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The Journals of Maria Graham (1785-1842)

by

Regina Akel

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in English Literature

University of Warwick, Department of English and Comparative Literary Studies

August 2007

For my brother, Dr Carlos Akel

Face to Face

SUMMER 2004

National
Portrait
Gallery



Dea Birkett on
Women Travellers

My Favourite Portrait
by Hugo Vickers

BP shortlist
announced

Special offer from
The Air Miles Travel
Company

The poster issued by the National Portrait Gallery to announce the exhibition on women travellers in 2004, features this portrait of Maria Graham painted in 1819 by Sir Thomas Lawrence

Abstract

The narrator of the journals of Maria Graham is more important than the narrative; the teller supersedes the tale.

Maria Graham is mostly known as a travel writer, but the corpus of her work is much larger, since she also translated works from French and German into English, wrote books on history, on painting, some stories for children, and also kept personal journals, at different stages of her life. My thesis centres on her travel journals and memoirs, both published and unpublished. Graham stands in a class of her own among the female travel writers of the early nineteenth century for many reasons. She is one of the first female travel writers to acquire fame as a writer shortly after publication, or to provoke controversy with some of her statements; moreover, in the cases of Brazil and Chile she actually is the first woman to write about those emerging states. But being a pioneer is not enough to be remarkable. She is outstanding as well for the authority of her narrative voice, for her disregard of the restrictions imposed on women's texts during her time, for her complex approach to gender issues and, most of all, for the changes experienced by her narrating persona in the course of her writing career. She begins by constructing a well informed but detached observer who reports her visit to India and the first visit to Brazil in a cold and distant voice, but who later allows another voice to filter through her text, an event that turns the narrator into a mere shadow in parts of the journal on Chile. Remarkably, it is in this journal that Graham begins to build up a contradictory persona who can be superior, ironic, and scathing when describing other women, but who can portray herself as a helpless heroine in a traditional romance when her script so demands it. In the second visit to Brazil this cold, detached, sometimes invisible, and always complex narrator becomes warmly eulogising of the country and its ruler, but this attitude does not last long. The position is entirely reversed in the third journal, which has elements of a spy thriller at times, and which is put together using elements of a work of fiction rather than those of a journal or memoir. The fourth and last chapter concerns the journals that were written in and about Europe regardless of chronology; together they illustrate one of the main postulates of the present thesis: that Graham evolved as narrator from detached observer to heroine up to the journals written at the end of her life, which become explorations into the narrator's inner self. All these changes make the narrator of the journals an elaborate structure that my thesis attempts to analyse and describe.

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A doctoral dissertation is never the work of an isolated individual and one of the most pleasant tasks at the end of the process is to remember the people and institutions that made it possible. My thanks go in the first place to my supervisor, Professor Jacqueline Labbe, for her rigorous demand for the highest standards in scholarly accuracy and stylistic clarity; to Virginia Murray, of the John Murray Archive, for her insight in discovering hard to find texts related to my research, and for her permanent encouragement. To my brother, Dr Carlos Akel, for his unfailing support, for solving several impossible puzzles presented by Graham's journals, and for locating the owner of a little known journal on Chile written by Graham in 1822. To the staff of the Bodleian Library, especially of the Duke Humfrey's Library, for their help, patience, and support in my quest for original manuscripts by Graham; to the staff of the British Library for providing complete information on my subject; to Paul Stewart, Director of the Corvey Collection at Sheffield-Hallam University for providing a copy of Graham's book *Letters on India* and for his patience in teaching me to use the copying machine; to Timothy Davies, Book Librarian of the Courtauld Institute of Art, for allowing me to read the Italian journals of Augustus Wall Callcott in such a pleasant and quiet environment; to Maria Angela Leal, Assistant Curator of the Oliveira Lima Library at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., for permission to quote from Graham's notes found on her own copy of the *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*; to the *Armada de Chile* (Chilean Navy) for their prompt answer to my question whether the Andes can be seen from the sea, as Graham claims she did; and to all the friends and acquaintances who, by means of encouragement or useful suggestions, helped this thesis become what it is.

The University of Warwick, April, 2007

Brief Chronology of Maria Graham's Life and Travels

- 1785** Maria Dundas is born in Papcastle, Cumberland
- 1793** Maria is taken to her uncle's house in Richmond; afterwards to school in Oxfordshire; later to relatives in Scotland
- 1808** Travels to India with her father. On the journey meets Thomas Graham
- 1809** December 9th, marries Thomas Graham in India
- 1811** Sails back to England with her husband
- 1812** The *Journal of a Residence in India* is published
- 1814** *Letters on India* is published
- 1819** Travels to Rome with her husband and artist Charles Eastlake
- 1820** Publishes *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome*
- 1821** Sails towards South America on the HMS *Doris*, commanded by her husband. Arrives in Pernambuco on September 21st
- 1822** March 1st, she sails towards Valparaíso, Chile
April 8th, Captain Graham dies as the ship is rounding Cape Horn
April 28th, Maria Graham arrives in Valparaíso where she later meets Lord Thomas Cochrane. (Lady Cochrane had recently sailed back to England)
October 12th, Pedro I is hailed as Emperor of Brazil and crowned on December 1st
- 1823** March 13th, she arrives in Rio de Janeiro back from Chile, with Lord Cochrane (Lady Cochrane was at the time on her way to Chile to meet her husband).
October 12th, she is offered the post of governess to Princess Maria da Gloria. Graham accepts and asks for leave to go to England; her petition is granted. She sails later in the same month
- 1824** Publishes her two South American journals: *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, and *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*. Sails back to Brazil
August, arrives in Pernambuco to help Lord Cochrane in his siege of the city (Lady Cochrane had again gone back to England)
September 17th, she is already installed at the Palace in the capital
October 10th Graham has been violently dismissed from her post and expelled from the Palace (exact date unknown)
- 1825** September, arrives back in England
- 1827** February 20th, marries artist Augustus W. Callcott
May 15th, she starts a tour of Germany and Italy that lasts until June, 1828
- 1835** Publishes *Little Arthur's History of England*
- 1842** November 21st, Maria Graham dies at her home in Kensington

Introduction

The truth is, I can expect happiness from posterity either way: if I write ill, happy in being forgotten; if well, happy in being remembered with respect.

Maria Graham¹

Maria Graham (1785 – 1842) probably recorded these thoughts in 1826, when she was forty-one years old, and already concerned with her place in the annals of nineteenth-century writers. The key terms of this pronouncement are ‘posterity’ and ‘respect’. The former, a rather grandiose reference, gives an indication of the high idea she had of herself as a woman of letters; the latter marks the boundaries between her persona and her reading public. These two signposts are maintained all through Graham’s journals, both published and unpublished, until perhaps the last two private diaries that she composed towards the end of her life. This thesis will describe, through the analysis of Graham’s journals, a narrator who is the principal element of her story because of her permanent concern in the building up of her persona, and for the distance she keeps between herself, her text, and her public. To this end she makes use and manipulates various textual resources, as it will be argued presently.

Her position in front of her text allows the readers to see only what her narrator points out, at the same time it compels them to ignore aspects she

¹ Written at the back of the title page of Graham’s autographed personal copy of her *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, etc.* London: Longman, 1824, from a typescript provided by the Oliveira Lima Library at the Catholic University of America. Punctuation of the original has been updated.

prefers obscured. Her carefully crafted and consistent representation of herself is also the only sanctioned persona controlling the text. Graham used almost all the technical means in her power to change physical landscapes, to elevate some characters and to demonise others, to mythologize events, and to translate facts pertaining to one culture into her depiction of another, so as to make them cohere into a larger scheme. All these and other instances will be argued in detail as the thesis progresses. The object is to draw attention to a British writer who was very well known in her time but who has been virtually forgotten nowadays, especially in her own country.

Graham is best known as a travel writer, but the scope of her work is much broader, since she also translated works from the French and German, wrote and published books on history and the history of painting, as well as children's stories including the successful *Little Arthur's History of England* (1835), in print until 1973. She also kept personal journals that appear to be drafts for future publications. Her journals, both the published travel journals and the unpublished diaries, represent the most intriguing part of her work because they are controlled by a complex narrator who appears in different guises and speaks in a multiplicity of voices, according to what appear to be the demands of the text. As an author, she is not easy to place in the context of literature in English. Graham belongs, and does not belong, to the group of early female British travel writers of the nineteenth century, because she used the genre more to display her narrative self than to tell about exotic peoples and places. Neither are her texts easily categorised. At times they are proto-Victorian narratives of an unhappy childhood; at others, they go back in time and borrow from the novel of sentimentality or become romances featuring a

lady in distress. A great part of her work, however, is centred on transcriptions of historical, religious, or political texts, passed through her critical supervision, a trait that brings her closer to the eighteenth than to the nineteenth century.

In reality, Graham stands in a class of her own in the context of literature in English for manifold reasons. She is one of the first women to write and publish her travel accounts; in the case of Brazil and Chile, she was actually the first woman to write about those countries. Before Graham started writing and publishing her journals, there had been already several works by British female travellers published in the eighteenth century. Aphra Behn's *Oronooko* is even earlier, (1688). Of these, perhaps Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* (1718; pub. 1763) is the most often cited, although Anna Maria Falconbridge's *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1793) is remarkable for her first-hand accounts of slavery. Closer, chronologically, to Graham are Helen Maria Williams' *Letters from France* (1790-96); Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796); Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from India* (1817), and Flora Tristán's *Peregrinations of a Pariah* (1833) and *The London Journal* (1840). It can be concluded from the titles that most of these accounts were given the form of letters, either fictitious or real. Of the five travel books Graham published, only one, *Letters on India* (1814), has this form. More significant than the shape she gave to her texts, however, is the fact that by 1824 the two most important publishers in London, Murray and Longman, were practically fighting over Graham's Latin American manuscripts.²

² Letter Nr 36 to John Murray, n.d. Date suggested by the Archive: Spring 1824. All the letters to John Murray quoted in the present thesis belong to the John Murray Archive.

Yet being a pioneer is not enough to be remarkable. Graham's singularity rests on other textual features that will be pointed out as the thesis progresses. One of these is the fluidity with which she passes from one genre to another inside the same text. For instance, her travel journals could be classified as such if Sandra Guardini T. Vasconcelos' definition were taken into account. That is, texts written from 'a position of authority which attributes a superior value to the European culture [and are delivered as a] ... monological discourse which excludes the colonial subject' (62). Yet, Graham's texts can also slide into other forms before they return to the traditionally accepted parameters of travel writing as summarised by Vasconcelos. Thus, one of this author's travel accounts can suddenly change into a romance, as in the case of the India diary or the Chile journal,³ and then become an intertextual reproduction of characters in a picaresque novel, or a political or religious tract that uncovers the evils of European powers other than Britain, and of religious faiths other than Protestantism. This fluidity, nevertheless, does not destabilise the text, as there are elements that remain constant and provide cohesion. Some of these are the fundamental values that inspire the work, like the conviction of the superiority of Britain over her neighbours and her colonies; the correlation between high social rank and moral virtue, as represented in Lord Thomas Cochrane or the Empress of Brazil; or the narrator's unsympathetic attitude towards most other women.

Two notable elements of Graham's narrating persona are her voice and her actions and attitudes. Her voice is permanently authoritative and formal, and

³ In the present thesis, the word 'diary' will be used to describe an unpublished account. The word 'journal' (as in Chile, Brazil, or India journals) is used to refer to the published travel texts and also to the unpublished records that are termed so by the British and Bodleian Libraries. They are only two: The 'Brazil Journal' that in this thesis is referred to as Brazil 3, and the 'Last Journal'. The terminology is consistently kept in the text and in the bibliography.

it may be rewarding to begin by looking at the traits that make it so. Possibly the most noticeable of these is her display of erudition that takes different forms, like the mention of famous scholars in different disciplines and her indication that they are mistaken on a certain point, while she is right. Another feature is her register, a diction that reflects an educated person, with the subtextual implication that she is addressing her intellectual equals, as others would be beneath her notice. Lastly, the authority in Graham's voice comes also from her perception that she is a representative of the most powerful country in the world at the time, and from the subtle reminders of this fact that she issues to her readership from time to time. Graham's treatment of gender issues is also worthy of notice, especially in connection with the attitudes that constitute her personality as narrator. She never hides the fact that she is a woman author, but at the same time disregards the constraints placed on women's texts by tradition and the rules of society. In some instances she even defies them, as it will be pointed out in the two published books on India, where she deals with 'unfeminine' issues such as burial practices, the disposal of dead bodies, and bloody human sacrifices. More remarkably, she appears antagonistic and hostile to most other women, belittling them for their lack of beauty in some cases, for their poor intellectual capacities in others, or for what she believes is sexual deprivation for some, and sexual excesses in others.

Her attitude can also be discerned in the manner in which she participates in the discourses of her time. It should be observed that she partially ignores the discourses of femininity, as the image she projects of herself is far removed from the ideal of submissive wife and loving mother that had prevailed in Europe since the eighteenth century. Her depiction of other women is, for

other reasons, also removed from the accepted ideals for women in her time. Discourses cannot be taken in isolation, since they interact and some times collide in a given text. Graham turned this occurrence into an advantage, and she fed one discourse into another, making the two into a unity that encoded a third. The third, hidden, discourse was then often transformed into a weapon used for denouncing the enemies of Britain. For instance, in the Chile journal she joined discourses of femininity⁴ to those of religious faith in order to formulate her own version of a discourse of colonialism, which in turn, served her to attack the manner Spain had treated its colonies. By censuring Spain, Graham was proclaiming the superiority of Britain and by implication, her own elevated status as representative of the greater European power.

Graham's actions are not always easy to determine; at times she uses textual devices to obfuscate the motives behind her conduct. For instance, when she arrives in Valparaíso with the body of her husband, she refuses several offers of passage back to England and chooses instead to stay in the country, rent a house and live by herself in primitive conditions. As it will be shown in the chapter on the Chile journal, she superimposes dramatic and enthralling scenery on the commonplace landscape of the port to make the place more attractive, and her decision to remain, more reasonable. Other actions are even more intriguing. One of her sketches of Valparaíso shows the fort, where her husband was buried, directly on the beach (Chile journal, 113; Fig. 4, op. p. 78), while in reality it was never there but on the top of a low hill, above the place she indicates. Again, back in Brazil, she turns the characters in her narrative into good and evil, the latter being, naturally, those who oppose her. The conclusion

⁴ In this particular case she was denouncing convents as 'unnatural', as opposed to the accepted view of women as wives and mothers. Graham did participate in some discourses if they suited her argument.

that may be drawn after examining the journals is that its narrator may not always adhere to facts,⁵ but is certainly complex, interesting, and worthy of notice. Another inference that arises from the texts is that all the events, characters, and locations are put there more to serve as foils to the narrator, than as elements in a picture of a foreign society.

This self-referential narrator performs, as well, a curious play of voices in several of the journals, but most notably in the Chile journal, where she lets another person speak through her, in a textual device that Patrick O'Neil has termed ventriloquism (p.58). This phenomenon is also present in the second publication on India, but not as clearly or as dramatically as in the Chile journal. Here Graham ventriloquises the principal masculine figure in her book for reasons that will be proposed later in the corresponding chapter.⁶ This point brings forward another relevant aspect of the analysis, since Graham's relationship with the men in her life (not all of them romantic interests) have a marked influence in her writings. There is for instance the figure of her mostly absent father, who appears in two key moments in her narrative. First when he separates her from her mother and sends her to school, a crucial point in 'Reminiscences', a text that will be examined at the end of the thesis; many years later, in the India diary, he is represented as the authoritarian figure of a Victorian melodrama. Interestingly, this powerful figure is always silent in the narrative. Thomas Graham, the narrator's first husband (although perhaps not

⁵ The question of truthfulness in travel accounts is very wide. A look at the reviews of Graham's books that are mentioned in this thesis shows that exaggeration was a more or less accepted trait in travel literature in the nineteenth century. Graham, however, carried these magnifications to extremes, as it will be argued in the corresponding chapters.

⁶ Another notable aspect of Graham's style is the manner she wraps her journals in different genres and modes: i. e. the Gothic in *India*, the dramatic in *Chile*, the eulogistic in *Brazil*, the cloak-and-dagger in the third Brazil journal. In the European journals she uses the didactic mode in the German journal, while 'Reminiscences' has elements of the novel of sentimentality.

her first romantic interest) appears for the first time in the India diary of 1808. He and Maria met on the sea voyage to India in 1808, yet the discovery of their affection for each other is narrated in the diary with an intriguing reversal of roles in a scene where the man is 'feminised' and the woman controls the situation. Lord Thomas Cochrane is possibly the man responsible for the textual strategies that altered the Chilean landscape and the narrative situations in the Chile journal. These instances will be explained in some detail in the chapter that deals with that journal. Later on it will be argued that once she is back in Brazil for the second time, Graham tampers with chronologies, assumes the disguise of botanist, and even acts as a kind of secret agent to the Empress, in order to justify her prolonged stay in the country after her humiliating dismissal from the Imperial Palace, performed by the Emperor himself. The figure of Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil, suffers many changes in its characterization, according to the manner he behaves towards the narrator. From a dashing prince in the first and second visits to Brazil, he becomes a hysterical and grotesque figure in the third journal. There is also a conflict between private and public voice in Graham's representation of her second husband, painter Augustus Wall Callcott. Privately, she confided in a letter to the Empress Leopoldine of Brazil⁷ that she was weary of being alone and therefore had 'consented' to remarry. Interestingly, she describes him as 'the man I have chosen', again as in the relation of her engagement to Thomas Graham, assuming the active (masculine) role.⁸ However, in the 'Introduction' to her unpublished German journal of 1828, Graham puts herself in a secondary position regarding her artist husband,

⁷ Originally in French. Now in Portuguese on the website of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, dated London, 2nd November, 1827. The Empress died in December of this same year, and did not read this letter.

⁸ Graham may have also been suggesting that she had a large number of suitors to choose from.

and even acts as a mouthpiece for his views on art, as it will be argued in the chapter on the European journals.

Apart from men, places play an important part in the building up of Graham's narrating subjectivity. This appears obvious, since most of the texts discussed are travel journals; what is not so evident and requires consideration is the manner in which places are represented in the articulation of discourses in the texts. For instance, the discourse of colonialism is positive when Graham describes India, a country that was then a British colony and whose 'Other' was a subject who needed to be redeemed by the benign and civilising influence of Great Britain. The discourse is turned upside down when Graham arrives in Chile in 1822, a country that had been until recently a Spanish colony, and it moves in yet another direction when she discusses Brazil, a country that had ceased to be a colony of Portugal in 1805 to become the seat of an European kingdom, as it will be indicated in the chapter on the Brazilian journals. Similar reversals as well as omissions take place in the representations of slavery and religious faith Graham offers in Brazil and Chile. These changes of direction in the text add to a perception of partiality in the narrator, which she does not try to disguise. There seems to be a lack of consistency in a speaker who attacks violently the Catholic Church in the journal on Chile and then in Brazil appears to tolerate it and even praise it, especially considering that both books were published at the same time in 1824. Neither is there consistency in Graham's changing appreciation of slavery or colonialism.

The present study⁹ will begin with an analysis of Graham's three works on India: the private diary of 1808, the *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812),

⁹ Whenever possible, original manuscripts have been read and transcribed.

and *Letters on India* (1814), and will propose the question of whether she conformed or not to the textual trends of her time, mainly Romantic and Gothic representations of reality. Graham's private diary, started on the sea voyage to India in 1808, formulates her conception of a true European intellectual and the manner she moulded her text in relation to that ideal. This is possibly the reason why she records her readings, mostly history and philosophy, and her own conclusions on fundamental issues. The published *Journal of a Residence in India* and *Letters on India* deal mainly with representations of the colonised regarding their customs, their rituals, and their religious practices as opposed to those of Britain in particular and of Western civilisation in general.

This analysis will be followed by the discussion of Graham's *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824) and by the study of the discourses present in the text, the manner in which they interact, and the effect this struggle has on the narrative. The work for this chapter is based on the published book, as there are no additional manuscripts to complement the research (with the exception of a journal Graham started in Chile, but did not pursue after the first few notations). The *Journal of a Residence in Chile* is packed with textual devices and also with controversial representations of the Other, where characteristics that belong in one culture are ascribed to another. People, social events, and natural phenomena are transformed to suit the narrator's script and to foreground the image of the persona that Graham was creating in her work. There is a sense of drama pervading the text, especially in the manner the narrator sets the scenes, such as the glorious one of her arrival into the port, or the romantic setting at the end of the journal, when she becomes a lady in distress. But above all, the

Journal of a Residence in Chile, it will be argued, was composed to provide a vehicle for Lord Cochrane's message to his fellow nationals.

The third chapter will deal with the Brazil journals, beginning with the first and second visits to Brazil recorded in the *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (1824) and will point out the changes that take place in the narrative voice between her first and second visits. Besides, the alterations in the representation of the narrator, as well as in the depiction of some of the main characters in the story will also be pointed out. More research material is available for the chapter that deals with Graham's visits to Brazil, apart from the published journal. Two significant letters to John Murray, written from Brazil, reveal Graham's manner of composing the journals and the intrigues that apparently took place at the Imperial Court. There is also a third journal on Brazil that provides an account of her short-lived period as governess to Princess Maria da Gloria, and allows a new perspective on the events narrated and on the narrator herself. This time Graham's own personal history appears embedded in the narrative, and her ability to manipulate the plot, the characters, and the chronologies will be discussed. Another traditional narrative technique (which she carried on to 'Reminiscences') is the creation of villains that are endowed with negative and ethnicised physical characteristics. Graham's relationship to major characters in her narrative serves to mould her narrating persona and to connect it to the major events in the story, as a courtier at first, and afterwards as a victim to the whims of the Emperor. A set of notes Graham made and interleaved in her copy of the published journal is also discussed, since it gives some indication of Graham's methodology in her compositions.

The final chapter, that deals with the European journals, was not put together chronologically but with the conviction that they provide, in a smaller scale, a vision of most of the subjects and themes Graham treated in her journals, and of the evolution of her narrating persona from erudite detached observer to heroine of her own story. It begins with an analysis of her published journal, *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820) and proposes that the work is structured within a colonialist frame, even though the narrative concerns a European country. It is followed by an exploration of Graham's German tour of 1828 that was not published, although the manuscript appears ready for publication. For the first time in Graham's work, the narrating persona occupies a secondary position in this journal, as she professes to defer to the taste and the superior knowledge of her artist husband. 'Reminiscences', the memoir Graham wrote at the end of her life, and which narrates her childhood and youth, is discussed as a vital text that explains many traits of the later narrator, but more significantly, as a piece of narrative that precedes, both technically and thematically, many of the successful Victorian novels that were published later in the century. The manuscript of 'Reminiscences' was dictated, not written in Graham's own hand. However, the 'Last Journal', which is the last piece examined in this thesis, was recorded by Graham herself during her final months and it reveals a speaker who is disempowered, censored, and constrained, both by her illness and by her loss of independence through marriage. These European journals, therefore, represent in a small scale the change experienced by the narrator in the course of her career. She began as a distant and detached observer of people, customs, and scenery and ended as a passionate traveller into her own soul. Furthermore, they illustrate the main

proposition of the present thesis: in Maria Graham's work, the teller is more important than her tale.

There has been a growing interest in Graham's travel journals in later years, after several decades of obscurity. There is for instance, Elizabeth Mavor's critical condensation of the two published Latin American journals, and Jennifer Hayward's new edition of the *Journal of a Residence in Chile*,¹⁰ apart from mentions in books by Nigel Leask, Mary Louise Pratt, and Ángela Pérez-Mejía. She has also been the subject of journal articles by Sandra Guardini T. Vasconcelos and Soledad Caballero. The present thesis puts previously unreviewed texts next to her published journals, including those harder to reach (and therefore lesser known ones), with the intention that they supplement each other and provide a more rounded image of Graham's narrating persona. The image that emerges is one of a ground-breaking female narrator who captures for her readers the ancient culture of India as deftly as she represents blood-thirsty bandits in the north of Italy, or nascent countries in South America.

¹⁰ All these and the subsequent works mentioned are cited in the bibliography.

JOURNAL

OF

A RESIDENCE IN INDIA.

BY

MARIA GRAHAM.

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED BY GEORGE RAMSAY AND COMPANY,
FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH; AND
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
LONDON.

1812.

Fig. 1 Title page of *Journal of a Residence in India*, Graham's first published journal.

Chapter I

The India Journals

Maria Graham was a conformist, especially at the beginning of her literary career, both in her politics and in her art. Despite the liberal protestations manifested in her journals and private letters, she appears to have held mostly mainstream beliefs, such as on the role of women in society and within the family, or on the morality of the practices of slavery or colonialism. In her first three journals, written in and about India, Graham flaunted her classical erudition and European values at the same time she embraced the themes of the Gothic body and of the sentimental heroine. There are other more subversive motifs, nevertheless, that she developed early in her career and which were significant also in the latter journals, like her use of disguises and impersonations; the employment of clothes as moral and psychological codes; the shifts in the narrative voice to suit the character she was adopting at the moment; or the instances of deception and even plagiarism in her narratives.

The journals on India mark the starting point of a distinct narrative persona who is at times distant and invisible, and at others so intimate that she becomes the protagonist of a romantic tale. In this respect Leask (2004) calls 'aesthetics of distance' the manner in which some travel writers avoided all reference to themselves in their texts and provided instead only geographical descriptions. This device, adds Leask, quoting Coleridge, diminishes the journal to the level of a gazette; while conversely, the use of 'authorial egotism', to the detriment of interesting description, may debase the genre (9). The present chapter will attend to Graham's 'aesthetics of distance' in the journals on India

by marking the manner in which the narrator's stance affects the narrative. The notion of stance is especially noticeable in Graham's account of convents and zenanas in the journals, since to a certain extent, she transposed some aspects of the Orientalist discourse on harems (their connotations of sin and repression) into her analysis of convents, while at the same time she challenged and dismantled the Western myth of the harem. Graham as narrator can be at the same time conventional and subversive, cold and sentimental, ironic and solemn, distant and close. However, this paradox does not appear to have reduced the success of her first literary venture in 1812.

This chapter will deal with Graham's three texts on India, not individually, but according to the themes that are dealt with in each. Thus, the subject of the romantic heroine, for instance, will be discussed only with regards to the private diary, but the theme of the Gothic body will be discussed with reference to the three works. The Gothic mode was already in decline by the time Graham wrote on India, but it was given a new lease by the Romantic writers who incorporated it as one of their themes. Graham was therefore reflecting the mood of the early nineteenth-century literary productions with her emphasis on the Gothic in her narratives, manifested in repressed sexuality and religious rituals.

The private diary was written during her six-month-long sea journey from England to India in 1808-9. The *Journal of a Residence in India*, published in 1812, begins where the private diary ends, and will be referred to as *India Journal*. Two years later, in 1814, Graham published a second book on India, *Letters on India*, which is a collection of fictitious letters written to an imaginary friend that gives an overview of the history, culture, and

traditions of the then British colony. The analysis of the private diary will be more detailed as it is the least known and the most personal of the three. This is not to say that it is more 'truthful' in the journalistic sense, but only that it provides a new and hitherto unknown facet of Graham as narrator and is therefore helpful for the overall analysis. Before the discussion of the diaries begins, however, it may be of interest to look into what Graham herself had to say about the reception of her *India Journal* of 1812,¹ and what was said about it in the *Quarterly Review*, 8.16 (Dec. 1812): 406. No records could be found of her own comments on the reception of her second book, *Letters on India*.

On February 6, 1813, Graham celebrated her success at her 'entrance ... into the world of Literature especially by a yet untrodden path' (8),² but then complained that her own family (her husband) had humbled her because they, 'affect to despise my little work which after all considering it is the first of its kind is not so very despicable besides, to use even a booksellers' arguments in less than a month 400 copies sold – 300 in London & 100 in Edinburgh, & my publishers offered terms for a second edition!'(ibid.). Under a veneer of light-heartedness and irony, Graham hid her disappointment at her husband's lack of support and encouragement. Her response to the critic of the *Quarterly Review*, however, was spirited and public. The unnamed reviewer of her book gave it a favourable opinion, but not before he had put Graham 'in her place' so to speak, by indicating, "The Journal of a Residence in India," by a young lady who, probably, went thither, like most young ladies, to procure a husband instead of information, is a literary curiosity which we are not disposed to

¹ Bodleian Library, Extracts of Lady Callcott's Journals made by William Hutchins Callcott, MS. Eng. d. 2274

² Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from India*, although composed much earlier (starting in 1779), was published in 1817, five years later, and Lady Mary Nugent's *Journal from the year 1811-1815*, in 1839. Graham was the first woman to write on India and to be published soon afterwards.

overlook'(406). Graham's biographer indicates that she replied to the critic by adding a footnote to the second edition of her book which claimed 'that she did *not* go to India in search of a husband, but was married there on December 9th, 1809, a date for which we are most grateful'(Gotch, 142). The author of the review, betraying the conventional sexism of the times, uses a patronising tone and a considerable number of litotes when referring to Graham's book, while he refrains from judging her style or her scholarship. One of the few concessions he makes is the admission that her sketches are accurate. Interestingly, he quotes a passage from Graham's visit to a zenana and finds that 'the description of it is amusing' (411). On the whole, the first woman to be published on India had a better reception from the reading public than from the critics.

Graham's published journals on India belong to what Balachandra Rajan calls the earlier period of the connection between Britain and India, a time span that saw the publication of Elizabeth Hamilton's *Translation of the Letters of a Hindu Rajah* (1796) (which could be described as a travelogue in reverse); Robert Southey's *Curse of Kehama* (1810) (a poem that will be mentioned again below in relation to the practice of *sati*); or Sidney Owenson's novel, *The Missionary: An Indian Tale* (1811), (122):

The sudden elevation of India's past in the first wave of oriental scholarship opened a moment of opportunity for understanding between peoples. The moment passed almost before it had articulated itself. The years 1785 and 1810³ might be said to mark its limits, and even during that brief period, the view from the window was clouded (ibid.).

This oriental scholarship, says Edward Said (1993), included among other sources and cultural representations, ethnography, religion, legal history,

³ Graham published her books on India in 1812 and 1814, but since she was the first British woman to write about the country, it seems appropriate to include her in Rajan's 'first wave'.

'and the lore of intrepid travellers' (121). Of the three works on India, Graham's first unpublished private diary is the one that most closely resembles a traditional travel journal; the subsequent works are more static representations of Indian peoples and their cultural manifestations. What remains to be decided is whether her window, in Rajan's words, was clouded or clear.

Graham's private diary on India is her first document, travel narrative or otherwise, that appears to have been preserved.⁴ The opening statement of the diary, therefore, marks the birth of her narrating persona: 'On the thirtieth of December, 1808, I embarked with my father, my sister, and my youngest brother, on board His Majesty's Ship *Cornelia*, rated two and thirty gun frigate for Bombay' (1). All through the diary this early persona fluctuates between a classical scholar and a romantic heroine; at times she expresses concern for profound moral issues, while at others she follows the dictates of a romantic imagination. The story the diary narrates is simple: a well-educated, twenty-three-year-old British woman travels to India with part of her family. During the five-month-long voyage she visits and describes Madeira and Cape Town before arriving in Bombay, her final destination.

Apart from the crew, the list of passengers includes several young officers, among whom are Thomas Graham, the man she eventually marries, and Lieutenant Charles Tyler, who appears to have been her first romantic interest. Their presence in the narrative turns the diary into a romance in the end, and Graham into its heroine.⁵ Graham sets down an initial description of all the officers and fellow passengers into her diary, and in it Charles Tyler is given

⁴ The 'Reminiscences' of the first years of her life were dictated much later.

⁵ This feature characterises the private diary only, and is not present in the subsequent works on India.

three times more textual space than Thomas Graham. He is also introduced as a brave, intelligent, gentlemanly, learned, and well-travelled man (4-5). In what seems to be an attempt at deception⁶, she justifies the constant allusions to Tyler in the text with an interest, on her part, in the practice of foreign languages, in reading and studying, and in the appreciation of intellectual discussions:

The greater part of every day was passed on deck, either in conversation or reading, and I was fortunate enough to find some assistance in my Persian studies from Mr Tyler, whose acquaintance with the vulgar Arabic is a considerable advantage with regard to the pronunciation, and his knowledge of the Italian, Spanish and French is of the greatest use (8).

Almost up to the end of the private diary the references to Lieutenant Tyler abound, while Thomas Graham is completely absent from the narrative. When they arrive in Funchal, for instance, Tyler appears to have behaved in a chivalric manner: 'Mr Tyler ... in a fit of knight-errantry had vowed not to go ashore if the ladies did not' (16). However, since open interest in a man was not an acceptable behaviour in a woman, the narrator professes to be attracted only to the scholarly side of the officer: 'Mr Tyler obligingly lent us John's [translation of] Froissart which is of itself a treasure of amusement and instruction' (28). The use of the plural 'us' suggests an attempt to avoid the suggestion of a more personal relationship, as the narrator never indicates who, apart from herself, was interested in reading and learning. All through the rest of the private diary it is Tyler's presence that predominates, either light-heartedly playful or scholarly and serious. In some, particularly the most significant travel

⁶ There is no textual evidence of Graham's interest in Lieutenant Tyler except for her repeated references to him in this part of her private diary, and of her justification of these references as merely intellectual exchanges. This diary was meant to be read by others; actually, Graham indicates that Thomas Graham read it after their engagement.

journals Graham wrote,⁷ there is a single masculine figure that dominates the narration and becomes an object of veiled romantic interest. Uncharacteristically, therefore, in the private diary on India the first figure is unseated by the man who becomes later on the real hero of the story. On the entry for April 3rd, 1809, the narrator performs an interesting transition and Thomas Graham appears on the scene: ‘I was chiefly occupied, when not with our little school [teaching the midshipmen], in talking over Hottentot affairs with Mr Graham, or getting on with Persian [with Mr Tyler?] which becomes more and more interesting’ (64). This transition marks the change of leading man in the romance, and it appears to have been accomplished smoothly. According to the diary, Tyler remained on friendly terms with both Thomas Graham and the narrator even after they disembarked in Bombay.

Shortly after the introduction of Thomas Graham into the narration, a state of affairs that must have been painful for the narrator took place on board. This situation marked several stages in her later life as well, since on many occasions she had to suffer the hostility and even antagonism of concerted groups of people. In this instance, what she describes as an innocent prank on her part resulted in her being snubbed by all the officers on board the *Cornelia*,⁸ including the captain. She depicts herself as slightly guilty but not deserving the strength and range of the officers’ acrimony:

⁷ The Latin American journals.

⁸ Graham does not suggest it, but this situation may have brought the implied romance with Lieutenant Tyler to an end.

P.[atterson] has for some time shown a spirit of malice and revenge which I did not think was in him. My sister and I while at the Cape had one day amused ourselves when we could not leave the house ... by imitating the manner of the different officers, and I in particular P.'s Scotch accent. For this I have never been forgiven, and he has taken every opportunity since that time to behave insolently to my father and impertinently to me (68).

But not only Patterson has become hostile, indicates Graham, but he has also 'tutored all the officers so that they are barely civil to me' (ibid.). At this point she cleverly steers the narration away from unpleasant facts and towards the relation of a passionate love affair. The romantic convention of the distressed heroine saved by the power of love is introduced through a clever management of temporal and episodic sequences, as the painful circumstance of the concerted enmity she had been suffering is happily resolved by the revelation of the attraction the narrator and Thomas Graham feel for each other. The officers abandon their belligerence and she generously forgives them. On Tuesday May 4th, 1809, the narrator records that 'I cannot continue so disagreeable a subject [the feud on board], my own heart is so happy that I cannot dwell on the feelings of others' (69). Later on in the journal she continues with her account of that 'Tuesday evening' using the language of a traditional romantic tale,⁹ quite out of character with the intellectually superior speaker of the previous entries. It appears as if there had been a conflict in the narration between the classical scholar and the romantic heroine, because there is a perceptible change in the narrative voice in the passages where the heroine has the upper hand. Up to this point in the diary, the narrator had been mainly concerned with reading

⁹ The romantic tale or romance existed long before the Romantic Movement, but they both share the elements of idealisation, improbability, and fantasy.

and studying (or so she reports); now there is a shift in the point of interest and therefore in the voice:

On that night we pledged our faith to each other. Therefore on that night our souls were solemnly united. Long before we had begun to live for each other, but that night our hearts could no longer bear the silence fear had hitherto maintained and we spoke [,] not to say we loved or to convince each other of a passion that we had long mutually understood, but to promise to live for each other (72).

In this passage Graham uses traditional conventions of romantic narratives, such as the tropes of secrecy and discovery, the reference to the union of souls, to hearts beating in unison, and to faithful passion; however, Graham bends them in such a way that in her narrative, it is the heroine who controls the story, not the hero:

He did not solicit. He said he hoped to possess me. I could not dissemble but confessed myself equally willing to give myself to him. At this moment I feel his heart beat against mine. I feel his cold trembling lips as they touched mine yet uncertain of my reply. Oh Graham! Can years of faith, of duty, of obedience, of the humblest devotion to you repay you for the transport that then filled my very soul! (72-73)

Paradoxically, this scene begins by being disruptive of the accepted romantic lineaments, but ends in total conventionality. The narrative of the first part of the passage displays a reversal of roles; it is the man who is trembling and uncertain, and therefore 'feminised'. The woman, who by tradition is expected to perform the role of the static, diffident recipient of masculine attention, is in this case the assertive partner who commands the situation. This view can be substantiated by the predominance of the first person pronouns and also of possessives in the text. Moreover, the reiteration of the present tense ('I feel'), where the expected grammatical form should have been past tense, especially in

such a careful writer, can only mean that it was a deliberate choice. Apart from stalling the flow of the narrative, the unexpected verb tenses signal the distinction between showing and telling. The present tense makes the scene more visible than it would have been if the syntactical rules had been observed. However, a few days after the relation of this passionate scene, the romantic heroine comments in her diary: 'Shall I ever acquire Sanscrit?'(84)¹⁰. Graham's concern with the acquisition of knowledge was remarkable but not unusual for a woman of her generation in Britain. What appears unusual is the inclusion of this question so shortly after the narration of a life-changing discovery.

Graham's romantic narrative does not end in the declaration of mutual devotion. She soon indicates that their engagement will have to be kept secret from her father who may consider Thomas Graham beneath her in rank and prospects.¹¹ The narrator of the journal may have wished to add the interest of intrigue to her plot so as to remove her situation from the normalcy of everyday occurrences and lift it instead to dramatic proportions. A new character, a Captain Hay, appears on the scene after they have landed in Bombay. He plays the part of 'villain' and she, as a typical romantic heroine, is disgusted by his presence:

This morning, immediately after breakfast, Capt. Hay called and sat two hours. Luckily the prevailing report of my engagement to Graham prevented his *odious addresses*, which I am but too well assured my father would approve. I am in *perpetual fear* lest he should censure the *choice of my soul*, but no censure can now *alter my destiny*; my faith is pledged, and none but Graham can *change my fate* [emphasis added] (ibid.).

¹⁰ According to Said (1978), the British (scholars) shifted the concentration from Hebrew and the Edenic Fallacy to Sanskrit and India at the end of the eighteenth century (137). Graham was moving with the times in this respect.

¹¹ This seems hard to believe, as she was already twenty-three years old and had no personal fortune. Thomas Graham was a younger son, but also a naval officer with good prospects. Very soon after his marriage he was promoted to captain and given the command of a ship of the Royal Navy.

Graham's narratives, particularly when she is using the romantic mode, are rich in implications. Starting from the innocuous event of a visit from a man who is interested in her, she imports novelistic conventions to contextualise the incident. She therefore weaves a tale of a domineering father who would easily try to force a tortured heroine into an unwanted union with a disgusting man, thus refusing her the right to happiness with the man of her choice.¹² The impact of the passage is enhanced by the predominance of romantic diction, reflected in expressions such as 'odious addresses', 'alter my destiny', or 'choice of my soul'. This is one more example of the narrator abandoning her stance of learned scholar and impersonating a frail romantic heroine in 'perpetual fear' of her father's anger. Following the demands of her plot and in accordance with the new narrative persona she has formulated, Graham abandons her customary formal register and adopts the appropriate speech of the protagonist of a romance story. These transformations take place in the subsequent journals as well, and form part of her total make up as narrator.

The romance acquires a different aspect when Graham describes the situation of other women, in particular those locked up in convents, that she encounters on her travels. Her account of a convent in Madeira leads her to reflect on the under-privileged situation of some foreign women in relation to herself. From the expected stance of a Protestant's natural dislike of Catholicism and its institutions, she obliquely denounces the unfair treatment of women in less enlightened countries, either inside or outside convent walls.

During the *Cornelia's* stop at Madeira, Graham stands in front of a religious

¹² In reality, Graham had not seen her father for the past twelve years and she seldom saw him after her marriage (he died in South Africa in 1814). He does not seem to have been a strong figure in her life.

house and betrays a perception that will be displayed even more violently twelve years later in the *Chile Journal*:

We saw a chapple [sic] which differed not in style from those we had seen before. There was however a peculiarity which excited by turns pity and contempt – It is the grate at which the nuns are professed – It consists of a double iron grate ... [where] there is a small lattice through which the novice puts her head to receive the veil, *and then dies to every purpose for which life was given her*. It was the first time I had ever seen the grate of a convent and unless time should alter or destroy the impression it left on my mind, I could wish it to be the last [emphasis added] (19-20).

The symbolism in this passage indicates that it is more than mere denunciation¹³ of a religious practice: it is a manifestation of the narrator's conception of the role women have to play in society, and by an overt allusion to the guillotine (the girl puts her head through a small opening and then dies),¹⁴ of recent memory in Europe, she expresses her profound rejection of monastic life for women. This state, which forces them to reject sexuality, the narrator implies, is an outrage against the natural condition and the natural expectations of women.

Graham's comments on the undesirability of convent life should not be linked to the overall atmosphere of romance in the private diary, because her expressions do not share the romantic connotations¹⁵ convents had in European Catholic countries. On the contrary, her Protestant stance, coldly analytical and devoid of implications, in this case at least, leads her to split her discourse into three stages: the first is a description of the building and the various iron grilles that function as entrapments; the second is an account of the revulsion these cage-like devices provoke on her as witness; the third is a denunciation of the

¹³ Tellingly, Graham includes these remarks in the journal that records her own romantic awakening.

¹⁴ The image also suggests oxen accepting the yoke, symbol of enslavement.

¹⁵ Those are for instance the images of high walls, forbidden relationships, or expiation of sins of a sexual nature.

negative effects these institutions have on the natural tendencies of normal human beings. Yet surprisingly, Graham's suggestion that convent life is unnatural and unsexing does not apply to men. As early as 1809, in the private diary and, as it will be argued below in the survey of the *Chile Journal*, priesthood is presented as an instance of gender transmutation with the added vice of sloth and the mark of futility:

On our way through the town [Madeira] we saw numbers of stout young men, who looked as if they could *shoulder a musket or handle a spade*, but they were deck'd in petticoats and gowns and Cannon's [sic] caps on their heads! [emphasis added] (20).

This observation marks the significance of clothes in the categorisation of foreigners, but most of all it illustrates Graham's use of codes as signifiers of innate virtues or lack of them. Later on in the journal, under the deceptively simple description of the way Madeiran women and men are dressed, there come encoded messages of female sexual repression, of the perception of daughters as marketable commodities by their families, of the symbolic use of dress as a signifier of virtue, and of personal beauty as a signifier of rank. The narrator dismisses the men's style of dressing in a single, long, unpunctuated sentence and in an impersonal voice; moreover, she carries out the description of the articles without relating them to the human being who is wearing them. The following, for instance, is the description of Madeiran men mentioned above:

The costume of the men is rather picturesque. It consists of an open shirt (sometimes none at all) loose waistcoat and breeches of canvas very full no stockings few shoes and a blue pointed cap sometimes turned up at the ears with red (20).

There appears to be no intrigue, sexuality, or mystery in the men who come to Graham's attention. On the other hand, the variety of women she sees are categorised by age, rank, and physical appearance, with the added implication that ugliness may indicate lack of principles,¹⁶ and a plump body, venality. These implications are reflected in the passage included below, which also contains the suggestion that low rank may be an indicator of moral contamination. Women wear cloaks over their shoulders, points out Graham, and cover their heads with large handkerchiefs and hats:¹⁷

The better sort [of women] wear black robes with a veil fastened round the waist and turned over the head behind, so as to conceal the face and falling very low before. Such a dress I saw a lady appear in at church. She was followed by an old, well-fed woman, apparently the Duenna, habited something like the mistress ... and she had a large bunch of keys suspended from her girdle (20-21).

The young woman the narrator singles out is significantly placed at church, perhaps to indicate that the rest of the time she must be behind the iron barred windows of her home. She is made a representative of all the heavily veiled young women of the island who have no place in the outside world either for intellectual pursuits or for innocent leisure. The physical locations of church and home added to their manner of dressing, so similar to the habits worn by nuns, point to a barrier that has been erected between these women's bodies and the rest of the world that includes men and the gratification of sexual desires. The duenna as guardian of women's virtue is significantly depicted as walking behind her charge and carrying a large bunch of keys. The narrator ends her report with an expression of pity towards 'those poor souls':

¹⁶ This is a device common to romances and also to fairy tales.

¹⁷ This codification of dress, morality, and physical appearance does not figure so markedly in the other journals, except in the third Brazil journal, as it will be indicated below.

I could not help pitying the lot of those poor souls whose life is only different from that of a convent inasmuch as it places them *within hearing of those things which they must not enjoy* and at the same time I secretly laughed at the audacity which could place a treasure under the care of a Duenna of such bribeable appearance [emphasis added] (21).

As it was suggested above, in many instances Graham transforms her descriptions into romance narratives. In the recently quoted passages, the sight of a Madeiran young woman at church accompanied, as was the custom, by her duenna (an ugly hag), gives rise to a set of considerations and suppositions on the part of the narrator, which add intrigue and colour to her account. The physical appearance and the clothes of both women are made significant since they represent forced virtue and disempowerment in one, and vice and corruptibility in the other. Moreover, the two females in the narrative are not static but become actors in the pageant the narrator unfolds. The 'treasure' that the duenna is guarding is here understood to be virginity, a commodity that has monetary value as it allows families to form profitable alliances. Graham does not, therefore, conceive it as an attribute of the daughter as a woman, nor as a manifestation of her own free will (which she cannot exercise), but only as an asset that belongs to the family as an institution. In addition, the appropriate and very visible bunch of keys the duenna is carrying reinforces the suggestion of imprisonment and of carefully guarded riches. All these elements allow the narrator to compose a sort of picaresque tale by implication, at the same time that she performs a critique of foreign practices with regards the treatment of women. Even though Graham does not manifest it overtly, the depiction of the duenna as fat, old, ugly, capable of dishonesty and, most importantly, endowed with power (to lock and to unlock), brings to mind the eponymous character in

the Spanish play *La Celestina* (1499), or Juliet's nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*.¹⁸ It is within reason to suppose that Graham may have visualised these archetypal characters as she observed the young woman's guardian. The significance of the narrator's manner of reading into situations lies in that it illustrates her ample knowledge of the classics and her penetrating gaze. She is not being a simple gazetteer in Coleridge's terms, and even though she does not, in this particular instance, write herself into the narrative, she manages, nevertheless, to build herself into a perceptive and sensitive narrator.

Conversely, once in India, Graham is faced with another institution that imprisons women. Here she uses her text to dismantle the traditional perception of Oriental harems. 'The culture of the harem is central to the fantasies which structure Orientalist discourse', say Foster and Mills (15). This site, they add, became a metaphor for the whole of the East, because it was a space forbidden to male visitors, and therefore endowed with mystery and eroticism. The women travellers in the East, who did have access to these places because of their gender, challenged masculine preconceptions and created their own 'discourse of the harem' (ibid.). It is difficult to agree wholeheartedly with this view, but even if this were the case, Graham would have been at least the first female traveller to contest the myth.¹⁹ The narrative of the only visit to a zenana she apparently made in India is set up from the superior stance of a highly educated woman first (and therefore endowed with power to pronounce judgements), and of a representative of the superior dominant culture, second.

¹⁸ Both women fulfil the function of 'helpers' from a Structuralist point of view, that is 'procurers' or 'go-betweens' between young, attractive women and their male suitors. This type of character was common in classical Spanish literature, which Graham professed to read in the original.

¹⁹ No other travel writer contested the myth of the harem as forcibly as Graham did. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Fanny Parkes, Lady Hornby, Emmeline Lott, most of them quoted in Foster and Mills, did not challenge, but rather added to the myth.

At the start of the visit Graham allows herself a single ironic observation which subtly suggests similarities between a convent and a harem, and betrays the abhorrence both institutions provoke in her: 'We ascended the women's apartments by a ladder, which is removed when not in immediate use, to prevent the ladies from escaping' (*India Journal*, 17). The irony is achieved by the improbable use of the term 'ladies' next to the verb 'escape', which has two obvious connotations.²⁰ The first is the idea of breaking free, of having previously been held against one's will; the second is that the verb is used also with reference to wild animals (as in a zoo), or inanimate elements, like liquids.

After she initially places the women at a disadvantage, through the use of irony, the narrator adopts a superior, critical stance to describe the enclosed space they occupy. For instance, the curtains of the unpleasant, low ceilinged and close apartment they are in, she remarks, 'were not particularly clean' (*ibid.*). The absence of sexual referents is, however, the most striking aspect of Graham's account. Given that the main reason these women are imprisoned is sexual, it is paradoxical that their bedrooms, when described by the narrator, resemble those of chaste girls' schools in the West:²¹ 'The apartment in which we were received was about twenty feet square, and rather low; round it were smaller rooms, most of them crowded with small beds, with white muslin curtains ...' (*ibid.*). In the passage of the convent Graham condemns the denial of sexuality in young women as an action against nature; in the case of the young Madeiran women their sexuality is objectified; the Indian women in the

²⁰ The collocation of the term 'lady' next to 'escape' is contradictory, since, theoretically, a respectable woman would not be held against her will, unless she were the protagonist of a Gothic tale.

²¹ In fact Graham herself attended one in Oxfordshire for several years since she was eight years old.

zenana, on the other hand, have no sexuality at all. This omission may indicate the narrator's wish to emphasize their poor intellectual capacities:

Prepared as I was to expect very little from Mussulman ladies, I could not help being shocked to see them so totally void of cultivation as I found them. They mutter their prayers and some of them read the koran [sic], but not one in a thousand understands it (*ibid.*, 18).

Graham is the only (female) travel writer to concentrate on the intellect of harem women. Invariably the most quoted writers describe the women's deportment, their type of beauty and what they do to enhance it; they discuss either the aspect of their skin and hair, or the colour and texture of their clothes and the effect they produce, apart from passages from their personal history. The implied message of the portrayal of a zenana in the *India Journal* appears to be that the absence of intellectual activity robs life of its value, and work of its significance:

Still fewer can read their own language, or write at all, and the only work they do is a little embroidery. They tread beads, plait coloured threads, sleep, quarrel, make pastry, and chew betel, in the same daily round; and it is only at a death, a birth, or a marriage that the monotony of their lives is ever interrupted (*ibid.*, 18-19).

