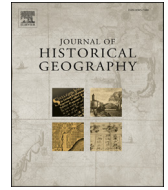




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Landscapes on the move: The travel journals of Celia Fiennes (1685-c.1712)

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ABSTRACT

This paper takes a fresh look at Celia Fiennes' account of her tour of England, Wales and Scotland, at the end of the seventeenth century. Travelling on horseback, and sometimes on foot, Fiennes recounted her experiences of journeying through the country, commenting on the physical qualities and characteristics of the landscapes she moved through, together with local customs, industrial and agricultural processes, and places of curiosity and note. This paper explores Fiennes' sensory immersion in the landscapes she rode through, and her awe and wonder at the interactions of natural and human processes in the continuous work of making landscapes. Her writing provides not only an insight into the meanings of landscape as a visual experience but importantly the ways in which landscape is emergent through all of the senses - sight, sound, taste, touch, feeling - and in the imagination and memory. Rather than dipping in to her text for passages that serve to illustrate a point on a specific subject such as regional culinary traditions or sightseeing, this paper is interested in the work in its entirety, for offering an invaluable first-hand account of the texture of landscape at the close of the seventeenth century.

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Rain the night before had made it very dirty and full of water; in many places in the road there are many holes and sloughs where ever there is clay ground, and when by Raines they are filled with water its difficult to shun danger; here my horse was quite down in one of these holes full of water but by the good hand of God's Providence which has always been with me ever a present help in time of need, for giving him a good strap he flounced up again, tho he had gotten quite down his head and all, yet did retrieve his feet and got clear off the place with me on his back'.¹

In recent years cultural readings of landscape have been balanced by research concerned with materiality and the continuous creation of landscapes through movement and bodily practices.² Rather than interpreting landscapes from an externalised and thus objectified viewpoint, they have come to be understood as emergent in and through embodied, sensory experience. Landscapes are not fixed and static entities therefore, and nor are they

simply inherited from one generation to the next as already 'written' and known. Rather each generation engages in a process of renewal, making decisions about what to keep and remember, and what to ignore and forget. In this process, the work of past generations informs the present, but this transference of meaning and attachment is not simply a matter of direct continuity; rather the relationship between past and present is unstable, mediated and at times contested.³ No longer can we interpret the landscape as a backdrop, an aesthetic and cultural way of seeing, without appreciating the constant and entangled processes of landscapes in the making. This article develops an historical approach to these considerations, by examining the travel diaries of Celia Fiennes in whose writing, it will be argued, we find affective meanings and experiences of landscape.

In early modern studies there is an established literature on ideas of landscape, originating in the age of Enlightenment as an aesthetic and ideological ordering of the world, valued by members

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¹ C. Morris, (Ed), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1682 – c. 1712*, London, 1984, 183., 203.

² T. Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London, 2000; J. Hendon, *Houses in a Landscape: Memory and Everyday Life in Mesoamerica*, London, 2010.

³ B. Bender and M. Winer (Eds), *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, Oxford, 2001. See my attempt to pursue these ideas in N. Whyte, *Senses of Place, Senses of Time*, *Landscape Research* 40, 2015, 925–38.

of polite society.⁴ Landscape writers have long equated visual experience with modernity: a particular way of seeing among social elites that rendered the landscape an object valued for its aesthetic and economic qualities. One of the most critical issues arising from such studies rests on the assertion of the culture/nature dichotomy; that knowledge of landscape takes the form of representation, and exists therefore as an externality to lived, embodied experience. However, in rendering the landscape a purely visual and aesthetic phenomenon, historical attention has been distracted from considering the importance of seeing along with other sensory manifestations of landscape. This has led some writers to conclude that post-medieval landscapes were stripped of meaning and spiritual significance, having been reduced to an aesthetic artifice presided over by the wealthy few.⁵ Yet, in categorising post-medieval landscape as an object of visual pleasure, or resource to be consumed, there has been a tendency to overlook the fundamental importance of sight among other sensory attributes and feelings that interact in the ways people perceive the landscape. In other words, discursive relations should not be divorced from the actual practice of seeing and observing.⁶

Drawing on phenomenological methods, researchers have come to understand landscape as emergent through embodied practices of walking, riding and cycling.⁷ Importantly, their work has shown that landscapes do not simply exist 'out there', but are emergent in and through modalities of movement and our bodily participation in the material world, which may change in any given moment. This approach combines an understanding of temporality, materiality, movement and embodiment in practices of landscape making.⁸ Alongside these critical interventions, we might also add the importance of developing an historical approach to understanding how people in the past lived in and moved through the landscape.⁹ The following discussion seeks to do this by developing a time-deepened exploration of landscape as experience, and how the entanglements of the human and other-than-human were comprehended through engagements with earth, matter and the elements.

In order to draw out the temporal and experiential practices of landscape in the past, this article pursues an original and innovative interpretation of Fiennes' account of her tour of England, Wales and Scotland, at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Travelling initially by carriage, but for the most part on horseback, she described her experiences of journeying through diverse local and regional landscapes. She commented on the physical qualities and characteristics of the landscapes she moved through, together with

local customs, industrial and agricultural processes, and places of curiosity and note. For Fiennes, travelling was an immersive, embodied and sensory experience; an engagement with mud, stones, rocks, sand, steps, puddles, ruts, peat bogs, rivers, sand and sea; as also the cycle of the seasons which brought wind, rain, sun, hail, mist, fog and flooding. She described deep lanes where neither sun nor wind would come, open causeways exposed to the elements, slippery inclines and steep mountain tracks that tested her horses's agility. Her interest in describing day-to-day experiences reveals an alternative to cultural ideas of landscape, as a static and known territory to be admired and consumed for aesthetic qualities and permanence. Indeed, there is a broader point to be made here. In drawing attention to landscape, movement and bodily practice as a historical project, we come to trouble conventional accounts of modernity, which have long been rooted in ideas of landscape as either an ideological representation or a resource to be extracted.¹¹

