of rocks. The often vertical valley sides, landslips, the smoothing of the rocky channel and the movement of huge boulders demonstrate the erosive power of this river.

The Greta received much attention from travellers, as it was close by a staging post at Greta Bridge, and a patron of the arts lived at Rokeby Hall (Maps 9 & 10). In the early 1770s the agriculturalist Arthur Young was followed by the Picturesque theorist William Gilpin and the antiquarian and naturalist Thomas Pennant. These visitors noted the strength of the river and the steep-sided, wooded valley. Local writers such as William Hutchinson in 1773 and Richard Garland in 1804 included the Greta in their *Tours*. Walter Scott's poem *Rokeby*, with descriptions of the *romantic glen* and Brignall Banks helped to put the Greta firmly on the Picturesque Tour after 1813. Engravings produced from watercolours by J M W Turner helped this process. J S Cotman's watercolours also concentrated on the steep-sided valley with vertical limestone cliffs, the trees and the huge fallen blocks of stone.

Arthur Young was the first traveller to mention Greta Bridge. Collecting information on agriculture whilst on his *Six months tour through the North of England* in 1768, Young made diversions to follow the fashion of

viewing the art collections of the gentry; he also sought picturesque scenes. Though Young concentrated on Rokeby Hall, taking nearly three pages to list the collection of antiquities and paintings collected on the Grand Tour, he does mention the natural features of the Greta within the 'pleasure ground' with its prospect house.

The tea room is very romantically situated on the rocky banks of the Greta, raging like a torrent over the rocks, and tumbling in a romantic manner under the windows. A little below it joins the Tees, under noble rocks of free stone overhung with wood. Above the room, the other way, are some very romantic rocks on the side of a terras by the water.¹

Young's description of the river and the wooded rocky banks, with something of the *romantic wildness* he sought, was added to by William Hutchinson. In his *Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland; with a Tour Through Part of the Northern Counties, in the Years 1773 and 1774*, Hutchinson draws attention to the river Greta, with some detailed observation of the potholes. While the natural scene is described, there is still perhaps more emphasis on the constructed walks and planted trees.

ROOKBY HALL .. is placed in a fine level lawn, surrounded with plantations, just at the conflux of the rivers Greta and Tees:- the banks of Greta are laid out in elegant walks, and covered with stately trees. Nature has bestowed vast bounties on this situation;- one of the walks is bounded, on one hand, by perpendicular rocks forty feet in height, covered with the spreading boughs of large oaks, which impended from the summits of the cliff:- on the other, the river, banked in with hewn-stone, falls from rock to rock with hoarse murmurs, where deep-chaldrons are worn in the stone by the incessant rolling of flints moved by the stream, which give an uncommon agitation to the water. On the opposite shore, lofty banks and rocks arise, planted with various trees of different hues, shade above shade,

and crowned with the ancient tower of Morton.²

In 1773 Thomas Pennant was on his mainly antiquarian Tour from Alston-Moor to Harrowgate, and Brimham Craggs, when

Rokeby, an elegant house in the Italian style ... diverted me a little from my road. (Map 4)

Pennant's account of the house, with its

profusion of statues, busts, sculptures, and most elegant sepulchral urns, collected from abroad, and ... multitudes of altars, inscriptions, ... portraits of personages

takes up over four pages; the natural setting receives six lines.

After leaving the house, I walked through the extensive plantations, and down to the Greata; a pretty river flowing between high mural rocks, finely wooded. It here forms several small cascades, whose waters have at times heaped up, a little below, piles of stone of most tremendous and uncommon magnitude.³

This imbalance in favour of the man-made scene repeats Young's standpoint, and it is interesting that elsewhere Pennant often copies the agriculturalist's descriptions. Here, the reference to the large boulders brought down by the 1771 floods seem to be based on Pennant's own observations.

William Gilpin's *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772* were not published until 1786. Along the river Greta the Picturesque theorist

found much devastation from the late high floods.

The main Greta Bridge

was beaten down; and large fragments of it carried away, through the violence of the stream. With these, and huge stones torn from the adjoining cliffs, the bed of the river was choaked... Here Sir Thomas Robinson has a house, situated in a pleasant spot; one side of which is bounded by the river.^a

Unlike Pennant, who also noticed the results of the 1771 floods, Gilpin does not dwell on the house and its contents; Gilpin was perhaps consciously seeing through the Picturesque theorist's eyes, noting the rough or irregular aspects of the scene.

By the turn of the century interest had begun to veer from the Hall and its collections and landscaped grounds to the natural scene. In the first edition of *A Tour in Teesdale* in 1804 Richard Garland of Barnard Castle insisted that though

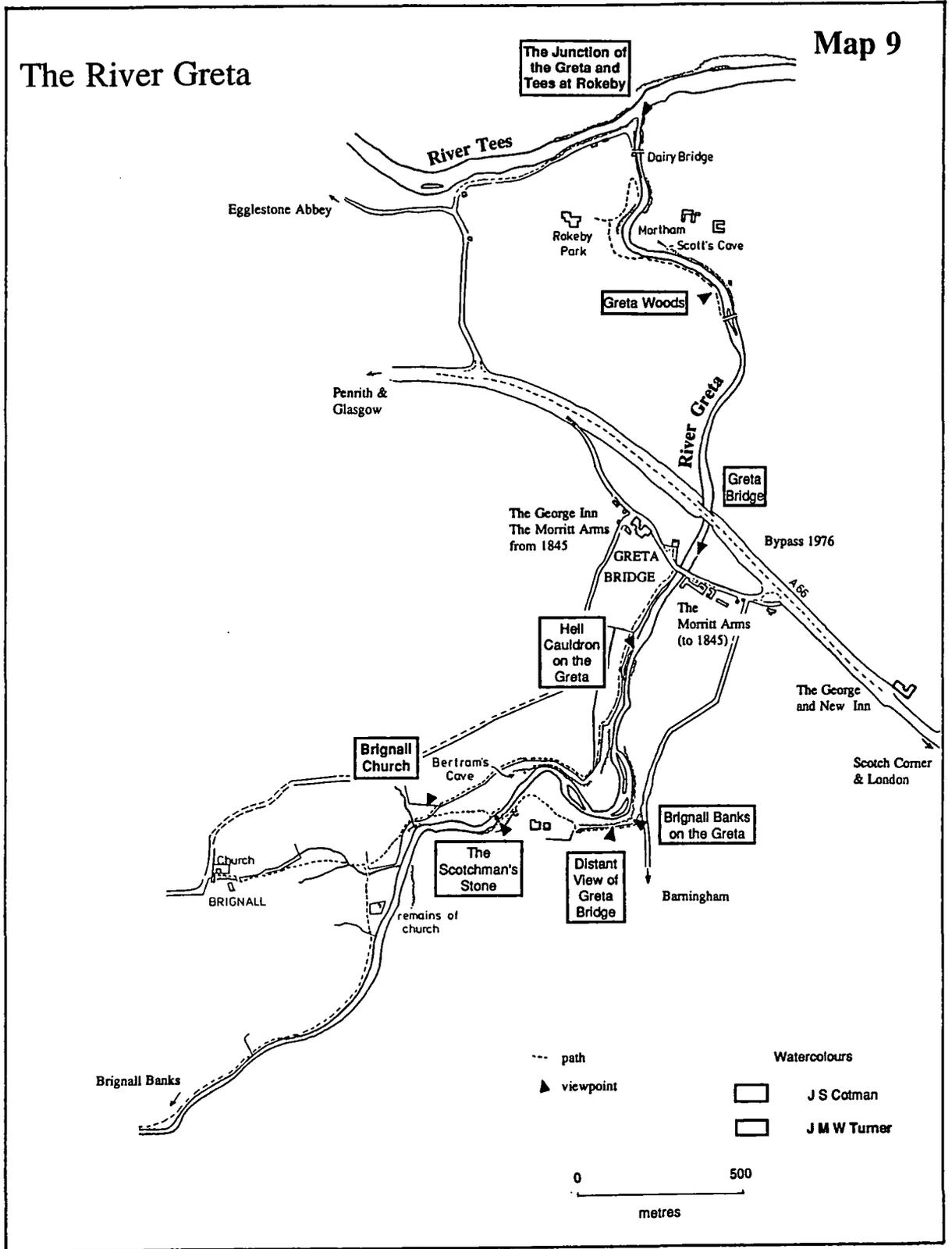
the beauties of Teesdale have been hitherto concealed, they have powerful claims on the Painter and the Tourist, that ought to be discussed,

and suggests that visitors on their way to the Lakes stop at Greta Bridge. He recommends The Morritt Arms (Map 9), and

In the beautiful field behind this inn more than one object of pleasure or curiosity repays a frequent stroll. The river, confined to a fissure-like channel, in a solid bed of rock, marks the impetuous course of many a torrent; and though so narrow, as in most places to be crossed without difficulty, is from five to six or seven feet deep. The fine transparency of the stream, its amber colour, and rapid but silent course; the beauty of the banks, shaded with oaks; and the rocks and rich hanging-wood which terminate the vista up the river, make this walk highly romantic.

The River Greta

Map 9



Though Garland briefly describes the grounds of Rokeby Park, with the Rock Walk, the tea room and Dairy Bridge, he had given himself the task of promoting *the wild graces of Nature* in his own area of Teesdale, and his choice of words reflects this. The *torrent* is *impetuous* and flows in a narrow *fissure-like channel*. The picturesque as a taste for seeking out views is reflected in Garland's *vista* of Hell Cauldron.⁵

The first artist to record the Greta was John Sell Cotman, whose paintings were described as being among *the most perfect examples of pure water-colour ever made in Europe*.⁶ These paintings were the outcome of Cotman being introduced to the Cholmeleys of Brandsby Hall by a patron of the arts, Sir Henry Englefield. During Cotman's third stay at Brandsby, in 1805, he accompanied the Cholmeleys on a month's stay with the Morritts at Rokeby.

It has been necessary to read Cotman's letters as well as to consider the sketches and watercolours themselves in an attempt to try and analyse his choice of viewpoints and his treatment of what he termed a *delicious spot*. Map 9 shows the results of this analysis.

Whilst Cotman perhaps concentrated on the tree masses and foreground foliage, many of the Greta watercolours feature the vertical cliffs and huge boulders noticed by earlier visitors. Cotman wrote that *Mr Morritt has ordered a large drawing of my favourite view, from the hill looking down on the bridge*. In this 'Distant view



Plate 2 John Sell Cotman
'Brignall Banks on the Greta'
sketched 1805 watercolour c.1806

of Greta Bridge' the depth of the valley and the vertical limestone cliffs are clearly evident. In 'The Scotchman's Stone' Cotman painted what he termed *the rock .. on that scrambly walk up the Greta*. In the same letter, Cotman had recalled noting how *the river was so rapid at times as to carry down rocks of 70 or 80 tons weight.*⁷

The watercolour 'Brignall Banks on the Greta' (Plate 2) was based on a careful pencil drawing, but in the studio Cotman has ignored the tangled foreground foliage and added white birds wheeling across the dark shadows of the trees, emphasising the depth of the valley. He has preserved the shapes of the tree masses in the middle ground and distance, but treated them in his stylized almost abstract way, contrasting light and dark areas, and adding blues and greys for a sky left blank in the drawing. 'The Devil's Elbow' and 'On the River Greta' are similarly reminiscent of a pencil drawing, but the design of the watercolours shows that the elements have been carefully arranged and balanced in the studio. *No other painter had approached more daringly the salad freshness of English meadows, the prolific greenery of woods. It was an 'abstract' art.*⁸ This combination of natural form with a control of balance in shapes and colours is best seen in the most famous watercolour 'The Greta Bridge'.

It is this very lack of conventionalism that makes it difficult to place Cotman's Greta watercolours into the general development of the Picturesque. The watercolours had little influence on the growth of tourism in the area; though 'Distant View of Greta Bridge' and 'On the

river Greta' were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806, none were engraved.

Walter Scott's poem *Rokeby* drew much more general attention to the River Greta and the Meeting of the Waters; it too owed much to the owner of Rokeby Hall, the traveller and classical scholar J B S Morritt. In June 1809 the Morriffs returned Walter Scott's hospitality of the previous year. Scott wrote of Rokeby as being

*one of the most enviable places I have ever seen, as it unites the richness and luxuriance of English vegetation with the romantic variety of glen, torrent, and copse, which dignifies our northern scenery. The Greta and Tees, two most beautiful and rapid rivers, join their currents in the demesne. The banks of the Tees resemble, from the height of the rocks, the glen of Roslin, so much and justly admired.*⁹

Scott wrote to Morritt of his intention to write

a fourth romance in verse, the theme during the English civil wars of Charles I and the scene your own domain of Rokeby.

Morritt's reply hints at the tourist trade Scott's poem is likely to bring; and reinforces the idea that the Greta area had not yet become popular.

The scenery of our rivers deserves to become classic ground, and I hope the scheme will induce you to visit and revisit it often... Should I, in consequence of your celebrity, be obliged to leave Rokeby from the influx of cockney romancers, artists, illustrators, and sentimental tourists, I shall retreat to Ashestiel, or to your new cottage, and thus visit on you the sins of your writings. At all events, however, I shall raise the rent of my inn at Greta-Bridge on the first notice of your book, as I hear the people at Callander have made a fortune by

The poem includes detailed observation of the river Greta; the notes inform the reader of some of the locations used. Map 10 includes these, and other locations used in the poem. It is possible to read passages of description in the poem that are picturesque in the sense of being word-pictures of scenes; the *fine points of view* that Scott sought may be worked out.

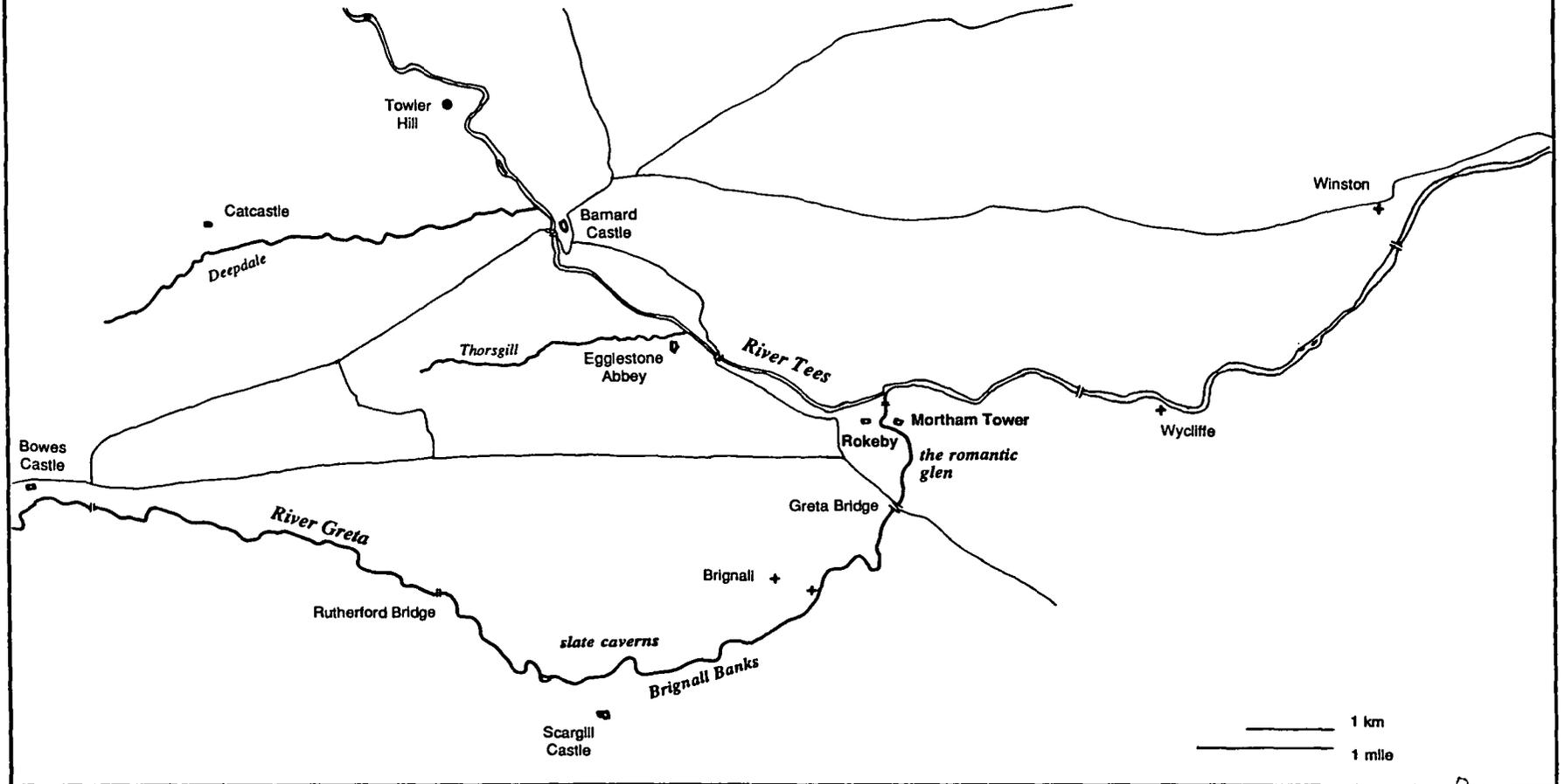
*Broad shadows o'er their passage fell,
Deeper and narrower grew the dell;
It seem'd some mountain, rent and riven,
A channel for the stream had given,
So high the cliffs of limestone gray
Hung beetling o'er the torrent's way,
Yielding, along their rugged base,
A flinty footpath's niggard space,
Where he, who winds 'twixt rock and wave,
May hear the headlong torrent rave,
And like a steed in frantic fit,
That flings the froth from curb and bit,
May view her chafe her waves to spray,
O'er every rock that bars her way,
Till foam-globes on her eddies ride,
Thick as the schemes of human pride
That down life's current drive amain,
As frail, as frothy, and as vain!¹¹*

In this extract Scott describes the gorge-like section of the Greta just above the confluence with the Tees; he may have been standing on Dairy Bridge or walking along the paths within Rokeby Park (Map 9). The poet describes the foam caused by turbulence over the limestone layers and he has obviously seen the river in spate or noticed the clues to the power of the river.

(Note): What follows is an attempt to describe the romantic glen, or rather ravine, through which the Greta finds a passage... The river runs with very great rapidity over a bed of solid rock, broken by many shelving descents, down which the stream dashes

Locations in 'Rokeby'

Map 10



with great noise and impetuosity..

Morritt described how Scott noted down

*even the peculiar little wild flowers and herbs that
accidentally grew round and on the side of a bold crag
near his intended cave of Guy Denzil¹²*

*'Twas silence all - he laid him down,
Where purple heath profusely strown,
And throatwort with its azure bell,
And moss and thyme his cushion swell.
There, spent with toil, he listless eyed
The course of Greta's playful tide;*

.....

*Then, tired to watch the current's play,
He turn'd his weary eyes away,
To where the bank opposing show'd
Its huge, square cliffs through shaggy wood.
One, prominent above the rest,
Rear'd to the sun its pale grey breast;
Around its broken summit grew
The hazel rude, and sable yew;
A thousand varied lichens dyed
Its waste and weather-beaten side,
And round its rugged basis lay,
By time or thunder rent away,
Fragments, that, from its frontlet torn,
Were mantled now by verdant thorn.
Such was the scene's wild majesty,
That fill'd stern Bertram's gazing eye.¹³*

In this description it is possible to discern elements reminiscent of James Thomson's poem *The Seasons* in reflecting the techniques of the Italian painters. We are led from foreground detail to the near middleground of the river, then to the next plane of the river cliff. Scott's choice of words emphasises the sublimity or wildness of the scene; he notes the *shaggy wood* and rocks *rent* or *torn* from the *huge, rugged* cliffs.

The poem included songs, which helped to popularise both

the poem and the area:

*Oh, Brignall banks are wild and fair,
And Greta woods are green,
And you may gather garlands there
Would grace a summer queen.*¹⁴ (Map 10)

Rokeby was published on 10th January 1813 with a dedication to J B S Morritt. The poem sold well and references to it soon appeared in the guide books. For the second edition of his *Tour in Teesdale* Richard Garland adds to the title, including Rokeby, and its environs, and makes references to the poem published earlier that year:

to the lover of poetry, Rokeby, immortalized by the strains of SCOTT, will be for ever dear.

The section of the second canto of *Rokeby* describing the romantic ravine through which the Greta finds a passage through Rokeby Park is quoted to illustrate Garland's observations:

The grounds are well laid out, and afford many delightful walks: that called the Rock-walk, under a precipice by the bawling Greta, is particularly pleasant.

*A stern and lone, yet lovely road,
As e'er the foot of Minstrel trode!*¹⁵

Thus Scott's poem, itself showing the influence of the Picturesque, led to increased interest in the river Greta, an interest aided by engraved illustrations.

J M W Turner spent most summers from 1808 to 1825 at Farnley Hall, the home of his patron Walter Fawkes. In the summer of 1816 Turner's sketching tour from Farnley was planned to produce illustrations for the Rev T D



Plate 3 J M W Turner
'Junction of the Greta and Tees at Rokeby' sketched 1816
engraved for T D Whitaker's "History of Richmondshire" 1823

Whitaker's **Richmondshire**. On 31 July 1816 Turner sketched the meeting of the Greta and Tees, and the next day Brignall church; both places by then well known from Scott's poem. The resulting watercolours were engraved on copper by S Middiman, John Pye and S Rawle, the engraving being closely supervised by Turner. (Plates 3 & 4)

Turner chose a viewpoint at the Meeting of the Waters that gave a panoramic view including both rivers, Rokeby Hall and Dairy Bridge. (Map 9) The huge rocks brought down by the Greta are shown prominently in the foreground. For 'Brignall Church' Turner carefully chose a viewpoint that enabled him to look down on the small church. When painting the scene, Turner emphasised the steepness of the wooded valley sides and reduced the size of the church still further, thus emphasising nature at the expense of man's structures; he also chose a twilight setting and was careful to incorporate the *sable yew* of Scott's poem.

In 1822 Turner painted watercolours for Walter Fawkes, illustrating poems by Scott, Byron and Moore, for display at Farnley Hall; this set included a view of the Greta with lines from **Rokeby** depicted on two rocks. As well as illustrating the quoted lines, with the *sable yew* beside the *headlong torrent* chafing

*her waves to spray
O'er every rock that bars her way,*

Turner includes other details from the poem in his painting- *the cliffs of limestone gray* hang above a *flinty footpath's niggard space*. The artist has moved

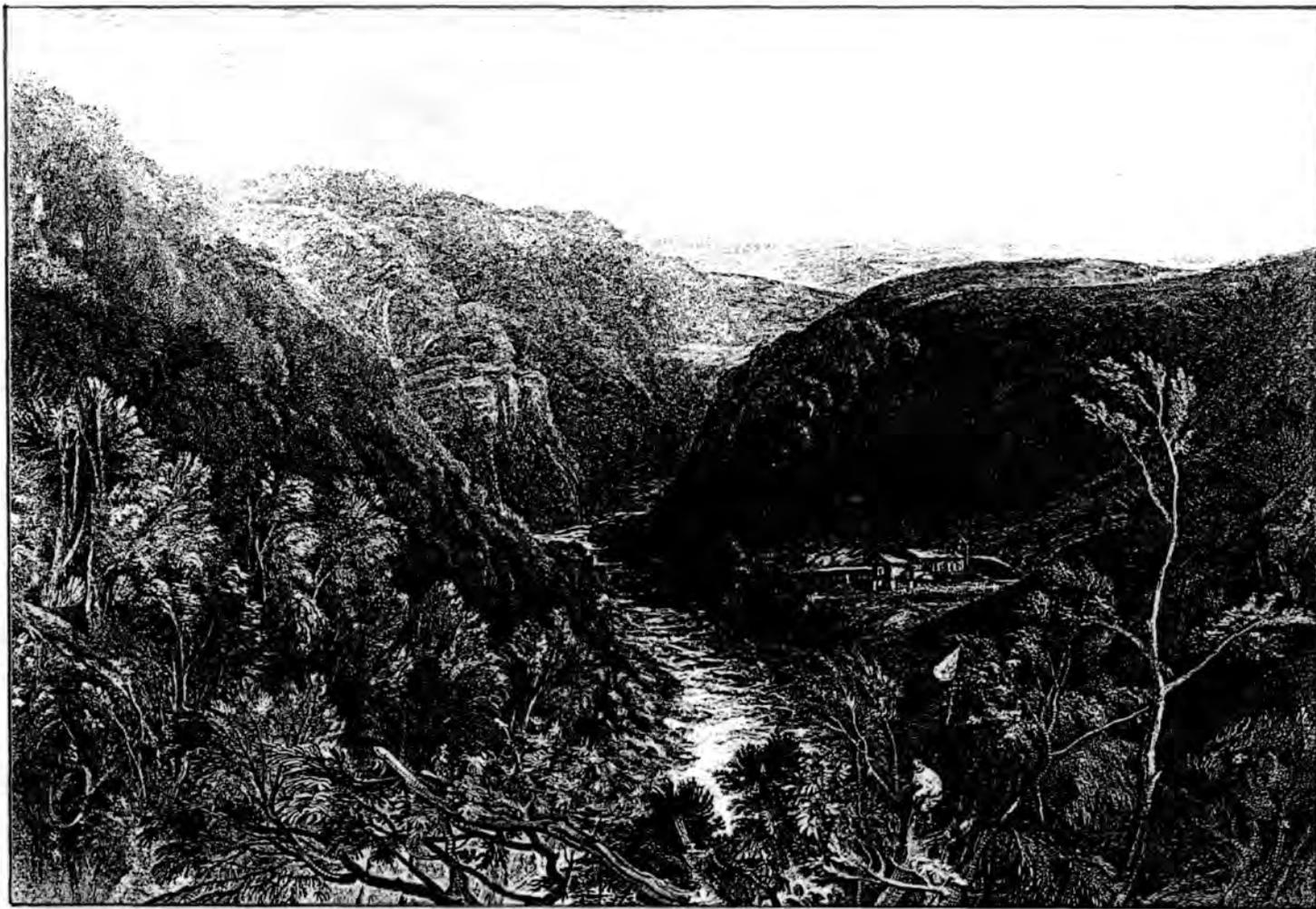


Plate 4 J M W Turner
'Brignall Church' sketched 1816
engraved for "History of Richmondshire" 1823

and altered the natural and constructed features along the stretch of the Greta to illustrate Scott's poem. In so doing, the artist emphasises the same features that had dominated earlier descriptions of the Greta.