In her representation of the alien (for Westerners, especially) world of the harem, Graham was speaking as a well educated member of the colonial power who could freely make use of what Foster and Mills call 'the discursive strategy [that renders] Oriental women as childish and petty-minded beings of a lower mental and moral stature who could be "othered" both pityingly and critically' (18). This account results in a powerful portrayal of the narrator as scholarly and intellectually superior to the objects of her gaze, but more importantly, it erodes the myth constructed primarily by male writers, of the harem as a sexualised, mysterious, forbidden territory, by her display of it as an

un-sexed, un-tidy, and un-interesting space. This representation can also be seen as an exercise in which a narrator is applying her own Western upper middle-class parameters to a subaltern culture; the results necessarily have to be unfavourable to the latter.

The zenana account can be seen as an attempt to dismantle a myth or as an ethnographical exercise, but neither proposition obscures the fact that Graham as narrator of the India journals professed a definite ideology that was clearly manifested in her texts. In line with many of the best known travel writers of the nineteenth century, Graham proclaimed the superiority of Britain as a colonial power, revealed the present low moral and intellectual conditions of the Indians, and as a consequence, justified the need for colonial intervention.²²

Graham's conception of an inferior level of existence like that of the harem women is reinforced when she narrates a visit to a reincarnation of the god Ganesa in a twelve-year-old boy who impresses her by the wildness of his eyes, the result of daily doses of opium (*India Journal*, 71). This meeting is followed by a visit to a cemetery where the former 'reincarnations' have been buried, and it is the activities of the worshippers there that arouse the narrator's contempt. She compares the women, children, and priests there to the inhabitants of the Castle of Indolence:

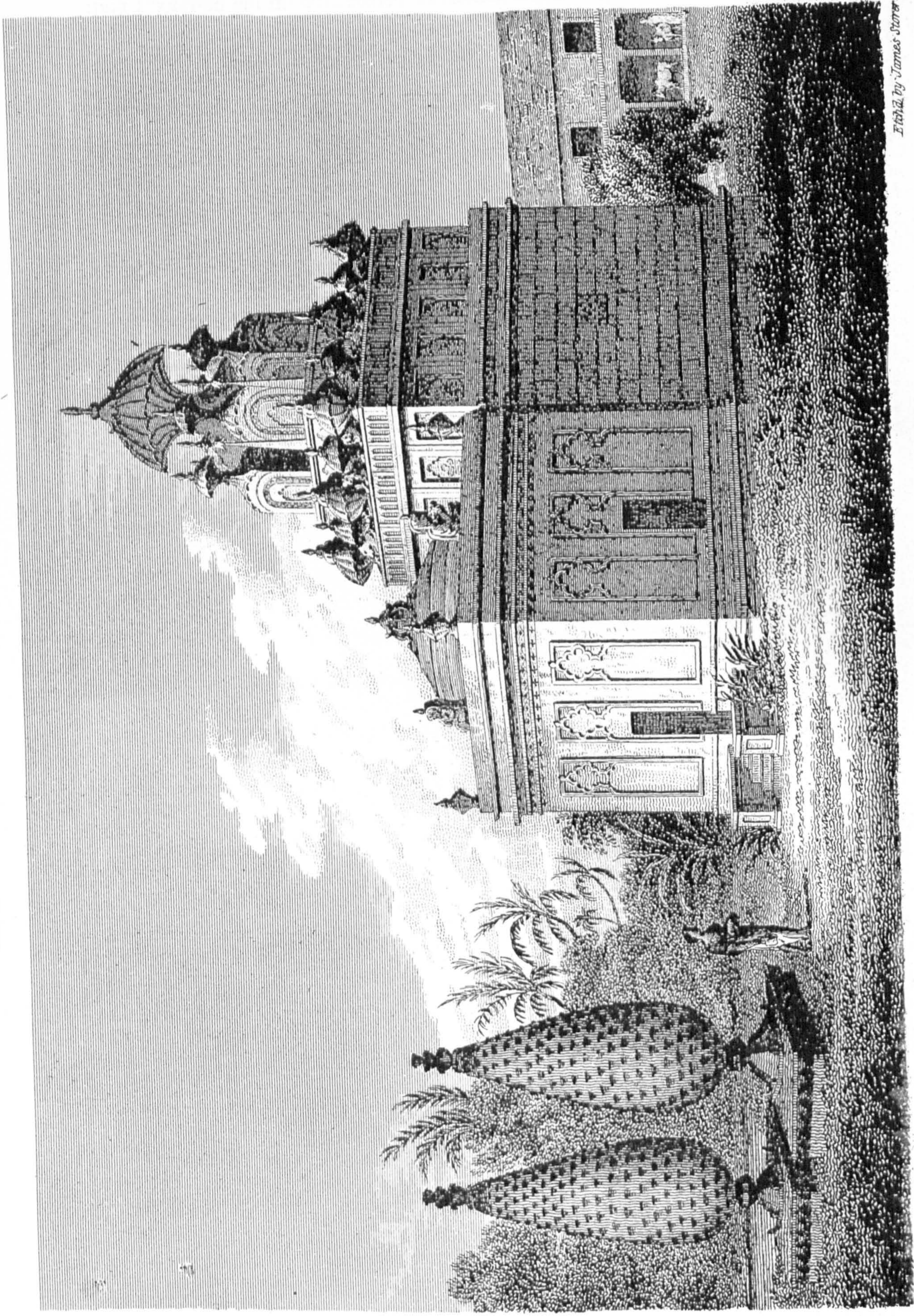
²² Graham develops this idea further in the *Chile Journal* where, in a form of reverse-colonialism, calls attention to the nefarious influence a colonial power, which does not hold Britain's values, can have over its colonies. In the *Brazil Journal*, as it will be argued in the corresponding chapter, she starts from a different premise, as the situation there was different from that of the Spanish colonies in South America.

I returned to our tents, filled with reflections not very favourable to the dignity of human nature, after witnessing such a degrading instance of superstitious folly. If I could be assured that the *communication* with *Europe* would in ever so remote a period free the natives of India from their moral and religious degradation, I could even be *almost* reconciled to the methods by which the *Europeans* have acquired possession of the country [emphasis added] (*ibid.*, 72).

This instance is another example of the narrating persona's tendency,²³ to align herself with the dominant ideology, because she is providing justification for British presence in India. Moreover, she euphemistically masks it under the concept of 'communication', a term that can have mainly positive connotations and presupposes two parties on an equal footing. However, Graham's justification of colonialism is not wholehearted and at times she expresses vague misgivings. Her reservations can be detected, for instance, in her description of colonial occupation as an event performed by 'Europe', and not by Britain at that precise moment, thus signalling collective responsibility, and by her qualification of the colonial wars of conquest as 'almost' ethical. Latter on, in *Letters on India*, Graham issues a warning on the dangers concomitant to colonial occupation, which sounds almost prophetic, given the bloody uprising of 1857:

But after all, it is chiefly the empire of opinion that supports us in our possessions, for the natives outnumber us in such a proportion as must make us tremble, if ever injuries offered to them, or interference in those points of religion or custom to which they are attached, shall rouse them to the exercise of the physical superiority they undoubtedly possess, and to shake off the timid and humble peacefulness which has hitherto distinguished them (*Letters on India*, 3).

²³ This tendency is not unusual in Graham's work, except for the fact that the narrating persona she was beginning to build at this stage professed at times liberal ideas (cf. her readings on torture and capital punishment, her comments on the repression of sexuality in women in the India diary).



Etched by James Storer.

M. G. Del.

Fig. 2 Etching by J. Storer of the Temple of Maha Deo in Bombay that Graham included in her *India Journal*

This is not, however, a change of perspective on the narrator's part; rather, from the same position of power she has held in the previous two journals she now finds it necessary to caution her own nationals on the dangers of the abuse of power. The serious scholar turned into romantic heroine of the private diary, becomes for a time a social commentator and critic, until she assumes a new persona, as will be discussed shortly. As a social commentator, therefore, she permanently sees and represents Britain as a civilising force. The India of antiquity, she argues, has disappeared under generations of undeserving, morally inferior peoples: 'I every day find some traces of the manner and simplicity of the antique ages; but the arts and the virtues that adorned them are sunk in the years of slavery under which the devoted Hindoos have bent' (*India Journal*, 27). Leask (2004) suggests that in this passage Graham was indicating that

The perceived degree of civic virtue, a progressive 'British' value, enabled the moral calibration of other peoples. It also, of course, justified the colonial rule and reform of those who (like the Hindus) were thought to have fallen from a state of former grace into their present condition (211).

It seems possible, therefore, that Graham was investing herself with a degree of moral authority as representative of Britain, the benchmark of civilisation, and that she felt the need to undermine the colonised, either intellectually, as the women in the zenana, or morally, as in those practising their religious rituals, in order to justify colonialism and follow the trodden path of conformity.

Graham's refusal to acknowledge the intellectual capacities or the physicality of the harem women did not extend to the rest of the inhabitants of India, or to the people she met on her journey there. On the contrary, her

detailed description of accidents, funeral rites, decomposing bodies, human sacrifices, and particularly the practice of *sati*, point to a Gothic preoccupation with torture, pain, and death; a concern with what Steven Bruhm calls the 'Gothic body'. Some adherents to the Romantic movement, he argues, were concerned with depicting torture, punishment, and physical pain, not only emotional suffering (xvi). The term 'Romantic' is problematic in relation to Graham, especially in the analysis of the manner in which she handles the materials in her texts. On the one hand she was classical in her tastes, careful in the construction of her sentences, distant in her attitude to her subject, traditional in her ethical views; she was a rebel on the other, because at times she obeyed the dictates of a movement which, in its essence, is disruptive. At the time she was writing her India journals the Romantic Movement as an artistic form of expression was at its peak. Was Graham being a conformist when she followed unconditionally the Romantic explicitness with regards to tortured physicality? It would appear she was, because she was not only following the trend (in this aspect at least) in literature and in the arts in general; she was even trying to outdo the Romantic capacity to horrify.

In a letter to John Murray,²⁴ Graham finds fault with the meter of Byron's poem *The Siege of Corinth*, and she is mainly unimpressed with his horrific descriptions. She herself has seen worse:

What do people say of his description of the scene under the walls of Corinth! I can allow it every merit that such a description can have, but I have seen the wild dogs feast too often on the banks of the Hoogly when the swollen and bleached Indian corpse floating to the shore invites them to the horrid repast to have any pleasure in such things.

²⁴ Letter N*7, March 2, 1816

In her Indian texts Graham shows a tendency to share in the Romantic concentration on the body, on the physicality of pain, on the representations of death and subsequent decay, on ruins and cemeteries. In addition, she describes the intellectual pleasure derived from closeness to danger and from the observation of pain in others. (Not always literally, but aesthetically transformed by art.) Burke, says Bruhm, first articulated this connection between pain and pleasure, and it represents a concern that began at the close of the eighteenth century and which was carried out into the Romantic Movement (1).

In the late eighteenth century [the] political aspect of the pained body was extremely important (but not limited) to representations of the French Revolution. Long before the Revolution exploded on 14 July, 1789, Cesare Beccaria, the most famous of Enlightenment European judicial reformers, declared in his essay *On Crimes and Punishments*²⁵ that “no lasting advantage is to be hoped for from political morality if it is not founded on the ineradicable feelings of mankind”(20).

Graham records having read both Beccaria²⁶ and Burke,²⁷ and their influence, especially that of Burke, is palpable in her work, both in the private diary and in the *Brazil Journal*. In addition, she documents her impressions after reading, in Froissart's *Chronicles*, the relation of the revolt of peasants and burghers in Europe in the Middle Ages. In an interesting intellectual exercise, she passes judgement on that and other historical events, imagines alternative outcomes, and compares situations in the Continent with similar ones in Britain. She later indicates that she has taken on the study of Beccaria as a safe-guard against the

²⁵ This same essay also discusses the use of torture to obtain confessions, the deplorable state of prisons, and the ethics of capital punishment. <[http://www. The Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy](http://www.TheInternetEncyclopaediaofPhilosophy)> [accessed 06/07/05] More significantly, Graham had read it and recorded her impressions on the piece during the voyage out to India (p. 43).

²⁶ Private India diary, p. 43

²⁷ 'Reminiscences', p. 43

great attraction she feels for the 'deeds of arms and the courageous robbers of those times [the Middle Ages]' (43). Earlier in her diary Graham had juxtaposed the age of chivalry against the crude reality of war and violence, and had proclaimed the superiority and permanence of knowledge:

One slight consolation arises in the perusal of these volumes; we find letters gradually rising in the public estimation, and, amidst the ravages of war, we find the germ that was to shoot out and restore with its wholesome fruit the moral and intellectual taste of man, long buried in feudal contentions and monkish superstition (17).

During this exercise, Graham situates herself as a European and as a scholar, particularly through the use of the pronoun 'we' in the hopeful conclusion of her rationalisation. On the other hand, the influence of Burke on her texts works on a more personal level. What is more, it is never explicitly acknowledged.

In her memoirs of her early life, Graham mentions Burke only in passing. She narrates that while she attended school in Drayton, in Oxfordshire, she used to borrow books from her drawing master: 'He first lent me Sir Joshua Reynolds' works, and made me read Burke on the sublime, and some few other books of the kind' ('Reminiscences', 47). However, the description of a storm at sea and the effect the forces of nature have on her, appear to have been inspired by Burke's *Enquiry*:

On my first waking I felt a sensation I believe of fear I do not know anything more sublime than thus listening to the fury of the contending elements And though I had shaken off the impression of fear [,] I felt on awakening a deep reverential awe which pressed on my heart as I contemplated the most awful work of Nature ('India Diary', 65-6).

The connection between frightening sounds in nature and the instinct of self-preservation, suggests Burke, fills the mind with awe and almost paralyses reasoning. The sublime arises in its stead and guides the mind as an irresistible

force (*Enquiry*, 53). Although Graham does not present Burke's ideas as her own, she uses his aesthetic discourse to display, in her text, her own intellectual abilities.²⁸

These observations have been made in order to suggest that Graham was, at times, a reflector of the movements that characterised her time. Yet she was not wholly 'feminine' in her relations; the account of the death of midshipman Campbell in the private diary is an instance of Gothic preoccupation with the destruction of the human body. Few other female travel writers have included similar violent scenes in their texts:

On the morning of Tuesday 28th [March, 1809], I was shocked ... to learn that a very fine boy, John Campbell, had fallen from the main-top and dashed his brains in the barge the skull was split in all directions, and some blood-vessels had burst, as the quantity of blood was great which came from his mouth and ears (62).

This explicitness is one characteristic of the early narrator that becomes less marked in the later journals, yet in the two published texts on India there are even more graphic descriptions to be found. It is possible that in this, as in the subsequent instances that will be shown below, Graham was trying to portray reality in all its force and brutality. However, some time after the narration of the accident, when she relates the funeral of the midshipman, she makes use of poetic imagery and diction. The evening of that same day, she reports, they detain and afterwards release an American ship:

Before we came up with the vessel we chased, we buried our poor boy. I stood on the Qu[arter] Deck. The whole ship's company were present on the lardboard gangway and in the boats. All was still, and only the plunge of the corpse

²⁸ Many years later, while visiting Brazil for the first time, Graham's account of a dangerous adventure near the coast also echoes Burke: 'There is at all times something triumphant in the sensation of sailing over the waters; but when they are roughened by storms, or rendered fearful by rocks or shoals, the triumph approaches to the sublime and in it there is a secret dread' (*Brazil*, 125).

interrupted the voice that said the prayers over the dead. Poor fellow! the evening sun shone sweetly on his wat'ry grave ... (62-63).

The second, final representation of the young man's death, expressed in poetic images of stillness, of setting sun, of the muted sound the body made as it fell into the 'wat'ry grave' help dispel the gruesome impression made by the description of the accident itself. Furthermore, it communicates the sense of melancholy and finality that is death. This aesthetic transformation of death does not take place in the following instances that focus on the body of Indians. In contrast to the above quoted passages, these descriptions are carried out in an even, detached tone. The formal diction appears artificial, given the nature of the scenes and events narrated. Remarkable, for instance, are the accounts of a worm that gets under people's skin or of decomposing bodies floating on rivers, and the fact that the latter scene is immediately preceded by a detailed classification of fireflies. A description of funeral rites that takes place at the beginning of the *India Journal* sums up these observations:

The death of a father is observed as an annual festival. The body must not touch wood after death; it is accordingly laid upon an iron bier, to be conveyed to the repository for the dead, where it is left exposed to the air till it is consumed. In Bombay these repositories are square inclosures [sic], surrounded by high walls; the vulgar Parsees superstitiously watch the corpse, to see which eye is first devoured by the birds, and thence augur the happiness or misery of the soul (39).

The dehumanising character of this relation is carried out simultaneously on two levels, that of the speaker who narrates with detachment, and that of the generic dead man, 'a father', who becomes, 'a body', an object referred to by the impersonal pronoun 'it'. The horrific connotations of the verb 'consumed' are evident only in the last sentence of the passage. This image seizes the reader

unawares, and may be the only glimpse s/he can have of the ironic twists the speaker performs from time to time; otherwise, the narrator is not a tangible presence in this journal. The romantic heroine at the end of the India diary changes into a superior and detached observer in the published journal.

Broadly speaking, irony is achieved by saying one thing while meaning another, with the intention to satirize, ridicule, or criticise. Graham uses the tool more subtly in this passage because she plays with her readers (educated Christians in Britain) by leading them sedately through an account of foreign burial rites and suddenly hitting them with a shocking visual image and with the pagan connotations of the practice. This may be another example of the narrator exercising control over the reactions of her readers. Much more graphic than the above passage, however, is the picture she paints a year later, on December 10, 1810:

The other night, in coming up the river, the first object I saw was a dead body, which had lain long enough in the water to be swollen, and to become buoyant. It floated past our boat, almost white, from being so long in the river, and surrounded by fish; and as we got to the landing place, I saw two wild dogs tearing another body, from which each one of them had just succeeded in separating a thigh-bone, with which he ran growling away (*ibid.*, 148).

Mills (1991) suggests that nineteenth-century women writers were subjected to discursive constraints that prevented them from appearing authoritative or from narrating incidents of a 'bloody nature'. Women writers could not appear too well informed or prepared to discuss subjects that belonged to the masculine domain, like science or politics (77). It is true, nevertheless, that not all women obeyed these constraints, and that it was mainly those who sustained a 'liberal' ideology (and a 'liberated' way of life) who expressed themselves freely, for instance Mary Wollstonecraft or Helen Maria Williams. Graham did not fit into this category,

even though at times she professed a liberal ideology,²⁹ and yet she challenged these constraints by pretending they did not exist. A reading of her private journals and letters allows the assumption that Graham considered herself an accomplished scholar on a par with the great minds of her time. She makes constant references to linguistic, historical, sociological and philosophical matters, and invariably records her own views at the end. Her two published works on India reveal besides that she not only ignored these textual restraints but that, on the contrary, she met them head-on, particularly when she relates gruesome rituals and describes repulsive vermin that can lodge in the human body:

a white worm of the thickness of a fine bobbin, gets under the skin, and grows to the length of two or three feet The eggs are deposited in the skin by the wind and rain If they are suffered to remain in the flesh The native barbers extract them ... with a sharp pointed instrument, with which they first remove the skin, then gradually dig till they seize the animal's head, which they fasten to a quill, round which they roll the worm (*India Journal*, 23).

The serialised reference to parts of the body of the Indians by means of the trope of the blazon, emphasises their status as non-persons signalled by the non-visible narrator. It is worth noting how she constantly refers to 'the skin', or 'the flesh', without any link to a particular human being, thus pointing to the debased state into which the colonised have fallen. The undermining of the native inhabitants of the country adds interest to the narrative at the same time it performs the textual function of supporting colonialism. In this respect Graham was following the trend started in the late eighteenth century by British writers on India. These pioneers, whether as anthropologists, historians, geographers, or religious scholars, attempted to explore, organise, and classify the country in

²⁹ Most of the times she declared herself against slavery or against colonialism (when practiced by other nations except Britain). Her views on the French Revolution and its aftermath are not recorded.

order to appropriate it and justify British colonialism. As Said (1993) indicates, 'All cultures tend to make representations of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them' (120).

It is also in these journals on India that Graham betrayed a Gothic concentration on the human body as lifeless, destroyed, or in pain. Apart from the above mentioned ways of disposing of dead bodies, human sacrifices and the practice of *sati* provided her, and other Romantic writers, with the appropriate subject matter to feed the curiosity of her European readers on those mysterious and cruel foreign practices. The narrator's descriptions of *sati* and human sacrifices to the goddess Kali are articulated in a detached and unemotional tone that presents a contrast to the passionate passages of the private diary. She is careful as well to point out that both practices have antecedents in Western traditions: 'The following sketch ... or sanguinary chapter of the Cálíca Purana ... you may compare ... with the bloodstained rites of the ancient Greeks, Syrians, and even our own Druids ...' (*Letters on India*, 332).³⁰ The following narration of a human sacrifice that appears in *Letters on India* betrays a change in the narrative position of the speaker:

If a human offering be made, he must be a man of twenty five, without taint or blemish, and what is still a harder condition, he must be a voluntary victim. Being led to the place of sacrifice which is a cemetery, he is rubbed with the dust of sandal wood, adorned with chaplets of flowers, and fed with the consecrated food which has for two days previously been his diet. The sacrificer then worships him, and prays to him, as having already become like the deity; and standing with his face to the North, and averting his eyes, while the victim looks eastward, he severs his head from his body (333-334).

³⁰Graham was not alone in this enterprise of bringing Indian culture to the West. Her texts reflect a larger endeavour, that of linking European and Oriental religious beliefs and cultural practices, as it will be argued later in the chapter.

Human sacrifices to the same goddess had been related rather differently in the previous work, the *India Journal*. On that occasion Graham had used Romantic diction to build up the sinister background to the scene, and the participants were not, in that instance, dignified followers of an ancient ritual, but mindless and debased natives who destroyed themselves despite the efforts made by the civilising British officials. She had set the scene on a gloomy, solitary island:

Nothing can be more desolate than the entrance to the Hoogly. To the west, frightful breakers extend as far as the eye can reach, and you are surrounded by sharks and crocodiles; but on the east is a more horrible object, the black low island of Sangor (*India Journal*, 132)

The narrative voice of the first passage on human sacrifices is distant and detached, and paradoxically, this absence of feeling adds interest to the drama that is being narrated. On the other hand, the voice of the above passage betrays a narrator who is so close to the scene that she becomes affected by it. The lugubrious site is made a living symbol of the tragic deeds that take place there:

The very appearance of the dark jungle that covers it is terrific. You see that it must be a nest of serpents, and a den of tigers; but it is worse, it is the yearly scene of human sacrifice which *not all the vigilance of the British government can prevent*. The temple is ruined, but the infatuated votaries of Kali plunge into the waves and he who reaches the opposite shore without being devoured by sacred sharks becomes a pariah Possessed by this frenzy of superstition, mothers have thrown their infants into the jaws of the sea monsters [emphasis added] (*ibid.*).

In this instance the narrator feels anguish at the sight of her surroundings, fear of the fiery animals, and horror at the self-immolation of the worshippers. In order to increase the feeling of horror and fear, she makes use of Gothic elements like ruins or the murder of infants. Moreover, it is not only the narrator

who is close to the narrative; the reader is appealed to directly, through the use of the pronoun 'you', to become a witness to these dreadful episodes. The British government is another participant who, as a civilising force, tries to prevent these outrages.

There is another ritual, however, that did not receive unanimous condemnation by the authorities or even by other writers on India. When she discusses *sati*, whether in the *India Journal* or in *Letters on India*, Graham uses the same dispassionate tone of the first passage on human sacrifices quoted above. Her first mention of *sati* appears in the *India Journal* as a passing comment in the middle of a description of scenery carried out in the picturesque mode. The second reference appears in the subsequent text, *Letters on India* and there the voice of the narrator is distant and matter-of-fact as she goes through the steps of the ceremony.

In the *India Journal*, *sati* is made to appear so unimportant that the narrator feels the need to define it for her readers in a footnote: 'Sutees, the burning of Hindoo women with their husbands' (74). It could perhaps be argued that *sati* was an unknown practice in Britain at the time, and that Graham's explanation was necessary. However, a look at Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* (1810), suggests that the custom was not only known, but already a topic of discussion and of Romantic and aesthetic transformation.³¹ Years earlier, the Baptist missionaries Carey, Marshman, and Ward were, according to Lata Mani, 'active in publicizing *sati*, being the first to undertake a survey of its

³¹ *The Curse of Kehama*, 12.162-173, contains a step-by-step description of the ritual; the fact that the victim is young, beautiful, and desperate, adds to the pathos of the scene. Southey also indicates that the widow was an unwilling participant and had to be tied down, a detail Graham overlooks in her own detailed version of the practice. This omission may have been deliberate, since the reality did not coincide with Graham's own version of the tradition.

incidence around Calcutta in 1803' (85). On the entry for December 20th, 1809 of the *India Journal*, it is only the external aspect of *sati* that Graham dwells upon and depicts it as part of the landscape. On her arrival at Poonah she describes her living quarters with evocative touches of suggested colours and aromas. The sequence of elements mentioned, which happen to be organised into three groups of three, can also be taken to signify order:

The apartments are a groupe [sic] of *bungalos* or garden-houses, placed in a most delightful garden, where the apple, the pear, and the peach, the orange, the almond, and the fig, overshadow the strawberry, and are hedged in by the rose, the myrtle, and the jasmin (73).

Into this orderly world where each element has its place, every action is performed in accordance to custom and ceremony, and the view is splendid and placid, *sati* is introduced in passing, as an added element of curiosity:

The dining bungalo [sic] is close to the river, on a little height; the view from its windows is very pretty; to the right is Poonah, surrounded with gardens on the banks of the river; to the left is the place where the suttees³² are performed, rendered picturesque by a number of tombs of a very pretty style of architecture and a few trees (73-74).

Ghose (1999) proposes a satisfactory explanation for the reluctance of the British authorities to challenge Hindu traditions, at least up until the early nineteenth century. This explanation is confirmed by Mani, and if both opinions were applied to *sati*, they might help clarify Graham's and a few other women writers' neutrality in the face of this particular tradition. Ghose indicates that the resistance to British rule provoked in India a tendency to adhere to traditional norms and customs: 'a conservative backlash was widespread in India which emphasized a return to traditional values British colonial rule was anxious to

³² Graham does not maintain a consistent spelling for the term in the *India Journal*; neither does she report whether she personally witnessed one of these events.

align itself with conservative forces, as these were seen as a stabilizing factor for the empire' (112-113). Mani concurs that the British authorities were reluctant to abolish the practice because they feared the political repercussions of such an action: 'Official fear of the consequences of prohibiting *sati* was tied to their analysis of *sati* as a religious practice and to their view of religion as a fundamental and structuring principle of Indian society' (20). However, even if these propositions can be valid for male and female writers who reluctantly condoned *sati*,³³ they cannot have figured importantly in Graham's own attitude to it. As it was suggested above, her text indicates that for her, *sati* was a manifestation of Indian culture, and as such, it deserved to be mentioned among the many other cultural expressions of the country she was describing.

If the reference to the ritual was sketchy in the *India Journal*, it becomes more central and is described in more detail in Graham's second published work on India, *Letters on India*. She also appears more aware of the repugnance with which the practice was regarded in Europe, and this time she introduces the subject with a declaration that appears intended to reassure her readership:

The custom of the widows burning themselves with the dead bodies of their husbands, which has excited so much compassionate indignation in Europe, although decidedly encouraged by the Hindu legislators, has, according to Mr. Colebrooke,³⁴ never been frequent (*Letters on India*, 303).

³³ See Eden, p. 310

³⁴ Henry Colebrooke (1765-1837), Sanskrit scholar

She then proceeds to describe the ceremony in the minutest detail, and interestingly, relates it to practices in ancient Greece.³⁵ On many occasions when writing about India, Graham and also many British scholars, tried to find connections between Hindu and Greek funeral rites and religious practices.³⁶ These connections advanced the process of familiarisation and therefore of appropriation of the alien distant culture. The ritual of *sati*, suggests Graham, is not confined to the East but was also known in the West. Moreover, she ascribes the continuity of the practice to Hindu legislators, not to British acquiescence, and tries to explain away the horrified reports of British eye-witnesses by indicating that the widow could not retract after she had made public her intention to carry out her purpose:

A widow who recedes after having declared her resolution to burn with her husband, is now compelled by her relations to complete the sacrifice; hence some of the shocking scenes which those of our countrymen who have been eye-witnesses, have described; but in general what is thus courageously undertaken, is as courageously carried through (304).

Graham appears here to be arguing for the value of *sati* as a dramatic representation of a wife's loyalty that happens also to be a religious ritual. The elements of drama, ritual, and religion give the practice, as narrated by Graham, the quality of romance carried to an extreme. Mani indicates that it was the British authorities who labelled *sati* as fundamentally religious (161), and therefore interwoven in the structure of Indian society. Graham's qualifying of the practice as religious may have been a tactic to distance her text from a

³⁵ In a footnote to her text Graham indicates that 'Evadne, the wife of Capaneus who perished in the Theban war, burnt herself on her husband's funeral pile' (*Letters on India*, note to p. 303). This observation may be seen as an attempt to normalize this practice.

³⁶ This scholarly concern will be discussed later in the chapter, in relation to the Wilford episode.

controversial subject. In the description of the ceremony, the actions of the widow are displayed as following an established pattern:

The ceremonies attending the sacrifice are as follows: "Having first bathed, the widow, dressed in two clean garments and holding some cusa-grass, sips water from the palm of her hand. Then ... she repeats the *sancalpa*, which contains a declaration of her name and family, with the day and month in which she performs the sacrifice, and the motives which induce her to do so, and concluding with the following adjuration: 'I call on you, ye guardians of the eight regions of the world! Sun, and moon, air, fire, ether, earth, and water! My own soul! Yama! Day, night, and twilight! And thou conscience bear witness. I follow my husband's corpse on the funeral pile'" (304-305).

Another sign that Graham was supporting the colonial discourse that considered *sati* religious is that she uses the term 'sacrifice' as a synonym for it. 'Sacrifice' has religious connotations for Christians, and by making the term interchangeable with *sati* in her text, she was reinforcing its religious context³⁷ in the mind of her readers. The sense of drama of the event is achieved by setting down the invocations of the widow in direct speech, as in a dramatic script. In the countless reports of *sati* included in the works of Mani, Eden, Parkes, or Fay, Graham's is the only one that records these invocations and narrates the woman's actions as performed by a free human being. The widow is therefore endowed with autonomy, independence, and courage,³⁸ transformed into a heroine, a device that absolves both the British colonial power and the narrator herself. The narration continues with a long prayer uttered by the Brahmin:

³⁷ Graham was also emphasising the romantic and Gothic aspects of the ritual, with its connotations of savagery.

³⁸ The case of widows who retracted from their promise to burn and were compelled to carry the ceremony through were the exception, according to Graham.

“Om! let these wives,³⁹ pure, beautiful, commit themselves to the fire with their husband’s corpse”. After this benediction and repeating the mystic *Namó Namá*, she ascends the pile, and her son, or other near kinsman of her husband applies the funeral torch with the ceremonies prescribed with the *grihya* or ritual of his tribe (305).

This intellectual view of *sati* may be another instance of the many, observable in Graham’s journals, in which she tries to construct a parallel, more acceptable universe inside her texts. It is significant that the narrative stops the moment the torch is applied to the pile; the narrator is spared the telling and the reader is spared the knowledge of the details that follow. The ceremony remains solemn, well organised, and ‘clean’, and shows a narrator in control of her text.

The manner in which Graham represented significant practices in India, like *zenanas* or *sati*, differs from that of other (travel) writers of her time. She degraded the former and took away its mystery, while she edited the latter and transformed it into an exotic pageant. In Graham’s texts the discourse of colonialism is closely related to the notions of ethnicity and rank. The racial superiority of Europeans is implicit in her work as a justification of colonialism; her own superiority, on the other hand, both intellectual and social, over the colonial Europeans is overtly stated. Thus: ‘Mrs. C. though uncultivated is naturally interesting’ (Private Diary, 76), she reports a few days after arriving in Bombay; or ‘Mrs. Woodhouse called – a pleasant woman enough, but evidently showing that she is a colonialist’ (ibid., 78). Also, ‘Mr. and Mrs. John Forbes called on us. She is a nice little woman’ (ibid., 81). Graham communicates her message by conceding that the colonials are acceptable on principle, while at the same time providing a negative appreciation that annuls the initial positive judgement. Thus, one of them is ‘interesting’, but ignorant; the other is

³⁹ The plural refers to the cases in which the man had more than one wife.

'pleasant', but provincial; the third is patronised by the qualifier 'little'. The men of the colony fare slightly better in her eyes, but the implied social and intellectual inferiority is clear. This belittling of others helped Graham establish her authority as a narrator.

If Graham's fellow nationals are depicted as inferior to her, the natives of the countries she visits are portrayed as a race apart, either to be secretly envied as, for instance, the natives of Madeira at the start of the voyage:

The costume of the boatmen and the form of the boats had all the interest of novelty, and the energetic motion they made use of in speaking, plainly spoke them being born in the general warmth of a southern latitude, where the blood seems to flow with greater force and all the emotions seem more vigorous (Private India Diary, 14).

In other circumstances she denies the natives the status of thinking beings, as in her description of the Hottentots she meets in the Cape. In this latter example, Graham's conception of ethnic superiority comes enclosed within a paternalistic posture that praises the humanitarianism of the British, particularly that of Colonel John Graham (her future husband's elder brother), who was in charge of a regiment of Hottentots at Wineburgh:

To Col. Graham, every lover of mankind must feel himself indebted; for three years his days and nights have been devoted to alleviating the miseries and promoting the comforts of this hitherto despised and oppressed race of beings, and he is rewarded by seeing them gradually improving and ascending *in the scale of rational beings* [emphasis added] (ibid., 47).

Apart from praising British officials and justifying British presence in South Africa, Graham is ascribing it a redemptive quality that elevates colonialism, in this and other instances, to the level of a mission. The activities of Colonel Graham and his aims appear to be more like those of a member of a religious

order than of a commander of a regiment. The adverb 'hitherto' is crucial to the passage, because it indicates that with the arrival of the British forces the Hottentots have ceased being oppressed and despised; on the contrary, she suggests, their intellectual capacities are improving. On the surface of the text, Graham appears to disengage herself from the improper colonial practice of despising the natives; however, her own statement that once their material needs are satisfied, the Hottentots have begun to ascend 'in the scale of rational beings', means that in the past they were not quite rational (or quite like Europeans), but also that they have not yet reached the desired height. Implicit in this statement comes the fact that Europeans are the norm against whom foreigners are measured. When Graham refers to the Hottentots as a 'despised ... race of beings', she is performing an action that Leask (2004) denominates 'alteristic stereotyping' (214), that is, labelling and categorising alterity for domestic consumption. This operation, apart from justifying the colonial presence, carries with it the obvious implication of European superiority: the mission of improving the conditions in the occupied territories implies that the occupiers have high values to pass on to people who do not have them, and kind actions to perform on their behalf.

There are also colonialist messages encoded in the description of the manner in which women and men are dressed. As it was pointed out earlier, in the account of the clothes worn by Madeirans, men and women are invariably described differently. However, on Graham's arrival in India this difference acquires a new depth, as it does not only imply a denial of the humanity of the colonised, but also a delving into their sexuality. Thus, the women are presented as sexual icons (except, paradoxically, in the passage on the zenana), although

not objectified, as they are not denied their humanity. The men, on the other hand, are completely denied their sexuality. Shortly after her arrival in India, Graham describes the women she sees on the street,

the better sort of native women, in their graceful costume, reminding one of antique sculptures wear a short bodice with half sleeves, which fastens behind, and is generally made of coloured brocade. The *shalie*, a long piece of coloured silk or cotton, is wrapped round the waist in form of a petticoat, which leaves one part of one leg bare, while the other is covered to the ankle [sic] with long and graceful folds, gathered up in front, so as to leave one end of the shalie to cross the breast, and form a drapery, which is sometimes thrown over the head as a veil (*India Journal*, 2-3).

This description appears gendered because it concentrates on certain parts of the body that make the woman more sexually appealing. Conversely, the native men are de-gendered to such a degree that a naked native man does not offend the sensibilities of a European lady:

The palankeen-bearers are here called *hamauls* (a word signifying carrier); they for the most part wear nothing but a turban, and a cloth wrapped round the loins, a degree of nakedness that does not shock one, owing to the dark colour of the skin, which, as it is unusual to European eyes, has the effect of dress (*ibid.*, 2).

Graham appears here to be obeying the directives that considered it 'proper' for a woman to look and describe another woman in her physicality, but not another man. This might explain why she objectifies foreign men, either to satirize them like those in Madeira, or to degrade them, as those in the above quoted passage. Consequently, if the body of the colonised, both male and

female, was demeaned, that of the European had to be perceived always at its best.⁴⁰ This idea of racial superiority to which Graham adhered, was reinforced by the careful concentration on the physical appearance of the (male) colonisers. Said (1978) indicates that an enhancement of Orientalism was achieved when the British authorities made their colonial officials retire at the age of fifty-five: 'No Oriental was ever allowed to see a Westerner as he aged and degenerated, just as no Westerner needed to see himself, mirrored in the eyes of the subject race, as anything but a vigorous, rational, ever-alert young Raj' (V.G. Tiernan, quoted in Said, 42). This policy was so successful, apparently, that it was transposed to the bodies of children. Denise Comer remarks that British children seldom lived in India after the age of seven, and that Graham's journal reflects that peculiarity, because her references to children are restricted to Indian ones and are more a reflection of poor parenting than actual portraits. She further indicates that the only reference to a British child in her text appears in her account of a visit to a Rajah near Bombay (47).

The Rajah is a plump stupid-looking man, but good natured and hospitable. He begged our friends to let the children visit him, for he had never seen an European child, and the Mahrattas⁴¹ say proverbially when they would praise beauty, "As lovely as a white child" (*India Journal*, 70).

This passage, adds Comer, 'calls attention to the British child's implied innate glory' (47). It also foregrounds the importance of bodies in colonial texts, and how their description carries encoded or buried messages: Western pale skin is a signifier of superiority, given that dark skin in a male body divests it of its

⁴⁰ This observation does not contradict Graham's representation of her superiority over the colonial British women she met in India, since she was comparing herself to them intellectually, not physically.

⁴¹ Rivals of the Moghul emperors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

sexuality and also of its beauty, because it does not conform to Western standards.

Apart from the suggestion that the British child is finer than the native one, the above quotation appears to present an instance of complicity, since it is the colonised who recognise the physical 'superiority' of the representatives of the colonial power and consequently provide a justification for the practice.⁴² Graham tries to distance herself further from the practice of colonialism by going deeper into the causes of the racial differences between Europeans and Asians. The difference is moral, she concludes, rather than physical or external:

I am unwilling to think the natives of any country *naturally inferior to those of another*, and I therefore endeavour to account to myself for the great moral disparity between European and Asiatics, by supposing that the severities of the northern climate, and the difficulty in raising food, give a spur to industry and invention, to surmount the disadvantages of nature, and to procure property and comforts which are valued in proportion to the difficulty with which they are attained. But no such incitements to exertion exist in this climate, and the mind sinks in proportion to the inactivity of the body [emphasis added] (*India Journal*, 93).

In spite of her proclaimed 'unwillingness', the narrator is ready to qualify the Indians as indolent and incompetent. Later, in *Letters on India*, she adds to this portrait with the suggestion that they are also false and deceitful. She does, nevertheless, invite the implied reader to explore with her the causes of their depravity (7). Leask (2004) indicates that Graham provides 'a climatic rather than a racialist explanation of cultural difference' (214), but the subtext remains that this difference, regardless of its causes, situates the less enterprising and the

⁴² At the same time, the narrative could be taken to be the portrayal of a situation in which the colonised themselves 'Other' the colonisers and gaze back.

less morally upright in a degraded position. This rationale, in its turn, serves to sustain the ethical tenets of British colonialism; what is more, she portrays it as a benign and almost desirable form of rule that results in the advancement of the colonised:

But I trust, as we have hitherto used our power *soberly*, and on the whole, have made our government *beneficial* to the inhabitants of India, so we shall continue in the same wise *moderation* and conduct the innovations necessary for their permanent *improvement* and our own *security* [emphasis added] (*Letters on India*, 8).

In the India journal, Graham had anticipated this vision of a benign form of colonialism.⁴³ However, in this public statement she appears to support the cause at the same time she tempers her approval with veiled warnings of troubles to come unless power is used with restraint. As in the narration of the child-god in the India journal, Graham is once again distancing herself from her subject in order to acquire a wider perspective and the ability to pronounce balanced judgements. This technique of gaining balance through distance was perfected through time and matured in the latter Latin American journals, as will be shown in the subsequent chapters.

Finally, an analysis of Graham's work on India cannot overlook an intriguing passage concerned with her participation in the colonialist discourse of early nineteenth-century Britain. Towards the end of the previous century a group of British scholars led by Sir William Jones (1746-1794), founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, had been exploring the relationship between Hindu and Greek mythology, apart from Hindu religion, Indian geography, and the languages spoken in the region. Most of all, they sought 'to corroborate the

⁴³ This is a reference to Graham's attempt to justify British colonialism by portraying it as a liberating force in the moral sense. See India journal, 71-2

authenticity of Biblical narrative' (Leask 2000:206). The Society used their journal, *Asiatic Researches*, to publish their findings, which were centred on the study of ancient texts and which allowed them to build a corpus of data on Indian geography, culture, and mythography. On the subject of religion, they claimed to have detected three major points of resemblance between Hinduism and Christianity: the narratives of the Garden of Eden, of the Deluge, and of Christ. These hypotheses were mainly the findings of Major Francis Wilford, and it is the last of the three that apparently caught Graham's attention.

Major Francis Wilford (1761-1822) was a member of the Asiatic Society and a constant collaborator to its journal. Leask (2000) mentions, for instance, Wilford's 1799 essay 'On Egypt ...', which claimed he had found a 'Sanskrit version ... of the story of Noah or Satyavrayata and his three sons Jyapete, Charma, and Sharma' (ibid.). Leask (1999) indicates that Wilford supported his claims with geographical and etymological arguments, and indicated for instance that Mount Ararat⁴⁴ was located in the Himalayas and that the name was derived from the Sanskrit word 'Aryavarta' (341). The importance of these assertions lies not only in the fact that they justified colonialism by indicating common historical and religious roots between East and West, but also because they had a strong influence on the Romantic poets, especially Shelley and Southey⁴⁵ (ibid., 342). This, and other similar texts, says Leask (2000), authenticated by means of corroborating 'external sources' the story of Genesis in the Bible and therefore were well received in religious circles in Britain (206-207).

⁴⁴ Where, according to the Biblical narrative, Noah's ark finally came to rest.

⁴⁵ These myths, says Bernard Blackstone, fed the imagination of the Romantic poets, particularly Blake and Shelley, because they challenged the accepted bases of historical facts and fuelled 'Romantic rebelliousness' (387).

Graham's contribution to this exercise of colonial myth-building⁴⁶ centres on her preoccupation to include these propositions in her text, although she is careful to point out that she is not fully convinced of their veracity. Her methodology in this part of *Letters on India* consists in building up Wilford's image as a learned scholar and in ignoring the scandal that erupted in India in 1805 following his own confession in *Asiatic Researches*. In his admission of guilt, says Ghose, Wilford reported that the Hindu expert who had been assisting him in his studies of Hindu sacred texts, and who had provided manuscripts that corroborated the veracity of his religious theories, had been forging some of the documents (126). Graham's attitude of praising the scholar but casting doubt on his proposals anticipates a trait that becomes more noticeable in her subsequent journals. It consists in distancing herself from her narrative when the contents may appear doubtful, or when she herself may have been certain that they were untrue.

This script was convenient for Graham because it allowed her to represent herself as a shrewd and selective narrator who is not easily deceived. Her readers could therefore trust her veracity and respect her authority. In the specific case of *Letters on India*, Graham mentions for instance Wilford's theory that the British Isles were in reality the Hindu 'Sacred Islands of the West' (Leask 2000:208) only in passing, and the hypothesis that the Deluge took place in India is preceded by expressions that indicate uncertainty: 'it is conjectured', 'appears to be', (*Letters on India*, 175). These markers indicate

⁴⁶ Ghose (1999:26) mentions a latter day woman travel writer, Anne Katharine Ellwood, who in her *Narrative of a Journey Overland to India from England ...* (1839) appears to have been deceived, as Graham was earlier, by Wilford's claims.

that the narrator is merely indicating facts as she saw or heard them, but should not be held accountable for their accuracy.

The most significant part of Graham's report is, however, the story of the divine child, Salivahana. Leask (2000) indicates that according to Wilford, this child had been born to a virgin and a carpenter; later he becomes a mystic and is finally crucified in a Y shaped plough (210). Graham chose to include this controversial narrative into her work in 1814, and staged her presentation in a manner that allowed her to add interest to her own book without sullyng her respectability as narrator. In addition, she took over part of Wilford's text and presented it as her own.

Wilford had confessed publicly in 1805 that some of the manuscripts he had been working on had been forged, although he did not refer specifically to the Salivahana story. When he decided to publish it, despite its doubtful origin, two years after his confession, he preceded it by a disclaimer:

The Salivahana story 'is a most crude and undigested mass of heterogeneous legends taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, the tales of the Rabbis and Talmudists concerning with Solomon ... jumbled together with ... the history of the Persian Kings of the Sassanian dynasty' (quoted in Leask 2000:211).

In *Letters on India*, Graham indicates that she has taken the story she is about to relate from the publications of Major Wilford, a scholar she has built up as outstanding all through her book. However, in the same introductory sentence she casts doubt on the narrative that follows by means of an opening paragraph that she copied directly from Wilford. That is, she plagiarizes Wilford's own doubts to enhance her own image. Below is Graham's introduction to the Salivahana story:

Major Wilford mentions four Vicramadityas⁴⁷ whose histories appear to be a mass of heterogeneous legends taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, the tales of the Talmud concerning Solomon, and some of the Persian history of the Sassanian kings (172).

The qualifying phrase 'appear to be', that casts a doubt on the narrative that follows is Graham's and it suggests an evaluation of the data on her part; however, the rest of the paragraph is copied from Wilford verbatim and is not the result of an analysis performed by Graham.

Plagiarism was certainly censured during the first half of the nineteenth century⁴⁸ and scholars were expected to give credit to their sources of information. Graham appears to have complied with this norm⁴⁹ with the exception of the present case. In all her previous references to Wilford in *Letters on India*, she acted as a reporter of his findings and as a defender and clarifier of his scholarly methodology. One possible explanation for Graham's appropriation of Wilford's text in the Salivahana story could surface in the examination of the two passages. Wilford's disclaimer contains two negative qualifiers ('undigested' and 'jumbled'), which signal to the readers that this story is not to be taken seriously. Graham eliminated those negative qualifiers and replaced them by her own qualifying subordinate phrase ('whose histories appear to be'), signalling that it is she, the narrator, who controls the accuracy of her text and protects the readers from deception. Plagiarism could therefore have resulted from a desire to appear in an exalted position, above all other

⁴⁷ Kings in ancient India.

⁴⁸ There is a very illuminating book on the subject by Robert Macfarlane, recently published by the Oxford University Press: *Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteen Century Literature. The Representative*, June 3, 1826, deals with plagiarism in newspapers and journals.

⁴⁹ In *Letters on India* Graham admits that her discussion on Sanskrit is based on Colebrooke's essay on the subject 'and perhaps occasionally his very words' (24); yet she never indicated that she had copied Wilford. Whenever she discusses the latter, she represents herself as reporting or explaining his theories.

scholars centred on the subject. In other words, she appropriated Wilford's own doubts and presented them as hers, which can be a subtler form of intellectual borrowing.

Graham's vision of India may seem unclear at times, and she herself should bear responsibility for this lack of definition. Despite her efforts to appear distant and invisible, her narrative presence stands before her text, mostly acting in compliance with the directives of her age but also, occasionally, in direct opposition to them. Like a true Romantic, her selfhood forms part of the make up of her work.

Chapter II

The Chile Journal

In the previous chapter it was proposed that Graham fashioned alternative realities in her various texts on India, not only on board the ship but also in the country itself, once she arrived. With regards to the *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, published twelve years afterwards, this assumption takes a greater significance because her trip to South America marked the start of a new period in her life and her work, after several years of intellectual stagnation. However, in the text that will be examined here, the narrator goes beyond the fashioning of ideal sites or the manifestation of controversial or slanted viewpoints to actual fabrication and mythologizing of places, scenes, and situations. Apparently, the romantic euphoria Maria manifested in her private journal during the months of her engagement to Thomas Graham did not last long after their wedding and their return to England. He seems to have been little impressed with her success as an author,¹ nor is he ever represented as a source of intellectual support or inspiration for his wife. This trait in the personality of her future husband did not bother Graham the writer at the beginning of their relationship: ‘Surrounded by persons of merit, his mind loses none of its lustre, *and if he is less read in books*, he is also more unspotted from the world’ [emphasis added] (India Diary, 84); on the contrary, she considered it an asset. However, after twelve years, her letters and her journal of 1816² reveal that she found married life less than satisfactory. About the routine of her life in Scotland she wrote to John Murray in March 1816: ‘You London people would think [it] incredible, when you know that more than half my time is spent tête a

¹ See p. 16 on the reception of her India journals.

² She copied passages of her private journals into her letters; therefore, the ideas often overlap.



LORD COCHRANE.

[THE EARL OF DUNDONALD]

FROM A PICTURE BY SYDNEY

Fig. 3 Lord Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald (1775-1860)

tête with my husband and the rest absolutely alone'. Her husband's appointment to the HMS *Doris* and his orders to sail to South America at the beginning of 1821 must have been welcome news. The voyage ended in tragedy, however, long before the mission was accomplished, at least for Captain Graham; for Graham the narrator, it marked a new beginning.

This chapter will argue that the more mature Graham manipulated her text not, as in the case of India, to plagiarise others or to represent herself as a scholar or a romantic heroine in a fictitious world, but to justify her decision to remain in Chile by herself after the death of her husband. It will also argue that the discourses prevalent at the time, as those of colonialism, of religious faith, or of the feminine ideal, do not enjoy an independent existence in this journal, but become channels that the narrator uses to articulate her own worldview and personal agenda. Most of all, it will show how the journal on Chile is more a political document than a travel account, because it is structured mainly as a vindication of Graham's fellow national, Lord Thomas Cochrane. Attention will also centre on Graham's insistence on the veracity of her accounts, on the instances of probable mythologising of reality, and on the effect these actions provoke on the text. In addition, her sense of the dramatic will be pointed out, especially in the passages where she ventriloquises Lord Thomas Cochrane's speech.

