

**TOURISTS AND TRAVELLERS:  
WOMEN'S NON-FICTIONAL WRITING  
ABOUT SCOTLAND 1770-1830**

by

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## ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I consider the travels, and the travel and other non-fictional writings, of five women who travelled within Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: the anonymous author of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*, Sarah Murray; Anne Grant; Dorothy Wordsworth; and Sarah Hazlitt. During this period, travel and tourism in Scotland changed radically, from a time when there were few travellers and little provision for those few, through to Scotland's emergence as a fully organised tourist destination. Simultaneous with these changes came changes in writing.

I examine the changes in the ways in which travellers travelled in, perceived and wrote about Scotland during the period 1770-1830. I explore the specific ways in which five women travel writers represented themselves and their travels. I investigate the relationship of gender to the travel writings produced by these five women, relating that to issues of production and reception as well as to questions of discourse. Finally, I explore the relationship between the geographical location of travels and travel writing.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CHAPTER ONE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-Fictional Writing About Scotland 1770-1830</b>	
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>The Growth of Tourism in Scotland in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries</b>	
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>A Sentimental Traveller Opposes Johnson: <i>A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland</i></b>	
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Every Thing Worth Seeing: Sarah Murray's <i>Companion and Useful Guide</i></b>	
<b>CHAPTER FIVE</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>Anne Grant of Laggan and the Myth of the Highlands</b>	
<b>CHAPTER SIX</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>Dorothy Wordsworth: Setting Herself Up as an Author</b>	
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN</b>	<b>162</b>
<b>Interrupting the Aesthetic: Sarah Hazlitt's <i>Journal</i></b>	
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT</b>	<b>183</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>NOTES</b>	<b>216</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>263</b>

## APPENDICES

<b>APPENDIX ONE</b>	<b>187</b>
<b>Accounts of travel in Scotland written by women during the period 1740-1830</b>	
<b>APPENDIX TWO</b>	<b>191</b>
<b>The works of Anne Grant</b>	
<b>APPENDIX THREE</b>	<b>196</b>
<b>Contemporary critical reviews of the works of Anne Grant</b>	
<b>APPENDIX FOUR</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>Dorothy Wordsworth's reading of travel books</b>	
<b>APPENDIX FIVE</b>	<b>204</b>
<b>William Hazlitt, extract from the essay, 'On Great and Little Things'</b>	
<b>APPENDIX SIX</b>	<b>207</b>
<b>Preliminary list of guide books to Scotland before 1826</b>	
<b>APPENDIX SEVEN</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Comparison, Stark's <i>The Picture of Edinburgh</i> and Sarah Hazlitt's <i>Journal</i></b>	

## ILLUSTRATIONS

### MAPS

	<i>Following page</i>
Anonymous, <i>A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland, by a Lady, 1776</i>	43
Sarah Murray, 1796	62
Sarah Murray, 1799-1802	66
Anne Grant, Laggan, 1779-1803	90
Anne Grant, 1773	101
Dorothy Wordsworth, 1803	131
Dorothy Wordsworth, 1822	152
Sarah Hazlitt, 1822	162

### PLATES

Title page, <i>A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland</i>	39
Title page, <i>A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland (1799)</i>	64
Title page, <i>A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, and the Hebrides (1810)</i>	67
Title page, <i>Poems on Various Subjects</i>	91
Title page, <i>The Highlanders, and Other Poems</i>	91
Title page, <i>Letters from the Mountains</i>	93
Title page, <i>Memoirs of an American Lady</i>	94
Title page, <i>Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland</i>	94

## CHAPTER ONE

### TOURISTS AND TRAVELLERS:

#### WOMEN'S NON-FICTIONAL WRITING ABOUT SCOTLAND 1770 - 1830

In this dissertation I consider the travels, and the travel and other non-fictional writings, of five women who travelled within Scotland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: the anonymous author of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*; Sarah Murray (later known as Sarah Aust); Anne Grant of Laggan; Dorothy Wordsworth; and Sarah Hazlitt. During this period, travel and tourism in Scotland changed radically, from a time when there were very few travellers and no provision for those that there were, through to Scotland's emergence as a fully organised tourist destination with the necessary physical and economic infrastructure. Simultaneous with these changes came changes in writing.

This dissertation, therefore, sets out to explore the changing nature of travel and of travel writing in and about Scotland during the latter years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century, focusing specifically on how these five women travelled and represented those travels. Throughout the dissertation, I have resisted referring to this period as 'the romantic era'. Although the dates are roughly the same as those used when discussing Romantic poetry, much recent work on the prose writings of the period has demonstrated the inadequacy of the term. 'Romantic fiction' and 'Romantic drama' have until recently been overshadowed by Romantic poetry, so much so that Romanticism is frequently defined entirely by the poems of five or six major male poets of the period. Characteristics long thought of as 'romantic' are far less applicable to much of the prose and gender is proving to be a complex and complicating factor. Although the term 'late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century' is an unwieldy one, I use it deliberately.<sup>1</sup>

These five women were, of course, not the only women to travel in and write about Scotland at this time.<sup>2</sup> Nor do I wish to claim for them a representative role. Each of the



women is different, each speaks with her own distinctive voice. Nevertheless, as Tim Youngs has noted:

Travellers do not simply record what they see ... They journey with preconceptions. They observe and write according to established models, having these in mind even when they wish to query or depart from them. No one who travels and writes of their experience can be said to be writing purely as an individual. Descriptions and judgements reveal the values of class, gender, and nationality.<sup>3</sup>

While broadly in agreement with Youngs, I would argue further that the geographical location of the travels may be as influential as the class, gender and nationality of the writer. My discussion is unique to Scotland and to the period 1770-1830. This is not to imply that there are no parallels to be found elsewhere; rather it is to recognise and to emphasise that any discussion of travel writing must take account of the specific historical and geographical factors operating upon the traveller/writer. Susan Morgan, in her excellent study of Victorian women's travel books about Southeast Asia, wrote:

Much as in so many people's life histories and daily experiences, in discourse the various intersections of region, nationality, and gender compose an unsettled subject location. ... In discussing travel writings, I assume that place matters. By place I mean subjectivity as much as physical location, for both are forms of political geography. I assume that critical concepts derived from considering writings about one area of the world cannot simply be transposed to writings about another area, in some sort of global theoretical move.<sup>4</sup>

This assertion is by no means uncontentious and there are those who have claimed, for example, that women travel writers show 'a similarity of reaction to the foreign environment, despite variations in time and place'.<sup>5</sup> I hope to demonstrate, however, that the writings of the five women considered in this dissertation are all firmly situated in Scotland at a particular

time and that this has a direct effect, not only on their subject matter but on the ways in which they write. I would argue further that, of all literary genres, travel writing is perhaps the most firmly sited in time and space.

In her study of early Scottish women travel writers, Dorothy McMillan wrote:

I take as my starting point that all literature of travel operates between notions of 'here' and 'there' and the audience for such writing may sometimes be in both places at the same time, just as the writer too may shift positions in significant ways.<sup>6</sup>

Macmillan's statement underlines the complex interplay between audience, writer and geography. Just as the geographic location of the travels affects both the content and how they are written, so too does the geographic and cultural location of the intended audience. Youngs has pointed out that:

Travel writers are at once establishing their cultural affinities with, and spatial, experiential difference from, their readers. Travel writing ... is an expression of identity based on sameness to and yet remoteness from the members of the home society.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, travel writers are able to make 'use of this textual, physical and cultural space for an exploration and affirmation or reconstitution of identity'.<sup>8</sup>

A second theme running through this dissertation is an examination of the rhetorical strategies which each of the women uses to represent herself as writer and traveller within her work.

Within the broad framework of the changing nature of travel in Scotland, each of these five women writers represented herself and her travels in very different ways. The anonymous author of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* defined herself as a Sentimental Traveller. Anne Grant, although born in Glasgow and raised in the American colonies, considered herself 'a true Highlander' and set herself the mission of interpreting (what she saw

as) an inarticulate primitive culture to the outside world. Sarah Murray, author of one of the first guidebooks to the Highlands, depicted herself as 'a true lover of nature' whose desire to 'see every thing worth seeing' took precedence over fear of accident or physical discomfort and who furthermore could advise her readers authoritatively what to see and how to see it. Sarah Hazlitt, on the other hand, travelled as a tourist, guidebook in hand, following what had by then become a well-worn route. While the author of the *Journey*, Grant, Murray and Hazlitt travelled and wrote as individuals, Dorothy Wordsworth's travels were an extension of the communal writing life in Grasmere in which she played an integral part, and her travel writings reflect her intimate community. Because most of these writers are little known and rarely get more than a passing mention in critical works so much so that a colleague referred to my project as 'turning footnotes into people' I have devoted some space in each chapter to a discussion of editions, publishing history and reception history. I have also provided biographical information insofar as it is known.

As mentioned above, quite a number of women travelled in and wrote about Scotland during this period. I applied several selection criteria when choosing writers for this project. Each of the five women travelled in Scotland during the relevant period. Each wrote one or more non-fictional travel accounts<sup>9</sup> — although in the case of Grant I also look at the ways she depicted the Highlands and the Highlanders in her poetry. A complete and authoritative text was available for all but one of the texts I wanted to discuss, whether published or manuscript.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, although such a judgement is of necessity subjective, I believe that each of these five women's accounts of Scottish travel is complex and interesting and that, taken together, they provide a useful way in which to trace the ways in which Scottish travel and travel writing changed at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

The travels of all five women predate the coming of the railways. The changes that the railways brought to travel in speed, in the development of a mass market and in their effect on the face of the landscape were profound. Perhaps the most significant difference

in post-railway travel was a change in perception. As Wolfgang Schivelbusch has argued, the railway's velocity

... blurs all foreground objects, which means that there no longer is a foreground exactly the range in which most of the experience of pre-industrial travel was located. The foreground enabled the traveler to relate to the landscape through which he was moving. He saw himself as part of the foreground, and that perception *joined* him to the landscape. ... Now velocity dissolved the foreground, and the traveler lost that aspect.<sup>11</sup>

Although, by the end of my time period, improvements in transport technology were already starting to distance travellers from what they were seeing Lady Wilson and her party viewed waterfalls from the comfort of their coach<sup>12</sup> and Sarah Hazlitt travelled by steamboat (although much of her tour was taken on foot) — the changes in perception wrought by the coming of the railways were far more extreme and lie outside the limits of this study.

Three of the texts considered, one by Hazlitt and two by Wordsworth, are diaries which remained unpublished during their authors' lifetimes. In contrast, Sarah Murray's trip was taken deliberately to gather material for the writing of a guidebook which, she hoped, would be far superior to any previously published. The anonymous author of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* claimed that the letters which comprise the *Journey* were 'selected from a correspondence, begun, continued, and completed, upon motives of amusement, invitation, and tenderness'.<sup>13</sup> It is important to note the word 'selected' this book is a consciously shaped verbal construct, prepared for the wider public. The same is true of Anne Grant's *Letters from the Mountains*. Like those in the *Journey*, the letters which make up Grant's three volume text (together with those she published later) were selected, edited and shaped, and that process was continued in the substantial changes she made to subsequent editions.

While both Wordsworth's and Hazlitt's travel writings are in manuscript diary form, it may only be the Hazlitt diary a record which combines discussion of Scottish travel with a

recording of the events surrounding her divorce proceedings which can be considered a 'private' diary. Although Wordsworth did not in the end publish either of her Scottish travel accounts, she certainly spent a considerable period of time revising the first account in preparation for publication. The fact that the 1803 journal survives in multiple copies in several different hands also points to its existence as, at least, a quasi-public document, and evidence exists that her account of her second Scottish journey was also circulated among family and friends.<sup>14</sup>

It is often claimed that 'women have historically made use of diaries and letters, private and personal forms, to record their lives and opinions',<sup>15</sup> these forms providing 'a convenient form of communication and an approved one for women even when writing about public matters'.<sup>16</sup> Some critics have argued that this has enabled women to write while avoiding the criticism that, it is said, would result if they were to publish more 'literary' texts. For these critics, the published diary offered:

the possibility of laying claim to writing while allaying the anxieties of actual publication ... the diary for many [women] writers can be regarded as a symptom of restriction, giving a provisional voice to women who were denied confident access to public expression.<sup>17</sup>

Other critics have suggested that the fragmented and discontinuous forms of diaries and letters replicate the fragmented forms of women's lives or draw analogies between form in writing and household pursuits:

It is clear that they lavished upon writing [their diaries] the same care for detail and pleasure in design we see and hear of in dressmaking, embroidery, quilting, darning and mending, baking, preserving, arranging houses and gardening.<sup>18</sup>

Tempting though these analyses may be, they apply far more convincingly to later periods than they do to the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. An investigation into American

journal writing has shown that 'American men kept journals in numbers far exceeding those kept by women until well past the middle of the nineteenth century', and that it was not until the twentieth century that 'the diary came to be a form of writing practiced predominantly by women writers'.<sup>19</sup> While I am unaware of any comparable statistical studies of British journal writing, I see no reason to assume that the results would differ greatly.<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, as Margo Culley has written:

It is only relatively recently (roughly in the last hundred years) that the content of the diary has been a record of private thoughts and feelings to be kept hidden from others' eyes. Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century diaries were semi-public documents intended to be read by an audience.<sup>21</sup>

Many of the same problems arise in relation to the defining of letters as 'low-status' or 'private' texts. This, as Margaret Ezell has shown,

... is very much the product of nineteenth- and twentieth-century experiences. For example, the whole concept of a "letter" was different in the seventeenth century than in the nineteenth century. Letters were an established literary form in the Renaissance and seventeenth century and were not "private" in the sense of personal domestic correspondence. They were highly conventional public forms of address, "epistles" on weighty matters written to display the author's rhetorical graces and intended to be circulated. ... Rather than being a despised literary form, the letter as a genre commanded much attention and respect.<sup>22</sup>

Although Ezell is speaking particularly of the seventeenth century, letters and epistles remained a respectable and valued genre through the eighteenth century. Similarly, analyses of women's travel writing have sometimes classified travel writing as a 'low status' genre; again, I would argue that this classification should not be applied to the period under discussion.<sup>23</sup>

I have referred above to the rapid changes in travel and tourism in Scotland that took place during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Attempting to explain a similar process in England, Ian Ousby wrote that 'movements in taste have led to patterns of travel ... these patterns of travel have in turn been expanded and systematised into a tourist industry'.<sup>24</sup> He goes on to say:

By taste, which provides the initial cue, I mean the application of general tendencies of thought and cultural attitude to the act of judging one aspect of our environment as interesting, beautiful or otherwise worth attention and rejecting others as not. Travel quickly converts these judgements into practical, local and specific terms. In doing so, it creates a habit of vision and a corresponding habit of blindness ... getting to know a region ... increasingly becomes a matter of appreciating particular sights from a particular angle. Tourism completes the process by turning the habits of travel into a formal codification which exerts mass influence and gains mass acceptance.<sup>25</sup>

Over the last thirty years much academic attention has been devoted to an attempt to distinguish between travellers and tourists. The distinction is frequently value-laden. To be a 'traveller', according to many critics, is good; to be a 'tourist', bad. The negative connotation of the term tourist is not a new one. In the 1780s and 1790s, the term could still be used in the neutral sense of 'one who makes a tour'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes Samuel Pegge's 1800 *Anecdotes of the English Language*: 'A Traveller is now-a-days called a Tour-ist', and the Honourable John Byng was happy to describe himself as a 'tourist', even boasting that 'the only people who become acquainted with counties, are tourists.'<sup>26</sup> At the same time, however, the term was increasingly used in a derogatory way. 'These Tourists, Heaven preserve us!' began Wordsworth's 1799 poem, 'The Brothers', going on to refer to 'that moping Son of Idleness';<sup>27</sup> while William Marshall, in 1809, referred to 'a mere tourist' who 'may catch certain facts which pass under his eye'.<sup>28</sup> Already the idea of a tourist as someone with only a superficial sense of passing sights and impressions was gaining currency.

For Paul Fussell, writing in 1980, travel was 'hardly possible anymore' and 'tourism is all we have left'.<sup>29</sup> Fussell asserted that it was possible to distinguish 'exploration' from 'travel' from 'tourism', claiming that 'the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveler that which has been discovered by the mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity'.<sup>30</sup>

Daniel Boorstin has taken an even harsher view. The modern tourist, he wrote, now fills his experience with pseudo-events. ... travel [has] ceased to be an activity an experience, an undertaking and instead become a commodity. The rise of the tourist was possible, and then inevitable, when attractive items of travel were wrapped up and sold in packages (the "package tour"). By buying a tour you could oblige somebody else to make pleasant and interesting things happen to you. You could buy wholesale (by the month or week, or by the country) or retail (by the day or by the individual foreign capital).<sup>31</sup>

As James Buzard has pointed out in his analysis of nineteenth and early twentieth century tourism, however, critics such as Fussell and Boorstin 'tend to repeat, rather than investigate, the customary denigration of the touristic', making assumptions which are 'themselves the product of nearly two hundred years' concerted cultural stereotyping'.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, such critics frequently rely on inadequate and inaccurate historical descriptions, in which a golden age of travel is followed by a degraded one of tourism, an analysis which is historically incorrect.