It is surprising that Fiennes' richly detailed account has been largely overlooked by scholars interested in landscape history and the ways people in the past perceived and experienced the physical environments around them. Andrew McRae has recently discussed Fiennes, in the context of travel writing, and uses her diaries to chart the growth of domestic tourism, growing consumerism and emergent notions of nationhood from the late seventeenth century.¹² Others have commented on her evident appreciation of good hospitality, food and fine ale, and her fascination to discover the medicinal properties of wells and springs or 'spaws'.¹³ There has, however, been little sustained discussion or appreciation of this unique and important account of British landscapes at the close of the seventeenth century. The work may have been overlooked in favour of male authors of other contemporary travel texts, such as Camden, Defoe, Young and Cobbett, and perhaps less obviously the works on natural philosophy and improvement again more typically associated with male writers.¹⁴ Either way, it is important to consider how much of this oversight is a consequence of lasting historiographical assumptions that women were bound, and made immobile by the domestic and, unlike their male counterparts, cannot be relied upon for analytical and objective observation.¹⁵

For the purposes of this article, I am interested in Fiennes' work as a record of her embodied, spiritual experiences of the landscapes and places she rode in and through. As such I am careful not to place her in any particular category of analysis, such as gender or women's history or tourism and modernisation, as others have done. Rather than dipping into Fiennes' text for passages that serve to illustrate a point on a specific subject such as regional culinary traditions or sightseeing, this article is interested in the work as an invaluable first-hand account of landscape as embodied experience at the turn of the eighteenth century. As we will see her appreciation of the present participatory moment was entangled with a deeper temporal and biographical sense of herself as she moved, physically and metaphorically through the stations of her life-course. Travel and

⁴ See for example, D. Cosgrove, and S. Daniels (Eds), *The Iconography of Landscape* Cambridge, 1988; A. Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English rustic Tradition, 1740–1860*, Berkeley, 1986.

⁵ C. Tilley, *A Phenomenology of Landscape: Places, Paths and Monuments*, Oxford, 1994.

⁶ Ingold, *Perception*, 286.

⁷ See also, N. Whyte, Landscape, memory and custom: parish identities c. 1550–1700, *Social History* 32:2 (2007) 166–186; N. Whyte, High Culture and Popular Culture: Memory, Custom and Landscape, in: M. Tamm and A. Arcangeli (Eds), *A Cultural History of Memory in the Early Modern Age (c. 1450–1750)*, Bloomsbury, 2020, 117–134.

⁸ See also C. Tilley, and K. Cameron-Daum, The anthropology of landscape: Materiality, embodiment, contestation and emotion, *Anthropology of Landscape: The Extraordinary in the Ordinary* London: UCL Press, 2017, 1–22. J. Wylie, *Landscape*, Abingdon, 2007; and Wylie, A single day's walking: narrating self and landscape on the South West Coast Path, *Transactions for the Institute for British Geographers* 30 (2005) 234–247.

⁹ See Whyte, Senses of Place; N. Whyte, Spatial History, in: S. Handley, R. McWilliam and L. Noakes (Eds), *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*, London, 2018, 233–252.

¹⁰ All references to Fiennes's journals are from C. Morris (Ed), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1682 – c. 1712*, London, 1984.

¹¹ See also Whyte, Spatial History.

¹² A. McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, 2009, chapter 5.

¹³ A. Fox, Food, drink and social distinction in early modern England, in: S. Hindle, A. Shepard, J. Walter (Eds) *Remaking English Society*, Woodbridge, 2013, 172–3; A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape*, Oxford, 2011, 451, 466.

¹⁴ For a male-oriented approach see P. Warde, *The Invention of Sustainability*, Cambridge, 2018; for an alternative perspective see C. Merchant, *Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution*, Harper & Row, New York, 1983. Fiennes's text is available online, alongside a number of male authors of travel journals, see <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>.

¹⁵ See also Hodgkin who makes a similar point: K. Hodgkin, 'Women, memory and family history in seventeenth-century England' in E. Kuipers, J. Pollmann, J. Muller, J. van der Steen (Eds), *Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden and Boston, 2013, 297–313.

being on the move is thus revealed to have complex meanings in Fiennes' writing. We begin with an examination of her motivations for travelling in pursuit of self-fulfillment, her ancestral history and her concern to reach a satisfied old age. This will provide important context for subsequent discussions of Fiennes' relationship to landscape, her spiritual motivations for travelling and enduring challenging, and at times dangerous, situations along the way. I argue throughout that her work does more than merely providing factoids, indeed, to suggest as much diminishes the uniqueness and power of Fiennes' writing on landscape, by merely reproducing the modernisation paradigm and its concordant gendered assumptions.

Memory and the life-course

In her preface to the reader, Fiennes saw travelling as a necessary remedy for 'the epidemic diseases of vapours' and 'laziness'. She addressed her male readership, recommending domestic travel as a further cure for 'the evil itch of over-valuing foreign parts'. She called out the ignorance and shame of Gentlemen, most of whom she considered 'ignorant of anything but the name of the place for which they serve in parliament'. But it was to her own sex that Fiennes most forcefully addressed. She implored her imagined female audience to follow her guidance by undertaking 'the study of those things which tends to improve the mind and makes our Lives pleasant and comfortable as well as profitable in all the Stages and Stations of our Lives, and render suffering and Age supportable and Death less formidable and a future State more happy'. She understood first-hand the tedium of everyday life for women of elite status, and how intense boredom could lead to a state of 'emotional vulnerability'.¹⁶ In her early days of travelling, Fiennes travelled often by carriage and in company with other women; she refers to her mother, sister and 'we' gentlewomen.¹⁷ In her tour from Coventry to London in 1697 she recorded '.... I returned and all our Company Blessed be God very well with out any disaster or trouble in 7 weeks ... about 635 miles that we went together'.¹⁸ In her closing entry for that year she noted travelling 'about 1045 miles of which I did not go above a hundred in the Coach'.¹⁹ Being on the move was, for Fiennes, a requisite to good health in body and mind. But her objective was not only to occupy the present moment, for she was persuaded to travel as a vital process in memory-making and laying the foundations for a satisfied and contented old age.