The argument will begin by providing a brief historical context that explains British and therefore Graham's and Lord Cochrane's presence in South America at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by showing that during the same period many other European and American travellers were visiting and writing accounts about the country that differed from Graham's. Their

narratives provide a contrast to the idyllic land of promise she painted at the start of her journal, and the subsequent analysis will centre on the premise that widowhood for her was not a tragedy, but a liberation. The study will continue with an examination of the discourses that coexist in the text and a description of the manner in which Graham dealt with them. By screening one behind the other, she added richness and subtlety to her text. This point will be especially emphasised in the discourses of colonialism and of religious manifestations, which constantly overlap or slide under one another, although attention will also focus on Graham's unfavourable representation of other women, an exercise that singled her out as a superior intellectual being. Finally, the chapter will point out some of the rhetorical devices Graham uses to foreground Lord Cochrane as a naval hero and gifted politician, including the unusual one of acting as mouthpiece for his own ideals. As it will be demonstrated later in the chapter, there is archival and textual proof that they collaborated closely, while in Chile, in the task of improving his public image.

After she returned to England from India with her husband in 1811, Graham saw the publication and success of her two books in 1812 and 1814. By 1815, according to her letters to John Murray, she was living in Scotland and missing the intellectual and social activity of London. On July 2, 1815,³ she writes, 'we are desperately cold here ... and during two months I have not seen two faces who are not of the family – What a contrast to London!'. Later on, in December of the same year,⁴ in the narration of her own and her husband's daily activities, there is a veiled suggestion of boredom and disillusionment:

³ Letter Nr. 1 to John Murray

⁴ Letter Nr. 5 to John Murray

The dogs and gun furnish an excuse for a great deal of walking to the Captain, and the garden for a great deal of exercise to me It is a better life than a London one perhaps, and if it has fewer pleasures it has fewer cares and disappointments for we know to a certainty who we shall sit by at dinner [sic].

With the exception of a trip to Italy in 1819, Graham's life continued in the same manner until the trip to South America two years later.

Britain had been interested in helping the Spanish colonies to attain their independence as early as 1797 (Koebel, 164), and once it was achieved, Royal Navy ships were sent to protect British commercial activities in the region. The *Doris* arrived in Brazil in September, 1821, and the record of Graham's first visit to that country appears in the first part of her *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, which will be discussed in the next chapter. On the 10th of March, 1822, the *Doris* sailed from Rio de Janeiro towards the Chilean port of Valparaíso with Captain Thomas Graham already very ill. He died during the voyage, a month later, and Maria Graham arrived in Chile a widow. She relates that the captains of the British and United States ships at anchor in the bay offered her their assistance and one of them even intended to delay sailing in order to take her back to England, but she refused, arguing that she had neither 'health nor spirits for such a voyage just yet' (*Chile Journal*, 114). She then took the unusual step of renting a house in the suburbs and of living there by herself. Apart from being unconventional, this decision seems surprising given her constant complaints, while in Scotland, of being lonely and deprived of the intellectual interaction of London. Despite the brilliant colours in which she painted it, Valparaíso was in 1822 a primitive and inhospitable place. Apart from a visit to the capital, Santiago, and to a few nearby villages, Graham remained in the port

for most of the ten months of her stay in the country. In January 1823 she sailed with Lord Cochrane to Rio de Janeiro, where she began a new chapter in her life and found material for the second part of her journal on Brazil. The two Latin American journals that Graham published as a result of her stay share few similarities; their uneven structure⁵ is perhaps the most remarkable of these.

The *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824) is unevenly structured because it comprises several different texts of which the dated daily occurrences form only a part (Pérez-Mejía, 123). The title page shows, apart from the information of title, author, and publisher(s), the sketch of a ship in full sail under a quotation from *Hamlet*, 3.1:

Haply the seas and countries different
With variable objects, shall dispel
This something-settled matter in his heart.⁶

Claudius speaks these words while he appears to be reflecting that perhaps a sea voyage to England will cure Hamlet of the profound melancholy he has been suffering since the death of his father. 'That something settled matter in his heart' can be read as bereavement and Graham, in one of the few references to her own loss, seems to be equating hers to Hamlet's. This choice of a text to introduce her journal appears to be a veiled justification of her decision to remain in the country by herself, as the new sights, people, and objects she will encounter promise relief from loneliness, a relief she would be missing if she returned to her own country. Moreover, it anticipates the dramatic effect of her

⁵ This similarity in the structure of both journals may be explained by the fact that they were put together afterwards, from loose notes, as it will be demonstrated shortly.

⁶ Graham chose lines of poetry for the title pages of her South American journals only. The books on India, published about ten years before, do not have this added design. The Brazil journal bears a happier quotation from *Childe Harold*, III.2: 'Once more upon the waters! Yet once more!/
And the waves bound beneath me as a stud/ That knows his rider'.

ventriloquism later in the journal, and the histrionic traits her narrating persona exhibits in the published Brazil journal.

A short author's preface follows the title page where Graham explains the need for an introductory chapter on the history of Chile before the journal proper, as all the previous records were destroyed after the defeat of the insurrectionists at Rancagua in 1817 (2). The information for the following chapter, she adds, was composed after listening to the testimonies of several persons who were present or participated in the events. As it will be demonstrated below, Graham's account was based mainly on a version of the facts provided by Lord Thomas Cochrane.⁷ Pérez-Mejía suggests that Graham lent Cochrane her narrative voice towards the end of their stay in Chile, when she transcribed his farewell address to the Chilean people (135); however, it will be shown below that there are many traces of his voice all through the text, a feature that contributes to its singularity.

The 'Introduction' is followed by the journal itself in which the narrator gives an account of the *Doris*' arrival at the port of Valparaíso, followed by entries that vary in length and subject matter. These entries are not dated consistently: in some cases there is the precise day/month/year formula, with the addition of the particular day of the week, as on the first entry: 'Sunday night, April 28th, 1822' (113); in others, there is only a numeral, for instance, 29th, and month and year have to be inferred. It may be of interest to note that this peculiarity appears only in the Chile and the second part of the Brazil journals, that is, after April 1822 and the death of her first husband. Given, as it will be demonstrated below, that Graham's journals are not actual diaries but later date

⁷ The relation of the battle of Maipú, for instance, where General José de San Martín (Cochrane's arch-enemy) appears in such unfavourable light is one of these instances. Haig (79-80) relates the battle in quite different terms.

reconstructions made from notes and memory, the disorderly dating can be understood as the result of this practice. Finally, after the entries of the journal there is a short 'Postscript' with account of events in Chile after the narrator's departure and several appendices. However, with the exception of a few references to the 'Introduction', this chapter will concentrate only on the journal proper and its multi-faceted narrator.

Present day literary theorists postulate that the narrator of first person singular testimonies are fictitious characters; they may be either agents of the author (Sturrock, 9), or '[entities] constituted in images or words that cannot refer to the "real" world because of the inherently non-referential nature of all signs' (Friedman, 37). Moreover, the speaker is not a single individual, but 'rather a series of selves' (Herman, 212). This assumption, although not especially original, acquires significance in the study of Graham as narrator, because in her texts she can skilfully metamorphose herself into different narrative personas according to the messages she wants to convey. Within this journal she characterises herself at times as the helpless heroine, as the social and political analyst, as the learned scholar, as the botanist, or as the ironic and detached observer. The narrative selves that are born of the text articulate the narration through several linguistic formations that are quite distinct from one another. Apart from discourses, which will be discussed later in the chapter, the speaker makes use of particular registers, of certain stances or attitudes, and of rhetorical tropes, such as metaphors or ironic observations. All these elements participate in the configuration of the narrating subjectivity that controls the text.

This textual control can be appreciated, for instance, in the passage of the *Chile Journal* dated October 15th, 1822. Halfway through her stay in the country Graham makes an analysis of General San Martín,⁸ a man she profoundly dislikes. First the narrator feels the need to explain why she will relate a private conversation, and her reasons for being so hard on the General who happens to be paying her a surprise visit:

I am not fond of recording even the topics of private conversation, which I think ought always to be sacred. But San Martin is not a private man When we spoke of religion and Zenteno [then governor of Valparaíso] joined in the discourse, he talked much of philosophy; and both those gentlemen seemed to think that philosophy consisted in leaving religion to the priests and to the vulgar ... while the wise man could laugh alike at the monk, the protestant, and the deist (281).

After religion, the conversation turns to world politics, and the narrator is able to control the scene through the use of such textual devices as irony, and nuances in sentence construction:

From religion ... the transition was easy to political revolutions. The reading of all South American reformers is mostly in a French channel; and the age of Louis XIV *was talked of* as the *direct and only cause* of the French revolution, and consequently of those in South America. A slight compliment *was thrown in* to King William before I had *ventured to observe*, that perhaps the former evils and present good of these countries might in part be traced to the wars of Charles V and his successor, *draining these provinces of money* and returning nothing [emphasis added] (282).

In these two passages, the narrator takes two opposing stances. In one, she tries to represent herself as she imagines these two men in authority regard her, a mere woman, incapable of having ideas of her own or of expressing them. In the

⁸ Commander of the *Ejército Libertador* ['liberating army'] fighting the Spanish colonial army in Argentina, Chile, and Perú.

other, she is deriding the men's reasoning, their ignorance, and their lack of perception, but most importantly, she is addressing her readers directly and asking them to be her accomplices in her attempt to ridicule the pomposity of her guests. This latter stance of superiority is achieved through the use of irony, as when she reports that both men 'seemed to think' they knew what philosophy was; the implication is that they did not, but that the narrator and the readers do. There is also irony in her account of these persons' simplistic analysis of the 'direct and only cause' of the French and South American revolutions. Her emphasis on these words suggests not only derision but also a proclamation that the men's analysis is simplistic. When she later narrates that 'another subject was talked of', the use of the passive voice may be taken as an indication that the others talked but that she did not participate, either because she did not agree or because they did not consider her an intellectual equal, due to her gender. This is why later she humbly only 'ventured to observe', as she ironically suggests that she could not enjoy an equal status with her visitors and therefore was not free to make assertions, as they were.

Graham's language becomes stronger when she narrates that her guests, probably in an attempt to appease her, 'throw in' a positive comment about the King of England, in the same way as an indifferent piece of meat is tossed into the boiling pot of soup, or a bone is thrown to a dog. This last metaphor may be an indication of the low opinion in which she held the two political leaders with regards to their social graces as well as their wisdom: subtextually she is signalling that their poor attempt at politeness will not placate her. All these attendant meanings in the text are communicated also by the narrator's register, which is the speech of an educated person who is able to report discussions on

religion, philosophy (or what passes for those disciplines), and also on political history. It should be noted that she not only reports, but also indicates that the analyses she hears are narrow and lacking in depth and brilliance. A regulating central consciousness can be discerned in both passages. This consciousness makes moral decisions as to whether to relate this conversation or not, chooses to oppose the views she hears discussed, and has very clear ideas on significant themes, such as the part religion plays in people's lives or the complexity of the forces that bring about revolutions. In this case it is the implied author who tries to engage her readers behind the two men's backs. But this attitude is not permanent.

In the greater part of the journal the implied author is not so easily discerned, and the narrator is detached from both scene and reading public. As a human figure she appears to have no family apart from a silent, sickly cousin who travelled with her on the *Doris*, and no close friends, as if she were completely cut off from her world. She is never sea-sick like Flora Tristán, nor does she experience major discomforts when travelling, as Emily Eden in India or George Hibbert in Chile.⁹ Neither does she complain of the heat or the cold, of hunger, exhaustion, or boredom. There are no references to financial matters or financial problems and Graham's tone in the journal on Chile is always ironical, detached, slightly derisive, except when she refers to Spanish colonialism or the Catholic Church, at which point she becomes vituperative. Her tone with regards to Lord Cochrane will be discussed in more detail below. What is important to note is that all this semblance of coldness and

⁹ Tristán: *Peregrinations of a Pariah* (1838); Eden: *Up the Country* (1838; pub. 1866); Hibbert: *Narrative of a Journey from Santiago de Chile to Buenos Ayres* (1824).

uniformity of tone has an effect on the way the narrator's gender can be interpreted by the readers.

The impersonal and unemotional narrative voice corresponds more to a masculine textual ideal in the nineteenth century than to a British lady traveller of the same period. Graham never disguised the fact that she was a woman, therefore her choice of tone cannot be interpreted as false impersonation. Moreover, judging by her personal correspondence and private journals, this detachment was a construction, a mask, not her usual manner of expressing herself in writing. The possible key to this question may be two-fold: on the one hand she appears to have had a high opinion of her intellectual abilities and may have been imitating the voice of those who were in power, that is men, in order to align herself with them and profit from their advantages. On the other, she may have wanted to appear neutral and detached, so that the transitions to another voice (a masculine voice), which are frequent in the journal, could pass unnoticed.

Yet there may be also other reasons that explain her detached tone. During the Romantic period, when Graham wrote her journals, gender roles were clearly allocated, although it was the men who had authority, not only in society and within the family circle, but also in the sphere of artistic creation. In her essay 'Becoming an Author', Linda Peterson reflects that most of the stories about the Romantic poets and their work stress men's

natural genius and superior literary taste ... [these accounts] as well as autobiographical studies of authorship have only coincidentally touched on the Romantic female writer – in part because Romantic myths were specifically gendered to describe male artistry (36).

This observation brings to mind those Romantic poets¹⁰ who lived their own myths and even lived according to a tragic script, but also that this venue was generally closed to women writers due to the way society was structured at the time. Graham, however, sailed round this obstacle by constructing her voice to make it appear neutral, or at least not distinctly feminine. In this manner she avoided antagonising her readership of either gender, in spite of the fact that she was replacing Romantic adventure and exoticism, closed to her as a female, with a display of intellectual prowess. But most of all, she made her text plausible because she portrayed herself as indifferent to the possible reaction of her readers.¹¹ Graham's tone of voice was therefore suited to her message of enlightened analyses of foreign cultures; the genre in which she chose to express herself was, moreover, flexible enough to encompass her complexity as narrator.

Possibly, many of the autobiographical travel accounts published at this time, Graham's included, may have been fictionalised in part. Mills (1991:110) suggests that it appeared that authors simply printed in book form the letters to their families or their personal travel journals, but in reality, these stories were often given that form because that was what the public expected: 'Many of them had not kept journals during the journey, and therefore the journals are fictional inventions after the fact'. Deirdre Coleman, introducing Anna Maria Falconbridge's *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1794), which is structured as a set of letters to a friend, states that the book was written in the epistolary mode in order to satisfy the public, but that the letters are not

¹⁰ From her private letters it can be inferred that Graham felt an intense admiration for Lord Byron.

¹¹ This analysis is valid for Graham's published journals, with the exception perhaps of the second part of the Brazil journal, for reasons that will be obvious in the corresponding chapter.

authentic (5-7). Graham, for her part, indicates in her *Journal of a Residence in Chile* that what was published had been copied by herself from her own private journal. Many readers and critics, naturally, took her at her word. In her book *The Captain's Wife*, Elizabeth Mavor interprets very accurately the sets of rules Graham declared to abide by in the composition of her published journal:

No quoting from private letters, no quoting from private conversations. If she had not witnessed the events described she took care to interview living people who had, besides consulting documents of every kind – log books, gazettes, proclamations, letters, newspapers, official documents The original drafts of the journal remained private however. What we are permitted to read is what she called ‘a copied journal’. Less characteristic, she herself admitted, but nevertheless equally true (xii – xiii).

Graham also indicates in her *Chile Journal* that she wrote daily ‘the occurrences of the day’ (145) and she argues the case for a copied journal over an authentic one. A real journal can be disorganised, she declares; the entries may be too short or too long and there is always the danger of disclosing personal feelings or the private ideas of others. Conversely, she asserts, in a copied journal the text will be coherent and unified, at the same time it becomes richer and more varied. The richness comes from the inclusion of other points of view apart from her own. These ideas appear in an entry dated 31st May [1822], which has a special significance because of the emphasis she gives to the concept of truthfulness and also because it appears to be her statement of purpose for her work:

A copied journal is less characteristic [than a private journal]: it may be equally true, it may give a better, because a more rational and careful account of the countries visited and though there be no intentional variation, some shades of character will be kept under by fear, some suppressed, it may be through modesty, and there are feelings for others which will blot out many more: yet the journal is true; true to nature, true to facts, and true to a better feeling that often dictates the momentary lines of spleen or suffering. This truth I solemnly engage myself to preserve. I cannot give, and I trust no one will demand, more [sic] (145-146).

This statement of purpose made by the narrator performs several functions for the journal as a whole. Firstly, she anticipates possible accusations of partiality by indicating that she has suppressed certain passages moved by the desire to guard her own and other people's privacy. Secondly, she insists, perhaps too vehemently, on her complete adherence to the truth, as if she suspected that her assertions would be contested. But her allegiance is not given to truth alone; she claims that her journal is 'true to nature', thus placing her text on a par with a painting, and elevating it from a mere travel account to a work of art. Furthermore, this elevation of her journal into an artistic piece stresses the idea of its truthfulness. Graham is here implying that she is merely 'painting' what she sees, an assertion that substantiates her veracity.

The expression "true to nature" that Graham uses in this passage echoes Aristotle's *Poetics*. However, it appears incongruous in a description of a travel journal, as it is more commonly applied to static artistic manifestations as paintings or sculpture, or to fictional narratives. Graham may have been preparing her implied readers to accept the changes in the nature of her work.

Even though it is presented to the public as a travel journal, the present text is also a panegyric, a political manifesto, and a set of fictional accounts. She closes the passage with an indication that she considers her work transcendent. Her diction, 'I solemnly engage myself ...' confers on her journal the quality of a sacred mission. The sum of all these elements (professions of truthfulness, of artistry, of transcendence) works gradually but steadily towards the elevation of Graham's narrative self.

Despite Graham's protestations of truthfulness, however, there are specific instances both in her private correspondence and in the journal itself, which indicate that whether she kept a private journal or not, what was finally published cannot have been it, or even an edited copy of the original. In a letter she wrote to John Murray from Rio de Janeiro in on August 5th, 1823, there may be clues as to how the published journals were actually produced:

I have employed myself in arranging much that I had collected before and I think I have authentic material for a more interesting account of the countries men and things I have seen that anybody has yet given. There is not a shipwreck in every Canto indeed but I have Earthquake and Civil War; calamities enough I assure you to last a lifetime.¹²

The key terms in this passage of the letter are 'arranging', 'collecting', and 'authentic'. They suggest a compilation of loose notes rather than the daily recordings of a faithful diarist. The significance of this letter lies in that it reinforces the argument that the published journals were latter day constructions adorned with fictitious situations; besides, they suggest the idea of deliberate design. Remarkable also is her reference to 'authentic material', which can be related to her insistence on truthfulness in the statement of purpose cited above.

¹² The John Murray Archive, letter Nr 35

Most of all, this letter provides textual proof of the existence of two separate entities in Graham, the public and the private, and of the carefully constructed image she presented to her readers. The detailed account of her methodology, included in her journal, should not be seen as a digression, but as an addition to her self-representation as a meticulous, accurate, and thorough woman of letters.

Graham's public persona enjoyed great power over the text. The latter day reassembling of notes in the form of a journal gave her narrator the powers of hindsight, foresight, and omniscience. In addition, it gave her freedom to intercalate subplots where best they suited her line of reasoning, to mythologize situations, or to add new characters so as to make the narration more striking. More importantly, this methodology gave Graham the flexibility to change her narrative position when it suited the story, and to achieve the main objective of her journal, which was the glorification of Lord Thomas Cochrane.

Towards the end of her stay in Chile, in November 1822, Graham includes another reflection on the structure of her journal that betrays her concern that her readers in England will perhaps perceive it as untruthful. Very subtly she belittles it as a minor work lacking in coherence, but subtextually she signals that her adherence to truthfulness has resulted in a lack of coherence in the text, because her journal is a faithful portrayal of events as they took place:

I have been looking back at my journal of the last six weeks, and it struck me as I read it that it is something of a picture gallery where you have historical pieces, and portraits, and landscapes ... side by side. Every other thing written pretends to be a whole in itself, and to be either history, or landscape, or portrait But my poor journal, written in a new country and in a time of agitation, to say the least of it, can pretend no unity of design; for can I foresee what will happen tomorrow? (299).

It is not clear what Graham meant by 'journal' in this passage. Was it her private journal or the one she claimed to have copied for publication? Given the nature of the finished work, the most probable answer is that she meant the manuscript she was composing for publication. The inconsistencies that will be pointed out in the present chapter suggest that from time to time she felt the need to stress the fact that her journal was authentic. She claims that she cannot control events, and much less the characters in her narrative, as she would if she were writing a work of fiction:

And, as my heroes and heroines (by-the-by, I have but a scanty proportion of the latter,) are all independent personages, *I cannot, like a novel writer, compel them to figure in my pages to please me, but they govern themselves, and that ... is perhaps as well: the uncertainty of the end keeps up the interest* [emphasis added] (ibid.).

The writer of a journal, insists Graham, has no control over her narration; therefore she is merely reporting the actions of real-life people, who have a will of their own. The question why she felt the need to point out this fact is open to speculation¹³; what is clear is that her insistence reveals the tension that is produced all through her text between fact and fiction, the imagination versus reality, or truth versus fabrication. Possibly Graham was warning her readers that their expectations might not be met, as her journal would lack the symmetry of a fictional piece. As a consequence, her journal should be perceived as truthful since the loss of aesthetic merits would be compensated with realism. For Graham, therefore, truth is the greater good, even if it lacks the transforming power of art.

¹³ Graham probably wanted to emphasise the authenticity of her narrative, and to disguise her own self-constructions.



Fig. 4 The port of Valparaíso in 1830

Protestations of truth notwithstanding, there are instances in the *Chile Journal* that can only be interpreted either as straight deviations from the truth or as Romantic mythological constructions. Mythologizing takes place whenever the narrator transforms everyday situations into accounts of transcendent significance. Graham achieves this feat and reveals her strategy by linking these accounts to traditional narratological structures, as for instance that of the beautiful maiden rescued from imminent danger or the solitary wanderer overwhelmed by the beauty of the new land she is approaching. In the case that will be cited below, as in others where Graham sings the praises of Valparaíso, it will be shown through other travel reports of the time that the port was far from being the land of beauty she portrayed in her journal. Here, a more mature narrator than the young girl who visited India attempts to describe a land filled with aesthetic and spiritual riches and with the promise of personal and romantic fulfilment. It will be argued that Graham felt compelled to paint a brighter picture of the place, since a realistic account would have rendered her decision to remain there by herself and live an independent life more socially unacceptable than it already was.¹⁴ For instance, in the entry for Sunday 28th April, 1822, the narrating voice in the journal reports that when their ship, the *Doris*, approached Valparaíso bay that morning,

I can conceive of nothing more glorious than the sight of the Andes this morning, on approaching the land at daybreak; starting as it were from the ocean itself, their summits of eternal snow shone in all the majesty of light before the lower earth was illuminated, when suddenly the sun appeared from behind them and they were lost; and we sailed on for hours before we descried the land (113).

¹⁴ In his analysis of the society of Valparaíso in 1831, Rauschemberg states that: 'All the English and American ladies here are married' (106).

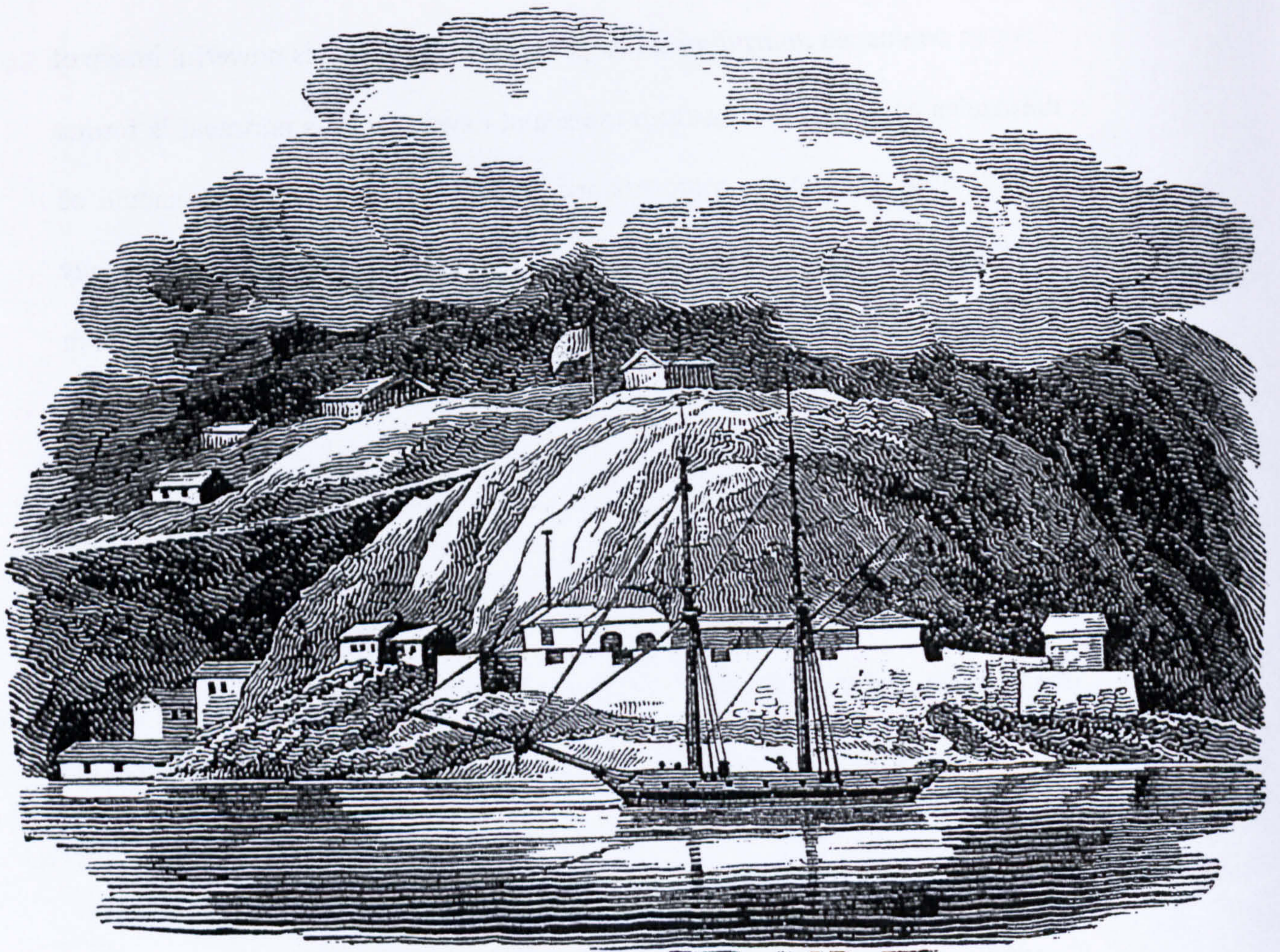


Fig. 5 The port of Valparaíso sketched by Maria Graham

Graham begins her *Journal of a Residence in Chile* with this powerful image of the Andes Mountains rising from the sea at dawn, and this portrayal is further evidence that this text is more a work of fiction than a journal. It should be remembered that her husband had just died and that they were bringing his body into the port for burial; it seems unlikely, therefore, that she would have been in the right mood for appreciating the glories of nature at that precise moment.¹⁵ By recourse to artifice she transforms the ship's final destination into a mystical space, instead of the humble port it was at the time. Captain Basil Hall from the Royal Navy, who visited Chile at approximately the same time Graham did, describes his arrival at Valparaíso on the 19th December, 1820:

After a perilous and protracted voyage, seamen are ready to consider any coast delightful; and it was probably from such a cause that the early Spanish adventurers named this place the Vale of Paradise, *a designation which its present appearance by no means justifies* [emphasis added] (6).

Captain Hall's is not the only negative impression of the port.¹⁶ Writing about his stay between 1819 and 1821, Alexander Caldcleugh was not more enthusiastic than Hall about the place: 'Valparaíso, including the Almendral forms a street of three miles long The houses are generally mean, even the governor's house and the custom-house are of poor appearance' (45). William Rauschemberg of the United States Navy wrote in 1831:

Those who, on the voyage to the "Vale of Paradise," had anticipated their experience and formed a picture of the place in their imagination ... found their hearts sink with disappointment at the first glance "I feel no inclination

¹⁵ It is true, however, that all the activities Graham performs after her husband is buried, like rides around the hills that surround the port, study of the local people, of the vegetation, or of religious customs, appear to come more from a traditional tourist than from a recently bereaved person.

¹⁶ In *Peregrinations of a Pariah*, Tristán reports that when they reached Valparaíso in 1833, the captain of her ship informed her that in 1825, eight years before, the port consisted of thirty or forty wooden huts (60).

to go ashore at such a looking place [said one officer]. It resembles a brick-kiln more than a town!" (11).

In opposition to these reports, Graham painted Valparaíso as an auspicious site endowed with magic, beauty, and light. The magical aspect is given by the image of the land rising miraculously from the sea, and the beauty and the light are provided by the snow-capped mountains which, incidentally, Graham cannot have seen,¹⁷ on that day at least. But it is the presence of the concepts of 'morning', 'daybreak', and 'sunrise' that suggest a feeling of liberation and of the start of a happier new life for the narrator.

There are several other inconsistencies in the text, like the mention of fruits out of season, or having the sun both rise and set in the east: 'But what pen or pencil can impart a thousandth part of the sublime beauty of sunset on the Andes?' (205). These deviations from facts support the contention that Graham did not keep a journal but rather organised notes rather hurriedly¹⁸ and did not allow herself time for revisions before publication. The most remarkable inconsistency, however, appears early in the journal and has to do with Director¹⁹ O'Higgins. On the entry for August 28, 1822, Graham narrates that during her stay in the capital she was invited to dine at the government palace. As she talked with the Director about common acquaintances in England, she relates that she 'saw several wild looking little girls come into the room and run up to him, and cling about his knees'; later she found that

¹⁷ A Communication with the Chilean Navy (email, January 27th, 2004) indicates that although not impossible, it is highly unlikely that Graham could have seen the Andes from the deck of her ship (some very especial meteorological conditions should have been present) and most probably what she saw were the coastal mountain ridges, wooded and much lower than the Andes bordering the coast, that never have snow on their summits.

¹⁸ She was back in England in December 1823, stayed for only a few months in order to see her journals published, and returned to Brazil in September 1824. Graham's letter Nr. 36 to John Murray testifies to the fact that the two most important publishers in London were practically fighting over her manuscripts in May, 1824. She cannot have had time to revise thoroughly.

¹⁹ Head of state.

they were ‘little orphan Indians rescued from slaughter in the field of battle’ (206). Graham introduces very suddenly the new characters in the narrative, but her explanation of this unusual apparition is cautious:

It appears [she suggests] that the Indians when they make their inroads on the reclaimed grounds, bring their wives and families with them; and should a battle take place and become desperate, the women usually take part in it. Should they lose it, it is not uncommon for the men to put to death their wives and children to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, and indeed till now *it was only anticipating, by a few minutes, the fate of these wretched creatures; for quarter was neither given nor taken on either side*, the Indians in the Spanish ranks continuing their own war customs in spite of their partial civilisation [emphasis added] (206-207).

Apart from adding to the myth of the ‘noble savage’ from distant lands, the dramatic scene presented above suggests heroic feats and noble, exalted virtues that would be appreciated by readers of Byron, Shelley, or Southey. The feeling of urgency Graham adds to her narrative, as the children are saved only minutes before they are to suffer a terrible fate, enhances the dramatic strength of the episode. However, it should also be noticed that whenever Graham is reluctant to commit herself, she introduces her stories with provisos such as ‘it appears’, or ‘I have been told’. In this particular instance, ‘the several wild looking little girls’ were, in reality, only two: Petronila, the youngest, (apparently O’Higgins’ daughter) was thirteen years old at the time; Patricia, the other one, was much older and is thought to have been Petronila’s mother, consequently O’Higgins’ mistress. Historian Jorge Ibáñez Vergara²⁰ indicates that Graham was told that the girls were orphans who had been adopted in the south of the country, because that was the ‘official’ explanation of their presence. The rest was

²⁰ ‘Los hijos del Padre de la Patria’ [‘The Children of the Founding Father of the Nation’]. *La Tercera* 10.07.05. Reportajes. <http://quepasa.cl> [accessed 23/06/06].

probably fashioned by Graham, because her recorded version of the situation fit the lineaments of the romance she was building in her journal, while the reality of the mistress and illegitimate daughter of the Head of State did not.

The number of girls present that evening, their ethnic origin, their aspect, their age, and their reason for being there, are transformed by the narrator of the journal into another instance of Romantic myth-making. There are no records of this custom in Mapuche history; on the contrary, when Graham visited Chile, the 'battles' she mentions were minor and sporadic encounters where some native Indians fought alongside Spanish soldiers (Koebel, 219). Yet this instance of myth-making would not have been significant had it been only an isolated episode, or if her story had ended there. This was not so; Graham even perfected her mythography by adding an Indian 'princess' to the story:

One of them [the children] pleased me especially: she is a little Maria, the daughter of a Cacique [tribal chief] who, with his wife and all the elder part of his family, was killed in a late battle. Doña Rosa [the Director's sister] takes particular charge of the little female *prisoners* and acts the part of a kind mother to them [emphasis added] (207).

It is probable that in this situation the narrator was reshaping a normal family gathering into a fictional account that would make her work more appealing to her European readers. Moreover, the inclusion of the young 'princess' appears to follow the Aristotelian injunction that a character needs to be of noble birth in order that his/her plight can inspire pity and fear. The idea of a literary construction implies a sustained effort. Graham was putting together an appealing portrait of an exotic, distant, and untamed country. The situations she related, therefore, had to live up to the expectations of an early-nineteenth-

century reading public interested in legends, in past times, in exoticism, and in tales of heroic feats. She was also, at the same time, building up her own image as outstanding narrator; therefore, her subject matter had to fit her elevated persona. The rather improper reality of the family at the government palace had no place in her text as she conceived it.

Possibly this is why the presence of the little girls is noted two more times later in the journal: 'we found the ladies sitting in their garden, with their little Indian girls playing about them' (236). Later on, when the party go in to dinner, the girls are there as well: 'The little Indians had a low table in the corner, where the little daughter of the Cacique presided; and where they were served with as much respect as Doña Rosa herself' (238). By the reiteration of the girls' presence in the text, Graham adds a further semblance of truth to her story.

By manipulating the truth Graham gained control, not only over her narrative, but also over the response of her readers. Similar, although less dramatic instances of truth-garnishing, take place when the narrator describes a group of dancing Indians dressed as women in front of a church in the town of El Monte, or a mysterious apothecary in Valparaíso. It is true that most readers in England would not have been aware of when exactly Graham was deviating from the truth, yet the hyperbole in the description of the mountains on her arrival, the pathos in the narrative of the Indian little girls, or the Gothic representation of a shopkeeper in Valparaíso, which will be described below, out of place among the simple people and humble buildings of the port, although he provides another dramatic touch to the narrative:

Returning from my shopping, I stopped at the apothecary's I fancy it must resemble an apothecary's of the fourteenth century, for it is even more antique looking than those I have seen in Italy or France. The man has a taste for natural history; so that besides his jars of old-fashioned medicines, inscribed all over with the celestial signs, oddly intermixed with packets of patent medicines from London, dried herbs ... there are fishes' heads and snakes' skins; in one corner a great condor tearing the flesh from the bones of a lamb; in another a monster sheep, having an adscititious leg growing from the skin of his forehead (133-134).

Graham represents the apothecary through the make-up of his shop, yet interestingly, he never appears in person, which adds to the mystery of this already sinister character. It is easy to imagine him as a magician, because of the 'celestial signs' on his jars, or as a poisoner, given the medieval and continental connotations of his portrait and the unknown herbs he has on display. The only touch of normality in the shop is given by the 'patent medicines from London'; the rest of the elements there are symbols of violence, like the condor, or of actual monstrosities, like the sheep. This distant port, the narrator implies, is a combination of the old and the new worlds, and therefore worthy of study. The description appears exaggerated however, and the shop and its owner seem to be more a fictional creation, out of time and out of place in the Chile of the 1820's. None of the many travellers that wrote accounts of Valparaíso at the same time mention Graham's apothecary or his sinister shop.²¹ The inclusion of such a character in the text makes the port an enigmatic place and fits in with Graham's overall plan to dramatize and romanticize the new country.

²¹ On the contrary, William Raushenberger indicates that most of the commerce in Valparaíso was carried out by peddlers shouting their wares on the streets (90-1).

Later in the journal, when Graham includes a passage of dancing Indians that is more straightforward, she narrates that she saw a group of (male) Indians dressed as women dancing in front of a Franciscan convent during a visit to the town of San Francisco del Monte. The Franciscan missionaries, she explains, have allowed the Indians to continue their practice of pagan dances on condition that they 'convert' to Christianity. Since the dance had to be performed in front of the church, the new converts were made to accept certain stipulations: 'and the dancers instead of painted bodies, and heads crowned with feathers, and bound with the fillet, -- still thought holy -- are now clothed completely in women's dresses, as fine as they can procure' (265).

It is possible that Graham, writing several months after these events, decided to adorn her description by adding colourful and even exotic elements to her narrative. Mapuches and Araucanians were (and are) extremely sober in their dress and wore no feathers and no war paint. Moreover, nothing would have induced them to wear women's clothes, and even less, white women's clothes.²² More probably, Graham made a composite of accounts she heard about other native peoples of the continent, including those of North America, with elements from her own imagination. In this manner she made her subject interesting and worthy of note, while in passing, she managed to encode a disturbing notion inside an apparently innocuous description of native customs: the Catholic Church destroyed the identity of the native Indians by making a travesty of their original ceremonies. As it will be discussed below, Catholicism for Graham constituted one of the darkest facets of Spanish colonialism. Her

²² On the Sunday following Easter Sunday, horsemen, wearing silk head-dresses and short silk capes, accompany the priest when he takes the Host to sick parishioners, but since the entry corresponds to September 11, 1822, the dates and the ritual do not coincide.

perceptions and her manner of presenting them in the text will be analysed from the viewpoint of the discourses prevalent in Europe during the first part of the nineteenth century.

Through the years, theorists have provided countless definitions of literary discourses (as opposed to linguistic discourses), yet the most comprehensive appears to be the one given by Michel Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*:

Lastly, what we have called 'discursive' practice can now be defined more precisely. It must not be confused with the expressive operation by which an individual formulates an idea, a desire, an image; nor with the rational activity that may operate in a system of inference; nor with the 'competence' of a speaking subject when he constructs grammatical sentences; it is a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic area, the conditions of operation of the enunciative function (131).

Mills (1997) discusses Foucault's views on discourses and later provides her own comprehensive definition of the term: 'a set of sanctioned statements which have some institutionalised force, which means that they have a profound influence on the way individuals act and think' (62). Discourses therefore can be described as groups of pronouncements that have historical reality at a given period in time, internal cohesion, and the force of authority. These linguistic and ideological devices are not static when they participate in the genesis of a textual persona, for instance, or of a given text; on the contrary, they interact by antagonising, effacing, or reinforcing one another. In the particular case of the *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, one discourse can be seen to mask another that remains hidden. For instance, the (Protestant) discourse of religion, used to denounce the evils of Catholicism in this journal, also acts as a weapon to attack

the incompetence with which Spain dealt with her colonies, and to foreground, consequently, the ethical sustentation of British colonialism. It should be recorded, however, that Graham's particular exercise of juxtaposing both types of colonial rule was a practice that had been going on since the seventeenth century in Europe, or even earlier. As time went on, the contrast intensified: 'During the course of the seventeenth century, as the image of a global power aspiring to universal monarchy was replaced by that of a vulnerable colossus, Spain acquired connotations of backwardness, superstition, and sloth, that Enlightenment Europe took delight in condemning' (Elliott, 13). Graham layers one discourse on top of another, a method that allows her to criticise Spain indirectly. Her most forceful condemnations were made through the discourses of religious manifestations through which Graham offers an analysis of Spanish colonialism. Incidentally, her views coincide with Elliott's interpretation shown above.

The discourse of femininity, although not always faithful to the middle class ideal²³ when appealed to by Graham, is mostly used to foreground the superiority of the narrator while at the same time it denigrates the Catholic Church, and therefore Spain. The narrative voice that utters these discourses makes use of certain linguistic devices that render it unique, as noted. Graham's voice in the *Chile Journal* is marked mainly by its ring of authority, which is achieved in the first place by her use of register, secondly by her stance, and thirdly by the manner in which she deals with gender issues, her own as well as that of the women she meets. Her register in the journal is mainly that of a person of high culture, in possession of an extensive vocabulary, who constructs

²³ Mills (1997:62) suggests that in the nineteenth century the discourse of femininity consisted of various pronouncements on generosity, self-effacement, or sweetness of temper.

grammatically correct sentences separated by appropriate punctuation. Graham's voice is distinctive as well because her speech is seldom self-referential and her tone, save the passages where she is arguing in favour of Lord Cochrane, is unemotional and ironic. In other words, she assumes a masculine register.

Graham's stance affects the configuration of her narrative voice. The position she normally adopts as speaker is that of a member of a civilised society observing another in a more primitive state, with the purpose of reporting her conclusions to her equals. There is confidence, for instance, in the final paragraph of her 'Preface' that her work will fill a need and be useful to both her fellow nationals and the inhabitants of the new country. After indicating that the Chilean climate is favourable, the soil rich, and the people deserving, she argues for the usefulness of her work:

[however] these are no ordinary difficulties to get over, to common wants to be supplied; and if the following pages shall in the slightest degree contribute directly or indirectly to supply those wants, or to smooth those difficulties, by calling attention to that country either as one particularly fitted for commercial intercourse, or as one whose natural resources and powers have yet to be cultivated, the writer will feel the truest satisfaction (v).

The narrator's ambitious project is disguised under formulaic protestations of humility, yet her aims are far reaching, since they deal with international commerce and the welfare of peoples. The note of confidence in her voice is unmistakable. The signifiers of privileged stance and assertiveness are reinforced in this passage by the implications derived from them: her moral, intellectual, and social superiority give her credibility, profound knowledge, and respectability. These qualities, however, were more commonly ascribed to male

than to female writers in the nineteenth century. Graham appropriated them for herself and thus made her most significant statement on gender restraints and licenses: that in her case, these had no validity. Even her own position as a woman living by herself in a foreign country is seldom foregrounded in her text, or represented as unusual. On the contrary, her forceful use of the discourses of religious practices sets her apart from other writers travelling in South America at the time, as it will be pointed out shortly.

In the *Chile Journal* Graham denounces Catholic practices that at first sight have to do with gender, as convents and nuns, but which are in fact political statements. In the entry for September 7, 1822, the narrator describes a visit to the convent of *San Agustín* in Santiago, and thanks God that these houses have become so impoverished under the new laws, that hopefully they will decrease in number. She adds quite starkly that the nuns are 'old and ugly, with the exception of one who is very young' (235). Her tone grows harsher when she reports what she sees in a courtyard of the convent,

where in the centre of a pool there is the ugliest Virgin that man ever cut in stone, intended to spout water from her mouth and breast;²⁴ the fountain is now under repair; and the masons, with half a dozen soldiers to guard them or the nuns, were busy around the pool (ibid.).

The alleged state of the pool allows Graham to deal with gender in a confrontational manner. The nuns, described as a group, are denied their humanity, their singularity as persons, and their gender. Later on she suggests that these unnamed, silent beings, thwarted in their sexuality, may become

²⁴ It seems unlikely that the narrator could have known which were the outlets for the water, as she herself has stated that the fountain was not working. It is also unlikely that the water should spout from the mouth of a religious image; rather, this may be an attempt to debase it by likening it to grotesque figures of Roman mythology common in Italian fountains.

sexually aggressive and need to be restrained at the sight of men. The narrator disparages the nuns, not only their humanity and their gender, but also their status as members of a religious order, when she calls them 'recluses'. The metaphor that equates a convent to a prison is not original;²⁵ what is unusual is Graham's antagonistic stance with regards to other women, and the way she encodes one discourse inside another like a Chinese box. Her criticism of sexually-deprived women screens criticism of the church that harbours the practice, and consequently, of the country most closely identified with it, that is Spain. Yet Catholicism also destroys people's minds, Graham argues later, not only their natural instincts.

In another entry for the month of September 1822, Graham tells the story of a young girl of her acquaintance:

Before I went away she was gay and cheerful, the elight of her father's house ... [yet] Maria's mind, of a high and lofty nature is peculiarly susceptible of religious impressions. Under these, the tender-conscientious girl, to punish herself for an attachment not favoured by her house ... resolved to go for ten days to a *Casa de Exercisio*²⁶ [sic] (270-271).

She relates that in those places young people were kept praying constantly and were deprived of food and sleep. Moreover, they had to attend gloomy and prolonged religious services and the time in between these had to be spent in complete silence. The girl finally returned to her house with a broken spirit and subject to fits of hysterical weeping followed by long periods of praying. And this is not the only case, Graham adds, as she has heard of an intelligent young man who came back from one of these houses 'little better than a drivelling idiot' (271). These narratives are examples of Graham's pamphleteering style,

²⁵ Frances Calderón de la Barca uses the same term in her *Life in Mexico* (143), but although she is strongly opposed to the practice, is kinder than Graham in her representations.

²⁶ A house of prayer.

very common in the *Chile Journal*, but very rare in the others. Even though it is true that in all her books she argues her position by reasons and examples, in the *Chile Journal* her arguments on cases that have to do with religion become confrontational, as in the passages examined above.

This feature, as it was suggested earlier, allows Graham to adorn facts so that they suit her message. Her message this time is a direct attack on the Catholic Church: 'Oh! if I had power and influence here, I would put down these mischievous establishments. Even when they do not cause, as in this instance, a derangement of the intellect, they are nurseries of *bigotry and fanaticism*' [emphasis added] (ibid.). The strength of Graham's style can be appreciated by the things she leaves unsaid. By accusing this Catholic institution of bigotry and fanaticism, she is, by opposition, proclaiming that Protestantism, and therefore the British people, are liberal and enlightened.

There are several travel accounts written on Chile by men who visited the country at the same time Graham did, and their reports offer interesting differences. All the other accounts by travellers in Chile during the early nineteenth century that are examined in the present thesis appear straightforward next to Graham's complex narrating persona and encoded messages. These male travel writers drew upon the discourses of femininity prevalent at the time when they described the women they encountered. In some cases they portrayed them as angelic, in others less so, but generally they singled these women out, gave them names, ages, and personal traits; most importantly, they allowed them to speak for themselves. Graham depicted the women in Chile at times as slightly sinister, at others, friendly but not clever, but in most instances massed in groups without a mind or a will of their own.

For instance, in the entry for November 22, 1822, Graham relates that there had been several earthquakes in Valparaíso and that the people, especially the women, were very much afraid and were massed in front of an image of the Virgin Mary shouting and weeping as they begged for her protection, 'tearing their hair and calling her by all the endearing names which the church of Rome permits to the objects of its worship' (310). This passage, ostensibly dealing with religious faith, relates more to the discourses of femininity. The narrator portrays the women as members of a nameless and faceless crowd, and the celestial 'mother' they are appealing to as a flawed female image. As a contrast, Graham represents herself as a fearless observer and reporter of a scene she finds melodramatic and ridiculous. She cannot disguise her satisfaction, therefore, when she narrates that the statue was so ineffective that it could not save even itself, as the next morning it was found by the priests with its head off (ibid.). In similar fashion, as in the instance of the image in the convent courtyard, the narrator is reporting another case of violence, real or invented, against a female icon that arouses enormous antagonism in her. Remarkably, this attitude is not replicated when she describes the religious images of male saints in other passages of the journal, as for instance the feast of Saint Peter that will be discussed later. This distinction might indicate that Graham's hostility towards the image of the Virgin derived more from the fact that it represented an elevated female, than because it was a Catholic figure. A very intriguing passage where Graham describes an old woman in detail may be open to, at least, two diverging interpretations and perhaps throw some light on the reasons for her antagonism.

The manner in which the narrator of the journal describes her neighbour may illustrate Mills'(1995) observation that in gendered texts men and women are described differently (161-162). Usually female bodies are represented in fragments, she indicates, and physicality and clothes are given prominence. Men's portraits, on the other hand, centre more on a general effect than on minute detail (161). The passage that will be cited below may serve to corroborate Mills' observations, but it may also reinforce the argument that Graham maintained a contradictory stance regarding other women, especially in the present journal. The old woman under question is ninety years old and lives near the narrator's house with her daughters and grandchildren. There must necessarily have been a son-in-law, but he is not mentioned, probably in order to foreground the portrayal of the woman:

I was much struck with the *appearance* of my venerable neighbour; although bent with age she has no other sign of infirmity; her walk is quick and light, and her grey *eyes* sparkle with intelligence. She wears her silver *hair*, according to the custom of the country, uncovered, and hanging down behind in one large braid; her linen shift is gathered up pretty high on her *bosom*, and its sleeves are visible near the *wrist* ... a rosary hangs round her *neck* [emphasis added] (119-120).

The woman's physicality is stressed by the term 'appearance' that is followed by a representation of her body in fragments, as hair, bosom, wrist, and neck. Since the woman is ninety years old, the concentration on her body can have no sexual connotations; nevertheless, the fragmented description does produce the effect of objectifying, that is, denying the woman her human condition. Graham sets her up as a specimen, as an object of study, not as a human being. This perception is reinforced by the neutral tone of the passage, which concludes with a view of the woman's dress, including what can be seen of her

undergarment: 'she has a petticoat of white woollen stuff, and her gown of coloured woollen is like a close jacket, with a full plaited petticoat attached to it, and fastened with double buttons in front' (120). Descriptions of groups of people, however, can be as gendered as those of individuals, as it may be concluded from the instance that will be discussed below.

The garden that belongs to Graham's elderly neighbour and her daughters appears transformed into a Romantic setting in the entry dated a few weeks later. On June 10, 1822, the narrator pays another visit to her neighbour and her five daughters. The daughters are tall and strong, although not young, and appear to perform by themselves all the necessary work in their orchard without outside help:

The taste of these women has adorned their arboleda,²⁷ or orchard, of peach, cherry, and plum, with all the wild flowers of the neighbourhood, some of which grow almost into the little stream that runs through the grounds, and others twine up the stems of the fruit trees now beginning to bloom. I wish, however, all this was more neatly kept. Even Eve weeded her garden (158).

In her book *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt points out that even though Graham compares these women's garden to the Garden of Eden, it is a poorly kept Eden (168). Nevertheless, the whole scene appears to be an allegory, she suggests: 'The family of women are represented in terms that evoke and remake Europe's traditional allegorical representations of America as a female figure, usually a bare breasted Amazon' (ibid.). By stressing the fact that the mother and daughters are old, states Pratt, Graham is refuting the perception of women as breeders and of the American continent as 'young' (ibid.). However, Graham may have been only partly refuting the perception of the new continent as

²⁷ A rather small group of trees, but not necessarily fruit trees as Graham indicates.

young. On the one hand, most of the women she describes are mature, elderly, or barren, like the nuns; on the other, the land itself is described as a site of positive and new experiences, as illustrated by the metaphors of 'morning', 'daybreak', and 'sunrise' at the start of the journal. Most probably, the narrator may have been simply concerned with relating unusual circumstances such as this one. It is not common to find a community of women living in harmony, cultivating their orchard (although not too well), and constituting a well-structured and self-sufficient family. Yet, once this fact is established in the text, Graham chooses to disrupt the scene and transform it into a field of Gothic mystery and perhaps evil:

I took the opportunity of asking her [the elderly neighbour] concerning the beliefs of the people of the country as to witches. *There is something in her appearance, when surrounded by her five tall daughters* that irresistibly put me in mind of the weird sisters [emphasis added] (160).