Jonathan Culler, in his useful essay 'The Semiotics of Tourism', approaches the subject in a very different way. Rather than seeing the traveller/tourist divide as real historical categories, Culler suggests that the very opposition between the terms is integral to tourism. He writes, 'The historical explanations are excuses for what travelers always do: feel superior to other tourists'.<sup>33</sup> In this he partially echoes Dean MacCannell who had described Boorstin's attitude as 'so prevalent ... that it is a part of the problem of mass tourism, not an



analytical reflection of it<sup>34</sup> but without MacCannell's negative overtones. For Culler, the experience of tourism is a powerful quest for signs of authenticity.

More recent work on tourism has continued to move away from the emphasis on the negative. Buzard construes the tourist as 'a mythic figure, a rhetorical instrument that is determined by and in turn helps to determine the ways [modern] nations represent culture and acculturation to themselves'.<sup>35</sup> Derek Hall and Vivian Kinnaird distinguish travellers from tourists but use a neutral distinction, with travellers described as being 'those people who have specifically chosen, or who have had no option but, to travel on their own (or with a small number of people - not a "group") and to do that in an individual, "basic" or even "eccentric" manner'.<sup>36</sup> James Clifford considers diverse forms of 'travel', without privileging one over another.<sup>37</sup>

One of the most extensive attempts to define 'tourism' and one which underpins much of my own thinking on the subject, comes from John Urry. While recognising that 'the tourist gaze' varies by society, social group and historical period, he has nevertheless identified a number of social practices which, he believes, characterise 'tourism'. Some of these are only applicable to twentieth-century tourism, but the majority of them are equally relevant to an attempt to provide a workable description of tourism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

1. Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organised work. It is a manifestation of how work and leisure are organised as separate and regulated spheres of social practice.
2. Tourist relationships arise from a movement of people to, and their stay in, various destinations. This necessarily involves some movement through space, that is the journey, and a period of stay in a new place or places.

3. The journey and stay are to, and in, sites outside the normal places of residence and work. Residence is of a short-term and temporary nature and there is a clear intention to return 'home' within a relatively short period of time.
4. The places gazed upon are for purposes not directly connected with paid work and normally they offer some distinctive contrasts with work (both paid and unpaid).
5. New socialised forms of provision are developed in order to cope with the mass character of the gaze of tourists (as opposed to the individual character of 'travel').
6. Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation ... of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered ... constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as ... literature ... which construct and reinforce the gaze.
7. The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience. Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary. The viewing of such tourist sights often involves different forms of social patterning, with a much greater sensitivity to visual elements of landscape or townscape than is found in everyday life. People linger over such a gaze ...
8. The gaze is constructed through signs and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the real 'olde England'. As Culler argues, 'the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself ... All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians,

the tourists, are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs' (J. Culler, 'Semiotics of Tourism', *American Journal of Semiotics*, 1 (1981), 127).

9. An array of tourist professionals develop who attempt to reproduce ever-new objects of the tourist gaze.<sup>38</sup>

Roger Cardinal, writing on 'Romantic Travel', contrasts the development of nineteenth century tourism with what he calls 'the Romantic project'. According to Cardinal, Romantic travellers sought 'the fertility of unprogrammed, nonchalant itineraries; the suggestive magic of distance and wildness; the excitement of tactile engagement; the equation of strangeness with authenticity ... otherness without foreknowledge ... uncertainty and risk ... authentic ... sensation ... premised on its being not only intense but also unique, always for the first time'.<sup>39</sup> A comparison of this model with the writings of the five women considered in this dissertation places all five clearly within the tourism model and underlines their separateness from the Romantic ideology. It would be dangerous, however, to assume that this was necessarily related to gender; a comparison of the 'Romantic travel' model with the writings of many men who travelled to Scotland during the period 1770-1830 reveals a similar pattern. What it does do, I believe, is underline the distance between our late twentieth-century concepts of the 'Romantic period' and the cultural context within which the travels discussed in this dissertation took place.

Finally, what difference does gender make to the writing and the study of travel? This question has become a recurring subject for discussion in the academic literature of travel and travel writing. Much recent work on women's travel writing has attempted to prove intrinsic differences between writings by men and by women. Sara Mills has claimed that the narrative positions of women travel writers in the late nineteenth century are ambivalent,

both drawing on the dominant discursive formations and yet being excluded from full adoption of them because of their position within the discourse of the 'feminine'. Through elements such as humour, self-deprecation, statements of affiliation, and descriptions of relationships, which stress the interpersonal nature of travel writing, these texts constitute counter-hegemonic voices within the colonial discourse ... a form of writing [which] ... constitute[s] a critique from its margins.<sup>40</sup>

Other critics have suggested that women's travel writings are characterised by a focus on detail, often suggesting that this reflects women's involvement in the details of the domestic sphere, together with an empathy with the people they encountered while travelling. Mary Russell has written:

They brought to their part the things they were good at: an ability to listen, to empathize, to assimilate. They became observers, not of places but of people, and we owe them an eternal debt, for their records of sights and happenings complemented the scientific data remitted by male explorers. Used to the minutiae of the household, they observed the trees within the wood, but because of this their observations were often dismissed as being trivial.<sup>41</sup>

and Patricia Romero has similarly claimed that

For women travelers accent was on detail; intensity of individual experiences; empathy for some people; criticisms of others. The personal nature of their experiences distinguishes the women from their equally adventuresome male colleagues.<sup>42</sup>

As Tim Youngs has persuasively argued, however, these claims

rest on a preconceived view of male narratives, many of which, at many moments, exhibit exactly the qualities that Romero suggests are lacking. It might well (and probably should) be argued that the uses to which accent on personal detail are put may often be different for men and women, but to imply that "Men travelers doted on describing their heroic exploits" (Romero 1992: 10) is to offer a misleading and partial reading.<sup>43</sup>

I would argue that, as well as a misreading of male texts of travel, many of the statements made about women's travel writings ignore the very real differences created by geography and historical time period. The majority of academic studies of women's travel writings have concentrated on the late Victorian period and have been centred primarily on texts of imperialism and colonisation.<sup>44</sup> It is not necessarily appropriate to transpose theories and assumptions developed in the study of one geographical area or historical time span to a completely different situation.

I am not arguing, however, that gender makes no difference. The cultural context within which late eighteenth and early nineteenth century women wrote was different from that in which men wrote; different constraints on writing, travel and publication operated; reception of texts was coloured by the author's gender. This dissertation is argued from a position in which I assume that those differences are a reality, but in which I reject a purely essentialist approach. While it is true that gender allowed both women and men access to areas of travel experience from which the other was excluded – one thinks, for example, of Dorothy Wordsworth's account of trying on Highland gowns in the ferry-house at Loch Lomond – and that women, in particular, often had access to familial and domestic areas in ways which were denied their male counterparts, I would argue that both women's and men's discourses are constructed by a wide variety of factors including gender, class, race, nationality and historical time period and that different aspects of an individual's many-layered multiply-shifting social identities may predominate at various times within a narrative. At the same time I would agree with Susan Morgan that 'concepts derived from

male-authored travel accounts with male narrators [cannot] simply be transposed to female-authored accounts with female narrators'.<sup>45</sup>

In conclusion, four main themes run through this dissertation. Firstly, I examine the changes in the ways in which travellers travelled in, perceived and wrote about Scotland during the period 1770-1830. Secondly, I explore the specific ways in which five women travel writers — Grant, Murray, Wordsworth, Hazlitt and the anonymous writer of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* — represented themselves and their travels. Thirdly, I investigate the relationship of gender to the travel writings produced by these five women, relating that to issues of production and reception as well as to questions of discourse. And finally I hope to demonstrate that, as Susan Morgan so succinctly put it, when analysing travel writings, place matters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE GROWTH OF TOURISM IN SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

English tourism to Scotland, particularly to the Highlands and Islands, had its origins in the eighteenth century, although it was not until the early nineteenth century that the physical and economic infrastructures necessary for the operation of a tourist industry were in place. Before 1745, Scotland was an unknown land to many people in England, with a reputation for barrenness and savagery. Even to many Lowland Scots, the Highlands remained a mystery, so much so that in 1773, Samuel Johnson was to remark that 'to the southern inhabitants of Scotland, the state of the mountains and the islands is equally unknown with that of Borneo or Sumatra.'<sup>1</sup>

The alien nature of the Highlands of Scotland was emphasised by those few travellers who did venture there. For Defoe, writing in the 1720s it was 'this frightful country', a place of extremes where he was 'welcomed' with 'a Scots gale of wind that ... obliged us to quit our horses, for real apprehension of being blown off ... I never was sensible of so fierce a wind'.<sup>2</sup> Edward Burt, writing at much the same time, described the local participants in a 'Highland fair' as 'two or three hundred half-naked, half-starved creatures of both sexes, without so much as a smile or any cheerfulness among them, stalking about with goods ... up to their ancles in dirt; and at night numbers of them lying together in stables, or other outhouse hovels that are hardly any defence against the weather'.<sup>3</sup>

Youngson has suggested that 'in the first half of the [eighteenth] century, no one visited the Highlands for pleasure, or out of a sense of scientific curiosity'.<sup>4</sup> Certainly those few early travellers whose Highland travels are recorded seem to have been largely on military business, missionary journeys or engaged in some kind of commercial transaction. The Scots themselves travelled little during this period, other than the drovers who brought the cattle from the Highlands to the markets of the Lowlands.

The only form of tourism which seems to have existed during the first half of the century was that of hunting, particularly of red deer. As Hart-Davis has indicated, this was confined to the Highland aristocracy.

The essential point about the old-fashioned deer hunters was that they were Scottish: their sport was a local one ... the reason was not snobbishness or xenophobia ... but rather the physical seclusion of the Highlands.<sup>5</sup>

To a large extent, tourists were deterred by the sheer physical difficulties of travelling through the Highlands and Islands. There were few roads and wheeled vehicles were rare until the middle of the century. Most travel, therefore, took place on horseback, by sea or on foot. Even at the end of the eighteenth century, most visitors were still remarking on the hardships of travel. There were no markings to show a traveller the way and, until the end of the century, there were no published guidebooks available. The traveller needed, therefore, to hire local guides. This had its own problems. The locals spoke Gaelic as their first language and very few spoke any English at all, although some of the chiefs could speak French. The loyalty of many of the clans and their chiefs was doubtful; there were three Jacobite rebellions during the first half of the century; and what law enforcement there was came from those chiefs and was carried out within the clan system. The hiring of a guide and communication with that guide therefore was an extremely tricky business.

Nevertheless, a traveller had no choice, and reliance on local guides continued through the whole of the century. In 1699, Celia Fiennes 'tooke a Guide' in order to ride seven miles north of the Border.<sup>6</sup> Edward Burt frequently hired guides, '[for] I was told the way was dangerous to strangers, who might lose themselves in the hills if they had not a conductor',<sup>7</sup> communicating with them by means of interpreters. On one occasion, he and a number of other Englishmen endeavoured to find their way alone.

We set out early in the morning without guide or interpreter ... we soon strayed out of our way among the hills, where there was nothing but heath, bogs, and



stones, and no visible tract to direct us, it being across the country. In our way we inquired of three several Highlanders, but could get nothing from them but *Haniel Sasson Ugget*.<sup>8</sup>

Johnson and Boswell relied on guides throughout their journey. The practice of using human guides continued well into the nineteenth century, even after written guidebooks and tourist maps had become widely available. As late as 1830, for example, *Duncan's Itinerary* instructed travellers that they 'should endeavour to procure a guide, as they may otherwise deviate from the path, which is what Highlanders call a Bridle road, and there are few houses to be met with'.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that there were so few people travelling meant that there was little accommodation available for travellers other than for drovers, and many drovers, in fact, slept in the open air with their cattle. In 1669, Thomas Kirke wrote 'The Scots have not inns, but changehouses as they call them, poor small cottages where you must be content to take what you find' and the Rev. Thomas Somerville wrote of the inns of his youth in the 1740s, 'Few were to be met with in which the traveller could either eat or sleep with comfort'.<sup>10</sup>

During his time in Scotland, Defoe was sometimes accommodated by 'gentlemen, who are particularly very courteous to strangers'<sup>11</sup> but he also suggested that tents might be a useful piece of equipment for English travellers to Scotland:

I do confess if I was to recommend ... the best method for journeying ... I would propose travelling with some company and carrying tents with them, and so encamping every night as if they were an army.<sup>12</sup>

Few Scots travelled during this period and those that did were usually able to stay with relatives or friends. Elizabeth Diggle remarked on the custom as she travelled in 1788.

People come here to visit their neighbours, & stay a day or two at a time without any previous notice; a very agreeable circumstance in a remote place

with a large house, & quite in the stile of ancient hospitality before inns were invented.<sup>13</sup>

Discussions of the problems of finding accommodation and the poor quality of what accommodation there was continue to play a large part in travellers' diaries and accounts through the eighteenth century and into the early years of the nineteenth. Samuel Johnson, travelling in the Western Islands in 1773, wrote:

It need not, I suppose, be mentioned, that in countries so little frequented as the islands, there are no houses where travellers are entertained for money. He that wanders about these wilds, either procures recommendations to those whose habitations lie near his way, or, when night and weariness come upon him, takes the chance of general hospitality ... there is, however, one inn by the sea-side at Sconfor, in Sky, where the post-office is kept.<sup>14</sup>

Twenty years later, travellers from the south still found things difficult. Sarah Murray, travelling in 1796, found a much larger number of inns available to her than had been the experience of Johnson. Nevertheless, the mere existence of an inn was no guarantee of a comfortable night's sleep.

I did not enter King's House [inn] till after dark, and in the rain ... King's House was full of people, and I made my way to my sty through columns of smoke. This sty was a square room, of about eight feet, with one window and a chimney in it, and a small bedstead nailed in the angle behind the door ... My maid, for her bed, had a shake-down upon chairs ... I soon eat [sic] my bit of supper, half choked with smoke, and in danger of getting cold by an open window, the damp from the rain pouring in, and my petticoats tucked to my knees for fear of the dirt, which was half an inch thick on the floor ... King's House is a miserable place, fit only for drovers.<sup>15</sup>

In Murray's view, it was essential to travel with a complete set of bedding, pillows, blankets, crockery and cutlery, thereby making it possible to cope with the varying qualities of accommodation she came across during her travels. Even so, she made frequent reference to dirty, uncomfortable, overcrowded and noisy inns.

As late as 1807, Millicent Bant, travelling as companion and 'journalist' to Lady Wilson described many of the inns in which they stayed as 'horrible', 'dreadful' or 'very bad'; advised 'all travellers to avoid Oban if possible, for the Provisions are horribly bad and the Beds Stinking, no warming pan to be had in the whole Town', and recounted one evening when 'the Beds were so extremely damp we were obliged to have them brought down, and dried by the Parlour Fire.'<sup>16</sup> The Bant/Wilson party frequently arrived at an inn only to find it already full and were then obliged to travel on or back for a considerable distance to find accommodation.

Somewhat surprisingly, as R. W. Butler has suggested, the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1719 and the later rebellion of 1745 indirectly helped to open the Highlands to visitors.<sup>17</sup> In the early years of the century, the roads of Scotland outside the main towns were mere tracks, impassable by wheeled vehicles of any kind. Between 1725 and 1736, 250 miles of road and 40 new bridges were constructed in the central Highlands on routes surveyed by General Wade,<sup>18</sup> part of the government's attempt to improve communications and make it more possible to establish control in Scotland. Many of Wade's roads followed the traditional routes used by the drovers, leading to protests from the drovers who complained that the gravel of the new made roads hurt the cattle's feet although the justification for their complaints has been questioned.<sup>19</sup>

After the Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1746, the programme of road building intensified. Wade's chief surveyor, Major William Caulfield, supervised the building of 750 further miles of road, including a road across the peat bogs of Rannoch Moor and another from Perth to Fort George (near Inverness) and to Aberdeen.<sup>20</sup> By 1767 there were 1,000 miles of military road in the Highlands, the lines of many of which are still followed today. Youngson writes, however, that despite this extensive building of new roads, many areas

remained inaccessible and some of the new roads were 'more nearly what we would call tracks, often remarkably rough, stony, steep and winding'.<sup>21</sup> Local proprietors also built some roads of their own – a road from Inverness to Fort William was built privately during the 1760s, for example – but the cost of road building was high and the actual tasks of construction were made extremely difficult by the rocky, mountainous terrain and the dozens of rivers.