A close reading of Fiennes' work suggests the entanglement of landscape with her own ancestral identity and life-history, which was not necessarily curated within the interior domain of domesticity but rather in the outside world through her practical knowledge of travelling. She imagined her readers to be members of her own family, and evidently visited numerous relations, providing comments on their places or seats of dwelling.²⁰ She described visiting Reading, for example, where one of her sisters was buried, after she died of small pox while at her grandmother's: 'her monument of white marble stands up in the chancellor'.²¹ Travelling to Chichester she stopped at Nurstead where she 'lay' at her relations house Mr Holt who married her mother's sister.²²

She made a journey to visit her Uncle's widow in Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Herefordshire, and from there to her Uncle John's and his son's place of habitation.²³ In the Vale of the Red Horse, on the way to Weston she stopped at the Parsonage of her cousin Pharamus Fiennes, before calling upon one of his sisters married to Parson Browne. After stopping in Chipping Camden to view the effigy of Viscountess Camden, who apparently lived to a great age, she stayed with her brother in Broughton.²⁴ From Axminster she called in to see her cousins 'little girl at nurse'.²⁵ At Hawarden (Flintshire), she visited her relation married to Dr Percivall where 'In a tarresse walke in my Relations garden I could very plainly see Chester and the River Dee with all its Washes over the Marsh ground which look'd very finely: here are sands which makes it very difficult for strangers to passe without a guide'.²⁶

Her interest in weaving together an ancestral history though the landscapes and places she journeyed to, suggests a more complex set of motivations for travelling than an interest in tourism and consumerism.²⁷ On another occasion, when visiting the Peak District she visited her relation Sir Charles Woolsey, who was married to her Aunt. While walking through the gardens with her Aunt, both women were reminded of their mother and sister: 'there is a great deal of good fruit and there are several walks, one shady with high trees when my Aunt told me my Mother liked to walk in and so was called her walk'.²⁸ The image Fiennes offers, of walking in the footsteps of her late mother, among the shady high trees and 'walk' named after her, reveals the deep connection she sought between past and present, family and landscape. For Fiennes being on the move drew together her memories and emotional attachments to other places and other times beyond the domestic comforts of her home.²⁹

It has long been recognised that women were custodians of family history, including safeguarding knowledge of customs and rights among middling households, and writing family genealogies.³⁰ The tendency of such works to equate women with the family and household has, however, reinforced gendered assumptions regarding the passive, nurturing, domestic female. Taken to its most polarised extreme, male authors wrote public, analytical, political histories, while women produced private texts designed to preserve family memory, based on fables, stories, and traditions, in other words sources perceived to lack credibility. Katherine Hodgkin has recently argued for a more nuanced approach to the relationship between family history and memory in the seventeenth century, insisting that such gendered assumptions have serious consequences for reinforcing male/female, public/private, history/memory polarities.³¹ Though her diaries do not fit the genre of family history that Hodgkin examines, Fiennes nonetheless conveys a comparable analytical interest not only in relating personal experiences, but also in threading together a dispersed family history through time and place.

Her motivations for travelling are further revealed in the brief yet suggestive references to her father's account of his tour of Italy.

²³ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 64–65.

²⁴ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 65–66.

²⁵ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 58–9, 61, 73, 102, 118, 131, 146, 158, 189, 191, 205–6, 214.

²⁶ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 158.

²⁷ McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, 208–9.

²⁸ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 112.

²⁹ Morris notes that she was born in Newton Toney near Salisbury in 1662 and died in Hackney in 1741, Introduction, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 11–15.

³⁰ On the roles of middling and labouring women in landscape and memory-making see for example N. Whyte, Custodians of memory: women and custom in rural England c.1550–1650, *Cultural and Social History* 8:2 (2011) 153–173.

³¹ Hodgkin, *Women, Memory and Family History*, 312.

¹⁶ K. Hodgkin, The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford: a Study of Class and Gender in the Seventeenth Century, *History Workshop Journal* 19:1, 1985, 151.

¹⁷ In 1691 she gives account of her journey to London after her mother's death (Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 52), when it seems she decided to travel on horseback accompanied by male servants.

¹⁸ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 118.

¹⁹ This passage is omitted from Morris. See <https://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Fiennes/17>.

²⁰ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 41, 51.

²¹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 52.

²² Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 62.

When on Blackstone Edge (Pennines), she remembered his account of his travelling in the Italian Alps: 'The mists and rain, and snow and hail falling on passengers on top of the precipice, yet bathed in sunshine at the foot of those valleys, fruitful, ye sunshine and singing of ... this was the account My father gave of those Alps when he passed them and I Could not but think this Carried some resemblance tho' in Little, yet a proportion to that'.³² In Cornwall, while visiting the tin mines near St Austell she noted the Cornish Diamonds that reminded her of the crystals her father brought home with him from the Alps.³³ Her father's tales of his tour of Italy evidently ignited her imagination, and her recollections suggest that he inspired her, in part at least, to travel and explore when she reached adulthood herself. Accompanied by two male servants, Fiennes' determination to explore as freely and independently as possible is clearly conveyed in her writing.³⁴ Her interest in collecting curios, just as her father did, is suggestive of her interest in curating memories through the objects and things she collected, as also her role in handing on knowledge to the next generation.

By her own admission, Fiennes resisted the tedium of the life expected of her as a gentlewoman living in the late seventeenth century. Through her evocation of the life-course she offers an important temporal context to the idea of travelling in our period of focus. In Fiennes' journals, writing movement meant a number of things, riding and journeying from one place to the next, finding and strengthening her devotional connection to God, and progressing through the stations of her life-course. Landscape, memory and movement come together in Fiennes' writing as interacting, dynamic processes in relating her own life-story, set down to prompt her memory and imagination in later years, as also informing the next generation of readers, on how to live well into old age.