The sudden shift of focus in the narrative brings the flow to a halt, and the familiar landmarks disappear. Just as in the portrayal of the nuns, the narrator takes an antagonistic stance towards her subject (although in this passage the change is sudden and unexpected). Foucault's 'not said' (*Archaeology*, 28) can be in many instances more powerful than the actually said; even though Graham does not verbalise certain ideas, the implications are clear: a community of women living and working alone without the supervision and the protection of men²⁸ is suspect, and therefore, evil. These implications are backed by the representation of the women as mature, tall and strong, as able to communicate

²⁸ The fact that she did not include herself into the category of women alone, may suggest that she thought she was above the common denominator.

their empowered state to an observer, and standing guard round their elderly mother,²⁹ thus giving out the idea of unity, but also of a cabal.

It does not fall within the scope of this thesis to investigate the psychological origins of Graham's antagonism towards other women. Possibly the roots of this marked trait in her style lie buried in the family relationships of the historic Graham. There are some indications in her last autobiographical fragment, which will be discussed in a later chapter, that this may be so. The present analysis simply points out its textual manifestations and the manner in which Graham's depiction of other women impinges on her voice and affects its balance. This biased voice in its turn affects the text as a whole and makes it appear gendered. Texts can be perceived as gendered not only in the descriptions of people, but also in the portrayals of groups and societies. In the above-cited instance the narrator is incorporating another negative discourse of femininity into her text. With the exception of this portrait of Graham's neighbour and her daughters, most of the passages that discuss women in the journal have also to do with religion. Yet the discourses of religion in the text are not linked only to the discourses of femininity. A further use Graham gives to the former, is to operate as tools to denounce the Spanish form of colonialism.

While other travellers concentrated more on the detailed particulars of day-to-day events, Graham was reflecting in her journal the strong British rhetoric of her time, against Spain and against Catholicism.³⁰ With this exercise she was performing a function more important than the mere transmission of information about a little explored space; by attacking the

²⁹ 'Elderly' being another signifier of witchery.

³⁰ An editorial in *The Representative*, discussing the Catholic Church's possible loss of revenues from the colonies stated: 'the Romish tyranny has good reason to tremble for its transatlantic influence' (January 25, 1826, p.2).

Spanish system of colonialism that became attached to the Catholic Church, she was acting as an advocate for the new nations.³¹ Her work performed another function, that of informing the British government about the state of the new countries which had not yet been recognised by Britain. In this respect, it is interesting to look at the parallel she draws between the United States, a former British colony, and the recently liberated South American countries, and the perceptive analysis she records.

The states of North America, she argues in the 'Introduction' to the journal, had the advantage that most of the first colonists had gone there moved by the dictates of their conscience and their 'independent spirit'. They managed their own affairs and organised the way to govern themselves from the beginning. Their practical system of distribution of the land brought about the needed increase in population; this in turn resulted in a fair number of educated men who acted as councillors, legislators, and governors (14). The former Spanish colonies, on the contrary, were ruled directly from Madrid through an impractical, old fashioned, and slow apparatus of king, church, army, and civil servants. Any important post in the colonies was occupied by a Spaniard, meaning that the natives of the country could never practice the art of government (ibid.).

Hence the states of North America, firm and united in purpose, and prepared by the best education ... rose at once from the state of a disunited colony, after an expensive war, to the dignity of a great nation, while years must, perhaps, elapse before the harassed provinces of Spanish America can assume a national character, even now that the yoke of Spain is virtually broken, for want of the internal material ... to form a government (14- 15).

³¹ Her self-appointed task helped Graham justify her decision to stay in the country; however, this role could not be replicated in her second visit to Brazil (1823) a few months later, for the relationship between metropolis and colony was totally different there, as it will be explained in the next chapter.

The passage quoted above performs a comparison between a far-sighted and benign mode of colonial government, as practiced by the British, and the exacting and onerous oppression perpetrated by Spain on her colonies. Apart from fulfilling a function as part of a larger discourse against Spanish colonialism in the journal, this passage reveals a narrator who has read about and studied the (North-)American Revolution in such depth that she can authoritatively make political statements. This was a field women travel writers of the time were expected to avoid; Graham, on the contrary, uses her political statements to signal to her audience that she is above restrictions due to her erudition and powers of analysis. The discourses of religious faith also serve the purpose of comparing the two European nations: Britain and Spain.

The *Chile Journal*, unlike the other journals written by Graham, displays a process of permanent contrast between the gaudy shows of devotion symbolising Spain, and the restrained Protestant practices representing Britain. This comparison is only superficial, however, as subtextually there lies a more sinister accusation against Catholicism; under the guise of an explanation of why the Church of Rome, which had previously supported Spain, was now on the side of the patriots, the narrator suggests:

The influence of the church too, which had hitherto been almost omnipotent in favour of the ancient order of things, began to be exerted ... in the cause of independence. To prevent South America from falling into the hands of the French, *a nation without an inquisition [sic], and tolerant alike of Jew, heretic and infidel*, became a serious object with the priests; and hence, while the revolutionists proceeded at first cautiously, and only professed to hold the country for the legitimate sovereign, resisting the French

usurpation,³² the priests were always to be found on the patriot side³³ [emphasis added] (12 – 13).

As the journal progresses, there is increasing evidence that Graham as narrator feels free to perform political analyses, express her views on a variety of subjects, pass judgement on events, or discuss different aspects of colonial rule. This immersion in the place she is visiting and describing distances her text from that of most other female travel writers of her time.³⁴ But this is not the most significant aspect of the piece. What the speaker accomplishes here is to target the kind of readership she has chosen. Gender restrictions play no part in her text that is structured in such a way that the encoded message is more important than the overt discourse. For unclear reasons the Catholic Church has changed sides in this struggle, says the narrator, and is now supporting the patriots; she is also signalling that she is a well educated liberal in religion and politics, and that she wants to reach people of similar ideas and a similar level of culture. By praising the French for being tolerant and for having successfully overthrown absolute monarchy as a form of government, she is setting up the boundaries of her ideology and the basis of her authority as narrator. Consequently, she is claiming a place next to the liberal minds of her generation, both male and female, such as Shelley, Byron, Maria Edgeworth, Helen Maria Williams, or Jeremy Bentham. However, the narrator of the journal does not always display her ideology so directly; often there are hidden

³² Napoleon had placed his brother Jose Bonaparte as ruler of Spain. The 'legitimate sovereign' for whom the revolutionists claimed to be holding the government of Chile was Ferdinand VII of Spain.

³³ The editorial of *The Representative* two years later provided a similar analysis, arguing that the fear of losing influence in the new countries made Rome support the victorious colonies; it also celebrated the open mindedness of the new governments with regards to other religious faiths, calling it 'their second emancipation' (loc. cit).

³⁴ The above quoted passage includes a piece of rather crude rhetoric in the reference to the Inquisition which, evil as it had been for centuries, was practically moribund at the time.

meanings in her descriptions and analyses, as in the passage that will be discussed below.

It is understandable that in a former colony of Spain the practice of Catholicism should have a prominent space in the daily lives of the citizens. This practice, in different guises, appears constantly in Graham's journal, introduced by either rhetorical tropes or ironic asides, and generally charged subtextually. These repressed elements contain a condemnation of Spain disguised under observations about foreign religious practices. In another instance, when early in the journal she describes the houses of poor people in Valparaíso, Graham comments that they are coarse and primitive. Moreover, she finds it hard to believe that the country was occupied by Spain for three hundred years. In the sixteenth century Spain was a cultured and advanced nation, she reflects, implying that they have ceased to be so (125). In addition, they failed to pass on their advantages to the colony and left it in the backward state it is now in. Spain's principal legacy, apart from the language, had been the Catholic faith, its churches, its convents, its practices, and its traditions, not European culture:

The people here are so Spanish in their habits that it would be difficult for anyone to detect what portion of their superstitions [Graham is referring here also to witchcraft], their manners or customs, are derived from the aboriginal Chilenos; and it is particularly so to me, as I have never been in old Spain The *superstitions and the cookery* of to-day are both decidedly Spanish, though some of the material for both are aboriginal Americans: no bad type, I fancy, for the character of the nation [emphasis added] (161).

The narrator implies that the colonial power saw the conquered territory only as a source of income for the sovereign nation. Although she indicates that she has

never visited Spain, she is certain that 'superstition' and 'cookery' are definitely Spanish. The linking of these two elements appears peculiar, as they belong to different categories; plainly, however, both activities have been traditionally gendered, and by joining them Graham was belittling the Spanish legacy and also distancing herself from her subject by asserting her superior position. The two practices, culturally considered second-rate, were almost exclusively performed by women; the narrator, a woman herself, contrives to perform an ethnographic exercise while signalling at the same time the superiority of Britain over Spain, by the use of irony and derision. Irony, however, is not the only rhetorical weapon Graham wields against Spain. In some instances she makes use of hyperbole, powerful imagery, or deviations from the truth, as in the passage that will be discussed below.

Early in the journal Graham describes the new cemetery in Valparaíso. It is located, to this day, on a hill above the bay called *Cerro Panteón*, and it has the peculiarity of being divided in two parts, the non-Catholics having their own separate section called *Cementerio de Disidentes*:

Separated from this [the Catholic burial ground] only by a wall, is the place at length assigned by Roman Catholic superstition to the heretics as a burial ground; or rather, which the heretics have been permitted to purchase. Hitherto, such as had no permission to bury in the forts³⁵ where they could be guarded, preferred being carried out to sea and sunk; -- many instances having occurred of the exhumation of heretics, buried on shore, by the bigoted natives, and the exposure of their bodies to the birds and beasts of prey (144).

³⁵ Apparently Captain Graham was buried at first in the fort of Valparaíso [Castillo San José] which the narrator sketches as located on the beach at the foot of a low hill overlooking the bay. Tradition, reports of other travellers, common sense, and sketches of the time, locate the fort on top of the same hill. On the beach were only the remains of former small batteries (Poeppig, 84). Later, Lord Cochrane took over the *Castillo San José*, dismantled it, and built there a residence for himself which stands to this day and, surprisingly, is not mentioned in Graham's journal. The final resting place of Captain Graham is not known, and his wife never mentioned a visit to his grave.



Fig. 6 Two views of the Cementerio de Disidentes in Valparaíso



This piece illustrates one of the few instances in the journal where the narrator calls on the Gothic to enliven her narrative; the images of the natives digging out cadavers on the beach is historically inaccurate but textually appropriate for her line of argument. Apart from this aspect, the piece performs two simultaneous functions: one political and the other rhetorical. Other than attacking Catholicism and therefore Spain, it satisfies a Romantic audience's appetite for macabre details. The Gothic elements of cemeteries, unorthodox modes of burial, exhumations or desecration of cadavers, to mention a few, reinforce the pervading message of the superiority of the civilised English visitors over the savage offspring of colonial Spain. The subtle message of the passage appears to be that colonialism, performed in the Spanish style of intolerant sectarianism, is morally wrong: as a continuation of the fanaticism of the Inquisition, those who did not submit to Catholic rulings would undergo the desecration of their remains as the ultimate punishment. Moreover, the sudden shifts of focus in the passage, since at times the speaker presumes to talk for Catholics (as when she calls the Protestants 'heretics'), while in the same sentence she refers to the natives as 'bigoted', signals the narrator's indignation at the situation she is relating.

There are several further observations to be made on this specific passage, however, that may indicate that the narrator, instead of reporting actual facts, was melting down practices she had seen in India and Brazil to create a fictitious new situation. In the first place, a similar passage appears in the *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (p. 111) that describes the burial of slaves on the beach at Rio de Janeiro, and another in the *Journal of a Residence in India* (p. 11 et al.). Besides, the Cemetery for Dissenters was opened in 1821, a year

before Graham's arrival; therefore, the stories she relates would have been at best, hearsay. Finally most, if not all, British nationals in Chile at the time were either naval officers or successful merchants. In all probability they were buried in the forts before the cemetery was created, not on the beaches. However, the strongest discourse on religion appears on the entry for August 28, 1822, while Graham was visiting Santiago.

In this long passage the narrator describes, with undisguised distaste, a procession she has seen in the street. First, she narrates, she heard the bells ringing, and the sound reminded her of those that are heard in London when the muffin man is approaching. By using this simile that equates a religious ceremony to street vending, Graham diminishes the spiritual significance of the pageant and, moreover, gives Catholicism a mercenary slant. After the boy ringing the bells came another, who held candles. At that moment,

all the people in the street pulled off their hats, and stood as if doing homage. Then came a dark blue caleche [sic] with glories and holy ghosts painted on it, and a man within dressed in white satin embroidered with silver and coloured silk.³⁶ In front sat a man with a gilt lanthorn; behind, people with umbrellas. I asked what it was and was told it was the *Padre Eterno*. The expression sounds indecent to a protestant; it is holy to a Spaniard, who must think that such indeed is the Host on its way to a dying person (211).

This relation is an example of the manner in which Graham writes herself into her narrative, as spectator in this case, and also as witness and judge. Moreover, this trait is not common in traditional travel accounts of the time. Her phrase: 'I asked what it was' is a rhetorical device; her subsequent words reveal that she

³⁶ The detailed description of the vestments worn by the priests may have been intended to give the impression that 'the man within' [hidden?] was dressed as a woman, and a very rich one. Therefore the connotations of flamboyance appear to have been intended to accompany those of sexual ambiguity.

knew very well what the 'gilt lanthorn' was supposed to contain and that her question, therefore, was unnecessary. This slightly ridiculous pageant appears to symbolise for the narrator the ever-present legacy of colonial Spain. Unlike the British, the Spanish conquerors of America were always accompanied by representatives of the Church. Once a region was subdued militarily, the priests proceeded to baptise the 'savages' that inhabited it, thus completing and sealing the act of colonisation. The Catholic Church was, therefore, an agent of Spanish colonisation as much as the conquering army was, with the discernible difference that, because it was a spiritual power, it was allowed to remain after the military power was defeated and expelled. It was this continuity that Graham denounces by means of negative connotations, contempt, and ridicule. By contrast, a similar scene in Santiago is narrated differently by Ruschemberger in 1836:

the procession began to issue from the Cathedral, which was brilliantly illuminated. First came ... [the] Brothers of our Master – wearing white satin capes, embroidered with gold ... each one bearing a long wax candle Next followed the cadets, in full dress from the Military Academy, and a Canónigo ... preceding ... The Host, carried by priests, beneath a silken canopy(140 – 141).

In this example the narrator limits himself to relating what he has seen, and avoids expressing his opinion. Other writers, when they comment on the subject of religion, display more tolerance than Graham does. Basil Hall, for instance, narrates a case of a priest who has been living in a remote Indian village, improving the living conditions of the natives, converting them to Christianity and 'introducing education together with the art of civil life' (36).

It is true that Hall was here narrating an isolated case, but it serves to illustrate an attitude that was different from Graham's. George Hibbert, for his

part, shows a patronising attitude towards the native population, but like Hall,³⁷ he sees the practice of religion (even the Catholic religion) as positive: 'The eagerness of all kinds of people to attend divine service was striking, with the same decent demeanour, and earnestness of manner, so pleasing in the country of England' (12). This is not to say that all British travellers depicted Catholic rites in the former Spanish colonies in a benevolent manner, but these accounts stress Graham's strong antagonism to its manifestations. The narrator of the journal on Chile is, therefore, continually critical and ironic, very much in the vein of a superior European visiting the former colony of a rival power. This masculine tone of superiority suits the transition to another voice, or the 'ventriloquism effect', as O'Neil designates this textual phenomenon³⁸ (58), on the occasions it emerges in the course of Graham's narrative. When ventriloquising, the narrator lends her voice and the vehicle, which is her text, to a man who possesses a conflicting personality and who needs to clear his name in the eyes of his fellow nationals; a man who is a naval officer as well as a skilled politician; a war hero as well as an intellectual. When he appears, the text becomes enriched by a duplication of voices, his own and Graham's. Their two voices alternate fluidly and never clash; on the contrary, this intercourse provides several subtextual readings. The mechanics of this narrative effect are so singular that it may be counted as the axis of the journal and will be analysed in more detail later in the chapter. As it was suggested earlier, Graham's journal works as a political document in its attempts to vindicate Lord Cochrane's actions and to restore his prestige. This exercise provokes interesting changes in

³⁷ It should be noted that Hall, Hibbert, and Graham visited Chile at the same time.

³⁸ O'Neil indicates that ventriloquism operates 'by disguising the point of origin of its discursive voice' (ibid.). Graham practices it in her other journals, but it is in the *Chile Journal* that this occurrence is especially significant.

the text, but before these instances are examined, it is important to explain why a famous British naval officer was leading the squadron in a new country in South America, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Chile declared its independence from Spain in 1810, but it was not until 1817, after the battles of *Chacabuco* and *Maipú*, that the new state was consolidated. Argentina's General José de San Martín led the Chilean Army in both battles, and he was subsequently offered the directorship of the government. He refused, however, and suggested General Bernardo O'Higgins for the post. San Martín chose to concentrate on carrying out the definitive defeat of the Spanish forces, at the time gathered in Valdivia, in the south of Chile, and in the Viceroyalty of Perú, up the western coast of South America, north of Chile.

Graham narrates these facts of the history of Chile somewhat differently in her 'Introduction' to the *Chile Journal*, and she denies San Martín any merit in the successful outcomes of the battles. As it will be shown later in the chapter, General San Martín was Lord Cochrane's principal adversary in Chile, and therefore the narrator of the journal hardly ever has a positive comment on his person or his actions. When she reaches the year 1817 in her narrative of the history of Chile, her former impersonal tone warms up significantly:

The state of the Chilian [sic] navy required a man of prudence as well as courage, of temper as well as firmness and in no one man did these qualities ever meet in so eminent a degree. His [Lord Thomas Cochrane's] naturally powerful mind had received all the solid advantage and much of the grace of cultivation; and his singularly gentle and courteous manner, which veiled while it adorned the determination of his character ... (*Chile*, 39-40).

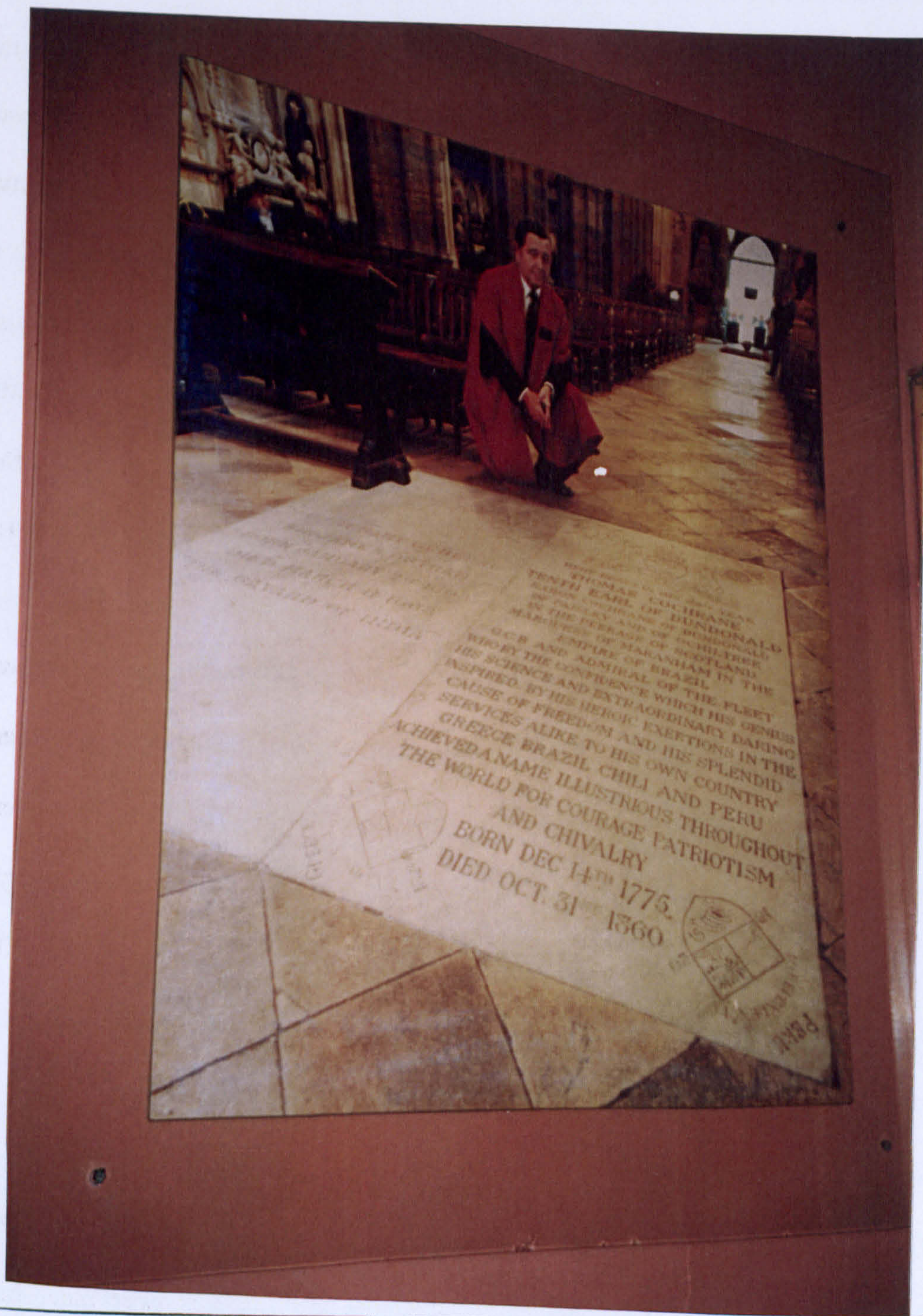


Fig. 7 The tablet that marks Lord Cochrane's burial place in Westminster Abbey

Consistently, in the Latin American journals, Lord Cochrane is depicted as the epitome of a British officer and gentleman: kind, courageous, and fair. His qualities justify the centrality he enjoys in these texts, especially in the *Chile Journal*.

Very soon, however, the strong personalities of Admiral Cochrane, leader of the squadron, and of General San Martín, in charge of the army, came into conflict. Graham dedicates the rest of her 'Introduction' to a denunciation of the iniquities of San Martín, contrasted with the intelligence, courage, and sensitivity of her fellow British national. It seems probable that in this task she had his full support; the reports of the naval battles against Spain in Peru (led by Lord Cochrane) are very detailed, with date, time, state of the weather and the sea, direction and velocity of the winds, number of cannon in both Chilean and enemy ships, and position of the different members of the crew, among other specific pieces of information. In addition, the reader is allowed to read transcripts of congratulatory letters sent to Lord Cochrane by the Chilean Ministry of Marine. Moreover, the information for the detailed accounts of the battles resembles that which can only be obtained by studying a superior commander's official records, or listening to his own version of the facts. The following narrative deals with Cochrane's plans to capture a Spanish ship on the coast of Perú:

Lord Cochrane had been diligently employed in reconnoitring Callao, having formed the design of seizing the frigate Esmeralda, of 40 guns, which then lay in the bay under protection of the castles. Besides 300 pieces of artillery on shore, she was defended by a strong boom and chain-moorings; several tiers of old ships, armed as block-ships, guarded her; she was surrounded by 27 gun-boats of different sizes; and the enemy, dreading, lest she should be attacked, had supplied her and the block-ships with

additional men, so that she had about 370 on board of the best sailors and marines that could be procured (70).

After a relation of the number of the Chilean forces, and the date and time they chose to start their incursion, the narration centres on Lord Cochrane:

[Once the attack begins] Lord Cochrane was the first man on board, and was shot immediately, through the flesh of the right-thigh just above the knee; but, having first seized the sentinel who fired at him by the heel and thrown him overboard, he seated himself on the hammock-netting and continued to give his orders (71).

. These detailed accounts suggest that Graham had access to this information when she wrote her report. Also, the fact that she transcribed copies of letters addressed to Lord Cochrane leave little doubt that the records and letters were furnished by him and included with his permission. This situation provides one of the first indications that he may have participated in the writing of the *Journal of a Residence in Chile*. The strongest proof of this collaboration, however, consists in an intriguing diary written by Graham, and at present in a private collection, that includes a numbered list of the accusations General San Martín made against Lord Cochrane, and an equally numbered, but longer list of the latter's answers. This list, if not written by Cochrane himself, seems to have been at least dictated by him, because of the accuracy of the details included there. The diary is also intriguing because it is large, thick, and beautifully bound, as if Graham meant to have written an important treatise in it but could not accomplish her purpose. More significant, however, is that Graham, apart from recording her name and the title of the journal, 'Chile and Peru', noted the date she started it: June 2, 1822. There is a record in her published journal dated June 1st, 1822, of Cochrane's arrival in Valparaíso after the successful campaign on the coast of Perú.

Lord Thomas Cochrane is a British naval hero better known in South America than in his own country. In Chile the name Cochrane is a household term, says his biographer Robert Harvey. There are streets bearing his name in almost every city, and a large monument with his tall figure on the prow of a ship in the port of Valparaíso. He is not remembered in England nowadays,³⁹ but in his time he was a national naval hero equal perhaps only to Nelson (169).

Cochrane was much more than perhaps Britain's greatest sea-captain. He was a radical M.P. who unashamedly espoused the cause of the oppressed of the time. He won one of the most spectacular battles of the Napoleonic Wars, in defiance of his own commander-in-chief. He was immersed in an intricate Stock Exchange scandal straight out of the pages of Wilkie Collins -- perhaps the greatest criminal *cause celebre* of its day and he was one of the most far-sighted and greatest innovators of naval strategy of his times, as well as a prodigious inventor (ibid. xi).⁴⁰

'Nelson may make it difficult for most Britons to remember any other nineteenth century naval heroes' says Andy Beckett (18) to explain Cochrane's present day obscurity. He was descended from a very old Scottish family, Beckett adds, and joined the navy during the Napoleonic wars; very soon he became known for his extraordinary actions and triumphs. In 1799, he captured a pirate ship by himself, and two years later, 'he captured a Spanish frigate with seven times the firepower of his own tiny ship, the *Speedy*, which he had disguised as a neutral Danish vessel' (19). He later turned to politics and was elected Member of Parliament for Westminster. His downfall came in 1814, when he was accused⁴¹ of participating in a fraud in the Stock Market. He was sentenced to prison and even had to spend an hour in the pillory,

³⁹ There is a short street with his name off the Finchley road in London.

⁴⁰ In order to understand why a naval hero and politician of such calibre was stranded in the coasts of South America, see Harvey, 179-192; Beckett, 22.

⁴¹ Most of his biographers agree that Cochrane was 'set up' in this affair. At the end of his life he was rehabilitated and his family's honour restored.

reports Harvey: the last person to be sentenced to this kind of punishment in England. And not only that:

Cochrane was dismissed from the navy he had served so courageously for so long within a week of the verdict. Then, at midnight his banner as Knight Commander of the Bath, along with his coat of arms, helmet and sword, conferred after the great victory at Aix Roads, were taken down from the stall at Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey and kicked down the steps of the Abbey (209).

He presented himself as candidate for his own seat in Parliament (which he had lost when he was found guilty), while still in prison, was re-elected and later in life was granted a royal pardon (*ibid.*, 214). Some time after 1816 Cochrane was approached by agents of the new Chilean government which urgently needed an 'able commander', in Graham's words, to establish the basis of the navy. Graham knew of him as her late husband and Cochrane had been midshipmen in the *Thetis* many years before and she had met him socially in London⁴² (Gotch, 207).

In June 1822, Lord Cochrane becomes a direct participant in the story and the hero of the drama Graham starts unfolding. She declares herself overjoyed at the prospect of seeing him and benefiting from his friendship. Moreover, his beneficial presence in the country will correct some wrongs and stop others from happening. The narrator appears to be so well informed about the affairs of government that she can pronounce judgements on them and predict future misfortunes if they are not corrected (by Lord Cochrane). Readers are induced to forget that she had been in the country for less than six weeks at the time, and that part of this period must have been spent living

⁴² Graham's interest in Lord Cochrane may have started earlier and been deeper than Gotch suggests. In a footnote to her 'Introduction' to the *Chile Journal* she directs her readers to the *English Gazettes* of August, 1801, that contain a relation of Cochrane's heroic actions on the *Speedy*, 'a series of exploits, of which every Englishman is proud' (72).

through her bereavement, finding a house to rent, and settling in it. Real time and textual time do not always coincide in this text, a fact which reaffirms the contention that the *Chile Journal* is a fictional construct.

In the following passage the narrator articulates her admiration for her friend by degrees of growing significance: first she calls attention to his personal qualities; afterwards, to his power to resolve conflicts at a national level; and, finally, to his abilities projected on a continental scale:

... I think he [Lord Cochrane] ought to have influence to mend some things, and to prevent others; which, without such influence, will, I fear, prove highly detrimental to the rising state of Chile, if not to the general course of South American independence (146).

Lord Cochrane fittingly appears first in Graham's journal coming from the sea; he is seen at a distance, as a blurred figure that is, nonetheless, as dramatic as the first entrance of the leading actor in a play. On the morning of June 1st, 1822, as she is having breakfast, the narrator is interrupted:

one of my little neighbours came running in, screaming out, "Senora, he is come! he is come!" – "Who is come, child?" "Our admiral, our great and good admiral; and if you come to the veranda, you will see the flags in the Almendral." Accordingly I looked out and did see the Chilean flag hoisted at every door: The O'Higgins and the Valdivia had arrived during the night and all the inhabitants of the port and the suburbs had made haste to display their flags and their joy on Lord Cochrane's safe return (146).

The dramatic arrival of Lord Cochrane into the narrative inspires a change of tone in the speaker, or rather a change of her stance, as she relinquishes her primary position in the story as narrator and focalizer. The tone becomes more personal whenever she refers to him, because of the overtly partisan and laudatory remarks she makes about his person and his actions. This fact leads

naturally to a shift in the narrative stance, since Graham stops being the principal witness and source of interest in the story whenever he appears. But above all, Graham's voice stops being her own, but Cochrane's, as will be discussed below. This trait is remarkable because up to this point in the journal, Graham had constructed for herself a narrative persona who is distant, detached, superior, and cold.

Towards the end of the same month, the first instance of the unusual feature of this journal takes place. The narrator tells of conversations she has had with neighbours and shows herself unpleasantly surprised to find out that people refer with nostalgia to the days of Spanish rule. The new government, probably in an attempt to erase colonial remnants, had stopped several religious practices which provided entertainment for the people of Valparaíso. She describes one such celebration:

The festival of Saint Peter, peculiarly adapted to a maritime place, should not, I think, have been abolished. On this day, his statue, kept in the Iglesia Matriz, used to be solemnly brought out and placed in an ornamental Goleta, decked with flags and ribbons ... rowed round the harbour, followed by all the fishing boats ... (162)⁴³

It is precisely at this stage in the text that another voice takes possession of the narrative, a phenomenon that will be repeated several times during the course of the journal. This distinct 'other' voice is heard whenever there is mention of the sea in relation to Chile, when insights on the character of leading political figures are made manifest, or when there is a need to exculpate Lord Cochrane from accusations of dishonesty. In the following passage, there is the response

⁴³ The feast of St. Peter, patron saint of fishermen, is celebrated to this day in Valparaiso much in the way Graham described it in her journal.

to the narrator's complaint on the suppression of the festival of Saint Peter cited above:

Chile is obviously a maritime country, shut up as she is to landward by the Andes from the eastern provinces, and the desert of Atacama from those of the north, that I should, *were I its legislator*, turn every feeling and passion towards the sea. St. Peter's day should be a *national and a naval spectacle: I would* distribute prizes to fishermen and boatmen; *I would* bestow honorary rewards on officers; *I would* receive and answer petitions and representations from all connected with the sea; in short, *I would*, on that day, let them feel that the protection of government went hand in hand with that of religion over the most useful, and therefore the most favoured class of Chileno citizens [emphasis added] (163).

The narrator's stance is the first thing to be considered in this comparative analysis. In the passage quoted above the narrator is speaking from the standpoint of someone inside the government, not a visiting European observing from outside, as Graham was; moreover, it does not contain descriptions of scenery, but rather features of the rhetoric of persuasion. One of these is, for instance, the statement of purpose of the piece expressed by the repetition of the form 'I would' that is followed by short statements that begin to lengthen on each occasion, building a sense of expectancy that is resolved in the final long, double edged pronouncement on the protection of government bestowed as a gift on deserving, hard working citizens. It will be shown below how the feature of incremental repetition is typical of Lord Cochrane's spoken and written style, but the preliminary point to be made is that the voice in this passage is 'masculine' because it is assertive, and because the short sentences appear to come from someone accustomed to giving commands.⁴⁴ Because of the concern

⁴⁴ Graham's assertiveness as narrator is different from the assertiveness that emanates from this passage, because here it is backed by (political) power exercised over people, while in her

for the sea, they can be assumed to be those of a naval officer. Moreover, the passage has many points of similarity to a speech Lord Cochrane gave in Guayaquil (Ecuador) in November 1821, and which appears in Graham's 'Introduction' to her journal:

Did you not, accustomed to the blind habits of Spanish monopoly, believe, that it would be a robbery to Guayaquil if her commerce were not limited to her own merchants? Were not all strangers forbidden by restrictive laws from attending to their own business or interests, as if they had come only for your benefit? Now you perceive the truth *Let* the foreign merchants who bring capital ... be allowed to settle freely; and thus a competition will be formed, from which all must reap advantage ... *Let* your custom duties be moderate, in order to promote the greatest possible consumption ... *Let* every man do as he pleases as regards his own property ... because every individual will watch over his own with more zeal than senates, ministers, or kings [emphasis added] (100 – 101).

The first passage on Saint Peter's day is supposedly a reflection made by Graham herself into the privacy of her own journal, yet it clearly stands separate from the preceding text and the one that comes after it, because, apart from having the ring of a harangue, the same as the Guayaquil speech by Lord Cochrane, it shows the naval officer's concern with the precise geographical location of the country in question: 'landward ... the Andes'; also the phrase 'were I its legislator' alone betrays a man speaking, because of the absolute impossibility for a woman at that moment in history of participating in the acts of government. The phrase, 'I would turn every feeling and passion towards the sea' betrays a naval officer, and most probably was uttered by the same person.

Another similarity between the two texts is the great number of verbs of action that can be found in them: 'turn', 'distribute', 'bestow', 'receive', 'answer', that appear in the Saint Peter speech. In the Guayaquil speech there

are similar expressions that signify the promotion of activity, like 'bring capital', 'allow to settle', 'watch over his own'; but most of all, in the two texts we find the rhetorical element of incremental repetition for emphasis which gives them a similar regular cadence and suggest they both may have come from the same source.

The structure of the sentences in both texts is more complex than the overall sentence structure of the journal. There is, for instance, an abundance of adverbial expressions and subordinated clauses in the Saint Peter speech: 'I would, on that day', 'the protection of the government went hand in hand', 'over the most useful and therefore the most favoured'. At this stage it is important to remember that in *Feminist Stylistics*, Mills specifically observes that men's texts include a great number of verbs of action and complex sentences (200).

The similarities in both passages can also be discerned in other textual features. The object in both, for example, is persuasion; yet in the Saint Peter passage, supposedly expressed by Graham, the tone is masculine because it is assured and assertive, the same as that of the Guayaquil speech. It appears to come from some one used to giving commands and to being obeyed, used to planning strategies and to speaking to large audiences as, for instance, the crew of a battle ship. The voice has qualities that the narrator of the journal lacks,⁴⁵ which are colour, fast succession of images, emphasis and a regular cadence. The regularity of rhythm, together with the repetition of certain expressions, and the inclusion of rhetorical questions, as it will be argued below, is another characteristic that typifies Lord Cochrane's voice.

⁴⁵ For instance, the detached tone of the relation of *sati* or human sacrifices in *Letters on India*, the irony in the description of the zenana in the *India Journal* or of the convent in Santiago, or the long and sometimes lifeless cataloguing of plants, roads, or scenery in the *Chile Journal*.

An author's original intention may some times be deduced from the text, but never really known with certainty. It is, nevertheless, more feasible to establish what a text achieves, if it is examined from a theoretical point of view. It is, for instance, a historical fact that Lord Cochrane left England in disgrace; that Maria Graham admired him profoundly and may have wished to rehabilitate him can be safely assumed from her published texts and private letters. She may have thought that by taking up his words and passing them off as her own in her journal, these would have more credibility, as it would not be Cochrane himself speaking in his own defence, but an established author like herself. Whatever the original intention, the result is a text where the narrator ventriloquises another voice and blends it with her own, making the transitions so smooth that the changes pass mostly unnoticed.

Fluidity is, therefore, one of the assets of the textual intercourse that takes place between Graham and Cochrane in the *Chile Journal*. It disguises the interchange of voices in the text at the same time that it widens the scope, and adds strength to the narrative. When Cochrane speaks, the narrator's field of vision moves from the land to include the sea, and the pace of the narrative acquires a forward movement different to Graham's heavier, more static style. Her style gains agility, however, whenever she refers to Lord Cochrane, even in her own voice, as it will be indicated shortly.

As was suggested above, the Admiral is the main character of the journal, not the narrator herself. He is the noble hero fighting against the tyranny of Spain, the loyal friend, the idealistic politician. Whenever she mentions him in her text, the narrator abandons her detached, sober and ironic stance and changes her tone to one of unstinting admiration; superlatives

abound whenever she recounts his abilities or praises his moral qualities. In her summary of the history of Chile already mentioned above, and which constitutes the 'Introduction' to her journal, Graham relates the difficulties and discords the new government encountered when trying to form the naval force:

Where these disputes may have terminated, it is idle to inquire: they were, for the present at least, silenced by the arrival of one of the ablest officers that even England had ever produced.

By one of those singular coincidences which not the fondest calculation for the benefit of Chile could have anticipated, the agents of the government of that country, who had been instructed ... to procure the assistance of some able commander ... were fortunate enough to find Lord Cochrane at liberty to devote himself entirely to the cause of South American independence (39).

There are several instances in the journal like the above quoted passage where the narrator's tone becomes enthusiastic, entreating, and even passionate. Not only superlatives, but metaphors also abound, where before there had been pale, half-hearted descriptions of long trips or tedious accounts of long social visits and similar types of meetings.⁴⁶

Evidently Graham believed in his integrity at the time of his troubles and in a remarkable instance of role-reversal in the text, she takes the traditional masculine position of 'protector' and 'defender' to champion his honour. Her ability to perform this feat lies in the fact that, as an authoritative and unrestrained female narrator, she is in control of her text in the same way that a male narrator would be in control of his. Yet Graham allows Cochrane to speak through her voice not only to defend himself. On many instances she also lets

⁴⁶ This courtesy, however, was not reciprocated in Cochrane's two autobiographies, *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chile, Peru and Brazil (1859)*, and *The Autobiography of a Seaman (1860)*, or other accounts of his life, where she receives no more than a paragraph in some, and in others simply a sentence.

him express views and ideals, as in the following passage, a clear example of the discourse of reverse-colonialism:

The cruel policy of Spain with regard to these countries always repressed any attempt at establishing a coastal trade, although the shores of Chile abound with harbours most commodious for the purpose. Hence, these harbours were either not surveyed or so erroneously set down in the published maps as to deter ships of all nations, Spanish as well as others, from attempting them, and the whole traffic is carried on over some of the most difficult roads in the world by mules (173).

This is the voice of a naval officer who has been for some time sailing along the coasts of the country, examining its contours and comparing them with the faulty Spanish cartography. There were many harbours that would have facilitated the Chilean coastal trade and transport. Spain, as a colonial power, it is implied here, failed to make the most of the geographical characteristics of the colony and instead left the country burdened with awkward and impractical systems of transporting goods.

On July 9, 1821, Spain had surrendered in Perú thanks, says Harvey, to Lord Cochrane's spectacular defeat of the Spanish navy (255). When he later demanded money from San Martín to pay the squadron, the General refused (ibid., 261). Graham (*Chile*, 89), relates in similar words an instance where Lord Cochrane boarded San Martín's ship, the *Sacramento*, and took enough gold and silver to pay his men, but took nothing for himself. More than a year later, San Martín accused the Admiral of dishonesty with regards to this incident, relates Graham in the journal, but she hastens to add that the charges will be dealt with. This instance appears to be less complex than the other cases of ventriloquism already mentioned, as it would seem that here the narrator is directly transcribing the Admiral's words, without disguising them inside her

own discourse. The reader may even imagine him sitting beside her dictating the following passage, while she writes industriously.⁴⁷ The undertones of authority can be easily perceived in the text, where Graham may simply have changed the objective pronoun 'me', for the objective pronoun, 'him':

The charges preferred against him by San Martin, though never credited by the government, which possesses abundant documents in its own hands to refute them, have remained uncontradicted by him, at the request of that government But now ... those charges should and will be answered; and answered too with facts and dates which will completely overwhelm all the accusations against him (297-8).

This piece illustrates on the one hand the proposal that the narrator is not always the protagonist of her journal, and on the other, the uncommon situation of a narrator who allows another voice to speak through her own. The forceful statement, 'those charges should and will be answered' has more to do with a person fervently defending him/herself, than with the narrator of a travel journal, faithfully keeping records. Graham's journal on Chile, therefore, where many of the significant discourses of the period find a place to interact, is only partly an account of her stay in the country; it is also a document for a person's vindication worked through the structure of a travel journal.

Towards the end of the *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, the narrator 'becomes' Lord Cochrane one more time, to speak his parting words to the country he helped to liberate, even though they are meant to appear to have been spoken by Graham herself. There are remarkable linguistic features in this

⁴⁷ The proof of this assertion is in Graham's journal 'Chile and Peru', that contains the list of accusations against Lord Cochrane, and his own defence to each of them. The present owner of the journal believes the handwriting to be Lord Cochrane's, but the author of this thesis has examined countless letters and journals written by Graham, and is convinced that the handwriting is Graham's, albeit writing hurriedly.

passage, most of which Graham never uses (apart from the tone of authority), as the abundance of verbs of action and the complexity in the construction of the statements. Yet these features by themselves would not be sufficient proof that the narrative voice is the Admiral's. In a letter signed by Lord Cochrane, reproduced below, and also in almost all his recorded speeches, however, there is a pattern of proposition and resolution in the text taken as a whole and also in the smaller units that compose it. In the 'Introduction' to the journal Graham quotes part of a letter written (and provided) by Lord Cochrane to General San Martín, when the latter refused to pay the squadron after the fall of Lima in which he asks him,

What will the world say, if the protector of Peru shall violate, by his very first act, the obligations of San Martín; even although gratitude may be a private and not a public virtue? What will it say if the protector refuses to pay the expenses of the expedition that has placed him in his present elevated station? – And what will be said if he refuses to reward the seamen, who have so materially contributed to his success? (85-6)

The rhythm of the letter quoted above is marked by the repetition of rhetorical questions that appear slightly modified each time to avoid monotony and which add to the increased feeling of expectancy that each reiteration provokes. In the passage as a whole there is also a proposition and an implied resolution to be provided, in this instance, by the reader. Yet this pattern is also similar to the following passage which apparently is reflecting the narrator's own reasoning. However, before giving up her position the narrator makes the observation that in this period of unrest, it would greatly benefit the nationals of the country if an experienced and highly respected man, such as Lord Cochrane, should take part

in the turmoil and set up his own authority.⁴⁸ And it is evidently the Admiral himself who resolves this proposal, under the guise of the same narrator who appears to be refuting her own earlier proposition:

In this case, having done everything to deliver the country from a foreign enemy, and to secure its national independence, it is wisdom, it is generosity, to stand aloof and let the seed of the soil be the arbiters of the concern of the soil. Law and justice themselves can but guard the citizens from external evils, but may not meddle in their family affairs (347).

This passage belongs to the entry for January 18, 1823. It is interesting to note that earlier that same month, Lord Cochrane had composed a valedictory address to the ‘...merchants of England and other nations trading to the Pacific’ (342-3), with very much the same structure of proposition/resolution, and very similar in content to the following valedictory address to the people of Chile:

CHILENOS --- MY COUNTRYMEN! The common enemy of America has fallen in Chile. Your tri-coloured flag waves in the Pacific, secured by your sacrifices. Some internal commotions agitate Chile: it is not my business to investigate their causes, to accelerate or retard their effects Chilenos! You have expelled from your country the enemies of your independence: do not sully the glorious act by encouraging discord Consult the dignity to which your heroism has raised you ... judge for yourselves, act with prudence and be guided by reason and justice (342).

The message in the two preceding passages, the first supposedly uttered by Graham and the second by Lord Cochrane, is similar: now that they have obtained freedom, the Chilean nationals are responsible for maintaining order and solving their internal differences. Their triumph was reached after great sacrifices and under the leadership of Lord Cochrane, who will now step down

⁴⁸ It is not clear whether she meant him to seize power for himself. She consistently gave signs that she thought him better suited than the others to lead the new country.

and allow them to resolve their problems using wisdom and fair-mindedness. The textual structure of both passages, that of proposition and resolution, is analogous, and it appears in all the texts written by Lord Cochrane quoted in the journal and also in other biographies that cover this particular period of his life. A similarity can also be perceived in the choice and in the sequence of terms in the sentences.

The valedictory address of January 18, openly by Cochrane, has all the action verbs that are typical of his style (and of men's texts in general, according to Mills), such as 'agitate', 'investigate', 'accelerate', 'expel', 'encourage', 'consult'; in other words, 'do'. The earlier passage for January 4, while it does not have so many action verbs, nevertheless features complex sentences with adverbial clusters not typical of Graham's narrative voice, as for instance, 'In this case'; 'having done everything'; 'to stand aloof'; 'law and justice ... can but guard ... but may not ...'. One last observation about this same passage is that it resembles a political speech or a harangue, and this is characteristic of the text on the occasions that Cochrane speaks through the narrator of the *Journal of a Residence in Chile*.

The final part of the journal includes an intriguing passage in which the narrator constructs a new role for herself, the archetypal figure of the lady in distress, rescued by the gallant knight, which happens to be another dramatic trope. On the entry for December 20, 1822, the narrator is reflecting on her own sad situation and dreary prospects:

I was in a fine humour for moralizing. Earthquake under me, civil war around me; my poor sick relation [her cousin Glennie] apparently dying; and my kind friend, my *only*

friend here indeed, certainly going to leave the country All this left me with nothing but the very present to depend on; and, like the road I was travelling, what was to come was enveloped in dark clouds ... (334).

That evening, after dinner on board one of the ships of the fleet, the narrator is leaning on the rail, alone, musing on her sad situation. All the elements of the scene contribute to this construction of the romantic heroine of the lady in distress rescued by the knight in shining armour.⁴⁹ There is for instance, the time (evening); the place (the deck of a ship); the situation (the narrator is by herself, reflecting on her condition); and the sense of imminent danger given by the earthquakes and the political unrest. Her sense of dejection is profound. She says:

I saw no prospect of comfort; *and suddenly it came from a quarter, indeed where I should not have dared to expect it.* Lord Cochrane came up to me where I stood, and gently calling my attention, said, that as he was going to sail soon from this country, I should take a great uneasiness from his mind if I should go with him [emphasis added] (335).

The narrative then passes into the next, predictable phase of the script, in which the lady refuses help because she cannot abandon her sick relative, and the gallant rescuer promises to save the cousin as well. The lady then is overwhelmed with joy and gratitude too profound for words:

I could not answer – I could not look my thanks; but if there is anyone who has had an oppressive weight on the heart ... and who has had that weight suddenly and kindly removed ... then he may guess at a small part of the gratitude with which my heart was filled, but which I could not utter (335).

⁴⁹ It should be remembered that in the private India diary Graham also represented herself briefly as a lady in distress when all the officers on the *Cornelia* shunned her and Thomas Graham came to her rescue.

As it was stated above, the narrator of this journal is seldom the protagonist of her story. After the appearance of Lord Cochrane she is merely a witness who becomes transparent when the main character enters the scene. Consequently, the construction of a narrating persona modelled in the conventions of classical romantic heroines, as in the passage recently quoted, is a new development, out of place in the text. Although the passage provides a certain closure to the narrative, the final effect is as perplexing as the change in the narrator, from an ironical, detached observer into a weak, passive, and despondent female. However, it supplies the necessary dramatic denouement to the theatrical structure underpinning the journal.

Because of her gender and widowed state, Graham had no place in the Chilean society of the 1820's. Therefore, she had to build for herself an intellectual and a textual function to justify her continuing presence. She achieved this feat by composing a text in the form of a travel journal which was in reality more of an ideological, political, and theatrical broadside. The complexity of her narrative persona and the variety of the textual devices she uses to build up her text make the journal stand out as a manifestation of female creativity in the Romantic Period in England.

Graham remained in South America after her Chilean experience. Her sojourn in Brazil provided her with new material for a journal, and more importantly, with a new stance, a new site, and new characters that contributed to the evolution of her narrative persona.

Chapter III

The Brazil Journals

As the title of this chapter indicates, Graham's journals on Brazil are actually three. In 1824 she published her *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There during Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823*, and although it is presented as a single text, it comprises Graham's first two visits to Brazil separated chronologically by her stay in Chile in 1822. Moreover, the second part of the book presents such essential differences with the first, as it will be demonstrated below, that they necessarily become separate textual units. The third journal to be explored in this chapter is Graham's unpublished memoir that narrates previously undisclosed aspects of her life in Brazil and of her short-lived position as governess to the Princess Maria da Gloria of Braganza.¹ In the first chapter, which dealt with the India journals, it was argued that the private diary marked the birth of Graham's narrating persona; in the preceding chapter that explored the narrative of her stay in Chile, this persona performs interesting feats as she ventriloquises another voice, becomes a romance heroine for a brief period of time, mythologises her surroundings, and permanently displays her erudition and racial superiority, especially over other women. In the Brazil journals the study of Graham's narrating subjectivity acquires new depths, as the new location produces perceptible changes in her voice, in her narrating position, and in her approach to her subject. For instance, the discourse of colonialism will not be articulated in the same manner as in Chile, which had been until recently a colony of Spain; or India, which was an actual British colony. Brazil was still officially a Portuguese colony during Graham's first visit in 1821-2, but had

¹ In the British and Bodleian Libraries it is labelled: 'Brazil Journal'.

become an independent empire when she arrived back from Chile in January 1823. Graham's voice was affected by location, but also by the manner she related to other people and it will be argued that her closeness to the Imperial Family during the second visit produced a strategic mellowing in her general outlook on the country, its leader, and its practices.