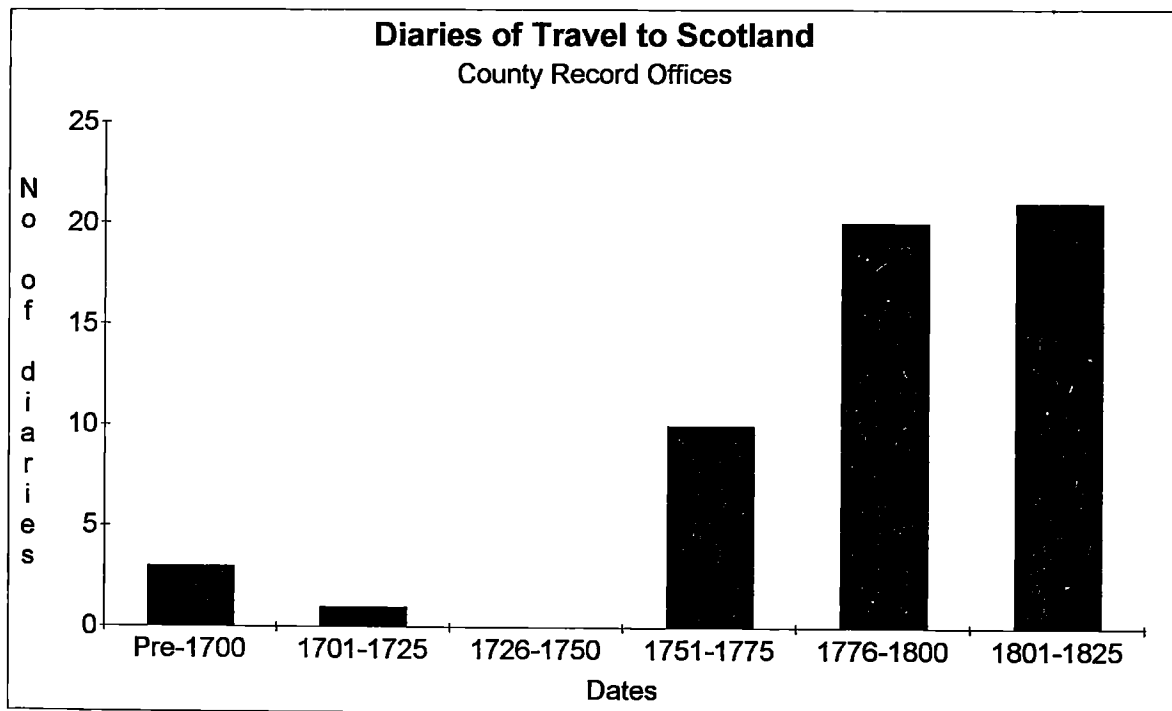
Even with the difficulties, however, the extensive road building throughout the century gradually opened up much of the area to visitors. Mapping, too, increased during this period, largely for military purposes. Those responsible for the governance of the Highlands after Culloden found the task almost impossible without a reliable map of the country. A map drawn by John Elphinstone, a military engineer, was published in London in 1745 but the scale of 13 1/2 miles to the inch was too small for military purposes.<sup>22</sup> Between 1747 and 1755, General William Roy created a detailed military map at a scale of 1,000 yards to the inch; a copy on a reduced scale of 2 1/2 miles to the inch was then made and used.

Accessibility was also improved by the building of the canals which began in 1768 with the Forth and Clyde Canal and the Borrowstone Canal and the gradual development of a steamship network, both along the coast and further inland, beginning with the launch of the world's first steam-powered ship, the *Comet*, on the Clyde in 1812. In 1820, the first edition of *The Steam-boat Companion; and Stranger's Guide to the Western Islands and Highlands of Scotland* was published in Glasgow,<sup>23</sup> and steamboat tours became increasingly popular through the 1820s and 1830s.

Gradually, the number of tourists visiting the interior of Scotland increased. While a small number of travellers had explored the coastal areas and islands of the west,<sup>24</sup> it was not until the roads were built and the maps available that tourists journeyed into the Highlands. Gold and Gold have argued that there were a number of other ways in which the military presence in the mid-eighteenth century created a framework for the growing numbers of visitors.

The stationing and constant relocations of troops gave precedent for large numbers of visitors to move round even remote regions. Sequestration of land and the use of income generated for building inns provided some accommodation for visitors from the leisured classes.<sup>25</sup>

Of the 608 diaries of domestic travel (ranging in date from 1629 to 1978) which are held within the County Record Offices of England and Wales, 150 record visits to Scotland.<sup>26</sup> Of these, 55 of the journeys took place before 1825.



As the graph above shows, only four diaries describing travel in Scotland before 1751 exist in County Record Office archives and of these, only one is from the period 1701-1750. There is a sharp rise in the next quarter century with ten diaries and a further sharp rise in the period 1776-1800 with twenty diaries. Numbers then level off; a further twenty-one diaries date from the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The numbers seem to stabilise at this point; for the second quarter of the century (outside the scope of this thesis) the number of diaries of Scottish travel held is again twenty-one.

A 1997 survey of women's manuscript travel diaries held by British archives other than the County Record Offices showed similar patterns. Of fourteen diaries relating to travel in Scotland, only two were written before 1775 and both of those were written by Scotswomen travelling outside their own area but within Scotland. Between 1775 and 1800, however, there are eight diaries with a further four from the period 1800-1825. We find similar results when we look at the dates of published accounts of travel in Scotland. In his 'Catalogue of Books of Voyages and Travels' (1814), John Pinkerton lists only ten books published before 1750 but twenty-nine published in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup> Twentieth-century catalogues give parallel results.

The sharp increase in travellers to Scotland from England was widely commented upon. In 1759 Lord Breadalbane observed that 'It has been the fashion this year to travel into the highlands, many have been here this summer from England, I suppose because they can't go abroad'<sup>28</sup> and in 1772, a letter in *The Scots Magazine* claimed:

It is now become fashionable among the English to make a tour into Scotland for some few weeks or months; and there is a moral certainty of this fashion increasing, as the foolish prejudices against the country and its inhabitants daily decrease.<sup>29</sup>

In 1788, Elizabeth Diggle wrote in her journal that 'All the world is travelling to Scotland'<sup>30</sup> while in the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, compiled by Sir John Sinclair, the Rev. Dr. James Robertson, writing during the 1790s, devoted several pages to the subject of 'Romantic Prospects', beginning with the words 'The Trosaks are often visited by persons of taste, who are desirous of seeing nature in her rudest and most unpolished state.'<sup>31</sup> Robertson went on to describe some of the provision being made to accommodate the new tourists.

The Hon. Mrs. Drummond of Perth has erected booths of wicker work, in the most convenient places, for the accommodation of strangers, who visit this

wild and picturesque landscape; and the tenants of the next farm are very ready to show the beauties of the place to travellers.<sup>32</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, Anne Grant's letters frequently referred to English friends setting off on or returning from Highland tours in terms which imply that such tours were a commonplace occurrence<sup>33</sup> and in 1810, the year of the publication of *The Lady of the Lake*, Scott joked that exploring the Highlands and Hebrides was no longer exceptional.

I propose ... setting for the West Highlands, with the desperate purpose of investigating the caves of Staffa, Egg, and Skye. There was a time when this was a heroic undertaking, and when the return of Samuel Johnson from achieving it was hailed by the Edinburgh literati with "per varios Casus," and other scraps of classical gratulation equally new and elegant. But the harvest of glory has been entirely reaped by the early discoverers; and in an age when every London citizen makes Loch Lomond his washpot, and throws his shoes over Ben-Nevis, a man may endure every hardship, and expose himself to every danger of the Highland seas, from sea-sickness to the jaws of the great sea-snake, without gaining a single leaf of laurel for his pains.<sup>34</sup>

The above-mentioned improvements in roads, mapping and accommodation do not fully explain this increase and several other factors must be taken into account. One of these was almost certainly the impossibility of taking a conventional European Grand Tour through much of this period. Tourists, unable to visit the war-torn European continent, searched for new destinations for travel and the Lake District, North Wales and the Highlands of Scotland all grew in popularity as tourist destinations during this period. Gold and Gold have written:

The search for domestic locations for travel reinforced a new interest in exploring Britain as a suitable pastime for the upper classes. ... The new travellers could be said to be influenced by a mixture of three sets of motives: curiosity, scientific and otherwise; national pride; and aesthetic experience.<sup>35</sup>

Gold and Gold's third item, aesthetic experience, is probably the most significant as far as travel to Scotland is concerned.

The period of the increase in Scottish tourism was also the time in which picturesque tourism became established as a way of travelling and a way of viewing landscape and the development of both were intertwined. In 1757, Edmund Burke published his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* in which he endeavoured to define various types of beauty. He distinguished between the 'beautiful' those objects that could be characterised by their delicacy, smoothness, smallness, variety and subtlety and the 'sublime' objects which were characterised by vastness, power, obscurity and the ability to inspire fear and awe in the onlooker. The idea of the 'picturesque', defined by William Gilpin in his *Three Essays - on Picturesque Beauty; - on Picturesque Travel; and, on Sketching Landscape* (1792), as a third category situated between Burke's 'beautiful' and 'sublime' and descriptive of a type of rural landscape characterised by variety, charm and wildness, was explored in the writings of Uvedale Price, Richard Payne Knight, Humphrey Repton and Gilpin himself.<sup>36</sup> While Price, Knight and Repton's discussion focused largely on landscape gardening, Gilpin applied the theory to the experience of touring Britain, arguing that the British landscape was intrinsically picturesque insofar as it was a proper subject for a painting, such painting being imagined within the conventions set down by seventeenth-century European painters such as Gaspard Dughet, Salvator Rosa and Claude Lorrain. The more the scenery conformed to the painterly ideal, the more 'picturesque' it was deemed. As Malcolm Andrews has written, 'a Welsh valley acquired a higher aesthetic value if it looked like a Gaspard Dughet painting'.<sup>37</sup> For the picturesque tourist, one of the great pleasures was in tracing similarities between art and nature.

Praising roughness, deformity and variation, Gilpin laid down strict rules for what was desirable in either a painting or a landscape and presented scenery as a series of unrelated 'views'. He included illustrative sketches in his four *Observations ... relative to Picturesque Beauty*, published between 1782 and 1809 and directed his readers as to where the best view



could be seen in ways which sharply distinguished which types of landscape were worthy of study or painting.

The vocabulary of the picturesque became widespread throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. As John Barrell has written, the picturesque 'principles of composition ... had to be learned, and were indeed learned so thoroughly that in the later eighteenth century it became impossible for anyone with an aesthetic interest in landscape to look at the countryside without applying them'.<sup>38</sup> It must be acknowledged, at the same time, that use of picturesque terminology gradually became vaguer and more imprecise and that by the end of the eighteenth century, many travellers were using the language in a much softer, more sentimental and less specific way than was originally envisaged. Furthermore, while Gilpin's idea of the picturesque had required the removal of workers from the view — 'the lazy cowherd resting on his pole or the peasant lolling on the rock, may be allowed ... while the laborious mechanic, with his implements of labour, would be repulsed'<sup>39</sup> and perceived local people as part of an aesthetic viewing experience, later travellers found it harder to ignore the humanity and reality of those they encountered.

The other significant factor which drew tourists to Scotland was literary tourism, the search for places celebrated for their association with books or authors.<sup>40</sup> In Scotland, this search was prompted by the works of four authors: Shakespeare, Ossian, Robert Burns and Walter Scott.

It was during the eighteenth century that the 'Shakespeare cult' became established and that Stratford-upon-Avon grew from a quiet market town into the major tourist attraction it remains today.<sup>41</sup> In 1746 Shakespeare's monument at Holy Trinity Church was re-cut, funded by a benefit production of *Othello*, seemingly the first time that one of Shakespeare's plays had been staged in Stratford. A 'Shakespeare Jubilee' was organised by David Garrick in 1769 and Shakespeare's birthplace became established as a site of literary pilgrimage. A growing number of visitors arrived in Stratford, tracing the footsteps of the bard, eagerly listening to apocryphal tales of Shakespeare's life and buying souvenir trinkets.

While on their Scottish tours, English tourists sought out the spots where the events of *Macbeth* had taken place. Treating the story as literal history, they eagerly visited each site. Their excitement at being so close to *Macbeth* sometimes started before they even reached the first location. James Plumptre bought a copy of *Macbeth* in Kinross, 'to enjoy properly the enchanted and poetic ground we are soon to tread' and later, when he visited Cawdor Castle and was shown the room and bed where Duncan supposedly was murdered, he 'could not refrain from instantly assuming the King's posture and by the help of imagination felt a dagger plunged into my breast by my friend'.<sup>42</sup>

As Boswell and Johnson drove 'over the very heath where Macbeth met the witches',<sup>43</sup> Johnson recited the appropriate speech from the play over what he described as 'to an Englishman ... classic ground'.<sup>44</sup> Their visit to Macbeth's castle was equally satisfying.

We went to Macbeth's castle. I had a romantick satisfaction in seeing Dr. Johnson actually in it. It perfectly corresponds with Shakspeare's description ... Just as we came out of it, a raven perched on one of the chimney-tops and croaked. Then I repeated ' The raven himself is hoarse, That croaks the fatal enterance [sic] of Duncan under my battlements.'<sup>45</sup>

Elizabeth Diggle was equally moved by her visit to the castle 'Glamis is now almost a ruin, it is where Duncan was murdered by Macbeth, I could not get them out of my head'<sup>46</sup> while Sarah Murray bemoaned the ignorance that led her to miss seeing such an important sight.

As I did not know when I passed Castle Calder that I could see the inside of it, I did not stop there; and by that means lost the opportunity of seeing King Duncan's bed on which he was murdered by Macbeth.<sup>47</sup>

Not all the travellers were quite as susceptible to the romance of the *Macbeth* legend as Diggle and Murray. The response of the anonymous young woman who wrote *A Journey*

*to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour* was considerably more sceptical.

We took a view of Cawder Castle, a place well known in history for giving the second title to Macbeth : the old part of the building, is a square tower, in which, they shew you an old timber bedhead, the same, they say, in which Duncan was murdered. Murdered, my Lord, to place a short-lived crown on the head of the ambitious thane. But if, as the historians say, that horrid deed was perpetrated at Macbeth's castle at Inverness, it is very unlikely, the bed should be removed here. People that travel however, must often depend on the ignorant for information; and have need of a plentiful proportion of faith.<sup>48</sup>

Her description of her visit to the heath where Macbeth was supposed to have met the witches is similarly tongue in cheek:

Near this place, is Forres in the moor, near which Shakespeare hath placed the first interview of Macbeth, and the wayward sisters. I have traversed over the spot thus solemnized by the monarch of the British drama, purely for the intellectual pleasure of treading on classic ground; but since the Witch Act has been repealed, I believe the very idea of enchantment and preter-natural appearances, is almost extinct, even in this, once superstitious country: at least I can assure your Lordship, I met, in *my* rambles across this charmed soil, no fine promises from either male or female conjurers.<sup>49</sup>

Even more important than the search for Shakespearean sites in the encouragement of Scottish tourism, however, was the tourist's search for Ossian. In 1760, James Macpherson, a young Scottish schoolteacher, published a slim volume entitled *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language* (Edinburgh: 1760). The book was an immediate success and funds were collected to enable

Macpherson to tour the Highlands and collect further traditional material. Macpherson published *Fingal, an ancient epic poem in six books: together with several other poems composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal* in 1762 and a further tour produced Macpherson's third book, *Temora: an ancient epic poem in six books: together with several other poems composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal. Translated from the Gaelic language*, in 1763. A collection of poems, *The Works of Ossian*, appeared in 1765; it went through 25 editions and was translated into 26 other languages.

Macpherson claimed that the Ossianic poems were translations of ancient bardic poetry, passed down through oral tradition from the third century AD and originally composed by the blind bard and harper Ossian. Heated debate soon broke out regarding the authenticity of the poems. A detailed discussion of that controversy is outside the scope of this thesis.<sup>50</sup> It cannot be denied, however, that for English, overseas and Lowland Scots readers of the poems, the publication of Macpherson's books led to new ways of seeing and representing the Scottish landscape. Leneman suggests that the effect was threefold. Firstly, the poems of Ossian 'provided a new way of looking at wild and desolate scenery'.<sup>51</sup> Hugh Blair, author of *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian* in 1765, wrote on the subject of sublimity, using quotations from the Ossianic poems as illustrations. It has been suggested that Blair's work on sublimity was a direct influence on Gilpin's later writings on Scottish landscape. Secondly, travellers began to associate the scenery directly with Ossian, peopling the landscape with blind bards and heroes created by their own imaginations. Thirdly, the poems, feeding into Enlightenment ideas about the 'nobility' of 'primitive' societies, caused a re-evaluation of present-day Highlanders, making them acceptable and even admired.

The surroundings in which they lived were said to have had a profound effect on the Ossianic heroes, and those surroundings had not changed significantly over the centuries, so it followed that eighteenth-century Highlanders possessed many of the same qualities as their noble ancestors.<sup>52</sup>

Paul Baines has reminded us that 'Ossian was always at least partially a geographical phenomenon'.<sup>53</sup> Claiming to be 'fragments ... collected in the Highlands of Scotland', the poems were from the outset intimately linked with the Highland landscape. As late as 1875, a book was published which purported to prove that the Ossianic poems described precise locations.<sup>54</sup> Just as many eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century tourists treated the events of *Macbeth* as historically and geographically verifiable fact, so too with the poems of Ossian. While they travelled through the Highlands, they searched for the sites described in the poems. In many cases they went much further than Macpherson, whose descriptions of locations were often rather vague. John Walker, for example, wrote that Rhum 'is often mentioned in the Poems of Ossian, by the name of Tongorma, from the Blue Colour of its Mountains,'<sup>55</sup> although Macpherson refers to it as 'probably one of the Hebrides'. Similarly, various writers attempted to establish a site for Selma, Fingal's palace, for which Macpherson had given no geographical location.