Robert Cadell launched a new collected edition of Scott's *Poetical Works* and in February 1831 wrote to Turner describing his ideas for the illustrations. *Rokeby* was to be the main poem of the ninth volume of the *Poetical Works*, and on 28th July 1831 Turner sketched at the Meeting of the Waters. The watercolour this time was executed for engraving on steel (Plate 5) and to a smaller scale; the scene appears more expressive compared with the more naturalistic 1816 view. Turner manufactured a higher viewpoint for this later work, to encompass both rivers, the Dairy Bridge and Mortham Tower in an even wider panoramic view. On this occasion Turner included a favourite foreground figure- an angler.

The engraving and poem no doubt encouraged further visitors, especially as Greta Bridge was an important staging post. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1826 listed *Rokeby* in the 'Eminences and Views' of the North Riding of Yorkshire: *Rokeby is the scene of Sir Walter Scott's poem, the junction of the Greta and Tees here is truly picturesque.* In 1804 there were two inns at the bridge; by 1834 another had been built a few hundred yards to the south east. (Map 9) By 1848, however, the number of travellers staying overnight must have decreased; two of the inns had been converted into farmhouses.



Plate 5 J M W Turner
'Junction of the Greta and the Tees'
sketched 1831 engraved for Sir Walter
Scott's "Poetical Works" 1832

In 1858 Walter White recorded in his *Month in Yorkshire* the same main features that had dominated accounts of the Greta since 1770.

We plunge into the woods, and follow the river's course by devious paths. Gladsome voices and merry laughter resound, for a numerous detachment of the excursionists from Newcastle are on their way to view the grounds of Rokeby. Delightful are the snatches of river scenery that we get here and there, where the jutting rocks afford an outlook, and the more so as we enjoy them under a cool green shade. Leaving the Northumbrians at the lodge to accomplish their wishes, I kept on to Greta Bridge, and lost myself in the romantic glen through which the river flows. It will surprise you by its manifold combinations of rock, wood, and water, fascinating the eye at every step amid a solitude profound. This was the route taken by Bertram and Wilfrid when the ruthless soldier went to take possession of Mortham.

You cannot fail to recognise how truly Scott describes the scenery; the "beetling brow" is there, and the "ivied banners" still hang from the crags as when the minstrel saw them.¹⁶

The landscaped grounds of the Hall, and the river valley seem to have attracted different types of visitor, both types perhaps drawn, consciously or unconsciously, by the same legacy of Scott and Turner. From 1770 artists and writers had concentrated on the romantic wildness of a short section of the Greta with its thickly wooded steep valley and huge boulders.

- 1 Young (1770) Vol.II pp.186-187
- 2 Hutchinson (1776) pp.373-374
- 3 Pennant (1804) pp.38-42
- 4 Gilpin (1786) Vol.II p.170
- 5 Garland (1804) pp.10-14
- 6 Binyon (1931) p.132
- 7 Holcomb (1980) pp.27, 29; Cotman to Francis Cholmeley, 1805
- 8 Hardie (1967) Vol.II p.78
- 9 Grierson (1932) Vol.II p.204
- 10 Lockhart (1882) Vol.III pp.380-381
- 11 Canto Second VII
- 12 Lockhart (1882) Vol.IV pp.14-15
- 13 Canto Third VIII & IX
- 14 Canto Third XVI
- 15 Garland (1813) p.25 **Rokeby** Canto Second VII
- 16 White (1858) p.199

CASE STUDY : HIGH FORCE

In finding a new course some 10 000 years ago over the resistant dolerite Whin Sill in upper Teesdale, the River Tees produced High Force. The single or double falls, according to rainfall, have produced a plunge pool in the Tynebottom Limestone. The deep pool is bordered with fallen blocks of Whin Sill as the falls have retreated, leaving a steep sided gorge of recession.

The first engraving of High Force (after Thomas Smith in 1751) and the first accounts (by Thomas Amory in 1756 and by Arthur Young in 1770) continued to influence painters and writers until the middle of the nineteenth century. The major painters involved were George Lambert in 1761 and J M W Turner in 1816. The main engravings were for Spencer's *The Complete English Traveller* (1773) and for collections of engravings such as *Picturesque Views* (J M W Turner 1827) and *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland, Illustrated* (Thomas Allom 1832). William Hutchinson's accounts of High Force in 1773 and 1794, based partly on Young's description, influenced later topographical writers such as Thomas Rose (1832) and Mackenzie and Ross (1834). The *Tour* writings of John Byng (1792), Richard Garland (1804), Thomas Pennant (1804) and Walter White (1858) illustrate the web of plagiarism and the pervading language of the Picturesque.

Although High Force varies according to the amount of rainfall, the painters and writers agreed on certain common elements. The painters depicted the precipitous

rocks and hanging woods enclosing the falls, which often produced a rainbow in the spray from the plunge pool. The writers added the difficulties of access to High Force, and the noise of the fall of 69 to 82 feet, painting word pictures of the awful power of Nature at this sublime scene.

In 1751 a large engraving by J Mason of a picture by Thomas Smith 'of Derby' was published in a **Book of Landskips** with this inscription:

The High Force. This Cataract is on the River Teese, which divides the Counties of York, and Durham; it falls down a Rock of Granite, about 23 yards into a Large Circular Bason; the South side belongs to Ld. Carlisle, and Geo. Bowes Esq. the North to Ld. Barnard, to whom this View is Inscrib'd by their most Obedt. Servt. Tho. Smith.

Near a rather Rosa-inspired foreground tree on the north bank two figures look down at two anglers in the plunge pool, into which pour two separate falls of water. This engraving was copied by later illustrators, and the height quoted in the inscription is used by later writers.

Although the landscape descriptions in Thomas Amory's 1756 novel **The Life of John Bunclie, Esq** are exaggerated and an amalgamation of various scenes, this account, following Amory's directions to Stanemore by way of Egglestone, may well be based on High Force:

Swifter than an arrow from a bow the rapid water comes headlong down in a fall of 140 feet, which is 3 feet more than the descent of Niagara. The river here, to be sure, is not half so large as that which comes from the vast lakes of Canada, but it is a great and prodigious cadence of water, and tumbles

perpendicular in as surprising a manner, from as horrible a precipice; and in this very nearly resembles the Niagara-Fall; that as you stand below, as near the fall as it is safe to go, you see the river come down a sloping mountain for a great way, as if it descended from the clouds. It is a grand and amazing scene. The water issues from a great lake on the top of a mountain that I found very hard to ascend, and the lake has many visible feeders from hills upon hills above it, which it is impossible to climb.¹

Though Amory compares High Force with Niagara Falls, instead of any Alpine torrent, his choice of words—prodigious cadence, perpendicular, horrible precipice—and the sense of danger reflect his overall Picturesque view of the *wild and wonderful* area. It is important to note that Amory's novel pre-dated the publication of the famous letter of Dr. John Brown which helped to promote the Lake District.

By 1761 George Lambert had painted 'The Great Fall of the Tees, Co. Durham' (Plate 6) and exhibited it at the Society of Artists the following year. Lambert, the chief scenery painter at Covent Garden, showed an eye for picturesque arrangements, and was responsible to some extent for introducing the conventions of Claude and Poussin into British landscape painting. At High Force, the artist chose a low viewpoint that let the sides of the gorge of recession lead past the visitors on the mound of fallen rocks at the edge of the plunge pool to the waterfall; there is only one fall, indicating a fairly low water. The columnar whin sill overlying the horizontally bedded limestone is depicted quite realistically.

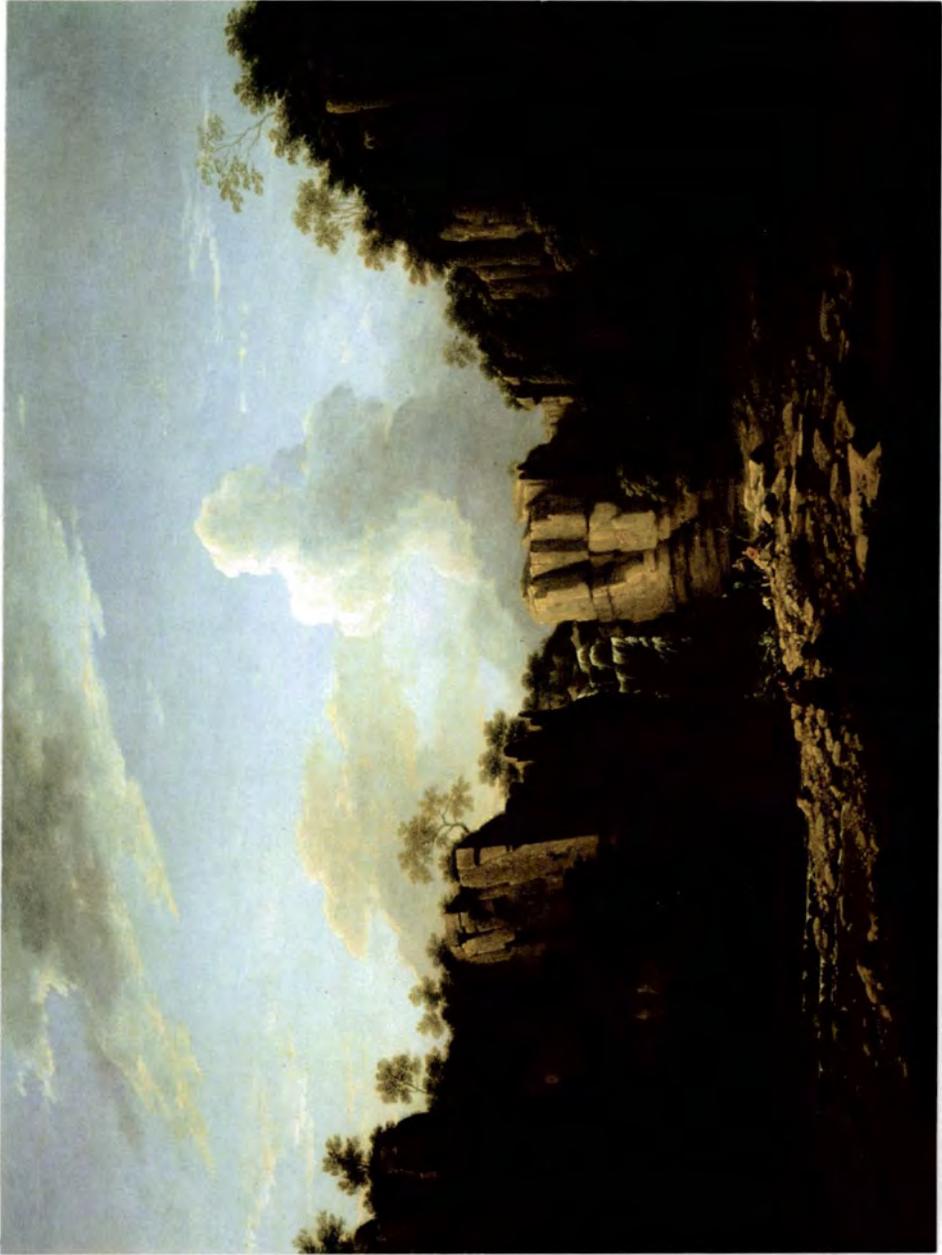


Plate 6 George Lambert
'The Great Fall of the Tees, Co. Durham'
1761 oil

Arthur Young in the second volume of his agricultural survey *A six months tour through the North of England*, published in 1770, gives perhaps the first named account of High Force, in a diversion (shown on Map 3) made as a result of reading Thomas Amory's novel. Although Young gives his own opinion of the height of the fall and introduces the noise of the waterfall and the rainbow effect, he does use some of the same words as Amory. Young describes the *precipice* as *perpendicular* and the *roar* as *prodigious* as he scrambles to the same viewpoint as Amory.

Leaving this enchanting region, we crossed a very different country, partaking much more of the terrible sublime, than the pleasing and beautiful: Here you ride through rapid streams, struggle along the sides of rocks, cross bleak mountains, and ride up the channel of torrents as the only sure road over bogs; listening to the roar of the water-fall, which you begin to think tremendous.-- Upon arriving at the banks of the Tees, where it pours down the rock, steeps of wood prevent your seeing it, but the roar is prodigious. Making use of our hands as well as feet, and descending almost like a parrot, we crawled from rock to rock, and reached from bough to bough, till we got to the bottom under this noble fall. Noble indeed! for the whole river, (no trifling one) divided by one rock, into two vast torrents, pours down a perpendicular precipice of near fourscore feet: The deluging force of the water throws up such a foam and misty rain, that the sun never shines without a large and brilliant rain-bow appearing. The whole scene is gloriously romantic, for on every side it is walled in with pendent rocks an hundred feet high; here projecting in bold and threatening cliffs, and there covered with hanging woods, whose only nourishment one would imagine arose from the descending rain. The scene is truly sublime.²

As well as using Picturesque terms such as the *terrible sublime*, and describing the *gloriously romantic* scene as if it were a picture, Young is at pains to point out the difficulties of access into the gorge of recession. Certain features of style may be noted, as they tend to

appear in descriptions by later writers: rocks are pendent, woods are hanging, and nouns are repeated- from rock to rock and from bough to bough.

Young's enthusiasm for Teesdale's steep precipices, raging torrents, tremendous rocks, winding streams, and beautiful cascades, all to be seen in a morning's ride well worth a journey of a thousand miles to travel,³ helped to attract tourists to High Force, but perhaps the problems of access inevitably led to much copying of descriptions by later writers.

Just three years after the publication of Young's book Nathaniel Spencer in *The Complete English Traveller* records the same noise and rainbow, and indeed uses some of the same adjectives, but the comparisons with famous waterfalls remind one of Amory's description:

This river exhibits to the view of the curious, one of the most romantic and delightful scenes in the universe.

A few miles westward of Bernard Castle, the water of the river having collected itself together at the top of a frightful precipice falls down with such a prodigious force that it is heard at a great distance; for the perpendicular is twenty-three yards. The force of the water dashing against the rocks fills the mind with horror, but the scattered rays of the sun shining through the misty particles gives the whole the appearance of a most beautiful rainbow. The whole scene is so amazingly delightful, that the spectator is lost in admiration at the infinite wisdom of the creator of the universe, and filled with the most elevated notions of his power and majesty.

Those who have had an opportunity of seeing the cataracts of the Nile in upper Egypt, and the fall of Niagara, in North America, will have their memories refreshed by visiting this place, and those whose station in life hinders them from travelling into foreign countries to visit those natural curiosities,

*may see them all here in epitome.**

This does not appear to be a direct description of a view, but a second-hand account; the first person is never used. Not only did Spencer use the height of 23 yards quoted in Thomas Smith's 'The High Force', but a copy of the 1751 engraving was made for **The Complete English Traveller** (Plate 7); it is smaller, with less detailed rendering of foliage, rock and water; the area of sky is reduced to fit the proportions of the page. Of the 60 plates in this **New Survey and Description of England and Wales**, this 'View of the remarkable Cataract on the River Teese' is one of only 4 that depict natural scenes.

Whilst on his **Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland; with a Tour Through Part of the Northern Counties, in the Years 1773 and 1774**, William Hutchinson makes it clear, as he seeks out the best station at High Force, that he has read Young's account. Besides its *noble* fall of 80 feet, High Force is characterised by its noise, its *steeps* and rainbow:

This Force is an august scene;- it is the noblest cascade I ever beheld;- description is beggared in the subject:- we descended the steeps, and gained the rocks on the brink of the fall;- the stream was divided by a vast mass of rock, which lifted its crown about six feet above the channel of the river.- By gaining this point, we were in such a situation, that part of the stream flowed on each hand, and we could look down the perpendicular to the reservoir, into which the river was poured, upwards of eighty feet in fall; on the one hand precipitate, on the other over a flight of shelves, making so tremendous a sound, as to distract the ear, and exclude every other voice; at the same time casting forth a spray, on which the sun-beams formed a perfect Iris.

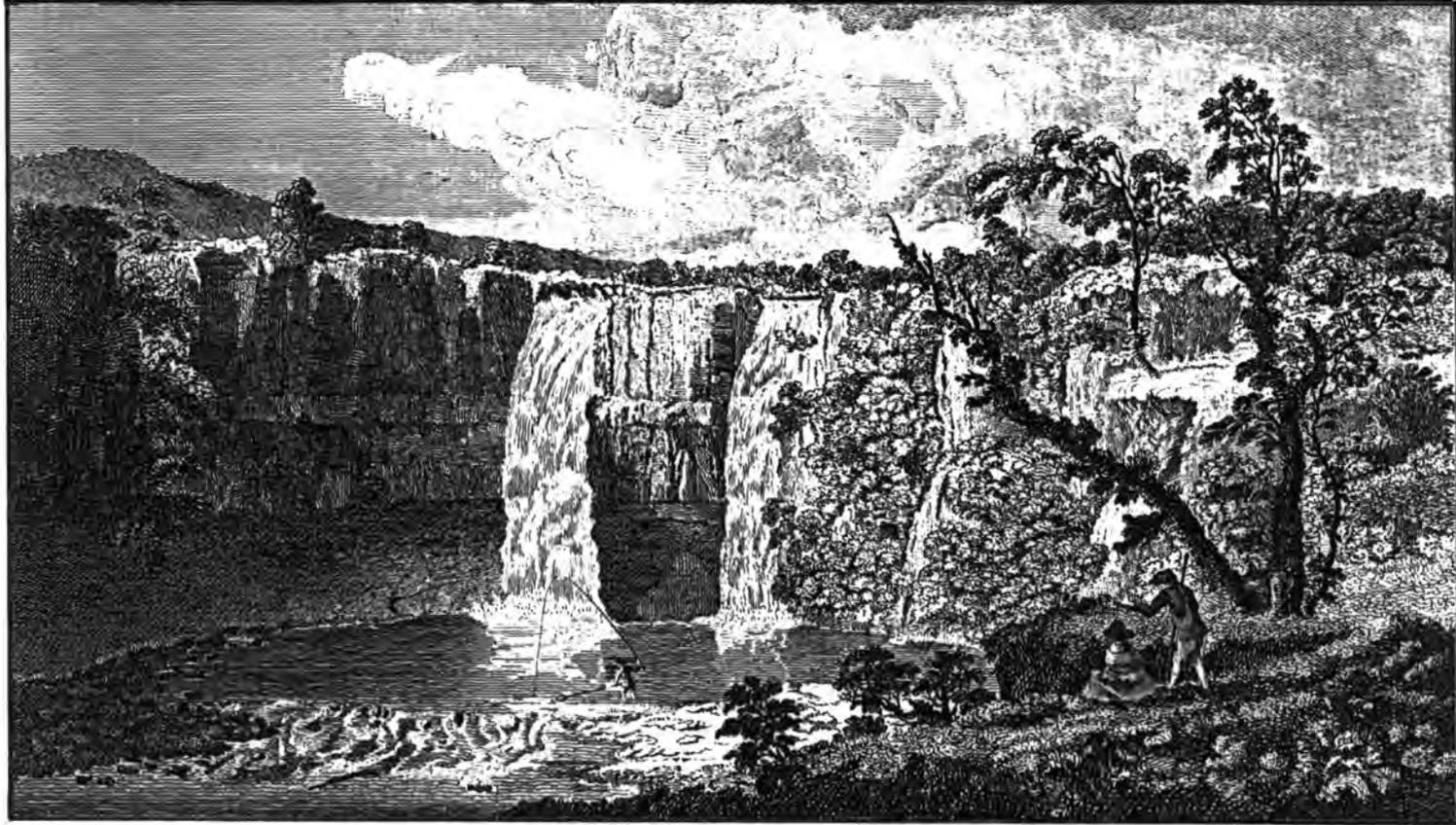


Plate 7 'View of the Remarkable Cataract, on the River Teese'
engraved for "The Complete English Traveller" 1773
copied from Thomas Smith's 'The High Force' (1751)

Hutchinson does record his own observations, as with the details of the two parts of the fall, and he gives what may well be the first description of a picnic in the region:

beneath us on the rocks, a party on pleasure, consisting of several gentlemen and ladies, sat enjoying the beauties of the scene:- to a romantic mind, they might appear like the Genii of the enchanted caves:- the rocks were spread with their repast, and the servant attending caught the living spring to mix their wine:- deep in a grot they sat, shadowed with hanging oaks, which grew on the cliffs.- This accident greatly enlivened the view, and rendered it more romantic to the spectator.

The solicitor continues, retaining Young's *foam* and the depth of the gorge, but adding more dimensions and description:

-We left our tremendous station, and gained the margin of the river, about four hundred yards below the fall. ...

-The whole scene formed a circus upwards of one thousand yards in circumference;- ... perpendicular rocks, lofty and bold, were extended round this wonderful amphitheatre, some one hundred feet in height, and in forms resembling the shaken walls and battlements of a ruined castle; ... -In front stands a massive rock, of a circular figure, not unlike the bulwark of some old fortress, dividing the river, where the cataract pours forth its precipitate streams in sheets of foam, into a hollow reservoir, forty feet in depth, which washes the feet of the rocks of this circus, and thunders with the waterfall.⁵

John Byng described in his *Tour to the North* (Map 6) in 1792 how he ordered dinner at an alehouse in Middleton, hired a guide, filled his pockets with bread, cheese and ale, and rode off to High Force:⁶

We at length arrived at bottom; we became pedestrians, and following our guide thro' many

hilly, boggy fields, a mile of walk, till we enter'd a little birch wood; when, being anxious to stand beneath the fall, we endured a most fatiguing descent, and a very dangerous crawl at the river's edge, over great stones, and sometimes up to our knees in water, till we arrived at the very bottom of the fall... These are noble falls of water, unequall'd I suppose in this country, of about 69 feet; and must be yet more wonderful after heavy rains, or hard frost.

Byng was not writing for an audience (he did not wish his *Tours* to be published for a century or so); but his description of the crawl to High Force may still be exaggerated in keeping with the Picturesque view of sublime scenes. The choice of viewpoint beneath the fall may have been that of Byng's guide, or the influence of Young; it ignores Hutchinson's description and the evidence of Byng's research. The manuscript *Tour* has an engraving of Thomas Smith's picture of High Force, and we know that Byng researched his tours from his London home; he has taken the height of the fall from the engraving, changing 23 yards into 69 feet. Over dinner, Byng discussed his visit with the apothecary:

a long discourse held about this aforementioned water-fall; which the apothecary told me he had measured, and that from the top of the upper fall it was 63 ft, - from the top of the lower fall 56 ft.

William Hutchinson in the third volume of *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (1794) introduces the reader to the Picturesque landscape of upper Teesdale.

The environs of this place are remarkably beautiful, and the vale of Tees everywhere abounds with the noblest and most romantic landscapes: from Gainford to the head of the river, a course of near 30 miles, there is the greatest variety of picturesque, pastoral, and august scenery, that any vale in the north of England affords.

Hutchinson includes an engraving and description of
the great fall of the river, called

THE FORCE

re-written from his earlier *Excursion*. The engraving shows three visitors at the top of the falls and two on fallen blocks at the base, matching with the earlier descriptions. Perhaps because Hutchinson's later text was for a *History* rather than for a *Tour*, Hutchinson tends to write a report rather than a personal account; though there is evidence of genuine observation.

The spectacle is truly noble, and the scene august; when the river is increased by heavy rains, it breaks down two channels, that to the north being shelvy, throws the water into sheets of foam; the other being perpendicular, it falls there in one vast spout, from the precipice, eighty-two perpendicular feet, into a deep bason, at once casting forth a prodigious spray, that receives the colours of the rainbow, and stunning the ear with the hollow noise.

The scene is still *august*, but Hutchinson transfers his adjective *noble* -borrowed from Young for his own first account- from the cascade to the whole *spectacle*. There are signs that Hutchinson has re-read Young's description for this later account, for he uses the agriculturalist's adjective *prodigious*, transferring it from Young's noise to his own spray, and borrowing the *hanging woods*. Hutchinson adds details of the vegetation growing in the rock fissures, and retains his own earlier observation of the gorge below the Force.

the rocks form a wide amphitheatre, and being almost perpendicular, shut up the scene with a solemnity and majesty, not to be expressed: the slopes are decorated with hanging woods, the fissures and openings of the cliffs, with creeping shrubs; and ancient yew trees, here and there scatter their solemn green over the grey rocks, or suspend their rusty branches from the precipices.⁷

When Thomas Pennant was on his Tour from Alston Moor to Harrogate in 1773, he did not visit upper Teesdale (as shown on Map 4), but at Barnard Castle *supped with ... Mr. William Hutchinson, attorney at law, the topographer of the Counties of Durham and Northumberland*. When Pennant's Tour was published in 1804 it included a reference to Hutchinson's engraving, and a description obviously based on the latter's.

We are told that Nature has been, for the greater part of the way, wildly prodigal of the awful and picturesque scenery, exhibited in the time-worn rocky-bed....

I now speak of ... Tees-force, about twelve miles above Bernard Castle, in which art has no concern. It is a magnificent exertion of nature in the elements of rock and water:-a vast theatrical chasm, bounded by noble mural rocks, often spiring into columns, and darkened with trees, issuing out of the fissures of the horizontal strata of stone on which they rest. These shade numbers of caves and grottoes, in which parties often dine with the most pleasing luxury of scenery. The water appears at the head of the chasm in two falls, which soon unite, and fall with a dreadful noise and vast spray, eighty-two feet into a deep bason; the whole exhibiting a scene inexpressibly grand.^a

Pennant obviously wrote his account between 1794 and 1804, as he reports Hutchinson's description of 1774 and repeats some details from that of 1794. So we read again of *parties of picnickers in the caves or grottoes admiring the hollow noise and prodigious spray as the double fall of water descends eighty-two perpendicular feet into a deep bason*.

Richard Garland in his *Tour in Teesdale* of 1804 exhorts the visitor, on the way to the Lakes perhaps, to see High Force:

The next excursion is one of much fatigue, and some danger; but the pleasures received from the contemplation of the boldest and most daring of the wild features of Nature, are a rich compensation for the difficulty of enjoying them.

In true Picturesque form, the difficulties of reaching suitably sublime viewpoints of High Force -taken perhaps from Hutchinson's account- are almost a virtue. The height and noise are perhaps quoted from Spencer. Garland advocates the taking of a guide near to the Force:

From Moor Rigg, you may ride within a few yards of the Force, and will be brought to it at the top; by far the best situation for a first sight of it, but dreadful indeed. You suddenly look down upon a cataract, rushing almost under your feet, but at some distance below, over a precipice of 69 feet, in one sheet of foam, shaking the very rocks on which you stand, and stunning the ear with its deafening noise. You may descend by a steep and difficult passage, and take a view of it from the bottom.⁹

Garland is the only writer to suggest that the tourist also views High Force from the southern side of the river.