Landscape and faith

For Fiennes travelling was essential to a gentlewoman's personal development as she moved through the stations of her life-course and in her words towards a 'future state of happiness'. Self-improvement was evidently a life-long endeavour and travelling on horseback brought her closer to God. In her writing she conveyed her inner most feelings that the divine watched over and protected her, particularly when she faced challenging situations brought about by extreme weather and difficult terrain. Entering Lancaster town she found the 'stones so slippery crossing some channel' that her horse fell 'on his nose but did at length recover himself and so I was not thrown off or injured, which I desire to bless God for as for the many preservations I met with'.³⁵ Entering the Island of Ely, she noted how in winter the causeway was over flowed with water and only boats could pass. When she arrived the causeway was flooded after heavy rain: a 'remarkable deliverance I had, for my horse in earnest to drink ran to get more depth of water than the causeway had', and on the brink of one of the dikes nearly fell in, 'but by special providence which I desire never to forget and always to be thankful for, escaped'.³⁶ Her belief in divine intervention was evidently transferred to the protection of her horse. In the opening quotation, we find her describing a difficult route along the deep clay lanes of Cornwall, when again she felt 'the hand of

God's Providence' when she and her horse were rescued from taking a fall.³⁷

Fiennes and her horse were 'co-beings mediating each other's relationship to the landscape'.³⁸ Horse and rider are in constant bodily engagement and communication: a 'synaesthetic engagement between their bodies, textures and surfaces, sight and sound and smell'.³⁹ For the rider the visual advantages of travelling on horseback, both in terms of covering greater distances and seeing above hedges and walls, are obvious. Fiennes described Staffordshire as 'a fine Country here about for Riding one has a pleasing prospect Every way Especially on any advanc'd ground'.⁴⁰ However, the rider does far more than merely enjoying the view. Across unknown and difficult terrain the relationship between rider and horse intensifies as the rider helps guide the horse along the easiest path. For Fiennes, this involved deep understanding of the horse and its capabilities. Her writing conveys the ever-changing conditions of landscape in providing a constant challenge to her and her horse. The synaesthetic exchange is particularly evident in one entry describing the smell of the air around Harrogate, where her horse refused to go near the aptly named 'Sulphur or Stinking spaw': 'for the Smell being so very strong and offensive that I could not force my horse near the Well'.⁴¹

In her choice of language and turn of phrase, there is evidence of Fiennes' appreciation of improvement as being deeply rooted in religious beliefs, broadly characteristic of the seventeenth century. Improvement was sought by enlightened property owners, who saw themselves as the rightful stewards of the landscape, and thus God's work was invested in the moral and physical re-formation of landscape and society.⁴² Other writers have commented on the environmental determinism of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, paying particular attention to the work of male commentators and writers dedicated to the pursuit of improvement.⁴³ Protestantism reinforced a close corollary between moral disorder and the state of nature, echoing the Fall of Eve.⁴⁴ In patriarchal discourse, the Earth was likened to a fecund female body, that once brought to perfection by men would be easily maintained and kept fruitful.⁴⁵ Whereas ill-advised methods would bring a 'strangling or choking of the womb, causing utter sterility'.⁴⁶ In the eighteenth-century the alignment of patriarchal values and improvement

³⁷ It is often assumed that Fiennes would have conformed to the feminine style of riding and dress, including wearing a corset. There is however no evidence that she wore one. Presumably a corset was unnecessary and impracticable especially without female servants to help her lace up. Neither is there evidence confirming that she rode side-saddle or astride. She was evidently an accomplished rider and was concerned for the wellbeing of her horse.

³⁸ Tilley and Cameron-Daum, *Anthropology of Landscape*, 8.

³⁹ Tilley and Cameron-Daum, *Anthropology of Landscape*, 208.

⁴⁰ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 148.

⁴¹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 93.

⁴² This interpretation is particularly associated with meanings of improvement in the eighteenth century. See S. Tarlow, *The Archaeology of Improvement in Britain, 1750–1850*, Cambridge, 2007.

⁴³ Women are too often left out of histories of Improvement, which is presented as a patriarchal (male) imperative linked to Protestant ethics of thrift, labour, and by the eighteenth century social reform (discipline and control) and patriotism. See A. McRae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500–1660*, Cambridge, 1996; Warde, *Invention of Sustainability*; Johnson, *An Archaeology of Capitalism*. For recent works attempting to redress the imbalance, see A. Capern, B. McDonagh, and J. Aston (Eds), *Women and the Land 1500–1900* Woodbridge, 2019; B. McDonagh, Briony, *Elite Women and the Agricultural Landscape, 1700–1830*, Abingdon, 2017.

⁴⁴ Walsham, *Reformation of Landscape*, 393; see also Merchant, *The Death of Nature*.

⁴⁵ Warde *Sustainability*, quoting Blith p.128. Warde does not draw out the gendered assumptions revealed in seventeenth-century writing on improvement.

⁴⁶ Warde, *Sustainability*, 133, quoting Robert Powell (1636) on the consequences of enclosure. I paraphrase here.

³² Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 183.

³³ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 205; Fiennes also likens the Malvern Hills to the Alps, v230.

³⁴ In Derby she noted, 'My Dinner Cost me 5s and 8d, only 2 servant men with me and I had but a shoulder of mutton and bread and beer'. Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, XX.

³⁵ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 164.

³⁶ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 141.

shifted to encompass an aesthetics of landscape based on profit and progress achieved through the extraction of labour, land and resources for national as well as personal advancement.

In contrast to conventional understandings of landscape and improvement, which tend to privilege cultural and economic values above the subjective and experiential, in Fiennes we realise the inadequacies of imposing such rigid divisions between mind and body, landscape and subject. Moreover, historical work on religion and natural philosophy has shown that we should not overstate the rationalist designs on the landscape, promoted by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century agricultural improvers, by revealing the varied complexion of contemporary thought. Conventional binary categorisations such as nature/culture, mind/body, have given way to an understanding of complexity and contradiction in the ways contemporaries perceived the other-than-human world. People of protestant faith believed that nature was a 'providential instrument'.⁴⁷ Building on this work, we find in Fiennes how evidence of divine benevolence was purposefully sought as an experience of landscape. Landscape therefore was not merely a symbolic text to be read in order to learn about the benevolence of God. For Fiennes, evidence of a divine presence emerged through her embodied, sensory and emotional experiences of being in and moving through the landscape.