At the same time, they peopled the landscape in their imaginations with Ossianic figures and endeavoured to respond to the landscape with true Ossianic fervour. Elizabeth Montagu travelled with a copy of the poems 'as we shall see some of the classic ground' and declared, 'I have been in Ossian's land.'<sup>56</sup> Robert Heron, in 1793, arrived in Dunkeld as evening was coming on.

I began to reflect that I was entering the land of Ossian's heroes; the land which preserved those few simple, grand, and gloomy objects which gave a melancholy cast to the imagination of the poet, and supplied that sublime, but undiversified imagery which forms one of the most peculiar characteristics of the ancient gaelic poetry.<sup>57</sup>

Sarah Murray not only used quotations from the poems in her landscape descriptions,

The weather was hot and the mists were floating, sometimes along the sides of the majestic mountains, at others covering their summits, and again rolling

through the vallies below, in a style I never had seen before; it was like Ossian's "Shadowy breeze that poured its dark wave over the grass."<sup>58</sup>

but tried where possible to emulate the Fingalian heroes. In Ardtorinish, 'I was a stranger in Fingal's land; and, to do honour to it, did as Fingal and his heroes were wont to do, drank whiskey from a clam-shell,'<sup>59</sup> while on Mull, dressed in 'a habit of Tartan such as is worn by the 42d regiment of Highlanders' she carried 'a Fingalian stick in her hand, cut out of the woods in Morven'.<sup>60</sup> Although there was sometimes a degree of self-mockery in this, she nevertheless spent time seeking out Ossianic sites and was particularly moved by Fingal's Cave on Staffa.

Other tourists became involved in the debate about the authenticity of the poems and spent their time searching for verification and interviewing witnesses. Sir John Murray, a relation of Sarah Murray's late husband, was 'determined to remain all day at Ardtorinish, that he might have a conference with the Rev. Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Nicol, the minister of Lismore, on the subject of Ossian's Poems,'<sup>61</sup> while John Leyden found his doubts 'vanishing like the morning mist' as he discussed the question with informants in several regions of the West Highlands.<sup>62</sup>

One of the main attractions for visitors seeking the Ossianic experience was to be found on the Duke of Atholl's estate at Dunkeld. The increase in the number of tourists led to the gradual development of a tourist infrastructure and local landowners soon took advantage of the growing market, providing facilities and amenities designed to cater for the tastes of the new visitors. Landlords who had already spent time and money on developing their gardens now added special features.

The Duke of Atholl's estate overlooked the Black Linn Falls, a picturesque cataract on the River Braan. In the late 1750s, John Murray of Strowan, later to become the third Duke of Atholl, redesigned the pleasure grounds near the river, creating gravel walks, planting exotic species of trees interspersed with flower beds and constructing a small view-house from which to look at the Falls. The view-house, originally called 'The Hermitage', was built in neoclassical style. From the outset it attracted visitors who wanted to see the Falls, and

Gilpin, Heron, and M'Nayr all included a visit to Dunkeld on their tours. Some time before 1776 the large bay window through which the Falls could be seen was fitted with panes of coloured glass, designed to enhance the sublime effect. The anonymous author of *Journey through the Highlands of Scotland* described the experience in detail.

On the other side of this river is a pretty romantic walk that leads to the hermitage : on the rock at the end of it is a neat pavilion, whose windows are formed of painted glass, through which you see the river falling from a surprising height into the horrid gulph beneath, with a most terrifying noise; and that which adds greatly to the formidable grandeur of the scene is, that by looking through that part of the window which is red, it appears to be sheets of liquid fire rolling down the rock like the lava of mount [sic] Etna. My ideas were so lively in picturing such images of horror, that I was obliged to turn from indulging them, or from farther contemplating the scene.<sup>63</sup>

Other visitors seem to have been less impressed by the effect of the coloured glass with both Gilpin and Heron complaining that its artificiality detracted from the natural scenery they had come to see.

In 1783, as a response to the interest in Ossian, The Hermitage was rebuilt and renamed 'Ossian's Hall'. From the path to Ossian's Hall (from which it was impossible to see the Falls, although their sound increased as you neared the Hall), the tourist entered a small dark room. Opposite the door was a painting of Ossian singing to a group of maidens. When the guide pulled a hidden lever, the painting slid suddenly into a recess in the wall and the visitor stood at the entrance to an inner room whose walls and ceilings were covered with mirrors reflecting the waterfall and creating the sensation of water pouring in from all directions. Some visitors were enthralled Murray described the scene as 'striking', 'wonderful' and 'charming'<sup>64</sup> while for Diggle it reinforced her sense of the other-worldliness of the Scottish landscape.

From hence we visited a building belonging to the Duke of Atholl near Dunkeld, it is called a hermitage but has more resemblance to a fairy palace, called up in a moment by the stroke of her wand, & suspended among rocks, & close to a noble cascade: to favour the idea of magic.<sup>65</sup>

Other tourists, particularly those travelling later in the period, were less enthusiastic. Dorothy Wordsworth reported that, after an initial moment of shock, she and William 'both laughed heartily, which, no doubt, the gardener considered as high commendation'.<sup>66</sup>

The Ossian craze lasted for approximately fifty years, fading in the early years of the nineteenth century. The very vagueness of Macpherson's geographical descriptions encouraged travellers to explore Scotland, since almost any place could be regarded as a possible Ossianic site. While the craze lasted, it was deeply significant in colouring the ways in which Scotland was seen and experienced.

Interest in the poet Robert Burns was of a different sort. While Ossianic travellers came in search of sites linked to the poems, those with an interest in Burns sought out sites connected with his life. The pastoral nature of many of Burns's landscapes did not lend themselves to pilgrimage and, although some of his poems did indeed describe wild scenery, most of his work was domestic rather than sublime. His early death at the age of 37 was seen, however, as deeply moving and tourists in the early nineteenth century sought out Burns's birthplace, his grave, the various homes in which he had lived and the premises of the debating society which he had helped to start.

The Wordsworths were typical of those who traced Burns's life and visited the sites. A local bookseller served as guide, taking them first to look at the outside of the house in which Burns had lived during the last three years of his life. This was followed by a visit to the graveyard, where the bookseller pointed out Burns's unmarked grave and that of his second son. 'We looked at the grave with melancholy and painful reflections,' wrote Dorothy Wordsworth, 'repeating to each other his own verses.'<sup>67</sup> Once their guide had left, they returned to Burns's house.



We spoke to the servant-maid at the door, who invited us forward, and we sate down in the parlour. The walls were coloured with a blue wash; on one side of the fire was a mahogany desk, opposite to the window a clock, and over the desk a print from the 'Cotter's Saturday Night', which Burns mentions in one of his letters having received as a present. The house was cleanly and neat ... the servant told us she had lived five years with Mrs. Burns, who was now in great sorrow.<sup>68</sup>

As late as 1825, twenty-nine years after his death, tourists were still recording visits to his widow and children. The people of Burns's life, together with the sites, had become a tourist attraction.

We had in the course of the afternoon, made several calls at the home of Mrs. Burns, the widow of the poet, who was from home; and as Dovaston was very anxious to see her, we made a fourth attempt which proved successful ... She received us very kindly; and on Dovaston's apologizing for the intrusion (as he understood so many called), she said they did, but she knew not how to refuse them ... She seemed but slightly affected by the conversation; but it must be considered that time and the many circumstances connected with her husband's fame, have so long familiarized her mind to his death, that the idea must now be softened into a pleasing melancholy.<sup>69</sup>

The fourth major literary figure whose works encouraged the growing interest in Scotland and Scottish culture was, of course, Sir Walter Scott. Scott's publishing career began with the collection of traditional tales and ballads that culminated in the publication of *The Minstrelsy of the Scotch Border* (1802-3), establishing an interest in traditional literature which was to remain a significant element in his later work. The landscape descriptions in his first two book-length narrative poems, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion*, both set in the Borders, had aroused some interest from travellers but it was *The Lady of the Lake*

(1810), the first one of Scott's works to be set in the Highlands, which can be said to have truly begun to influence the ways in which the Scottish landscape was perceived. The poem was an immediate success and for many years Scott was given credit for creating the nineteenth-century enthusiasm for the Highlands. As discussed above, however, by the time the poem was published, the area was already in the process of becoming a firm favourite among English travellers. Although the numbers of people visiting Loch Katrine increased after the publication of *The Lady of the Lake* and many of the visitors arrived with a copy of the poem in their luggage it seems more likely that Scott's success was, at least in part, based on the already existing popularity of the area and that it fed into an established taste for the picturesque.

Scott was certainly aware of the climate in which he was working. Writing a new introduction to *The Lady of the Lake* in 1830, he wrote,

The Poems of Ossian had, by their popularity, sufficiently shown, that if writings on Highland subjects were qualified to interest the reader, mere national prejudices were, in the present day, very unlikely to interfere with their success.<sup>70</sup>

Elizabeth Hamilton's comic novel, *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, was published in 1808 and was admired by Scott who praised it, along with Anne Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* (1811) in his 'Postscript' to *Waverley*. Jane Porter's historical novel, *The Scottish Chiefs*, based on the life of William Wallace, was published in 1810. Scott's poems and novels, therefore, appeared within the context of a growing English interest in Scotland and Scottish history, culture and landscape. Although Scott's writings increased the popularity of Scotland in the eyes of the English readers, they were able to do so at least partly because the process by which the Highlands and Highlands scenery became acceptable and desirable had already started.

Scott's influence went beyond literary circles. Artists came to Scotland to paint the scenes so romantically described by Scott. In 1818 Turner visited Scotland in order to create

a series of illustrations for Scott's two volume *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland* (1819; 1826). Landseer visited Scott in 1824 in order to paint Highland landscapes. Theatrical and operatic adaptations of Scott's novels became extremely popular; over 4,500 productions based on Scott's work were staged between 1810-1900. Many of the English visitors to Scotland reported having seen at least one Scott play and many had seen multiple productions.

Scott's popularity came to mean Scotland's popularity. Even beyond the Ossianic fervour that had existed in the eighteenth century, and partially enabled by the growing improvements in physical and cultural amenities becoming available, nineteenth-century visitors rushed to see the scenes and scenery depicted by Scott. As they had done with the Ossianic poems, they viewed Scotland with a gaze constructed from their knowledge of Scott's writings, peopling it in their imaginations with the characters of Scott's books.

Between 1745 and 1830, therefore, travel and tourism in Scotland changed radically, from a time with very few travellers and no provision for the few that there were through to the creation of a fully organised tourist destination with the necessary physical and economic infrastructure. Simultaneous with these changes came changes in writing. The earliest tourists were explorers. For them, travel in Scotland was travel through the unexpected. Although they might have read one or two previous accounts, they nevertheless had little idea of what they would find. They had no instructions about what was important to see, where they should go or how they should react. They saw things unmediated by the opinions of others.

The growing popularity of Scotland as a tourist destination changed all that. By the end of the period, travellers to Scotland went equipped with guidebooks which described established routes through the countryside. Sarah Murray's *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* (1799), for example, instructed her readers not only where to go, where to stay, and what prices to expect to pay for horses, accommodation or food, but more significantly, chose for them what was important to see and told them how to react to it. By 1800, tourists were no longer able to travel or to write with the freshness of the early

travellers. Sometimes they seem to have been travelling with their guidebook in their hand, ticking off the required sights as they passed. Millicent Bant's journals, for instance, frequently read like a checklist of sights – each section of the journey has its waterfalls, churches and castles that must be seen and noted. On one occasion the desired waterfall was a mile from the road. Not to be daunted, Lady Wilson sent the coachman to see it and report back to the party who waited in the carriage until his return.<sup>71</sup>

The speed of the change from travel to tourism makes Scotland a particularly good case for the examination of the ways in which physical and economic changes in travel can change the ways in which it is written.

## CHAPTER THREE

### A SENTIMENTAL TRAVELLER OPPOSES JOHNSON: *A JOURNEY TO THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND*

The first published tour of Scotland to be written by a woman appeared in 1777. Presented as a critique of Samuel Johnson's recent journey, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* by an anonymous 'Lady' presented its author as a Sentimental Traveller, quixotically duelling with the famous Dr. Johnson.

On 18 January 1775, Samuel Johnson published *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. Even before its publication, however, Johnson and Boswell's journey and the anticipated publication of Johnson's book had provoked strong reaction. Within a fortnight of their embarking, an article in the *London Packet* commented on the discrepancy between Johnson's known dislike of the Scots and his decision to visit Scotland.<sup>1</sup> While the two men travelled, Boswell sent a series of reports on their progress to the *Caledonian Mercury*, which were then reprinted by other Scottish and London papers.<sup>2</sup> On 2 September 1773 *The Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement* published Robert Fergusson's satirical poem 'To the Principal and Professors of the University of St Andrews, on their superb treat to Dr. Samuel Johnson'. Written in broad Scots, the poem suggested that, given Johnson's well-known dictionary definition of oats, a 'treat' was inappropriate but that, if one had to be given, it should have consisted solely of Scottish fare. Fergusson had earlier published a poem entitled 'To Dr. Samuel Johnson. Food for a New Edition of his Dictionary' in which he had ridiculed Johnson's pedantry. Not long after, on the 13th November, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* predicted: 'Dr. Johnson is preparing an account of the tour for the press in which the learning, prejudices and pedantry of the celebrated Lexicographer will be fully displayed.'<sup>3</sup>

The book's publication was greeted by a considerable amount of attention from the periodical press. Most of the early reviews were highly critical, focusing in particular on Johnson's prejudices against the Scots, his views on the Second Sight, and his remarks on

Ossian. Later reviews were more tempered and some of the London papers commented favourably, although the Scots press remained generally antipathetic to the book.<sup>4</sup>

A series of replies to the *Journey* in the form of books and pamphlets soon followed.<sup>5</sup> Among the large number of hostile Scottish responses were two English books, Edward Topham's *Letters from Edinburgh; Written in the Years 1774 and 1775: containing some Observations on the Diversions, Customs, Manners, and Laws, of the Scotch Nation, During a Six Months Residence in Edinburgh* (1776) and the only response known to have been written by a woman, the anonymous *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour: By a Lady* (undated but probably published in 1777; see below). (See copy title page following page 39.)

The question of the authorship of the *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* is a vexed and complicated one. For a long time, the work was attributed to Mary Ann(e) Hanway, the author of the novels *Ellinor* (1798), *Andrew Stuart* (1800), *Falconbridge Abbey* (1809) and *Christabelle* (1814). Halkett and Laing listed the author as 'Mary Anne Hanway'<sup>6</sup> and it seems that the British Library and later commentators have followed suit. I have been unable as of yet to ascertain the basis upon which this attribution was made. The British Library catalogue still lists Hanway as the probable author.

In 1988, however, Kathleen L. Fowler questioned this attribution. In her entry on Mary Ann Hanway in *An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers*, she wrote 'One other work, the anonymous *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* (1776?), has been attributed to her but probably erroneously.'<sup>7</sup> Fowler seems to have based her position on (a) stylistic comparisons between the travel book and the novels; (b) genealogical evidence (she traced a probable marriage in 1788 and a possible birth date between 1756-1770); and (c) publication dates (Hanway's first novel was published in 1798, 22 years after the *Journey to the Highlands*. Even considered as juvenilia, Fowler believed the *Journey* too early to be Hanway's work.). She also referred to *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland* (1816) which lists Hanway and her first three novels but makes no mention of the *Journey to the Highlands*.<sup>8</sup>

A  
JOURNEY TO THE HIGHLANDS  
OF  
SCOTLAND.

With Occasional Remarks  
on  
*D. JOHNSON'S TOUR:*  
By a LADY.



J. W. Johnston del. W. Walker scul.

LONDON:  
*Printed for Fielding and Walker,*  
N<sup>o</sup> 20, Pater-noster Row.

Marie McAllister, whose 1988 PhD dissertation included a discussion of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*, generally concurs with Fowler's 1988 position (although at the time of writing the dissertation she accepted the Hanway attribution). Her own view is based on a consideration of dates and on the lack of any concrete evidence linking the *Journey to the Highlands* to Hanway. Again, while not able to prove conclusively that Hanway did not write the book, McAllister leans towards the view that the book was by somebody else.<sup>9</sup>

Recently, however, Fowler has changed her position. In a revised entry for Hanway in the latest edition of *An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers*, she writes 'As a very young woman, apparently, H. wrote the anonymous *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* (1776). Her authorship seems confirmed by internal evidence. Considerably later, H. wrote four novels ... She may have written other unidentified anonymous works.'<sup>10</sup>

I am not persuaded by Fowler's argument of 'internal evidence'. While still not able to present incontrovertible proof, my own belief is that Mary Ann Hanway is not the author of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*. No hint as to authorship is given in the original publisher's advertisement in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*,<sup>11</sup> nor in the reviews which followed the book's publication.<sup>12</sup> More importantly, however, no mention of the *Journey* appears in any reviews of Hanway's four novels nor in the prefaces or the title-pages of those novels.<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the reviewer of *Ellinor* in *The Anti-Jacobin Review* referred to Hanway as an 'unpractised' author and the *European Magazine* in 1800 described *Andrew Stuart* as 'the second production for the pen of the much respected author of *Ellinor*'. If Hanway did write *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* this seems to have been unknown by her contemporaries. The *Journey* had received a reasonable reception and I would argue that there seems to be little reason for continued secrecy if its author had gone on to publish other works. I also checked a number of contemporary dictionaries of collective biography.<sup>14</sup> Some of these included entries for Hanway but, again, no mention was made of any published writing prior to the novels. The balance of probabilities, therefore, leads me to believe that the author of the *Journey* was not Mary Ann Hanway.