Turner's 1816 painting of 'High Force or Fall of Tees', based on a sketch made in August that year, was engraved by J Landseer for T D Whitaker's **History of Richmondshire**, published in 1823 (Plate 8). Turner chose a viewpoint on the north or left bank at river level, near the edge of the plunge-pool. The double fall -common before Cow Green Reservoir was built- and the trickle down the southern cliff are there, as is the rainbow; the columnar whin sill is complete with a shale parting, and the limestone beneath shows the undercutting process. The engraving conveys an impression of less water coming down in the main fall compared with the original sketches and watercolour, and

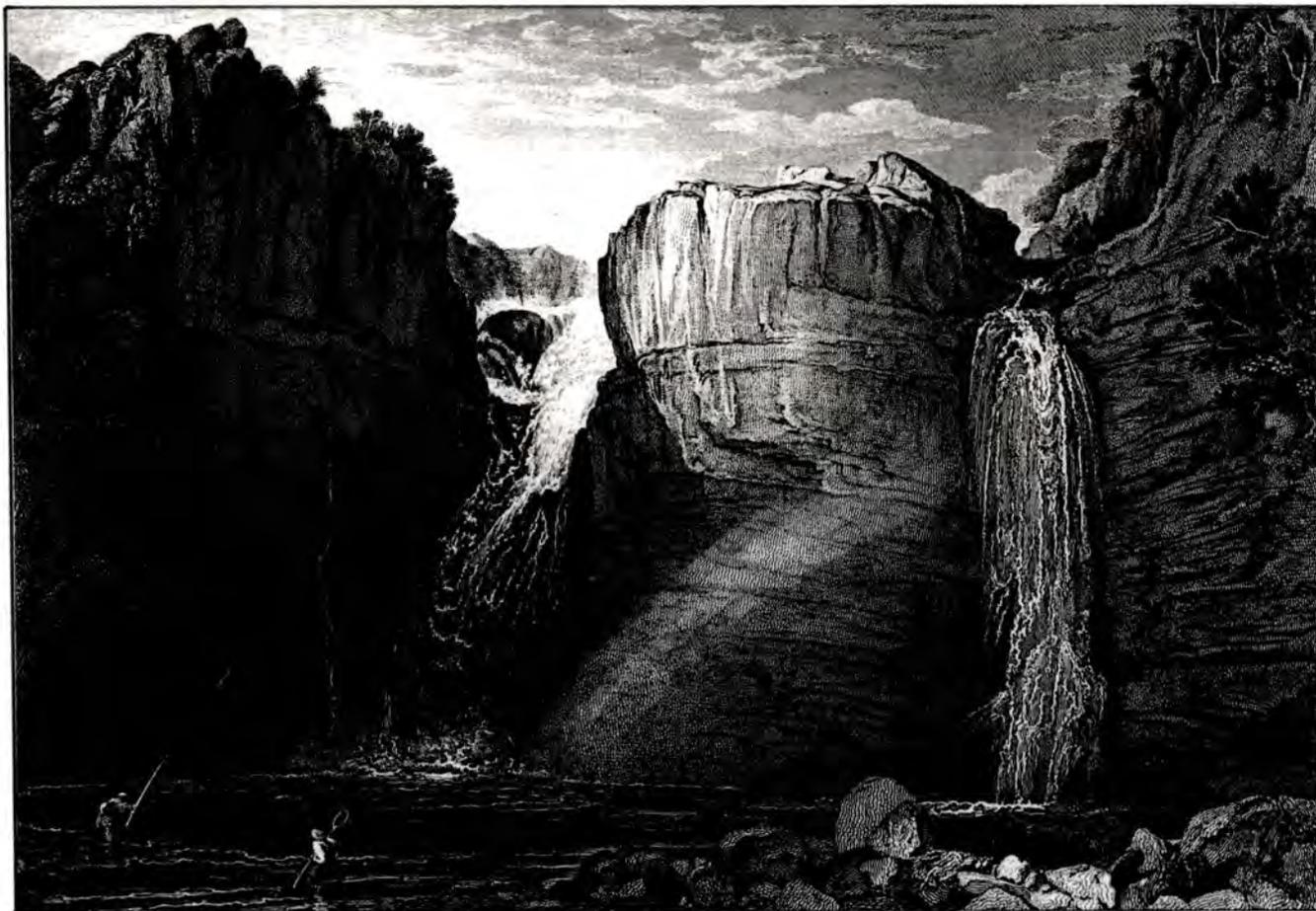


Plate 8 J M W Turner
'High Force or Fall of Tees'
sketched 1816 engraved for
"History of Richmondshire" 1823

the whin sill on the north or left bank is shown as layered rather than columnar. Like Thomas Smith in 1751, in the final watercolour Turner included fishermen casting and netting in the pool, though the sketches show an artist sitting on the largest fallen block of dolerite.

Turner used a sketch from the same 1816 tour for the 1825 painting of High Force which was engraved on copper by E Goodall for the **Picturesque Views in England & Wales** and published in 1827 (Plate 9). For this sketch Turner chose a viewpoint close to that of Thomas Smith in 1751 to obtain a wider view, placing the Force in its setting with its catchment area of upper Teesdale fells beyond. In this fine engraving the artist, originally sketched by Turner in 1816, is included.

In **Modern Painters** (1873) John Ruskin praised this watercolour for its accuracy of rock drawing and its depiction of falling water.

We have, in the great face of rock which divides the two streams, horizontal lines which indicate the real direction of the strata ... But we see also ... fissures absolutely vertical, which inform us of one series of joints dividing these horizontal strata ... Turner has marked, over this general and grand unity of structure, the modifying effects of the weather and the torrent.

... in the Upper Fall of the Tees, though the whole basin of the fall is blue and dim with the rising vapour, yet the attention of the spectator is chiefly directed to the concentric zones and delicate curves of the falling water itself; and it is impossible to express with what exquisite accuracy these are given. They are the characteristic of a powerful stream descending without impediment or break, but from a narrow channel, so as to expand as it falls.



Plate 9 J M W Turner
'The Fall of the Tees'
sketched 1816 for "Picturesque Views in
England & Wales" 1827

In fact Ruskin thought Turner's study could form the basis of a geological lecture:

With this drawing before him, a geologist could give a lecture upon the whole system of aqueous erosion, and speculate as safely upon the past and future states of this very spot, as if he were standing and getting wet with the spray.¹⁰

The text accompanying 'The Fall of the Tees' in **Picturesque Views** sets the scene in typical topographical fashion:

The TEES, which is a pretty considerable river, rises in the mountains of Westmoreland, and taking an easterly direction, divides the North Riding of Yorkshire from the county of Durham, in its whole extent. It passes Barnard Castle, Darlington, Staindrop, Yarm, and Stockton, and falls into the German Ocean in a wide estuary called the Teesmouth, on the south of Hartlepool.

After this almost cartographic description, the details of the Force remind one of the engraving after Smith of 1751 and Young's account of 1770, with its distant roar and double fall.

The Tees, throughout its whole course, receives only the Greta and some other small streams, its principal supply above the Fall being derived from the Weald or Weel, a narrow, but very deep pool, about a mile long, and always full.

The Fall, of which the annexed plate gives an east view, is called the high force or great fall of the Tees; there being another fall at the chain bridge. The great Fall, which is in the parish of Romaldkirk, high up the river, but not till after it has become a considerable stream, is one of the finest cataracts in the island, and its roar may be heard long before you come in sight of it. In character it resembles the Force of Aysgarth, likewise in this county, but it is on a far more magnificent scale, the projection being much larger, the mass of waters more entire, and equally precipitous.

This is generally a double fall, but said to be one

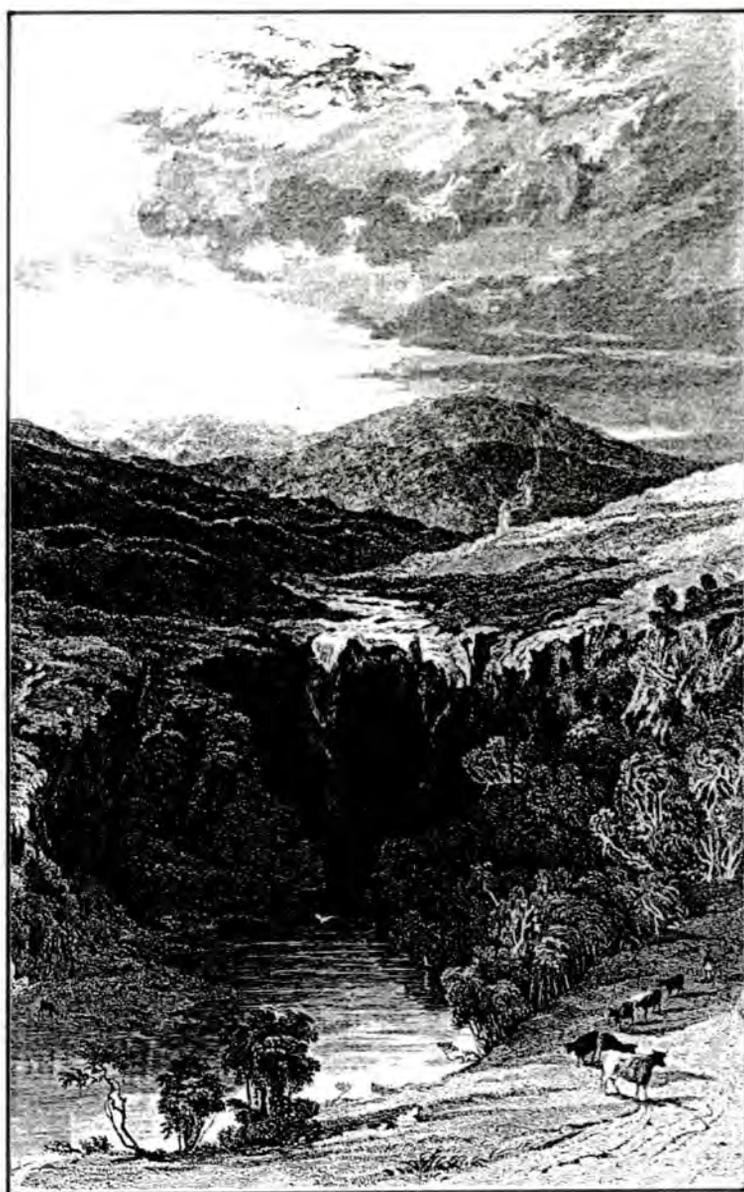


Plate 10 Thomas Allom
'High Force of the Tees, Durham'
engraved for "Westmorland, Cumberland,
Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated" 1832

during the winter season.

Thomas Allom's drawing of High Force was engraved on steel (Plate 10) by S Lacey for **Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated** -first published in 1832- for a larger market than **Picturesque Views**. Thomas Rose's "Topographical Description" in this book seems very familiar:

At this place the whole body of the Tees river rushes over a perpendicular rock of black marble sixty-nine feet in height, and precipitates itself into several caverns formed in the solid rock by the continual action of the waters in their descent. Clouds of mist and spray are produced by the violent fall of the torrent; and these, when illuminated by the sunbeams, reflect all the dyes of the rainbow. The concussion of the waters produces a sensible tremor in the earth for some distance; and the noise of the fall is heard for many miles round the country.¹¹

The height is taken from Smith's engraving or Spencer's account, and Hutchinson's imagery, of the spray and sunbeams for example, is much copied. The viewpoint chosen by Thomas Allom is in front of the inn about to be constructed in the next year or so; the artist includes cattle on the track used by *farmers, cattle dealers, and miners.*¹²

By now High Force was evidently attracting 'picturesque' travellers. E Mackenzie and M Ross in **An Historical, Topographical and Descriptive view of the County Palatine of Durham** (1834) start their account with the dimensions of the *sublime cataract*; and quote a line from **The Seasons**.

Here the whole body of the river, augmented in its progress by numerous tributary streams, is hurled over a lofty precipice. Above the Force, the water is from 40 to 60 feet wide; but, at the very edge of the fall, a huge castle-like rock rears its gigantic head

in the middle of the stream; and between it and the south shore, the river, circumscribed in its breadth, "boils, and wheels, and foams, and thunders through", falling into a deep pool beneath... The entire height of the fall, at ordinary times, is about 70 feet. The height of the rock on the south side of the river above the surface of the pool is 90 feet, and the general depth of the water below is 36 feet.

The topographers then report how an inn, path and steps have been provided for the growing number of visitors. Though depending on Hutchinson's account for some of the imagery, this does seem overlain with a sense of both the sublime and the more romantic.

An inn has recently been erected on the heights overlooking the Force, from whence may be had a beautiful view of the fall and the windings of the river above it. A footpath descends from this place, and winds round the bottom of the precipices on the north side of the river, which are overhung with brushwood and a few ash and yew trees, and beautiful with wild flowers, forming a striking contrast to the surrounding sterility. At the end of this path, a flight of rude steps descends to the verge of the pool, where the spectator, within a few yards of the roaring flood, is inclosed, as it were, in this awful theatre of nature's wonders. Bare perpendicular rocks rise on the opposite side of the river, the strata of which, as well as of the central rock, are strongly marked, and, with the perpendicular fissures by which they are intersected, look like the mighty masonry of a race of giants. Another flight of steps and a footpath winds up the rock to the verge of the cliffs; and, in dry seasons, the top of the central rock may be gained, from whence the spectator may view the torrent rushing into the boiling abyss below. "Being on the giddy verge of so lofty a rock", says Mr. Sopwith, "the rapidity of the stream, the thundering noise with which it mingles with the deep sullen waters below, and the clouds of foam which often reflect the iris' lovely hues, altogether combine to produce mingled sensations of terror, astonishment, and delight."¹³

Hutchinson's imagery of a ruined castle is perhaps reflected in the masonry of Mackenzie and Ross. The

quotation comes from *An Account of the Mining Districts of Alston Moor, Weardale, and Teesdale, in Cumberland and Durham*, by T Sopwith, Lead and Mine Surveyor published the previous year. The surveyor, too, leaned somewhat on Hutchinson's description of the falls, with the *thunder and foam*.

The earliest published work on the geology of the area was Westgarth Forster's *A Treatise on a Section of the Strata, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to the mountain of Cross Fell, in Cumberland; at High Force*

*According to modern Geologists, the Great Whin Sill, is Basaltic Green-stone, similar to that which occurs at Salisbury Crags, near Edinburgh, ... and at the celebrated Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, in Ireland.*¹⁴

In 1836 John Phillips' *Illustrations of the Geology of Yorkshire* contained a geological description of High Force, though he too referred to the Whin Sill as basalt, and did not recognise its intrusive character; it took 40 years for this latter fact to be ascertained. Phillips lists his interpretation of the section through the rocks at High Force:

*Basalt, rudely prismatic, gray with lichen
Thin plate, not very much indurated
Bed of plate, subprismatic
Beds of plate, laminated
Thin limestone bed, with a superficial layer of
pyrites
Bed of hard pyritous limestone
Several beds of common dark limestone, with white
shells and corals.*¹⁵

In his later book the geologist, after explaining the stratigraphy of High Force, adds a more picturesque

note.

*This is a very grand scene. The dark tints of the rocks, the agitation of the water, the contraction of the channel, and the ornament of wood, make a very effective combination.*¹⁶

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the High Force Inn was kept alive by numerous visitors to the fall. Walter White, returning for *A Month in Yorkshire* in 1858, describes the visitor's two hours' horse-drawn omnibus journey (shown on Map 8) from Barnard Castle to Middleton-in-Teesdale; and *sometimes a school came up for a day's holiday*. In describing High Force, White uses the three main viewpoints identified by 1773: the gap in the *steeps of wood* first noticed by Young, the foot of the falls first described by Amory and followed by Young, and the top of the falls as described by Hutchinson.

Although White follows the nineteenth century interest in geology and detailed observation, there are also the Romantic elements of *embowered seats, moss and fern, and the river talking to the stones*. Underlying these strands is the legacy of Amory, Young and Hutchinson in the Picturesque description of the *tremendous sound and foam* of the water as it leaps down the *threatening cliffs and pendent rocks* of the stony chasm.

Now the path skirts precipitous rocks, hung with ivy, now falls gently among ferns to an embowered seat, until at a sudden turn the noise of the fall bursts full upon you. A little farther and the trees no longer screen it, and you see the deep stony chasm, and the peat-stained water making three perpendicular leaps down a precipice seventy feet in height. It is a striking scene, what with the grim crags, the wild slopes, and the huge masses lying at the bottom and in the bed of the stream; and the impressive volume

of sound.

We can scramble down to the very foot of the limestone bluff that projects in the middle, leaving a channel on each side, down one of which a mere thread of water trickles; but in time of flood both are filled, and then the fall is seen and heard in perfection. Now we can examine the smooth water-worn rock, and see where something like crystallisation has been produced by a highly heated intrusive rock. And here and there your eye will rest with pleasure on patches of moss and fern growing luxuriantly in dripping nooks and crannies.

You see how the water, rebounding from its second plunge, shoots in a broken mass of foam into the brown pool below, and therein swirls and swashes for a while, and then escapes by an outlet that you might leap across, talking to thousands of stones as it spreads itself out in the shallow bed

... we mount to the top of the fall. Here the scene is, if possible, wilder than below. The rock, as far as you can see, is split into a thousand crevices, and through these the river rushes to its leap. Such a river bed you never saw before."

- 1 Amory (1756) Vol.I pp.286-287
- 2 Young (1770) Vol.II pp.198-199
- 3 Young (1770) Vol.II p.202
- 4 Spencer (1773) p.557
- 5 Hutchinson (1776) pp.327-330
- 6 Byng (1934-36) Vol.III pp.70, 72
- 7 Hutchinson (1794) Vol.III p.251
- 8 Pennant (1804) pp.35, 37
- 9 Garland (1804) pp.27, 30-31
- 10 Ruskin (1873) Part II pp.314, 362-363, 315
- 11 Rose (1832) Vol.II p.161
- 12 White (1858) p.208
- 13 Mackenzie & Ross (1834) Vol.II p.250
- 14 Forster (1821) pp.112-113
- 15 Phillips (1836) p.79
- 16 Phillips (1855) p.46
- 17 White (1858) pp.206-208

CASE STUDY : CAULDRON SNOUT

Cauldron Snout had a similar origin to High Force, in that here too the River Tees was diverted over the Whin Sill. After leaving the former Weel (a long pool-like section of the river covered in 1970 by Cow Green Reservoir) the river descends a staircase of falls over the resistant columnar dolerite Whin Sill.

Cauldron Snout was even more difficult to get to than High Force, and was less visited. Unlike High Force, Cauldron Snout did not have the benefit of an early engraving, or a description by Arthur Young in 1770. Thomas Pennant's *Tour* of 1804 and Thomas Rose's commentary on Northern engravings of 1832 relied on the accounts of the local tour writers William Hutchinson (1773 and 1794) and Richard Garland (1804). J M W Turner sketched the waterfall in 1816, but the resulting engraving did not appear until 1838. Most writers dwelt on the more sublime aspects of the scene at Cauldron Snout- a sense of danger and even horror pervades their accounts.

Cauldron Snout is first mentioned by William Hutchinson on his *Tour Through Part of the Northern Counties, in the Years 1773 and 1774, returning from his Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland*. The local topographer's brief account owes much to Young's description of High Force. Hutchinson uses Young's *precipice, foam, prodigious noise, and the phrase from rock to rock*.

The grand Cataracts of the river Tees excited our curiosity.

-The Caldron Snoot is worth the traveller's observation: After the river has slept in a long and serene canal, it pours its streams down continued precipices, and falls for several hundred yards, where it is tossed from rock to rock, and making a prodigious noise, hurries forward in sheets of foam.¹

There does not seem to be another mention of Cauldron Snout until William Hutchinson provided an engraving and more detailed description in his *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* published in 1794. Hutchinson continued to copy some features of Young's style, with the repetition of nouns as in *from steep to steep* and *from buttress to buttress*. The columnar nature of the whin sill is described, and Hutchinson demonstrates his knowledge of the Picturesque in his account of the bridge over the *most awful part of the gulph*. The waterfall is

called the Caldron Snout, from its being the mouth of a long canal, where the river sleeps profoundly, and on a sudden pours itself out, over a succession of shelves and falls, for the space of several hundred yards, through a deep opening or gully in the rocks. The grandeur of this scene baffles description; it is not to be expressed in any miniature drawing; the august beauties must be imagined by the reader, accompanied with the idea, that here a large and powerful river is hurried down from steep to steep, for more than two hundred yards, dashed and distracted by opposing rocks, in various directions, and resounding from the lofty shores, that tremble on their thousand columns. Over the deepest and most awful part of the gulph, but where the rocks approach nearest to each other, a bridge is laid, formed of one piece of timber, without any rail; where only passengers, who have a brain befitted to aerial flight, may go without horror: the length of the beam appears to be upwards of forty feet from buttress to buttress.²

Hutchinson includes this natural feature in his *History and Antiquities*, and though demonstrating his interest

in the Picturesque, does not describe the view from the bridge, or give any station or viewpoint. Ten years later, Thomas Pennant in *A Tour from Alston-Moor to Harrowgate, and Brimham Crags* refers to Hutchinson's illustrations. As with High Force, Pennant does not visit Cauldron Snout himself (Map 4), but blatantly copies the solicitor's account. The rail-less *beam of forty feet* is laid over the Tees *from buttress to buttress* as it leaves a *long canal* to rush down between *opposing rocks*.

*The passage over the Tees at Caldron-Snout is ... upon a single beam, of forty feet, placed from buttress to buttress, without any rail, over the deepest part of the vast chasm. In the level part of the country is a long canal, in which the river is as dull as that of the Lethe. It arrives at the brink of a precipice, and rushes instantly, from steep to steep, along a series of slopes, and falls for the space of two hundred yards, foaming and roaring with the opposition of the rocks, and bounded on each part by mural and columnar sides, darkening the deep abyss.*³

In 1804 Richard Garland from Barnard Castle set out to promote the picturesque scenery of Teesdale. Garland's description of Cauldron Snout in his *Tour in Teesdale* is full of Picturesque terms, such as *awful*, *sublime*, and *horror*. The writer uses the present tense and describes the scene from a station towards the foot of the falls. Garland is obviously influenced by the vogue for listing scenes or viewpoints, a vogue demonstrated in the proliferation of published 'Tours' he comments on at the beginning of his own *Tour*.

The awful and tremendous grandeur of the sight that arrests your attention, is almost more than the mind can bear. The painful, pleasing expansion of heart - that internal sensation and best criterion of the true sublime - seizes you with instantaneous and overwhelming energy. Directly before you, the river

is hurled headlong from rock to rock, in a deep recess, down the declivity of a mountain, all but perpendicular, for several hundred feet: and if it is possible that the horror of this scene can be aggravated, it is so by the uncouth aspect of the surrounding objects. This is the only situation, of easy access, and safe enjoyment, when gained, where you can command at once the whole view of this astonishing cataract; the course of its wildly-dashing stream not being in a direct line, but in many a devious bound.

Garland then gives directions to an even more sublime viewpoint, complete with some sense of danger.

Ascend the hill to the wooden bridge, which you will see at a dreadful height, and in the most romantic position, near the top of the Fall. It is a single plank, but broad and firm, with a railing on each side, so that you may safely cross it. The stand in the centre is sublime indeed!- not wholly divested of a sense of personal danger, you look downward, through a shaggy cleft, on the tumbling waters, wetting you with their spray, and shooting, in their most impetuous career, white as snow, and swifter than the arrow, beneath your feet!

The local tour writer recommends that the visitor in search of sublime views, continues above the bridge, some way along the banks of the widened river Tees.

The Caldron Snout is a perfect contrast to the other fall; and every part of its scenery is in the purest style of vast and gigantic sublimity. A little above the bridge, the river is a deep, lethargic pool, (called the Weel) its banks being a dead level for near two miles; and from this circumstance, the name of the cataract, the "Caldron Snout", probably originates. Neither trouble nor fatigue should deter the Tourist from going rather beyond its nearest extremity. The conception of a scene so wild and magnificent, is difficult. Its extreme stillness, and the desolate air of all you see, are even oppressive. Not a house, a tree, or inclosure of any kind, interrupt the boundless waste:- not one dash of cheerful green animates the black and dreary heath: Chaos alone could be more terrific.⁴

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, unlike High Force, Cauldron Snout did not have the benefit of an early engraving to promote it to the tourist. John Byng, for example, was not aware of Cauldron Snout. The first widely published engraving came in 1832, in Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated*. Thomas Allom chose a viewpoint looking down Cauldron Snout and including the railed footbridge. The steel engraving was accompanied by a description by Thomas Rose which emphasised the horror the tourist could expect to feel. There are parallels here with the descriptions by William Hutchinson and Richard Garland. For example, Garland's description of the effect of the view from the bridge -with a *powerful, pleasing expansion of heart*- is perhaps echoed by Rose's *feeling of anxiety and fear in the heart of the tourist*.

"the madden'd Tees with maniac fury foams"; and a tremulous motion is communicated to the adjacent rocks by the rushing of the torrent. It requires some nerve and intrepidity to pass the rudely-constructed bridge which crosses the fall: the roaring of the waters beneath, and the apparently unsteady footing of the structure whereon he stands, excites a feeling of anxiety and fear in the heart of the tourist. The scenery in the vicinity of Caldron Snout is more wild and romantic than that of any other part of Durham."⁵

Another engraving of Cauldron Snout was published in 1838. (Plate 11) After sketching High Force in August 1816, for T D Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, J M W Turner proceeded to Cauldron Snout. Here the artist chose the same viewpoint as William Hutchinson. Turner had to manipulate the viewpoints to include the whole staircase of cataracts with the railed footbridge at the top. The watercolour from this sketch was finished in 1826, but was not engraved until 1838, by W R Smith for *Picturesque Views in England & Wales*. The engraving, 'Chain Bridge over the Tees', shows Turner at his most interpretative; the footbridge clearly depicted in the sketch is replaced by a hanging chain bridge, perhaps



Plate 11 J M W Turner
'Chain Bridge over the River Tees'
sketched 1816 engraved for "Picturesque
Views in England & Wales" 1838

based on that at Wynch Bridge lower down the river. The river Tees is shown descending an apparently bottomless chasm; a grouse under the foreground heather and bushes is unaware of the approaching gunman. John Ruskin praised this picture and that of High Force.

Turner was the only painter who had ever represented the force of agitated water. He obtains this expression of force in falling or running water by fearless and full rendering of its forms. In the Chain Bridge over the Tees, this passiveness and swinging of the water to and fro are yet more remarkable; while we have another characteristic of a great waterfall given to us, that the wind, in this instance coming up the valley against the current, takes the spray up off the edges, and carries it back in little torn, reverted rags and threads, seen in delicate form against the darkness on the left.⁶

The accounts of Cauldron Snout by the geologists of the time did not shake off the legacy of the sublime. In 1833 T Sopwith describes the view from the bridge in his **Account of the Mining Districts:**

the waters of the Tees rushing with impetuous force down a steep basaltic chasm of two or three hundred yards in length...when the Tees is swollen with rains, it rushes down in one impetuous and unbroken torrent of almost resistless force, and, with its sides of framing tower-like cliffs, forms a spectacle truly terrible and sublime.⁷

John Phillips, in **The Rivers, Mountains and Sea-Coast of Yorkshire** (1855) identifies the rocks at Cauldron Snout as 'greenstone'. The geologist records that the site, though accessible from the High Force Inn, is seldom visited.