The discourse of slavery, absent in the Chile journal since that practice did not exist there, becomes pre-eminent, unsettled, and ambiguous in the published Brazil journal,² for reasons that will be pointed out below. The discourse of religion, on the other hand, which had been vociferous in the Chile journal, becomes muted in Brazil, probably for reasons of convenience to the narrator. However, it is the discourse of femininity, or rather the manner Graham approaches gender issues while in Brazil, which betrays the high complexity of her narrating persona. As it has been observed in the previous chapters, Graham was generally hostile to the women she encountered in her travels, both her fellow nationals and the natives of the various countries, with the exception of the Empress Leopoldine of Brazil. However, upon her arrival in Brazil for the second time, she may have felt the rejection of society. The first time she had come as a 'respectable' married woman; by the second visit she had become an independent widow. Moreover, she had arrived in the country as member of the entourage of Lord Thomas Cochrane, whose wife had recently sailed back from England to South America to meet him at Rio de Janeiro. Graham disguised this awkward situation by the use of several textual devices that will be discussed as the chapter progresses, and which include, for instance, the debasing of Brazilian women as lax, unwashed, or immoral, or by using dark physical features to

² The published journal will be referred to as *Brazil* in the present chapter; the third journal will be designated as Brazil 3.

categorise Portuguese (female) courtiers as ignorant and evil-minded. This strategy allowed her to discredit a section of society that, as it shall be demonstrated, rejected her.

The present chapter will, therefore, look at the published Brazil journal and the unpublished memoir, plus a collection of letters, to and from Graham, which deal with her stay in Brazil. The intention is to point out the different shapes and manifestations of Graham's narrating persona and the possible origin of this multiplicity of narrating selves. To this end it will describe the structure of the journals, the main characters that inhabit them, and their interaction with the narrator. The narrator's control of her text will be pointed out, especially when it affects the manner in which she projects her narrating persona. Graham's tendency to construct alternative realities in her texts, as on the ship during the voyage to India, or the transformation of the humble port of Valparaíso in Chile, acquires a grander scope in the present location, as this time she is situated at the centre of an imperial court. The narratives to be explored, therefore, more than traditional travel journals, appear to be journeys into the narrator's self.

As it was indicated earlier, the published Brazil journal consists of two parts. The first journal, which covers the years 1821-2, begins in England at the time of the sailing of the *Doris*, the frigate commanded by her husband Captain Thomas Graham. It describes a visit to Tenerife, the ceremonies of crossing the line of the Equator, life and society in several Brazilian cities, and ends with the arrival of her ship at Valparaíso, bringing the body of her dead husband. The second journal, composed after her return from Chile but published jointly with the first, comprises the period March-December 1823. In December of that year she travelled back to England where she arranged her notes for the journals on

Chile and Brazil and saw them published. While in London, she also gathered, translated and printed texts for the instruction of her future pupil, Princess Maria da Gloria of Brazil. Her third, unpublished, journal claims to be a history of Don Pedro I, the first Emperor of Brazil, but it is in reality a justification of her abrupt dismissal from the Palace, and of her decision to remain in the country after this event, without a plausible reason for doing so. This last aspect has a similarity to the situation that arose upon her arrival in Chile.

In the first part of the published journal, in common with the journals on India and on Chile, Graham's narrating persona is detached, impersonal, and erudite; she appears to have a single and distinct purpose: to inform. The second part, composed after her return from Chile and the death of her husband, has a narrator who is, unusually for Graham, celebratory of the Imperial Family and of some Brazilians, for reasons that will be proposed below. Moreover, it is in this journal that she begins to inscribe herself into the narrative as a major character and agent, a strategy that culminates in the third piece, where she will become the heroine of a standard 'cloak-and-dagger' tale. The narrator of the third journal is extremely complex, as she appears to be omniscient at the same time she participates in the events she relates. This omniscience gives her freedom to manipulate the action, interpret the motivations of the other characters, and manage the textual chronologies; this tampering with the structure of the narrative succeeds, in part, in concealing the unreliability of the speaker. Many of the eulogistic portrayals of the Emperor in the published journal, for instance, encode antithetical messages that are unveiled in the third.² The character of Emperor Pedro I in the first and second parts of the published journal appears

² e.g. the ceremony of hand-kissing is depicted in laudatory terms in the in the second part of the published journal (318), and as disgusting and grotesque in the third (43-4).

strong and balanced; there are references to 'the coolness and the presence of mind of the Prince' (*Brazil*, 182), while in the third he comes out as hot-headed and irrational: 'Don Pedro's temper was subject to violent starts of passion, as quickly succeeded by open and generous kindness' (*Brazil* 3, 49). Furthermore, the various stories that form part of Graham's plot are wrapped one inside the other, as in a Chinese box, a device that proves to be tantalizing for the readers as they are allowed mere glimpses of the 'truth' hidden in the centre. Graham's reasons for being in Brazil after her return from Chile, which are never revealed, seem to be outside the packing of the story. Suddenly, from inside the packet appears an offer made to her by the Emperor and Empress to become governess to the future Queen of Portugal; this tale in turn wraps the events of her dramatic dismissal from her post and the veiled suggestions of political intrigues and plots, with no dates provided that could be used as reference. The manipulation of narrative times, therefore, in order to bend the plot in the narrator's interest,³ adds to the overall complexity of the third text.

One instance of this manipulation is the deliberate suppression of the time-frame of the period she served as governess, or of her prolonged third stay in Brazil. Another is the 'error' in the date she provides for Lord Cochrane's arrival in England after he terminated his mission in Brazil.⁴ Her 'error' then suggests a species of diversional strategy to disconcert her readers, a device Graham also uses in her other journals. Other specimens of this strategy are the

³ Perhaps to exculpate herself.

⁴ In a letter from Baron Mareschal (National Library of Rio de Janeiro), dated 4th February, 1826, it is revealed that Graham was aware of the date and even of the unconventional manner in which Cochrane finished his Brazilian operation. See below p. 192.

magnification of the earthquakes⁵ in Chile to justify her wish to leave the country when Lord Cochrane did, or the constant mythologizing of foreign locations and of the people who inhabited them.⁶

Another remarkable aspect of the published journals on Brazil, which is carried out into the third, is the narrator's confusing attitude towards gender issues. It has been observed before that this disposition of the narrator is reflected in her hostility towards most women, and in her gendered description of some, but also in her disregard for the conventions that posed limitations on women's texts.⁷ Most complex of all, in this connection, is the way she fashioned her own narrating persona, as one that possessed 'the best of both worlds', the male and the female. Also related to Graham's self-creation is her treatment of the crucial questions of her day, slavery and colonialism, which will be explored to the extent that they illuminate the resulting image of her narrator.

All the alterations in the narrating persona described above, whether those of tone, from superiority to subservience; or of position, from detached to omniscient; or of morality, from truthful to unreliable, reshape the manner through which the narrator's actual gender can be perceived in the texts. Detachment and superiority have traditionally been associated with masculinity; conversely, subjection and histrionics are considered 'feminine' features. There is a traceable progression of the gender-neutral narrator of the published journals on India, of the first part of the Brazil and part of the Chile accounts, towards the defenceless heroine in search of masculine protection as she constructs herself

⁵ Graham has been exonerated of the accusations of inaccuracy made by George B. Greenough, president of the Royal Geological Society (see Kolbl-Ebert), but she did exaggerate the intensity of the tremors that followed the earthquake (counter-shocks), and described each one nearly as cataclysmic as the first.

⁶ The Chile journal also features such fabrications, as the Mapuche 'princess' or her sighting of the Andes mountains from her ship.

⁷ See Mills, *op. cit.*

briefly at the end of the journal on Chile, and the self-serving theatricality of the second Brazil journal. The third text contains a narrator who can be even more 'feminine' according to the traditional stereotyping of women in literature, performed by male writers since, to the two qualities mentioned earlier, she adds those of concealment of motivations and duplicity of expression.

The above observations correspond to the inner workings of the texts. With regards to presentation, the two published journals, included in a single volume, are preceded by a 'Preface' and an account of the history of the country in the form of an 'Introduction'. Graham herself, at the end of this introduction, states that a historical account is essential for the understanding of her own narration and of the events she witnessed. In 1808, thirteen years before Graham arrived in Brazil for the first time, the country was a Portuguese colony. Strongly urged by Britain, that same year the King of Portugal and the whole Court took refuge in the colony, in order to avoid becoming hostage to Napoleon. Brazil became, therefore, a kingdom, and the seat of the Portuguese government. A few years after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, in April, 1821, King João VI returned to Portugal and left the ruling of Brazil to his son Pedro, who became regent. Soon afterwards the Portuguese Parliament voted to return Brazil to its former condition of colony, but João's son decided, the following year, to remain in Brazil and install himself as emperor. 'By preserving the royal dynasty, Brazil achieved independence without the legacy of revolution suffered by every Spanish colony in the hemisphere, save Cuba and Puerto Rico' (Levine, 60). For this act of rebellion against the 'mother country', Pedro had the support of the southern provinces, indicates Harvey, especially São Paulo; however, the northern states of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Maranhao still supported Portugal and

even the Portuguese fleet was based there (278). Moreover, it was not only the fleet that was stationed in the northern provinces, says Isaac J. Cox. There were also garrisons in the region that would have to be defeated and sent back to Portugal. At this moment Pedro I, on the advice of his minister José Bonifácio de Andrada,⁸ secured the services of Lord Thomas Cochrane who was ending his mission in the Pacific after defeating the Spanish fleet. The presence of Lord Cochrane proved decisive in achieving the defeat of both navy and army of Portugal; Brazil became independent, but there remained a strong pro-Portuguese party in government, opposed to the liberal Andrada (167-9). This state of affairs, together with the unstable character of the Emperor, 'stubborn, energetic, but at times indecisive ... [sometimes he] resorted to wild fits of anger and to deeds of brutality' (Williams, 8), may have allowed for the intrigues Graham alludes to in the third journal, and also in her private letters, and would explain her apprehension at the possibility of finding herself mixed up in them.

As to the question of the presence of the Royal Navy in the region, Levine corrects Southey's poetic ending of his *History of Brazil*: 'the seat of the Portuguese monarchy was removed from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, with the help and protection of England' (695, vol.iii), since the assistance had not been a disinterested gift:

The price Portugal had to pay for taking the Royal Family out of harm's way [the threat of an invasion of Portugal by Napoleon] was the 1810 trade treaty opening Brazilian ports. Britain received the exclusive right to build and repair ships in Brazil and to purchase timber (58).

⁸ He was the minister who later recommended Graham as governess to the Princess. Afterwards he was dismissed from his post and subsequently banished from the country. Graham and Cochrane lost a strong ally at Court.

In his review of Patrick Wilckens' book, *Empire Adrift*, Peter Burke offers an extensive analysis of early nineteenth century Brazilian history. On the subject of Britain's 'protection' of the Portuguese Royal Family he expands on the cost of retribution indicated by Levine and adds another element, that of the 'opening of Brazil to British exports, denied their usual outlets by Napoleon's blockade. It was not only the Portuguese Court that arrived in Rio in 1808, but also various English merchants' (25). The reason, therefore, for the *Doris* to be in Brazil on her way to Chile in 1821, along with many other ships of the British Navy, is explained by Hayward who states that they had 'orders to protect British mercantile interests along the South American coast' (xviii). Graham herself confirms this state of affairs. In a letter to John Murray dated September 23, 1821, written on board the *Doris* then anchored at Pernambuco, she plainly declares that their presence there, as representatives of the British Government, serves the need of protecting 'British property' at the time.

Graham's presence in the country as published author of travel journals, on the other hand, may not have needed justification. Long before, in the 'Preface' to the *Journal of a Residence in India*, her tone is defiant when she announces that her book will meet the need for a 'comprehensive view of its scenery and monuments, and of the manners and habits of its natives and resident colonists' (n.p.). Likewise, the 'Preface' to the Chile journal states that the book was written with several purposes in mind, among them the highlighting of a country rich in natural resources and market potential (v). The Brazil journals follow the same trend, but the tone of the statement of purpose in this case is, at the beginning, less assured than the one used in the former prefaces. For all that, Graham insists that her intention is the same as usual: 'Although the journal of a

voyage to Brazil and a residence of many months in that country was *not written without a view to publication at some time*'⁹ [emphasis added] (iii). As the description of her work progresses, there appears to be the same hesitancy of the opening statements, a quality that is completely alien to Graham's usual assertiveness. The report of the events in Brazil of the past few years, she maintains, have already reached Europe as they were unfolding. Her only merit has consisted in putting them together and in documenting the effect they had on the participants themselves. She does not make claims to impartiality, yet she expresses the hope that her journal will provide an unprejudiced account of both sides of the struggle for the independence of Brazil:

It is with no small anxiety that the journal is sent into the world ... [she claims]. Perhaps the writer has over-rated her powers, in attempting to record the progress of so important an event as the emancipation of such an empire from the thralldom of the mother country (v).

Even though the narrator of the journal on India (although not that of *Letters on India*) and of the two Latin American countries refers to herself in the third person as 'the writer' in her prefaces, it is only in those of the Brazil journals that she displays uncertainty over the presentation of her material, using an apologetic tone, quite out of character, as it was suggested above, with Graham's normally authoritative and assured narrative voice. This lack of assurance may be explained by the fact that she wrote this piece while in England in 1824, as she was gathering materials to teach her future pupil, the daughter of the Emperor of Brazil. Of necessity, therefore, she would have been cautious in her remarks about Brazilian history, social structures, and current political

⁹ The double negative may have been used by the author to disguise the fact that the ultimate purpose had always been publishing.

situation, so as not to offend her employer, a proposal that will be developed later in this chapter. It seems probable that the distortions in the text, especially in the second part of the published journal, could be ascribed to the same imperative.

Graham left Brazil at the end of 1823 and stayed in England roughly from January to July 1824. In March of that year she sent the Empress her *Journal of a Residence in India*, accompanied by a letter in which she indicates October¹⁰ as the month she will assume her post as governess to the Princess and the degree of authority over her pupil she expects to be granted in the performance of her duties (Hayward, 287-8). Two months later, in May, there is a note by Graham included in a new letter she sent to the Empress.¹¹ In the note she expressly indicates that she is sending her newly published books, 'my Chile and my Brazil', and that she will sail for Brazil a short time afterwards, as promised:

Madam:

I have the honour of sending your Imperial Majesty, by this month's packet-boat, the two compositions that were the result of my latter travels, in the hope that, unworthy though they are of the attention of your Imperial Majesty, they may be accepted kindly (38).

Graham's gesture of sending her books in advance of her own arrival at the Palace indicates that her implied readership, apart from educated co-nationals in Britain, would include in this case the Brazilian Imperial Family. The need to be careful in relating events and in the tone of her narrative seems obvious, therefore. On the other hand, her sending of the books ahead of her arrival can also be judged to have been a proclamation of her elevated position as a published author in Europe, and also of her superior knowledge and expertise on social, geographical, and political matters.

¹⁰ In reality, she was installed at the Palace before the end of September 1824.

¹¹ On the website of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. The original language is not indicated, but it was probably French.

However, if Graham appears to have been over-careful in the depiction of Brazilian historical facts, her prudence did not extend to the British staying in Brazil. In a letter to John Murray dated September 17th, 1824, written shortly after her arrival in Rio de Janeiro to take her post, she describes the good reception she had from the Emperor and Empress, her 'charming apartment', her pupil, and also the first traces of the problems she would face in the future. The British residents had already read her books and had not reacted favourably, it appears: 'I am sorry to find that with all my cares there are some expressions in my Brazil that have offended some of the English here [,] and I found a regular mutiny against me when I came'. She adds, however, that they have started to regret this attitude and have been 'dropping in, one by one'. Graham's journals were not as well received in Brazil as they were in England but, as it will be shown below, it may have been her integrity that was being questioned, not her literary style.

The first part of the published journal begins with an 'Introduction' covering the history of the country since its discovery in 1500 until the day Graham arrives in Rio de Janeiro for the second time, on March 3, 1823. Her arrival, therefore, marks the starting point of the text. She indicates that for the early sections of the historical sketch she has used and abridged Robert Southey's *History of Brazil* (1822), although she does not refrain from mentioning that she is as well or even better read than the poet is, for she has consulted most of his sources and even some that he may have overlooked (1). In Graham's texts it is common to find the speaker placing her own authority above that of other scholars, no matter how distinguished they may be. In the case of

Southey's *History of Brazil*, it is remarkable that she managed to condense three volumes into merely seventy-five pages of historical facts.

Another salient feature of the published journal on Brazil is the striking depiction of the principal characters of the narrative, including that of Graham herself, who moves from spectator to heroine. In either guise, however, her observations on the political and social pageant of the country appear to be more tightly controlled than they were in the journal on Chile. These observations, which are quite positive in the first part of the journal, become frankly eulogistic in the second; hence the importance of the third, unpublished journal which, in the form of a reverse epilogue, retells part of the story. The third text differs from the first two both in character and stated intention,¹² as it will be argued later in the chapter. Apart from the narrator, the published journals include portraits of characters that must have been familiar to the British readership at the time. There are the blurred figures of Captain Graham and of Lady Cochrane, the shining portraits of the Emperor and Empress, and most certainly that of Lord Cochrane. As it was indicated above, the Admiral loses, in the published Brazil journals, the centrality and the voice he was granted in the journal on Chile; nonetheless, his valuable contribution to the independence of Brazil is duly recorded and proclaimed.¹³

The first Brazil journal begins 'At about six o'clock in the evening of 31st of July, 1821' (*Brazil*, 77), when Graham sails from England on the *Doris*, and it ends on April 20th, 1822, as she arrives in Valparaíso on the same ship,

¹² The third Brazil journal is in manuscript form and the original is at the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. The quotations in this chapter are made from a typescript of this original kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. I have taken my copy of the typescript to compare it with the facsimile of the original which is in the British Library and have found that the typescript is the exact version of the original manuscript.

¹³ Graham could not claim first-hand knowledge of his activities any more, but she continued to praise his work for the independence of Brazil.

accompanying the body of her dead husband. The narrative voice in this text is less elaborate than that of the journals that follow it chronologically: the Chile journal and the second part of the Brazil journal. For the most part it reads as the voice of a common tourist narrating the sights, sounds, tastes, and customs of the places described. Madeira is the first stop in their voyage out, followed by Tenerife, where the narrator makes the first reference to Humboldt,¹⁴ thus positioning herself as a first-rate travel writer:

We saw the botanical garden so much praised by Humboldt; but it is in sad disorder, having been for some time entirely neglected ... as we ascended toward the villa the prospect improved, the vineyards appeared in greatest beauty, every other crop still standing in the luxuriant valleys, the rocky cliffs of the mountains clothed with wood (84).

On the way back from this excursion, Graham draws on the discourse of colonialism for the first time, in order to describe to her readership in England the physical features of the native inhabitants of the island. To do this, she uses the trope of the blazon, depicting the natives not in their wholeness, but rather concentrating on certain body parts,¹⁵ thus 'feminising' her subject and turning it into an object of scrutiny:

we saw peasants in their best attire They seem gentle and lively, not much darker than the natives of the south of Europe; and if there be a mixture of Guanche¹⁶ blood, it is said to be traced in the high cheek-bones, narrow chins, and slender hands and feet which in a few districts seems to indicate a different race of men (87).

As the narrative progresses, and while still at Tenerife, the voice becomes ironical, the expertise of Humboldt is recalled and dismissed, while at the same

¹⁴ Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). German geographer, cartographer, botanist; travelled extensively in South America.

¹⁵ Mills, *Feminist Stylistics*, loc. cit.

¹⁶ Native of the Canary Islands, up to the sixteenth century.

time the narrator's knowledge of ancient civilisations is brought forward. When the wife of an Englishman living at Tenerife sends Graham some clay beads found in the excavated tombs of the *Guanches*, she uses this incident as a starting point for a display of substantial knowledge: contradicting Humboldt's suggestion that they are similar to Peruvian *quipos*,¹⁷ she proposes rather that they resemble funeral objects from India, Egypt, or Mesopotamia (89), thus situating herself on a plane superior to that of the best known European traveller of her time.

The vastness of Humboldt's explorations in Spanish America, says Marie Louise Pratt, and the amazing volume of his publications, satisfied the curiosity of the Europeans about unexplored lands. His work includes several volumes of travels, botany, geography, and geopolitical descriptions (*Imperial Eyes*, 119). Ángela Pérez-Mejía interestingly defines Humboldt's authorial stance as one that generates its own discursive knowledge (62), a feat that can be interpreted as the epitome of narrative authority. These propositions, coupled to the fact that Humboldt was a well-known and respected scholar in Europe, suggest that Graham may have been concerned with establishing her position of authority from the beginning of the narrative, since she would visit many of the places described by him in his publications. By setting aside Humboldt's authority, as she did with Southey, she opens a space for her own narrative persona.

After nearly seven weeks of sailing, the *Doris* arrived in Pernambuco, northern Brazil, in September, 1821. The text becomes packed with descriptions of scenery, buildings, and people; the narrator maintains the accustomed distance from her subject matter, from time to time comparing a certain location to a

¹⁷ Knotted ropes used by the Incas to record dates, times of sowing, and other practical matters.

similar one in England, thus allowing the implied readership to approach the narrative more closely. In other instances the narrator exalts her position by mentioning Greek monuments and mythology (*Brazil*, 106), thus signalling that her addressees are necessarily educated persons. From Graham's contradictory attitude towards most other women, it may be inferred that her intended readers would have been not only educated, but mostly male. At least the critics who (negatively) reviewed her books were men.¹⁸

There is another effect that results from Graham's constant reference to classical Greek literature and art, and that is to perform explicitly what in the Chile journal was done implicitly: the Europeanising of the exotic location. The references to Greek and Roman mythology are present in most of Graham's journals, including Brazil. In India she had found similarities between Hindu and Greek religious practices. In Brazil, the sight of a group of people from the interior (*Certanejos*) reminds her of the clothing worn by the effigies on the Egina Marbles¹⁹ (*Brazil*, 105-6). Graham appears to establish Greece as the common denominator that links all the distant lands to Europe. Consequently, the more European the South American locations, the better they resemble the ideal.

To this end, Graham finds that a Brazilian lady, Madame do Rego, speaks English 'like a native' because her mother was Irish (103), and that the shops in Rio de Janeiro are mostly owned by English merchants and display English goods (189). There are frequent references to Milton, Cowper, or Burns in the text, and also to English and French naval officers. European artists are

¹⁸ See for instance, Gotch, 142, who mentions the often quoted passage of the *Quarterly Review* 8(1812):406, where the critic includes Graham among the young English women who travelled to India 'to procure a husband instead of information'.

¹⁹ Also Aegina Marbles, discovered in 1811 by Charles Robert Cockerell.

also brought into the narration, especially in the passages of description. One evening, as she observes a sunset in Pernambuco, the narrator comments:

and the sun was just low enough to gild the edges of the palms and other tall trees, which shot up with their deep black shadows into the thin, pure light, making an effect that even Titian's landscape pencil has not reached (129).

This device of making the unfamiliar familiar allowed Graham to position reader and text more closely, without altering her own level of separateness. At this stage she is not yet involved in the narrative; her role is that of an impersonal presenter. Nevertheless, the first journal on Brazil is not merely descriptive, although the scenery of the new country constitutes an important part of the text; neither is there a profusion of colonialist discourses, or too great a presence of religious people and institutions. What appears to dominate the journal is the description of the practice and the effects of slavery portrayed in all its inhumanity. More interestingly, however, Graham's text can be also perceived as reflecting the conflicts and the ambivalence that had prevailed in England since the end of the eighteenth century regarding the practice. On the one hand, argues Searle, abolitionists considered slavery 'an abomination and a sin' (50); while on the other, there were 'practical' reformers who invoked the theories of Adam Smith²⁰ against the practice. Around the same time, women reformers like Elizabeth Heyrick advocated instant abolition (61).

In several passages of the first and second parts of the published Brazil journal, Graham echoes the theory that slavery is economically counterproductive: 'slaves are the worst and most expensive servants' (*Brazil*, 228). She does not, however, echo the voice of Heyrick, demanding instant suppression of the practice, or of other women abolitionists like Priscilla

²⁰ Smith proposed that slavery was economically unproductive and inefficient.

Wakefield who, in two of her travel books,²¹ says Johanna Smith, criticises the slave trade and proclaims her intention to propagate her abolitionist ideals while at the same time displaying her knowledge of, and adherence to, the theories of Adam Smith: 'to show the freed slave as productive worker and thus the superiority of a wage economy to a slave economy' (182). In her texts, Graham refers to these discourses obliquely, acting more as a reporter than as a participant in the clash of ideas. This lack of commitment may explain why her position with regards to slavery appears at times unclear and ambivalent.

Graham was not alone in this respect. Maria Edgeworth, for instance, a powerful voice among the intellectuals in Britain and also an acquaintance of Graham's, has been judged as both supporting and opposing slavery especially, says Frances R. Botkin, in relation to her tale 'The Grateful Negro' (1804).

Bolken also indicates that:

Edgeworth had regular access to informed anti-slavery sentiments and politics because of her close association with abolitionists such as Anna Laetitia Barbauld, Anna Seward, Erasmus Darwin, and Thomas Day. Although Barbauld was distinctly less radical than her company, the difference is of degree rather than of kind (196-7).

It should also be important to record here that both Barbauld and Edgeworth adhered to the thesis of Adam Smith that paid labour was more profitable than forced labour, and that Edgeworth as well as Thomas Day delved timidly into the delicate (for the time) subject of interracial relations (197). Graham may also have tried to deal tangentially with this question in the first Brazil journal, as it will be pointed out later.

²¹ *Excursions in North America* (1806); *The Traveller in Africa* (1814).

According to the expressed opinion of the intellectuals of Graham's day, there were several aspects of slavery that had to be considered. One group was constituted by the Christian Evangelical opposition to slavery based on moral and doctrinal grounds, since all men are created equal; another were the followers of the theories of Adam Smith, who declared the activity unprofitable. The first two groups agreed that the elimination of the practice should take place gradually, but were opposed by female abolitionists who demanded its instant suppression. However, at one time or other, some members of the group of intellectuals suffered variations in their degree of commitment to the cause. As it was suggested above, Graham was not alone in her hesitant approach to the issue. Apart from all these considerations, she must have been aware that, if not the Emperor himself, at least people at Court would read her account, and if she appeared openly opposed to slavery she might offend Brazilian sensitivities. Her narrative in the two Brazil journals follows a meandering path as she seeks to satisfy her liberal readership²² and at the same time to avoid offending the less progressive segment of her public. It is rewarding to explore Graham's textual management of her ideology since it illuminates the make-up of her narrating persona, as it will be argued below.

The first encounter the reader has with slaves in the first part of the journal is the narrator's account of a slave market in Pernambuco, which comes, uncharacteristically, accompanied by a reference to her own feelings of revulsion at the experience. She states that even though her own sensibilities, and those of the midshipmen who were with her, were affected in England when they read or

²² There was an important group of intellectuals in Britain who supported the French Revolution (in its initial phase), and were openly against slavery; Graham must have been addressing them. Also, although this is speculation based on historical facts, Lord Cochrane was a liberal in politics, and Graham adhered to, and supported his beliefs.

heard reports on slavery, nothing could have prepared them to the reality. Because of political unrest, the market was not functioning at full capacity and there were only fifty young people there, very weak with hunger and disease, lying on the pavement and surrounded by scruffy animals. However, the narrator's closing statement on the scene appears to be a diplomatic middle ground, not in line with the harshness of the language used in the description:

The sight sent us home to the ship with the heart ache: and resolution, "not loud but deep"²³, that nothing in our power should be considered too little, or too great, that can tend to abolish or to alleviate slavery (*Brazil*, 105).

There is a great deal of the rhetoric of political speeches in this pledge: the narrator's feelings are deeply affected, therefore no effort *within her possibilities* will be deemed too great or too small to show an *inclination to abolish*, although a qualifier follows: to *alleviate* slavery. This short passage comprises the ambivalent attitude towards slavery prevailing in Europe at the time, and it also illustrates the sort of textual tightrope the narrator treads when she deals with this reality. Graham may have seen her position as that of representative of European values in the new continent, therefore her narrative voice was required to carry out the mission of reconciling traditional 'old world' principles with the more savage practices of the new. As it will be pointed out in various other passages of Graham's Brazilian adventure, this is not the only time that she fashions her public persona as a sort of diplomat.

On September 28th, while still at Pernambuco, the narrator describes a closer encounter with slavery:

²³ *Macbeth*, 5.3.30-6

This morning ... I saw a white woman, or rather a fiend, beating a young negress, and twisting her arms cruelly while the poor creature screamed in agony, till our gentlemen interfered. Good God! That such a traffic, such a practice as that of slavery should exist (107).

Apart from reflecting, the same as the previous passage, the ambivalent posture of British society at the beginning of the nineteenth century, this appeal has the added merit of illustrating another reality: in this instance the narrator is separating the traffic from the practice of slavery, thus signalling to the dilemma for the British legislators who had abolished the traffic of slaves as early as 1807, but had not yet outlawed the practice itself. There is an alteration in the tone of the narrative voice in the second passage, probably because it has the immediacy of an actual, singular situation unfolding in front of her eyes. The change of perspective from general, as in the first example, to particular in the second, makes the voice more forceful and the tone more personal. Five days before she recorded this entry, Graham had written to her publisher, John Murray,²⁴ about the same topic, but this time the message is so cryptic that it could be interpreted equally as for, or against slavery: 'The negro population is alarmingly large for the old Portuguese. I could tell such stories of negroes – and New slaves! God help us that one half of mankind should be born without hearts!'

The analysis of the propositions that constitute this excerpt reveals that they are not as straightforward as they appear to be. The first one, that the Europeans in Pernambuco are concerned because the slaves exceed them in number, is obvious enough, but the second one is not. The suggestion, 'I could tell such stories of ...' indicates that these accounts are negative and perhaps even appalling; however, Graham does not clarify whether the slaves are the

²⁴ Pernambuco, September 21st, 1821.

agents or the recipients of the inspired atrocities. Neither is there clarity in the subsequent invocation to God, as the half of mankind born without hearts could be either. Again this ambiguity, which is also present in the published texts,²⁵ could be interpreted as a manifestation of the constraints Graham must have felt not to appear definitely committed to either side of the issue. This lack of definition, it can be argued, helps towards Graham's self-representation as a neutral diplomat, which appears to be more suited to a masculine rather than a feminine narrator.

At the end of the entry for September 28th in her journal, the narrator suffers a sudden change and shifts her position of sympathetic observer to that of representative of a colonial power. When she announces that the patriots have given arms to the 'new negroes'[sic],²⁶ to help them in their fight for the independence from Portugal, she wonders if they are right in doing so. After all, she muses, they must still remember their native land and the brutalities of the slave-ship and slave-market (*Brazil*, 107). The narrator appears aware that at some time, those people who were born free and have been subjected by force may eventually seek revenge.²⁷ It is not clear if she meant her representations as a warning, but whether or not this was so, the observation reveals a narrator who is meditating again on causality and retribution. Many years before her Latin American experience, Graham had expressed the same concern in *Letters on India*: 'for the natives outnumber us in such a proportion as to make us tremble, if ever injuries offered to them ... shall rouse them to the exercise of their

²⁵ At times Graham suggests that some slaves are better off than most people. The slaves belonging to the Emperor, for instance, own land, work only four days a week, are given good food, and even have a hospital; she also implies that the richer the master, the better he treats his slaves (*Brazil*, 286-7).

²⁶ Newly arrived on the slave ships, as opposed to those born in Brazil.

²⁷ Graham may implicitly have been referring to the slave uprisings of Santo Domingo and Haiti in 1791, which was successful for a time but brought about a great deal of suffering and bloodshed to both sides.

physical superiority' (2). The inclusion of these considerations in her text serve Graham as a barrier that both separates her from the narrative and exonerates her from association with morally questionable practices such as slavery or perhaps even colonialism.

Graham's defiance of accepted norms for female travel writers is reflected as well in her constant reference to 'indelicate' subjects, as was especially clear in the India journals. With regards to the journals under discussion in the present chapter, it can be observed that in some instances she succeeds in challenging these restrictions, especially when the narrative focus shifts from the visual to the conceptual, as in the passage quoted below. One evening, during her first visit to Brazil, as she and her companions make their way back to the ship after a day ashore, they witness and she reports the manner in which the burial practices for slaves are carried out:

It is on this beach that the measure of the insults dealt on the poor negroes is filled. When the negro dies, his fellow-slaves lay him on a plank, carry him to the beach, where beneath high-water mark they hoe a little sand over him; but to the new negro, even this mark of humanity is denied. He is tied to a pole, carried out in the evening and dropped upon the beach, where it is just possible that the surf may bear him away. These things sent us home sad and spiritless (*Brazil*, 111).

Invariably, in all her travel journals Graham dwells on the grisly aspects of funeral practices, showing a Romantic fascination with death and its accompaniments and at the same time proclaiming her disregard for the norms of feminine delicacy. This last feature reaffirmed her privileged position as a scholar.

An analysis of the manner in which Graham constructs her persona necessarily includes the description of the different positions from which she

viewed similar situations. There is, for instance, an obscure observation in the first part of the published journal about the distrust the European Portuguese feel about Brazilian born Portuguese. She adds that the former try to avoid marriages between the two groups, and gives as explanation that 'They have become aware of the prodigious inconvenience, if not evil, they have brought on themselves by the importation of Africans' (126). However, in the same sentence she suggests that the regret of the Portuguese may be due to their fear of a slave uprising.²⁸

The lack of clarity in the narrator's position marks her persona as deliberately unclear. Yet this is only one of the obscure passages in the journal. The passage that will be discussed below is puzzling for its intricacy. On Saturday 20th October, 1821, the narrator, who is at the moment visiting Bahia, includes in a single paragraph a visit to several churches (and coldly describes the ghastly burial practices performed in one of them), the food markets, the shops (unfavourably compared to those of London or Paris) and, as an afterthought, a mention of the slave-market in half a sentence: 'There is also the slave market, a sight I have not yet learned to see without shame and indignation: beyond are a set of arcades, where goldsmiths, jewellers ...' (*Brazil*, 137). It is perplexing, therefore, that she added as a footnote to this half-sentence, a quotation from M. Frézier's²⁹ *A Voyage to the South Sea and along the Coasts of Chile and Peru ...* (1717) on the subject of the inhumanity of slave markets and of slavery in general, as a practice opposed to the Christian doctrine. It is unusual for a narrator such as Graham, permanently proclaiming her own superiority, to borrow the words of another traveller written a hundred years previously, on

²⁸ It is not clear whether she meant that Brazilian Portuguese might be of mixed race.

²⁹ This French cartographer published several treatises on the coasts of the then Spanish South American colonies of the Pacific coast. Again Graham is displaying an interest in different fields of knowledge.

such a sensitive subject. In a footnote to her own journal she quotes Frézier's dictum:

Frézier says of Bahia: "Who would believe it? there are shops full of those poor wretches who are exposed there stark naked and bought like cattle, over whom the buyers have the same power; so that upon slight disgust they may kill them, almost without fear of punishment, or at least treat them as cruelly as they please. I know not how such barbarity can be reconciled to the maxims of religion, which makes them members of the same body with the whites, when they have been baptized, and raises them to the dignity of sons of God -- *all sons of the Most High*". *Voyage to the South Sea* (ibid.).

This is the only time that Graham in her compositions practically hides behind the discourse of another scholar. It is important to note as well that she placed the above-mentioned paragraph in a footnote, not in the body of her text, in this way situating it in a position of inferiority with regards to her own work. This may signal either that she herself did not have defined opinions for or against the practice and rejected it as a matter of convention, or that she did oppose it, but was not prepared to jeopardise her post as governess to the Imperial Princess by making it clear, and used instead the words of another writer, a Frenchman, to manifest her true anti-slavery ideology. The Emperor himself owned slaves, and the major sources of income for the country, mining and the cultivation and processing of sugar cane, rested on slave labour. It would not have been to her advantage, therefore, to antagonise a practice that was so central in the society she meant to join.

Later on in the journal Graham takes a more definite stance on the subject of slavery, although again hiding behind the pronouncements and the authority of others. In a report on a group of *Botocudo* Indians who are visiting the Imperial Palace, she comments that soon after the discovery of America, the

first conquerors started to hunt them in order to sell them as slaves. These cruel actions, she adds, moved Dominican priests to appeal to Rome. Paul III pronounced that the Indians were human, therefore they had a soul and, consequently, were eligible for conversion. In a footnote, Graham refers to the Papal Encyclica *Sublimus Dei* and indicates that Paul III decreed in 1537 that 'the Indians of America are men of rational soul' (295).

There are several more references to slavery in the first part of the journal, yet the strongest anti-slavery pronouncement the narrator makes at this stage appears in the entry for November 6th, 1821, while still at Bahia. In it she relates a conversation she has had with the captain of another ship who 'tells me tales that make my blood run cold, of horrors committed in the French slave ships' (151). Graham is careful to indicate that these atrocities took place on French, not on British ships.³⁰ The most common practice, she relates, is to confine as many persons as possible into small spaces, and to throw them overboard if the ship is about to be searched. When this practice is accepted, she reflects, the heart becomes immune to the hardships suffered by the slaves (151). A few days later, however, she becomes more forthright in her depiction of slavery and in her opposition to the practice. On the entry for November 22nd, 1821, she relates that she has been observing the port from her cabin window and that whenever she looks out, she is certain to see something unpleasant. As she watches a slave-ship delivering its consignment of slaves who seem happy to be treading on dry land and are singing songs from their own country she comments:

³⁰ Slave trading had been abolished in 1807 in Britain. When captains of slave ships found themselves pursued by ships of the Royal Navy, they used to throw the slaves overboard to lighten their vessels and make their escape. The British captains were awarded prize money for slaves picked up on the open sea (Costello, 211).

Poor wretches! could they foresee the slave market, and the separations of friends and relations that will take place there, and the march up the country, and labour of the mines, and the sugar works, their singing would be a wailing cry (155).

In recording this observation Graham seems to be taking the prevalent posture with regards to the African reasoning ability, which was often equalled to that of small children. Furthermore, despite her quoting of Frézier, Graham does not appear to endorse his belief that slaves share with free citizens the condition of human beings. It is possible that in this instance Graham was adopting a conventional pose in order not to cause controversy. The narrator's representation of slaves is made from a stance of superiority, racial as well as intellectual. Consequently she categorises them as a mass, as objects of pity, and as creatures without volition.

A month later, on December 27th, 1821, she reports that she has been visiting the interesting spots of the capital, Rio de Janeiro: a coffee plantation, a church, the botanical gardens; she has also been getting to know people,

of whom the most amusing, so far as I have yet seen, are certainly the negroes One of them has become quite a friend in the house; and after he has sold his master's fruit, earns a small gratuity for himself, by his tales, his dances, and his songs (166).

The narrator then relates the story of this young man, which must be similar to that of many others. During a tribal battle against neighbours, he was captured and sold into slavery:

'Our friend tells it [his story] with action and emphasis, and shows his wounds, and dances his *war dance* and shouts his *wild song* till the savage slave becomes almost a sublime *object* '[emphasis added] (ibid.).

This last observation, it could be argued, sums up the colonialist perception of the alien 'Other' who is more an object of observation (or study) than a fellow national, for instance. Graham's standing was political in this respect. If she had declared Europeans and slaves to be 'equal', she would not have been able to declare them objects of study or curiosity at the same time. Her colonialist perspective allowed her to set the boundaries of her discourse and to align herself with those in a position of power from where she could observe, analyse, and conclude. These conclusions were then offered to her European equals as token of affiliation. By objectifying the 'Other', the narrator was affirming her own identity in a manner much more forceful than mere verbal expression. This mode, as it will be argued later in the chapter, was not restricted solely to the depiction of black slaves, but also to other women³¹ and isolated characters she found worthy of attention.

It may be useful at this stage to contextualise Graham's position with regards to ethnicity and slavery within the ideological discourses of other female writers of the period. It was proposed above that many voices were raised in England against slavery while Graham was in Brazil, but on the other hand, her own ambivalent stance was not entirely exceptional. Apart from Maria Edgeworth's rather unstable position, other intellectual women, among them Flora Tristán, displayed similar contradictory attitudes in their writings: horror at the inhumanity of the practice, condemnation of the practitioners, but rejection of the Africans themselves. In her book *Peregrinations of a Pariah* (1838), when the ship that is taking her to South America anchors on the island of Praia, Tristán relates a visit to the American consul who is punishing a slave: 'We

³¹ Graham appears critical of their morals, therefore expressing her own standards of morality.

found him below stairs, savagely beating a big negro lying at his feet. The man's face was covered in blood' (29). When the consul justifies his action by accusing the man of being a thief, Tristán comments that it is really the slave who has suffered the greatest theft, that of his freedom. However, as she walks down the street after witnessing this incident, she observes that,

'I closely observed every negro I saw: the men looked surly and the women stupid. As for the children, they were horribly ugly, quite naked, thin and sickly; you would have taken them for little monkeys' (30).

For her part, Frances Calderón de la Barca, writing fifteen years later, refers to ethnic differences in her work, although not specifically to slavery. When she describes what she calls 'castes' in Mexico, she indicates that there are seven, and that they include Spaniards born in Europe; their descendants born in America; and lastly 'the remains of African negroes' (368). Her silence on the subject may be due to a conscious desire to avoid friction,³² but her opinions on the peoples themselves are hardly less crude than Tristán's; rather more disturbing, coming as they do, from such a soft voiced, 'feminine' narrator: 'We saw a horribly ugly man today, and were told he was a *lobo*, the name given here to the *Zambos*,³³ who are the most frightful human beings that can be seen' (373).

It can be inferred from these examples that Graham was not alone in her hesitation to implement her declared ethical convictions. Whenever she recorded her impressions she was reacting to a reality she had known only intellectually before, and there may have been a struggle between the independent narrating persona she was building up in her text and the self-imposed restrictions on her

³² Her husband was a Spanish diplomat.

³³ Descendants of Africans and Indians.

discourse, arising from her gender and from the importance she expected to enjoy in the Brazilian Imperial Court. This tension resulted in a struggle between her moral convictions and her personal interest, which could not be easily resolved. Her ambition to become part of the Imperial Court in Brazil³⁴ is also linked to the constraints posed on her by her gender, in the sense that as a woman without a family, Graham was not free to choose her place of residence unless she had a 'respectable' excuse to be in it. For the same reason, there was no place open to her at Court, except as an employee; consequently, her interest in becoming governess to the Princess³⁵ may not have been totally due to a love of teaching, but rather to an awareness of that reality. In the same light, Graham's need to tone down her portrayal of slavery becomes easier to rationalise, since no matter how hard she struggled, in her texts, against accepting her disempowered position, in real life the historic Graham had limited possibilities as a woman without a man in a foreign country. Given her permanent disdain for gender restrictions, she would have rejected this reality in her public as well as in her textual self; rather, her subversive attitude surfaces in the manner that she, as narrator, genders most of the people who come into contact with her.

Graham's portrayal of people in Brazil during her first visit in 1821 works on two levels: the native and slave men and women are grouped into a single category where they are gendered and objectified; the European Portuguese women and Brazilians of European descent are bundled into another group where they are subjected to moral scrutiny and value judgements. In both instances the observing persona situates herself on a higher plane than the objects

³⁴ 'I own that the more I saw of the Imperial Family, the more I wished to belong to it' (*Brazil*, 320)

³⁵ Graham may have seen a similarity between herself and Baroness Lehzen, who was governess to Princess Victoria.

of her analysis. In the case of the natives and slaves her superiority arises from her status as representative of a superior European culture; with regards to other Europeans living in Brazil, the source of her power rests on her high level of education and the gentility of her background. Obviously, this elevated social status granted her enough authority (in her view) to expound her opinions which were invariably negative, apart from endowing her narrating persona with a sort of textual immunity. After all, she could not be suspected of partaking of the same vices and defects she detected and condemned in others.

The narratives of Graham's experiences with slavery are interspersed in the first part of the journal with descriptions of the manner of dressing of the free and new Negroes, and of Creole Portuguese,

a linen jacket and trowsers, or on the days of ceremony one of cloth, and a straw hat, furnish forth either a black or a white gentleman. The women, in-doors, wear a kind of frock which leaves the bosom much exposed gold chains for the neck and arms, and gold ear-rings, with a flower in the hair The new negroes, men and women, have nothing but a cloth round their loins (108).

The style in this passage echoes that one used to catalogue items in an exhibition. There is the generic use of the article 'a', which depersonalises the items of clothing worn by the people described, and the people themselves are denied wholeness as human beings, since they are described in parts and in serial form by the use of the of the blazon. Interestingly, the portrayal of the women is slightly more sexualised than that of the men, with attention given to naked bosoms, necks, and arms, and also to typical female items of bodily adornment, like jewels and flowers. The effect of this exposition is the perception of a narrator who has authority over the people described since she is the one doing the cataloguing, and who supports the prevailing social codes of the superiority

of the male over the female by her permanent use of gendered language. One instance among many of this kind of support is the following passage that describes an evening in Pernambuco:

As we came back ... we got to Recife just as the evening hymn was singing, harshly and unmusically enough, by the negroes and mulattoes in the streets, but everything that unites *men* in one common sentiment is interesting. The church doors were open, the altars illuminated, and the very slave felt that *he* was addressing the same Deity, by the same privilege with *his* master [emphasis added] (106-7).

Although it is true that Graham was communicating her message through the only language available to her at the time, she was surrendering to the prevailing social forces when she made her language appear gendered, and the women invisible (unless specifically recalled), as in the passage above. She may have bowed to the normatives of her age in order to make her accounts acceptable to her public, but more probably she was using the lexical codes of masculine superiority in order to bond with her readership. If the latter were the case, it would be another instance of Graham using and bending existing rules to her own advantage.

Graham's gendering of the people she meets extends to specific descriptions of women in Brazil. The manner in which European women in Bahia³⁶ are described, while negative and hostile, serves to signal the narrator's superiority and authority. By taking this stance, Graham is tacitly appropriating the right to pass pronouncements on these women's habits and physical appearance. She finds that their houses are 'disgustingly dirty' and that they themselves do not appear to be gentlewomen:

³⁶ The second port of call in Brazil in the first part of the journal. The first had been Pernambuco, and the third was Rio de Janeiro.

As they wear neither stay nor bodice, the figure becomes almost indecently slovenly ... and this is the more disgusting as they are very thinly clad Hair black, ill combed, and dishevelled ... and the whole person having an unwashed appearance (136).

The narrator of the journal makes no concessions to *the influence the climate* may have had on the appearance of these women. Incidentally, the climate of Brazil is rarely mentioned or commented upon, which may be another instance of Graham's Europeanising the exotic location or of the immateriality of her narrating persona. In fact, she seems to equate rigidity in dress with respectability, as she does not appear to condemn the state of undress of the women slaves. The lack of decorum in the European women's personal appearance, she implies, is a sign of indifferent moral standards. In addition, Graham seems to encode in this description a proclamation of her own pristine morality. The phrase 'indecently slovenly' has sexual connotations, as this is a reference to the lack of stays, that is, restrictions imposed on the female body to neutralise its seductiveness. The narrator is here implying that she herself obeys these codes of dress and is, consequently, virtuous. Her superiority is thus enhanced, as her racial, intellectual, and social advantages now have the seal of moral uprightness. This passage is one among many in the journals in which Graham may have been trying to whitewash her reputation, but which in the end served to provide fresh elements for her own self-fashioning.³⁷

The piece examined above dealt with Graham's representation of the physical appearance of the European women in Bahia. However, their minds also pass through the narrator's scrutiny. Their topics of conversation, she says, are

³⁷ There are many instances in the text of these binaries of comparison or contrast: among them is the superiority of northern over southern (darker); blond hair over black, or the pairing of ugliness with malevolence in women. Although the latter exercise could apply in theory to descriptions of men, this happens seldom in narratives, and never in Graham's work.

circumscribed to 'praise of the beauty of Bahia; dress, children, and diseases ... and, to say the truth, their manner of talking of the latter subject is as disgusting as their dress' (ibid.). And the narrator uses even stronger language to close this passage, stating that the women marry very young and soon lose their youthful appearance. 'But then', she wonders, 'who is there that can bear so total a disguise as filth and untidiness spread over a woman?' (137). The unusually strong and hostile language used by Graham in this passage is puzzling mainly because it represents an instance of uncalled-for violence. The use of the term 'disguise' suggests that the narrator did not believe the women to be respectable, and the participle 'spread' threatens to obliterate them altogether. In this manner she was equating women to slaves or people of mixed race, a procedure that allowed her to objectify them and to represent them as separate and inferior to herself. This representation, in turn, marked Graham's own uniqueness and importance. Apart from being a passage of self-promotion by antithesis, as in the piece examined before, the present one also betrays raw antagonism. The images Graham invokes are extreme, and therefore not viable terms of comparison. One of the unsolved mysteries posed by Graham's narrative persona is her hostility towards women.³⁸

However, the tone of the narrator's voice becomes more conciliatory a few pages later when she attends a party one evening and finds the ladies better dressed and corseted than when she saw them the previous morning. Even so, it is the English ladies who carry the day for their beauty and good manners, despite the fact that their class origins are quite 'second rate' (142), she hastens to add. It is remarkable that the narrator keeps a distance from her subject at all

³⁸ It was manifested in the India journal, for instance, in the detached precision with which she detailed the ceremony of *sati*, or her derisive comments on the old woman and her daughters in the orchard in Valparaíso, in the Chile journal.

times, so as not to lose her superior stance and therefore her authority. She appears to avoid any sort of bonding with other women, even if they are English expatriates like herself, so as not to compromise the freedom of her discourse. Graham's attitude towards the English women living in Brazil is permanently patronising and disdainful; she pronounces them to be superior to Brazilian women in beauty and tidiness, but not her own equals in intellect or rank. She shows herself willing to forgive lack of intellectual powers in women without social pretensions, but nevertheless she denounces them as dreadfully dull.

Since this account was composed after the fact and is not the immediate response it pretends to be, it is interesting to single out the forces that are working in the text at this stage. To the negative description of European (non-British) women, Graham adds a more acceptable portrayal of English women living in Brazil. The text therefore begins to function dialectically: negative bias is counterbalanced by a positive pressure. This exercise gives credibility and impartiality to the narrative, while at the same time it asserts the superiority of the narrator above all other women, the superiority of English women over their Portuguese counterparts, and therefore, the superiority of north over south.