For the sake of convenience, within this dissertation I will refer to the author of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* as 'L' (the original title page lists the author as 'A Lady').

The book takes the form of eighteen<sup>15</sup> familiar letters addressed to friends and acquaintances by a young lady as she travels through Scotland. Eight of the letters are addressed to 'Lady Mary B-----' (often referred to within the letters as 'dear friend'); seven to the 'Earl of C-----' (always addressed as 'your Lordship') and three to the author's sister, 'Miss-----'. In the preface, the author claims that the letters were originally intended solely as private documents but that after returning to London,

I was not a little surprised (and I am woman enough to own, not a little pleased) to find ... that Lady \*\*\* had taken the pains, by the clue which the knowledge of my connections gave her, to obtain copies from every other correspondent, and to put the little bundle, thus affectionately collected, into the hands of a literary gentleman.<sup>16</sup>

It is not possible to ascertain with any certainty whether this claim is true or whether L intended from the start to publish her observations. Declaring that a set of published letters were originally private and that the decision to publish had come from other than the author was a common rhetorical strategy for writers in the late eighteenth century. By refusing to take responsibility for publication, the writer was able to defend herself against charges of impropriety and inappropriate self-aggrandisement. At the same time, a text represented as a series of private letters was perceived as carrying its own authority. Private letters were assumed to be truthful and this presumption of truth-telling created in the reader a sense of the work's authenticity. Furthermore, a traveller who presented her or his travels in epistolary form was able to move beyond the demands of the earlier eighteenth-century conventions which demanded that travel writers should demonstrate their veracity by the use of a plain, unadorned style; factual language and an impersonal narrator.<sup>17</sup> Letters permitted travellers to describe their experiences in a more personal and colloquial style than would otherwise have been acceptable.

In the dedication at the beginning of *Journey to the Highlands*, L presents the reader with her authorial self. Addressing the Earl of Seaforth (to whom the work is dedicated) she describes herself as 'a timid ... young author ... presenting her first attempts to the public ... who needs to 'plead her excuse for the ambition of wishing your Lordship to patronize them', an 'inexperienced ... female and unpractised pen' needing to 'fly for shelter' to a male patron.<sup>18</sup> This carefully created self-portrait serves two purposes. On the one hand, it deflects any possible criticism of literary style; at the same time, it adds authority to the idea of the truthfulness of L's account, for surely a timid young female author can do nothing but give an artless spontaneous account of what she sees. Throughout the *Journey*, L reminds the reader at frequent intervals of her 'unpractised' pen. Nevertheless, to a twentieth-century reader there is a definite self-consciousness about the letters and a contrived ingenuousness about the protestations of amateurism.

According to L, her initial motivation for writing was to stay connected to those she had left behind. Quoting a line from Pope, 'Self-love and social is the same', she recounts how she had scarcely lost sight of London, when she became aware of 'that dear and domestic circle' and

resolved to travel rather critically than casually, rather to accommodate my friends with information than merely to gratify the greediness of vacant curiosity.<sup>19</sup>

In order to accomplish this task, L positioned herself as a sentimental traveller, ready to respond to everything with true sensibility.

I did not suffer the postilion to indulge his professional passion, to pass briskly through any parts of cultivated country, or rattle rapidly over the pavement of towns, that were fertile of remark, but ordered him to go sentimentally ; In a word, I rode pencil in hand, employing myself in drawing a sketch of the landscape, whether of hill or valley, morass or mountain, as it lay before me.<sup>20</sup>

This positioning immediately draws attention to the constructed nature of the narrative. L does not in fact see through the eyes of the timid innocent she has depicted in the dedication; she has instead adopted a textual persona whose literary style, as Marie McAllister has pointed out, 'resembles Sterne far more than it does any factual traveller'.<sup>21</sup> As the carriage leaves London, we see L poised in a sentimental tableau, pencil in hand, a young woman of feeling ready to gratify her friends and her wider readership, and, like Sterne's Sentimental Traveller, with 'eyes to see what time and chance are perpetually holding out ... missing nothing [s]he can *fairly* lay [her] hands on'.<sup>22</sup>

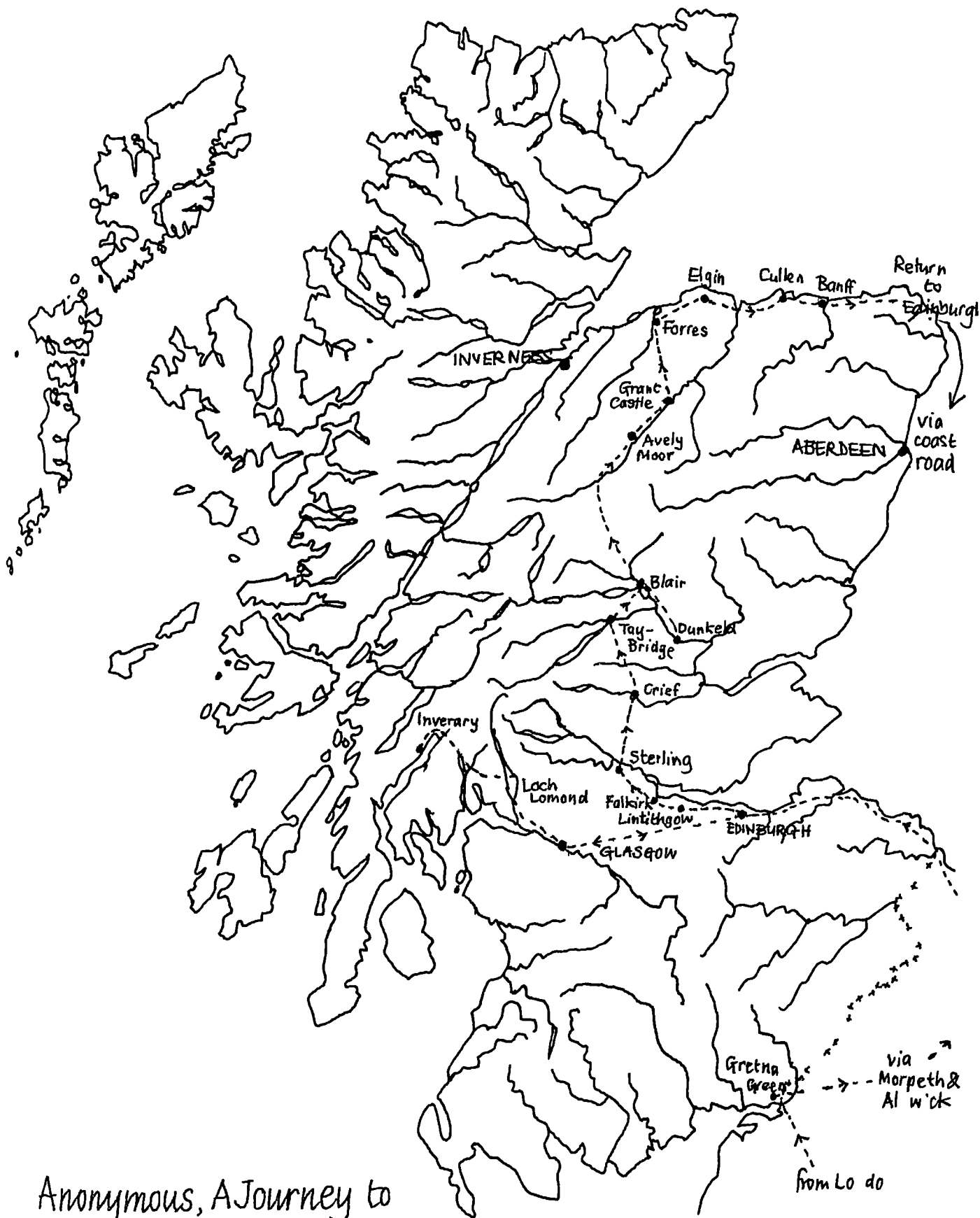
Malcolm Andrews, in his discussion of landscape aesthetics and tourism in Britain, has described in detail the two Scottish tours generally undertaken over this period. Those who took the 'Long Tour' followed the north-eastern coastline to Aberdeen, carried on round to Inverness and then travelled down to Loch Ness and Ben Nevis and back to Glasgow. This tour, which sometimes included an excursion to the Western Islands, was approximately the route followed by Johnson and Boswell.

The other tour, according to Andrews, 'was undertaken by those who came to Edinburgh for reasons of health or amusement':<sup>23</sup> As John Knox wrote in 1786,

[they] generally visit Glasgow, Loch Lomond, and Inverary, on the West; or Port Dunkeld, Blair, and Taymouth, on the North. Many gentlemen visit all these places and this is called *The Short Tour of Scotland*.<sup>24</sup>

L's tour conformed closely to this model of the 'Short Tour', although she travelled somewhat further around the north-eastern coastline than those travellers referred to by Knox. She first visited Gretna Green, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Loch Lomond, Inverary, and Glencroe; after returning to Edinburgh she toured Linlithgow, Sterling (L's spelling), Crieff, Taymouth, Dunkeld, Blair, Dalvey, Elgin, Forres and Banff. A map of L's journey follows this page.

The most common entry point into Scotland for travellers arriving from England was at Gretna Green, a place where, according to Scottish law couples could be married without parental consent and without any residency requirements. In her first letter, L's arrival at



Anonymous, A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland, by a Lady, 1776

Gretna Green evoked an ironic celebration of youthful female freedom in a passage which, for John Glendening, 'establishes the tenor of female emancipation that runs throughout the work'.<sup>25</sup>

The glowing females of the present generation are not to be tyed down by either prudish or prudential duties, to fathers and mothers, or any such antiquated doctrines.--No, forsooth, liberty! dear liberty is the TON ; and, so, heigh for a chaise and pair, and Gretna-Green ; for *that* you must know is the place, where (notwithstanding the frigid feelings of the natives) Hymen lights his hasty torch for those, that ride post to the land of matrimony.<sup>26</sup>

Glendening's rather literal interpretation of this passage seems to me to be a misreading of what is clearly meant to be ironical. It may be true to say that L seems to find a certain personal liberation in the wild landscapes she views on her tour and that, at times, she implicitly contrasts herself favourably to other less adventurous women. In a discussion of climbing Ben Lomond, for example, she writes:

Sir J--- C----- told me, there was a young Scotch lady that walked up in the morning and returned to dinner without appearing tired : I think I hear some fine lady amongst my own countrywomen who affect to be tired to death with a could of turns in the Mall, exclaim, Oh ! what horrid indelicate creatures must those women be that could *form* such a plan, much less *execute* it ! But I know you will join me in despising the affectation of those females who think, because indulgent Fortune has thrown a coach in their power, they are not to make use of the gifts Nature has bestowed.<sup>27</sup>

Despite this seeming affirmation of female physical ability, however, L did not climb Ben Lomond herself.

I could have liked to have ascended it, but found no one willing to accompany me on so romantic a tour, so was obliged to content myself with a distant view of this magnificent object.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike Sarah Murray or Sarah Hazlitt (discussed in later chapters), L is constrained by the social restraints of correct feminine behaviour and is therefore unable to engage in independent exploration. I would take issue with Glendening's suggestion that 'the opportunity for extradomestic experience and accomplishment offered by tourism ... gives women like Hanway<sup>29</sup> ... literary self-empowerment'.<sup>30</sup> While I would not deny that the experience of travelling, even with constraints, may indeed have been less restrictive than L's London life, it nevertheless seems to me to fall far short of genuine 'self-empowerment'. Given this compliance with restriction, it is somewhat odd that L does not disclose at any point in the book who she is travelling with nor is the reader ever shown the response of anyone other than L herself.

English visitors to Edinburgh seem to have been obsessed with the shoelessness of the Scottish women and comments on this aspect of local dress appear repeatedly in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century accounts. L was no exception. Writing to Lady Mary, she declared that:

On entering Edinburgh, the metropolis of Scotland, the very capital in which once resided her kings; an Englishwoman is rather struck with disgust, than pleasure ... what, in my opinion, most shocks English delicacy, is, to see all the streets filled with the lower class of women, that wear neither shoes nor stockings ; nor can it fail to strike any female, with an air of poverty, to whom such sights are unusual. But, so much has custom rendered it supportable, and even agreeable to these people, that, I actually heard a young Highland woman say, she thought the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on her was the

being obliged to wear shoes, but, though she was now tolerably reconciled to them, she never could prevail on herself to bear the confinement of stays.<sup>31</sup>

In this passage, Hanway defines the lower class Scottish women as 'other' and 'foreign' and, by doing so, underlines her own more privileged and more sophisticated position. 'These people' are not like English women, she implies. What would denote poverty and deprivation in England is in Scotland 'supportable' and 'agreeable'. The women of Edinburgh and the Highlands here become the simple savages who do not require the accoutrements of female civilisation shoes, stockings, stays to be content.

Although L goes on to favourably describe the sights she has visited, Holyrood House, the Castle and Calton Hill, her description of the town itself again privileges English models over Scottish ones.

The new town is built after English models ; but the houses of the *old*, are mostly ten stories high, some fourteen : and the frequent rains that fall here, occasion it to be very dirty, and render it a truly disagreeable place to live in.<sup>32</sup>

In L's next letter, Edinburgh is contrasted with Glasgow. Glasgow, because it conforms more closely to English patterns is, according to L, superior.

This town (Glasgow) is a very good one, and ought to figure considerably in the history of *modern Scotland* ; the houses are well built, and the streets broad and well paved. There is an air of *metropolitan dignity* in it, (notwithstanding the cold look of the stone houses) which entitle it to a much greater share of the traveller's admiration, than even the capital of the country ; for Edinburgh is not only dirty, dismal, and irregular, in many parts, but seems more contracted, and is built upon a less liberal scale---Glasgow, hath also the great advantage of superior architectural uniformity ; insomuch that, if a few unequal, petty cots were pulled down, and others corresponding with the modern plan substituted in their stead, there would not, perhaps, be in any part

of Britain (Bath excepted) a more spacious, or a better arrangement of buildings.<sup>33</sup>

Although L purports to be taking her tour and writing her book at least partly to defend the Scots from the slurs of Dr. Johnson, her own comments on Scotland are frequently at least as harsh as his. From the outset she draws a distinction between 'happy and industrious' and 'dirty and dismal' natives, using England and English values as the yardstick against which those she meets are measured. The differences between Glasgow and Edinburgh, she believes, can be directly attributed to differences between the inhabitants.

[Glasgow] is, by far, the greatest commercial town in the kingdom, and that very mercantile spirit, produces those effects in the appearance of the people, which commerce never fails to bestow,---industry, content, and opulence ; whilst in Edinburgh, there is a poverty, and a sort of northern misery in the very features of the commonalty---*here*, on the contrary they appear happy, and debonair. Labour is sweetened by the comforts that attend it, and the exigencies of *poverty*, are supplied by the most grateful means in the world---by the exertions of her own *diligence* ; such will ever be the benefits arising from the seats of trade, to every part of mankind.<sup>34</sup>

Throughout the book, L uses descriptions of the local women as a way to represent and interpret what she sees and as a way of measuring how closely the natives of Scotland conform to her ideas of civilised society. The local women remain the subject of L's touristic gaze; there is no reciprocity in her relationship to them. The 'lower class of women' are set apart by their refusal to wear shoes and stockings, by their odd manner of dress and by their unattractive appearance.

I have seldom seen a *pretty* girl among the lower class, which is so frequent in England: The only reason in my opinion to be given for it is, that female beauty depends much on delicacy; and the hard and laborious part which the



women take in this country when young, accounts for their being coarse and disagreeable: so that there is but little temptation for a youth in this country to form amours, or indulge his inclination to gallantry.<sup>35</sup>

She is more complimentary in her description of the 'Highland ladies' but they too are described en masse and from a distanced perspective.

The Highland ladies are, as with us, some very pretty, others not: They have strong passions; among which are, pride of ancestry, and a scrupulous care not to degenerate by mixing with plebian blood. ... I don't think the *gentlemen* are such dupes to this foible ... This family-pride excepted, they are ... good-natured, sensible, and polite: they love dancing to excess, and are the best country-dancers I ever saw, and *keep it up* (as the phrase is) for hours.<sup>36</sup>

Even the 'ladies', therefore, are subordinate to L in their understanding, subject to the 'foible' of family pride and with an excessive fondness for dancing, a characteristic frequently found in contemporary accounts of the natives of Africa or America.

Repeatedly L regards those she meets as inferiors. Near Crieff, when she is forced to seek shelter in a local house (which she describes as 'a little hut'), the inhabitants 'made me a fire, and treated me with untaught good nature and hospitality'.<sup>37</sup> Delighted with her reception, and with typical hyperbole, L begins to declaim poetry. This, she tells her reader, evoked 'infinite surprise [from] ... the good people of the cottage'.<sup>38</sup> L implies that the 'good people' were amazed at her erudition. A cynical modern reader might rather assume that the cottagers thought they had a madwoman on their hands!

In case the reader has not yet taken the point of this description of happy but simple people, L goes on to underline it.