Three years later Walter White visited Cauldron Snout while on his **Month in Yorkshire**. (Map 8) The isolated



site increases White's feeling of the sublime here, in contrast to the more romantic imagery he uses for other natural sites in Yorkshire. White's description of Cauldron Snout echoes those of William Hutchinson, with direct use of some of Hutchinson's words, such as *dashing*, *foam* and *from rock to rock*. White is the first commentator to record that the grey whin sill appears black when wet.

The current quickens, the faint sound grows louder, and presently coming to the brink of a rocky chasm we behold the cataract of Caldron Snout. The Tees here makes a plunge of two hundred feet, dashing from rock to rock, twisting, whirling, eddying, and roaring in its dark and tortuous channel. The foam appears the whiter and the grasses all the greener by contrast with the blackness of the riven crags, and although no single plunge equals that at High Force, you will perhaps be more impressed here. You are here shut out from the world amid scenes of savage beauty, the sense of isolation begets a profounder admiration of the natural scene, and enjoyment of the manifold watery leaps, as you pause at each while scrambling down the hillside.⁹

- 1 Hutchinson (1776) pp.325-326
- 2 Hutchinson (1794) Vol.III pp.280-281
- 3 Pennant (1804) pp.36-37
- 4 Garland (1804) pp.34-36
- 5 Rose (1832) Vol.II p.114
- 6 Ruskin (1873) Part II pp.362-363
- 7 Sopwith (1833) pp.149-150
- 8 Phillips (1855) p.46
- 9 White (1858) p.211

CASE STUDY : AYSGARTH FORCE

The three waterfalls at Aysgarth in Wensleydale owe their origin to a glacial lake which spilled over its moraine dam and scoured down to the Great Scar Limestone. The stepped falls are caused by the weaker shale beds being worn by eddies and backwash in the River Ure undercutting the harder layers of limestone, which fall off. The system of falls is thus retreating upstream, leaving gorges of recession. Potholes or swirlholes are a feature of the jointed limestone of the river bed.

In the 1760s paintings of Aysgarth Force were exhibited, perhaps attracting Arthur Young to the scene in 1768. Young's account was much copied by Thomas Pennant. J M W Turner sketched here for T D Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*. Other visitors included the artist Edward Dayes in 1803, the local historian Charles Fothergill (1805), the geologist John Phillips (1855) and the walker Walter White (1858). Their descriptions demonstrate aspects of the development of the Picturesque- the sixteenth century bridge, the search for 'stations', references to poetry and the growing interest in geology. It is the geological framework of the waterfalls at Aysgarth, producing stepped falls and steep gorges of recession, that underpins the main observations of the Picturesque visitors.

Paintings of Aysgarth Force were exhibited by Paul Sandby in 1764 and Nicholas Dall (a Danish painter who lived in London from about 1756) in 1767; their existence was noted in R Gough's *Anecdotes of British*

Topography published in 1768. One of these paintings may have influenced Arthur Young on his agricultural six months tour through the North of England to make a diversion (shown on Map 3) to view the waterfalls at Aysgarth. Young identifies a 'station' and describes the view of the upper falls in a Picturesque way, as a series of planes framed by the bridge and hanging hills; the stepped nature of the falls predominates.

Asgarth-force was the object which led me to the west of Danby... the river Eure, at Asgarth, falls in several places over rocks in a very romantic manner: .. The first fall is of several steps, near the bridge, and though of no great steepness, yet is beautifully picturesque: The theatre of the scene is a very fine hollow, inclosed by hanging hills, scattered with pendant trees; the river foams down several steps in its rocky bed, the view of which, through the arch of the bridge, is most elegantly pleasing. ... Under the arch you catch, in a most beautiful perspective, first some stragglng shrubby underwood, which hangs just under the brick-work, then the sheet of water falling some feet among the rocks, particularly intercepted by three large loose pieces; next is seen another level sheet nearer to you than the former, and then a second dashing among stragglng rocks, which throw up a foam that is very picturesque: The top of the bridge is thickly over-grown with ivy; and the whole view is bounded by fine hanging hills, scattered with trees.

Young goes on to describe the middle and lower falls, emphasising the gorge of recession.

Lower down the river are three falls more, which are not a little striking, from the romantic spot in which they are situated. The river is walled in with rocks of a considerable height, their tops fringed with shrubby wood; the lowest of the falls is the principal, for the water rushes between the vast rocks, a double fall of 12 or 15 feet in the whole; the object is a noble one, though far from being equal to the fall of Tees before described. Upon the whole, these falls are great curiosities, and sufficient, I should apprehend, to entertain the least scrutinizing traveller.¹

Two years later Thomas Pennant in his second *Tour in Scotland* (Map 4) uses the same vocabulary; here are the *pendant trees*, the ivy-covered arch, the steep rocks at the side of the falls, a *picturesque* and *romantic* view, from the same viewpoint beneath the bridge.

Reach Aysgarth or Aysgarth-Force, remarkable for the fine arch over the Ure, built in 1539. The scenery above and below is most uncommonly picturesque. The banks on both sides are lofty, rocky, and darkened with trees. Above the bridge two regular precipices cross the river, down which the water falls in two beautiful cascades, which are seen to great advantage from below. The gloom of the pendent trees, the towering steeple of the church above, and the rage of the waters beneath the ivy-bound arch, form all together a most romantic view.

Pennant was accompanied by the Welsh artist Moses Griffith, and the engraving made from Griffith's drawing of the lower falls was included in the *Tour in Scotland* (Plate 12). Perhaps because of this, Pennant tends to describe the lower falls in terms of the engraving. Unlike Young, Pennant notices the potholes, but he still feels the need to use the earlier visitor's *steps* and *walls of rock, fringed with trees*, as he too concentrates on the stepped falls in the gorge of recession.

A little lower down are other falls; but the finest is at about half a mile distance, where the river is crossed by a great scar, which opens in the middle, and forms a magnificent flight of steps, which grow wider and wider from top to bottom, the rock on each side forming a regular wall. The river falls from step to step, and at the lowest drops into a rocky channel, filled with circular basons, and interrupted for some space with lesser falls. The eye is finely directed to this beautiful cataract by the scars that bound the river, being lofty, precipitous and quite of a smooth front, and their summits fringed with hollies and other trees.²

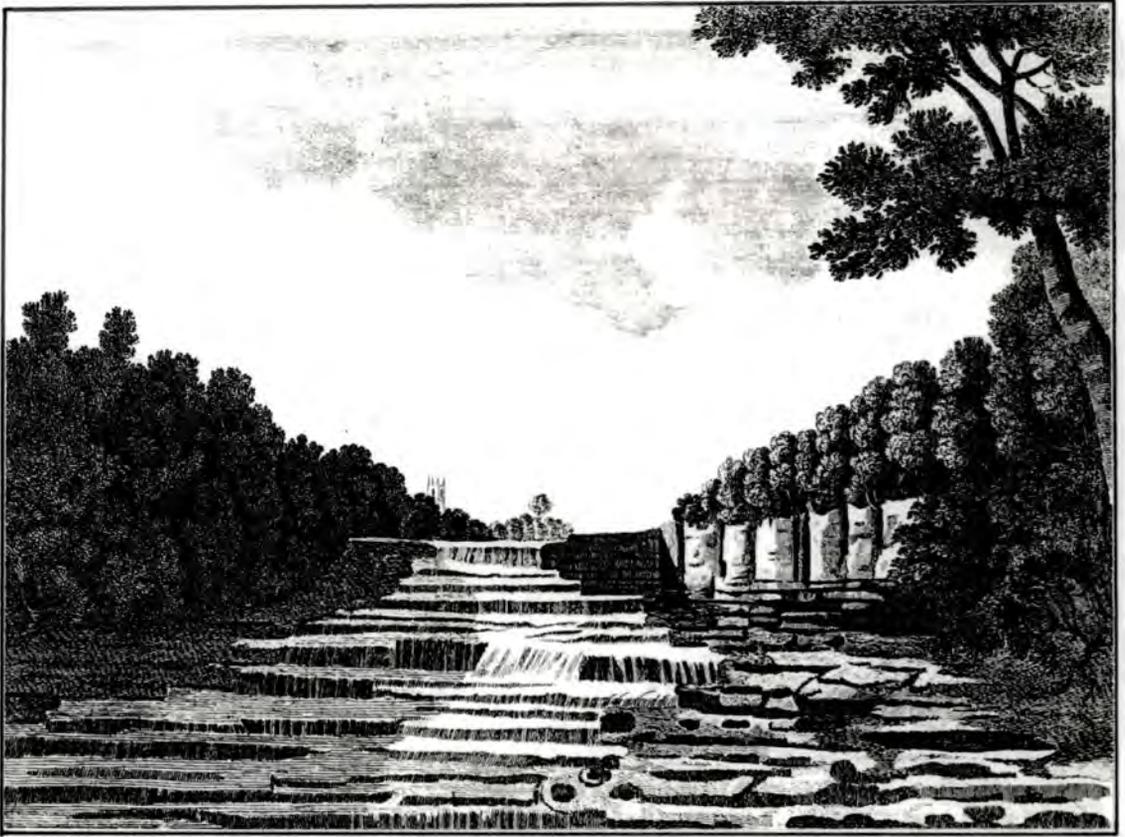


Plate 12 Moses Griffith
'Aysgarth Force'
engraved for Thomas Pennant "Tour in
Scotland" 1772

Arthur Young's description of the falls and 16 lines of Thomas Maude's poem are quoted by Francis Grose in *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (1785), though the inclusion of this natural feature in such a book evidently required explanation:

Although this bridge can scarcely boast a sufficient age to claim a place in this work, its erection being so late as the year 1539, as appears by a stone tablet on it bearing that date; yet the extraordinary beauty of the surrounding scene, the foaming cascade seen beneath its arch, the venerable mantle of ivy, and the shrubs and trees with which it is shaded and adorned, all join to compensate for its want of antiquity...

This bridge, with the adjacent falls of the river Eure, are thus pleasingly delineated in the poem called Wensley-Dale:

*But now, O Aysgarth, let my rugged verse
The wonders of thy cataracts rehearse.³*

The accompanying engraving (Plate 13), dated 1774, matches the description; the upper stepped falls and steep woods are seen through the arched bridge which dominates the scene. Thus Young's viewpoint is copied, as well as his description being quoted.

Thomas Maude's poem *Wensley-dale* apparently helped to attract visitors to the dale. John Byng, who *had never come this way had he not read the poem of Wensley-Dale, written by Mr. Maude*, visited Aysgarth on 16th June 1792. Map 6 shows Byng's diversion to the waterfalls. Byng hires a guide from the public house and views the lower falls.⁴ Byng pasted into his manuscript *Tour to the North* two prints of the bridge at Aysgarth, one of the church and two of the waterfalls.



Plate 13 engraving of Aysgarth Force dated 1774
in Francis Grose
"The Antiquities of England and Wales" 1785

Charles Fothergill, touring the area in 1805 to find material for his projected **Natural and Civil History of Yorkshire**, commented on the growing number of visitors to Wensleydale.

A very few years ago this delightful valley was very little known to travellers or to summer visitors but since a great proportion of the company visiting the Lakes now go this way instead of the more barren route thro' Lancashire, its fame may become justly extended.

Fothergill makes one of the first recorded geological comments on the river potholes at the lower falls at Aysgarth, referring perhaps to Pennant's observations.

Observed a great number of the round holes and perforations about Aysgarth foss which have so much occupied the attention of Natural Philosophers: what my uncle William has conjectured respecting them I think very rational: he supposes, as is the case, that a number of small loose stones collect in certain crevices of the rock, that in high floods the water whirls these round and round with a velocity sufficient to wear away the holes which contain them, gradually deepening them. As a great proof in favour of such a notion these holes are generally if not always filled with stones whose aridges have evidently been worn off by violent friction in a circular funnel.⁵

The artist Edward Dayes on his **Picturesque Tour in Yorkshire and Derbyshire** in 1805 (Map 1) warned tourists that it was easy to miss these lower falls, and quotes from Thomson's **The Seasons** as if to lend weight to his recommendation. Dayes gives no detailed description of the waterfalls.

Here are several Falls, both above and below the bridge, the whole range occupying an extent of nearly half a mile. This should be particularly remembered, otherwise a stranger might miss the Force, where the whole body of the river

collected
In one impetuous torrent, down the steep
Loud thundering shoots, and shakes the country
round.

THOMSON

..... The falls increase in height as they descend the river; the lowest, or Force, as it is called from pre-eminence, being about twelve or fifteen feet high.⁶

Some later writers did miss the lower Force. T D Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire* (1823) advises that:

*in the line of the Ure, and immediately beneath the parish church, the course of the river lies over a rocky and irregular channel of limestone, broken into two deep and beautiful descents, one above and the other beneath the bridge.*⁷

However, J M W Turner, producing watercolours for Whitaker's work, sketched the Middle Falls and made two sketches at the Lower Falls on 28th July 1816. Turner chose to paint Aysgarth Force, the lower falls, for J Scott to engrave for the *History of Richmondshire* (Plate 14). The river is fairly full, only the higher potholes being visible; the stepped falls, with the eroded shale beds and the upper part of the gorge of recession are shown in detail. As Mrs Hunt explained in her appraisal of this view for the re-issue of the *Richmondshire* engravings in 1891, Turner had carefully observed the geological details.

The underworn and overlapping ledges of rock, seen either quite plainly, or partly veiled by the falling water, are drawn with a master's care and precision. The very history of the Fall has been consciously or unconsciously shown, and almost, it might be said commented on, by the choice and arrangement of the foreground. The waterfall, as Mr. Ruskin says, has plainly travelled back from the point in the foreground where the figure is sitting, and the strong, sharp shadow of a much underworn bed of rock is made the darkest thing in the whole composition.



Plate 14 J M W Turner
'Aysgarth Force'
sketched 1816 engraved for "History of Richmondshire" 1823

The critic does not draw attention to Turner's equally careful observation of the potholes, but does mention the exaggeration he used to emphasise the height of the falls. A comparison of Turner's sketch with the finished engraving shows that the considerable height amplification is aided by the inward curving of the gorge sides, shown as vertical in the sketch.

Turner may have unwittingly compressed very slightly the width of the river's channel, and proportionately increased the height of the Fall.⁸

The steel engraving by J Stowe (Plate 15), after a drawing by Nathaniel Whittock, chosen to illustrate Thomas Allen's *A New Complete History of the County of York* (1828-31) is of the lower Aysgarth Force. The depiction of the stepped fall is similar to Turner's, though much cruder. The height of the falls is even more amplified, with minute figures and curving gorge sides adding to the exaggeration. This closer view omits the potholes.

When the geologist John Phillips came to describe Aysgarth Force in his *Rivers, Mountains and Sea-coasts of Yorkshire* in 1855, he showed that elements of the Picturesque were still of importance. The old bridge, Turner's painting and the 'station' are as important as the limestone and the effects of flooding.

at Aysgarth, with its conspicuous old church and bridge (A.D. 1536), rapids begin, and soon become the powerful cataracts on which Turner has bestowed some touches of his magic pencil. The Ure, like other northern streams, especially near their source, varies greatly in respect of the quantity of water which it discharges. In floods it is a great, a mighty river, bursting with a prodigious effect



Plate 15 Nathaniel Whittock
'Aysgarth Force'
engraved for Thomas Allen "History of the
County of York" 1828-1831

through magnificent rocks; but in droughts only a few gentle rills- the tears of the Naiads- run over the ledges of limestone. The bridge above the Falls is commendable as a station for looking on the river and church.⁹

Walter White, returning in 1858 for *A Month in Yorkshire*, also notes the effect of rainfall amounts on Aysgarth Force. The stepped falls, a feature of the earliest descriptions, continue to dominate.

The water is shallow, and falling as a white curtain over the front of each step, shoots swiftly over the broad level to the next plunge, and the next, producing, even in dry weather, a very pleasing effect. But during a flood the steps disappear, and the whole channel is filled by one great rapid, almost terrific in its vehemence.¹¹

- 1 Young (1770) Vol.II pp.460-462
- 2 Pennant (1772) pp.350-351
- 3 Grose (1785) p.65
- 4 Byng (1934-36) Vol.III pp.81-82
- 5 Fothergill (1984) pp.99, 173-4
- 6 Brayley (1825) pp.103-105;
 Summer lines 591-593 (1746 edition)
- 7 Whitaker (1823) Vol.I p.393
- 8 Hunt (1891) pp.24-25
- 9 Phillips (1855) pp.60-61
- 10 White (1858) p.290

CASE STUDY : HARDRAW FORCE

Hardraw Force in Wensleydale is reputedly the highest single-drop waterfall in England. The stream has cut through a cycle of the Yoredale rocks of Carboniferous age. The waterfall lip is of Hardraw Scar Limestone, and there is a clear drop of about 90 feet over the underlying sandstone and shales into a plunge pool. A twisting gorge of recession has been left as the falls have worn back. Until a few years ago the waterfall was artificially embellished by strengthening of the limestone lip.

Hardraw Force was first described by John Hutton in 1781, but the next published account was not until 1823 with Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, which included an engraving after J M W Turner. The early accounts, including an unpublished letter from William Wordsworth in 1799, dwell on the gorge and the view from behind the waterfall. The nineteenth century accounts of Whitaker, John Phillips (1855) and Walter White (1855) include more geological observations.

Thomas Gray's *Catalogue of the Antiquities, Houses.. and Scenes.. in England and Wales* of 1773 merely listed Hardraw Force as a scene *more particularly worthy of Notice*. (Map 2) The first description of Hardraw Force appeared in one of the first Tours, *The Tour to the Caves* by the Rev John Hutton in 1781. Hutton did not have time to visit Wensleydale while on his tour to the Ingleborough caves, but quotes from his curate guide. The guide had either visited the falls after heavy rain, or exaggerated the amount of water; the description

concentrates on the gorge and the view from behind the waterfall.

*"The chasm is pervious at the bottom, and extends above three hundred yards in length, fortified with huge shattered rocks on each side, which are in some places thirty three yards perpendicular, and the intervallum above eighty. At the far end is an amazing cataract, which pours forth a vast quantity of water, that falls into a deep bason. Behind the waterfall is a deep recess excavated out of the solid rock: Here the spectator may stand behind the stream secure from its madefying effects, and may go quite round it upon one of the numerous saxa sedilia, at the distance of ten yards from the water."*¹

John Byng visited Hardraw Force on 17th June 1792, as a result of reading Hutton's book. Map 6 shows how he made a special journey to this site. Byng ignores Hutton's estimated dimensions and grossly exaggerated the height of the falls.

*put up our horses at a public-house, the Green Dragon, at Hardraw; whose landlord accompanied us, a short distance, to Hardraw Water Fall, which is a cave of rocks of tolerably easy approach; -where the stream flows over the top of the rock in one sheet of about 70 yards in height- making a most rumbling noise in falling, with a fierce foam at bottom. It is possible to stand behind this fall, without being wetted."*²

In a letter to Coleridge in December 1799 William Wordsworth describes the waterfalls he and Dorothy visited in Wensleydale. This letter had no direct influence on other visitors, but illustrates the more Romantic trend of the Picturesque, though there are traces still of Picturesque theory. As well as describing his feelings, Wordsworth identifies the grandeur and beauty of the scene.

We had not gone above a few hundred yards between two

winding rocky banks before we came full upon it. It appeared to throw itself in a narrow line from a lofty wall of rock; the water which shot manifestly to some distance from the rock seeming from the extreme height of the fall to be dispersed before it reached the bason, into a thin shower of snow that was toss'd about like snow blown from the roof of a house. We were disappointed in the cascade though the introductory and accompanying banks were a noble mixture of grandeur and beauty. We walked up to the fall and what would I not give if I could convey to you the images and feelings which were then communicated to me. After cautiously sounding our way over stones of all colours and sizes encased in the clearest ice formed by the spray of the waterfall, we found the rock which before had seemed a perpendicular wall extending itself over us like the ceiling of a huge cave; from the summit of which the water shot directly over our heads into a bason and among fragments of rock wrinkled over with masses of ice, white as snow, or rather as D. says like congealed froth. The water fell at least ten yards from us and we stood directly behind it, the excavation not so deep in the rock as to impress any feeling of darkness, but lofty and magnificent, and in connection with the adjoining banks excluding as much of the sky as could well be spared from a scene so exquisitely beautiful. I cannot express to you the enchanted effect produced by this Arabian scene of colour as the wind blew aside the great waterfall behind which we stood and hid and revealed each of these faery cataracts in irregular succession or displayed them with various gradations of distinctness, as the intervening spray was thickened or dispersed. In the luxury of our imaginations we could not help feeding on the pleasure which in the heat of a July noon this cavern would spread through a frame exquisitely sensible. That huge rock of ivy on the right! the bank winding round on the left with all its living foliage, and the breeze stealing up the valley and bedewing the cavern with the faintest imaginable spray. And then the murmur of water, the quiet, the seclusion, and a long summer day to dream in!³

Later, Wordsworth in his *Guide through the District of the Lakes* recommended that summer visitors stop at Hardraw Force on their way to the Lakes. Map 7 indicates the relationship between Wordsworth's own journeys and

the sites he suggested for the tourist.

Thomas Whitaker in his *History of Richmondshire* (1823) attempted a geological explanation of the fall and the recess behind it which afforded such a Picturesque viewpoint.

At Hardraw is another waterfall of a character almost peculiar to itself. It is a grand column of water projected from the edge of a rock, so as to detach itself completely from the strata beneath, and to plunge without dispersion or interruption into a black and boiling cauldron below. This singular and happy effect has been produced by two causes: first the bed of the torrent above is a stratum of rock, broken off at the point from which the projection takes place, so hard that the perpetual attrition of a violently agitated current has made little impression upon its edge. And, secondly, the strata beneath are schistus, perpetually decomposing by the action of the air, and widening the interval between the face of the rock and this vast column of liquid crystal, which may easily be surrounded and viewed in its ever varying refractions on every side.⁴

J M W Turner had sketched many waterfalls in Wensleydale for Whitaker's book; the sketch made on 28th July 1816 of 'Hardraw Fall' was worked up into a watercolour for etching by S Middiman and engraving by John Pye. (Plate 16) Turner chose a viewpoint some way back in the gorge to show the scale of the waterfall, with figures of decreasing size placed at three planes into the picture. The overhanging limestone forms a deep recess at the end of the gorge of recession.

Wordsworth thought this a *fine drawing*, though it does not altogether match with Whitaker's description, as Mrs Hunt in her 1891 appraisal of the *Richmondshire* engravings explained.

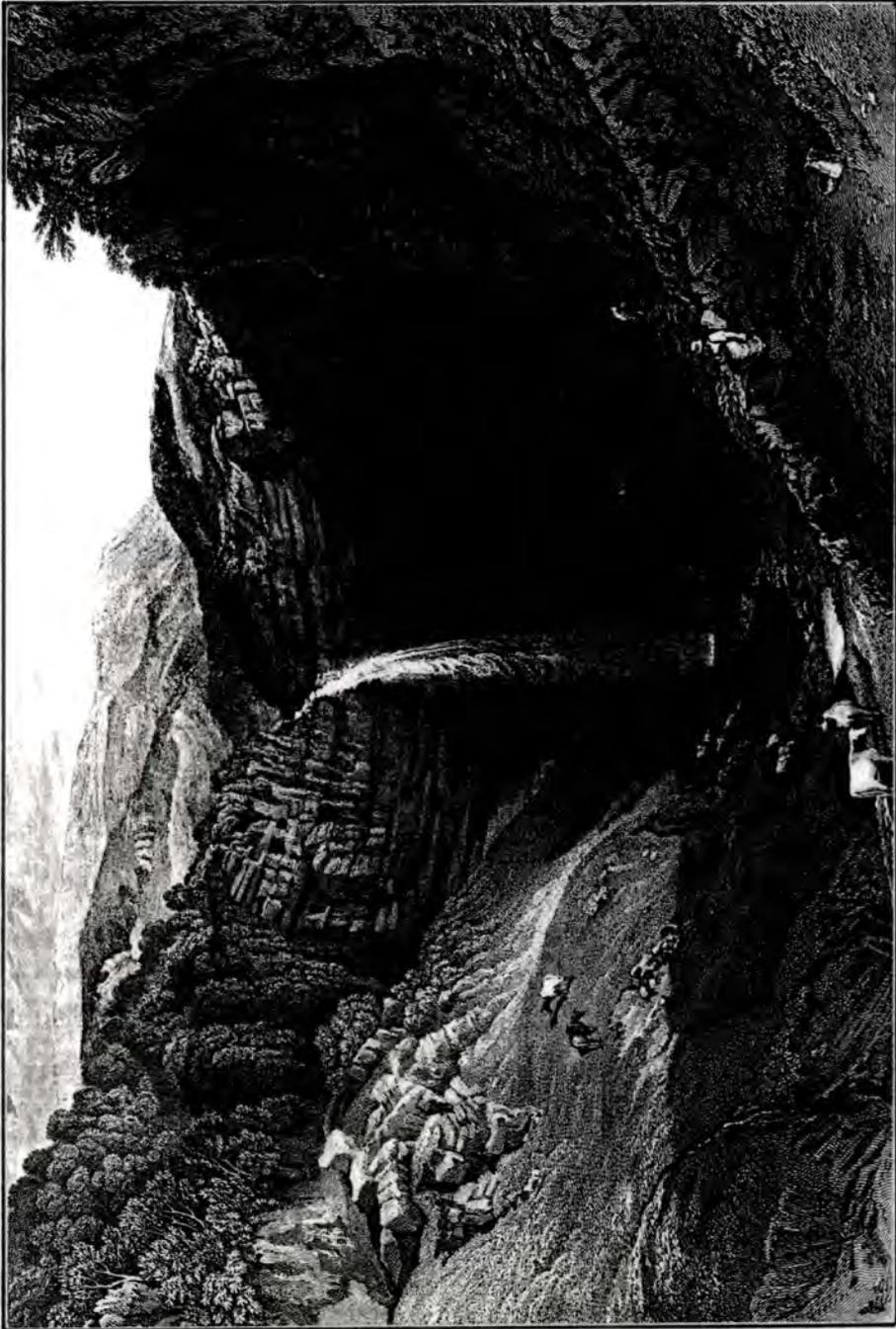


Plate 16 J M W Turner
'Hardraw Fall',
sketched 1816 engraved for "History of Richmondshire" 1823

It is not true, however, that the perpetual attrition of the current has made very little impression on the projecting ledge of hard limestone; that is much cut away, and would be considerably more so were it not that a helping hand were lent to nature^s

Mrs Hunt repeats the story of how Ruskin, when at Hardraw, was told that the lip of the falls was artificially built up to make a more spectacular waterfall. The current

*"does wear it away, only you see we work at it."
"You will see mason's work, sir, if you go to the top of the cliff and look close."*

Nathaniel Whittock's 'Hardrow Force', engraved by J Lambert for Thomas Allen's *New Complete History of the County of York* (1828-31) shows three tourists in a much closer view. (Plate 17) This view is much less realistic than Turner's; the recess is shown, but the horizontal bed of limestone is shown as tilted, and the sides of the gorge are brought together to frame the fall.