Fiennes enjoyed a pleasing prospect and she sought out views of the varied and diverse landscapes that had been created through the work of humankind and nature, but the meanings she drew were borne of her direct involvement in experiencing landscape. While in Nottingham she described the view from the castle:

[A] very fine prospect of the whole town and river And a prospect more than 20 mile about showing the diversities of Cultivation and produce of the Earth, the land is very rich and fruitful, so the green meadows with the fine corn fields, which seems to bring forth in handfuls, they sow most of barley and have great increase, there is all sorts of grain besides and plains and rivers and great woods and little towns all in view.⁴⁸

Fiennes evidently enjoyed a fine view of the rich, fruitfulness of the cultivated landscape. The apparent visual qualities she so admired portray her attentiveness to the wonders of Creation, interwoven with her first-hand knowledge of different kinds of landscape. For Fiennes the aesthetic qualities of landscape – found in the interactions between human endeavour and nature as god's work – were to be admired close-up on the ground. On route to Manchester she remarked on the finely kept, tamed landscape 'Enclosed with Quicksets Cut smooth and as Even on fine Green Banks, and as well kept as for a Garden, and so most of my way to Manchester I rode between such hedges, its a thing remarked by most their great Curiosity in this kind'.⁴⁹ Fiennes reveals an appreciation of cultivation and enclosure suggesting her admiration for the tangible evidence of human labour in enhancing the natural world, as a material manifestation of godliness.⁵⁰

For Fiennes, regional and local variations were thus the outcome of human ingenuity working in necessary harmony with nature, provided by divine benevolence. She noted crossing from one region or county into another, and considered the physical character of each landscape that she passed through in equilibrium with all others, to be the foresight of God. It was not only the horizontal plane that displayed corresponding balance for Fiennes but also the

relationship between above and below ground. Her reflections on Derbyshire are particularly revealing:

but Tho' the surface of the earth looks barren yet those hills are impregnated with rich Marbles Stones, Metals Iron and Copper and Coal mines in their bowels, from whence we may see the wisdom and benignity of our great Creator to make up the deficiency of a place by an equivalent as also the diversity of the Creation which increaseth its Beauty.⁵¹

The apparent surface deficiencies of the landscape above ground were considered by Fiennes to be an ingenious contrivance intended to conceal the richness of the subterranean world beneath her feet. She was both fascinated by the work of divine providence in creating such diversity yet also in achieving a correct and necessary balance. It was the calling of humankind to uncover and reveal the work of God.

Finding comfort in seeing and feeling the tangible qualities of the work of the divine in creating the landscapes she moved through, on occasion Fiennes realised that the equilibrium she so admired could be upset by human interference. Williamson has discussed the theological dialectic in contemporary understandings of improvement in the writing of Daniel Defoe, arguing that in his writing improvement and depletion go hand in hand.⁵² We also find evidence of this complex dialectical conundrum in Fiennes' writing. When visiting Ackington (Yorkshire) she remarked upon the great noise and violence of a stream that 'gushes and runs along' the town. Though it 'looks extremely clear', she learnt from local residents that appearances can be deceptive: 'it changes the ground and stone or wood it runs on off a deep yellow colour, they say it runs off of a poisonous mine or soil and from coal pits they permit none to taste it for I sent for a Cup of it and the people in the Street called out to forbid the tasting it, and it will bear no Soap, so its useless'.⁵³ Useless water that could not be used either to wash in or to quench a thirst. Fiennes reveals what was possibly an unrealised tension between divine benevolence which she herself experienced first-hand in the landscape, and the grave ramifications of human actions when they had become detached from the task of complementing the wonders of Creation. In her reflections of water so heavily poisoned that it discoloured stone and wood it came into contact with, there emerges a sense of unease at the actions of humankind that had the potential to render nature useless.

Landscape and movement

The challenges of riding in difficult conditions caused by weather and topography is a recurring theme of Fiennes' accounts of the journeys she made. She described her sensory engagements with earth and matter, mud and watery mire. On one occasion, she wrote about how 'moorish' earth infected the air. Travelling between Durham and Shropshire, she described reaching Blackstone Edge, 'a dismal high precipice and steep in the ascent and descent on Either End; its a very moorish ground all about and Even just at the top, tho' so high, that you travel on a Causey which is very troublesome as its a moist ground does as usual on these high hills; they stagnate the air and hold mist and rains almost perpetually'. In contrast the valley below she found to be fruitful 'full of enclosures

⁴⁷ Walsham, *Reformation of Landscape*, 374.

⁴⁸ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 87–88.

⁴⁹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 183.

⁵⁰ On contemporary meanings of labour see McRae, *God Speed the Plough*, PAGE?.

⁵¹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 104.

⁵² B. Williamson, *Inexhaustible Mines and Post-laapsarian Decay: The End of Improvement in Defoe's Tour, Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 32: 1 (2019) 79–99.

⁵³ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 103.

and cut hedges and trees'.⁵⁴ Visiting her relation Sir John St Barbe in Rumsey, she described the gardens, as yet unfinished and not having a good air for 'it stands in a low place near a River the hills all round on that side and the Mold and Soil is black and such as they cut for peat'.⁵⁵ Elsewhere, she considered Barnet to have 'a very sharp air', and while riding by the River Tyne, she noted how the smell of sulphur from burning coal 'taints the air ... it smells strongly to stranger'.⁵⁶ Suggesting, an acknowledgement of the embodied landscapes of dwelling among local inhabitants.

Fiennes understood the limitations of relying on aesthetic ideals of permanency. Landscapes were not fixed and known; rather they were uncertain, changeable and transformative of experience. In order to come to know landscape (and the divine), landscapes had to be practised first-hand in order to come to know them. Fiennes encountered different types of terrain and frequently crossed from one place to another by boat. Water, whether encountered due to flooding, or a ferry crossing, became a significant constituent of Fiennes' experience. On one occasion she described coming to a flooded bridge on the routeway from Ely (Cambridgeshire), into Huntingdonshire. Here she discovered the roads to be dangerous to the unknowing:

There was another bridge over a deep place of the River under which the boats and barges went, and this bridge was in the water; one must pass thro' water to it and so beyond it a good way, and the Road was so full of holes and quicksands I durst not venture, the water Covering them over and a stranger there Cannot Easily Escape the danger, tho' I see the Carriers went that way to save the Expense of the ferry, but I Rather chose to Ride round and ferry over in a boat 2 pence a horse to a Little town.⁵⁷