But alas ! this Arcadian liberality is too seldom found in houses of the genteel and polished part of the world; for, certainly, benevolence is cemented with our beings, and we are delighted in obeying the dictates of nature ; till art, that

spoiler of many natural good qualities, makes us assume a look and behaviour, foreign to our hearts.<sup>39</sup>

We have here the familiar trope of the 'noble savage' who in his simplicity retains the manners and behaviour of an earlier time. This sense that an idealised earlier phase of societal development may still exist in Scotland is reinforced at intervals, albeit tongue-in-cheek, as when L describes Loch Lomond as 'one of those rural, and romantic spots which the Arcadian swains ... enjoy[ed] in the Golden Age'.<sup>40</sup>

The subject of Scottish religion forms another target for L's criticism and another area in which she repeatedly demonstrates her own belief in the superiority of her position. She is horrified when she visits Glasgow Cathedral.

Here is the only cathedral remaining entire in Scotland, which the levelling fury of rapacious reformation luckily spared ; there is a church under it, where divine service is performed for those people who think religion best enforced, by gloomy displays and terrific appearances. Undoubtedly, this subterraneous place of worship is happily enough calculated. For my part, I never am so thoroughly disposed to indulge the feelings of devotion, as when she comes to me arrayed in the robes of a forgiving seraph, and, I conceive, terror and holiness, are ideas which can never be, at the same time, associated and reconciled. No, my Lord, that *religion* which is from *above*, is rational, benevolent, and smiling ; but the piety, or rather the hypocrisy, which *frowns* its votaries into penury, mortification and abstinence, is from *below*, and will never promote the felicity of man, or the honour of God. The black and dismal looks of this *Golgotha* strike horror in the beholder.<sup>41</sup>

With a slight twist, the underground place of worship in the crypt of the cathedral comes to represent a hellish religion that comes from 'below', a 'gloomy' and 'dismal' form of ritual which is 'performed' in order to terrify its attendees into submission and which, unlike L's

'rational, benevolent and smiling' faith dishonours God. She goes on to ridicule the lack of ornamentation in the church and complains sarcastically that the gloom of the church is contagious.

The only embellishment ... is the sable walls being daubed over with white spots, at which on my expressing wonder, our conductor (with no appearance of ridicule in his face) informed me, it was meant as an emblem, to signify *tears*. I am certain thought I, if I stay here much longer it will have the effect of drawing some *real* ones from my eyes.<sup>42</sup>

While travelling through the Highlands, L attended a service at a local kirk. Just as she used the shoeless women of Edinburgh to demonstrate her own privileged position, so too a description of the women at the kirk is used to discourage any sense that the worshippers at the kirk are taking part in a form of Christian worship equal with L's own. The implication is that those who dress strangely and sing badly cannot be capable of finer feelings. We are presented with a group of ludicrous savages, wrapped in blankets with only their noses sticking out, and making harsh undevotional sounds. Again, one is reminded of eighteenth-century tropes of American Indians.

I was last Sunday, for the first time, at a Highland kirk, or church; and such a strange appearance as the lower sort of women make would amaze you. The married ones wear a handkerchief crossed over their heads, with two ends pinned under their chin, and the third flying behind; the young ones wear nothing but a ribband on their hair; the other parts of their dress are like those of the common people with us; only over all, they wear a plaid, which reaches to their feet, and is wrapped over their head, so that nothing is left to be seen but their noses---The poorest sort of all, who cannot afford a plaid, rather than not be ornamented, walk forth arrayed in their blankets; so that when all are assembled in this strange fashion they really have just the appearance of a set

of lunatics. All here sing psalms; those who are fortunate enough to have a voice, and those that are not so fortunate, which sounds are very far from exciting the spirit of devotion.<sup>43</sup>

A similar impression of uncivilised savagery is given by L's description of the playing of the bagpipes, a sound she equates with non-human animal noises.

In many houses, they still retain the ancient custom of the pipers playing all the time the company are at dinner, on his *horrid bagpipes*; this is to *me* more dreadful, than the grunting of pigs, the screaming of owls, and the squalling of cats. All these creatures in a concert would be to my ears pleasing, compared to that discordant instrument to which I have a natural antipathy.<sup>44</sup>

L presents herself as a sophisticated well-bred woman whose antipathy to such sounds is 'natural' and implies that her London-based correspondents would 'naturally' feel the same.

When L compares the scenery of Scotland to that of England, she is more generous in her appraisal. The appearance of Dalvey, for example, 'is not inferior to the most cultivated village in England'<sup>45</sup> and the crops of Murrayshire 'may rival the boasted production of the English soil, even in the center of Surrey',<sup>46</sup> while the road to Glencoe strikes her as having a romantic and 'pleasing gloominess',<sup>47</sup> far more appealing than the better paved but less interesting turnpike roads of England. It takes very little, however, for her to decide that the sublimity of the scenery is more than she can take.

We lay at Hamilrow, a place, where, from its situation and appearance, it is impossible to harbour any thing but gloomy ideas. And, were an Englishman or woman to lodge here in the bleak black month of November, the consequences might be fatal. Even I, (who you know, have none of the saturnine disposition of my country) could not help declaring, I would not live there one week to be mistress of all the surrounding hills : for, be it known, the eye can discover nothing *but* those hills.<sup>48</sup>

Despite her favourable comments on the Scottish countryside, L went on to insist that even the Scottish scenery could be better if it were to be 'improved' in ways that made it resemble England more closely.

In my opinion ... it is nothing but prejudice which can make us suppose any reason why, with proper care, the plants of all countries may not thrive here as well as in England. The Scotch for some ages past have been insensible of what degree of improvement their country was capable; but they have now opened their eyes to conviction, and I dare say a hundred years hence, our posterity shall behold them with a spirit of emulation making large strides to equal us.<sup>49</sup>

A self-conscious literariness characterises the tone of the entire book. This is especially noticeable in the earlier letters. It becomes gradually less so as L tries in later letters to defend the Scots and the scenery against Johnson's criticisms, but never disappears completely. She frequently dresses up the ordinary events of travelling in extravagant and mock-Quixotic language, particularly in her letters to her sister and to her female friend. Letter 9 is typical.

I received my dear sister's agreeable favor, just as I was leaving Edinburgh for my northern expedition; which has, hitherto, been fraught sufficiently with adventures to entitle us to the honourable order of Quixotism, and to confer upon your correspondent the dignity of a Lady-Errant.<sup>50</sup>

She goes on to describe the refusal of their horses to climb a steep hill.

What was to be done? there were no horses at the place we had left...In this terrible dilemma--chance, a goddess which is worshipped by not a few, stood our friend, and sent us help. She did not appear in the form of an Oroonates, mounted on a milk-white palfrey, shining in burnished armour, and a helmet

waving with feathers, like the toasts of Britain: no, she came to us in a much more desirable shape than all the knights of Chivalry, from Amadis de Gaul, to the famous knight of La Manca. We beheld her goddesship in the similitude of a return post-chaise, whose driver was, by the all-attracting and chemic power of gold, prevailed on to put *his* horses before *ours*, by which means, we got safe to Tay-bridge.<sup>51</sup>

With typical hyperbole, she assures her sister that she will write again 'if I should get safe over these *Alps* of *Caledonia*, of which, I have rather my doubts'.<sup>52</sup>

Patricia Meyer Spacks has written of the way in which eighteenth-century epistolary novels by women 'often reflect explicitly on their own literary operations by emphasizing self-proclaimed inadequacies'.<sup>53</sup> One of the rhetorical strategies adopted by the authors, she suggests, is the way in which 'writers faced with the task of narrating intense experience resort[ed] to the trope of inexpressibility'.

As Chloe Chard has demonstrated in her recent writings on Grand Tour narratives, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writers also utilised the trope of inexpressibility. She has written:

One of the most common forms of hyperbole adopted in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century commentary is the declaration that no linguistic formulation can hope to convey to the reader the dramatic intensity of a particular object of commentary, as experienced visually by the traveller.<sup>54</sup>

One of the uses of this hyperbole is that of confirming the traveller's status as eye-witness and authoritative commentator. As Chard has written, 'it is the eye-witness alone, such hyperboles suggest, who is capable of experiencing the sense of uniqueness that supplies the precondition for wonder'.<sup>55</sup> A claim to immediate observation authenticates the writing.

Determined to 'make my journey in some measure compensate the fatigue of undertaking it' L travels 'pencil in hand ... drawing a sketch of the landscape ... as it lay before me',<sup>56</sup> and she writes to the Earl of C----, 'I Resume the pen, my Lord, to let you know, we are once more in motion ... You desire me to continue writing, and to make my remarks on things as they strike me.'<sup>57</sup> As discussed above, however, this picture of spontaneity is, in fact, highly contrived.

Like the eighteenth-century epistolary novelists, L sprinkles her account with claims of inadequacy and inexpressibility. She complains to her sister that,

like the rest of my friends in England, [you] tell me you expect to be highly entertained with an account of all the places I see : Is not that making rather hard terms with me? for, how can I be answerable, that, what gave me great pleasure in viewing, will give an equal degree of pleasure to you in describing?<sup>58</sup>

The atmosphere of the walks along the Bourn 'is beyond expression',<sup>59</sup> she 'walked up a high hill that presented us with a prospect too pleasing to be well described by your correspondent'<sup>60</sup> and she insists that as she has 'not a pen for *embellishing*', she must content herself 'in recounting facts, as they happened'.<sup>61</sup> Frequently she refers to her writing dismissively — she is 'pencilling upon my knees',<sup>62</sup> 'continu[ing] to scribble'<sup>63</sup> or begging to be excused for mentioning politics, 'but I was led irresistibly to these ... reflections'.<sup>64</sup>

Chard has pointed out that 'the rhetoric of spontaneity proclaims not only the immediacy of the response but also its intensity; it positions the subject of commentary as one who is not simply viewing but also responding',<sup>65</sup> and Spacks has demonstrated the ways in which eighteenth-century epistolary novelists assigned high value to emotional intensity and how, within the rhetoric of sensibility, feeling could become a substitute for agency.<sup>66</sup> L's style is often fragmentary — the syntax is broken with dashes, questions, parenthetical statements and literary quotations and sprinkled with italics and exclamation marks. The epistolary form of the text already creates its own division of the narrative into discrete

sections. Janet Todd has pointed out the ways in which 'broken syntax and typographical exuberance' mark sentimental novels, 'since the lady of feeling must stress her non-verbal sensibility through emphasizing the limited nature of verbal communication.'<sup>67</sup> As a woman 'travelling sentimentally', L foregrounds the ways in which her emotions are engaged by the things she sees. As discussed in a previous chapter, when L views the hermitage on the Duke of Athol's estate, for example, she is almost overwhelmed by the experience.

On the rock at the end of [the walk] is a neat pavillion, whose windows are formed of painted glass, through which you see the river falling from a surprising height into the horrid gulph beneath ... by looking through that part of the window which is red, it appears to be sheets of liquid fire rolling down the rock like the lava of mount Etna. My ideas were so lively in picturing such images of horror, that I was obliged to turn from indulging them, or from farther contemplating the scene.<sup>68</sup>

The contrived scene – a waterfall viewed through painted glass – takes on the grandeur of an erupting volcano when worked on by L's imagination and her extreme emotional reaction demonstrates once again her sensibility.

The letters in the book are addressed to three recipients, one male and two female. Although L's letters to the Earl of C---- use similar rhetorical devices to those in the letters to her female correspondents, the tone is subtly different. L writes to the Earl with an odd mixture of formality and flirtatiousness. She frequently reminds him of her youth and her gender and is often 'irresistibly tempted to throw out a few a-propos verses' or '*possesst* by the very dæmon of poetry'<sup>69</sup> when writing to him.

The subject matter of the letters differs somewhat between the three recipients. While all three receive descriptions of buildings, paintings and scenery, L devotes much of her correspondence to her female addressees to descriptions of Scots women, clothing and customs. The letters to the three correspondents frequently overlap by date and location, but



there is very little repetition between them. This is another argument for the carefully constructed nature of the supposedly spontaneous narrative.

As mentioned earlier, L's *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* announced itself on the title page as a reply to Samuel Johnson. Nonetheless, she devoted only a minority of the book to remarks on Johnson's *Tour*. The first direct attack does not appear until Letter 6.

As a *learned* and elaborate traveller, in his usual pomp of phraseology with great *scrupulosity* of *minute investigation* observes, "where there are many mountains, there will always be much rain, and the torrents pouring down into the intermediate spaces, seldom find so ready an outlet, as not to stagnate, till they have broken the texture of the ground." The philosophy as well as the philology of this passage, is, to be sure, very profound, and means, pretty near as much, as many other parts of this investigator's visionary journey: not that I mean, my Lord, invidiously to rob the gentleman of the praises due to him for several *real* discoveries which are scattered through his publication: such, for instance, as that, "*mountainous countries are not passed without difficulty; that, climbing is not always necessary; that, what is not mountain is commonly bog, through which bogs, the way must be picked with caution.*" <sup>70</sup>

She then drops the subject of Johnson, only to return to it in the next letter.

What shall be said of a person, who, after many printed confessions of constant kindness, goes deliberately through an extensive track of country, drinking your drink, eating your bread, reposing on your bed, and then, with *premeditated* malignity, dipping his goose-quill in gall, and returning into his own country, merely to swell her triumph over that, which hath cherished him? ... I cannot think that, a greater misfortune can attend a people, than for these snarlers ... to visit any nation as *literary* travellers, since they travel not

with intent to give the world a fair account of manners and customs, but merely to exaggerate the bad and sink the good.<sup>71</sup>

As Sterne had written against the splenetic traveller of Smollett, so L writes against Johnson, the snarler, and she takes it upon herself to '[speak] my sentiments on Dr. J-----'s historical *Ramble ... in the defence of our mountainous neighbours*'.<sup>72</sup> Critical references to Johnson appear sporadically through the rest of the book and L's comments are fierce and strongly-worded. They do not, however, form a large part of the text. The emphasis remains on L, the traveller and her experiences.

McAllister suggests that L's attack is not only against Johnson. Near the end of the book, L, in a letter to her sister, admits that she had expected to dislike the Scots.

I must own before I came to Scotland, I had, from wrong representation, conceived a very different character than what they deserve. I sincerely wish I had a pen equal to the task of justifying them and their country from those illiberal aspersions under which they have too long laboured, from a set of men, whose prejudices are such, that they think wisdom and worth confined to one spot only, and that spot without doubt, they think *their own*.<sup>73</sup>

McAllister argues that the writer presents Johnson as 'the representative of a male school of travel writing of which she disapproves ... trying throughout her account to counter the male voice of travel established by generations of male writers before her'.<sup>74</sup> Certainly L's book seems to be the first travel account of Scotland to have been published by a woman and L is therefore heir to a previously all-male tradition, one that she characterises as comprising 'a set of men' with illiberal prejudices. As I have already suggested, her choice of the epistolary form had given her the freedom to break with earlier eighteenth-century travel writing conventions and she was, I would argue, acutely conscious of doing so. A woman attempting to write within a genre dominated by masculine discursive constraints could choose to work

within those constraints; alternatively she could endeavour to create a different 'feminised' discourse. I would argue that L is attempting, not always successfully, to do the latter.

The gender of the author is foregrounded in this text to a greater extent than is the case in any other book or journal discussed in this thesis. References to being female are sprinkled throughout the text. 'When a woman sets *her heart upon any thing*, you know, my Lord, 'tis not in nature, or argument to make her easy'<sup>75</sup> she writes to the Earl of C----; her description of Loch Lomond is written 'from a place, my dear Lady Mary, of which I am (to use a woman's word) *extravagantly fond*';<sup>76</sup> she praises Pope's translation of Homer (from which she quotes) as 'the woman's Homer'<sup>77</sup> and concludes the book with a declaration that 'I have, though a woman, fortitude enough to stand any attack from the pens of ... critics'.<sup>78</sup> This explicit marking of the text as a 'woman's text' again points to the likelihood of its being planned for publication from the beginning. There would be less need to constantly remind the reader of a private letter of the gender of its author.

L's insistent reminders of her femaleness can be seen as a way of asserting the book's novelty and authority. Her account, she implies, is different, for it is Scotland seen through the eyes of a woman. Her irate contradictions of Johnson, too, can be read as a way of creating authority for her own text. By correcting misinformation from a previous travel writer, later writers could validate their own perspectives and accounts, and in doing so, claim the authority which the previous author had held for himself.