This perception appears contradicted, however, in her account of an encounter with a fellow European, which constitutes one of the most engrossing narrative passages in the first part of the journal, but which at the same time confirms the suspicion that Graham's narrative self is more sympathetic to men than to women. In this instance she is not categorising people into groups; on the contrary, her gaze centres on a single individual whom she introduces by observing that there is a feeling of kinship among Europeans when they meet in another country: 'whenever we meet a Frenchman in time of peace, in a distant

country, it is something akin to the pleasure of seeing a countryman' (156). Count Dirk van Hogendorp was not a Frenchman but had been a general in Napoleon's army. In the relation of two encounters she has with the Count, Graham carefully places herself in a position of authority and agency by making him defer to her; she depicts him as possessing a handsome masculine figure which apparently he did not; and reports that he lived in an interesting house that had, moreover, an intriguingly decorated bedroom.³⁹ It would not have served Graham's overall design to describe this aristocrat as old and infirm; hence the textual transfiguration. However, in the Count she succeeds in conveying the essence of the Romantic trope of noble resistance to adversity and the pain of isolation and exile. Up to now, Graham has been seen to glamorise distant locations and its inhabitants to make her text more attractive to her readers, as she did in her description of Valparaíso,⁴⁰ or to debunk the myth of the oriental harem as in the India journal.⁴¹ In the passage of Count van Hogendorp, whose figure is certainly romanticised to fit her gallery of characters who are larger than life, Graham anticipates her position of heroine of her own narrative that will be developed in the third journal. Moreover, with the inclusion of a fascinating noble character such as the exiled Count who takes her into his confidence, Graham is signalling that she belongs to a small, select group, and this fact enhances her authority as narrator.

The second part of the published journal also begins with an 'Introduction', but this section is much shorter than the first, which included a history of the country since its discovery. Graham's account of her second visit

³⁹ For a realistic description of the Count and his house, see Gloria Kaiser, *Dona Leopoldina: The Habsburg Empress of Brazil*. For instance, pp. 174-5; he is 'a little man ... with a rather twisted back'. His house consists of three 'little huts, two made of wood and one made of brick'.

⁴⁰ See above, p 82, the apothecary; or p. 77, her arrival at the port.

⁴¹ See above pp. 30-31.

to Brazil, from March 13th, 1823, until October of the same year, begins with a short note in which she relates what events took place in the country while she was away in Chile for 'a year and three days' (209). From the start this second journal appears to be mainly a eulogy of Don Pedro I. On December 1st, 1822, he had been crowned Emperor of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro, even though the northern provinces were still in Portuguese hands.⁴² The second part of the journal differs from the first, for instance, in that there is a change in the tone of the narrative voice that becomes warmer and more intimate, to fit the exalted image of the Emperor. Apart from voice, there is also a change in the structure of the journal. The second part is less a travel account than a chronicle of closely observed political events: there are fewer passages of descriptions of natural landmarks and most of the accounts correspond to events that take place indoors. Perhaps because this time she arrived in the company of Lord Cochrane,⁴³ Graham now moved in the highest social circles in Rio de Janeiro, and had access to the Imperial Court.

The make up of Graham's narrating persona, therefore, undergoes certain modifications at this stage: there is less of the superior, educated European observing an interesting, distant land, and also less of the subversive intellectual who disregards restrictions placed on women writers; rather, her tone becomes obsequious and ingratiating, especially when discussing the Emperor, as it will be argued below. One remarkable feature of this construction is that the voice becomes less authoritative as the narrator acquires a higher social position, for the time being, at least. Conversely, when Graham was in Chile and her position

⁴² Lord Cochrane had therefore been invited to help in completing the independence of Brazil.

⁴³ His prestige as liberator of the Spanish colonies in the Pacific, and the fact that he had been called by the Brazilian government to help in the struggle for independence, would certainly have extended itself to the people who came with him.

was less defined, her voice was infinitely more commanding. This phenomenon will be explored further in the analysis of the third Brazil journal. As it was indicated in the introduction to the present thesis, location, social standing, and personal relationships are relevant to the build up of Graham's narrating persona. These elements impinge on the narrator because in her text she carefully models her subjectivity to fit given situations. For instance, the assertiveness of her previous journals appears to have been sometimes a mask,⁴⁴ sometimes a show of defiance, rather than a reflection of an existing state of mind. Conversely, in the second part of the Brazil journal, Graham becomes a courtier, in word and in deed.

Another noticeable departure from the structure of previously discussed journals, is that in the second part of the Brazil journal the narrator eventually becomes the protagonist of her own narrative. In the India diary⁴⁵ and in the first part of the Brazil journal, the focus of interest had been the countries themselves, their history, their people, their natural beauties. In the Chile journal the central figure was Lord Cochrane. Graham becomes the protagonist in the second part of the Brazil journal because now the focus lies on the events she witnesses and the manner in which they affect her personally. Moreover, the diatribes against the Catholic Church in the Chile journal are transformed into gentle eulogies in *Brazil*, as it will be indicated below. The figure of Lord Cochrane, although ever present, becomes gradually paler and more distant, especially after Lady Cochrane arrives in the country. The Admiral is replaced by another strong masculine presence, that of the Emperor. The portrait of Pedro I is, nevertheless, quite different from that of Cochrane. There is never any indication of the

⁴⁴ Graham may have felt the need to appear and sound superior as she was representing the greatest world power at the time.

⁴⁵ Except for the relation of her romance with Thomas Graham.

possibility, no matter how veiled, of a sentimental relationship between them. The Emperor, even though romanticised, is praised more for his position of power than for his own person. The text conveys the impression that anyone occupying that post would have merited Graham's commendation, while her permanent extolling of Cochrane's virtues, particularly in the Chile journal, leaves no doubt that it is the human being and not so much his line of work that she admires.⁴⁶

There are few passages in this part of the journal of overt criticism of people, customs, or politics; even slavery is analysed matter-of-factly, as a given or as part of the political and commercial pattern and the cultural landscape of the country. The liberal, anti-clerical and anti-monarchic narrator of the Chile journal is replaced by a quite new and different construction. Nevertheless, certain traits remain unchanged, like her displays of uncommon erudition.⁴⁷ In opposition to previous journals, this new narrator manifests a profound admiration for the Emperor. It is not common, she muses, that an hereditary ruler should be partial to freedom and independence, and even less that he should be the leader of the movement that intends to free Brazil from the colonial yoke; moreover,

a son of the house of Braganza, and a daughter of that of Austria, leading the way to the independence of this great empire, cannot but excite the love as well as the admiration of their fortunate subjects (219).

⁴⁶ Proof of this proposition is the profusion of attributive adjectives Graham uses when she refers to Cochrane's person; the same does not happen when she refers to the Emperor.

⁴⁷ Her ample reading included major works in other languages, her observations indicate knowledge of obscure musical compositions, and her journals include quotations from the latest literary publications, especially poetry, together with heterogeneous texts such as Papal Encyclicas or ancient treatises.

This line of reasoning may be interpreted as an attempt, on Graham's part, to fashion the figure of the Emperor as a ruler acceptable to the liberal, educated elite of which she was part, a ruler, moreover, worthy of her attention and loyalty. Later on in the journal, her approbation becomes more concrete, as it relates to a particular conflict between the Emperor and the Assembly that was resolved because the legislative power had seen reason. There can be no danger of riots because:

The emperor appears too sincere in his desire to see the greatest possible prosperity in Brazil ... and at the same time he has too much spirit to submit to terms from any quarter, derogatory to his dignity and his rights (268).

There are several similar entries in the second part of the journal, in which the narrator highlights the virtues she sees in the Brazilian head of state.⁴⁸ The last sentence of the above quotation appears to contain even a mild threat to anyone who attempts to defy his authority. Graham provides a portrait based on a closer knowledge of the character of the Emperor than historically she appears to have possessed. Whether her character analysis was based on assumptions or on a desire to please, her change of attitude in the subsequent journal becomes puzzling indeed.

Graham had referred to the Brazilian Assembly earlier in the journal for a personal reason when she expressed her regret that women in Brazil were not allowed to be present at the sessions. Her regret, however, did not extend to women in general, but only to herself: 'I take it very ill that ladies may not attend the sittings of the assembly [although there is no formal prohibition] ... the thing

⁴⁸ These expressions make Graham appear as a royalist, which she was not, judging from her professions of liberalism and from her private diary of 1816. On 28th February she comments that the courage of Charles I at his execution brought many people over to the royalist side, and therefore, 'the course of liberty suffered' (n.p.).

is considered so impossible that I cannot go' (166). In all probability Graham must have been aware that the same prohibition was in force in the House of Commons at the time. In her *London Journal* (1840), Flora Tristán expresses the same regret, although in stronger terms than Graham's, about the fact that women were barred from attending sessions in both Houses of Parliament⁴⁹ in England. In the following passage, it can be perceived that Tristán is denouncing this inequality on behalf of all women, and that her stance is that of a feminist:

While women authors illuminate the entire British horizon with their brilliance, not only do laws and prejudices combine to keep women in the most atrocious bondage, but even the House of Commons, that body which claims to represent the *whole* nation, if not in reality at least on paper, and which goes down upon its knees to receive the orders of a queen, carries inconsistency to such lengths that it *refuses women* the right of admission to its sittings (57).

Graham's above quoted remark, 'I take it very ill that ladies may not attend the sittings of the assembly' (loc. cit.), suggests a colonialist double standard. The source of this attitude, of which Graham was only one of countless adherents, may have been the pervading complacency about the state of the country with regards to Europe and the rest of the world. This outlook was reflected for instance in newspaper editorials,⁵⁰ and, says Johanna Smith, even books for children as early as the eighteenth century. Even then geographers had been contributing to this 'nation- building' enterprise (176), a task that was upheld by writers well into the next century and which proclaimed Britain superior to other

⁴⁹ Jean Hawkes, translator of the Tristán journals, indicates that the English Parliament began to admit women in 1835. Tristán's visit to London took place nine years before the publication of her book (1840) and that explains why the dates do not coincide.

⁵⁰ The editorial of *The Representative* stated on January 25th, 1826: 'On the whole, it may safely be said that England is everywhere regarded by free states as the great example, friend and guardian of freedom; by despotisms as the unmitigable enemy of the principles of tyranny. That her national justice is inflexible, her national honour untarnished, and her high influence exerted for the good not of herself only, but of all mankind (3).

nations in relation to the management of colonised territories, to moral standards, and to cultural practices. Taken in the light of these nationalistic constructs, Graham's observation takes a deeper significance and may even be interpreted as proposing that 'new' countries cannot aspire to reproduce the faults of major world powers, or at least, should not prevent a representative of one of those powers, even if she is a woman, from attending their Creole manifestations of European systems of government. Her personal construction of selfhood situated her above other women, and she expected her singularity to be recognised.

However, it is not only her double-sided colonialist stance that marks the narrator in *Brazil*. Her slanted outlook is also manifested in the excessive praise she bestows on almost anything she sees, and even though this could betray a similarity with her earlier glorification of Valparaíso, the parallel functions only at a superficial level. In *Chile*, it was argued, her objective was probably the justification of her decision to stay; moreover, it did not bring about a change in the narrative voice. In this instance, the praise appears to have been directed at pleasing her employer. When Graham found herself, on her second visit to Brazil, admitted to the highest circles of what was in reality a European court installed in the middle of South America, she discarded her superior posture and intonation because her new friends were not colonised 'Others' but (to a certain extent) European 'equals'. When she is invited to a ball narrated on the entry for August 15th, 1823, Graham praises the elegance of the decorations and furniture: 'Even during the twelve months of my absence from Rio,⁵¹ I see a wonderful polishing has taken place and everything is gaining an European air' (*Brazil*,

⁵¹ While in Chile, April 1822 – January 1823, plus the two months it took then to sail there and back.

273). Despite the celebratory tone, the praise is structured in such a manner that it places Europe as the norm and the ideal.

In the end, what characterises the published Brazil journals is the fluidity with which Graham fashions and re-fashions her narrative persona. At times she adopts a liberal, libertarian, anti-clerical, anti-monarchical stance, because that would have been the outlook of an independent woman like her; at others, she betrays much more conventional beliefs and tendencies. In her intent to use her text as a tool to reach a certain objective (most probably to strengthen her position), she fashions her persona to pose as a society lady at one point, or as a learned scholar at another; or as an independent woman at one stage, and as a vulnerable heroine in the next. The lavish praise of the country, its people and its ruler, whether stemming from a tendency for mythologizing or from the lack of a stable ideological framework has, the effect of making the narrator unreliable. As Roger Webster suggests, in the universe of a narration, the narrator addresses the readers to make them participants of a coherent structure and this presupposes that the events should be perceived as 'true' and stable (86).

The 'rules' of Graham's narrative on Brazil that we, as readers, are expected to recognise and accept and which are manifested by a detached and impersonal narrator in the first visit, are broken in the second. Here Graham destroys the distance she had set up between herself and the narration, and becomes warmly complimentary when she should have been analytical and impartial, according to the previous directives for the text. Moreover, her failure to provide certain details crucial to the story but uncomfortable to the narrator, enhances her unreliability. If to that concealment is added her constant

interpretation of other people's behaviour in a manner that obscures other obvious alternatives, the perception of the untrustworthiness of the narrator necessarily grows.

In this respect it is important to remember that Graham's situation in Brazil was uncomfortable, to say the least, and socially untenable. It had passed virtually unremarked in the reduced world of Chilean society at the time, but not so in Brazil, with an Imperial Court, the diplomatic representatives it entailed and, moreover, the strong British presence in all levels of society. Graham's narrator remarks on the hostility she has to endure, but ignores the obvious causes that provoked it. One of these causes may have been Graham's situation as a foreign woman alone in a country where she had no plausible reason to be.⁵²

Remarkable, for instance, is the manner in which Graham turns around uncomfortable situations and, inside the text at least, makes them work to her own advantage. For instance, the narrator exercises control in the articulations of her relationship to two women who, apart from the Empress Leopoldine, dominate the second part of the published journal and the third memoir: Lady Cochrane and Madame Bonpland, respectively. As discussed in the previous chapter on Chile, there it is Lord Cochrane's figure that supersedes all others, including that of the narrator herself. He is fashioned as the brave naval hero, the wronged idealist, Graham's loyal friend and protector, even the voice of the text. When Graham and Cochrane met in Chile in 1822, Lady Cochrane had been away in England since the year before. When he arrived in Brazil, back

⁵² It should be remembered that she arrived in Brazil with Lord Cochrane from Chile on March 13th, 1823, yet it was only in October of the same year that she was asked to become governess to Princess Maria da Gloria. For six months Graham stayed in Rio de Janeiro when the possibilities of going back to England must have been countless.

from Chile,⁵³ on March 3, 1823, his wife had decided to sail back and rejoin him in South America. From then on, the Admiral ceases to be the protagonist of Graham's journals, although he is mentioned regularly, positively, and often. There is always the undertone of appreciation when his name is mentioned, yet this time he is made to share the stage with other shining characters like the Emperor and Empress. There is, nevertheless, a mystery surrounding their relationship. Graham left almost no clues,⁵⁴ and there are none in his autobiography. However, in her two published South American journals Graham displays a poorly concealed animosity towards Lady Cochrane, suggesting that in these journals Lady Cochrane's assigned role is that of the 'other woman': a sexual threat.

For instance, in one of the first entries of the Chile journal, when Graham makes some observations about the women of the country, she comments that they compensate their lack of learning with gentleness and decorum; not as in England, she adds, where women without an education are vulgar. This reference to English women who are beautiful but ignorant may point subtextually to Lady Cochrane: 'Yet in England a pretty ignorant woman is nine times out of ten a vixen, and rules or tries to rule accordingly' (153). In the next entry of the journal Lady Cochrane is mentioned by name for the first and only time. The closeness of the two references in the text could be taken as an indication that the above observation was made with Lady Cochrane in mind: 'They showed us a beautiful green spot ... where the young and pretty

⁵³ See chronology, p. iii.

⁵⁴ In Graham's notes for a new journal on Brazil kept at the Oliveira Lima Library at the Catholic University of America, there is an intriguing entry dated Pernambuco, August 18th, 1824, made as she was approaching Brazil to take up her post as governess to the Princess: 'The Adl came on board the packet to breakfast with me Nothing can be kinder, more as he used to be at Quintero' [Chile].

Lady Cochrane used to bring her parties to dine Her gaiety and liveliness⁵⁵ seemed to have produced a strong impression on the natives' (158).

Cochrane's biographers agree that his wife was extremely beautiful, although uneducated, and that he provided tutors for her after their marriage, so that, according to Gustavo Opazo,⁵⁶ her level of culture could be on a par with her new rank in society (9). This situation was common knowledge at the time, given that Cochrane was a famous naval hero of the Napoleonic wars and besides 'heir to one of the greatest [and oldest] titles in Scotland' (Harvey, 174). It was also a well-known fact, adds Harvey, that Lady Cochrane was of humble origin, and that he had had to marry her in secret for fear of the wrath of his family (ibid.). Therefore, Graham's pairing beauty with ignorant vulgarity in women could suggest that the exercise was in reality a veiled allusion to the Admiral's wife. This is not, however, the only perception that supports the argument.

As mentioned, in 1823, Lady Cochrane travelled to Brazil to meet her husband recently arrived from Chile. Opazo adds that her rivalry with Maria Graham was greatly talked about in Rio de Janeiro, as there appeared to be a declared warfare between the two ladies. Lady Cochrane had divided the society of the Brazilian capital into two factions, those who supported her and those who favoured Graham (17). But Graham herself in the second part of the published Brazil journal narrates the most telling passage in their relationship. On the entry for August 15th, 1823, she reports her attendance to a ball and concert at the house of one of the society ladies. There were four English women present, she records, among them Lady Cochrane and herself, but they were not speaking to one another as would have seemed natural to do. When someone remarks to her

⁵⁵ As it will be argued below in the description of Madame Bonpland, the term 'liveliness' seems to have a negative connotation for Graham, when used in relation to women.

⁵⁶ Opazo gives as his sources the National Library of Rio de Janeiro.

on the peculiarity of the situation, she answers that, 'I like, when I am in foreign society, to talk to foreigners; I think it neither wise nor civil to form coteries with those of one's own nation in such cases' (272).

The explanation seems to have been addressed more to the readers in England than to the actual person at the party in Rio de Janeiro. In this respect, Harvey suggests that Graham, as a well-informed intellectual of an upper-class environment, must have despised Lady Cochrane who was no match for her, either in background or education (275). However, the animosity towards her fellow-national, which arises clearly from the text, may, in the light of the relationship with Lord Cochrane suggested in the Chile journal, have been more the result of envy or personal jealousy than of a perception of social or intellectual superiority. In addition, Graham's account of this unusual situation and the subsequent explanation can be taken as an instance of her rather hostile attitude towards other women in all her journals, or of her inability to put together a convincing justification of her actions. However, the most important function these passages perform is that of aiding in the shaping up of an erudite and well-informed narrator who despises ignorant women and who likes, on her many travels, to communicate with the natives of the countries she visits, as it would be impolite, as well as a waste of time, to talk to fellow-nationals. Through this fashioning of her narrative persona Graham elevates herself, as she evinces a sense of purpose, not available to idle society women, for her travels and for her account of them. This purpose, it would appear, was to relate to her cultivated public in England the events that culminated in the extraordinary situation of a former colony becoming an empire in its own right, as was the case of Brazil.

The rivalry with Lady Cochrane seems to have led to other hostilities: towards the end of the published journal the reader learns that Graham has been snubbed by the wife of the British consul in R o de Janeiro:

‘Mrs C --- the wife of the British consul, took no notice of my arrival. I learned afterwards that it is expected that women, as well as men, should call on the consuls. I was not aware of this, having *formerly* received the first visit in such cases’ (footnote to p. 267).

Later on, in the third journal, Graham confides that the British special representative to the Imperial Court has been decidedly rude to her on several occasions. There is a curt letter from Sir Charles Stuart addressed to Graham⁵⁷ that seems to confirm this attitude, with further confirmation coming from Graham herself. When on the entry for September 23rd, 1823, of the published text she pours into her journal one of her rare complaints, she may have been thinking of her British co-nationals:

I am alone, and a widow, and in a foreign land; my health weak, my nerves irritable, and having neither wealth nor rank;⁵⁸ forced to receive obligations painful and discordant with my former habits and prejudices, and often meeting with impertinence from those who take advantage of my solitary situation (304).

The open hostility between Graham and Lady Cochrane, as indicated by Opazo,⁵⁹ seems to have led the English women in Brazil to support the lawful wife. There is no indication in the texts that this may have been the reason why Graham was regarded with dislike; however, extra-textual proof of this hypothesis will be provided below, in the analysis of the third journal. The narrator is again being misleading, since she paints a pathetic image of herself as

⁵⁷ On the website of the National Library of R o de Janeiro, dated September, 1825. Originally in English.

⁵⁸ She may probably have been referring to her diminished status as a widow in society, as a woman without a man, not to her social standing.

⁵⁹ See above, p. 169.

ill, alone, and unprotected at the same time she implies that the cause of the other women's hostility towards her may be ascribed to her vulnerable situation. Whenever the narrator resorts to inspiring pity, she becomes fully in control of her text: a strategy that helps her manage the reaction of her readership.

The narrative voice that emerges from the second part of the Brazil journal is therefore less distinct; from distant and superior it changes to sycophantic, especially when discussing Brazilian Imperial Family. This trait makes the voice ingratiating, like that of a traditional courtier, but to a reader it betrays the constant shifts in the narrating position, especially from high to low. Another noticeable change, this time in the narrating persona, will become apparent in the passages below as Graham begins to posit herself as heroine of her own script. At first, in contravention to her voiced contempt for Catholicism and its manifestations, she paints herself as a romantic heroine imprisoned in a convent and later buried in the Protestant cemetery of Rio de Janeiro. Her significance increases later on, and she expresses views on the moral sustainability of colonialism and becomes a participant in Court ceremonies.

In the entry for September 18th, 1824, Graham uses a convent she watches from a distance to record her reflections on monastic life. This time, however, there is no animosity as in the previous chapter on Chile,⁶⁰ nor commiseration for a wasted life, as in her visit to Tenerife.⁶¹ The building is observed from outside, and the narrator, who at this stage of the narrative has become the protagonist of the journal, visualises herself inside:

The situation of the convent is delightful, overlooking both divisions of the harbour I am not sure whether a convent or a prison, commanding a fine view, be preferable to one

⁶⁰ See above, p. 88.

⁶¹ See above, p. 25.

without it seems to me as if, once imprisoned, I would break every association with liberty, and keep my eyes from wandering where my limbs must no longer bear me (300-1).

Graham maintains an interesting equation in her journals between prison-convent-harem; however, in the present journal she does not alienate herself from the inmates of those institutions and instead becomes one of them. Possibly her role of protagonist demanded this change of position. More remarkable, nevertheless, is the change in the narrator's perception of space when she describes the Cemetery for Dissidents (Graham politely calls it the 'protestant burial-ground' (307) in Río de Janeiro.) In the previous chapter it was argued that for her description of a similar cemetery in Valparaíso, Graham had borrowed practices she may have witnessed on the burial of slaves in the Brazil beaches in order to discredit Spain and the Catholic Church. During her second visit to Brazil Graham may have been constrained by the desire to please her future employers and urged by the need to inscribe herself into the text, as a means to justify her actions. Therefore in Chile this separate cemetery is a manifestation of bigotry, while in Brazil it becomes a peaceful resting place:

I think it one of the loveliest spots I ever beheld, commanding beautiful views every way. It slopes gradually towards the road along the shore Three sides of this field are fenced by rock or wood. Even Crabbe's fanciful and delicate Jane might have thought without pain of sleeping here⁶² (ibid.).

Once she establishes the serenity and beauty of the place, Graham becomes the ultimate romance heroine, as she visualises her own death and the people who will come to visit her grave:

⁶² Graham indicates in a footnote that she is referring to *Tales of the Hall*, recently published, thus signalling that she was up to date regarding the literary events in Britain.



Fig. 8 The Protestant Cemetery in Rio de Janeiro
Drawing by Maria Graham

In my illness I had often felt sorry that I had not seen this ground. I am satisfied now; and if my still lingering weakness should lay me here, the very, very few who may come to see where their friend lies will feel no disgust at the prison-house (307-8).

Interestingly, the equation mentioned earlier between prison, harem, and convent, is extended here to include death and the heroine's resting place. It should be remembered that Graham in Tenerife had used the death metaphor to describe a young girl taking the veil. The present symbol of the tomb as a prison closes the series of representations of disempowered women she makes in her journals, a subject, however, that did not concern her greatly. What appears to have concerned her more was her self-portrait of heroine of her own narrative. This self-representation increases on a par with the progress of the story, until she becomes the centre of attention of a large audience: the Imperial Court in Brazil.

The narration of one episode that has farcical touches reveals besides a hitherto unknown facet of the narrator. On the entry for October 12th, 1823, the day of the Emperor's birthday, Graham joins the courtiers in the royal drawing room, where she depicts herself as being so absent-minded that she does not see the Emperor himself extending his hand to her to be kissed:⁶³ 'I forgot I had my glove on, took his Imperial hand with that glove, and I suppose I kissed it much in earnest, for I saw some of the ladies smile' (318). Admittedly, Graham had been praising the Emperor all through the second journal, but from a distance; this scene has a physicality the narrator had not touched upon previously. Neither did she ever, then or later, depict herself as a ridiculous character in a farce, like

⁶³ Unlike the narrator of the second journal, the narrator of the third journal describes the same practice with abhorrence.

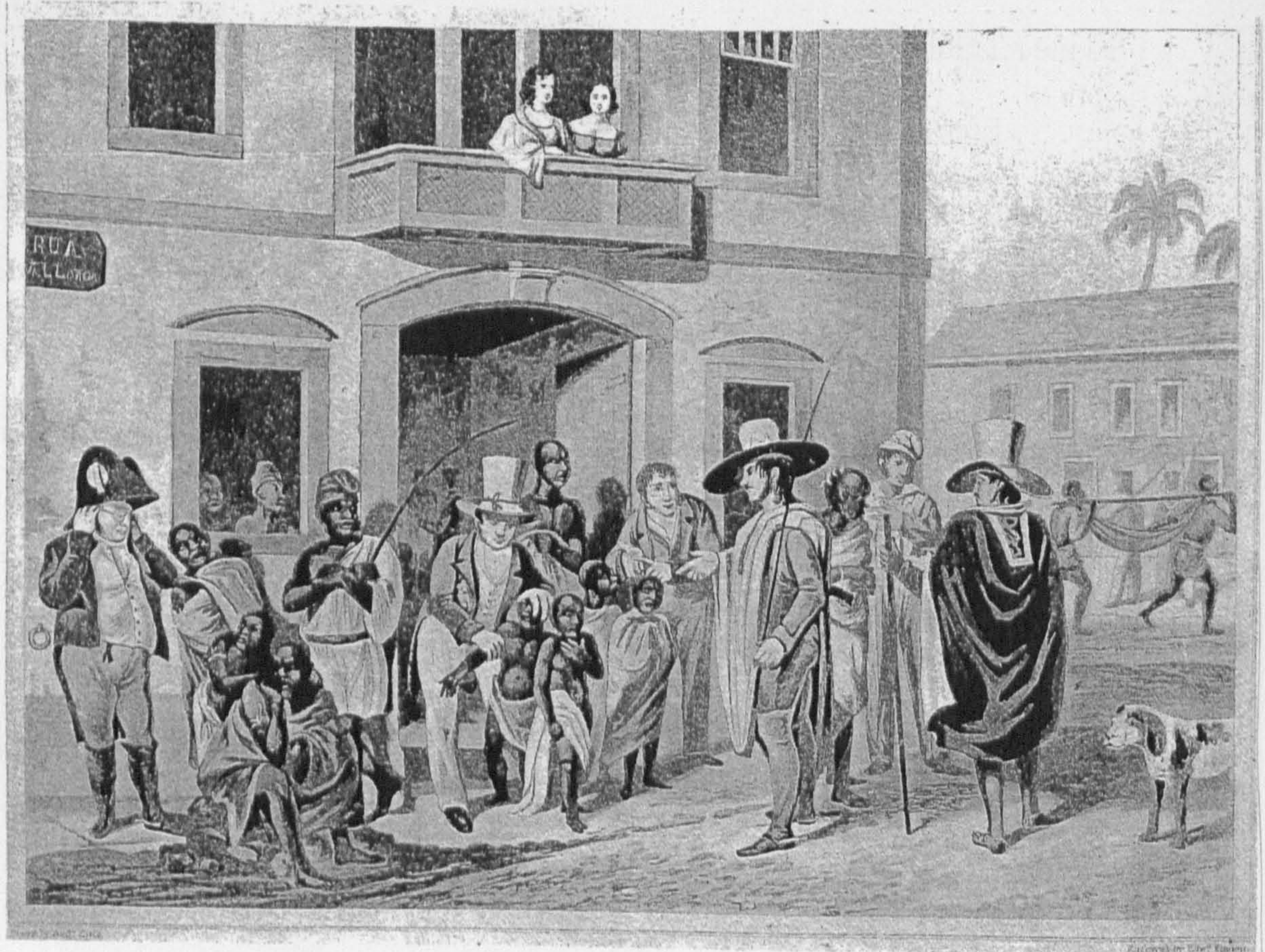
she did on this occasion. The significant symbolism of the scene can be grasped as the relation progresses and includes other characters.

Some time afterwards, Graham narrates, the whole Court came to kiss the hand of the Emperor and Empress, including the military officers. She relates in a pictorial-scenic mode a ritual that mirrors her actions of a while ago, but that also conceptualises the essence of colonialism: the superior race granting protection (education and the advantages of civilisation) to the inferior, uglier race, in exchange for their submission:

It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their clumsy African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Emperador* and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them [and], a bond of kindness *to* them (319).

This scenic rendition may be considered not only a textual representation of colonialism,⁶⁴ but also an attempt to justify and condone it. The positive message it conveys refers to a situation of exchange, not between equals, it is true, but one in which both parties stand to benefit. If it is interpreted as an attempt, on the narrator's part, to manipulate the reader into an approval of the monarchical/colonial system, it should also be noted that Graham very effectively structures the narrative in such a way that the second scene mirrors the first, thus reinforcing the message of the exchange of homage for imperial protection. Perhaps for once, Graham was representing herself as paying homage in exchange for favour, and this makes the text turn upside down and for a moment at least she, the colonialist, becomes the colonised. Very seldom in the published books on India, Chile, and the first part of the Brazil journal does the

⁶⁴ In this instance, the concept of 'colonialism' is understood as the dominance of an European, absolute monarch over Creole Brazilians.



SLAVE MARKET AT RIO JANEIRO.

Fig. 9 A slave market in Rio de Janeiro by Augustus Earle.
Sketch included in Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*

narrator appear in the scenes being described, except as a mere spectator. In the second and third Brazil journals, she not only writes herself into the text, but also foregrounds her narrating persona as a major character, as it will be argued below.

One crucial passage in the second journal, where Graham plays a leading role, is dated May 3rd, 1823, the day the Emperor opened the Legislative Assembly. In the evening she is invited to the opera, and she relates that one of the pieces in the programme was a sort of tableau called 'The Discovery of Brazil'. It begins with the Portuguese arriving on the coast, setting up their flag, and entreating the native Indians to worship it. The latter indicate instead that they should worship the sun and the moon, and when both groups are about to antagonise each other, a *deus ex machina* is lowered into the stage with a character who displays the new imperial standard with the motto *Independencia o Morte*.⁶⁵ The house was struck silent, Graham relates, and still in her role of protagonist, she reports that she was the first to applaud and that her gesture was followed by such an explosion of emotions that she felt overwhelmed:

Now [,] I know nothing so overpowering as that sort of unanimous expression of deep interest, from any large body of men. It overset me; when I ought to have been waving my handkerchief decorously *from the great chamberlain's box*,⁶⁶ I was hiding my face with it, and weeping heartily [emphasis added] (245).

The distant narrator of the previous journals would hardly have allowed herself to be carried away so emotionally by a situation that did not directly concern her as detached observer, reporter, and critic of politics and manners. This is how she

⁶⁵ Independence or death! This was the famous 'cry of Ypiranga', uttered by the then Prince Don Pedro when he decided, on September 7th, 1822, to support the cause of independence of Brazil from Portugal. (Graham had been in Chile at the time.)

⁶⁶Signalling, in passing, her elevated position at Court.

had constructed her narrating persona, and from this image emanated her rather cold and mostly ironic narrative voice. Her behaviour at the opera house, therefore, and its inclusion in the narrative, becomes disconcerting as it is out of character with the distant narrator of the journals discussed previously.⁶⁷ Conversely, this passionate adherence to the cause for the independence of Brazil is in character with her new role of heroine. The locations of the narration from now on centre at Court, at the opera, at elegant *soirées* where Graham will interact with the nobility and foreign diplomats, as befits her new role of protagonist.

During the time these events were taking place, the historic Graham had no valid reasons for staying on in the country. Her motives for her prolonged stay in South America can only be speculated upon. However, an indication of the tight control she exerts over the story line, is the deftness with which the speaker in the journal hides this reality by her silence on the issue. It has already been pointed out that she painted the port of Valparaíso in exalted colours in order to find an excuse to stay there after her husband died. Afterwards, when she left Chile with Lord Cochrane in 1823, she did not appear even to contemplate the possibility of returning to England. Yet, not surprisingly, Pérez-Mejía (135) and Luis Andrés Figueroa (6) take it as a given that Graham returned to England from Chile, because that would have been the obvious thing to do. In order to make her presence necessary to the narration Graham inscribed herself into the story as protagonist in the second part of the Brazil journal. Her presence in South America was then explained and justified.

⁶⁷ The expected manifestation of grief at the sudden death of her husband is missing in the narrator of the Brazil journals, and this lack of emotion in the face of personal loss is one of the strongest pillars in the construction of Graham's narrating subjectivity. This is why it is perplexing to see it crumbling in another, less 'deserving' situation that has to do with another country, not her own.

The explanation, however, may not have seemed satisfactory to many English residents in Rio de Janeiro, as noted earlier in the discussion of Lady Cochrane. In several passages of the second part of the journal there are veiled allusions to social ostracism. Inside a comment that the English women in Brazil lead a life similar to the one they led in Europe, she adds: 'However, they are all very civil to me; and why should I see faults, or be hurt at the absurd stories they tell of me, because they don't know me?' (*Brazil*, 258). In this particular instance, the narrator is performing the double feat of posing as a misunderstood heroine while at the same time deflecting any negative perception of her morals. She does it by suggesting that her co-nationals find fault with her superior intellect. 'Besides', she argues, 'tis no great affront to be called wiser than one is' (*ibid.*). There is, however, extra-textual proof that Graham was being deliberately misleading in her text.

There was an exchange of letters between Graham and a British merchant probably acting as a shipping agent in Rio de Janeiro, shortly after her dismissal from her post at the Palace.⁶⁸ It should be noted that in her previous letter (not recorded), Graham had not asked to be taken back to England on a British ship, but only as far as Bahia in the north of Brazil. The agent, John London, tells Graham he regrets to inform her that Captain Mends (commanding the British frigate *Blanche*) will be unable to offer her passage on his ship, because it lacks the proper facilities to accommodate a lady and her luggage. Both the Captain and himself, he adds, deeply regret being unable to comply with her wishes but,

⁶⁸ Originally in English. They appear in Portuguese on the website of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro. The reconstruction back into English is mine.

since it seems that your intentions were to see Lord Cochrane, I can imagine your disappointment at your arrival in Bahia or Pernambuco, when you found out that he had already sailed back to Rio, since rumour has it that he has been recalled (October 11th, 1824).

Graham's reply to John London, considered too strong even by herself in a note she later attached to the letter, is important for two reasons. The first is obvious, that she is angry and offended at the insinuation that she wanted to be near Lord Cochrane. The other may be the only trace of a plausible explanation of what lay behind her sudden dismissal from the Palace:

Dear Sir,
 I could not have been more surprised when I received your note. [I find it unbelievable] that Captain Mends, who has recently conveyed Mr. and Mrs. Hayes and their luggage [to Rio de Janeiro] should now have no room for one lady and her luggage going to such a distant place as Bahia! [It is sad to discover] that an English officer would hesitate to grant his protection to the daughter of an officer and the widow of a colleague, *out of fear of any government* – what a shame! It is impossible to imagine this situation if my husband or my father had been alive!
 I have no need to remind you that *I am not a fugitive fleeing the country*, but a British subject who has renounced a post that did not suit her⁶⁹ [emphasis added].

The letter continues with a defiant invocation to Providence that shows that Graham's pride supersedes the pain and anger manifested in the preceding lines.⁷⁰ These letters and their implications are some of the features that turn the narrative into a Chinese box, since the allusions seem to be contained one inside the other, while the story line follows quite a different path.

⁶⁹ The National Library of Rio de Janeiro provides no date for this letter. However, they indicate that the frigate *Blanche* sailed from Rio towards Bahia on October 20th, therefore the date of Graham's reply should correspond to a day between the 11th (London's letter) and the 20th of October, 1824.

⁷⁰ Twelve years before this event Graham had mentioned this unwritten law of seamen that compels them to protect women in distress, especially if they are relations of fellow officers, and to convey them to a safe destination. See *Journal of a Residence in India*, p. 173.

For instance, the story line of Graham's Brazil journals is straightforward enough, and would constitute the outer case of the box: an Englishwoman, the widow of a Captain in the Royal Navy, is visiting a foreign country where she participates in society and life at Court. Afterwards she becomes governess to the Crown Princess and is soon dismissed from her post, as the reader learns in the third journal. However, even in her published texts there are indications that she was rejected by her fellow expatriates, although the reasons for their dislike are hidden under misrepresentations fabricated by the narrator herself to distract the readers' attention from her unorthodox position as a woman alone in a foreign country. This second layer hides another concealed effect, not visible in the outward story line: by fashioning herself as a strong supporter of the independence of Brazil, she managed to obtain the post of governess to the Princess, which in turn provided her with an excuse to remain in the country close to the centre of power. Her rationalisation, later on, of the reasons for her dismissal seems inconclusive, as there is no logic between cause (the Emperor's sudden fit of anger), and effect (her humiliating dismissal). The final solution to the mystery is not contained in the narration, therefore, but partly in the letters quoted above, which may be the wrapping of yet another story. Her assertion to John London that she was not a 'fugitive fleeing the country' seems to confirm the suspicion that the Emperor's reasons for her dismissal were political rather than personal. This hypothesis is strengthened, later in the chapter, in Graham's relation of a visit she receives from a Frenchwoman, Madame Bonpland.⁷¹ Yet, as it was suggested earlier, Graham

⁷¹ The identity of this woman and the part it plays in Graham's narrative will be detailed later in the chapter.

was aware that the nature of the gossip and of the accusations against her had to do with her conduct.

This awareness may have led Graham to record in the second part of the journal instances of immoral behaviour in Brazilian women (*Brazil*, 225), not witnessed directly, but pointed out to her by an unnamed Englishman.⁷²

An Englishman who has been in this country many years ... began to give me such a picture of the private morals in Brazil ... and offered to wager ... that there were in that room not less than ten ladies, each provided with her note to slip into the hand of her gallant, and that the married and unmarried were alike (*Brazil*, 225).

In this passage Graham manages to depict her narrative persona as so unfamiliar with the sexual improprieties of the other ladies that someone else has to point them out to her. This trait of her textual persona allowed her to position her as above suspicion; Graham was, therefore, using her text as a tool to exonerate herself in the eyes of her readers in England.

The second part of the published Brazil journal ends on the 18th December 1823, as Graham's ship is reaching Falmouth: 'Once more I am in England' (325), she writes. The previous October she had secured the post as governess to the Imperial Princess and now she had come to gather materials for her new occupation. As she had revealed in a letter to John Murray in August, 1823, she had intended to make this journey anyway, in order to publish her material on Chile and Brazil. She appears to have achieved both objectives successfully, as from another letter to John Murray dated September 17th, 1824,

⁷² This is one of many instances where Graham uses fictitious (unnamed) characters to prove a point or to express opinions she does not want to acknowledge directly. Their fictional nature is betrayed by the fact that these people have no name, appear suddenly at the 'right' moment, and make the pertinent observation. Earlier, another fictitious character asked her why she and Lady Cochrane were not speaking to one another (see above p. 170), and in the chapter on Chile, these 'props' appear as providers of information that may be controversial or not historically provable (see above p. 102).

we learn that she was back from England and installed at the Palace. The third journal on Brazil, which gives an account of her life at this stage, is an important document and an interesting narrative piece. In part it reads as a 'cloak-and-dagger' mystery as it was indicated before, while in others it is merely a repetition of the two previous Brazil journals with slight additions, omissions, or changes of perspective. Most importantly, it adds a new facet to the image of an already complex narrative persona. The third Brazil journal is more a memoir than a diary, as it lacks exact entries and dates and consists of a series of recollections dictated to the Hon. Caroline Fox, as Graham was too ill to write herself. The document consists of a hundred pages of memoirs and a copy of a letter Maria Edgeworth sent Graham on the eve of her departure for Brazil in 1824.⁷³

The various narratives that comprise the text follow for the most part the lines proposed by narratology as the basic elements of a story: different characters who perform actions that lead to the unfolding of the narrative.⁷⁴ These characters and their actions, or narrative 'functions', are many and varied. There are heroes and villains, difficulties to be overcome, and goals to be achieved. All these elements make this text different from Graham's other journals, including 'Reminiscences', which will be discussed in the next chapter. Where Graham's memoir deviates from the traditional adventure romance, however, is on the expected happy ending of a reward for the hero(ine), and of punishment for the villain. In her story, it is the heroine (herself) who is punished and suffers banishment and humiliation. The portrait of Pedro I is detrimental to

⁷³ In it, Edgeworth advises Graham to ask the Emperor to put all his promises in writing. Apparently Graham followed this recommendation for the day he dismissed her, Pedro I demanded that she return all the documents concerning her post as governess (Brazil, 25), an order Graham was forced to obey.

⁷⁴ *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 103

his image, and even though the text claims to be a vindication of his actions, in reality the text castigates him by portraying him as an ignorant, unrefined, and hot-headed ruler. This change represents quite a departure, then, from the gallant portrait of the second journal. Conversely, his wife, the Empress, is given greater prominence in this last account, and many of her letters to Graham are transcribed in their entirety. The representation of the character of the Imperial Couple, however, and of their relationship to each other, appears to coincide with the vision of other historians.⁷⁵ Lord Cochrane is also present in the narrative, but as a remote, rather than a secondary figure, by a deliberate act of the narrator who may have felt the need to conceal to the last her motivations for remaining in Brazil for such a long time after her humiliating dismissal from the Palace.

The different episodes that constitute the memoir are skilfully linked by typical narrative conventions which open, close, join or summarise passages, like adverbs of continuity or focus; or by the practice of stopping at crucial moments to add suspense and to anticipate what is to come: 'but alas, the Barber was behind the scenes, as shall shortly appear' (32); or, 'the very next morning our trouble began' (*ibid.*). More significantly, the third text shows another alteration in the construction of the narrative voice. In the first part of the published Brazil journal it had been distant, superior, well informed, and detached, even slightly ironical. In the second it became warmly eulogising, a celebration of all aspects of Court life and of government policies, an acceptance of the social structures as she found them, especially with regards to the treatment of slaves. The narrator of this memoir is noticeably conventional and generic in the building up of

⁷⁵ See for instance, Gloria Kaiser, Mary W. Williams.

narrative functions,⁷⁶ and in the prominence she gives to some situations over others. Her voice is neither detached nor eulogising, but spiteful, and even crude at times; at others it is self-pitying but also capable of perceiving and conveying the farcical elements that can surface on occasion in the most serious situations. Pervading the whole text, however, is the sense that the narrator is not telling the whole truth, mainly because her proclaimed intentions do not match the relation of her actions. The explanation of the reasons for her dismissal seem too contrived, and the excuses for remaining in the country for such a long time afterwards appear vague and unconvincing, as it will be argued below. However, the unreliability of this narrator adds interest to a text that is intriguing even read by itself. It is uncertain whether Graham intended it for publication, but apparently she conceived it at least as a public text and as a source for historians: 'In case this memoir should ever be used by any person writing the life of Don Pedro ...' ('Introduction', n.p.).

This third journal, then, adds a new dimension to the composition of Graham's narrating persona, despite the fact that it was dictated and finally not published. It should be noted that some of the events narrated, the characters, and the location, are the same as in the published journals, and most of all, the narrator herself can be recognisable as the same persona who controlled the previous texts because she narrates the same events. What has changed, however, is her perspective. The third journal has the novelty that it was composed in the form of recollection, as she was not immersed in the events narrated, but was organising them ten years after they had taken place, in 1834-5. This method of recreating the past after a period of time has elapsed allowed Graham the

⁷⁶ For instance, all the villains are ugly, unwashed, cunning, and devious; the protagonist has lofty ideals and acts accordingly.

freedom and the hindsight to arrange facts, events, and even time sequences to suit her main message: her complete innocence of the unnamed charges against her suggested by her dismissal.

The memoir begins with a justification of Don Pedro's mercurial character which, according to the narrator, was a consequence of the poor education he had received as a child. Yet, though it begins as an attempt to rehabilitate him, very soon the strength of the narrative compels Graham to criticise him strongly. The opening comments are followed by a repetition of the events narrated in the previous journals, without major changes except for the inclusion of some of the villains in the story: the Emperor's influential mistress, Madame de Castro, and the 'Barber', the most powerful individual in the Palace. After this account she relates her trip from England back to Brazil as she came to take up her post, with a stop at Pernambuco, at the time besieged by Lord Cochrane, whom she eulogises in passing.⁷⁷ This is followed by a description of her short stay as governess, with no dates provided, and afterwards by a prolonged relation of the circumstances of her dismissal and the reasons behind it (which, she claims, she had never revealed before), followed by an account of the final year she spent in Brazil. In this part of the text, new evil characters are introduced, as well as a relation of her friendship with the Empress Leopoldine, backed by letters from the Empress copied into the text.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ This may be another indication that Graham meant her work to be published; besides in her notes for a new journal (kept at the Oliveira Lima Library) she relates in great detail her mission as mediator between President Carvalho and Cochrane during the latter's siege of Pernambuco. Her notes suggest that she was Cochrane's representative, entrusted with conveying letters and other official papers.

⁷⁸ Except for their first exchange of letters which was in English (*Brazil*, 321), Graham and the Empress corresponded in French. The letters she copied into her text were translated into English by her; the Portuguese version of the same letters, on the website of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, are an exact match.

The reasons Graham may have had to compose this third volume on Brazil are varied. Some she declared overtly, like her desire to reveal the mystery surrounding her expulsion from the Palace; others may be inferred from the text itself as the narrative progresses. Apart from the power of hindsight she had gained with the passing of time, Graham enjoyed greater freedom this time to proclaim her own version of events, as both the Empress and the Emperor were dead.

The partial protagonist of the second part of the published Brazil journal becomes the full protagonist in the third text when the plot changes course from a biography of Emperor Pedro I into a relation of her dramatic dismissal from the Palace and of the activities she performed after this event. At that point in the narrative she begins to characterise herself in various guises, probably to maintain her relevance as protagonist. Therefore she becomes a botanist, a scientist, a social historian and an adventurer, as it will be shown further into the argument. The story line in the text develops according to her activities, and this makes her the protagonist in the full sense of the term, that is, the focus and the genesis of the narrative.

Most of the salient characteristics of the narrator's make-up in all her journals are upheld here with slight differences in intensity. The importance of class, erudition, rank, and ethnicity characterise Graham's narrating subjectivity all through her work and private papers. Slavery is still accepted as a given in the third journal and even upheld, and with regards to class, she still appears to believe that there is a relationship between 'low' origins and low moral standards. When she is forced to admit that some Portuguese of noble birth behave basely, she resorts to ethnicity, proclaiming openly the superiority of

northern Europeans over the 'darker' people of Spain and Portugal. This aspect gains relevance in the fashioning of the portrait of the reviled Madame Bonpland, who makes her appearance later in the memoir. With regards to class, the man in charge of the day to day affairs at the Palace 'had been originally a Groom in the Royal Stables; his wife, once an exceedingly pretty Irish girl, was the Daughter of a washerwoman' (Brazil 3, 1). The Emperor's first wife, to whom he had been married in secret, was an opera dancer; his mistress was the daughter of a shopkeeper in São Paulo. Because of the direct correlation, in the narrator's view, between low birth and lack of principles, her presence in Rio de Janeiro was needed urgently, 'as the want of a European gentlewoman in the Princess's apartments was becoming every day more apparent' (25). This pronouncement is revealing as it betrays Graham's understanding of the concept 'European'. There were many Portuguese ladies at Court who would have fit the category of 'European gentlewomen'; however, by implication, Graham is adding the qualifier 'northern' to the requirements. There is also the suggestion that she is above the rest of the ladies at Court, due to her racial origin, rank, intellect, and moral standards. On the subject of erudition, the Portuguese ladies appear sadly lacking. In like manner as before, the narrator equals uncultivated minds with indifferent moral standards.⁷⁹ Graham remembers them thus:

all her [the Empress'] attendants were Portuguese who spoke no language but their own and whose education amounted to the Rule of Court Etiquette, with just knowledge enough of reading and writing to conduct an intrigue either domestic or political (39).

⁷⁹ This representation is harsher than the depiction of the Muslim women in the harem in India (see above p. 17). Although both groups share the characteristic of poor intellect, inexistent education, and lack of personal cleanliness, the morals of the Indian women are not contested, while those of the Portuguese courtiers are.

In accordance with the narrative convention Graham has adopted, her principal enemy among the ladies at Court is old, ugly, unwashed and malicious:

Donna Maria da Cabral was the best born woman of all the attendants on Donna Maria da Gloria [the Princess, Graham's pupil] and was chosen as the instrument of the attack on me; she was disgustingly ugly – a greasy, swarthy skin – much marked with the small pox – a wide – thin lipped mouth – flat nose – little fiery black eyes – long black hair, made up her head – her mind was meaner than that of any creature I ever knew, and her ignorance proportionate (51-2).

This unpleasant woman was the pawn the conspirators⁸⁰ used to bring about her downfall, as Graham relates later in her journal.

The narration can be seen to supersede description in both the second and, more particularly, third, Brazil journals. As it can be easily inferred by the reading of any travel journal, where there is more narration than description, it is the narrator who becomes the protagonist of the story, not the location; or, as in the unusual case of the Chile journal, the protagonist can be another character focalised by the narrator. This observation has to do with focalisation, with the question of who is telling the story and what tools are at their disposal. The narrator of the third Brazil journal has several advantages over the other characters in the story. In the first place, she has the power of hindsight, which allows her to pass judgement on people and events at the same time she includes them in the narration. Apart from this favoured position, she is the outsider who can observe the unfolding of situations with the necessary detachment, and finally she possesses, in her own view, a superior intelligence and cultural level than those around her, therefore her interpretation of the facts has to be necessarily correct and true. Even though Graham's avowed intention was to

⁸⁰ The group opposed to the Empress, Graham, and Lord Cochrane.

write about Pedro I, the first Emperor of Brazil, he is not by far the principal character in the narrative. His existence as a character in this story is justified solely in relation to Graham herself, in his cycle of acceptance/rejection/acceptance of the English governess or 'Madam', as he used to call her, and not so much for his position as ruler of the country.