When the geologist John Phillips described Hardraw Force in 1855, he could not dispense with the Picturesque conventions of composition and the preference for the colouring of evening light. Phillips is the first commentator to mention the rainbow in the spray, seen at around midday. He describes the gorge of recession, but misses the generally acclaimed view from behind the fall.

Hardraw Force.. is .. a bold leap of 99 feet, which, when much water flows, fills the large basin of rocks with sheets of vapour; sometimes iris-tinted, and always very effective in composition. Hardly anything can be more unlike, in a pictorial point of view, than this noble fall in a dry season, as compared

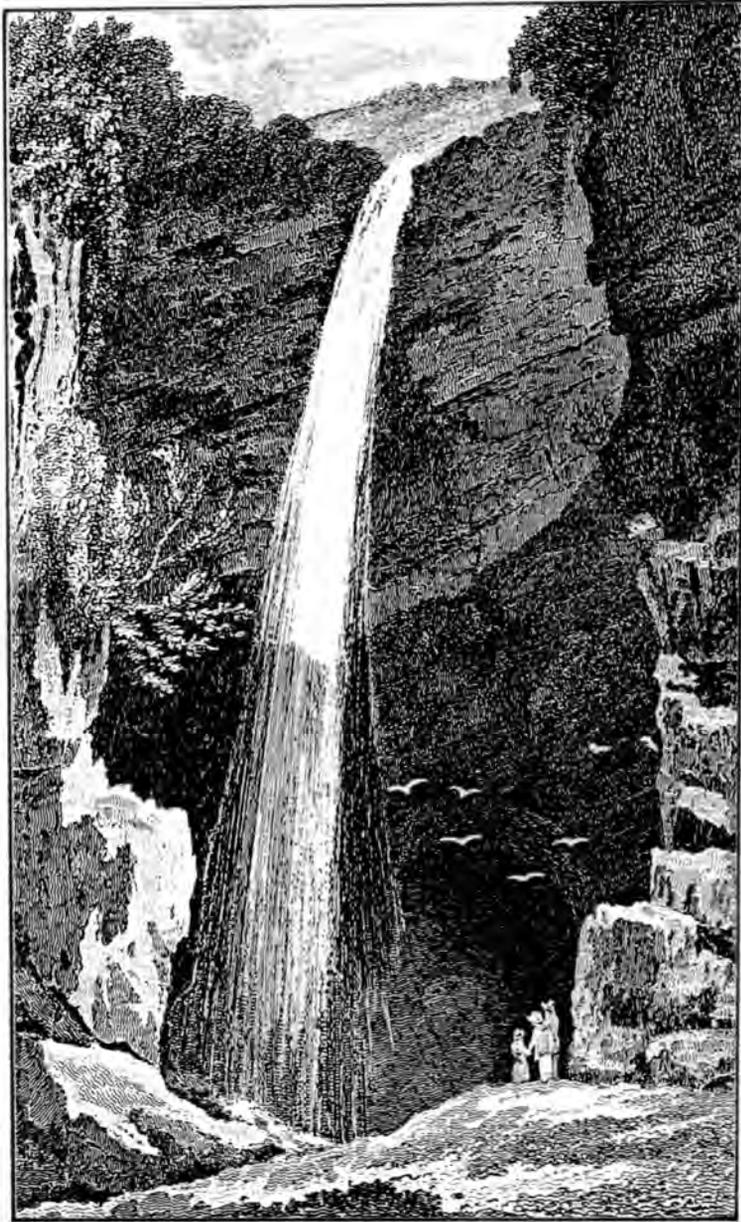


Plate 17 Nathaniel Whittock
'Hardrow Force'
engraved for Thomas Allen "History of the
County of York" 1828-1831

with its appearance after a day's heavy rain. The stream is very short, and the water soon collects to a formidable torrent, where not long before an easy step might pass the stream. In all conditions of the water, the deep, narrow and winding glen through which the beck flows from the cascade is of great beauty, and specially interesting to the geologist, who, seeing this little dell in the process of further extension into the heart of the mountain, may be encouraged to estimate the length of the period necessary for such a stream to fashion such a ravine. Let him do so when a summer evening is spreading broad and solemn shadows over Wensleydale.⁶

In 1858 Walter White in *A Month in Yorkshire* retains the romantic view through the falling water and continues the interest in geology prevalent at the time in his observations on the gorge.

passing through the public-house by the bridge, we find a path that leads us into a rocky chasm, about ninety feet deep and twice as much in width, the limestone cliffs hung with trees and bushes, here and there a bare crag jutting out, or lying shattered beneath; while, cutting the grassy floor in two, a lively beck ripples its way along. A bend conceals its source; but we saunter on, and there at the end of the ravine, where the cliffs advance and meet, we see the beck making one leap from top to bottom - and that is Hardraw Scar. The rock overhangs above, hence the water shoots clear of the cliff, and preserves an irregular columnar form, widening at the base with bubbles and spray. You can go behind it, and look through the falling current against the light, and note how it becomes fuller and fuller of lines of beads as it descends, until they all commingle in the flurry below... The geologist finds in the ravine a suggestive illustration on a small scale of what Niagara with thunderous plunge has been accomplishing through countless ages - namely, wearing away the solid rock, inch by inch, foot by foot, until in the one instance a river chasm is formed miles in length, and here, in the other, a pretty glen a little more than a furlong deep.⁷

- 1 Hutton (1781) p.42
- 2 Byng (1934-36) Vol.III pp.84-85
- 3 Shaver (1967) pp.279-280
- 4 Whitaker (1823) Vol.I p.413
- 5 Hunt (1891) pp.28-29
- 6 Phillips (1855) p.58
- 7 White (1858) pp.231-232

CASE STUDY : CASTLE EDEN DENE

Castle Eden Dene is a four mile long valley incised, largely by glacial meltwater, into the boulder clay and magnesian limestone of the East Durham Plateau. The soft limestones sometimes form cliffs up to 100 feet high, and result in Castle Eden Burn occasionally disappearing underground. Landslips and fallen boulders are common in the heavily wooded dene.

From 1758 the Burdon family opened up and improved the dene, with paths, carriageways and bridges. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the dene was opened to the general public.

Castle Eden Dene was a popular tourist attraction, though few published accounts have been found. Teresa Cholmeley visited the dene in 1805 and persuaded the artist J S Cotman to sketch there. The dene featured in Edward Brayley's *The Beauties of England and Wales* in 1808, and in Thomas Rose's *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated*, published in 1823 with two illustrations by Thomas Allom. These writers and artists described and depicted the steep, sometimes overhanging sides of the heavily wooded, deeply incised dene with large fallen blocks of limestone littering the valley floor.

Teresa Cholmeley of Brandsby Hall in Yorkshire visited Castle Eden Dene by carriage on 7 August 1805. Her account, in a letter to her son, shows how Picturesque theory and language had been adopted. Mrs Cholmeley notices the *inequalities of ground, immense rocks* and

apparent caverns, as well as praising the layout of the carriageway and the provision of seats. The trees are listed, the disappearing stream noticed and two views described.

The evening was fine and allowed of our seeing Castle Eden dean partly in & partly out of our carriages. The scenery far surpassed my most sanguine expectations! The drive thro the valley is I suppose full 3 miles, as they charge it 4. It sometimes faintly resembles the Forge Valley, but the breadth & whole scale is far grander & more beautiful. The valley is full of the most interesting changes and inequalities of ground. Sometimes you have a steep tho' short hill to ascend, and then as precipitate a descent. Often by rustic bridges or fords you pass a stream or rather the bed of a stream, but whose rocky, stoney channel has great beauties tho' generally devoid of water. Immense rocks rise of either side, sometimes abrupt, sometimes receding and of various colours and kinds. Fine ash, oak and elm flourish tho' almost apparently growing out of the rock itself, which rocks are sometimes cloathed with festoons of ivy, sometimes with thick dark masses of yew (which grow there in great abundance) and sometimes presenting a bold naked surface, seen thro' the light airy foliage of the ash. Frequent recesses and even apparent caverns also occur, some near, some higher up in the receding rocks. The road seems always conducted with the purest simple taste, often overhung by embowering trees that cross it in wildest fantastic shapes, and reminded me of the low garden walk at Rokeby by the side of the Greta. You have one grand view of the castellated house rising proudly over the tops of the woods & which put me much in mind of Mrs Ratcliffe's Castle of Udolpho, and another view for which you turn a little out of the road to a thatched seat, magnificent to a degree! A steep and broad valley of wood, & near the centre one single grand rock of the most exquisite grey tint I ever beheld, simply projecting! When I saw it the sky had thickened & misty rain was beginning to fall, but the scene wanted no glaring lights. All was in perfect harmony. I do not think it could be seen to more sublime advantage!

In her next letter to her son Francis, Teresa Cholmeley

illustrates the special relationship that had developed between her family and the artist John Sell Cotman. Cotman was staying with the Cholmeleys at Brandsby for the third summer, but was on a visit to Rokeby with Francis at the time. Mrs Cholmeley was determined that Cotman should see Castle Eden Dene, and wrote on 15 August:

My love to Cotty and hope he likes my plan for him. Oh! Castle Eden Dean he must see, as well as Durham before he comes back to his home at Brandsby.¹

Cotman was persuaded by his patron and friend to visit the Dene. He was in Durham City between 6 and 14 September 1805 and it would have been then that he made sketches that were later turned into the surviving chalk with ink and watercolour studies of the Dene. 'In Castle Eden Dene, Durham' was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the following year; this watercolour, with its concentration on the tree masses, reminds one of the Greta studies. As this study is not one of the 'views' in the dene, but a study of trees, Cotman's viewpoint is not easily identified.

In 1808 Edward Brayley, writing of Castle Eden Dene in *The Beauties of England and Wales* described the fallen masses of limestone, the waterfall at Gunner's Pool, and recognised the faulting at The Trossachs.

The Dean extends about three miles from its entrance on the sea shore, and taking a waving course, constitutes some of the finest scenery in the county, being deep, woody and rocky. In many parts of the Dean, the rocks so exactly tally in their strata, and approach so nearly with correspondent angles, as to justify the idea of their having been torn asunder by some great natural convulsion. Various detached masses, that seem to have been rent from the summit,



Plate 18 Thomas Allom
'The Grotto, in Castle Eden Dean'
engraved for "Westmorland, Cumberland,
Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated" 1832

lie in the bottom of the Dean, with trees and brushwood growing upon them. At the head of the dell is a natural cascade, which issues from the crevice of a rock, and falls into a bason called Gunner's Pool.²

Thomas Rose in *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated*, published in 1823, quotes the first part of Brayley's description, without naming the source. Rose then almost copies Brayley's account of the faulting and Gunner's Pool, but omitting the fallen rocks. So we have a *natural convulsion which tore the rocks asunder, and the cascade .. from a crevice in the rock falls into a bason.*

Appearances would argue, that this defile was originally formed by some great convulsion of nature, which tore the rocks asunder. The tourist, as he passes along the road which has been made through it, is delighted with the various beauties which present themselves before him in this singularly wild and romantic valley. A beautiful cascade, issuing from the crevice of a rock at the head of the dell, falls at length into a basin called Gunner's Pool.

The description of the *Grotto* seems to have been provided by Rose himself.

The Grotto is an object of great curiosity, well worthy the attention of tourists. It appears to be a natural excavation of the rock, and is approached by a safe and commodious foot-way, formed for the convenience of visitors, by the order of the spirited and liberal proprietor of the mansion-house. On one side of the path the excavated rock rises in a semi-arch; and on the other, the opening foliage discovers the rich interior of the wooded valley or dean.³

The two engravings in Rose's book show tourists using the paths established by the owner, Rowland Burdon. 'The Grotto' (Plate 18) gives an exaggerated view of one of



Plate 19 Thomas Allom
'Castle Eden Hall, Durham'
engraved for "Westmorland, Cumberland,
Durham & Northumberland, Illustrated" 1832

the *apparent caverns* previously described by Teresa Cholmeley. In 'Castle Eden Hall' (Plate 19) one group has stopped for a glass of wine where a gap in the trees gives a view of the *extensive mansion .. situated on an eminence, commanding a good land and sea prospect.*⁴

1 Holcomb (1980) pp.25, 26

2 Brayley (1808) pp.125-126

3 Rose (1823) Vol.I p.29, Vol.II p.155

4 Mackenzie & Ross (1834) p.403

CASE STUDY : GORDALE SCAR

Near Malham the long escarpment of Great Scar Limestone runs east-west, formed by the Middle Craven Fault. During the Pleistocene, water from melting ice flowed over frozen ground and over the escarpment, forming waterfalls at Malham Cove and Gordale. The waterfalls gradually cut back, forming a deep gorge at Gordale. The smaller present-day stream issues out of a limestone 'window' and re-deposits some of the limestone dissolved in it as tufa in a lower waterfall. As Gordale Scar is approached, the misfit stream is followed up to the escarpment and through the twisting high-sided gorge to the waterfalls.

The search for *immensity and horror* for many Picturesque Tourists ended with Gordale Scar, in spite of its location away from good roads (Map 5). An engraving of 1766 from Thomas Smith's painting perhaps induced Thomas Gray to visit Gordale Scar in 1769. A stream of visitors followed, notably Adam Walker in 1779, John Housman in 1802, Edward Dayes in 1803, Frederic Montagu in 1838 and Walter White in 1858. The best known surviving painting was made by James Ward in 1811.

The visitors recorded the narrow entrance into the gorge, the rocks fallen from the high overhanging gorge sides and the sudden view of the waterfalls. The height of the gorge is usually exaggerated, and the images are of immensity, horror and danger.

A large print engraved by J Mason after a painting by Thomas Smith was published in December 1766 with an

inscription which gave an explanation of the formation of the waterfall at Gordale Scar.

Gordal, at Malham in Craven, Yorkshire. The waters collected in a Sudden Thunder Shower about 18 years ago, burst a Passage thro: the Rock (where it first appears tumbling thro: a kind of an Arch) and Rush'd with such Violence that it fill'd the Valley below with Vast pieces of broken Rocks and Stones for a quar.™ of a Mile below, w.™ were before a bed of Sand. This View is Inscrib'd to Tho.™ Lister of Gisburn Park Esq.™ by his most hum.™ Serv.™ T. Smith

This print may well have attracted Thomas Gray to Gordale; it is mentioned in his *Journal* or letters of 1769 to Thomas Wharton (published in 1775).

Oct:12 to visit Gordale-Scar. W^d N:E: day gloomy & cold. it lay but 6m: from Settle, but that way was directly over a Fell, & it might rain, so I went round in a chaise the only way one could get near it in a carriage, w^{ch} made it full 13m: & half of it such a road! but I got safe over it, so there's an end, & came to Malham (pronounce Maum) a village in the bosom of the mountains seated in a wild & dreary valley. from thence I was to walk a mile over very rough ground, a torrent rattling along on the left hand. on the cliffs above hung a few goats: one of them danced & scratched an ear with its hind-foot in a place where I would not have stood stock-still for all beneath the moon.

as I advanced the crags seem'd to close in, but discover'd a narrow entrance turning to the left between them. I followed my guide a few paces, & lo, the hills open'd again into no large space, & then all farther way is bar'd by a stream, that at the height of about 50 feet gushes from a hole in the rock, & spreading in large sheets over its broken front dashes from steep to steep, & then rattles away in a torrent down the valley. the rock on the left rises perpendicular with stubbed yew-trees & shrubs, staring from its side to the height of at least 300 feet. but these are not the thing! it is that to the right, under w^{ch} you stand to see the fall, that forms the principal horror of the place. from its very base it begins to slope forwards over you in one black & solid mass without any crevice in its surface, & overshadows half the area below with its dreadful canopy. when I stood at (I believe) full 4

yards distance from its foot, the drops w^{er}
perpetually distill from its brow, fell on my head, &
in one part of the top more exposed to the weather
there are loose stones that hang in air, & threaten
visibly some idle Spectator with instant destruction.
it is safer to shelter yourself close to its bottom,
& trust the mercy of that enormous mass, w^{er} nothing
but an earthquake can stir. the gloomy uncomfortable
day well suited the savage aspect of the place, &
made it still more formidable. I stay'd there (not
without shuddering) a quarter of an hour, & thought
my trouble richly paid, for the impression will last
for life. at the alehouse where I dined, in Malham,
Vivares, the landscape-painter, had lodged for a week
or more. Smith & Bellers had also been there, & two
prints of Gordale have been engraved by them.
return'd to my comfortable inn. night fine, but windy
& frosty.¹

Gray's sense of danger and sublimity, and his choice of
imagery, are repeated by many later visitors. In 1773,
two years before the publication of this account, Gray
included Gordale in his **Catalogue** as a scene *more
particularly worthy of notice* (Map 2).

Adam Walker wrote an article on the caves and other
natural curiosities in the western edge of Yorkshire for
the General Evening Post of September 25th 1779; further
publicity was gained by the reprinting of the account in
Thomas West's **Guide to the Lakes** ten years later. Walker
uses Gray's height of 300 feet, changing this to 100
yards, but grossly exaggerates the overhang of the gorge
sides; Gray's use of the words 'gushes' and 'threaten'
is copied. Walker does, however, show first-hand
observation of the waterfall over the tufa screen.

*good heavens! what was my astonishment! The Alps, the
Pyrenees, Killarney, Loch-Lomond, or any other wonder
of the kind I had ever seen, do not afford such a
chasm. But if you would conceive it properly,
depend upon neither pen nor pencil, for 'tis
impossible for either to give you an adequate idea of
it. -I can say no more than that I believe the rock*

to be above 100 yards high, that in several places they project above 100 yards over their base, and approach the opposite rock so near that one would almost imagine it possible to lay a plank from one to the other. At the upper end of this rent (which may be about 300 yards horizontally long) there gushes a most threatening cascade through a rude arch of monstrous rocks, and tumbling through many fantastic masses of its own forming, comes to a rock of entire petrification, down which it has a variety of picturesque breaks, before it enters a channel that conveys it pretty uniformly away.²

Sarah Aust, in a *Companion to the Beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes .. and to the Curiosities of the District of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire of 1799* suggests a diversion to see Gordale Scar. The writer seemed to be aware of the view from above the waterfall, but the conditions prevented her full exploration and provided a more sublime experience. The sudden view of the waterfalls is included.

From Settle to Skipton, by Gordale, the carriage road is 24 miles. By all means take this round to see, in Gordale Scar, one of the most astonishing, as well as one of the most terrific effects, that can be produced by rocks and falling water, particularly if you should turn round the point of the rock into the hollow, (as I did) in a storm of hail, rain, sleet, and snow, accompanied by a boisterous wind. I took shelter under the bend of the rocks, and the sun shone before I quitted the Scar; but every step being rendered extremely slippery, it was impossible for me to clamber up the sides of the fells, I therefore lost the grandest effect of the scene.³

John Housman's *Descriptive Tour, and Guide to the Lakes, Caves, Mountains, and other Natural Curiosities, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, and a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* was published in 1802. While adding further details about Gordale Scar, Housman fairly obviously leans heavily on the descriptions of these earlier writers. Housman borrows Walker's *rent* and

rocks which project over their base. He also copies Gray's images; the overhanging rocks still threaten the spectator or visitant and drops of water distill from them. The general feeling continues to be one of horror and fear.

Pursuing the dim path, and cautiously directing our steps over fragments of rocks towards a rent in the mountain immediately before us, with the brook on our left, we suddenly turn an acute angle of a perpendicular rock to the right, when a scene at once opens in full view, which excites the greatest astonishment. We perceive ourselves just entering the apparent ruins of a huge castle, whose walls are mostly entire to the height of about 120 feet. The gloomy mansion strikes us with horror; and a lively fancy would readily place before us the massy form and surly looks of its ancient gigantic inhabitants. What greatly adds to the sensations of fear and amazement, which every one must feel, in some degree, on his first entering herein, are the rushing cataracts at the farther end, and the hanging walls, particularly that on the right, which projects considerably over its base, and threatens to crush the trembling visitant. The form of this chasm is somewhat elliptical, quite open at the north end; but the south end, through which the water pours, although partly open, is sufficiently barred up by immense fragments of rocks so as to prevent all further progress. It consists of two apartments, or areas; the first is about 100 yards by 40; the other is inaccessible, and appears to be about 20 yards by 10; its area probably a pool of water. At the farther end, a stream issues from the top of the rock, and falling 8 or 10 yards at one leap, disappears in the upper apartment, till, reaching its confines, it again tumbles down in a broken sheet of foam into the greater area, and hurries down a rough channel to the river Air. The walls are black; and, as before observed, project frightfully over their bases: bushes of ivy and some small ash trees appear on the tops of these rocks, from the pores of whose horrid front large drops of water continually distil. No roof seems ever to have covered this gaping wonder of Nature.⁴

By 1801 Thomas Pennant, reporting his Tour from Downing to Alston-Moor in 1773 (Map 4) can describe Gordale as

celebrated. As well as listing the *very rare plants about these picturesque scenes*, the naturalist is the first writer to identify the rock as limestone. Pennant perhaps borrows Adam Walker's *chasm* and the rocks which *project*; the formation of the limestone 'window' may have been obtained from the 1766 engraving after Thomas Smith.

*I breakfasted at the hamlet of Malham .. took a walk by the side of the Air here, a rapid torrent, through a stony valley, to visit the celebrated Gordale Coves, a vast chasm open to the sky, embosomed in rock; one side projects, and in a manner wraps round the tremendous concavity, and impends so as to form a vast hollow beneath, sloping inwards from top to bottom. The material is a solid limestone, with only fissures enough to admit the path of a few large junipers above. Out of the concavity, at a vast height, bursts forth a copious stream, which must have had a fine effect; but the passage having been destroyed by a great flood, much of its beauty is lost.*⁵

Edward Dayes in his *Picturesque Tour in Yorkshire & Derbyshire* made in 1803 (Map 1) employs to greater effect the language of the picturesque in the cult of Nature, while showing that he had read Gray's description. Dayes copies Gray's rocks which *threaten the spectator with instant destruction*. Gray's height of 300 feet is doubled by Dayes, who retains *the savage aspect of the place* from the earlier writer. Dayes is the first writer to advocate the difficult clamber up the waterfalls; here his use of Picturesque terms reaches its peak, the *awful immensity and horror* remind him of the paintings of Salvator Rosa.

Here a stupendous mass of rocks forms a ravine, through the bosom of which flows a considerable stream. This opening contracts till you are led into a corner, where every object conspires to produce one

of the grandest spectacles in nature. The rocks dart their bold and rugged fronts to the heavens, and impending fearfully over the head of the spectator, seem to threaten his immediate destruction. Here rock is piled on rock in the most terrific majesty; and what greatly improves the grandeur of the scene, is an impetuous Cataract, that rushes down their dark centre, almost tearing up, as it were, with its irresistible force, the very foundations of the earth. Good heavens, what a scene! how sublime! Imagine blocks of lime-stone rising to the immense height of two hundred yards, and in some places projecting upwards of twenty over their bases; add to this the roaring of the Cataract, and the sullen murmurs of the wind that howls around; and something like an idea of the savage aspect of this place may be conceived. Here the timid will find an end to their journey: myself and guide, with some difficulty, ascended the craggs up the fall, keeping the water to the right hand, and arrived at a large opening, where massy fragments of rock are scattered about in the most wild and fantastic manner. Above, through a large hole, at the height of twenty or thirty yards, poured down the collected force of the whole stream, which forms the cascade below. This is, perhaps, the finest part of the whole place, and should by no means be neglected, however difficult the ascent to it may be. The lover of drawing will be much delighted with this place: immensity and horror are its inseparable companions, uniting together to form subjects of the most awful cast. The very soul of Salvator Rosa would hover with delight over these regions of confusion.⁶

Whereas John Housman considered that the waterfall was inaccessible, Edward Dayes' entreaty that the ascent through the gorge should be made was followed by some visitors. In the summer of 1807 the Wordsworths, after visiting the Strid, lodged at Burnsall and visited Gordale (Map 7) on the way to Kendal; Dorothy wrote:

From Burnsall we walked with a guide over bare hills to Gordale, and there we rested under the huge rock for several hours, and drank of its cold waters, and ate our dinner. We then climbed up the side of the waterfall and made our way over the craggs to Malham Cove, then drank tea at the Inn, and returned again in the evening to Gordale. Next morning walked to

*Settle.*⁷

William Wordsworth included Gordale as an *interesting spot* in his *Guide through the Lakes*.

Gordale Scar became perhaps the most painted natural site in the study region. After the engraving from Thomas Smith's painting in 1766 came Nicholas Dall's 'View of Gordal, near Malham in Craven, Yorkshire', exhibited in 1776, and Thomas Girtin's 'Gordale Scarr' painted about 1801. In 1804 Paul Sandby Munn exhibited a painting of Gordale at the Royal Academy; an artist seated on a rock in the middle distance, making a sketch of the waterfall, is almost certainly John Sell Cotman who at this time was on sketching tours with Munn to increase the stock of drawings Munn's brothers were selling in London. Francis Nicholson exhibited watercolours of Gordale in 1805 and 1808.

Thus Gordale Scar was known to lovers of sublime scenery by the time James Ward accepted a commission from Lord Ribblesdale to paint the scene. Ward had been recommended by Lord Ribblesdale's son for his skill as a painter of animals. While at Gisburn Park from 6th to 30th August 1811, Ward made many pencil sketches of the Scar and the famous Gisburn herd of wild cattle, and produced several oil studies for the picture exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1815. It is not possible to find the artist's viewpoint, as he was not interested here in *rigid attention to truth*, but more in capturing the grandeur and sublimity of the scene, as described by Gray, Walker and Dayes. So Ward exaggerates the scale of the site and its savagery with the inclusion of a profusion of cattle, fighting stags and a menacing bull;



Plate 20 Nathaniel Whittock
'Fall at Gordale'
engraved for Thomas Allen "History of the
County of York" 1828-1831

he removes the twisting entrance to the Scar, simplifying the rock formations to emphasize their stature, suggests the imminent collapse of the cliffs, and uses a sombre range of colours to fill his vast canvas.

J M W Turner visited Gordale in 1805 and 1816, but one resulting watercolour is now lost, and a colour "beginning" was never worked up into a final watercolour. In 1818 William Westall produced an aquatint of Gordale in his 'Views of Caves near Ingleton, Gordale Scar and Malham Cove'.

In 1830 Nathaniel Whittock's drawing was engraved (Plate 20) by J Rogers for Allen's *New and Complete History of the County of York*. Allen copies Dayes' comment on *immensity and horror*, but takes Walker's less exaggerated height of 100 yards, translating this into feet. Allen substitutes *10 yards* for *100 yards* in Walker's phrase about the gorge sides: *in several places they project above 100 yards over their base*. The theory about the formation of the Scar perhaps comes from the inscription to Smith's engraving, with its reference to *a Sudden Thunder Shower*.