Malcolm Andrews has described L as 'fram[ing] her expectations according to the conventions of Pastoral'.<sup>79</sup> As he explains, it was common for tourists 'who find themselves in a promising landscape ... to heighten their pleasure by associating the scenery with idyllic images recalled from the poets'. He goes on to explain:

Even if [the tourists] were not, in Payne Knight's words, specifically 'conversant with the writings of Theocritus and Virgil,' they would certainly know an assortment of anglicised versions of the classics, anything from Dryden's verse translations of Virgil to a range of British pastorals, or simply

glimpses of a pastoral world in the works of James Thomson, Goldsmith and others.<sup>80</sup>

On 24 separate occasions, L quotes poetry, sometimes at considerable length.<sup>81</sup> Along with this she makes frequent reference to classical mythology, historical figures, contemporary literature and Bible stories. When included in letters to her female correspondents, the poems and literary references generally serve to illustrate particular points which L is making, to provide another way of describing an 'inexpressible' scene or to establish a shared bank of knowledge. L's use of quotations when writing to the Earl of C--- is more complex. Although she sometimes simply uses the quotations for illustration in a similar way to that which she employs when writing to the women, she more often uses them in a kind of coy showing off. While her quotations to the women form part of the narrative of the letters, quotations in letters to the Earl are frequently framed with flirtatious excuses and playful descriptions of herself as 'so poetically inclined',<sup>82</sup> '*possesst* by the very dæmon of poetry'<sup>83</sup> or 'irresistibly tempted to throw out a few a-propos verses written by a celebrated Scotch bard'.<sup>84</sup> Quotation in these contexts is presented as frivolous and female and as an action for which apology is needed. At the same time, for a woman writer to demonstrate a wide knowledge of literature can be seen as yet another way for her to claim authority. By self-consciously quoting from the popular poets of the day, L placed herself within a larger tradition of writers and writing.

There are also several song references within the text. These occur in a letter to one of L's female correspondents, Lady Mary B---- and are used by L to establish a sense of intimacy and shared experience. The first reference is to 'Rosline Castle'.

We made a party to dine at ROSLINE CASTLE, a place which hath given its name to one of their pretty plaintive tunes, of which you are such an admirer.<sup>85</sup>

The second reference is more subtle. L writes:

we have as much pleasure in sitting under the bushes of Traquair, the birks of Invermay, or on the banks of the Tweed, listening to the songs of the poets, as in reading the profounder pages of Philosophy, or tracing the biographical annals of the *historic* Muse.<sup>86</sup>

In this passage, L is alluding to three other well-known songs with Border settings: 'The Birks of Invermay', 'The Bush Aboon Traquair', and 'Tweedside'. All four tunes were popular salon pieces and would have been known to most educated Scots and to many of the English upper classes.<sup>87</sup> L's allusions are, I believe, intended to underline the intimacy which exists between her and 'Lady Mary B----', through her expectation that her references will be recognised.

The *Journey's* reception from the contemporary reviewers was lukewarm. The *Critical Review* described 'the lady who writes this epistolary narrative' as 'a lively correspondent, but her information is sometimes erroneous' and went on to declare that 'where she has deviated from the track of Mr. Pennant, even her novelty, being chiefly on frivolous subjects, is but little interesting'.<sup>88</sup> *The Scots Magazine* repeated the comment that she appeared to be 'a lively correspondent; but her information is sometimes erroneous'.<sup>89</sup> The reviewer of the *Monthly Review* declared that:

It was highly commendable in the Author of these letters to exercise her epistolary talents for her own amusement and that of her friends ... but it was not a necessary consequence that [her letters] were sufficiently curious and original to merit the public's attention.<sup>90</sup>

He did, however, suggest that L's letters might 'serve as a counterpart to the picture which Dr. Johnson draws with his sombre pencil'.<sup>91</sup> The book was not reprinted and, although it is impossible to know for certain, it is quite likely that *Journey to the Highlands* was the product of a one book author who remained in anonymity.

Despite her attempts to create an authoritative female counterpart to Johnson's *Journey*, L's main purpose seemed to be to entertain. She offered information about architecture, art and scenery, but devoted more time to creating humorous tableaux with herself on centre stage. She criticised Johnson's prejudices, but her own prejudices intrude themselves quite forcibly into the narrative and she is frequently extremely condescending in her attitudes towards those she meets. Claiming to be a 'timid young author', L actually created a carefully constructed persona similar in nature to Sterne's Sentimental Traveller. She took pains to impress her readers with her wit and her knowledge, and self-consciously presented her travel experiences for their amusement. Her conventional observations on landscape and 'sights' reflect the emergence of a Scottish tourist trail with established expectations. As the first published account of Scotland by a woman, L's ironical text is worthy of investigation.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 'EVERY THING WORTH SEEING': SARAH MURRAY'S *COMPANION AND USEFUL GUIDE*

In May 1796, Sarah Murray, a 52 year old widow, left London for a tour of Scotland with the specific aim of writing a guide book. Travelling by carriage with a maid and a manservant, Murray set out to 'see every thing worth seeing'.<sup>1</sup> The trip lasted five months and covered a total of 2,000 miles. A map of Murray's 1796 trip follows page 62.

In the Preface to her *A Companion, and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, first published in 1799, she declared her intention to

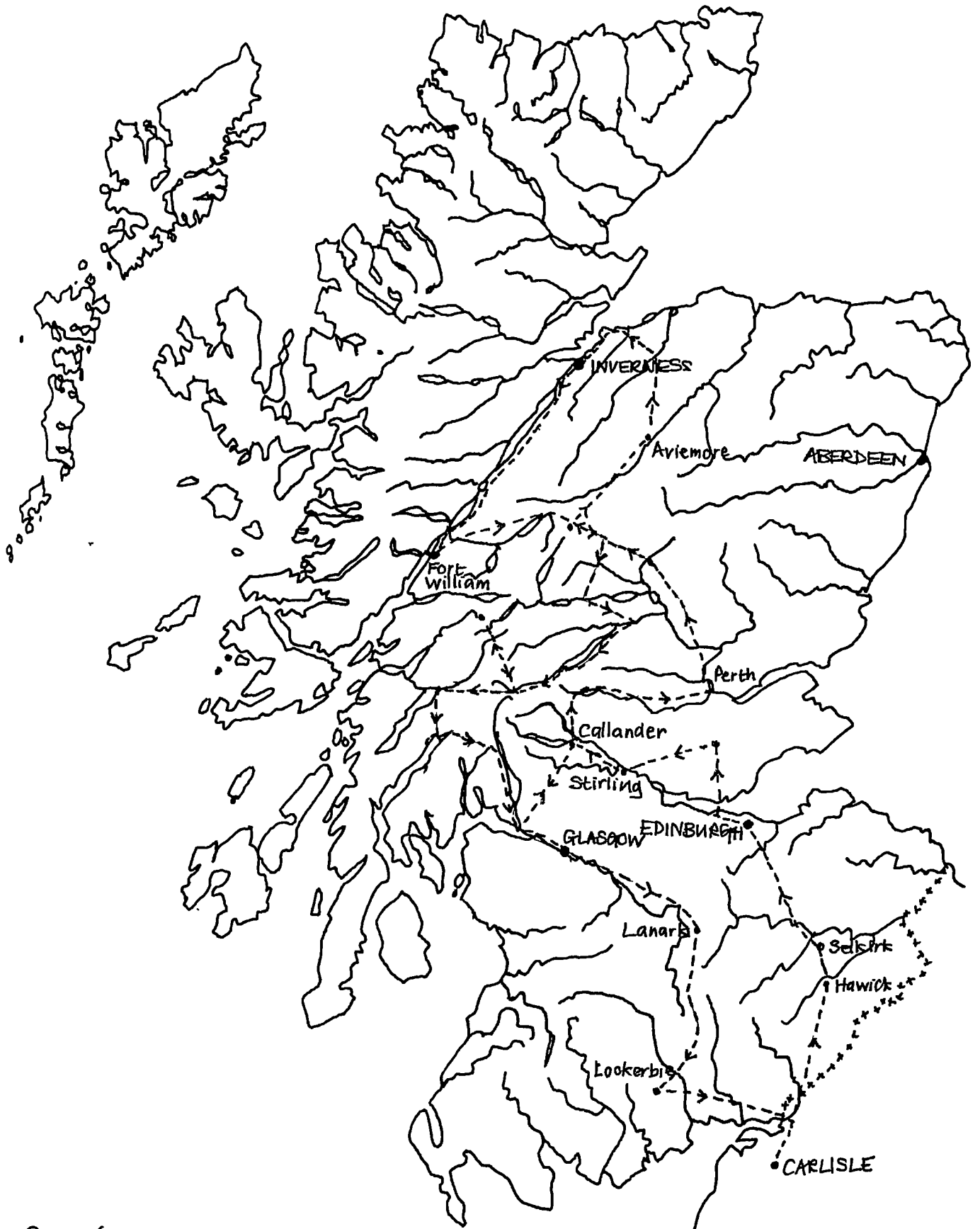
be really useful to adventurers, who may follow my steps through Scotland ... by informing them of those objects which are worthy of notice, and at the same time acquainting them where, and by what means they can get at them in the safest and most comfortable manner.<sup>2</sup>

Aiming at a readership with little experience of travel in Scotland, Murray began her account with a list of necessary equipment.

Provide yourself with a strong roomy carriage, and have the springs well corded; have also a stop-pole and strong chain to the chaise. Take with you linch-pins, and four shackles, which hold up the braces of the body of the carriage; a turn-screw, fit for fastening the nuts belonging to the shackles; a hammer, and some straps.<sup>3</sup>

Having instructed her readers as to the tools necessary for such an expedition, Murray went on to prescribe the fitting of the interior in considerable detail.

For the inside of the carriage, get a light flat box, the corners must be taken off next the doors, for the more conveniently getting in and out. This box should



Sarah Murray, 1796

50 miles  
Scale: 1:2 000 000



hang on the front of the chaise, instead of the pocket, and be as large as the whole front, and as deep as the size of the carriage will admit : the side next the travellers should fall down by hinges, at the height of their knees, to form a table on their laps; the part of the box below the hinges should be divided into holes for wine bottles, to stand upright in. The part above the bottles, to hold tea, sugar, bread, and meat; a tumbler glass, knife and fork, and salt-cellar, with two or three napkins : the box to have a very good lock. I would also advise to be taken, bed-linen, and half a dozen towels at least, a blanket, thin quilt, and two pillows; these articles will set a traveller quite at ease, with respect to accommodation; the blanket and quilt will be very seldom wanted; however, when they are, it is very pleasant to have such conveniences in one's power.<sup>4</sup>

Assuming the class status of her intended readership and defining by implication her own, Murray included the transport of one's manservant as part of the preparation necessary for the journey.

If a traveller would like to save a great deal of money, and render a servant more useful than on horseback, put a seat for him behind the carriage. Let two strong hooks be screwed on the body of the chaise, and a standing piece of iron from each hind spring, and a bar of iron across, to support the perpendicular pieces. The canvas or leather seat may, with straps, be so fastened to the hooks in the body of the carriage, and the upright irons, as to make it a very comfortable easy seat; and the servant being thus a part of the equipage, is always at hand for use, either in opening gates, or in case of accidents; besides, he never can be left behind at the inns where you stop, or elsewhere, which is for ever the case when a servant is on horseback: he is hardly ever with you when you most want him ...<sup>5</sup>

Within two pages, Murray has established herself in her readers' eyes as a traveller with experience and one who is able to speak with authority. She has further indicated her class standing. As I will demonstrate, all of these elements are essential to Murray's depiction of herself within her writings.

Little is known about Murray's life. She was born Sarah Maese in 1744. It has been suggested that she may have been the Sarah Maese who ran a girl's school in Bath in the 1760s and published *The School: Being a Series of Letters, Between a Young Lady and Her Mother* in 1766. There is no evidence either way and no record of the school has survived. By 1782 there is evidence of her living in Kensington Square, Kensington, Middlesex and she was to remain in Kensington for the rest of her life.

She married her first husband, the Hon. William Murray, brother of the Earl of Dunmore, on 11 August 1783. He died only three years later in 1786. In 1802, she married again. George Aust (?-1829), her second husband, had served as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1790 until 1796 and as secretary and registrar of Chelsea Royal Hospital. She had no children.

Murray's book was divided into three sections. (See copy title page following this page.) There was a short guide 'to the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire; and to the curiosities of the West Riding of Yorkshire' (32 pages). In contrast to the later Scottish sections, Murray saw this section as complementing other existing guidebooks.

The Lakes of Westmoreland and Cumberland, having been so often *described*, by very able pens, I shall only offer *directions* for seeing many beauties and curiosities, seldom mentioned by, or known to, *general* Tourists. I shall notice also inns, and the distances from place to place; avoiding all particular descriptions.<sup>6</sup>

The second section consisted of a guide to Scotland, giving practical advice and details of equipment needed, roads, inns, prices, places where horses could be hired and recommended sights. The information given in both the Lakes and the Scottish guides was

A COMPANION,  
AND  
USEFUL GUIDE  
TO THE  
BEAUTIES OF SCOTLAND,  
TO  
THE LAKES  
OF  
WESTMORELAND, CUMBERLAND, AND  
LANCASHIRE;

AND TO THE CURIOSITIES IN  
THE DISTRICT OF CRAVEN,  
IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, A MORE PARTICULAR  
DESCRIPTION OF SCOTLAND,  
ESPECIALLY THAT PART OF IT, CALLED  
THE HIGHLANDS.

BY THE HON. MRS. MURRAY,  
OF KENSINGTON.

LONDON:

*and sold by*  
PRINTED FOR, THE AUTHOR;

AND SOLD BY GEORGE NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS  
MAJESTY, PALL-MALL.

1799.

*sold also by*  
*Ball and Bradburne Edinburgh*  
*and*  
*D. Goldie Perth.*

specific, and Murray frequently referred to a specific date at which time her facts were correct. For example,

The principal house at Matlock is the Old Bath. The ordinary there, in 1790, was one shilling and six-pence for dinner; one shilling for supper; eight-pence for tea; ditto for breakfast.<sup>7</sup>

while the inn at Douglas Mill was

A bad inn; but a new one was building in 1796.<sup>8</sup>

The third and by far the longest section of the book consisted of Murray's comments, anecdotes and observations from the 1796 trip, described by her as 'A Description of Part of Scotland; particularly the Highlands'. Murray's passion for precision can be seen in this title; what she has written refers to a part of Scotland, not to the whole. This exactitude occurs time and time again through all three parts of the book, and can be regarded as one of the strategies Murray used to establish her authority. I discuss this more fully later in this chapter.

There are occasional references to previous visits to Scotland, presumably family visits made with her late husband. The journey of 1796 does, however, seem to have been taken specifically to collect material for the book. It is clear that Murray, from the beginning, defined herself as a professional author with something valuable to say:

I am an Author, neither for fame (my subject being too common a one to gain it), nor for bread. I do not publish from the persuasion of friends, or to please myself. I write because I think my Guide will be useful ... My Guide is a humble pocket or chaise-companion, not intended for a book-case.<sup>9</sup>

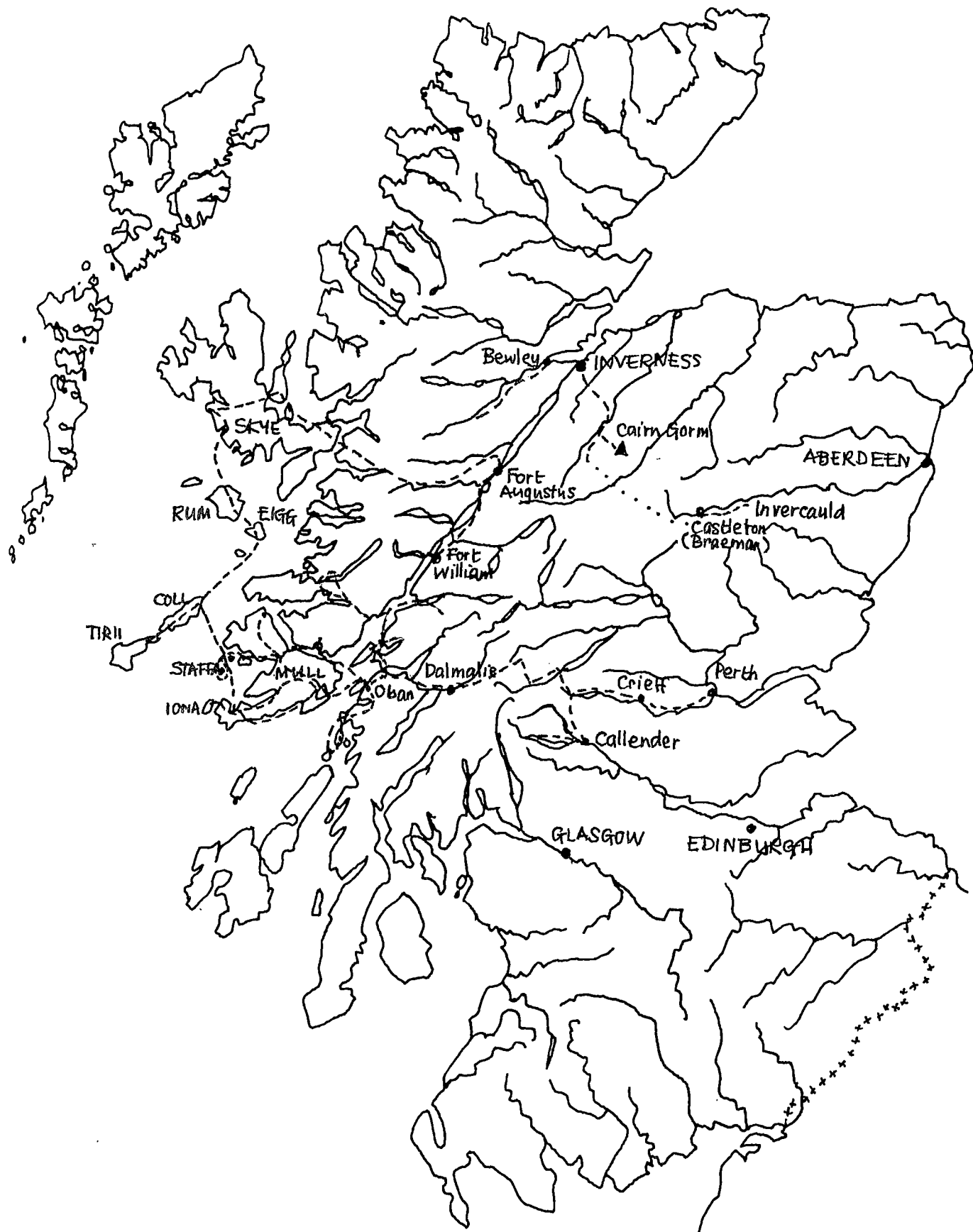
As already mentioned, Murray was accompanied in 1796 by a man-servant and a maid, together with the driver of her carriage. While in Scotland, she hired local guides (usually but not exclusively male) and drivers. Late nineteenth-century women travellers

often presented themselves as travelling 'alone', with 'alone' signifying 'without a European male'. Murray, too, described herself as a 'solitary traveller' and, certainly, except for one week she did not travel with any companions, either male or female, equal to her in social standing. Furthermore, she frequently described pedestrian excursions into the Scottish countryside, taken completely alone without guide or servant accompanying her.