Although it may appear repetitive, below are certain important dates related to this passage of Graham's story that help understand how cleverly she manipulated dates and time sequences to her own benefit inside her texts. The short span of her time as governess is remarkable, but especially so because she took great care to conceal the fact:

- In October, 1823, Graham sailed from Rio de Janeiro to London, in order to see her journals published and to gather schoolroom materials for her pupils (*Brazil*, 322) and arrives in Europe in December of the same year.
- In July, 1824, she sailed back to Brazil (Harvey, 276). After thirty three days she arrived in Pernambuco (Letter to John Murray, Sept. 17th, 1824). By the 17th of September she was installed in the Palace (*ibid.*).
- On October 10th, 1824, she had already been dismissed (the exact date is not known) and had written to John London to acquire a passage to Bahia (National Library of Rio de Janeiro: Letter from the Empress – Letter from John London).
- On 3rd June, 1824, there had been a plot against Lord Cochrane, who is warned and saved by Madame Bonpland. Graham was in England at the time (Cochrane's autobiography).
- Four months later, in October, 1824, and after her dismissal, Graham claims to have warned Cochrane herself, commissioned by the Empress. It is not clear if this is a new plot against Cochrane or if Graham confused the dates and the facts, although there is a letter from the Empress in October that confirms Graham's participation.
- In May, 1825, Lord Cochrane sailed from Brazil, never to return, and arrived in Portsmouth on the 26th of June (Cochrane's autobiography).

- Graham declares in the third journal that she left Rio in September, 1825, and that Lord Cochrane arrived in Portsmouth in October of the same year (Brazil 3, p.95), that is, *after* she had arrived in England.

By the implication that she had left Brazil *before* Lord Cochrane, Graham was signalling that her final return to England had nothing to do with his movements. In a letter Baron Mareschal⁸¹ sent Graham on 4th February 1826, in answer to three letters from her,⁸² it is easy to infer what her questions had been: 'With regards L. C. [sic] he is not mentioned here, and it appears as if he had never existed, which proves that there are no hard feelings'.⁸³ Evidently Graham was following his activities closely, but was not in contact with him in England.

The next paragraph of the same letter illuminates another aspect of the story that Graham carefully concealed in the journals. From the Baron's words it can be deduced that she had hopes of being recalled to her old post of governess, a suggestion that she openly denies in the third journal:

I am delighted to hear that you are now happy and satisfied. I was certain that it would be so, and this is why I was happy to see you leave, even though I was aware that you would leave a void [here]. It would not have been possible for you to be happy in Rio de Janeiro, because you were in an uncomfortable position, from which you had to liberate yourself as soon as possible.⁸⁴ I am certain that now you will agree I was right. The Palace was not a convenient place for you to be in, and neither was the rest of the society [of Rio de Janeiro].

⁸¹ Austrian diplomat at the Brazilian Court. A friend of Graham's and of the Empress. The letter in the Archive of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro is in Portuguese but it was originally in French. The translation is mine.

⁸² If a voyage from England to Brazil took about a month, and the Baron was answering in February 1826 three letters by Graham, it would mean that she started her inquiries as soon as she arrived back in England, in October, 1825.

⁸³ In the government, due to his sudden, unauthorised departure from the country on a Brazilian ship, which he sent back as soon as he arrived in England.

⁸⁴ This crucial statement could be taken to mean, either the accusations against her, her unclear relationship to Lord Cochrane, or other aspects of Graham's life in Brazil that have not yet been discovered.

In all her manipulations of dates and motivations suggested above, there appears to be an attempt in Graham's part to rewrite the past in a manner similar to that of the Chile journal and the earlier Brazil journals. Key events, like Cochrane's departure from Brazil, the plot against him, or her true feelings about her dismissal are wrongly time-framed and the role of the protagonists distorted.

Consequently, there may also have been manipulation in the relation of her work as governess. Once she took her post, she records, she began to criticise and change the ways in which the Princess was being brought up and cared for. Apparently she was given wine at breakfast, besides large amounts of oily and spiced food cooked with garlic, which she ate with her hands.⁸⁵ Before that, she was given her bath in full view of the soldiers of the guard and even of the slaves. Graham's attempts to change these customs, plus her refusal to allow gambling in the Princess' rooms or to be considered a Court 'servant', narrates Graham, is what brought about the intrigues and her subsequent downfall. Her post as governess was of ambiguous importance, and even the term 'servant' is not fully delineated in the text. However, from the manner Graham described her duties, it is possible that she considered her post as some kind of lofty mission, because of the elevated status of her pupil.⁸⁶

The ceremony of kissing the Emperor's hands as a form of paying homage is now viewed with revulsion by the narrator who reveals her true

⁸⁵ Graham was accurate in this respect; in later life Queen Maria da Gloria of Portugal was extremely overweight. See Yvonne Ward, 'Queen Victoria and Queen Donna Maria da Gloria' p. 123.

⁸⁶ Shortly after her second marriage in 1828, Graham wrote to the Portuguese Ambassador in London to ask for permission to visit her former pupil, now Queen Maria da Gloria of Portugal. Apparently her attempts were not successful (Letters on the website of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, originally in French).

feelings⁸⁷ this time, and even though Don Pedro appears to understand and accept her reluctance, the text suggests that this may have been another cause that precipitated her dismissal. In her relation of this scene Graham reshapes it into a farcical episode that reverses the roles played in the previous hand-kissing passage of the second volume. Now the debasing servility of the courtiers is foregrounded against the quiet dignity of the English governess:

[When the Emperor came to visit his daughter who had been ill] I was surprised to see the Ladies, Nurses and all crowd around him, seize both his hands and almost devour him with kisses. I did not feel that this ceremony formed any part of my duty and accordingly contented myself with merely rising and standing by the child's bed (Brazil 3, 43).

On the advice of the Empress, she later tries to go along with the custom for the sake of good relations and, 'accordingly, when my Imperial Master appeared next morning, I put on as grave a face as I could and marched up to take one of the largest hands I ever saw' (ibid.). The same scene which had been related in such exalted terms in the second journal,⁸⁸ now a few months later (in textual time) becomes an object of ridicule, and the Emperor a grotesque figure.⁸⁹

Again there is the suggestion that not all Europeans are alike, and that the narrator belongs to the 'better' sort. The Emperor, who had been part of a select group in the second part of the published journal, has now been demoted to southern, dark, inferior, and morally questionable. Graham's self-portrayal is enhanced at the same time that the Emperor's figure diminishes. The text,

⁸⁷ I postulate that these must have been her real feelings because what comes last in a narrative is the 'revelation'. Also, her obsequious attitude of 1824, inscribed in *Brazil* (loc.cit.), may have been due to self-interest, as it has been argued. Ten years after her dismissal, and writing from the safety of her own home, Graham must have felt at liberty to narrate facts from a different perspective.

⁸⁸ See above p. 174

⁸⁹ These contrasts mark the importance of the third journal as a coda or a closing down of the circle of that particular narrative passage.

therefore, reflects how the narrator partly defines herself by comparison and contrast to the other characters in the story.

The ultimate cause for her dismissal, Graham indicates, was the Emperor's hot temper, especially if he was woken up from his siesta. On that particular day he had been sleeping after his morning ride with the Empress when he was disturbed, half an hour before the usual time, by one of the ladies at Court who presented herself in tears, threatening to return to Portugal, since the Emperor appeared to favour foreigners over people from his own country. As the narrator later learns from another source, or so she claims, the lady thought it unfair that they should be treated as servants,

while a stranger, who has no tie with the August Family, and whose power of speaking different tongues might make it easy for her to *cabal against His Majesty's interests* while none of his faithful adherents could know what she said, should be treated like a guest Lady and allowed to give Orders to the old adherents to the Family? [emphasis added] (52).

The Emperor, then and there, in a paroxysm of anger, decides to dismiss the governess and sends the Empress herself⁹⁰ with a note which Graham and the Empress interpret rightly as a letter of dismissal. In her relation, the speaker gives a clue to what she herself must have thought were the probable reasons behind Don Pedro's behaviour:

The Empress [who was as upset as Graham was] said she was sure *I was innocent, that she had no doubt I should clear myself* and a number of other things which proved to me that the Divan I had found in the young Princess's apartment, had been inventing some story which they believed might irritate the Emperor [emphasis added] (47-8).

⁹⁰ 'Still wearing her boots and spurs', relates Graham. This seems to contradict her earlier statement that the Emperor had been asleep an hour and a half after they both returned from their ride.

In her answering letter Graham mentions 'Ladies who have invented many falsehoods' about her and promises him that, 'I shall quit Brazil forever, by the first ship that sails' (49), a promise she did not fulfil until a year later. In the 17th September, 1824 letter to John Murray which has already been mentioned, Graham appears concerned with the problem of intrigues at Court:

I am quite as well pleased not to be on very intimate terms with anybody out of the palace [as] it removes any suspicion of intrigue which is a great advantage, for however free I may be from wishing for secret communications I shall find few people about a[t] court who will believe in perfect sincerity and openness. However time will I hope convince them and trust not alter me.

Graham's concern not to be involved in intrigues is apparent from her word on many occasions, but unfortunately, there is no textual proof that there were accusations against her, apart from her own veiled testimony. Although logic suggests that there may have been political rather than emotional reasons behind her sudden dismissal, the notion must remain a hypothesis. It is true, however, that there was a plot against Lord Cochrane, because he himself mentions the occurrence in a letter to the Emperor quoted in his own autobiography (op. cit.). In the same text he declares that he was warned by Madame Bonpland and does not mention Graham's or the Empress' help.⁹¹ The only documented proof that the situation of the English governess was more serious than she betrayed in her journal is her strong statement in her letter to John London against a British naval officer who refuses his protection to the widow of a colleague for fear of reprisals from a foreign government. More intriguing still is her assertion that she is not a 'fugitive' fleeing the country. However, the last box in Graham's

⁹¹ It would be understandable, however, that he would have been careful not to mention the Empress' name in relation to a plot.



Fig. 10 The Palace of San Cristovão

narrative is revealed not by documents, but by the manner in which she fictionalises herself as a romantic heroine persecuted by evil characters, and who selflessly and daringly becomes instrumental in the rescuing of the hero. In addition, by taking the part of the righteous characters, she achieves moral authority by contiguity: her intentions and her character appear thus unblemished.

The narrator of the third Brazil journal also enhances her image by contrasting her persona to that of other women who are socially, intellectually, and racially 'inferior' to her. These are Donna Maria da Cabral and Madame Bonpland, both of whom, incidentally, have long black hair. Donna Maria, the woman who according to Graham was decisive in the process of her dismissal, is described in the passage above as physically repulsive as well as morally flawed, thus implying the narrator's superiority in both respects. The portrait of Madame Bonpland,⁹² on the other hand, and the relation of her activities is more extended than that of the Brazilian lady; it is also more complex because of the connotative language the speaker uses in the description, and also more physical, in a manner that betrays a secret intention of presenting her as sluttish and cheap. Moreover, the portrait has some resemblance to the sketch of Lady Cochrane. For instance, Graham qualifies both women she dislikes as 'lively',⁹³ thus twisting her discourse and transforming a positive qualifier into a negative perception. Bonpland is portrayed as 'a lively little French woman, who might have passed for a Spaniard, so delicate were her hands, so long and shining her black hair' (58). The adjective 'little' used in relation to Bonpland is derogatory, with the

⁹² Madame Bonpland was the wife of Aimé Bonpland, a French botanist who had accompanied Humboldt on his tour of South America and had been for some time in prison in Paraguay accused of espionage.

⁹³ See above p. 169

connotation of 'insignificant', rather than sympathetic, as in the instances where it qualifies the Empress. In the passages where the latter is mentioned, it is her limbs, not her person that are described as small, especially in relation to those of other characters who are either ugly, like the black officer at Court, or morally flawed, like the Emperor. The next item of the portrait of Bonpland, the conditional phrase in passive voice 'who might have passed' appears illogical in such a structured narrator: the categories of French and Spaniard are similar in geographical and geopolitical terms, therefore there is no rationality in the comparison of one similar term for another, unless the narrator intended to suggest duplicity in the woman. Even though Graham's English readership would probably possess different sets of associations for each of these nationalities, these separate connotations could not have been so singular as to signal that confusing one for the other would have produced any significant alteration in the perceptions of the audience. However, given the historical antagonism of these two nations in relation to England, the reference would in any case have served to enhance the nefarious character of the woman.

The message encoded in the portrait, therefore, appears to be that the woman was scheming and deceitful. Ten years before Graham dictated this passage in London in 1834, she had written to John Murray about Bonpland from Rio de Janeiro, on December 19th, 1824. The sketch is important in the analysis of Graham's narrative persona because it has the immediacy of a letter and therefore that of place and time. In the letter she relates that the woman's husband is in prison in Paraguay, and that she is in Brazil seeking support to bring about his release. Then she indicates that,

she has money troubles and many French and English gentlemen have been good to her. She is a pretty woman but meddles in politics so that people are neither so kind to her as they should be, nor so ready to associate with her as her agreeablements [sic] would induce them to be. She is a good musician too, but she can get no pupils because the real [illegible] French spirit of intrigue both private and political frightens people.

The portrait included in the letter to John Murray appears to confirm the idea that in the journal Graham tried to diminish Madame Bonpland by sexualising her and by pointing to her lack of principles. The real cause of Graham's animosity towards the woman becomes evident when the latter states that she comes 'in the name of Lord Cochrane, whose generous kindness to her had bound her to him forever' (Brazil 3, 58). However, a few pages later the narrator tries to draw a smoke screen over the text by leading the readers to believe that her dislike arises from her concern for the Emperor:

I have set down these gossiping anecdotes of Madame Bonpland for the purpose of showing the value of some of the schemes that were used to entrap and obtain an influence over Don Pedro; *there can be no doubt but this intriguing woman's design was to supplant Madame de Castro* [emphasis added] (61).⁹⁴

The narrative that follows contains two discourses, one plainly stated and the other hidden and suggested by implication. The first is Bonpland's claim that she saved Lord Cochrane's life by warning him of a plot against his person, a claim supported by Cochrane himself in his autobiography.⁹⁵ However, this assertion is contradicted by Graham, who denounces the story as problematic in a footnote to her text, although she provides neither proof nor solid arguments to support her rebuttal. The importance of this passage lies in the subtle suggestion

⁹⁴ Graham may have been trying to demonstrate obliquely that her dislike for Madame Bonpland did not arise from jealousy over Lord Cochrane, which in a way, proves that it did.

⁹⁵ See below, p. 200.

of what may have been behind Graham's sudden dismissal, and this constitutes the hidden core of the text. In one of the letters from the Empress to Graham,⁹⁶ included and translated by her in her third journal, although no date is provided, there is an intriguing passage:

A great weight is removed from my heart [says the Empress] by knowing that you have been able to send the information I gave you to your incomparable countryman. Unfortunately, I fear that the people here will learn to esteem him as he merits, when it is too late. I have myself the satisfaction of feeling that I have never been unjust to him.⁹⁷

This letter appears to confirm the supposition that there was some sort of secret communication between Lord Cochrane, the Empress, and Graham, or at least good will and a similar political outlook. If it is taken into account that Pedro I's reign was never stable, and that in 1831 he was forced to abdicate in favour of his infant son, it would not be surprising that some factions in the government would have regarded the friendship between the three northern Europeans as suspicious. It is true that at the moment there is no further textual evidence to support this speculation, but it is a logical conclusion that can be derived from the narration. Graham would certainly never have referred to it directly, as it would have damaged the pristine image of her textual persona; therefore, very cleverly, she makes Madame Bonpland invite her into a conspiracy, a temptation which she nobly rejects:

This story appeared to me monstrous at the time, but as I listened quietly she went on, more than hinting that the Bishop and one or two other persons of influence were inclined to overturn the Ministry and to get rid of the secret influence of Madame da Costa [sic] and the Barber Placido, and by means of a more liberal Ministry (one of the principal members of which was to be my countryman, Lord

⁹⁶Part of the collection at the National Library of Rio de Janeiro and also translated into English by Graham and included in her memoir, p. 74.

⁹⁷ Date provided by the National Library of Rio de Janeiro: São Cristovão, March 1st, 1825.

Cochrane) *to give the Empress a due share in the government.* She [Bonpland] laid all this scheme before me, in the notion that my resentment against Don Pedro must be sufficiently strong as to induce me to join the party in order to mortify him [emphasis added] (Brazil 3, 59).

It is important to remember that the Emperor made his wife deliver to Graham in person the note of dismissal. The situation, if true, furthers the idea of a political alliance between the two women.

Madame Bonpland⁹⁸ tells Graham that she had saved Lord Cochrane's life because, 'by means of ... the flirtation she permitted his daughter to carry on with the Chief Clerk ... she had discovered an atrocious plot against his person, to which don Pedro was privy' (58). To this report Graham comments, as if in a dramatic 'aside', in a footnote to her journal: 'assassination is not the crime of a Brazilian ... and though this woman had persuaded Lord Cochrane to believe her, I feel confident that no such plot ever existed' (ibid.). However in his own autobiography (op. cit.) Cochrane relates this incident:

Late in the evening [of the 3rd of June, 1824] I received a visit from Madame Bonpland, the talented wife of the distinguished French naturalist. This lady, who had singular opportunities for becoming acquainted with state secrets, came expressly to inform me that my house was at that moment surrounded by a guard of soldiers (part IV).

Lord Cochrane relates that he managed to climb a garden wall of his house and escape the danger, which had been so real that he mentioned the incident in his farewell letter to the Emperor, written from London on November 10th, 1825 (ibid.).

⁹⁸ Bonpland appears to have disliked Graham in turn. In a letter from her to Graham (in Portuguese) attached to Graham's notes for a new journal on Brazil at the Oliveira Lima Library in Washington D.C., (n.d.) she ironically thanks Graham for a piece of information she has sent her regarding her husband, but tells her that the news is three months old.

There is very little information about Madame Bonpland herself, although biographers of her husband concur in saying that once he was released, he ended his days in Paraguay, in the company of his family. Graham, in another dramatic aside, makes a closing statement on the character of this interesting woman: 'She never succeeded in any but very low intrigues in Rio. The last I heard of her was that she was cruising with some complaisant officer in the Pacific' (Author's Note, Brazil 3, 61). Graham was careful not to include this comment in the body of the text, as it would demean and sully the superior image of her constructed narrating subjectivity who lies, hides important information, makes spiteful comments, and can even be cruel, but seldom indulges in gossip. Moreover, Madame Bonpland seems to function as a sort of analogue to Graham, of the kind of woman she might have become, had she stayed longer in Brazil.

What appears to be true is the Frenchwoman's capacity for finding out and reporting news of momentous significance. In his memoirs, John Cam Hobhouse records Napoleon's state of mind after Waterloo, and on the entry for June 28th, 1815, he writes:

After dinner I went to the Princess Jablanowski's who is in a great fright. News arrives that the Allies are near St. Denis Mrs. Wallis sends her to say that *Madame Bonpland* is just come from Malmaison⁹⁹ and hints that Napoleon moves and puts himself at the head of his army to-morrow morning to march into Paris [emphasis added] (293).

Judging by this passage, Graham was apparently right at least in one aspect of her portrait of Madame Bonpland, although it is doubtful that saving Lord Cochrane's life could be termed 'low intrigue'. Hobhouse's testimony records quite another situation at a different time and place; besides, neither the actors

⁹⁹ Her husband was chief gardener at Malmaison at the time.

nor their motivations are the same, but one feature remains constant, Madame Bonpland's capacity to gather and pass on important information.

After this cloak-and-dagger incident, the rest of the memoir takes the shape of a traditional travel journal by Graham, even though no dates are provided. As soon as she obtains some money by the sale of her cutlery, she buys a horse and constructs for herself the image of the (masculine) independent European traveller, adventurer, and naturalist. The image is quite the opposite of that of the romantic heroine she at times attempted to sketch, and neither does it relate to the genderless detached observer of most of her journals. It would appear as if Graham were trying to set masculinity as the norm or the ideal, because of its concomitant ideas of agency and sense of purpose. By showing that she had achieved that state, she was declaring herself triumphant. The remarkable linguistic features of the following passage are the profusion of pronouns denoting the first person singular, and the way in which she uses colour to signify the diversity of elements that constitute her 'new' reality:

I hired a really brave black groom and having sold some silver spoons, I bought a white horse with the produce and added a spotted dog to my establishment. I felt perfectly safe; extending my rambles far into the woods with my man and dog by my side and began to collect snake skins as well as plants (Brazil 3, 65).

At this stage of the narrative Graham turns herself into an adventurer and a hero, and by denying her femininity justifies the prolongation of her stay in Brazil. Shortly before, she had defended herself from a burglar who had tried to break into her house by pretending that she had firearms and was prepared to use them. She adds that the burglar must have been no more than a runaway slave who intended to hide in a house he believed empty (64). In reality, this report serves to display her courage while it appears to be an attempt, on her part, to

downplay it out of modesty. Graham's manner of dealing with gender consisted in blurring the boundaries between masculinity and femininity or in the presentation of stereotyped portraits of women as the ideal. In this passage however, she is linking the concept of masculinity to that of freedom¹⁰⁰ and proclaiming the former to be the most favoured gender. This pairing of concepts to signal a third, encoded message is a strategy Graham uses successfully in her journals, especially in those on South America.

However, the narrative persona's independence does not extend to a determination to return to her own country and liberate herself from what Baron Mareschal¹⁰¹ described as her 'uncomfortable position' in Rio de Janeiro. She does not provide a credible reason for remaining in Brazil alone and without resources for a year after her dismissal.¹⁰² In a few passages of the third journal she even implies that it has been the Emperor who has not allowed her to leave. In the following excerpt she uses the double negative to soften her claim: 'I have no reason to believe that the constant disappointments I experienced in my attempts to leave Rio, were not influenced by his Imperial Majesty, or at any rate of his known wishes' (70). Very cunningly the narrator hides the fact that in her only (recorded) attempt to leave Rio de Janeiro, her intended destination had not been England. In a circuitous manner she indicates that she has been forced by circumstances to stay in the country almost against her will. However, an examination of dates of significant events at the time shows that during the years of Graham's South American adventures, her principal objective must have been

¹⁰⁰ For instance, in her short period as governess to the Princess, she stressed the idea of control over the passions combined with a gentle disposition as model feminine behaviour. See Yvonne Ward, *op.cit.*

¹⁰¹ See p. 190.

¹⁰² Undoubtedly, any British ship would have taken her back to England, although probably not to another Brazilian port so that she could be with Lord Cochrane.

always, even when recently widowed, to be near Lord Cochrane. It is intriguing to consider that she finally decided to return to England in September 1825, when she must have known for certain that that he was already back in the country for good.¹⁰³ As it has been pointed out, even though Lord Cochrane gives the 26th of June as the date of his arrival in Portsmouth, Graham puts that date forward four months, a few days before her own arrival in England. This way she signals that she could not have known of his departure beforehand:

Lord Cochrane [,] seeing that the purpose for which he had taken up arms in South America ... was accomplished sailed for England direct ... and the first salute fired in honour of the Imperial Brazilian standard, was on his reaching Portsmouth *about the end of October 1825* [emphasis added] (95).

This confusion in dates may be taken as an attempt to allay suspicions that she had remained in Brazil for the purpose of being where Lord Cochrane was. It seems obvious that she did not leave Brazil until she had the certainty that he would not return there,¹⁰⁴ but in her text she delayed his arrival to make it appear as if she had found out by chance that they had both returned nearly at the same time. In addition, there is another interesting hint in the text that Graham was trying to distance herself from the Admiral, and that this may have been for political rather than sentimental reasons: any suspicion of plots against the Brazilian government needed to be invalidated at all costs, because of the serious international implications of such assertions, and apparently, they never met again. She continued following his career, however, as it will be indicated in the following chapter.

¹⁰³ There are constant references in the text that show that she was in touch with naval officers and diplomats in Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁰⁴ According to his biographers, Lord Cochrane decided to abandon his Brazilian mission and return to England on the spur of the moment.

The third journal or memoir is, therefore, many things: a chronological continuation of the second, a relation and justification of her sudden dismissal and subsequent behaviour, an affirmation of the superiority of northern Europeans, and a partial sketch of the life of Don Pedro I. Yet, even though it touches some events in his life, the central theme of this text is the portrait of Maria Graham. All three journals on Brazil reflect the progress of a narrating persona from observer to protagonist. The advantage of exploring the Brazil journals in sequence, and of complementing the study by extra-textual aids as letters, notes, and biographies (as far as those texts can be trusted), allows a wider and deeper perspective of the recently viewed works and of their narrating persona. One of the revelations of this study appears to reinforce one of the main propositions of the present thesis: that these journals are more fictional accounts than actual travel chronicles, and that the intriguing narrator becomes larger than her story. The concluding chapter of this dissertation, which deals with Graham's European journals, provides new insights into Graham's narrative techniques at the same time it raises new questions about the literary value of her later writings.

Chapter IV

The European Journals

This analysis of Graham's European journals completes the study of the principal textual devices displayed in her work. In the present thesis, locality rather than chronology has dictated the order in the presentation of the texts. Concerning the Latin American journals, for instance, the trip to Chile took place between Graham's first and second visits to Brazil, yet the two Brazilian visits were studied together regardless of the different time spans. This mode of favouring site over chronology will be even more noticeable in the present chapter, since it deals with one published trip to Italy Graham made in 1819, an unpublished account of a trip to Germany in 1828, a private journal written in 1840, two years before her death, and a memoir of her childhood and youth, dictated also in her final years. The last two texts represent internal rather than traditional journeys¹ made by the narrator at the end of her life, and can be considered the closing of a circle that began with her voyage to India and her decision to record and to publish her experiences.

The aim of this chapter is to further the argument that location played a significant part in the structuring of Graham's narrative voice, while her relationship to significant people in her life either inspired or restrained her as narrator. With regards to one of the contentions in this thesis, namely, that her journals are more fictionalised accounts than faithful records of everyday activities and characters, it will be argued that the memoir, at least, shares many

¹ Not all Graham's texts discussed in the present thesis are travel texts in the traditional sense; that is, the relation of a journey and the description of the salient features of the ports of call and of the destination itself. The concept of internal journey is here understood as the recording of a journey that maps out, not an outside space, but the speaker's memory, emotions, and thoughts.

of the devices of a fictional narrative. Moreover, it will be argued that it anticipates themes and strategies of major Victorian novelists.

The added advantage of exploring the European journals as a group is that they illustrate in a reduced form Graham's whole evolution as narrator. The narrator of the first Italian journal published in 1820 is a detached observer who hides behind a mask of authority, superiority, and restraint. For this reason, it may not be a simple coincidence that in the journals written in the periods when Maria was married to Captain Thomas Graham (the India journals and the first part of the published Brazil journal), the narrator is aloof and dispassionate. Conversely, in the Chile journal and the second part of the Brazil journal, composed when Graham was an independent woman, there is a marked tendency to passionate partisanship in the speaker. The mask and the self-control are re-established during the German tour of 1827-8. Graham had remarried by then and may have felt the need to keep a disengaged public image as a sign of respectability. Her 'Reminiscences', which were dictated between 1836 and 1842, according to Gotch (7), provide insights into a mature and complex narrative voice that reveal the influences that shaped her formative years. The simplicity of the language and its evocative tone give the text the ring of sincerity and awakens sympathy in the reader for the young orphaned girl represented there. The 'Last Journal' of 1840 has an immediacy, like no other journal written by Graham; moreover, it displays how affected and how constrained by people and places (now the four walls of her room) Graham was to the last.

The analysis will begin with the study of *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820), written while the narrator was married to

Captain Thomas Graham and before their trip to South America. It will follow with the German tour of 1828, composed shortly after her marriage to artist Augustus Wall Callcott.² This MS appears to have been ready for publication, for it displays a careful presentation, many corrections added in special paper over the original text, and several footnotes, as well as an introduction in the form of a letter to an imaginary friend, similar to that of *Letters on India*. The central part of the chapter will focus on a discussion of 'Reminiscences', the memoir that represents a significant journey into the narrator's young self made from the perspective of maturity. The study will close with a look at some passages of the 'Last Journal', a text that provides some understanding of the textual creation that was Graham the narrator.

The journal *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome During the Year 1819* (1820) represents a transition between the highly successful India journals of 1812 and 1814 and the South American journals.³ Apparently this work did not reach the same level of acceptance with the reading public in London as the previous ones, although it was reviewed in the *Edinburgh Review* in March 1821. The author of the article rates the book as a pleasant diversion and concedes that it may even be instructive in a small way. He adds that the journal's greatest merit lies in the fact that it has no 'pretensions either to deep remark or great learning' (140). Its most significant distinction, says the critic, is its truthfulness, not because Graham is truthful herself, but because her words are endorsed by the two men who travelled with her:

² Of Graham's second European tour, only the German manuscript remains; the manuscript of the Italian tour has been destroyed.

³ Graham made this trip to Italy in 1819 in the company of her husband and of artist Charles Eastlake, who sketched the illustrations for her book.

not only does the narrative carry with it the strongest mark of truth, but all that is told having been heard or witnessed by two other persons, a check is provided upon involuntary exaggeration, by far the most fruitful source of inaccuracy in all travellers (ibid.).

Although the critic moderates his distrust and attributes exaggeration to 'all travellers', there appears to be the subtextual message that Graham is to be believed only because her sponsors are male.⁴ Graham's account of her journey through mountain villages to the east of the city of Rome, however, may have not needed validation by her companions, as it is the least controversial of her journals. In line with her usual practice in the published journals, Graham begins with a 'Preface' where she indicates what particular field she intends to cover in her work, giving as her reason that the subject has been neglected by other writers. In this case it is the villages and the people near Rome that have been overlooked:

The object of the following little book is to describe the present state of the near neighbours of Rome; to show the peasants of the hills as they are and as they probably have been, with little change, since "Rome was at her height" (iv).

The journal itself, apart from references to classic and contemporary works of literature, important architectural landmarks, and references to the historical background of the region, consists mainly of the narratives of the characters, who relate their stories in their own words, and seldom pass through an obvious filtering by the narrator. The narratives are inserted either

⁴ See footnote Nr 19, p. 82, above, on the reference to the *Quarterly Review* article that implies the lack of veracity of Graham's Chile journal, contrasted to two other journals on the same subject written by men and reviewed in the same article. A stronger accusation is found in the 'Notes' for Graham's biography by R. B. Gotch. In them she quotes a reviewer who calls Graham a 'fabricator' in her work as editor of the book *Voyage of the HMS Blonde to the Sandwich Islands* (1826) (63).

as a relation of conversations, in which the characters are given their voice, or as transcriptions of letters, as it will be discussed later in the chapter. This strategy may have been intended to bring text and reader closer together without interference from the narrator,⁵ but it is doubtful whether a nineteenth-century educated reader would have been moved by these stories of simple people that are pathetic rather than uplifting.⁶ The characters in the journal are objects of curiosity to the traveller and to her readership in England, and this allocation places them in the function of the 'Other' inside the text, as if they were natives of distant lands instead of fellow Europeans. The 'Other' in Europe, therefore, is not marked by ethnicity but by class. Shortly after her arrival at the town of Poli, for instance, Graham describes a popular feast:

A few days after our arrival at Poli, we were present at a little dance given chiefly to honour us as strangers. The very picturesque costume of the peasants appeared to great advantage on the occasion; and the dance, the Roman Saltarella so well given in Pinelli's spirited etchings, exhibited all the varieties of the bashful, the graceful, and the grotesque (28).

In this passage Graham makes the peasants objects of curiosity by singling them out and making them perform activities (in this case a popular dance) in front of the visitors. The narrator is able to communicate their colourful liveliness, but not their character of real people; instead of human beings they appear to be figures in an animated Pinelli etching. She then goes on to describe their houses, their food, their work, and their beliefs. Graham had an obvious structural need to institute an Other in her book, so that it could be considered a

⁵ Other travel writers contemporary to Graham often made their subjects speak, while she, as a rule, did not.

⁶ This explains perhaps the lukewarm reception this journal had, a fact which in turn may have been the origin of Graham's tendency to exaggerate in her subsequent journals.

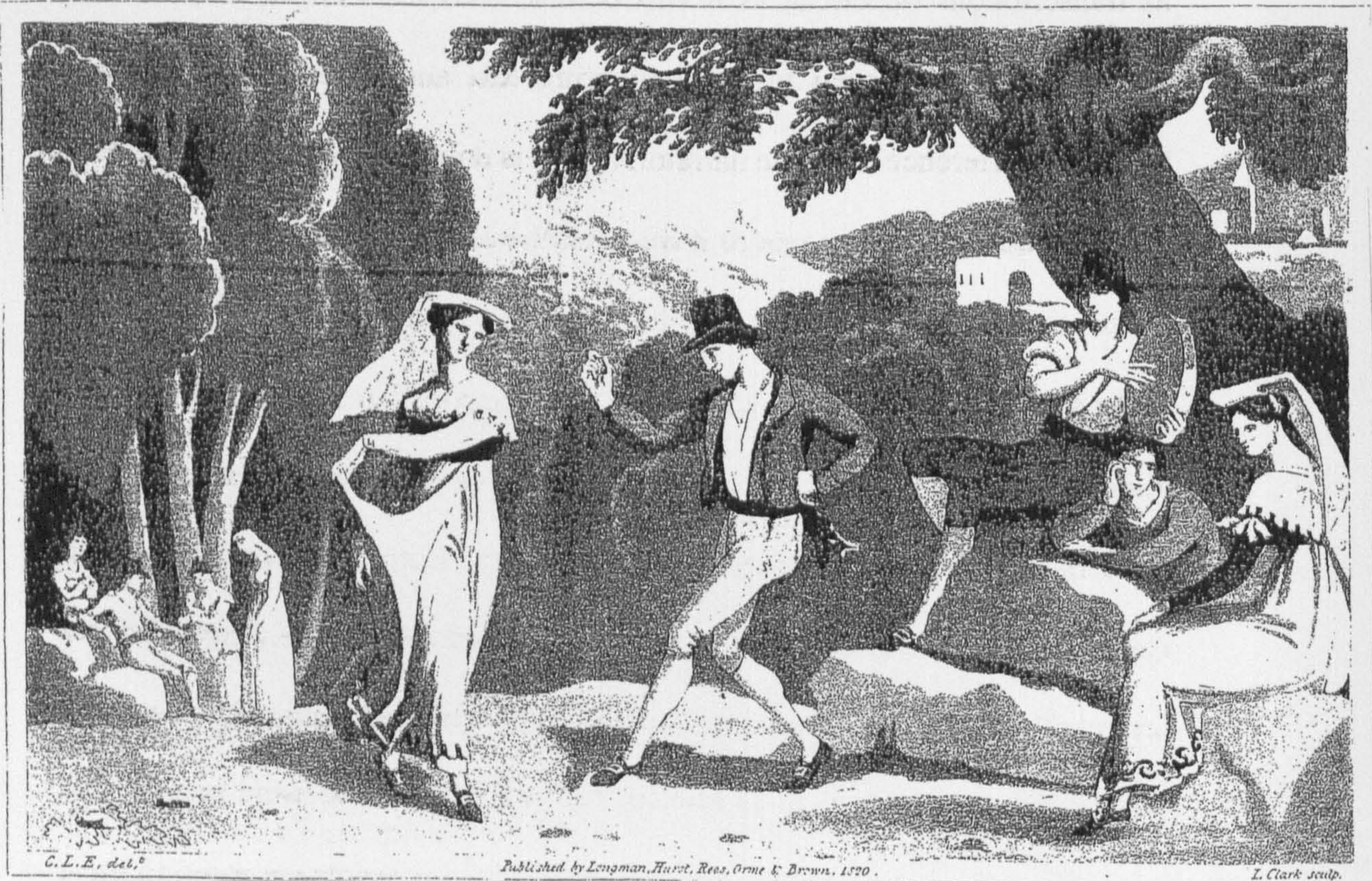


Fig. 11 Sketch of peasants at Poli by Charles Eastlake, included in Graham's *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome*

travel journal. Since she could not rely on racial differences to enhance Otherness, she objectified her subjects instead.

For instance, Graham indicates that the education of boys is different from that of girls, as the latter are only taught 'to sew, to spin, and to knit' (31), while the former are taught to read and write. However, she does not elaborate on this difference, although she clearly establishes the superiority of the observers:

Education, *imperfect as it is here*, displays its advantages in the conduct and sentiments of some of the peasants. We met with one remarkable instance of its influence on a young man who was usually our guide in our little expeditions. His powers of reasoning were acute, and his observations, wherever his religious faith did not interfere, *far above any thing we had expected in this rude and remote place* [emphasis added] (31).

Graham is here representing Catholicism as a limit to this young man's rationality. With a subtlety and penetration lacking in her later journal on Chile, she is referring to the magisterial quality of Catholicism that imparts teachings that go uncontested, as opposed to Protestantism's inquisitiveness.

In addition, Graham had to establish her position of authority from the beginning of her account in order to control her text, and she did it by various markers. The most obvious of these is that she is the agent in the scene, and therefore the one who observes and reports,⁷ both geographical landmarks and native inhabitants. For instance, at the start of the journey, before she begins to describe people, the narrator acts as a tourist guide and makes the reader travel with her during her drive through the mountains and to note the points of interest she mentions as the journey progresses: 'We began

⁷ In the instances where she lets the characters speak, Graham is also in control because she chooses what to narrate, and adds her own comments afterwards.

our journey early enough on a fine day As we drove along, the polygonal pavement of the antique road frequently appeared' (5). The reader is asked to follow the narrator's lead and look at the features she is pointing out.

Another factor that signals her position of authority is her detachment from the scenes described and the constant reference to the classics, to English authors, and to European history. Furthermore, Graham establishes the superiority of Britain in the same manner as in the past, by using her country as the ideal and measure of everything she sees. As she describes the countryside near Rome she observes:

There are no villages nor hamlets, nor even farm-houses in this part of Italy. All the inhabitants live in towns, and this gives the country, especially about Rome, a melancholy air. The want of those comfortable homesteads that animate the landscape in England is sensibly felt in these widely extended fields (16).

These and similar comparisons are disseminated throughout the text, ranging from the wages of the shepherds (56), to the poor quality of Italian horseshoes (57), to the existence of brigands. Graham indicates that outlaws can be found in most European countries except in Britain, where:

The open trial for crimes, the rigid execution of the laws, and the politic measure of opening roads and erecting bridges throughout the Highlands, have freed Great Britain from the disgrace of harbouring such ruffians [brigands]. But here, the trial is secret, the judgement uncertain, and the roads, generally in such a state of decay, that the culprit may almost defy the pursuit of justice (144).

The all-encompassing policies of the British government, Graham argues, have brought about the safety of its citizens. In her analysis she qualifies the negative aspects of Italian society as bad, as in law and education, because they differ from the British systems; the positive aspects, like the countryside, when it

happens to be beautiful, is so because it resembles the English. More significantly, the poets of antiquity are filtered through English translations; in this manner British supremacy goes uncontested in her text. Virgil is known through Dryden, Horace's *Epistles* through the Reverend Francis,⁸ and Roman history through Gibbon. It is understandable that Graham should mention the classics in their English version to make her text accessible to a wider public, but her process of anglicising Italy goes much deeper. In chapter two of her Italian journal, when Graham describes the crops, the farms, and the forests of Poli, she indicates that trees are valued features of the region and identifies the different varieties. Her listing, however, is not merely informative, because at the end she suggests that a similar excerpt from Spenser's *Fairie Queene* would have worked as well for describing the Italian forest she is capturing for her readers:

The aspen is used for yokes, the elm and maple for other agricultural instruments. Trays, bowls, and tubs are made of ilex or maple: cornel is toughest for handles of hoes, and for clubs Spenser's enumeration might be applied almost literally here (51).

Graham's strategy, therefore, is to perform exercises of comparison between England and Italy, and to judge positively those features that resemble English ones. What appeared to be a bias of colonialist mindset in her previously discussed journals is maintained in this instance, even though the description corresponds to that of another European country. Graham's use of poetry citations reinforces the transformation of the Italian landscape into an English wood:

⁸ As these works are mainly translations, they also imply the level of knowledge and education of the narrator and of her potential readership.

Much can they praise the trees so straight and hie,
 The sayling Pine, the Cedar proud and tall,
 The vine-prop Elme, the Poplar never dry,
 The builder Oake, sole king of forests all
 The Aspine good for staves, the Cypress funerall;
 (Spenser, *The Fairie Queene*, 1.68-72) (51)

Immediately afterwards she adds a similar passage from Dryden's version of Virgil. She thus aestheticises her prose and backs up her propositions with citations of classical poetry, which in turn are signs of English perceptions of the beauty found in nature:

Heav'n their various plants for use designs:
 For houses Cedars, and for shipping Pines;
 Cypress provides for spokes and wheels of wains,
 And all for keels of ships that scour the wat'ry plains;
 Willows in twigs are fruitful, Elms in leaves...
 (Dryden, *The Georgics*, 2.1-5) (ibid.)

Yet, even if the landscape of Italian forests is anglicised, the Italian peasants are not. By her observations on their perception of beauty, Graham situates them in the position of 'natives' of distant lands. These consist of a love of cheap decorations like 'silver buckles and head ornaments, and coral beads' (60), for instance, and which are their only form of saving for the future, Graham adds, in another sub-textual criticism of her subject and a further aggrandizement of British enterprise and liberal ideology:

This sort of easy poverty, above want, but below the state of luxury in which *ambition begins to push men on to distinguish themselves, or to better their condition*, produces great indifference as to public interest, and renders them acquiescent under any government, so long as they remain in peace [emphasis added] (60).

The drive, therefore, that propels human beings into a search for material gain, and by implication, countries such as Britain into conquests of other regions of the world is ethical and right, judging by the effects lack of ambition has on

Italian peasants, suggests Graham. With these observations and their implications, she may have been interpreting the inclinations of her readership who were less interested in learning about other places than reading about themselves being praised. Interestingly, the critic who commented on her Italian book took this world-view on the superiority of Britain as a given, and as a natural feature in Graham's text. As it was mentioned in the chapter on Brazil,⁹ this attitude was part of a general nationalistic discourse in which writers and journalists participated readily, and Graham was no exception to this practice. However, it appears extreme for her to use it while still in Europe.

In the present text, nevertheless, her observations serve to introduce what may be judged the main theme of the journal, that is, the description of the customs and the relation of several tales of the *banditti* or brigands that constantly threatened the neighbouring countryside. There are several accounts of the activities of the brigands, and even though the narrator frowns upon their actions, her admiration for their bravery is expressed in truly Romantic¹⁰ fashion.

Even the sketches of brigands included in the book appear to be more portraits of handsome Romantic heroes than of murderers and robbers.¹¹ One of the features that make the brigands likeable is that they protect the poor against their rich masters. In one of the narratives, a shepherd who had been wrongly punished by his master, 'not knowing how to obtain justice in

⁹ See above p. 165.

¹⁰ Graham's treatment of the subject of the brigands is here qualified as thematically Romantic. Their representation carries the majority of the characteristics that Baldick considers recurring motifs of Romantic texts: 'horror, melancholy, or sentimentality [some Romantic authors also] cultivated the appeal of the exotic, the bizarre, or the macabre' (223).

¹¹ The detailed sketches of brigands made by Charles Eastlake indicate that he may have seen some of them and conveyed his impressions to Graham who transformed them in her text into figures of romance.

a civilized form, sought her wild sister [revenge] by applying to the brigands of Sonnino, who willingly undertook the punishment of the master' (94). On another occasion, Graham tells a story also heard from a shepherd. The *banditti* descended on a sheepfold one night, and as they made the shepherds provide food and cook it for them,

talked pretty freely with their prisoners about themselves and their habits of life, which they maintained arose from necessity rather than choice. They showed them the heart and picture of the Madonna, which each had suspended from his neck, saying, 'We know that we are likely to die a violent death, but in our hour of need we have these,' touching their muskets, 'to struggle for our lives with, and this,' kissing the image of the Virgin, 'to make our death easy.' This mixture of ferocity and superstition is one of the most terrific features in the character of the banditti of Italy (160).

The brigands, though idealised, also perform savage murders and mutilations that Graham reports in gruesome detail, not directly, but through accounts of witnesses and victims. She enlivens these stories by allowing the *banditti* to speak and to interact with their captives, an approach that rounds them up as characters and shifts the journal closer to a work of fiction.

Graham's relation of her *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* relies heavily on the Gothic theme that is manifested, not so much in text. Although this relation falls into the category of travel journal, it is the description of ruined palaces, ancient temples, or abandoned villages, but on more than one occasion, the focus is on the deeds of the brigands. She reports many of their deeds in detail, but distances herself from them by dramatizing their actions, as it has been already mentioned. The following vignette, narrated in a neutral voice, serves to introduce the *banditti* into the narrative:

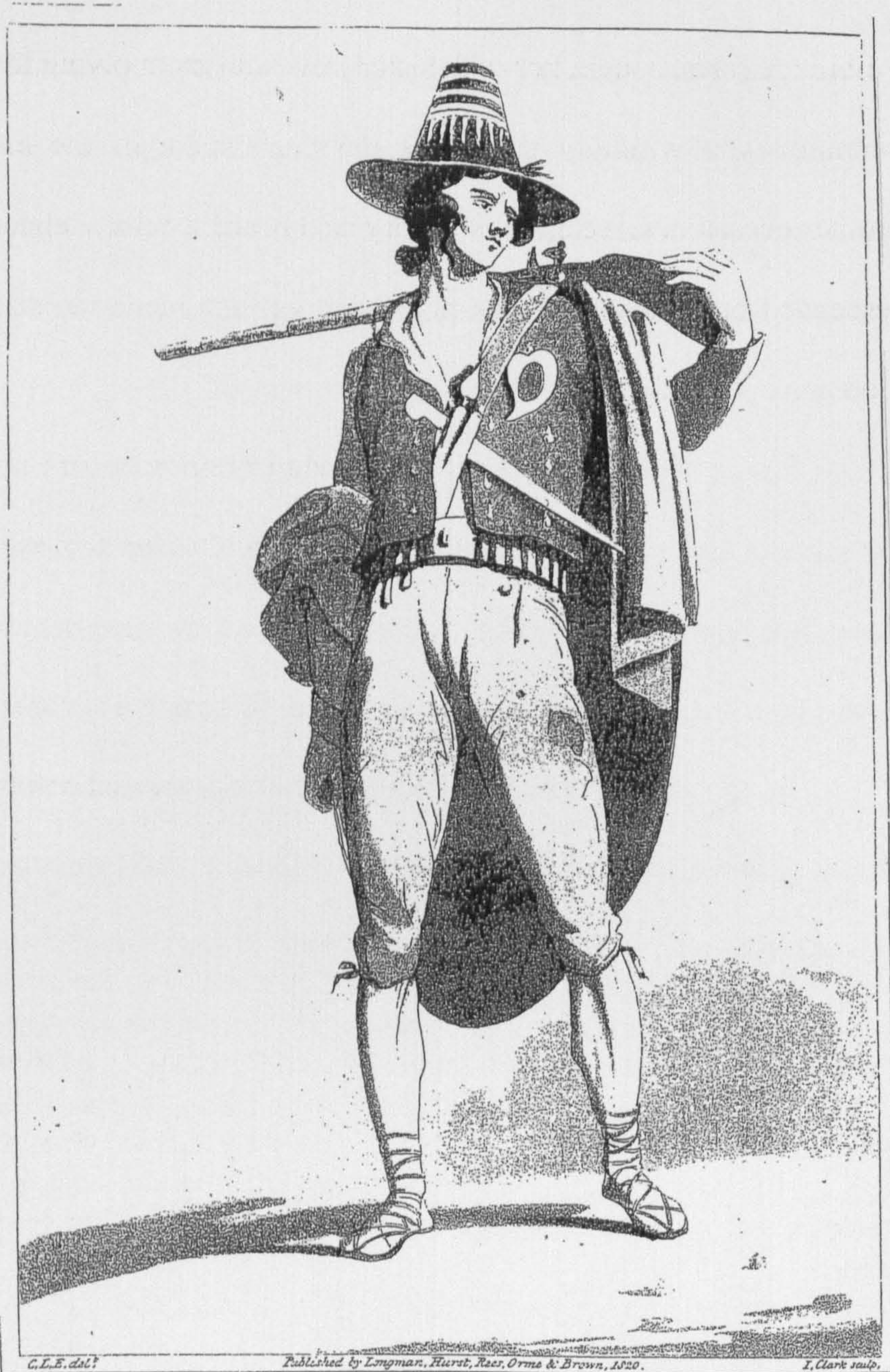


Fig. 12 Sketch of a brigand by Charles Eastlake, included in Graham's *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome*

One of these tales is told of Sixtus V., who went in disguise, like an old man, with an ass laden with wine, into the woods. The robbers, of course, seized him and caused him to turn the spit in the cave while they examined the wine. Sixtus muttered to himself that he saw them do that with pleasure. 'What say you?' said they. 'Only that I shall eat with pleasure when the roast is done.' 'So you may, but we shall drink all the wine ourselves.' 'Alas, gentlemen, wine is not made for a poor man like me, who only carry it about for others ...' At length the meat was done, the supper eaten, and the wine drunk, to the great delight of Sixtus, who had mixed opium in it; and, as soon as he saw the band fairly asleep, he whistled, his soldiers came up, and they were every one taken (139).

This is one of the few instances where the brigands are defeated. Usually they are represented as powerful and victorious, but always through other speakers who protect the narrator from direct contact with the criminals.

Another strategy Graham uses consists of staging a narrative situation in which she is merely the listener and recorder:

To gratify our curiosity, the master of the shepherds sent his head man to us, to give us an account of the arrival of the robbers at the fold, which he did nearly as follows: About half an hour after sun-set, eight shepherds being together in the cote, three armed men came to them and asked what they had to eat (159).

The different forms of reporting the activities of the bandits add variety to the text. Although this Italian account falls into the category of travel journal, it is more static than traditional texts of this kind; possibly the nearness of Italy to England, and the limited amount of miles traversed in the journey add to this perception. The interest, therefore, would have to come from the narratives and from the various forms in which they could be presented.

One of the most ferocious narratives, however, is included in the form of a letter addressed to her, which Graham simply transcribes into her text. A

doctor who had been kidnapped by the *banditti* relates in his letter to the narrator that while he waited with his captors for the ransom money his family had been forced to pay, he witnessed how the chief of the brigands suddenly hit the head of another captive who was sitting next to him:

It did not kill him, so he rose and cried, 'I have a wife and children; for God's sake spare my life,' and thus saying he defended himself as well as he could with his hands. Other brigands closed round him I closed my eyes ... I heard a cry or two In a very short time the brigands returned, and I saw the chief thrust his dagger, still stained with blood, into its sheath (198-9).

Graham's technique of separating herself from events that may be unpalatable or untrue is maintained all through her work and it helps sustain her image of superior and untainted observer. Her narrating persona had been established in her previous journals as erudite, as concerned with philosophical questions, or with aspects of theology, social structures, and ancient languages. The gruesome stories of the brigands did not fit into the category of aspects worthy of the notice of such a superior narrator. Her manner of using buffers between her persona and the stories she tells, succeeds in protecting her integrity. She did not refrain from including these and other dramatic narratives, however, as she may have estimated that they added interest to her text while they reflected the taste of her contemporary (mostly male) readership.