Not far from Malham is Gordale-Scar, one of the most stupendous scenes in Yorkshire, immensity and horror being its inseperable companions, uniting together to form subjects of the most awful cast. The rocks are of extraordinary height, being not less than 300 feet, and in some places projecting more than ten yards over their base. An opening was formed in this limestone rock by a great body of water, which collected in a sudden thunderstorm about 1730, and now forms a highly romantic cascade of twenty or thirty yards in height.²

Gordale Scar continued to evoke descriptions of awesome nature; in 1838 Frederic Montagu in *Gleanings in Craven* wrote:

I never recollect the awe of Nature's arm being so strongly put upon me, and I write this with the recollection of having encountered many perils and gales of wind in many seas. It appears to have been a solid mass of rock, rent asunder by a convulsion of nature, affording a passage to the pent up torrent which rushes through the yawning fissure, and revelling in its liberty, dashes downwards, forming a most grand and terrific cataract. By the projection from either side of its base, the two rocks, though considerably distant at the bottom, admit only of a narrow line of light from above, whilst the clefts in the rocks' sides, or wherever a lodgement of earth appears, the deep and glossy green of the yew refreshes the eye in its wandering over the pale grey of the vast rock... At last we attained the summit of the mountain, when, looking down into the chasm beneath, horror and immensity were defined with thrilling truth: but nothing short of the reality could give any one the slightest notion of this spot.⁹

It was perhaps Dayes' account that most influenced Montagu. Here is the phrase *immensity and horror* first used by Dayes, and the view from above the waterfall; here too are the *cataract* and the *projecting rocks* which Dayes himself had copied from earlier writers.

Twenty years later Walter White, spending *A Month in Yorkshire*, visited Gordale Scar. White describes the bend in the gorge which gives a sudden view of the waterfall, the narrow *grim crevice* and the cliffs which *overhang fearfully above*. Though alleviated by the more romantic *little brook babbling out toward the sunshine*, White's *gloomy scene* echoes the sense of the sublime first described by Thomas Gray in 1769.

you enter a great chasm, where the crags rise high

and singularly rugged, sprinkled here and there with a small fir or graceful ash, where the bright green turf, sloping up into all the ins and outs of the dark gray cliff, and the little brook babbling out towards the sunshine, between great masses of rock fallen from above, enliven the otherwise gloomy scene. You might fancy yourself in a great roofless cave; but, ascending to the rear, you find an outlet, a sudden bend in the chasm, narrower, and more rocky and gloomy than the entrance. The cliffs rise higher and overhang fearfully above, appearing to meet indeed at the upper end; and there, from that grim crevice, rushes a waterfall.¹⁰

- 1 Toynbee (1935) pp.1106-1107
- 2 West (1799) p.235
- 3 Aust (1799-1803) p.30
- 4 Housman (1802) pp.23-24
- 5 Pennant (1801) p.108
- 6 Brayley (1825) pp.70-73
- 7 de Selincourt (1937) Vol.I p.138
- 8 Allen (1829-1831) pp.86-87
- 9 Montagu (1838) pp.101-103
- 10 White (1858) pp.327-328

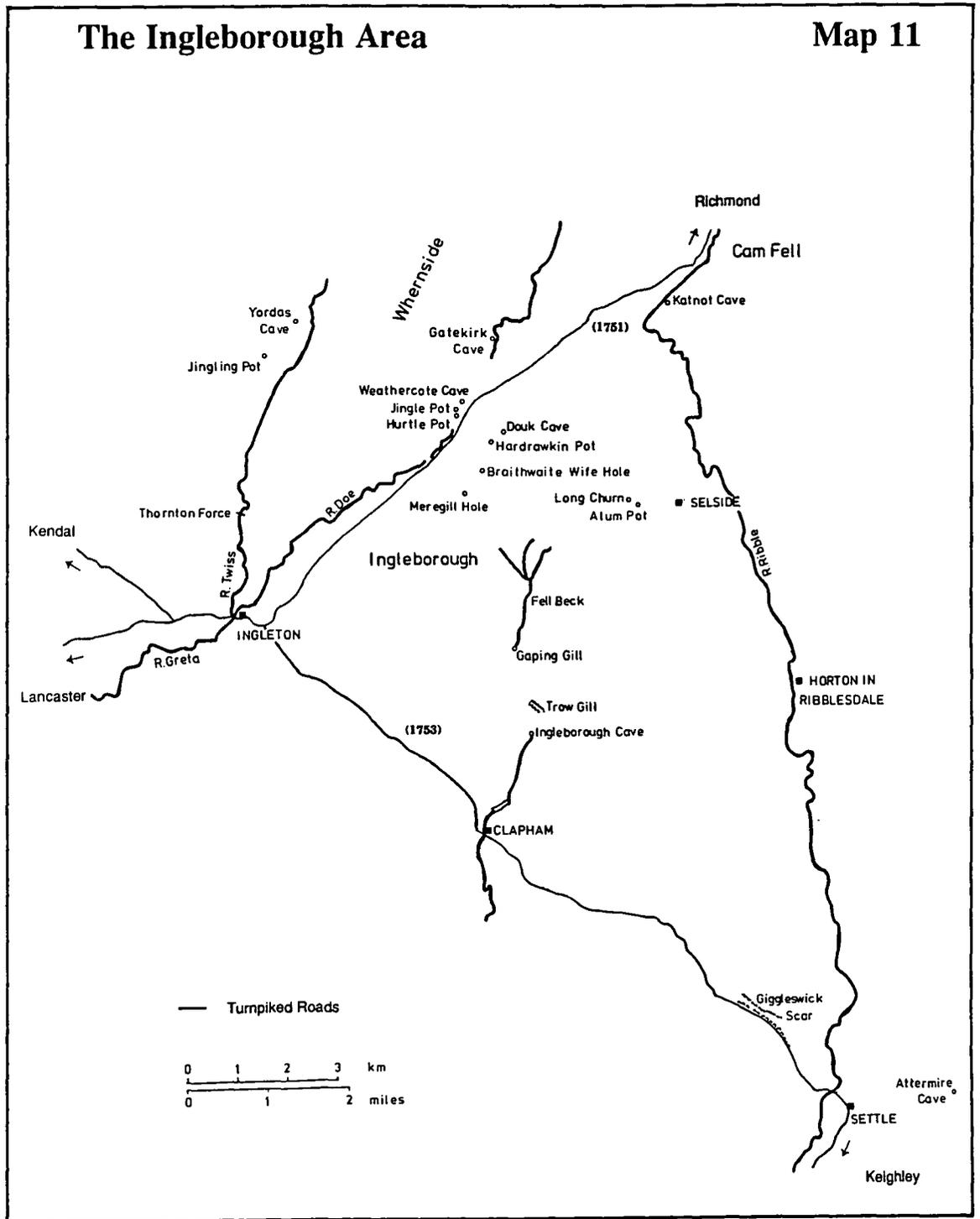
CASE STUDY : THE CAVES OF INGLEBOROUGH

Ingleborough has the conditions necessary for the development of karst scenery. From a capping of Millstone Grit, streams flow over Yoredale rocks until they meet the Great Scar Limestone. Here the weakly acidic water dissolves the limestone, enlarging joints and disappearing underground through cave systems. Some of the dissolved calcium carbonate is redeposited in the cave systems as stalactites and stalagmites. Steep sided valleys have been carved out, with the help of ice, through to the base of the 200 metres thickness of limestone, allowing access to the cave systems. At Gaping Gill, Fell Beck falls down a shaft of 110 metres into the largest underground cavern in Britain; the water eventually emerges at Ingleborough Cave as Clapham Beck (Map 11).

Disappearing streams, swallow holes, and stalactites in underground caves, with the attendant danger and difficulties of access, appealed to the Picturesque tourist. An article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1761 was followed by Adam Walker's *Description of some natural curiosities* in 1779, John Hutton's *Tour of the Caves* in 1781 and John Housman's inclusion of the caves in his *Guide to the Lakes* in 1802. These accounts concentrated on the accessible Weathercote and Yordas Caves and Alum Pot (Maps 5 & 11). Ingleborough Cave was discovered in 1837 and opened as a show cave; Frederic Montagu described it in the following year. The geologist John Phillips included perhaps the first published cave survey with his explanation of the origin of Ingleborough Cave. J M W Turner painted Weathercote Cave twice, in 1808 for his patron Walter Fawkes, and in 1816 for Whitaker's *Richmondshire*. In 1818 William

The Ingleborough Area

Map 11



Westall produced a set of prints of four of the caves, complete with tourists.

Tourism in the Yorkshire Dales may well have started as a result of the publication in 1761 of this account of Ingleborough by 'Pastor' in the **Gentleman's Magazine**

It is a mountain, singularly eminent, whether you regard its height, or the immense base upon which it stands. As you ascend the mountain the land is more barren As the mountain rises, it becomes more rugged and perpendicular, and is at length so steep that it cannot be ascended without great difficulty, and in some places not at all. The foot of the mountain abounds with fine springs on every side, and on the west side there is a very remarkable spring near the summit. Near the base, there are holes or chasms, called swallows, supposed to be the remains of Noah's deluge; they are among the lime-stone rocks, and are open to an incredible depth. The springs towards the east all come together, and fall into one of these swallows, or holes, called Allan Pott; and after passing under the earth about a mile, they burst out again and flow into the river Ribble, whose head, or spring, is but a little further up the valley. The depth of this swallow, or hole, could never be ascertained; it is about 20 poles in circumference, not perfectly circular, but rather oval. In wet, foggy weather it sends out a smoak, or mist, which may be seen a considerable distance. There is likewise another hole, or chasm, a little west from the other two, which cannot be descended without difficulty: You are no sooner entered than you have a subterraneous passage, sometimes wide and spacious, sometimes so narrow you are obliged to make use of both hands, as well as feet to crawl a considerable way; and as I was informed, some persons have gone several hundred yards, and might have gone much further, durst they have ventured. There are a great many more holes, or caverns, well worth the notice of a traveller: some dry, some having a continual run of water . . . There is likewise, partly south-east, a small rivulet, which falls into a place considerably deep, called Long-kin; there is likewise another swallow, or hole, called Johnson's Jacket-hole, a place resembling a funnel in shape, but vastly deep; a stone being thrown into it, makes a rumbling noise, and may be heard a considerable time; there is also another, called Gaper-Gill, into which a good many springs fall into one stream, and after a

subterraneous passage of upwards of a mile, break out again, and wind through Clapham what seemed very remarkable to me, there was not one rivulet running from the base of the mountain that had not a considerable subterraneous passage. All the springs arose towards the summit, amongst the greet-stones, and sunk or fell into some hole, as soon as they descended to the lime-stone rocks; where passing under ground for some way, they burst out again towards the base.¹

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, founded in 1731 by Edward Cave under the pseudonym Sylvanus Urban, was the first 'Magazine'; by 1750 it was enjoying a secure popularity. The article on Ingleborough created great interest; Ingleborough could only be ascended with difficulty, and *vastly deep chasms* led to *subterraneous passages* along some of which it was necessary to crawl. 'Pastor' did not mention the cave stalactites, but he described Gaping Gill and the resurgence at Clapham; he was aware of the relationship between limestone and the underground movement of water.

Other writers were soon describing the wonders of this limestone area. Thomas Gray on 12th October 1769 stopped at Ingleton (Map 2):

a pretty village situated very high & yet in a valley at the foot of that huge creature of God Ingleborough.²

Gray hurried on to Gordale, and had time the next day only to sketch the outline of Ingleborough; he did not visit any of the caves. Four years later, Thomas Pennant too visited Ingleton (Map 4)

seated at the foot of the great mountain of Ingleborough ... had not the leisure to visit it; but was informed that it was well worth a traveller's attention on account of the vast caverns it abounds with, and the various plants very rare in other places.³

Adam Walker wrote *A Description of some natural curiosities in the western edge of Yorkshire* for the *General Evening Post* of September 25, 1779; the article was added to Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* ten years later. Walker, using a range of picturesque terms, described Weathercote Cave:

*To a mind capable of being impressed with the grand and sublime of nature, this is a scene that inspires a pleasure chastised by astonishment! Personal safety also insinuates itself into the various feelings, where both the eye and ear are so tremendously assailed.- To see as much water as would turn several mills, rush from a hole near 70 yards above the eye, in such a projectile as shews its subterraneous fall to be very considerable before it enters the cavern; and to see the fine skirting of wood, with various fantastic roots and shrubs through a spray, enlivened by a perfect rainbow, so far above the eye, and yet within the earth, has something more romantic and awful in it than any thing of the kind in the three kingdoms!**

In 1781 the Rev. John Hutton from Burton-in-Kendal wrote the second edition of his *Tour of the Caves*. Though he was originally from the Ingleton area, Hutton employed the local curate as a guide. Hutton made references to the classics on his first visit to a cave. The underground waterfalls and limestone deposits attracted attention in this gloomy cavern.

we arrived at the object of this excursion, Yordas-cave... Having never been in a cave before, a thousand ideas, which had been for many years dormant, were excited in my imagination on my entrance into this gloomy cavern. Several passages out of Ovid's Metamorphosis, Virgil, and other classics crowded into my mind together... The roof was so high, and the bottom and sides so dark, that with all the light we could procure from our candles and torches, we were not able to see the dimensions of this cavern... The little cascades which fell in various places from the roof and sides, with different trilling notes, served to entertain the ear with their watery music; while the eye was busy in amusing itself with the curious reflections which were made by our lights from the streams and

petrifications which appeared all around us... We were shewn a low and narrow passage on one of the shelves of the rock near the chapter-house, which we were informed led to a wider path, extending itself into the heart of the mountain; but our curiosity was satisfied without crawling among the rocks besmeared with slime and mud. From the dome of this natural edifice fell a fine and fluent cascade, which served in a peculiar manner to embellish the works of nature, in a stile superior to any thing we can have in those of art.

When John Hutton came to describe Weathercote Cave, he copied many of Adam Walker's phrases, while adding some details. *Both the eye and ear are so tremendously assailed became our ears and eyes were equally astonished, the very considerable subterranean fall became a stupendous subterranean cataract. The fall remained enough to turn several mills, and produced the same rainbow in its spray.*

we came to Weathercoate-cave or cove the most surprising natural curiosity of the kind in the island of Great Britain. It is a stupendous subterranean cataract in a huge cave, the top of which is on the same level with the adjoining lands. On our approach to its brink, our ears and eyes were equally astonished with the sublime and terrible. The margin was surrounded with trees and shrubs, the foliage of which was of various shapes and colours, which had an excellent effect, both in guarding and ornamenting the steep and rugged precipices on every side. Where the eye could penetrate through the leaves and branches, there was room for the imagination to conceive this cavern more dreadful and horrible, if possible, than it was in reality. The cave is of a lozenge form, and divided into two by a rugged and grotesque arch of limestone rock: The whole length from south to north is about sixty yards, and the breadth about half its length... Having descended with caution from rock to rock, we passed under the arch and came into the great cave, where we stood some time in silent astonishment to view this amazing cascade. The perpendicular height of the north corner of this cave, was found by an exact admeasurement to be thirty six yards; near eleven yards from the top issues a torrent of water out of an hole in the rock, about the dimensions of the large door in a church, sufficient to turn several mills, with a curvature which shews, that it

has had a steep descent before it appears in open day; and falls twenty five yards at a single stroke on the rocks at the bottom, with a noise that amazes the most intrepid ear. The water sinks as it falls amongst the rocks and pebbles at the bottom, running by a subterranean passage about a mile, where it appears again by the side of the turnpike road, visiting in its way the other caverns of Ginglepot and Hurtlepot. The cave is filled with the spray that arises from the water dashing against the bottom, and the sun happening to shine very bright, we had a small vivid rainbow within a few yards of us, for colour, size and situation, perhaps no where else to be equalled.

John Hutton also visited Alum Pot, where again he made measurements, or reported the guide's statements. Alum Pot was a vast abyss or terrible hiatus, to be viewed with *horror*.

we came to Alan or Alumn-pot, two or three furlongs above the little village of Selside. It is a round steep hole in the limestone rock, about eight or ten yards in diameter, and of a tremendous depth, somewhat resembling Eden-hole, in Derbyshire. We stood for some time on its margin, which is fringed round with shrubs, in silent astonishment, not thinking it safe to venture near enough to its brim, to try if we could see to its bottom. The profundity seemed vast and horrible from the continued hollow gingling noise, excited by the stones we tumbled into it. We plummed it to the depth of a hundred and fifty five feet, forty three of which were in water, and this in an extraordinary dry season: As the direction of this hole was not exactly perpendicular but somewhat sloping, it is very probable we were not quite at the bottom. A subterranean rivulet descends into this terrible hiatus, which caused such a dreadful gloom from the spray it raised up as to make us shrink back with *horror*, when we could get a peep into the vast abyss.⁵

John Byng employed a guide for his visit to Weathercote Cave on 18th June 1792. It is interesting to note his use of the Picturesque language of *gloom* and *horror* in an account written for his own benefit, though as we have noted above Byng was drawn to the area by reading John Hutton's *Tour of the Caves*.

From the top of this perpendicular cave are to be seen the falls of water that lose themselves at the bottom; and to which we approach'd by a most laborious descent; here the two cascades are to be seen thro', upon a small passage leading into a horizontal cave: much wetting is to be encounter'd, and some danger apprehended.- These cascades fall with an horrid din, filling the mind with a gloom of horror.⁶

J Grant in 1797 hinted at the growing tourist trade in the area; visitors were charged 1s. to visit Weathercote Cave. By 1802 John Housman in *A Descriptive Tour, and Guide to the Lakes, Caves, Mountains, and other Natural Curiosities, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and a part of the West Riding of Yorkshire* was recommending that the Yorkshire caves could be visited on the way to the lakes, or after a tour there.⁷

As well as Attermire Cave, Gingling Cave where stones thrown down are heard gingling along, in different tones, from one tier of rocks to another, Ginglepot, Hurtlepot, a gloomy cave of despondency, Douk Cave, Barefoot-Wives'-hole, Meirgill, Hardrawkin, Gatekirk Cave, Greenside Cave, and Catknot-hole where the jutting rocks and pendent petrifications, in every grotesque and fantastic shape, and glittering in the richest manner, render an hour's wandering along this subterraneous passage a very delightful excursion, Housman described Alum Pot, Long Churn and Yordas Cave. In Yordas Cave, Housman copies some of Hutton's classical references, the impossibility of determining the size of the cave, and the curious petrifications in the natural edifice.

The cave opens into an apartment so spacious and extensive, that, with all the blaze of our elevated candles, we could scarcely see either its roof or its walls. On turning to the right, we immediately lose sight of day; the noise of the cataract increases, and we soon find ourselves on the brink of a subterraneous rivulet. -No cave in romance, no den of lions, giants or serpents, nor any haunts of ghosts

or fairies, were ever described more frightfully gloomy and dismal than this now before us. Being at length more habituated to darkness, our lights had a better effect; the high smooth roof and walls are seen distinctly, as well as the curious petrifications hanging therefrom. We now enter a narrow pass of five or six yards, where the roof is supported by seven pillars: there is only room for one person in breadth; but the height is very considerable. The internal brook pushes along this crevice, which renders it the most difficult part of our subterraneous excursion, and which, after great rains, effectually excludes a passage. we soon reached the cascade which we had heard for some time at a distance The broad sheet of water, the spray arising from the fall, and the beautiful petrifications, all illuminated with the light of the candles, produce effects in this natural edifice which the puny efforts of art may attempt to imitate, but in vain.

Housman leaned heavily on John Hutton's description for his account of Alum Pot. The dimensions of the pothole are used, with minor changes and conversions from yards to feet and furlongs to parts of a mile. The *profundity* and *hollow gingling noise* of the stones .. tumbled into the hole are repeated. The *subterranean rivulet continued to produce a spray and gloom* in the hiatus, adding to the *horror* which was felt. John Hutton's descriptions of the associated Long-churn and Dicken Pot also find their way into Housman's account, with identical measurements and descriptive phrases.

Alan or Alumn-pot is a circular hole in the rock, near 30 feet in diameter, and of a tremendous depth, having some distant resemblance to Elden-hole, in Derbyshire. It is situated about a quarter of a mile above the village of Selside, and half a mile from the Ribble. Its margin, which cannot be approached without danger, is fringed with shrubs. Stones tumbled down make a terrible and long-continued, hollow, gingling noise, which proves the great profundity of this vast hiatus. It does not descend exactly perpendicular; nor is it easy, if at all practicable, to ascertain its depth: when founded, it was found 165 feet deep; and, although at a very dry season, contained 43 feet of water. A subterraneous

rivulet descends into this vast hole, and causes a gloomy spray, which adds to the horror of the view. From its bottom the brook continues to run about a mile, and then appears in open day below the little village of Selside. A low mound of earth surrounds the brim of this dangerous pit, by no means sufficient to prevent sheep and cattle from grazing on its margin: to these animals it frequently proves fatal.

Long-Churn is another hiatus, not far from Alumn-pot, but a little higher up the mountain, from whence proceed two long subterraneous passages, in contrary directions: the one running east, the other westwards.— The former is called Dicken-pot, along which the subterraneous brook runs to the tremendous Alumn-pot.— This passage slopes, widens, and contracts at intervals for the space of 157 yards, to which distance it has been explored; but a perpendicular rock of 12 feet descent precludes any farther researches without the assistance of a ladder and ropes. At the furthest end is an elegant lofty dome, called by the country people St. Paul's. The latter passage proceeds towards the source of the rivulet, along its subterraneous channel, and may be pursued through numerous turnings and windings for near a quarter of a mile, when another orifice appears. The distance of these chasms from each other, in a direct line above ground, is not more than about 240 yards.— Near the western extremity is a fine round pool of clear water, said to be from 3 to 12 feet deep, called Dr. Bannister's Hand-bason: a high and spacious dome is placed immediately over it, corresponding nicely with the hollow receptacle below. A rivulet falls down a steep rock, about six feet high, into this bason, which, though very dangerous, it is necessary to ascend before we reach the upper orifice. A small ladder taken with the party will be found very convenient. These caverns should be visited only in very dry seasons, otherwise such a copious flow of water runs along them as renders it difficult, and often impracticable, to see them.^a

John Bigland in *The Beauties of England and Wales* in 1812 drew attention to the area around Ingleton, with many objects worthy the attention of all admirers of romantic scenery.

Yordas Cave is situated under a mountain called Greg-roof. The entrance is through a rude arched opening, 12 feet by 20, resembling the gateway of an ancient castle. The whole extent of this cavern is about 56 yards in length, 13 yards in breadth, and 16 in height. Towards the left are several recesses called Yordas bed-chamber, Yordas oven, &c. The roof and the walls exhibit a variety of petrifications.

Bigland's description of Weathercote Cave closely follows that of John Hutton. Bigland copies Hutton's description of the setting, with the *trees and shrubs guarding and ornamenting the .. rugged precipices*. Bigland gives the *lozenge-shaped* cave the same dimensions and the same *grotesque arch of limestone*, with a *small vivid rainbow.. no where else to be equalled*.

Weathercote Cave displays a scenery still more romantic and sublime. The top of this cavern is nearly on a level with the adjoining lands, and the margin is surrounded with trees and shrubs, which have an excellent effect in guarding and ornamenting the steep and rugged precipices. The cave is of a lozenge form, and divided into two by a grotesque arch of limestone rock: the length from north to south is about 60, and the breadth about 30 yards. At the south end is an entrance down into a small cave, on the right of which is a subterraneous passage into the great cave, where the astonished visitant sees, issuing from a large aperture in the rock, an immense cataract falling above 20 yards in an unbroken sheet, with a noise that stuns the ear. The water disappears as it falls among the rocks and pebbles, and runs about a mile along a subterraneous passage. The whole cave is filled with the spray that arises from the cataract, and sometimes a small vivid rainbow appears, for which colour, size, and situation, is scarcely any where else to be equalled.

In 1808 Turner made his first visit to Farnley and on his tour sketched Weathercote Cave; the next year he completed a watercolour of the cave for his patron Walter Fawkes. The painting shows that Turner had made the descent into Weathercote Cave to see the cascade from below; an artist is included in the painting. Whilst on a sketching tour in 1816 for Whitaker's **Richmondshire**, Turner found the cave was in flood and had to make do with a view from the top. (Plate 21) When Longmans published S Middiman's engraving of Turner's

picture in 1823 it was entitled 'Weathercote Cave when half-filled with water'; and Whitaker wrote an appropriate account of the caves:

Ascending the course of Greta from Ingleton along a broken basis of limestone, protruding itself at every turn among the green herbage, the furrowed side of Ingleborough on the right, and its rival Whernside on the left, shed a gloom and horror over the landscape. Near the little chapel of Ingleton Fells, the Greta, now become an inconsiderable mountain torrent, alternately merges and re-appears, leaving a channel of rock never covered but in floods. Here the tourist tells with undistinguishing wonder of Hurtlepot and Ginglepot, and other dismal excavations common to all limestone countries, scarcely discriminating from very ordinary appearances one of the most astonishing objects in this kingdom; this is Weathercoat Cove, a waterfall of great depth and force, completely subterraneous, yet enlightened by the sun, which sometimes forms a beautiful iris from the spray. The approach is a steep and slippery descent, beneath a yawning arch of limestone, opposite to which, from a mouth about one-third part of the whole depth from the surface, issues a tremendous cataract, and this, after dashing into a rocky basin beneath, instantly turns to the left of the spectator, where its waters are lost in another dark and dismal aperture, which, having no visible termination, leaves the imagination to wander in fancied seams of danger and horror. but so cavernous is limestone, and so fantastic the appearances which it occasions when combined with water, that the Greta itself in dry seasons repeatedly sinks beneath its rocky channel, merging and emerging with the rapidity of an eel.

..... the well-known cavern of Yordas, This cavern is more striking when seen without than within; the unfeared desolation and gloom around, the wide yawn of its mouth, and the instantaneous darkness which takes place immediately beyond, especially if contrasted by strong sunshine, have a powerful effect upon the mind.¹⁰

The sub-title given to the engraving from Turner's watercolour for Whitaker's *Richmondshire* emphasised that the conditions under which the artist saw Weathercote Cave were rather unusual. Mrs Hunt commented on the fidelity of Turner's work here:



Plate 21 J M W Turner
'Weathercote Cave, near Ingleton'
watercolour c.1820 for engraving for
"History of Richmondshire" 1823

The shower which has "half filled the cave with water" is flying along the sky. The hazels are wet and glistening with it, and the sunbeam brings out their shadows interlaced and quivering on the bare rock, wet and glistening also. A faint curve of prismatic colour plays in the drift which hovers over the truly sunless depth below. Exaggeration there is none, unless it be in the moorland above the thicket, which is too like a mountain side. ...