Elsewhere while in Flintshire her horse evidently struggled in difficult conditions:

forded over the Dee when the tide was out all upon the sands at least a mile which was as smooth as a die being a few hours left of the flood: the sands are here so loose that the tides does move them from one place to another at every flood ... it brings the sands in heaps to one place so it leaves others in deep holes, which are covered with water, and loose sand the would swallow up a horse or carriages. Riding against the current and the wind the horses feet could scarce stand against it.⁵⁸

Fiennes recorded daily and seasonal transformations of landscapes, caused by weather and tidal surges, heavy rain and flooding. She noted the physical condition of track ways that could be dramatically if not dangerously altered after rain. The road from Worcester had been impeded by one such deluge of rain: 'the worst way I ever went in Worcester or Herefordshire — its always a deep sand and so in the winter and with muck is bad way, but thus being in August it was strange and being so stony made it more difficult to travel'.⁵⁹ The road to Taunton from Bristol was full of stones and owing to the 'great rains' which left the road 'full of wet and dirt'. Crossing the River Waveney she noted the unsafe condition of the roads affected by seasonal flooding:

... on a wooden bridg railed with timber and so you Enter into Norfolk: its a Low flatt ground all here about, so that the Least

raines they are overflowed by the River and Lye under water as they did when I was there, so that the roade Lay under water which is very unsafe for strangers to pass by reason of the holes and quicksands and Loose bottom.

Whereas landscape scholars interested in phenomenology have emphasised bodily immersion in the present moment, Fiennes was evidently interested in encapsulating a time deepened understanding of landscape. As we have seen, it is the interrelationship between movement, memory and sensory experience that in Fiennes' narration we are cautioned against the overtly presentist interpretation of landscape as a fleeting, transitory moment of being, or having been in the world. Fiennes identified and noted the visible markings of the passage of time in the landscape, and frequently relied on her memory of other times and places, both real and imagined to make sense of the present moment. For her landscape and temporality were indivisible, being formed in human perception and experience. She frequently remarked on the time it took her to reach her destination and the length of the miles she had journeyed, which were of varying length depending on the physical condition of roads and weather. In Norfolk she commented on 'the miles are here as long again as about London and pretty deep way, Especially after raines: these miles are much Longer than most miles in Yorkshire'.⁶⁰

Being in one place and imagining another is a theme of her writing. She made a note of how the Cornish miners extracted stone and 'a sort of spar' that shone 'like mother of pearl' similar to what she had seen in the lead mines of Derbyshire.⁶¹ She perceived Land's End in Cornwall to be as barren as Derbyshire, describing the lanes as steep and narrow, 'but its not shelter'd with trees or hedge Rows this being rather desert and Like ye Peak Country in Derbyshire, dry stone walls, and ye hills full of stones, but it is in most places better Land and yields good Corn, both wheat Barley and oats and some Rye'.⁶² Travelling in and through landscapes often for the first time, the meaning of landscape emerges in Fiennes' writing as a process through which imagination and memory are continuously engaged. Different times and places are imagined and re-imagined in momentary encounters with landscape. Memory, imagination, feeling, emotion, the smell of the air, the sound of the birds, the tactile texture of the ground were all engaged in her responses to being in and remembering the world. As discussed earlier, it was not the overcoming of nature that framed Fiennes' world view, that is to shackle, command, to bend nature to the will of mankind as is evident in contemporary discourse of improvement; but rather an acceptance that it was the vocation of human kind to be tested by the cyclical and often unpredictable challenges of other-than-human, divine intervention, that had a transformative effect on the bodily and spiritual experience of landscape.

Embodied landscapes

As we have seen, for Fiennes the landscape was an embodied, sensory and spiritual experience, which takes us far beyond representative categorisations of landscape, and the artificial demarcations of mind/body, nature/culture, object (landscape)/subject. Her accounts of ingesting mineral water (or not, as was the case in Ackington), are particularly revealing of her exploratory interest in the relationship between above and below ground and reaching for a time-deepened experience of a divinely ordered

⁵⁴ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 183.

⁵⁵ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 74.

⁵⁶ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 118; 176.

⁵⁷ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 143–4.

⁵⁸ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 159.

⁵⁹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 189.

⁶⁰ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 136.

⁶¹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 205.

⁶² Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 207.

world. Her tasting notes, which included temperature as well as flavour and smell, drew on her familiar everyday world. At Buxton (Derbyshire) for example, she described the springs feeding the public baths as being a 'little warm', but 'not so warme as milk from the cow'. She went on to describe the taste from the drinking water of St Anns Wells as being 'not unpleasant but rather like milk'.⁶³

Wells, springs and 'spaws' were recognised as having medicinal properties since the medieval period.⁶⁴ Fiennes' enthusiasm to try and test the bodily effects of local water is particularly revealing of her embodied experiences of subterranean earths and minerals. Deemed to be of particular 'advantage' she especially favoured the waters at Tunbridge:

they are from the steel and iron mines, very quick springs especially one well. There are two with large basins of stone fixed in the earth with several holes in the bottom by which the springs bubble up and fill it so as it always runs over, notwithstanding the quantity dipped up in a morning which is the usual time the company comes, and the nearer they drink it the spring the better it being a spirituous water that is ready to evaporate if carried any way.⁶⁵

She measured the affective qualities of different kinds of water on her own body. The wells at Tunbridge (Kent) were revered for their healing properties including retrieving lost limbs that 'are benumbed'.⁶⁶ By comparison, the taste of the spring in Canterbury, apparently visited as much as that at Tunbridge: 'seems to be a mixed soil and bears a likeness to the sulphur spaw epsom and the iron springs too which are at Tunbridge'. She was unconvinced of the potency of the water there, 'what its operation is I cannot tell only tasting half a glass of it which I did not like'. She noted how a Gentleman staying in the same house reported having 'a numbness in his limbs after drinking it', further adding to her skepticism.⁶⁷ At Bishop Stortford (Essex) she remarked on the 'very sweet and clear' water for drinking from a 'delicate spring of water' enclosed with a wall.⁶⁸ Travelling from York she crossed the 'marshy common to the Spaw at Knarsborough where she observed the river, which 'looks black, I fancy it runs off from the Iron and Sulphur Mines which changes the colour'.⁶⁹ For Fiennes, the meaning and significance of landscape in all its great variety, was not only based on her visual comprehension of the landscapes she moved through, but evidently what she could smell, taste and feel.