Graham uses the Gothic mode in all her travel accounts, mainly as a tool to single out, and at times to undermine, foreign peoples and cultures. In India she described religious rituals and funeral customs; in Chile she created a mysterious apothecary, and suggested that certain women grouped as a family might be witches. She seldom, however, uses the mode in relation to herself, except perhaps in the Brazil journal, where she envisions her own death and its



Fig. 13
Maria, Lady Callcott, painted by her second husband after their wedding in 1827

aftermath. On that occasion she adds romantic touches to the imagined scene, as for instance the few people who will come to mourn at her grave. The bloody tales of the *banditti* in *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome*, appear more forceful than the above mentioned instances, because the events narrated are taking place not in the past, and not in distant lands, but in the present and in a neighbouring country. Nevertheless, in all the instances the Gothic has a structural function in the journals: that of constituting a referential 'Other' to shape the texts.

Although Graham represents herself in this Italian journal as superior and removed from her text, the real-life traveller appears to have had reasons for concern about her own and her husband's health,¹² says Gotch, who adds that artist Charles Eastlake nursed them both back to health and became a life-long friend¹³ (171). Graham's second visit to the Continent was also marked by ill health; it took place eight years later and this time she was accompanied by her second husband (*ibid.*, 256). Of this visit, only the German journal remains, and two letters written by Graham to John Murray.¹⁴ In order to balance the information included in this chapter, an overview of her husband's journal, written during their visit to Italy, will be provided.

Graham's European journal of 1827 is recorded in nine notebooks that relate the first part of the year-long journey through Holland, what is now Germany, and Austria. Most of the journal reads as a catalogue of paintings,

¹² Captain Graham died three years later.

¹³ Perhaps partly to thank their friend, Graham attempted to establish contact with Lord Byron while in Rome, with the excuse of writing on behalf of Eastlake. Leslie A. Marchand includes Byron's answer (dated July 2nd, 1819) to a letter from Graham which has not been preserved. His reply is very cold and formal and indicates clearly that he does not wish to have any further contact with her (172-3).

¹⁴ As it was indicated above, the Italian manuscript is no longer available. It would have been useful to explore the report of Graham's second visit to Italy and this way detect changes in her voice or her stance, if there had been any.

galleries, and collections in churches and palaces. As it was suggested earlier, it is almost certain that she intended it for publication because of the careful corrections, deletions, and additions to the text, besides the orderly script and careful footnoting. The first remaining sheet of the manuscript is written in the form of a letter to an imaginary correspondent, a device Graham had used once before in *Letters on India* (1814):

You desire to hear from us and tell me that now I can have no excuse for not giving you all the details you wish for, concerning the pictures and the works of art both of old and new schools because I am travelling with [a] professor and old enough to have formed a riper judgement than most travelled painters (14).

Here and there in the text, she closes what may have been a chapter with an address to this implied reader or recipient of the 'letter'. One aspect to be remarked regarding this introduction is Graham's placing of herself, for the first time, in a secondary position. Her husband is an authority (a professor), she indicates, and she has only the advantage of experience to support her. Implicitly, she is saying as well that in her descriptions she will be submitting to her husband's superior judgement. In the introductory letter to the German journal Graham defines her position as narrator:

I beg you will remember that my companion [her husband, Augustus Wall Callcott] is too much occupied in studying the things I only see as an admirer, to be able to give me so much of his time as to enable me to write criticisms such as you wd perhaps expect and that he is so nice in his taste that he would deprecate my writing anything that was not quite [the word crossed out afterwards] correct, *lest you should imagine that because I am with him I express his opinions* [emphasis added] (14).

This is the first and only time that Graham sets herself in such an inferior position in her texts; her previous declarations of humility in her published

journals (i.e. Brazil) are unpersuasive, as they are not replicated in the text. This subordinate position in the German journal stands out for its uniqueness in the whole of Graham's work; yet this situation brings out the question whether it may have been a textual strategy in this case rather than a factual reality. The review of Graham's 'Last Journal' at the end of this chapter may illuminate this query.

This perception of an inferior stance of the narrator in the German journal is enhanced by the pronoun 'we' in the text, because it is no longer Graham, the narrator, by herself making choices and pronouncing judgements. In the Italian journal of 1820 the pronoun 'we' indicated a trio, a group formed by painter Charles Eastlake, her husband, Thomas Graham, and herself. Eastlake provided the sketches for her journal, but did not participate in the composition of the text; Captain Graham had been qualified from the beginning¹⁵ as a good, but not as an intellectually gifted man. It is easier, therefore, to perceive that on that occasion she was on a par with her companions, while in the present instance, the plural signals an unequal partnership where Graham occupies an inferior position. It is only in the few letters she wrote at this time that she attains a short-lived singularity.

The narrator's style and voice in the German journal are affected by her married status; apart from bowing to the authority of Augustus Callcott as her husband, she is forced to admit his superior standing as an artist. It is probable that none of the pronouncements on the paintings she sees are her

¹⁵ See above the relation of their engagement, India diary, p. 22.

own,¹⁶ as it will be argued later in the chapter. For instance, Graham's tone when describing the different paintings is critical but not assured. Unusually for her, she intercalates the expressions 'perhaps', 'must have', 'appears to be', in all her accounts. There is a paradox, however; despite this lack of assurance, her tone is also magisterial, a tone she had seldom adopted before. It is true that in the journals examined earlier in this thesis Graham's tone has been perceived as authoritative, *that is, assured as coming from a erudite narrator*; the main difference lies in that in the present instance she appears to be lecturing.

For example, in Cologne she says:

That Cologne should at so early a period have possessed a native painter capable of producing such a work [a painting in the Cathedral thought to be by William of Cologne] appears at first sight surprising [,] but you must remember that the Roman colonies were numerous on the Rhine. That whatever of elegance or refinement was possessed by the Romans was communicated to their colonies in some degree and at the revival of the Empire under Charlemagne [,] more than one of his palaces on the banks of the Rhine were adorned with marble columns and with statues brought from Italy. From this time the number of Christian churches constantly increased and as constantly demanded [,] for the purpose of piety and ornaments [,] pictures of the holy persons worshipped or of the histories recorded in the sacred writings. These were the more necessary as few could then read and the altars became the sources where the people learned the history of their faith (23).

Graham adds that the Roman Empire had extensive communication with the East and with Greece, from which the concept of 'Ideal Beauty' was derived in the Middle Ages. Of the painter of the pictures in the Cathedral she mentions ancient documents that would prove that it was William of Cologne. He is mentioned in a manuscript of the year 1380, where it is stated that he is an artist

¹⁶ It can be deduced from the 'Introduction' that Callcott may have expressed a fear that any incorrect appreciation expressed by his wife would be construed as coming from him. In the letter of February 7, 1833, to John Murray, Graham makes it clear that her husband exercises strict control over her and that she is not allowed to go into his study while he is painting.

'the like of whom had not been known before, because in his pictures he represented men as if they were living and breathing' (ibid.).

As can be appreciated from this long quotation, Graham is here joining historical facts with art theory, art history, and religious history. Her analysis and conclusions make her tone resemble that of a lecturer addressing a class. Another notable aspect of this passage is Graham's return to the thesis expressed in *Letters on India*, that there were connections between East and West that dated from ancient times,¹⁷ and which validated the supremacy of European culture as the true inheritor of the classic traditions. It becomes difficult, however, to draw a distinct image of Graham as narrator in this journal. Apart from a few passages such as these where her voice can still be discerned, most of the time she appears to be acting as a mouthpiece for her husband. It could be argued, therefore, that in this instance Graham was ventriloquising her husband as she had ventriloquised Lord Cochrane in the Chile journal. However, in that situation she was giving voice to someone who had no voice (Lord Cochrane had left England in disgrace), while in Germany Graham may have been either using her husband's superior knowledge to enhance her text, or lending him her qualities and fame as a well-known author for a joint purpose, which may have been the publication of the journals on Germany and Italy. That could explain his presence in the 'Introduction' and the added weight of the pronoun 'we' in this journal. Furthermore, in this particular text Graham as narrator becomes nullified; she appears to be taking dictation and her own voice is seldom heard.

¹⁷ See above p. 55

The German journal (and possibly the lost Italian journal as well) is structured within a rigid frame. Graham and her husband Augustus Callcott arrive at a town or city, immediately visit the church and describe the most important paintings in it. Apart from mentioning discomfort or rain, or remarking that a certain road is beautiful or indifferent, the narrator is totally impersonal or transparent. Graham's cataloguing is performed in very orderly fashion, with the name of the master on the left-hand margin of the notebook and a relation of all the paintings that are on show in a certain location and that may be attributed to him. Then follows a description of each and a few comments on the work, usually negative. The most used qualifier is 'tolerable', which, not surprisingly, appears constantly in Augustus Callcott's own diary on Italy. Other common expressions are: 'there is little in the work to commend it', 'the tone of the background is tolerably good', 'the details here are generally defective', and similar adverse expressions. The lack of substance in the narrator of the German journal can be perceived besides in the superficiality of her gaze, in the adoption of expressions and turns of phrase that did not occur in her earlier texts, as well as in the negative judgements on all the works she sees. For instance, on their arrival at a town Graham describes a palace and some paintings; her lack of enthusiasm is reflected in her use of double negatives, perhaps doubly to distance herself from her subject:

We dined at Ludwigsburg and while dinner was preparing went to the palace where the dowager queen of Wurtemberg usually resides. The apartments are very handsome and besides the state rooms and chapel for shew there is a picture gallery which though containing a great many indifferent pictures is not without interest (52).

The interest of Graham's German journal, therefore, lies mostly in the negative attitude of the narrator. Palaces are 'handsome'; picture galleries contain only mediocre works, although they are still worthy of notice, she concedes. This tone may have been an attempt to sound detached and professional or to perform an impersonation of an art critic who has to review second-rate pictures as a duty and is not finding the task enjoyable. It should be remembered that Graham is over-zealous in her detailed descriptions of foreign sites or peoples and their history in her journals, while the tone of the German journal can very well be described as apathetic. Moreover, apart from a few exceptions that will be pointed out shortly, Graham falls silent and allows her artist husband to take over the text.

After the overview of the gallery, the speaker concentrates on a single painting (*Bathsheba in the Bath*), ascribed to Holbein:

The only superior picture in the palace is this. The figures are the size of small nature and very carefully painted but the flesh is flat [,] without shadow. The subject admits of no expression and therefore there is little to interest unless the artist exhibits the beauties of form and colour as the excellence of his own skill (53).

Most of the passages of artistic appreciation in this journal are similar to this in the monotony of tone and in the foregrounding of negative criticism. Possibly this is the major difference between the German journal and the other journals explored up to now. Before this, whether in India, in South America, or in Italy, Graham had found some positive or interesting facts to narrate, and if she did not find any, she dressed up what materials she had. In Germany, however, the tone of the narrative is sombre. If the purpose of the journal was to be a guide for future travellers in the Continent, what it is saying in reality is: 'Do not

come; it is not worth the effort.' There are few passages in the journal where Graham as narrator surfaces, and they do not last long, but their scarcity makes them noticeable. These appearances also indicate that the old narrating persona, although becoming subdued, was still active. The first instance of this change of position appears in a description of a vault in a monastery in Krezberg. Here Graham displays her Romantic preoccupation with death and its concomitants.¹⁸

Of the church she says,

but the most interesting part of the church is the crypt or rather vault where there are several natural mummies. The bodies are those of the abbots [;] each is lying in his uncovered coffin and the dress and attitude in which he died The features are all perfect and retain the expression that they must have had at the moment of death. Of the whole sixteen or seventeen not a fourth appear to have died in pain. The position of the hands and feet [,] the cast of the features are those of tranquil sleep. The others appear to have been more or less convulsed but I think one only by the contraction of the toes [,] the clenching of the hands, the throwing back of the head [,] appears to have died in agony. I never saw a spectacle so curious, there is nothing disgusting in it [,] the decent monastic habit leaves nothing but the face [,] hands and feet bare [,] and these in their decay have not exposed the bones nor lost the form of humanity (30).

Graham's own voice and concerns appear to be illustrated in this passage, because she uses the first person singular, and also because it echoes strongly her texts on India; however, there are also pictorial elements in the detailed description of the vault, in the position of the bodies, in the expression of their faces, and in the foregrounding of one figure over the others. Probably the fact that they are necessarily static adds to this perception of the dead as characters in some religious paintings. In the formerly discussed journals, the narrator at

¹⁸ Compare, for instance, with Graham's description of the death and burial at sea of Midshipman Campbell in the India diary, p. 37 above; funeral rites in India, p. 38 above; or the burial of slaves in Brazil, p. 146 above.

times compared scenes in a foreign country to paintings of European masters; in the present journal some scenes and prospects are rendered in textual form, with the addition of pictorial elements. In the following description of a country scene, the components are schematised and distributed as in a picture:

The country we had to pass through has no very interesting features. Excellent corn and pasture lands alternating with rich woods disposed on gently sloping hills without marked varieties, were rendered agreeable by the freshness of the spring and the promise of summer plenty. A fine sunset and splendid rainbow as a heavy shower cleared off did everything to set off the country to advantage (50).

In this passage¹⁹ Graham appears to be translating a real life prospect into a painting; the elements are distributed in a manner that gives balance to a space of fixed tranquillity. What is more, the sunset and the rainbow encase the scene and round it up as if it existed inside a frame. As it has been suggested before, Graham's style was strongly influenced by the people she was related to and who were close to her at the moment of writing. When she was with Lord Cochrane in Chile, among her main concerns were ships, naval battles, and politics. Before then, when Captain Graham was still alive, sailing and travelling had prominence in her texts. After she married painter Augustus Callcott, her life centred on art criticism and art history, for a while at least, and it is not surprising that her observations were made from a painter's perspective.

However, further down the journal, there is a passage that may indicate that Graham felt constrained in her expressions and in her choice of places to

¹⁹ Augustus Callcott's voice is heard distinctly when Graham is criticising an art work; her few descriptions of sites appear to be more her own, because they present similarities to descriptive passages in all her other journals.

visit and to observe. There is a hint of irritation about the manner in which she and her husband travelled through Heidelberg:

Everybody knows the appearance of Heidelberg from the innumerable prints, sketches and pictures which its beautiful situation and fine ruins have furnished subjects for. We walked East and West [,] North and South [,] as all travellers must do, and like them all, we made sketches and bought views; but we neglected to get the portrait of the famous town, and what is worse, we forgot to *see it* [emphasis added] (49).

The visit to Heidelberg appears to have been a disappointment for Graham; she was not alone on this tour and she may have had to accept her husband's decisions about where to go and what to see. The phrase, 'as all travellers must do', is crucial to the piece, as it suggests that there may even have been an argument between them and she was reporting his words, with a touch or irony, not voicing her own opinion. This superficial manner of seeing the world did not fulfil Graham's spirit of inquiry. Her words signal a protest against her present lack of independence, as apparently she was no longer allowed to explore observe, reflect, and write about whatever she found of interest and was forced instead to adopt a conventional outlook. Furthermore, this passage appears to be a protest from Graham, the travel writer, against her newly imposed role of 'art tourist'. She seems to support the belief that art is mainly a copy, a reflection, and that it does not replace the actual experience of a physical location. Crucial to the tension of 'life versus art' is her statement that although she and her husband made sketches and bought pictures of Heidelberg, they did not actually experience ('see') it.

The two letters Graham wrote to John Murray from Germany are, unsurprisingly, informal²⁰ and livelier than the journal. They deal mostly with paintings and cities they have visited, but also with her interest in literature.

From Dresden she wrote on August 19th, 1827:

Many ladies write here and wonderful to say enjoy all the more consideration There were no less than three ladies writers of Romances at one party the other night and the party did not exceed twenty people so you see authoresses grow here as well as with you.

In her private communications, therefore, Graham was betraying her main concern, literature, and the existence of women writers in other European countries. The structured timetable of her trip did not apparently leave her free time to concentrate on her own private interests. Besides, the format of the journal itself, with its emphasis on the visual arts, did not allow her space to record other aspects of her journey.

Unfortunately, there are no letters written by Graham to John Murray from Italy. According to her biographer, Gotch, the journey through that country started on October 13th, 1827, and ended in May the following year (274). The journals of the Italian trip written by her husband, Augustus Callcott, indicate the cities they visited and the collections they saw. Interestingly, the terminology he uses to describe the works is similar to Graham's, who had never used those expressions before. This becomes another indication that she may have taken dictation from him. For instance, he writes that in Pisa they visited the Palazzo Cataneo 'where there is scarce a single picture worth a moments [sic] attention (AWC 1/7 p.32). Later that same day they visited the

²⁰ She was a close friend of the Murray family, and godmother to one of the children.

collection of Jean Robbert Corega where they saw a painting by Van Dyck, 'a heavy but tolerable adoration of the Magi' (ibid.).

These indications by themselves, however, would not have been enough proof of Graham's close participation in her husband's work. Yet in this respect there is a revealing situation that points towards Graham's work method at this time of her life. On pages 77-8 of Graham's *Essays Towards a History of Painting* (1836),²¹ she praises a fresco painting of a Ganymede which she believes to be an old Greek or Roman work. She further indicates in a footnote that the picture is now in England in a private collection. Interestingly, interleaved into her own copy of the *Essays*, now in the Bodleian Library, there is an exchange of letters between painter Richard Evans (1784-1871) and Augustus Callcott, Graham's husband. In his letter, dated January 6th, 1838, Evans claims and proves conclusively that the work Graham thought to be an antique painting had really been painted by him in 1822-23. Callcott's answer, dated 'same day', shows him taking full responsibility for the error and indicating that he took the painting for what he had been told it was, and made comments that his wife had 'adopted' in her essay. This exchange between the two artists, taken next to the observation made earlier that certain qualifying terms for works of art are present in the journals of husband and wife, may be an instance of Graham's tendency to ventriloquise other people who can enrich her own text when she can pass off their statements as her own. Yet more probably, this is an example of the other voice, her husband's, infiltrating and taking over Graham's text and producing a change in the power relations within it. Now it is the external authority that is in charge, and the narrator is annulled.

²¹ Gotch suggests that the careful cataloguing of 1827-8 was made in order to write a history of painting (257), and these *Essays* would have been a partial result of their tour.

Graham's voice appears to be entirely her own, however, when she begins her journey into her childhood and youth. 'Reminiscences', the memoir dictated between 1836 and 1842,²² is an autobiographical fragment that covers the first seventeen years of Graham's life and portrays her as the sole heroine of her journey into the past. More than any other of the texts she composed,²³ it illustrates her capacity for organising and controlling plots and characters.

Even though this memoir claims to be a true relation of her early life, Graham's narrative style displays an effective management of fictional devices such as focalisation, characterisation, suspense, and pathos. As Hayward rightly indicates, her protagonist goes through experiences similar to the ones the small Jane in *Jane Eyre* (1847) endured years later:

Both Bronte and Graham created girl-protagonists shunned by snobbish upper-class families and abandoned in boarding schools that initially seemed cruel; both young heroines managed to find female mentors and develop strong intellectual interests despite their circumstances; both defied the gender codes of the time to find professions for themselves; both served briefly as governesses (xiv).

But there is more in the memoir than this parallel with a single novel. For instance, all the events in Graham's 'Reminiscences' are seen through the limited vision of her younger self who becomes the centre of the narrative and the judge of the other characters' behaviour. Her characterisation is performed in a manner that brings to mind other Victorian novels, particularly those by Dickens, and especially in the implication that physical features and modes of dress reflect moral and psychological characteristics. This trait can be best appreciated in her creation of funny or ridiculous characters, and particularly in

²² The year of her death.

²³ Invariably in this journal, Graham speaks of herself as 'writing', not dictating these memoirs.

the placing of antagonists to the protagonist; unlike a Dickensian novel, however, Graham's antagonists are summarily put down. The suspense and the pathos in Graham's memoir is given by her accurate focalisation of events through the understanding of her younger self who is naturally unaware of circumstances inside her family circle and of the plans the adults have for her future. This feature is especially noticeable in her account of the separation from her mother, an event she does not understand until much later.

It is unclear whether Graham wrote her memoir like a novel or simply related the events of her life in a manner that happened to anticipate the fictional mould of a Victorian narrative. The main thread of the story develops through Graham's happy childhood spent mainly with her mother, as her father was absent at sea. From an early age she was aware of old legends and traditions, such as that of the raising of the devil at the village school of Wallasey, or the tales of ghosts and fairies heard during their stay at the Isle of Man, and the reality of shipwrecks, experienced while living in Cheshire. Graham indicates that all these events made such an impression on her imagination that:

I loved these wild stories, and when I was sent into the more civilized inland world for my education, I used to long almost to sickness for a ghost, for the roar of the sea, for a castle or a light-house! (7).

Up to this point, Graham's account provides a Romanticized view of childhood, with the suggestion of freedom, love of stories, and fascination for the supernatural. This representation makes the first dramatic event of her life appear impressive and mysterious as she, the focaliser, provides only the perceptions that a young child would have had at the moment. The rest has to be

completed by the reader who is thus doubly affected, first by the pitiful situation and second by the lack of awareness of the protagonist.

One spring day, when she was barely eight years old, Graham relates, her father returns home after a long absence, looking grim. A few days later she finds out that she is going to Liverpool with her father to visit, she believes, friends of the family, and she wonders 'why [her] mother would weep so bitterly as she did' (9) at such a normal occurrence. At the start of this journey Graham makes the natural scenery a fitting backcloth for the first painful event of her life:

It was a dull afternoon, and by the time we got to the top of Wallasey Bricks, the wind blew keen and cold. As we turned out from Liscott Lane upon the sea shore, a drizzling rain met us, and before we got to Seacombe, the weather was too much like a storm for any one but an old sailor to cross the Mersey (9-10).

Graham, in this and the following excerpt, portrays the feelings she would have had, had she known the reality of her situation, through the forces of nature that are at the moment reflecting the feelings of her mother. There are few other passages in 'Reminiscences' in which the objective correlative plays such an important part in the narrative, but also, there are no other passages that surpass this one in dramatic intensity. The depiction of the scene, the sequence and timing of the actions, and even the concluding sentence of the passage are Romantic and novelistic. The story continues and as she and her father are about to board the London coach the following night,

my poor dear mother appeared, drenched equally with rain and with sea water. In spite of the storm she had not been able to resist the desire of seeing me, her eldest child, once more before she parted with me for an indefinite time. It was long, long before I could in any degree forget her last sobs and kisses as she took leave of me, and we were many

miles on the London Road before I had cried myself to sleep upon my father's knee (11).

Although Graham herself does not say it, the text suggests that she never saw her mother again. Gotch indicates that the mother died soon after this moving parting scene (16), which becomes intensified by the strength of the feelings displayed, by the force of the storm, and by the depiction of Graham's childish self as unaware of the reality of her situation. Children losing their mothers were a common occurrence in the nineteenth-century in real life as in fiction,²⁴ at a time when so many women died in childbirth. The relation of this part of Graham's life is not exceptional; what is worth mentioning, however, is the manner in which it is told, with the use of the storm as a metaphor for feelings in turmoil; the vivid description of the parting between mother and child; and the situation of the narrator as only partially aware, and of the reader as omniscient in this case.²⁵ It is the reader, therefore, who has to draw conclusions from the information the protagonist inadvertently provides.

Before she is taken to school Graham goes to London to visit relatives. There she finds herself at a disadvantage, both physically and morally, next to her cousin Mary who is good, beautiful, and elegant:

Her education had been very early begun, her acquirements were beyond her years, but her understanding surpassed even those. I write from a deep recollection of almost every look and word of my cousin Mary. Though she was so much superior to me in everything, her sweetness, her gentleness, her generous appreciation of everything good

²⁴ Most of Dickens' heroes and heroines are motherless: David, Oliver, Little Nell, Little Dorrit, Frances; also Burney's Evelina, Bronte's Jane, Gaskell's Mary Barton, Molly Gibson, or Ruth. When they still have their mothers these are ineffectual or even noxious, as Edith Skewton's mother in Dickens' *Dombey and Son*; Bella Wilfer's mother in *Our Mutual Friend*; or Mrs. Tulliver in Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss*. In Graham's memoir, the only mother depicted, an aunt, is extremely cruel to her.

²⁵ For this journey into the past Graham is using the same discursive (novelistic) form she used in Brazil 3.

about others was such that, rough and ignorant as I was, I never felt abashed or uncomfortable with her. She was six months older than me, but she lived to be only sixteen (19).

The presence of this character in Graham's narrative is also familiar in Victorian fiction. It is the type of human being who is idealised and felt to be too good for this world and therefore has to die. Its function is to represent a model to the protagonist. Dickens' Little Nell and Paul Dombey come to mind as good examples of this device, but most of all Helen Burns, in Bronte's *Jane Eyre*. Graham's cousin Mary serves the purpose of balancing the text. Even though there are fewer negative characters than kind ones in the memoir, the former, who will be discussed shortly, weigh so strongly in the narrative that the need to counter their effect appears obvious. It is important to note that the whole of cousin Mary's characterisation is built in relation to Graham herself, the protagonist of the narrative. It is Graham's recollection or perhaps the textual portrait of Cousin Mary that the reader can apprehend, and her merit is measured against the heroine's own inferior qualities. Still, it is the narrator's qualities that are the norm, be they great or small. Most of the other characters in the story are presented in this manner, but with a strong reliance on physical appearance as a signifier of personal traits, even for the minor characters, a device that again prefigures Dickens. There is for instance the detailed description of the coachman who drives her and her father from London to Abingdon in Oxfordshire, where she is to attend school. Even his name, Blewitt,²⁶ appears to have a certain significance, the same as his coach, which

was a large, lumbering yellow vehicle, built to hold six "insides" and as many more as the courtesy or forbearance

²⁶ Some of the names of Graham's characters seem to anticipate Dickens' partiality to sonorous names as part of an individual's make-up, like Barkis, the coachman, or Steerforth, the charming villain.

of the passengers would receive. My father made the sixth grown person. I was, therefore, a supernumerary, and it was intended that I should stand upBut that was not quite so easy a matter, for all the space that could be spared under the feet and upon the knees of the other passengers was occupied by parcels, band-boxes and baskets, so that one window was fairly blocked up!(14-15).

It is easy to see the resemblance between Graham's discomfort at her cramped circumstances and the situation David Copperfield experiences at about the same age when he is sent away to school by Mr Murdstone.²⁷ The parallels are many, and they seem to reinforce the view that Graham used many fictional devices in her memoir, like in this instance, the symbolism of the journey, the presence of the fellow-travellers, the aspect of the vehicle and of the coachman, in a manner that brings Dickens to mind. In other words, Graham is here anticipating aspects of the Victorian novel and, more specifically, those of *Bildungsromane* such as *Jane Eyre* (1847) or *David Copperfield* (1850). The description of the coach and its driver continues:

It was dragged along by two heavy horses, and driven by an excellent and venerable person by the name of Blewitt, who never endangered his own or his passengers' necks by performing the journey in less than twelve hours! I think I see him now – a middle-sized, spare man, with long gray locks, and a ruddy face, a drab coat with black button-holes, metal buttons as large as cheese plates, engraved with curious devices, a double-breasted woollen waistcoat, buckskins buckled at the knee, top boots in winter, and white stockings with shoes with great metal buckles in summer; a large hat and a nosegay at his buttonhole completed old Blewitt's attire. I shall have further occasion to mention him (15).

It can be inferred from the last sentence of the description that Graham meant to use this character again. Apparently she did not, and the coachman Blewitt

²⁷ David relates that an old lady in the coach put a basket under his feet 'on account of my legs being short'. He was uncomfortable and in pain during the ride, but was afraid to move (p. 82).

remains one of the few intriguing dead-ends in this unfinished narrative.²⁸ In this instance Graham makes a parallel between the coachman's leisurely style of driving with the long time he must have taken to dress himself so carefully in the mornings, since he wore so many complicated articles of clothing.

The principal characters at this stage of Graham's life, however, are the two sisters who own the school where she becomes a pupil at the age of eight. In this case the characterisation is done through irony, through hyperbole, and through implication. It is easy to infer, from the portraits of the two Misses Bright, which turns out to be the narrator's favourite, and why:

Miss Bright's hair, partly grey, was frizzed in front and turned up behind in a shape called chignon, not unlike that of a knocker of a door. The hair was very partially powdered and very unevenly frizzed. A cap and a Black hat finished her head-dress, but they were generally too backward or too forward, or too far to the right, or too far to the left Her pocket was generally so full of things that she put there in her absence of mind, that she looked as if she had a hoop on (28-9).

The two sisters are almost exact opposites, Graham implies, even in the kind of shoes they wear. Miss Bright's heels are 'not above an inch in height' Graham reports,

far different from Miss Mary's which were the highest I ever saw, and so slender that it has always been a marvel to me how she walked. Her hair was in the neatest order, beautifully frizzed and delicately powdered, and hung down her back, confined only by a slider. Her cap border was laid in the nicest plaits. Her hat had a broad Leghorn brim, bound with green satin and a crown and bows of the same (29).

²⁸ Another is the 'unhappy' Charlotte G., whose 'story, as it terminated twenty years afterwards, was one of those sad romances in real life which go beyond all the distress of fiction' (24); another is the uncanny resemblance of a practice in Graham's memoir to another passage from *Jane Eyre*. The same as Jane, she used to hide behind a curtain in a window seat reading books when she had been 'kept out of the playground for a punishment' (20).

The physical appearance of the two sisters continues with a detailed contrast of every item of dress and the manner in which it is arranged. What comes out of Graham's account is a portrait of the elder sister as slightly ridiculous but endearing, and of the younger as perhaps too concerned with her appearance. There is also rigidity in the disposition of the different items of Miss Mary's dress that suggests something more sinister, as perhaps the 'bad' fairy in a children's story:

Her precise dress and her diminutive upright figure always put me in the mind of some fairy, and the tapping of her little shoe-heels as she trotted about the house, and which was always heard whether we saw her or not, *gave me a feeling that she was present though invisible* [emphasis added] (ibid.).

Graham was here adhering to the common conceit that women who are too pretty or too concerned with physical appearances are superficial; to this she adds her teacher's almost supernatural power to be everywhere and the indication that her presence was not quite benign and not always welcome, like that of a bad fairy. An altercation with Miss Mary a year after Graham's arrival at the school, intensified by constant frictions with her classmates²⁹ result in her being severely punished with silence. Nobody was allowed to speak to her, and she was barred from attending lessons until she apologised to the people she had offended, which she refused to do for several months. As punishment she had to stay all day in a small room doing nothing and even without her schoolbooks. Fortunately for her, in that room were kept Miss Bright's favourite books, like Pope's translation of Homer, Dryden's version of Virgil,³⁰ and all of

²⁹ This situation represents another link to Bronte's Jane who is shunned by her classmates upon her arrival at school, and another personal clue about Graham's habit of antagonising women.

³⁰ This turn of events appears to be the origin of Graham's Anglicising of Italy in 1819.

Shakespeare's plays. She read them all, and in this manner Graham explains her erudition and her love of learning:

These were strange amusements for a girl of nine years old! But I had nothing else to do What I have already said will give an idea of the sort of education I received. Little or nothing was taught me, but books were laid in my way, and whatever I pleased to learn of my own accord, I was sure to get assistance in whenever I asked for it (38-9).

The type of heroine Graham begins to shape at this stage deviates from the accepted ideal of the woman as devoted wife and mother. Although she does not articulate this state of affairs, there was no other option for women in society but marriage and child bearing; it was a given. By her superior attitude towards all those women lacking intellectual abilities, she implies that these are the possession of only a chosen few. To emphasise this point Graham introduces an antagonist to her heroine who enjoys only a brief textual existence. Of her schoolfellows at Miss Bright's school she says that,

there were four or five great girls, one of whom was my first cousin, Barbara. I shall give her no other name because she was stupid, and cross to me. I used to sleep in the same room with her. She was to introduce me to the school and its ways, to assist me in my first lessons; in short, I was to be what we called at school, her child. But I soon found out that she was too dull at her own lessons to assist anybody in theirs, so the union between us was soon dissolved (24).

Cousin Barbara must have been related or perhaps even been a sister of Cousin Mary. She represents the lowest point of the scale in relation to the narrator, where Cousin Mary occupied the highest. The setting up of unsympathetic antagonists to the heroine is another narrative device common in fiction. Their function is to foreground the positive qualities of the protagonist or to present difficulties to the achievement of the final goal. In Graham's case, the former

seems more likely. She was shaping up her narrative persona and she needed to establish her intellectual superiority.

In another part of the memoir, when she felt the need to establish her moral superiority, she used another feminine antagonist, this time her own sister. Towards the end of the journal Graham relates that she had not seen her father since the day he left her at school when she was eight years old and that when she became eighteen the family was to be reunited for the first time in ten years. Her sister had never been contradicted in her life, and when she refused to attend the school of Miss Bright, she was sent to another, very expensive school. Although she was good looking and talented, Graham says, she was ignorant and lacked self-control:

Her affections were strong, so were her passions, and these often clashed so as to make all around her extremely unhappy; *but it is of my own life I am writing, not of my sister's character*³¹, and I have said thus much only to account for the very little mention I shall make of her as I proceed [emphasis added] (70).

The introduction of Graham's sister seems pointless, if the narrator's justification for her brief inclusion in the story is to be believed. However, if the inclusion is seen as a ploy to call attention to the virtues of the protagonist, a logical thread can be found that links these antagonists to the protagonist.

Up to now, therefore, Graham has indicated or implied that she is strong, intellectually superior to her classmates, and endowed with moral qualities. The aspect of her persona that was missing in her other writings, the personal and emotional side, is also articulated eloquently in the journal. In one

³¹ Graham may have had a closer relationship with her sister in real life than the one represented in her text. Some years after Graham's death, her niece asked John Murray's help when she wanted to publish her first novel. She referred to the friendship between her aunt, 'my mother's sister' and the Murray family. Later she became the successful novelist Anne Edwards. One of her novels, *Ought we to Visit her?* was adapted by Gilbert and Sullivan for one of their musical comedies.

significant passage Graham makes observations regarding her relatives and suggests reasons why later in life she found it difficult to interact with other people. This excerpt also resembles the recapitulations that were common in Victorian novels, especially those of Dickens, where the narration stops to take account of what has already happened, in the light of moral observations that follow the mainstream discourses of the time. What is different in Graham's exposition of events is that she displays a profound self-knowledge that allows her to plead her case effectively and to position herself as the injured party. Reflecting on her relations' lack of awareness of her feelings she says:

They made no allowance for my having been suddenly removed from everything I had known, loved, or been accustomed to, and because I could not suddenly adopt new affections, display sensibility which there was nothing to excite, or caress persons as yet strangers to me, everywhere, but at school, I was talked of and treated as a child without feeling and almost without affections. Indeed, so rooted was this opinion of my character among some of my connections, that I believe they never lost it (30).

Practically nowhere else in her work does Graham resort to pathos as a device to awaken pity in the reader, either for herself or for others. It is, nevertheless, a device of the nineteenth-century novel exemplified best by Dickens in Britain and Harriet Beecher Stowe or Louisa May Allcott in the United States. Graham manages this trope very well in her memoir because she uses restraint, and the saddest points of her story are merely suggested. Her plea for understanding ends with a simple reference to a well-known fable without further comments, and this method achieves results because it evokes the scene and the narrator's pain with only one powerful comparison:

To those who assumed that I could not feel, how was it possible that I could show gratitude for that protection that was only given to me in common with others, and receiving

no caresses, while they were lavished on those around me, is it wonderful that my young heart was shut up, and that I abstained from attempting any of those kindly actions that were natural to children who were kindly treated? On one occasion, and I believe it was the very last in which I volunteered a caress, I was told to go away, for my imitation of ----- only put people in mind of the ass and the lap-dog³² (30-1).

This is a cruel thing to say to any child, and it is not surprising that Graham remembered it even at the end of her life. Graham ensures that her memoirs relate her sufferings through both a lack of affection during her childhood and from lack of understanding of her intellectual leanings during her adolescence; leanings which were not considered appropriate in a woman of her day.

These convictions were accompanied by even crueller actions, as when Graham reports that her relatives burned a poem she had written, claiming that it reflected 'a disposition towards pursuits incompatible with the homely duties to be followed by the daughter of so poor a man as my father' (31). At this stage in her memoir Graham includes a statement that may be considered the ruling precept of her life:

There is no class of life in which literary knowledge and taste can be a disadvantage to a woman. They render her independent of what are termed the pleasures of the world; they can cheer the dullest home. A memory stored by them is a sure resource in sickness, and a comfort in poverty when the hands must be employed in commoner affairs (31-2).

Although she is speaking in general terms, Graham may have been thinking about the years she lived in Scotland after her marriage to Thomas Graham. Her journals and letters of that period speak of boredom, hard manual work, and

³² From Aesop: An ass who lived in the stables, who was well fed but had to work in the yard, decides to come into his master's house because he wants to live in leisure and to receive caresses like the lap-dog. But he wrecks the furniture when he enters the house, and he is sent back outside with the teaching: 'be grateful for your lot and do not try to be what you are not'.

scarcity of funds. In any case, her manifesto was not shared by the male novelists of the nineteenth-century, Thackeray, or Dickens, whose heroines are excellent housewives; yet this speech could well have come from *Jane Eyre*. Her viewpoint shows how well in tune with, or even ahead of her time, Graham was. This explains, besides, the concern she showed in her travels for libraries, books, newspapers, the theatre, and all sorts of cultural manifestations, and also her disdain for women who are simply satisfied with personal beauty and with elements of female ornamentation, or what she terms, 'the pleasures of the world'.

There are, interestingly, two narratives included in the memoir where Graham ceases for a short time to be the heroine, but which display her controlled and effective use of narrative devices in one, and her capacity of transforming a traditional fairy tale into an uplifting romantic story in the other. This romantic tale celebrates the ideal of femininity as perceived in the nineteenth-century, which may suggest, not a contradiction for Graham, but her belief that intellectual practices did not suit all women but only a chosen few, like herself. What she terms her 'little romance' begins with a description of the heroine, Miss Whiteford, and the first deviation from traditional fairy tales appears, since the heroine, no matter how hard the narrator tries to disguise the fact, is neither beautiful, nor slender, nor endowed with long, blond hair:

Her person was tall and full, but eminently graceful. Her face, if not regularly handsome, beamed with the sweetest expression. She had been obliged to sacrifice her long and beautiful hair on account of severe headaches, but the ringlets that remained round her face of their natural bright brown, became her so, that one could not feel that anything was wanting (77).

Graham manages her expressions with skill by minimising the woman's negative features and by placing immediately next to each, an observation to counterbalance it. She appears to be aware of the conventions of fairy tales and romances because she tries to bring her heroine as close to the ideal as possible. So if her protagonist was overweight, she was also graceful; if she was plain, she had nevertheless a pleasant expression on her face; and if she had cropped hair, her few remaining tresses were becoming.

The not-so-beautiful protagonist meets and marries a wounded and disfigured soldier; she takes good care of him, of which he is grateful, and they enjoy a happy life. For a moment, Graham ceases to be the principal character of her life-story, but her presence is felt because she remains the narrator and controller of the text. Graham as heroine did not, or perhaps could not, provide a romantic interest to her autobiography and the inclusion of this story-within-a-story appears to fill that void. Apart from their flawed physicality, both protagonists fill their expected roles in this type of narrative: the wounded hero and the faithful maiden who has loved him in silence and is finally rewarded. This story may have been included into the narrative to represent Graham's idea of a romantic relationship: a woman's faithfulness rewarded with the gift of a man's devotion. In addition, it also narrates the culmination of Victorian novels, that is, the happy marriage of the protagonists. The story performs another function in the text, that of providing a positive outlook on human nature and on human destiny which acts as counterbalance to the pervading sombre tone of the whole.

The second significant narrative has a wider scope because it involves all the pupils and teachers of the school, and also most of the people of the

village, but most importantly, because it deals with a social problem that perhaps only Dickens treated later with similar frankness and compassion. It is intriguing to study Graham's memoir and to find so many motifs of later nineteenth-century novels and also of the novel of sensibility in her text, like the orphaned child, the lack of affection translated into rebellion, or the love story with a happy ending. Linked to the motifs are the devices Graham uses well, like inclusion of suspense into the narrative, the partial perception of events through the eyes of the unaware young narrator, or the forces of nature enhancing dramatic scenes, to name a few. In this second narrative Graham also uses powerful images of destitution and neglect.

According to Graham, there was nobody to take care of the poor of the village. One severe winter morning, the mother of a large family whose husband was a farm labourer died on her way to milk their master's cows. 'The fact was that being underfed and overworked, she had sat down to rest a moment, the cold had seized her, and she had been frozen to death before assistance arrived' (45). The detached tone of the account does not conform to the distressing content of the story, and it appears to be a narratological strategy intended to cause a greater impact through this disparity. The tone changes, however, when Graham describes the state of the house this family lived in. Dickens himself could have created these images:

The thatch was off the roof, the bedsteads broken, the bedding in tatters, and it was evidently impossible to drag it into any corners in which it would be sheltered from the rain and snow. The mud floor in the room downstairs was all in holes, the window was broken, and stuffed in places with bits of rag, the children's clothes were thin and ragged, though patched by the poor mother as long as patches would hold, the little garden fence, originally of mud, had given way, so that the bean haulm which she

and her children had gleaned for winter fuel was open to the depredation of children and swine (ibid.).

Graham never mentions her mother in her texts after her sad parting scene in 'Reminiscences', yet in the detailed descriptions quoted above there appears to be a trace of feeling for her own loss, which she delivers transformed into a sensitive picture of destitution. A great part of the force of this descriptive passage lies in that Graham makes the dead mother more visible than the living father, and therefore her death more poignant. Her presence is felt in her pitiful attempts to darn the clothes of her children, in her hoard of dry sticks for fuel, or in the rags that stopped the wind from coming in through the broken panes. For the children, the loss of their mother means that now they will lack even her ineffectual efforts at caring for them. Graham communicates these ideas through implication, and this adds strength to the narrative.

One interesting personal remark made by Graham at the end of 'Reminiscences' is worth mentioning. It is a cryptic reference to a certain unnamed friend and to the fact that their friendship was misunderstood:

I do not pretend to write everything that occurred to me, nor all my feelings at this period of my life [her stay with relatives in Scotland around 1800-7], but I will say that a friendship which lasts to this hour was then begun, that excited a mean and vexatious jealousy, for which in truth, there was little cause, but which occasioned me much pain and discomfort for several following years of my life. I never think of the circumstances without pain, but I have never for a moment seen cause to repent or to blush at any of my own feelings or acts connected with the subject (86).

This reference was probably to Lord Thomas Cochrane. It is a fact that she was deeply involved in his affairs, even after they had stopped seeing each other.³³ Graham never had close women friends, and even if she had, it is unlikely that one such relationship would have provoked jealousy and animosity towards her 'for several following years', or given her cause 'to repent or blush'. It is interesting that at the end of her life Graham felt the need to proclaim her innocence in this matter, and more remarkable still is her admission that the situation caused her pain. This admission humanises her narrating persona and adds a new dimension to the figure she built through the years.

The last text to be examined in the present chapter and in the thesis as a whole, is the 'Last Journal'. Graham kept it for a short period only, between November 21st, 1840 and December 3rd, of that same year. It records her illness, the death of her cousin William Dundas, and public events like the birth of Princess Victoria; however, it fails to display a defined narrative voice, perhaps because it is the only one of her journals that was started, not by her own volition, but in response to the urgings of another person:

On the day in which I received Mariannes'³⁴ account of the birth and health of the Princess Royal of England my husband expressed a wish that I sh^d in a short day book note down what I hear and see.

What I, a dying woman [,] shut up in my bedroom never to leave it! But he wishes it [,] perhaps he is right (Introduction, n.p.)

³³ All Cochrane's biographers concur that they never met or communicated after his return from Brazil. However, When John Murray published an unfavourable comment about Lord Cochrane's participation in Greece against Turkey in an editorial of *The Representative* in June 24, 1826, Graham writes that she made him apologise in a letter and reprint the paper with the damaging remark deleted. (This statement appears to be untrue, as the negative editorial exists.) Source: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Extracts of Lady Callcott's journals made by W.H. Callcott, MS. Eng. d. 2274 n.p.

³⁴ Marianne Skerret, a friend of Graham's and lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria (Gotch, 294).



Fig. 15 The Callcott houses in Kensington Gravel Pits, where Maria Graham spent her final years



Fig. 14 Augustus Wall Callcott, Maria Graham's second husband

Overall, the tone of the whole journal is understandably gloomy, but the desultory entries and themes betray besides the lack of defined purpose, perhaps because it was addressed to one person only, and not the wider public, Graham's desired audience. The entries are stark, devoid of artifices or narrative devices, and therefore the style is poorer. Anyone acquainted with Graham's other work would miss in the 'Last Journal' her more representative narrating qualities, such as her assured voice, the careful delineating of her narrating persona, or the inclusion of fictional elements in her prose. Possibly Graham needed a wider scope in order to develop her literary skills, as for instance, new countries, large cities, or varied groups of people. Once she becomes confined to her room by her illness, her subject centres on herself, on her feelings, and even her symptoms,³⁵ like her pulse rate: 'Dr Chambers called ... he says the quickness of my pulse (120) don't signify but he seems sorry it is so weak and flickering. Does that mean I am near my end?' (8).

Apart from herself, her reflections focus on individual persons who constitute her now much reduced circle; even her capacity for ridicule targets her own doctor. Her satire is so strong that it appears to be an attempt to destroy the messenger, as if by annulling the doctor Graham were trying to negate his diagnosis:

Ch[ambers] himself is personally vain – he with his sandy wig – pigs eyes – and crooked finger – God! and talks of dress and Dandyism as if belonging to them – and this is the successor in the world of the gifted Warren! the man of true genius – extensive learning – Bah! such a world! (ibid.).

³⁵ Graham suffered from tuberculosis from an early age ('Reminiscences', 86), which causes high temperatures, anemia, and listlessness. If, in addition, her pulse was flickering, she probably had a heart disease: atrial fibrillation. This causes an irregular heart rhythm that comes accompanied by discomfort, tiredness, and possibly blood clots that bring about strokes. This may have been the cause of her death in November, 1842.

Graham may not have cared about her image while composing this journal. Her punctuation appears careless, as if she had worked backwards setting it down after she had finished writing. This feature of the journal makes some passages hard to follow, and some sentences nonsensical. Another indication that Graham may have thought that her journal would not reach the public is that she does not discuss lofty subjects, as in her previous work, but mostly gossip and the few people who come to visit her.

Perhaps the most relevant incident recorded in the journal is her relation of the visit of some artist friends of her husband. Their actions and her reaction to them portray Graham's present position in life: disempowered and silenced. On the notation for Sunday, November 29, [1840] she writes:

W. Allen³⁶ and J. Horsley³⁷ dine – discourse on decorating the Houses of Parliament with pictures.- I joined [,] was snubbed – and I hope for self-command never again to join in conversation – when artists are here or Art the Subject (15).

This confession in the 'Last Journal' comes as a surprise. Of the texts examined up to this point in this chapter, the published Italian journal displayed a narrator who was erudite, detached, ready to judge everything she found of interest whether they were foreign peoples and cultures, issues of morality, historical landmarks, or agricultural features. In the German journal the pronouncements, usually negative, came from a narrating persona who appeared to be well versed on art, art history, and aesthetics. Even though research showed that this highly skilled narrator may at times have been acting out a part in a script, the entry

³⁶ Probably Sir William Allan (1782-1850) painter and president of the Royal Scottish Academy. Source: The National Portrait Gallery www.npg.org.uk [accessed 23/11/06]

³⁷ John Callcott Horsley (1817-1903) painter www.npg.org.uk [accessed 23/11/06]. Also a nephew of Augustus Wall Callcott.

just quoted is unexpected. Graham's intensity of feeling at the rebuff is betrayed by her underlining of the words 'snubbed' and 'never'.

The highlighting of these words appears to indicate that a woman who had travelled to many parts of the world, had conversed with national heroes and heads of state on an equal basis, was now barred from expressing an opinion on the merits of certain paintings. Up to this passage in her 'Last Journal' Graham's narrating persona had appeared strong and unbeatable. She had succeeded in representing herself as above the subjects of her scrutiny, as more erudite than her peers or even her betters, like Humboldt or Southey; as pristine in her morality and as a judge of the morality of others, when away from England; as dispassionate observer and loyal defender of her friends and the objects of her devotion, like Lord Cochrane or Lord Byron; and as heroine of her own narrative as in the third Brazil journal and 'Reminiscences'. This superior persona was represented, moreover, in careful language, grammar, and punctuation. All these traits are lost in the 'Last Journal' and in a way, Graham loses herself.

Graham's subjects were the wide world, wherever she happened to travel to, as well as religion, religious traditions, politics, and the importance of Great Britain in the rest of the world. She aligned with or attacked colonialism, she was interested in current issues, in world literature, in music, religion, and art, also in remarkable people, in philosophy, and in ancient and modern languages. In her 'Last Journal', because of her illness, her world necessarily became confined to her room and the scope of her interests dwindled. Her narrating persona, a construct that evolved according to her own maturation as a

human being³⁸ and to the requirements of the text, was self-referential only in the sense that her persona directed the course of the narrative. Her physicality was seldom mentioned and her states of mind were included only when necessary to the script. In her 'Last Journal', Graham had not much to talk about except of her illness and of the few people who came to visit her. Her voice had been detached in the other journals, at other times eulogising, authoritative, ironic, or passionately condemnatory, but always controlled. Possibly Graham did not see the need, in this 'Last Journal', to control her voice or to structure her ideas. The resulting text, raw and less organised as it is, shows a narrator without masks or artifice and provides a new angle to her profile as narrator.

The analysis of the preceding journals can yield a few concluding thoughts. The first of these is that Graham constructs her journals around significant masculine figures that dominate her narratives. Another point that may be deduced from the analysis is that she makes use of genres and literary modes to suit her plots. For instance, the powerful figure of her father in the India diary and in 'Reminiscences', comes enframed in the novel of sentimentality. The Emperor of Brazil requires a eulogy at first, when Graham finds it necessary to seek favour from him; later events demand that she makes him into a figure of ridicule and that her story be told in the manner of a cloak-and-dagger tale. Lord Thomas Cochrane, the most important man in Graham's life, represents an intriguing puzzle. It has been shown that she ventroloquises him in the Chile journal, and that these actions intensify the already dramatic

³⁸ The narrator of 'Reminiscences' appears reflective and mature when compared to the more impulsive speaker of the India diary.

character of the work;³⁹ however, Graham was not in this instance acting as a mere puppet, mouthing another person's words, but as an actress with a part to play and with a technique of her own. This situation foregrounds the change of power relations manifested in the German journal, written four years later. In this journal, built around Graham's second husband, Augustus Callcott, she appears to have become a ventriloquist's puppet, and the effect of this change on the text is that the mode is didactic and the style lacks brilliance.

The unifying factors, therefore, in Graham's journals are a powerful masculine figure, a suitable literary genre to support the narrative, and a limber narrator who uses these elements as the basis of her journals which are, in the end, narratives about herself.

³⁹ For instance, the theatrical scenery of the port upon her arrival, the sinister shop of the apothecary, the religious pageants, Cochrane's dramatic 'first entrance', or the romantic setting of the last scene on board the ship.

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