A very good and honest view of Weathercote Cave, by W. Westall, A.R.A., in 1818, bears remarkable testimony to Turner's fidelity. The gnarled boughs of the overhanging tree jutting out, of which the shadows are so valuable, appear in Westall's print, and both artists have counted the outstretched limbs of it, and sympathized with its grip of the many-fractured rock. The depression of the rock over which a flood such as Turner's would flow, is given by Westall.¹¹

Mrs Hunt, writing in 1891, does not really indicate the full extent of Turner's skill. The artist's sketchbook drawing has no suggestion of the rainbow; this effect was added, perhaps in response to one of the earlier descriptions by Walker or Hutton, or to fit Whitaker's text.

William Westall's aquatints of 'Views of Caves near Ingleton, Gordale Scar and Malham Cove' (Plate 22) inspired William Wordsworth to write three sonnets; one describes the disappearing and re-appearing streams in limestone areas:

*Pure element of waters! wheresoe'er
Thou dost forsake thy subterranean haunts,
Green herbs, bright flowers, and berry-bearing
plants,
Rise into life and in thy train appear:*

Wordsworth included Weathercote Cave as one of the *interesting spots* recommended to tourists using his *Guide* on their way to the Lakes. (Map 7)

Four years later G. Nicholson produced lithographs of

'Six Views of Picturesque Scenery in Yorkshire', including views of Weathercote Cave and Hurtlepot.

In 1838 Frederic Montagu in *Gleanings in Craven* describes Ingleborough Cave, discovered the previous year by the owner of the Ingleborough Estate, J W Farrer. He had a stalagmite barrier removed, and the cave lit with candles for over 200 yards for tourists. Naturally enough, it is the stalactitic formations that receive most attention.

The most prominent and interesting feature connected with this spot, is a tremendous cavern only very lately discovered, and which has already been explored to the distance of more than a mile. ... I am very desirous to give an idea of this place, from its being so comparatively unknown, (for I was the fiftieth person who visited it) and its having acquired already the character of surpassing all other caves in England. ... In walking through these explored regions, it is quite impossible fully to appreciate the beauties of Nature, in all the many diversified ornaments with which she has chosen to furnish her chambers: from the roof, where it is not minutely tessellated, with the utmost precision there impend innumerable stalactites of many forms;- some beautifully translucent, some having the appearance of ivory, and many like inverted forests of dwarf oaks. In one chamber rising from the ground is a perfect Liliputian fort, upon the very borders of the stream, four feet in height, with perfect ramparts and bastions:- then I discovered whole stalagmite forests of trees; now and then a faery bath of the coldest water; and upon one side, an extended and bright silvery line,- a mark probably where the water had stayed its progress. In the third chamber is a stalagmite, the very shape of the only house of industry we know of- the bee-hive:- the water was dropping upon it rapidly, and the time may arrive when it will be joined to the roof. The cave is a museum of wonders, and well-repaid hours may be passed in it. At one spot is a perfect column, in the very centre of a chamber, and those who delight in music may have their ears gladdened by a peal of sweet-toned bells- such as they have never heard- from stalactites.¹²

By the middle of the 19th century the scientific study

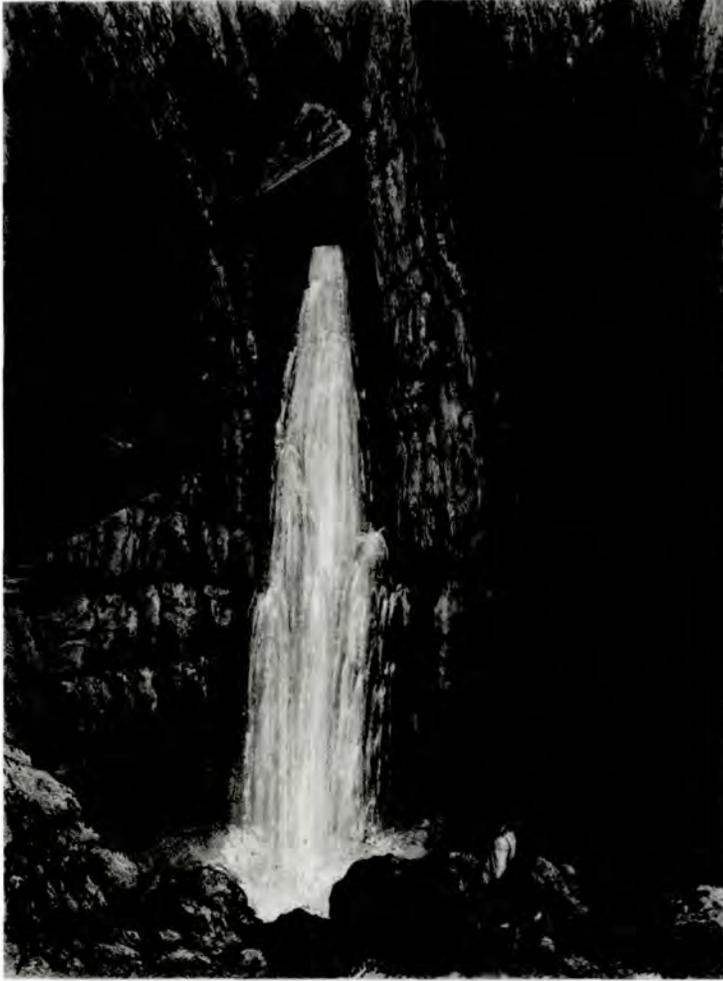


Plate 22 William Westall
'Waterfall in Weathercote Cave'
engraved 1818

of the caves had started. John Phillips in 1855, in his *Rivers, Mountains and Sea-coast of Yorkshire*, explained the origin of Ingleborough Cave and its limestone formations:

In this long and winding gallery, fashioned by nature in the marble heart of the mountain, floor, roof and sides are everywhere intersected by fissures which were formed in the consolidation of the stone. To these fissures and the water which has passed down them, we owe the formation of the cave and its rich furniture of stalactites.

What is this source of water which flows through the Cave ? ... ascend the slope of Ingleborough. Above the Cave in all its length is a thick scar of limestone, which by absorbing the rains may contribute to swell the little underground river. On much higher ground we see many little rills collected into a considerable beck ... The beck, extremely variable with season and weather, is swallowed up by a large and deep cavity or Pothole in the great Scar Limestone, called Gaping Gill ... There is no other known opening to the Cave from the upper ground, nor any other great efflux of water which can be supposed to be fed from Gaping Gill than that which is seen near the Cave mouth.

By this passage of water, continued for ages on ages, the original fissure was in the first instance enlarged, through the corrosive action of streams of acidulated water; by the withdrawal of the streams to other fissures, a different process was called into operation. The fissure was bathed by drops instead of streams of water, and these drops, exposed to air-currents and evaporation, yielded up the free carbonic acid to the air and the salt of lime to the rock. Every line of drip became the axis of a stalactital pipe from the roof; every surface bathed by thin films of liquid became a sheet of sparry deposit. The floor grew up under the droppings into fantastic heaps of stalagmite, which, sometimes reaching the pipes, united roof and floor by pillars of exquisite beauty.¹³

As well as mentioning Gaping Gill, which had been neglected since 1761, Phillips included one of the first cave surveys to be published, 'Plan and section of Ingleborough Cave, as presented by Mr. Farrer to the Geological Society in 1848' (Plate 23).

During his *Month in Yorkshire* in 1858, Walter White paid a shilling to visit Ingleborough Cave, where he emphasised the stalactite formations in a romantic description.

An involuntary exclamation broke from me as I entered and beheld what might have been taken for a glittering fairy palace. On each side, sloping gently upwards till they met the roof, great bulging masses of stalagmite of snowy whiteness lay outspread, mound after mound glittering as with millions of diamonds
...

The cavern widens; we are in the Pillar Hall; stalactites of all dimensions hang from the roof, singly and in groups. Thousands are mere nipples, or an inch or two in length; many are two or three feet; and the whole place resounds with the drip and tinkle of water. Stalagmites dot the floor, and while some have grown upwards the stalactites have grown downwards, until the ends meet, and the ceaseless trickle of water fashions an unbroken crystal pillar.

White also visits Weathercote Cave, again paying a shilling. Here the sublimity of the scene is stressed; there is some difficulty of access, and *the place is gloomy, rugged as chaos.*

Mr. Metcalfe .. unlocks a door, and leads the way down a steep, rude flight of steps into a rocky chasm, from which ascends the noise of falling water. A singularly striking scene awaits you. The rocks are thickly covered in places with ferns and mosses, and are broken up by crevices into a diversity of forms, rugged as chaos. A few feet down, and you see a beautiful crystalline spring in a cleft on the right, and the water turning the moss to stone as it trickles down. A few feet lower and you pass under a natural bridge formed by huge fallen blocks. The stair gets rougher, twisting among the big, damp lumps of limestone, when suddenly your guide points to the fall at the farther extremity of the chasm. The rocks are black, the place is gloomy, imparting thereby a surprising effect to the white rushing column of water. A beck running down the hill finds its way into a crevice in the cliffs, from which it leaps in one great fall of more than eighty feet, roaring loudly. Look up: the chasm is so narrow that

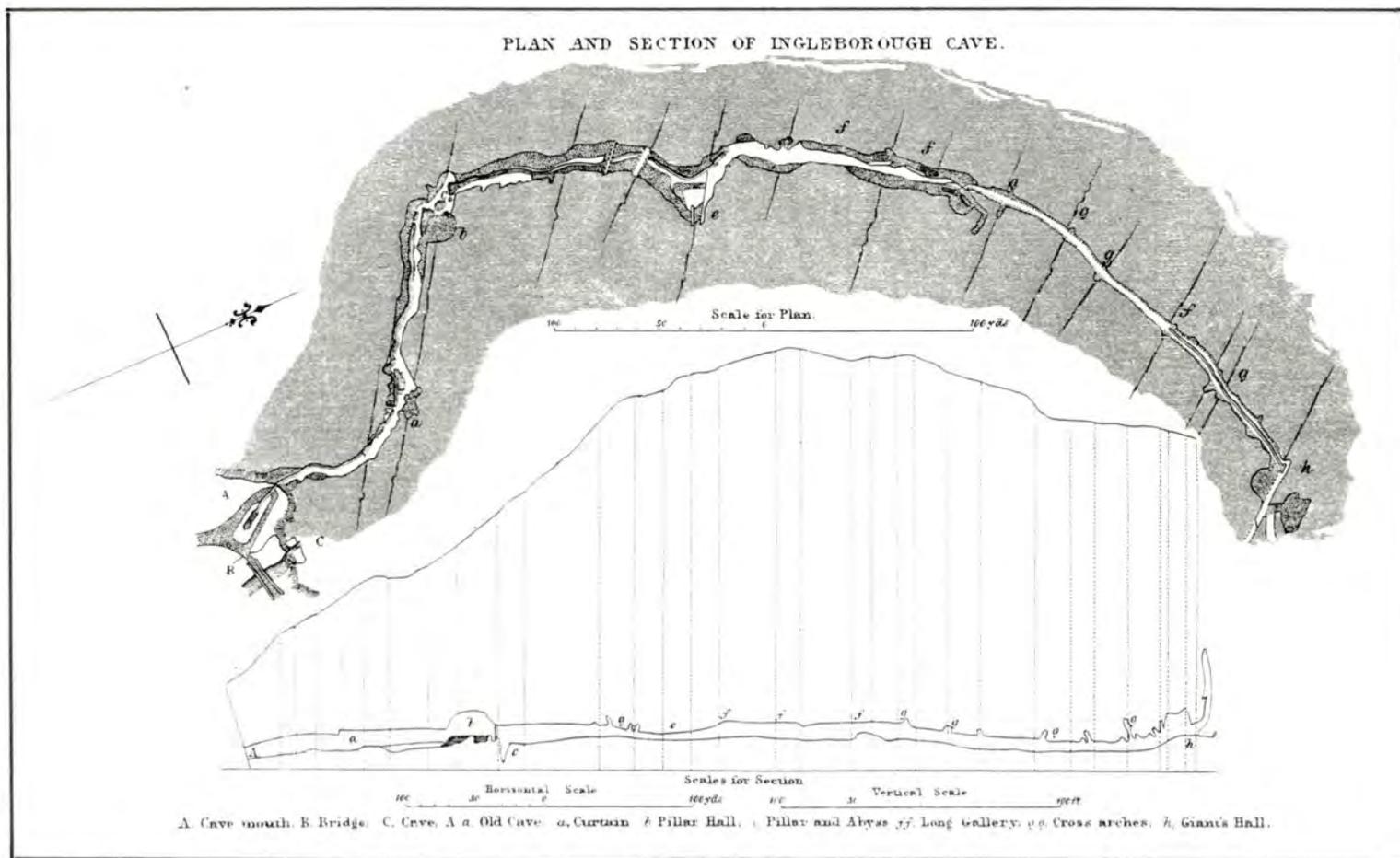


Plate 23 John Phillips
 'Plan and Section of Ingleborough Cave'
 engraved for "The Rivers, Mountains and Sea-coast of
 Yorkshire" 1855

the trees and bushes overhang and meet overhead; and what with the subdued light, and mixture of crags and verdure, and the impressive aspect of the place altogether, you will be lost in admiration.

To descend lower seems scarcely possible, but you do get down, scrambling over the big stones to the very bottom, into the swirling shower of spray. Here a deep recess, or chamber at one side, about eight feet in height, affords good standing ground, whence you may see that the water is swallowed up at once, and disappears in the heap of pebbles on which it falls. Conversation is difficult here, for the roar is overpowering...

Through the absence of sunshine I lost the sight of the rainbow which is seen for about two hours in the middle of the day from the front of the fall.¹⁴

- 1 *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1761) pp.126-128
- 2 Toynbee & Whibley (1935) p.1106
- 3 Pennant (1801) p.114
- 4 West (1799) p.233
- 5 Hutton (1781) pp.13-17, 25-27, 42-43
- 6 Byng (1934-36) Vol.III p.90
- 7 Mavor (1798) Vol.IV p.255
- 8 Housman (1802) pp.48, 34, 45, 53, 37, 50-51
- 9 Bigland (1812) pp.735-736
- 10 Whitaker (1823) Vol.II pp.343-344, 353
- 11 Hunt (1891) p.48
- 12 Montagu (1838) pp.121, 125-126
- 13 Phillips (1855) pp.31-32
- 14 White (1858) pp.261, 263, 252-255

PICTURESQUE DESCRIPTION

The particular nature of Picturesque tourism -to find scenery which resembled familiar paintings or poetic descriptions- led to a certain shared image of landscape. Richard Payne Knight in 1805 asserted that

The spectator, having his mind enriched with the embellishments of the painter and the poet, applies them, by the spontaneous association of ideas, to the natural objects presented to his eye, which thus acquire ideal and imaginary beauties¹

From the eight case studies of natural scenes in the Yorkshire Dales and County Durham, a general assessment of the Picturesque perception may be made. The paintings and engravings will be discussed, then the written descriptions.

Paintings and Engravings

In 1795 William Marshall wrote a review of Richard Payne Knight's poem *The Landscape* published the previous year. Marshall stated that

one great end of Landscape painting is to bring distant scenery, -and such more particularly as it is wild and not easily accessible, -under the eye, in a cultivated country.²

Such a sentiment is clearly in tune with the prospect-refuge theory put forward by Appleton.³ With regard to prospect, Andrews in a recent survey of the Picturesque in Britain, has detected a change in painting during the eighteenth century. Initially an elevated viewpoint was chosen, Andrews attributing this to a landowner commissioning a topographical prospect of an elegant country seat. This changed to a lower more intimate viewpoint where *the spectator has much more the*

*sense of being enveloped by the landscape.*⁴ Foreground detail thus became of more importance, as reflected in Gilpin's *analytical view of the materials which compose a picturesque view* with background, *offskip* and foreground. The convex Claude glass used to view the landscape incidentally produced a similar effect; the glass miniaturised and tinted the reflected scene and, except in the foreground, suppressed detail.

Some of the watercolours and engravings discussed in this present study do show a progressive favouring of lower viewpoints. Thomas Smith, for instance, used a high viewpoint of High Force in 1751, whereas 10 years later George Lambert chose one at river level, as did J M W Turner in 1816. Along the River Greta, however, Turner chose a high 'station' to dwarf Brignall Church, and manufactured a high viewpoint to achieve a panorama at the junction of the Tees and Greta at Rokeby. Andrews bases his observation on a study of the Lake District, where there is a greater variety of viewpoints. The particular case study sites do not always offer alternative viewing points. At Gordale Scar and Cauldron Snout, for example, artists had to combine sketches from different points to obtain a complete rendering of the subject.

The use by the artists of the foreground is distinctive. As well as detailed studies of foliage (Plates 4, 11, 18, 21) or rocks (Plates 3, 6, 8, 11), the artists included figures, often dwarfed by the scale of the natural scene. Anglers are included by Smith (Plate 7), Turner (Plates 5 & 8), Lambert (Plate 6) and Whittock (Plate 15); and tourists by Lambert (Plate 6), Allom (Plates 18 & 19), Westall (Plate 22), Whittock (Plates 17 & 20) and perhaps Smith (Plate 7).

To heighten the sublimity of the scene, artists exaggerated the depth of a valley or the steepness of the sides of a gorge. Turner's diminution of Brignall church to emphasise the depth of the Greta valley (Plate 4) has already been discussed, as has the similar effect that Turner produced at Aysgarth Force (Plate 14) where he compressed the width of the river to exaggerate the height of the waterfall. The height of a waterfall was also enlarged by not depicting the bottom of the fall, a technique used by Turner at Cauldron Snout (Plate 11) and Weathercote Cave (Plate 21). Mountains in the background of pictures were also shown larger than in reality; again Turner perfected this technique (Plates 9, 16, 21).

The sublimity of a scene was often enhanced by colour contrasts, thereby delighting the Picturesque tourist in its blend of beauty and horror. White birds against a dark background are found in four of the pictures included in this study— Cotman's 'Brignall Banks' (Plate 2), Turner's 'Chain Bridge' (Plate 11), Whittock's 'Hadrow Force' (Plate 17) and Allom's 'High Force' (Plate 10). Cotman contrasted light and dark masses of trees (Plate 2); Turner at Cauldron Snout (Plate 11) showed white spray against dark rocks and at Weathercote Cave (Plate 21) the sun produces a rainbow in the *completely subterraneous cave*.

Written descriptions

The Picturesque writers often used an associative approach, referring to the Italian landscapes and to classical poetry.

When John Hutton visited his first cave *several passages out of Ovid's Metamorphosis, Virgil, and other classics crowded into (his) mind together*, and he proceeded to quote relevant passages. Similarly, some writers found pertinent lines from James Thomson's *The Seasons* to quote. Mackenzie and Ross described the Tees at Cauldron Snout as it "*boils, and wheels, and foams, and thunders through*" the rocks; and Edward Dayes incorporated two lines of the same poem in his description of Aysgarth Force.

Thomas Amory at Stainmore *soon came into a country that is wilder than the Campagna of Rome, or the uncultivated vales of the Alps and Apennines*, and Adam Walker at Gordale Scar exclaimed that *The Alps, the Pyrenees .. do not afford such a chasm*.

However, it is the references to the paintings of Claude Lorraine, Gaspard Poussin and Salvator Rosa that display the writers' resort to the beginnings of the Picturesque in Britain, as with Dr. John Brown's claim that *the united powers of Claude, Salvator, and Poussin would be required to give .. a complete idea of the .. beauty, horror and immensity .. as they are joined in Keswick*. Arthur Young similarly felt the need to *unite the gloomy terrors of Pousin, the glowing brilliancy of Claud, with the romantic wildness of Salvator Rosa .. to sketch the view in Teesdale*. Edward Dayes thought that Yorkshire *afforded scenes as wild and romantic as any from the pencil of Salvator Rosa; some equally as grand as Poussin; and others, as elegant as Claude*, and at Gordale claimed that *the very soul of Salvator Rosa would hover with delight over these regions of confusion*.

The second characteristic of Picturesque writing was the use of a number of descriptive techniques. The written accounts of the sites featured descriptions of the *vista, outlook or perspective from stations, points or stands*. At High Force Hutchinson wrote of *our tremendous station*, and Garland described *the best situation for a first sight of it*. Having defined the viewpoint, the writer often continued to describe the scene in terms of a picture, with reference to the Italian ideal model. At Aysgarth, Arthur Young painted a word picture of *the view.. through the arch of the bridge.. in a most beautiful perspective with a number of planes; first some.. underwood, then the sheet of water.. next is seen another level sheet.. and then a second.. the whole view is bounded by fine hanging hills*. Walter Scott described one scene above the Greta through *Bertram's gazing eye; the scene* consisted of foreground flowers, the river in the middleground, and then *Bertram turn'd his weary eyes away* to the opposing bank of the background. At Aysgarth Force, Pennant described how *the eye is finely directed to this beautiful cataract by the scars that bound the river*, and included an engraving of Griffith's sketch, from river level, exemplifying the same point.

Many writers heightened the sense of sublimity in the scenery by conveying a sense of difficulty, even peril, in negotiating a way into the landscape³ and achieving the best 'stations'. Thomas Amory described the view of High Force in 1725: *as you stand below, as near the fall as it is safe to go, you see the river come down a sloping mountain for a great way*. Arthur Young followed Amory's directions and in 1769 reported how *we crawled from rock to rock, and reached from bough to bough, till we got to the bottom of High Force, and this was after having to ride through rapid streams, struggle along the*

sides of rocks, cross bleak mountains, and ride up the channel of torrents as the only sure road over bogs. Even after the installation of paths and steps at High Force, Walter White in 1858 reported how we can scramble down to the very foot of the limestone bluff. The single plank bridge over the deepest and most awful part of the gulph at Cauldron Snout provided a station where only passsengers, who have a brain befitted to aerial flight, may go without horror (William Hutchinson 1794), and excited a feeling of anxiety and fear in the heart of the tourist (Thomas Rose 1832). At Gordale Scar loose stones.. hang in air, & threaten visibly some idle Spectator with instant destruction (Thomas Gray 1769), the cascade is most threatening (Adam Walker 1779), and adds to the sensations of fear and amazement which every one must feel (John Housman 1802); even by 1858 the cliffs.. overhang fearfully above (Walter White). At Alum Pot John Hutton and his guide in 1781 did not think it safe to venture near enough to its brim, to try if we could see to its bottom, and in 1792 John Byng approach'd the falls in Weathercote Cave by a most laborious descent.. much wetting is to be encounter'd, and some danger apprehended.

As with the contrived 'prospects' and surprise views in landscaped gardens, the Tour writers attempted to heighten the sublime suspense by delaying the revelation of the culminating view. Arthur Young reports how *steeps of wood prevent your seeing High Force; he had to crawl from rock to rock and reach from bough to bough until he could describe the noble fall.* Walter White takes the reader along the path to High Force *until at a sudden turn the noise of the fall bursts full upon you; the fall is still not seen until a little farther and the trees no longer screen it, and you see the.. water*

making three perpendicular leaps. The same writer follows a lively beck as it ripples its way along through a gorge; a bend conceals its source; but we saunter on, and there at the end of the ravine... (and here the reader has to wait for two more lines) .. is Hardraw Scar. John Housman at Gordale Scar uses the same delayed approach:

Pursuing the dim path, and cautiously directing our steps over fragments of rocks towards a rent in the mountain immediately before us, with the brook on our left, we suddenly turn an acute angle of a perpendicular rock to the right, when a scene at once opens in full view.

At Weathercote Cave Walter White manages to produce a whole suite of delays:

Mr. Metcalfe.. leads the way down a steep, rude flight of steps.., from which ascends the noise of falling water. A singularly striking scene awaits you.. A few feet down, and you see a.. spring... A few feet lower and you pass under a natural bridge.. The stair gets rougher.. when suddenly your guide points to the fall at the further extremity of the chasm.. To descend lower seems scarcely possible, but you do get down, scrambling.. to the very bottom.. Here a deep recess.. affords good standing ground.

In the actual descriptions of the landscapes, certain common threads are visible; the first may be termed images of vigorous movement. The River Greta is described as *raging like a torrent* (Young), a *headlong torrent dashing with great impetuosity and tumbling* (Scott). At High Force the *water comes headlong down and tumbles perpendicular* (Amory); Young describes the *deluging force of the water*; Hutchinson prefers *precipitous streams, one vast spout.. casting forth a prodigious spray*; Garland has a *cataract rushing*; for Mackenzie and Ross the *river.. is hurled over a lofty precipice, the torrent rushing into the boiling abyss*

below; and White describes the fall as *the river rushes to its leap*. At Cauldron Snout the River Tees *on a sudden pours itself out, is dashed and distracted* (Hutchinson); or *hurled headlong in a wildly dashing stream* (Garland); while for White it is *dashing from rock to rock, twisting, whirling, eddying, and roaring in its dark and tortuous channel*.

Rocks and vegetation are not exempt from this vigorous treatment. Woods are usually *hanging* (Young, Garland and Hutchinson) or *impended*. Cliffs and rocks are *pendent* (Young) or *hanging* (Housman), *dart their bold and rugged fronts to the heavens* (Dayes), *are often spiring into columns* (Pennant), or *are rent and riven* (Scott).

The second descriptive thread involves the imagery of noise, an aspect of Picturesque perception not usually considered, but one which has early antecedents. As recorded above, Gray noticed *the roaring of the river* while on his Grand Tour, Thomson has a stream *roaring and thundering*, and Cowper describes 'Capability' Brown's re-routed streams *now murmuring soft, now roaring in cascades*. The Greta is *bawling* (Garland); the roar of High Force is *prodigious* (Young), *stunning the ear with the hollow noise* (Hutchinson), *making a dreadful noise* (Pennant), *the concussion of the waters produces a sensible tremor in the earth* (Rose) with an *impressive volume of sound* (White). In the Ingleborough caves *conversation is difficult.. for the roar is overpowering* (White), with a *noise that stuns the ear* (Bigland).

It was observed above that Thomas Amory's description of Stainmore as *an amazing mixture of the terrible and the beautiful* predated Dr. John Brown's famous description of *the full perfection of the scenery around Keswick as consisting of beauty, horror and immensity united*. This

Table I

Word Analysis: Number of Picturesque terms - by site

TERM Category	Ingleborough	High	Gordale	Cauldron	Aysgarth	Castle	River	Hardraw	TOTALS
	Caves	Force	Scar	Snout	Force	Eden Dene	Greta	Force	
immensity	23	9	14	5	3	1	2	1	58
amazing	24	9	10	4	3	2		4	56
beauty	10	9	3	2	9	7	4	5	49
terror	11	7	13	6	1				38
grand	2	14	5	4	1	2	2	4	34
gloom	13	3	6	2	1				25
wild	4	3	7	3		2	4		23
romantic	2	5	1	2	3	1	7		21
horror	8	2	6	2					18
Nature	5	5	4			1	1		16
sublime	3	2	1	4		1			11
bold	1	5	1			1		1	9
awful	1	2	3	2					8
picturesque		2	1		3				6
monstrous	4		1						5
Total Terms	111	77	76	36	24	18	20	15	377
Authors	11	12	9	6	6	3	6	5	28

['sublime' terms; emphasised the wildness, horror and gloom of a scene, with the fear inspired in the spectator, a fear enlarged by the scale of the natural features]

change of prospect of picturesque forms, from a rich and beautiful landskip of cultivated fields to the horrible grandeur of rocks and cliffs provides the third thread of Picturesque description - beauty tinged with horror, perhaps reflecting the artists' use of contrasts, which was considered earlier.