It has been pointed out that Fiennes relished good hospitality and local delicacies, such as was her pleasure in tasting apple pie in St Austell (Cornwall), and good quality ale.⁷⁰ After a long day riding across difficult and often dangerous terrain the prospect of a welcoming host and comfortable lodging, where she might pause for sustenance, warmth, comfort, and conversation, was clearly looked forward to.⁷¹ She relates her dangerous passage across 'Cribly Ferry' where three tides met, which was 'the constant way all people go, and saved several miles riding'. It took an hour to row a mile, with five men rowing 'and she put [her] own men to it ... But blessed be God I came safely over'. She described the physical toll of being wet and cold: 'the sea and wind is always cold to be upon that

I never fail to catch cold in a ferry-boat as I did this day'.⁷² On another occasion, she wrote about her journey from Taunton to Exeter, describing arriving in Okehampton wet from a summer downpour, she found a very good inn and accommodation: 'and came in by 5 of the clock so had a good time to take off my wet clothes and be well dried and warm to eat my supper, and rested very well without sustaining the least damage by the wet'.⁷³ Hospitality carried religious meaning and significance and, just as Fiennes sought divine benevolence while on the move, she also found it in places and with the people she stayed with. When visiting Lake Windermere (Cumbria), Fiennes provided a full description of the making of the local oat clapbread when 'it made her reflect on the description made in scripture of their kneeding cakes and baking them on the hearth whenever they had company come to their houses'.⁷⁴ In Truro (Cornwall) she described her 'greatest pleasure' was meeting the 'good landlady' she stayed with:

an ordinary plane woman but she was a understanding in the best things as most, the experience of real religion and her quiet submission and self resignation to the will of God in all things ... indeed I was much pleased and edified by her conversation and that pitch of soul resignation to the will of God, and thankfulness that God enabled and owned her therein, was an attainment few reach that have greater advantages of learning and knowing the mind of God.⁷⁵

Fiennes' appreciation of hospitality was closely aligned with her interest in women's work and resourcefulness. She clearly approved of the 'good' housewives and female proprietors in hospitality that she met, conversing with them on local customs as well as matters of faith. At the Kings Arms, for example, 'one Mrs Rowlandson ... does pott up the charr fish the best of any in the country'. Occasionally she noted places she had previously stayed, such as 'my old Landlady Mason' whom she stayed with the year before when she drank from the spaw in Knarsborough (Yorkshire).⁷⁶

It is widely attested that hospitality was a woman's preserve, and Fiennes frequently remarked upon the women of households offering her accommodation, even when her call upon them was without prior warning. At times she was evidently shocked by the conditions in which people lived, yet appreciative nonetheless of their efforts to make her feel comfortable. In Haltwhistle (Northumberland) she stayed:

in a poor cottage which was open to the thatch and no partitions but hurdles plastered ... here I was forced to take up my abode and the Landlady brought me her best sheets which served to secure my own sheets from her dirty blankets, and indeed I had her fine sheet with hook seams to spread over the top of the clothes, but no sleep could I get they burning the turf and their chimneys are sort of flews or open tunnels that the smoke does annoy the rooms'.⁷⁷

For Fiennes, interior and exterior landscapes were inextricably connected through her sensory experiences of what she could smell, taste, hear, and feel. Her work is hugely significant, therefore,

⁶³ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 108.

⁶⁴ Walsham, *Reformation of Landscape*.

⁶⁵ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 125.

⁶⁶ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 120.

⁶⁷ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 120.

⁶⁸ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 77.

⁶⁹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 92.

⁷⁰ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 204. See also Fox, Food, drink and social distinction, 172–3; McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel*, 174–192.

⁷¹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 116.

⁷² Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 203.

⁷³ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 213.

⁷⁴ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 167.

⁷⁵ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 209–10.

⁷⁶ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 181.

⁷⁷ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 175.

for conveying a contemporary understanding of the permeability of dwellings and porosity of boundaries demarcating the internal and external worlds of everyday life. On the border with Scotland she remarked with apparent humor that the houses looked like 'booths at a fair', she went on to describe them as being without chimneys: the 'smoke comes out all over the house and there are great holes in the sides of their houses which lets out the smoke when they have been well smoked in it'.⁷⁸ The dwellings were single story 'up to the thatch' without rooms upstairs. She was prepared a bed in the parlour, but 'notwithstanding the cleaning ... I was not able to bear the room, preferring the stable where 'the smell of the hay was a perfume and what I rather chose to stay and see my horses eat their provender in the stable then to stand in that room, for I could not bring myself to sit down'.⁷⁹ In Cornwall she noted the houses 'are but poor cottages', which reminded her of Scotland, but the interiors being 'clean and plastered, and such as you might comfortably eat and drink there'.⁸⁰

Fiennes was interested to learn not only about local culinary traditions, but the ways in which even the most basic necessities of fuel and food were provided. Near Peterborough she saw the walls 'of ordinary peoples' houses and walls of their outhouses the cow dung plastered up to dry in cakes which they use for firing – it's a very offensive fuel but the country people use little else in these parts'.⁸¹ There is an immediacy to Fiennes writing as she sought to relay the ordinariness of what she saw, how she felt, what she heard, what she tasted and could smell. While travelling through Cornwall Fiennes described the distinctive pungency of turf fires, which she found to be an unpleasant smell that overpowered the senses, with characteristic humor she noted how 'it makes one smell as if smoked like bacon'.⁸² She learned about scarcity in various landscapes, like Cornwall, and how necessity led to adaptation and ingenuity in providing fuel for the hearth:

They have little or no wood and no coal which differences it from Derbyshire, otherwise this and the the Land's End is stone and barren as Derbyshire. I was surprised to find my supper boiling on a fire always supplied with a bush of furze and to be the only fuel to dress a joint of meat and broth.⁸³

Attentive to the people she met, Fiennes sought to learn about the ways of dwelling in the landscapes she travelled through, and noted the close connection between environmental conditions and the habits and customs of local people. She was evidently fascinated by the interactions between people and their physical surroundings, and took note of how communities sensed the onset of changing conditions by recourse to the sounds of the landscape and changing weather. She described the roar of rivers as they flowed over rocks, weirs and plunged down falls. She described the river flowing through Kendall, noting how the 'roaring of the water at these places sometimes does foretell wet weather; they do observe when the water roared most in the fall on the north side it will be fair if on the southside of the town it will wet. Some of them are falls as high as a house'. She went on to describe being 'at the weirs where they catch salmon; against storms or rains it will be turbulent and roar as may be heard into the town'.⁸⁴ Her evident interest in meeting people and learning the landscape from them,

deepened her desire to grow closer to God through her knowledge of the landscape as lived and embodied.

Fiennes therefore brings into focus the interrelationship between human and other-than human worlds, and the material conditions of dwelling as interactions between the exterior/interior landscape. She described Ely (Cambridgeshire) as a 'nest of unclean creatures'. Her board for the night was in a chamber shared with 'frogs and slow-worms and snails'. She observed that while 'it cannot but be infested with all such things being an altogether moorish fenny ground which lies low' if proper care was taken to pitch the streets 'it would make it look more properly an habitation for human beings'. She saw the inhabitants as idle, 'a slothful people', 'where the years prove dry they gain so much that in case 6 or 7 wet years drown them all over the one good year sufficiently repaired their loss'.⁸⁵ Travelling from Penzance to Hayle (Cornwall) she commented on the particular environmental conditions that shaped the ways people interacted with the landscape, and the ways landscapes shaped people. She described the far south west as 'very bleak' especially those places facing the north ocean where 'the winds so troublesome they are forced to spin straw and so make a caul or net work to lay over their thatch on their ricks and out houses, with weights of stones round to defend the thatch from being blown away by the great wind'.⁸⁶ She commented on the construction of houses and the 'better way of thatching their homes with reeds and so close that when it's well done will last twenty years'.⁸⁷ In contrast to Ely, human resourcefulness was seen to combine with labour and industriousness in the continuous process of dwelling, which she commended as direct evidence of the godly pursuit of labour. Fiennes offers significant insights on the close interactions of peoples' lives in landscapes, and the necessary moral responsibility charged to human kind in enhancing the latent qualities of 'nature'.

Conclusion

From the conceptual and methodological standpoint outlined here, we find that Fiennes cannot be slotted in any straightforward sense into a modernisation narrative based on cultural ideas of landscape, improvement and economic progress. As we have seen her particular view of the world and her motivations for travelling were complex. She certainly collected souvenirs from the places she visited, as indeed her father did when he visited Italy as a young man. But rather than necessarily pointing to the growth of touristic consumption, she curated them as mnemonic artefacts, which would transport her future self to a particular moment at a particular time she had experienced in the past. In her entry on the tin mines of Cornwall, she referred to pieces of crystal her father brought from the Alps in Italy, 'which I have got by me', strongly suggesting that she had an assortment of artefacts or curios collected not only from her travels, when she wrote her journal, but those given to her by others. In her preface, as we have seen, she was concerned for her own mental and spiritual wellbeing into old age, which she sought to nourish through travelling, collecting, remembering, and handing on knowledge. Added to the complex layers of intention and meaning in her work, her writing reveals a time-deepened sense of landscape as an important constituent in her own life-history and that of her family. Her journals were intended as an aide memoire to be enjoyed in the later years of her life, and for her family to remember her by. In order to achieve mind and bodily health, spiritual fulfilment and contentment, as she

⁷⁸ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 173.

⁷⁹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 173.

⁸⁰ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 208.

⁸¹ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 144.

⁸² Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 205.

⁸³ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 207.

⁸⁴ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 165.

⁸⁵ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 142.

⁸⁶ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 208.

⁸⁷ Morris, *The Illustrated Journeys*, 209.

progressed through the stations of her life, she saw her own life history as a journey through landscape.

For Fiennes, landscape was not static, objectified, external to her; but was revealed through her bodily and sensory engagement with earth, matter and the elements.⁸⁸ Her writing provides not only an insight into the meanings of landscape as a visual impression, but importantly the ways in which meanings and attachments to landscape emerge through all of the senses – sight, sound, taste, touch, and feeling. Her journals provide a rare and important insight into contemporary concerns for mind and bodily health, self-fulfillment and memory-making, and finding spiritual closeness to God. For Fiennes, for whom the divine was a constant, dynamic presence, the evidence of human ingenuity in nurturing and nourishing the natural world illuminated the continuous, unfolding process of Creation in which humankind had been given moral responsibility. As we have seen, journal entries reveal her awe and wonder at the interactions of natural and human processes in the work of making landscapes. Yet, her writing was not straightforwardly celebratory. Her day-to-day encounters and experiences would suggest her own desire to find evidence of providential design in the landscape. Each ‘rescue’ was at once both a test and affirmation of her faith.

Fiennes provides rich insights into the emergence of landscape as embodied and a process involving the entangled interactions of the human and non-human. Her work brings into focus the dynamic possibilities of landscape as being continuously made

through movement and practice, memory and imagination, as also natural phenomena. Landscapes are not fixed entities, to be mapped and compartmentalised by historians and thus rendered comprehensible by the expert eye; they are made and given meaning through the interactions of mind and body. When we move away from privileging the objectifying gaze, towards an understanding of bodily experience and the senses — hearing, taste, feeling, and seeing — a radically different conceptualisation of historic landscape studies emerges. This approach is in contrast to traditional historical research that has focused on categorising landscapes into ‘types’, tracing the origins of modernity, and thus reducing multiplicity and plurality of meaning. Fiennes’ text reveals the ways landscapes were understood through active engagement working together all its constituent elements at once: as physical terrain, as sensory experience, as bodily exertion, and crucially as inter-relational across time and space. For Fiennes the landscape was a relational and temporal milieu immanent in her bodily activity and sensory feeling of being in and moving through the landscape.

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⁸⁸ Bender and Winer, *Contested Landscapes*; see also Ingold, *Perceptions*.