In Teesdale, Arthur Young contrasted the *fertile valleys and beautiful inclosures with steep precipices, raging torrents, tremendous rocks*. Scott wrote of Rokeby as *uniting the richness and luxuriance of English vegetation with the romantic variety of glen, torrent and copse*. At Cauldron Snout White reports how *the foam appears the whiter and the grass all the greener by contrast with the blackness of the riven crags.. you are here.. amid scenes of savage beauty*. At the same location, a mine surveyor described how *the rapidity of the stream, its noise, clouds of foam and rainbow combined to produce mingled sensations of terror, astonishment, and delight*. Wordsworth described the gorge at Hardraw Force as *a noble mixture of grandeur and beauty*, and Rose thought Castle Eden Dene a *singularly wild and romantic valley*. The *romantic and awful scene at Weathercote Cave* inspired Walker with a *pleasure chastised by astonishment*.

Another characteristic of Picturesque writing, alongside the associative, and the concrete or descriptive, was the use of a restricted vocabulary amongst landscape commentators. To some extent *admiration of landscape scenery had become mere jargon*, as Jane Austen put it. An attempt has been made here to analyse this *jargon* as used in the case study accounts. A total of 71 descriptors has been identified as being 'Picturesque', and grouped into 15 categories (Table I); in the

Table II

Word Analysis: Groups of Picturesque terms - by site

TERM Category	Ingleborough Caves	High Force	Gordale Scar	Cauldron Snout	Aysgarth Force	Castle Eden Dene	River Greta	Hardraw Force	TOTALS
immensity	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	8
amazing	★	★	★	★	★	★		★	7
beauty	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	8
terror	★	★	★	★	★				5
grand	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	★	8
gloom	★	★	★	★	★				5
wild	★	★	★	★		★	★		6
romantic	★	★	★	★	★	★	★		7
horror	★	★	★	★					4
Nature	★	★	★			★	★		5
sublime	★	★	★	★		★			5
bold	★	★	★			★		★	5
awful	★	★	★	★					4
picturesque		★	★		★				3
monstrous	★		★						2
Totals (15)	14	14	15	11	8	9	6	5	

[**sublime*** terms: emphasised the wildness, horror and gloom of a scene, with the fear inspired in the spectator, a fear enlarged by the scale of the natural features]

Table III Word Analysis by Author

Date AUTHOR	1756	1761	1768	1769	1770/73	1773	1773/94	1779	1781	1785	1792	1799	1799	1802	1803	1804	1805	1808	1809/12	1812	1830	1823/32	1832	1833	1834	1838	1855	1858
TERMS	Amory	'Pastor'	Young	Gray	Pennant	Spencer	Hutchinson	Walker	Hutton	Grose	Byng	Aust	Wordsworth	Housman	Dayes	Garland	Cholmeley	Brayley	Scott	Bigland	Allen	Whitaker	Rose	Sopwith	Mackenzie & Ross	Montagu	Phillips	White
immensity	1	2	3		9	1	4		5				1	12	3	3	1				3	3			1	3	1	1
amazing	2	3	1	1	2	1	2	5	8		1	1	1	4	1	2	2			1		3		1	1	1	3	9
beauty			3		4	3	3	2	1	2			3	2	1	2	3	1	1			1	3	1	2	2	3	6
terror			2	2	2	1		1	4		2	1		7	3	4						1	2	2		2		2
grand	1		4		2		11	1			1	1	2	1	3	1	2					1				1	2	
gloom				2	1		1		2		1			4		2						6			1			5
wild				3					2						3	2	1		4	1			2					5
romantic			6		1	1	3	1								2			2	1	1		2					1
horror	1			1		1	1		3		2			3	1	1					1	2				1		
Nature					2	1	1	1	2					1	1	1							1		1	3	1	
sublime			2					1	1						1	3	1				1			1				
bold			1		1		1								1	2	1				1						1	
awful					1		1	1							1	1					1				1	1		
picturesque			2		2		1	1																				
monstrous								1	1											2								1
TERMS (No.)	5	5	24	9	27	9	29	15	29	2	7	3	7	34	19	26	11	1	7	8	6	17	10	5	7	14	11	30
Categories	4	2	9	5	11	7	11	9	10	1	5	3	4	8	11	13	7	1	3	7	4	7	5	4	6	8	6	8

accounts of the 8 case studies there are 377 instances where such terms are used. Any such analysis is open to different interpretations; in an attempt to be as objective as possible the analysis is presented in three forms.

Table I analyses the grouped terms as they are used in the accounts of the 8 sites; the terms are listed in descending order of popularity. Terms of immensity are used 58 times; the caves of Ingleborough account for 23 of these. Terms of amazement (56) closely follow in popularity, being used at 7 sites, then those of beauty (49). Next in importance come terms of terror (38) and grandeur (34).

Terms such as 'Sublime' are difficult to define. In the eighteenth century, the emphasis moved from describing natural scenery in terms of wildness, monstrosity, horror and gloom to the fear inspired in the spectator, with descriptors of terror and awe. Associated with this were terms of amazement, grandeur, immensity and boldness which connected the viewer's fear with the scale and size of the natural features. If these 'sublime' descriptors, as well as the term 'sublime' itself, are grouped together, they account for 285 out of the total of 377 terms used. 'Romantic' is used 21 times, 'picturesque' only 6.

Using a restricted vocabulary also increased the amount of borrowing that took place in the descriptions. Along with this plagiarism was the transcription of the aesthetic terminology. To counteract the distortion that this factor may have induced into a simple count of the usage of terms, Table II presents the analysis in a different way. Table II shows whether a descriptor was

used for a particular site, and thus demonstrates the range of terms used for each site. The whole gamut of 15 terms was used at Gordale, and 14 at High Force and the caves of Ingleborough, whereas only 5 groups of descriptors were applied to Hardraw Force and 6 to the Greta.

Table III shows how the 28 authors involved used the current picturesque terminology in describing the 8 sites. Using the 3 tables of word analysis, a few illustrative examples may be discussed for each case study site.

The term romantic was used 7 times of the River Greta, Arthur Young in 1768 used it 3 times in his two sentence description; the Greta was *tumbling in a romantic manner* beneath a *very romantically situated* prospect house and *very romantic rocks*. In 1804 Richard Garland described a walk along the Greta as *highly romantic*; Walter Scott used the term twice, and his phrase *romantic glen* was copied by Walter White in 1858. The three later writers also used terms of beauty to describe the Greta, but as Table II shows, a range of only 6 of the 15 terms were utilised by the 6 authors involved, reflecting the less 'sublime' nature of the landscape.

A similar argument may hold at Hardraw Force, where the 5 writers used only 5 groups of descriptors, those of beauty, grandeur and amazement predominating. William Wordsworth in 1799 wrote of the gorge at Hardraw as a *noble mixture of grandeur and beauty*; by 1858 it had become a *pretty glen* (Walter White). The waterfall itself was *amazing* (John Hutton 1781), *grand* and *singular* (Thomas Whitaker 1823), a *bold leap* and a *noble fall* (John Phillips 1855).

Only 3 authors are quoted in the Castle Eden case study, and they used 9 groups of picturesque 'jargon', that of beauty predominating. The often dry stream channel had *great beauties* (Teresa Cholmeley 1805); and Thomas Rose noted that the *tourist .. is delighted with the various beauties, including a beautiful cascade*. Mrs Cholmeley was well versed in the aesthetics of the time; she noticed the picturesque *inequalities of ground* as well as using 9 descriptors- the *wildest fantastic shapes* of the trees, a *grand view*, another view *magnificent to a degree*; she found the whole scene *sublime*.

9 of the 24 picturesque terms used at Aysgarth Force are terms of beauty- used by Arthur Young (1768), Thomas Pennant (1770) and Francis Grose (1785). Half of the 6 total uses of *picturesque* itself are found in the descriptions of Aysgarth Force, but these may be attributed to one author. Young found the upper falls *beautifully picturesque with a foam that is very picturesque*; two years later Pennant copied much of Young's vocabulary, including *the scenery .. is most uncommonly picturesque*. Similarly, Young's *romantic spot* and *romantic river* are echoed in Pennant's *romantic view*.

Cauldron Snout encouraged a wider use of picturesque jargon- 6 authors used 36 descriptors in 11 categories. Terms of terror and immensity predominate; 28 of the 36 terms are sublime in character. Richard Garland in 1804 described *the awful and tremendous grandeur of the sight of this astonishing cataract; the gigantic sublimity of the scenery was wild and magnificent, full of horror; chaos alone could be more terrific*. The geologist Sopwith thought the spectacle *truly terrible and*

sublime, while Walter White in 1858 described the *scenes of savage beauty* at this isolated spot.

At Gordale Scar all 15 categories of terms are used, and 'sublime' terms account for 67 of the 76 individual descriptors used. Terms of immensity and terror predominate: the cliffs produced a *dreadful canopy* for Thomas Gray in 1769, *one of the most terrific effects* for Sarah Aust in 1799, and a *horrid front* for John Housman (1802). Terms of amazement, wildness, gloom and horror follow. Gray found Gordale *wild and dreary, the gloomy uncomfortable day well suited the savage aspect of the place*. Adam Walker described a *most threatening cascade* which gushed through a *rude arch of monstrous rocks*. John Housman wrote of the *sensations of fear and amazement as the gloomy mansion strikes us with horror*. By 1803 the vocabulary was well established; Edward Dayes found the rocks *.. impending fearfully, seeming to threaten. What a scene! how sublime!*, Dayes exclaimed; it was grand, *terrific .. savage .. wild .. fantastic .. immensity and horror are its inseperable companions, uniting to form subjects of the most awful cast*. Dayes' account influenced those of Allen and Montagu, so terms of immensity, horror and awe are repeated. Even by the end of the study period, Walter White was using sublime terms: *the gloomy scene .. the cliffs rise higher and overhang fearfully above*

High Force attracted 14 categories of picturesque terms, 77 descriptors from 12 authors, with grandeur, immensity, amazement and beauty predominating. Thomas Amory described the Tees tumbling in *as surprising manner, from as horrible a precipice as Niagara Fall, it was a grand and amazing scene*. Arthur Young added terms of grandeur, terror and the word *sublime*, with phrases

Table IV Plagiarism : High Force

Author

Date of publication

Smith
1751

23 yards

Amory
1756

tumbles perpendicular precipice

prodigious cadence

Niagara-Fall

Young
1770

perpendicular precipice

prodigious roar rain-bow

foam

noble fall hanging woods

Spencer
1773

the perpendicular frightful precipice
23 yards

prodigious force a most beautiful rainbow

fall of Niagara

Hutchinson
1774

82 perpendicular feet

deep bason prodigious spray

sun-beams formed..Iris

sheets of foam

hollow noise

noblest cascade hanging woods

1794

Pennant
1804

82 feet

deep bason vast spray

colours of the rainbow

dreadful noise

noble spectacle a party.. in a grot
grottoes... parties dine

Garland
1804

precipice of 69 feet

sheet of foam

deafening noise

Rose
1832

perpendicular rock

69 feet

mist and spray

sunbeams..all the
dyes of the rainbow

noise of the fall

White
1858

perpendicular leaps

precipice 70 feet

mass of foam

noise of the fall

Table V Plagiarism : Gordale Scar

Author

Date of publication

Gray 1775	gushes from a hole in the rock	the savage aspect of the place	threaten visibly some idle Spectator		drops.. perpetually distil
Walker 1779/1789	gushes.. through a rude arch of monstrous rocks		such a chasm	a most threatening cascade	project above 100 yards over their base
Pennant 1801			vast chasm		one side projects
Housman 1802	rushing cataracts		threatens to crush the trembling visitant		projects considerably over its base
Dayes 1805	impetuous Cataract	the savage aspect of this place	threaten.. the.. spectator		projecting.. over their bases
Allen 1830					projecting more than ten yards over their base
Montagu 1838	a most grand and terrific cataract				the projection from either side of its base
					immensity & horror are its inseperable companions
					immensity & horror being its inseperable companions
					horror and immensity

such as *the terrible sublime* and *bold and threatening cliffs*. Nathaniel Spencer thought *the whole scene .. so amazingly delightful*. William Hutchinson wrote two accounts of High Force, using 19 terms; *august, romantic* and *noble* each appear 3 times: *the spectacle is truly noble, and the scene august; the rocks .. shut up the scene with a solemnity and majesty not to be expressed*. Thomas Pennant described High Force as *a magnificent exertion of nature in the elements of rock and water in a vast theatrical chasm*. Richard Garland thought High Force *the boldest and most daring of the wild features of Nature*; Sopwith thought it produced *mingled sensations of terror, astonishment, and delight*. Walter White emphasised *the striking scene of the falls with the grim crags and the wild slopes*.

The caves of Ingleborough attracted 111 individual picturesque terms, the 11 authors using 14 of the 15 groups. Terms of amazement (24), immensity (23), gloom (13) and terror (11) predominate, with a total of 94 'sublime' descriptors. Adam Walker in 1799 thought one cave inspired *a pleasure chastised by astonishment, a scene for those impressed with the grand and sublime of nature*. John Hutton was *astonished with the sublime and terrible* at Ingleborough; *the profundity of Alum Pot seemed vast and horrible, and he shrank back with horror at the dreadful gloom*. John Housman used 10 terms of immensity when visiting two of the caves; he described *the great profundity of this vast haitus*. Sublime terms continued to Walter White's *singularly striking scene, rugged as chaos* in 1858.

The repetitive use of particular descriptors in these case studies clearly suggests that widespread plagiarism was abroad. Table III, summarising the use of

picturesque descriptors, shows four authors (Garland, Dayes, Hutchinson and Pennant) to have used the widest range of terms. The possible 'borrowing' of terms by these and other authors is shown for the descriptions of High Force and Gordale Scar in Tables IV and V respectively. The tables clearly summarise the repetitive vocabulary over time.

Table III also shows which authors first used certain types of descriptors, in accounts of the eight case studies. Amory in 1756 introduced four groups of terms - those of immensity, amazement, grandeur and horror. Young added six groups in 1768, including 'romantic', 'sublime', 'picturesque', beauty, boldness and terror. Terms of gloom and wildness were first contributed by Gray a year later.

The above survey clearly demonstrates, therefore, that the particular nature of Picturesque tourism - to find scenery which resembled familiar paintings or poetic descriptions - led to a certain shared image of landscape, with both artists and writers using the appropriate current 'vocabulary' in selecting and exaggerating their material.

- 1 Payne Knight (1805) p.14
- 2 Marshall (1795) pp.255-256
- 3 Appleton (1975) p.73
- 4 Andrews (1989) p.61
- 5 Andrews (1989) p.219

CONCLUSION : THE PICTURESQUE LEGACY

The Picturesque refers to a particular phase in the evolution of aesthetic appreciation. In some ways, however, the Picturesque is alive today. The word 'picturesque' itself is frequently used when appraising a landscape, just as it was in the 18th and early 19th centuries, although there is now little debate about the meaning of the term. 'Picturesque' appears to be a blanket term, relating to idealised landscapes of natural beauty or ancient buildings, not least those promoted in postcards, calendars, travel brochures and television advertisements.

It is little wonder therefore that today's bludgeoning tourist literature widely reflects that which was characteristic of the Picturesque Tour. Landscape is reduced to a series of approved views, often with photographs taken in ideal conditions. The 'stations' have become viewpoints marked on a map, or suggested stopping points on a motor tour. Michelin Tourist Guides have long graded places and views into 'worth a journey', 'worth a detour', 'interesting' and 'see if possible'. At the National Garden Festivals Kodak has gone so far as to erect signs at selected sites announcing 'Photo Point: take a picture here'. More generally, photographs or reproductions of 18th. and 19th. century paintings have replaced the early engravings. The Claude glass has been superseded by the camera, which with wide angle lens and coloured filters is just as capable of distortion and selection.

Of the wealth of literature available, *The New Shell Guide to Britain* (1985), with its county by county gazetteer may be compared with Thomas Gray's *Catalogue of the Antiquities, Houses, Parks, Plantations, Scenes, and Situations in England and Wales* (Map 2). Similarly,

the Automobile Association's *Places to Visit in Britain* (1988) is *A county-by-county guide to more than 2400 castles, stately homes, gardens, theme parks, museums and other places of interest throughout England, Wales and Scotland.* This guide includes brief notes on walks; it is here, with the descriptive terms used, that there are further hints of the influence of the Picturesque.

In our area, for instance:

Rising high in the bleak Pennine moorland, the Tees in its upper reaches is fast-flowing and restless, forming a succession of rapids and waterfalls that are among the most spectacular in the country... Cauldron Snout is reached at the end of a 2 mile nature trail.. the mighty cascade drops some 200ft in a boiling foam of peaty water, falling away in a series of steps into the valley below.

The walk to Malham Cove incorporates picturesque echoes in the size of the feature, the view from the top. and the descriptive language:

The approach gives the opportunity to study the dramatic scale of this phenomenon- a towering wall 300 ft high and some 900ft across. Once a stream flowed over the cliff, but now it flows underground and emerges from the base, a crystal clear watercourse that eddies around a rocky pool before making its clattering, pebble-strewn way across the fields, through the village and on to join the River Aire.

A steep path and steps curve up the western flank of the Cove.. The view down Malhamdale is wonderful. a vista of rumpled fields and lonely farmsteads.

The English Tourist Board's leaflet *Mini-Guide to Teesdale* (August 1989) follows their general formula of 'Where to go. What to see.' The leaflet describes 'Scenic Routes through the Dale', with details and photographs of selected viewpoints:

A popular journey along the north bank of the river starts on the B6278 from Barnard Castle. Approaching Eggleston the road passes a conifer plantation and a magnificent panorama opens up across the valley; pause here a moment before dropping down to this lead mining village.

Such guides as these may be compared with the Tours, incorporating details of the sights and illustrated with engravings, such as Edward Dayes' Picturesque Tour in Yorkshire and Derbyshire (Map 1).

The Ordnance Survey Leisure Guide- Yorkshire Dales (1985) gives two motor tours. Stopping places include villages, castles, high viewpoints and natural sites such as Aysgarth Force, Hardraw Force and Gordale Scar, with obvious echoes of the Picturesque. The Ordnance Survey Yorkshire Dales Walks book of 1989 gives details of 28 walks. Some of the descriptions could have been written 200 years ago: At Hardraw, *entering a narrow, wooded gorge, the majestic drop is suddenly seen ahead; the forbidding and spectacular chasm of Gordale Scar vies with the picturesque Ivelet Bridge and the spectacular vista of Swaledale.*

The Automobile Association's Discovering Britain : an illustrated guide to more than 500 selected locations in Britain's unspoiled countryside has a section on the Yorkshire Dales. Walks are briefly described, with some detailed suggestions for viewpoints:

Semer Water and its 1½ miles of shore are the focal point of many of the Dales' most beautiful views- from Stalling Busk, for example, less than a mile to the south on the slopes below Stake Moss; or in the late afternoon, from the hillside just below the farming hamlet of Countersett, north of the lake.

The same guide alludes to the Picturesque and uses language reminiscent of it. The *wild, almost frightening beauty of Gordale Scar is set in the 5 mile cul-de-sac valley of Upper Airedale, which is the 18th century Landscape Movement dream translated into limestone and turf.*

As well as retaining the 'tour', 'stations' and

'picturesque' language, the tourist literature includes references to the artists and writers who helped to bring the chasms, caverns and cascades to the notice of the first pilgrims of the Picturesque. The Mini-Guide to Teesdale, mentioned above, may serve as an example. The Guide highlights *High Force, England's largest waterfall with a dramatic 70ft drop over Great Whin Sill at the end of a wooded gorge, Cauldron Snout, a 200ft cascade down dolerite steps, and 'The Meeting of the Waters', where the River Greta joins the River Tees, and Mortham Tower and Rokeby Hall of Sir Walter Scott fame.* In this English Tourist Board leaflet, as well as such direct references to the development of the Picturesque Tour, there are obvious parallels with the 19th century Tours themselves, with 'stations', notes on the inns and roads, and descriptions of the scenes. The introduction to Teesdale ('a wealth of history & outstanding scenery') includes this description:

Beautiful scenery surrounds exposed rock faces and cascading waterfalls, rugged hills and meandering streams. Small wonder Sir Walter Scott halted in the valley while collecting details for his poem 'Rokeby'.. Barnard Castle.. has associations with.. the artists Cotman and Turner. It is an ideal centre from which to discover the innate scenic beauty of Teesdale.

Some guide books include reproductions of 18th and 19th century engravings or watercolours of the picturesque sights. Richmondshire District Council have gone further and published a coloured leaflet **Turner in the Dales**, illustrating some of the scenes painted by the artist. Included are Mill Gill Force, the *lovely waterfalls* of Aysgarth, Hardraw Force (*the highest unbroken waterfall in England*), the Greta and the waterfalls of Teesdale. The Wensleydale Tourist Association has erected a number of seats located throughout 'Richmondshire' in the places associated with Turner. 'The Turner Trail'

concept is being promoted; the concept is of a *tour through some of Britain's finest scenery .. in the footsteps of Britain's greatest artist, who visited the area to experience nature at its most vivid.*

The Yorkshire Dales National Park has Information Centres at Malham and Aysgarth, where displays explain the evolution of the landscape. At Malham Cove and Gordale information boards have been erected; at Aysgarth Falls viewing platforms have been built. The leaflet **Aysgarth Falls & Woodland Trail** includes a map of the trail route and the positions of the *platforms built to provide the best views of the cascades*; there are obvious links here with the 'stations' of the Picturesque Tour. The leaflet also includes a reproduction of the engraving 'Aysgarth Force' after Turner's watercolour.

With seats, information boards and viewing platforms, today's visitors are assured of the same viewpoints as their picturesque-seeking predecessors. In Ingleborough Cave visitors are shown stalactitic formations with the same names as used by guides 150 years ago- the 'inverted forest', the 'beehive' and the 'bells'. At Hardraw Force and High Force the paths constructed in the last century are maintained, although over the centuries there have naturally been other changes to the sites visited by the followers of the picturesque. The 'sublime' view at Cauldron Snout, for instance, is no longer available, as the footbridge has not been replaced, while Weathercote Cave is now closed to visitors.

The early tourists sought out romantic or wild scenes in the limestones and dolerites of Yorkshire and Durham. As has been shown, the same scenes are being promoted today, often with the same terms. Preserved

characteristics of the Picturesque, such as travellers following set routes to set points, has now caused congestion, erosion of paths and problems of restoration. The continued success of the promotion of picturesque sites has led to the need to preserve the sites themselves. Since 1895 the National Trust has *worked for the preservation of places of historic interest or natural beauty*. In the study region Brimham Rocks and Malham Tarn are owned by the Trust. Many of the other sites lie within the Yorkshire Dales National Park or the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. High Force, Cauldron Snout and Castle Eden Dene lie in National Nature Reserves.

A Visitor's Guide to the National Parks of England & Wales (1988) hints at the pressure of visitors to some of the sites. Malham Cove *has long become a large open-air classroom, attracting more than 30,000 students each year*, and Aysgarth Falls *attract around a million admirers each year*. Most recently a number of reports have highlighted the problem of visitor numbers. Thus in an article 'Leisure threat to the Dales', *The Northern Echo* reported the Yorkshire Dales National Park officer as calling for a tourism strategy, as *the area's peaceful setting of natural beauty is increasingly coming under attack from the recreation and leisure explosion of the twentieth century.*¹

An editorial in *The Times*, 'Arcadia in jeopardy', drew attention to the setting up of a government task force to find solutions to *the harm that the increasing number of tourists is doing to some of Britain's historic monuments and beauty spots*. The Countryside Commission had estimated that there are 18 million people in the countryside on a summer Sunday. The employment secretary

was quoted as saying "*Some rural beauty spots attract visitors like bees to a honeypot. This can cause overcrowding, traffic congestion and erosion of footpaths.*"²

The erosion of paths was taken up in an article '*Charting a path for our Parks*' in *The Observer*. Since the setting up of the Parks (which may be seen as a twentieth century extension to the Picturesque), access to them had increased until in 1989 the 10 Parks had 90 million visitors. In areas such as the Three Peaks in the Yorkshire Dales, wooden walkways have been constructed to protect the rapidly eroding peat bogs.³

Similar walkways were necessary some years ago along the Pennine Way near High Force. There are other threats to the natural sites sought after by today's visitors. The Countryside Commission has recently issued a statement of intent on how it hopes to maintain and protect the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, designated two years ago. The Commission hoped that the *deteriorating landscape* could be rescued by "*green*" *tourism, in which the public would support the rural economy by visiting, enjoying and growing to understand the countryside.* The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority mounted a similar project, '*Landscapes for Tomorrow*'. Some 6000 visitors were asked to consider various decisions about the landscape, which led to one of eight paintings of the possible future Dales' landscapes. The future of the hay meadows, heather moorland, stone walls and barns which make up the tourist's Dales, was brought into sharp focus.

The momentum of this movement to preserve the picturesque legacy may be seen in the 'heritage' campaign, part of the bludgeoning tourist industry. There is now a scheme to restore an entire picturesque

landscape which has been almost forgotten. Hackfall was a site visited, described and often illustrated by many of the Picturesque tourists studied above (see Maps 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7). The Woodland Trust is hoping to restore the wild and picturesque landscape garden, with fountains, cascades and surprise views, created in the 18th century by William Aislable. The Landmark Trust is restoring the most notable folly of the gardens, the Banqueting House, and turning it into a holiday home complete with restored original vistas. Perhaps because of the need to protect 'picturesque' sites from tourist erosion, as demonstrated by the recent articles quoted, the area will not be heavily advertised. Eventually a few people each year will be able to enjoy picturesque views in a re-creation of one of the earliest and greatest 'romantic' gardens of England.

Thus, in addition to trail leaflets and explanatory boards, visitors centres, and even repaired paths, holiday homes have been added to the trappings of sites visited by today's tourists who flock to follow in the footsteps of the early pilgrims of the picturesque. The power of, and fascination for, the Picturesque is clearly pervasive.

- 1 'Leisure threat to Dales' **The Northern Echo**
8 August 1990
- 2 'Task force ordered to assess tourism impact' and
'Arcadia in jeopardy' **The Times** 2 August 1990
- 3 'Charting a path for our Parks' **The Observer**
17 June 1990

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