While providing her with control and authority over her travels and account, this solitary stance was also problematic, and carefully constructed rhetorical strategies were required for Murray to present herself in the multiple roles she assumed within her text. I discuss this further below.

The book was well received and reviews in the *British Critic* and *Monthly Review*<sup>10</sup> were favourable. A further four trips were taken between 1799 and 1802. The success of her first book had confirmed Murray's self-definition as a professional guidebook writer and she stayed in Scotland for several months each time, exploring various routes and options. She returned to some places repeatedly, acquiring an extensive knowledge of those areas. In 1803 Murray published a second volume of travels, entitled *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties in the Western Highlands of Scotland and in the Hebrides. To which is added, A Description of Part of the Main Land of Scotland, and of the Isles of Mull, Ulva, Staffa, I-Columbkill, Tirii, Coll, Eigg, Skye, Raza, and Scalpa*.<sup>11</sup> This second volume was, like the first, divided into 'Guide' and 'Description', but the 'Guide' provided readers with several alternative different tours and routes and the 'Description' was composed of anecdotes and observations selected from all of Murray's several trips. It is not always possible to identify to which of her trips Murray is referring in the 'Description', and the map which follows this page is, therefore, a summary map of the tours taken in order to write the second book. The map shows the extent of Murray's travel over the four years but does not show all of her variant routes.

Further critical attention followed this new volume.<sup>12</sup> Although the reviews were a little less favourable than the previous set, in 1805 a second edition of both volumes was published with quotations from both sets of critical reviews bound in at the front.



Sarah Murray, 1799-1802

50 miles  
 Scale: 1:200000

In 1810, a third edition of both volumes was published. The third edition was completely reset and the title page now read: *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, and the Hebrides, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and to the Curiosities in the District of Craven, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Also A Description of Part of Scotland, particularly of the Highlands; and of the Isles of Mull, Ulva, Staffa, I-Columbkil, Tirii, Coll, Eigg, Rum, Skye, Raza, and Scalpa. TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED, An Account of the New Roads in Scotland, and of a Beautiful Cavern lately discovered in the Isle of Skye.* (Copy title page follows this page.) Sarah Murray remarried in 1802 and her name on the title page of the third edition is given as 'The Hon. Mrs. Murray Aust, of Kensington', previous editions having named her as 'The Hon. Mrs. Murray, of Kensington'.

Occasional footnotes were added to the Guide portion of the book, bringing the information up to date or adding additional suggestions for sightseeing. At the end of volume II of the third edition a 'Supplement' was added, entitled 'An account of the new Highland roads including a description of the cavern lately discovered in the Island of Skye'. As always, Murray was punctilious in acknowledging the sources of her information:

'I have brought you to the mouth of the Strath Aird cave, and of course you will expect some description of it. I have not had the pleasure of seeing it myself, therefore from my own observation I can say nothing; but I will, in the best manner I can, collect from the descriptions of others, what may give a faint idea of it, and which, though it may be superfluous to those who have seen the cave, yet it may be somewhat gratifying to such as may never be able to examine it.'<sup>13</sup>

Only one modern edition of Murray is available, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland*, published in 1982.<sup>14</sup>

In this chapter, I would like to argue that Murray was writing both within and in opposition to the prevailing travel writing conventions of the late eighteenth century. Her

A  
COMPANION AND USEFUL GUIDE  
TO THE  
BEAUTIES OF SCOTLAND, AND THE HEBRIDES,  
TO THE  
LAKES OF WESTMORELAND, CUMBERLAND,  
AND LANCASHIRE;  
AND  
TO THE CURIOSITIES IN THE DISTRICT OF CRAVEN,  
IN THE WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

ALSO  
A DESCRIPTION OF PART OF SCOTLAND,  
PARTICULARLY OF THE HIGHLANDS;  
AND OF THE  
ISLES OF MULL, ULVA, STAFFA, I-COLUMBKILL, TIRI,  
COLL, EIGG, RUM, SKYE, RAZA, AND SCALPA.  
TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED,  
*An Account of the New Roads in Scotland, and of a Beautiful  
Cavern lately discovered in the Isle of Skye.*

BY THE HON. MRS. MURRAY AUST,  
OF KENSINGTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. I.  
THE THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. BULNER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW,  
FOR THE AUTHOR;  
SOLD BY G. AND W. NICOL, BOOKSELLERS TO HIS MAJESTY,  
FALL-MALL; AND BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH  
1810.

*Price in Boards £1. 5s.—Two Volumes.*



aesthetic is situated firmly within conventions of the picturesque and the sublime. At the same time, her gender put her outside the expected mould of the professional and published travel writer and a number of rhetorical strategies were necessary if she was to simultaneously keep her authority and her reputation.

Murray considered herself to be groundbreaking, both in terms of her gender (she noted, for example, that in the year 1800 'I was the ninth female stranger who had ventured to Staffa, but none of them had gone valiantly alone as I did'<sup>15</sup>) and in terms of the information which she provided. As she wrote in the Advertisement to the Reader in her first volume,

The present Work differs from any other Publication of the kind: for no writer of Tours has hitherto taken the trouble of ascertaining what *may* be seen, worthy of notice, in the course of a Traveller's journey: and it very often happens that he passes within a mile, or less, of very great Natural Beauties, without either knowing or having heard of them ... [this is] a plan, I believe, never attended to (in the way I have done) by any of my predecessors in Tour writing.<sup>16</sup>

With regard to the latter, it appears she may have been correct. While guidebooks designed to be used by those undertaking a European Grand Tour had existed from at least the mid-eighteenth century<sup>17</sup> and guides to major British cities had begun to be published at about the same time, the 27 British tours undertaken in the late eighteenth century and collected and published by William Mavor in 1798-1800<sup>18</sup> include no tour which presents factual information in the manner of Murray – a style very familiar to us today from Fodor, Rough Guides and the like, but new and innovative to eighteenth century readers. Some written guides to the Lake District did exist and Murray makes several references to Thomas Gray's *Tour to the Lakes* in her section on the Lakes, but guidebooks<sup>19</sup> to Scotland did not proliferate until the nineteenth century. Earlier travellers to Scotland relied on human guides and on what John and Margaret Gold have called 'travellers' tales', 'journals and jottings [assembled] into formal memoirs of their travels, sometimes circulated to friends and

acquaintances and sometimes formally published'.<sup>20</sup> Murray's volumes, of course, included both practical information and her own version of 'travellers' tales'.

It also seems from the reviews that the detailed practical information provided was considered to be of particular interest. The *British Critic* (June 1804) wrote:

The minuteness with which she represents the distances of the different places, the most eligible means of travelling, the good and indifferent inns, the principal objects of curiosity, render this one of the most convenient and pleasant books of the kind that we ever saw.<sup>21</sup>

and the *Annual Review* (1803) quoted Murray's remarks from her Advertisement to the Reader and endorsed them.<sup>22</sup>

The claim to be the first of her sex to have accomplished a particular feat seems to have been common among Victorian women travellers who used it to justify their decision to write and publish travels.<sup>23</sup> May French Sheldon, for example, claimed to be 'the first lady to attempt to lead a caravan that history had ever known',<sup>24</sup> while Mary Hall wrote 'As I am the first woman of any nationality to have accomplished the entire journey from the Cape to Cairo, I think perhaps a simple account of how I managed to do it quite alone may be of some interest'.<sup>25</sup> Murray's use of similar claims is slightly different, a difference reflecting greater pressure towards social conformity in the late Victorian period.<sup>26</sup> Murray's claims come within her text, whereas Victorian travellers tended to place them in the preface, as a justification for writing. Murray makes no reference to her gender in her Advertisement to the Reader (which is printed in identical form at the beginning of both volumes I and II in all editions), emphasising instead, as discussed above, her work's unique utility. Each volume's 'Advertisement' is followed by an open letter 'To the Managers of the Literary Reviews'. In his book *The Fame Machine*, Frank Donoghue wrote:

Restricted from professional achievement of any kind, [eighteenth-century women authors] ... faced special difficulties in the field of literature. These

restrictions pressured the typical woman author to ... excuse her book in ways that were, in fact, different from the apologies that male authors sometimes made. While a man had only to strike a properly humble pose with regard to his book (for example, anticipating the discovery of countless faults), a woman had to justify the very act of writing for publication.<sup>27</sup>

Strikingly, Donoghue's words do not apply to Murray. While she, like the men, anticipates the discovery of faults 'and faults in abundance I fear there are'<sup>28</sup> she makes no special pleading on behalf of her gender. There are, in fact, no gendered references within either of the addresses to the critics, unless one wishes to interpret a reference to her book as 'my child' (volume 1) and 'my bantling' (volume 2) as gender-specific.

There are times when Murray's claim to be the 'first woman' to accomplish something seems to mean 'the first English woman' or perhaps 'the first English woman of my class'. Certainly, when conducted by a local woman at Isla, to 'the top of the great cataract, and then to the bottom of it, down a long, dangerous, and slippery bank; and then from one huge stone to another,'<sup>29</sup> it is Murray's own bravery and steady head that is foregrounded in the narrative; the fact that another woman is making the same journey is mentioned only in passing and without emphasis.

Much of Murray's practical advice was aimed specifically at women and throughout the book she depicts travel adventurous, physically demanding travel as an appropriate activity for women. When visiting the caves at Castleton, readers were told:

...dry shoes, stockings, and petticoats will be requisite; carry also your night-caps, and a yard of coarse flannel, to pin on the head, so as to let it hang loose over the shoulders; it will prevent the dripping from the rocks in the cave from wetting and spoiling your habits, or gowns; also take an old pair of gloves, for the tallow candle, necessary to be carried in the hand, will make an end of all gloves worn in the cavern ... When you cross the rivulet in the

cavern, on a man's back, take care you do not singe his beard, which a lady in our party did, and was thereby in danger of being dropped into the water.<sup>30</sup>

and, if it should happen to be wet weather when viewing the Fall of Fyres,

...take loose in the chaise, stockings, shoes, and petticoats, for change; for you must be sure to go to the Green Bank, and round a promontory, some way below the fall; also to the bridge above the fall; and into some caves near the bridge. All this, if the ground should be wet, or raining, will render it too uncomfortable, if not dangerous, to proceed to Fort Augustus, without changing your clothes. The spray of the fall itself, if full, will, when you are at the Green Bank, make you wet through in five minutes.<sup>31</sup>

Implicit in this advice is an assumption that it is appropriate and normal for middle and upper class women to undergo discomfort and inconvenience in the cause of sightseeing. Murray never suggests that women should protect themselves from the elements or that they should be excluded from certain travelling experiences open to men. Only on one occasion does she suggest that a male companion is necessary, when walking over Calton Hill in Edinburgh

...as that hill is the common, daily, and nightly lounge of all the vagabonds and loose tribe of the town, the walk over it must be taken with a gentleman in company, else women of any description will be insulted.<sup>32</sup>

Murray portrayed herself as both an ordinary and extraordinary woman. She presented herself as a model for 'adventurers, who may follow my steps'.<sup>33</sup> The gender of the 'adventurers' is not stated and Murray's later advice to women makes it evident that both women and men are included in her expected readership. She depicted herself as overcoming difficult physical challenges, but assumed that her readers will be able to imitate her.

When you come within a few miles of the town of Lanark, inquire for the fine fall of Clyde, called Stone Biers Force; ... get some one there to shew you the

way down close by the mill to the very bottom ... It is a very fatiguing bad descent for women; but I went down it, and found it to be safe, with care.<sup>34</sup>

Murray frequently asserts that she is a true 'lover of nature' and that her enthusiasm for the landscape makes her oblivious to hazards.

Had not my whole senses been engrossed by the scene below, I might have been somewhat alarmed at the road I was ascending; which is cut in the mountain's side; high, and hanging over the rough Caddon water, rolling to the left, down a rocky narrow bed, which it has formed, between two mountains. The road ... [is] narrow; and the ascent from Tweedale very sharp, and frightful, for a timorous traveller to pass: but as for lovers of nature, in the sublime and beautiful, *they* can have neither eyes to see their danger, nor *any* sensation, but that of regret at quitting a scene so enchanting.<sup>35</sup>

You too can do this, implied Murray, if you truly love nature as I do.

Murray expected considerable physical courage and fitness from her readers. She frequently recommended walks of several miles to see particular sights and sent them up mountains, into boats and across rickety foot-bridges. Her verbs are active and her readers are advised to 'creep' to the foot of waterfalls, 'skip' from rock to rock in rivers and 'scramble' up and down difficult ascents and descents. They are also expected to tolerate the discomfort of bad inns, all for the sake of beauty.

You must pass your night at the single house of Aviemore; sleep you cannot expect, it being the worst inn (except King's House) that I met with in Scotland. All out of doors, however, is beautiful.<sup>36</sup>

The 'Description' sections of both volumes are replete with pictures of Murray herself engaged in adventurous, physically demanding travel. Her experience of the Fall of Fyres is typical.

The first station I attained was on a promontory, at the distance of about a hundred yards from the fall, and about a hundred feet above the surface of the water after its fall, rushing round the rock. ... I was in ecstasy with all around me; but to get to this station was a bold adventure ... when the ground is wet, being obliged to creep from one slippery bank to another, and to step from rock to rock, supported only by stumps and branches of birch, and in continual danger of tumbling headlong over pieces of rocks, and into bogs. But I was determined nothing should hinder me from seeing this grand object in all possible points of view. ... Bad as the first scramble was, it was nothing in comparison to the hazard (in slippery weather) of creeping to the green bank, close to, and in front of the fall. ... My shoes and stockings were ... complete brown boots, so covered were they with dirt and slime. ... I slipped, and hung by trees, and clung to pieces of rock, until I got down on the desired bank, which is on the whole not more than two yards wide, and projects, perhaps, twenty or more feet in direct front of the fall. ... I advanced to the furthest point, looking at the vast leap of the river. ... The noise, as it was a flood, was beyond belief; it was impossible to hear any other sound; and the spray, in a great degree, deprived me of sight and breath; and obliged me to lay myself down on my stomach, upon the green parapet, and every now and then, by gulping, and shutting my eyes for relief, I was by intervals enabled to look and breathe; to admire, and I might say, almost adore.<sup>37</sup>

As mentioned above, in 1796, at the time of her trip, Sarah Murray was 52 years old.

What is missing from this picture, of course, is any acknowledgement of the servants' labour which enabled Murray to carry out her adventures. The 'complete brown boots ...

covered with dirt and slime' and the soaking wet dresses and petticoats were, presumably, laundered and dried by the maidservant, often labouring in the difficult surroundings of a drovers' inn.

In her recent book on British and French Grand Tour narratives, Chloe Chard has pointed out that travel writings frequently 'proclaim a fascination with crossing boundaries and encountering danger.' She goes on to say:

Destabilisation and danger ... assume a double role within tourism: on the one hand they are seen as threats to be contained; on the other, when kept at a proper distance, they may provide acceptable touristic gratification, by allowing the traveller to combine a frisson of excitement and a reminder of risk with a self-congratulatory awareness of having survived.<sup>38</sup>

Travellers and travel writers flirt with danger from a position of safety. Within her narrative, Murray used the possibility of danger as one of her strategies for the establishment of authority and to add to her self-representation as pioneer and explorer. It was she who had experienced the dangers, she who decided what was or was not an acceptable risk, she who had tested out the possibilities for those who were to follow her. Having already set herself up as an arbiter who could 'point out to the Traveller what is worth noticing in his Tour'<sup>39</sup> and having taken upon herself the task of creating an itinerary of sights deemed worth seeing, she also took responsibility for her readers' safety, pointing out possible dangers from the authoritative viewpoint of one who had experienced them herself.

In Murray's account, no one ever showed disapproval of her exploits, although on one occasion, when she was out walking on her own after dark, 'my servants began to wonder what was become of me'.<sup>40</sup> Local peasants were sometimes surprised to see a lone woman stranger, but they are pictured not as disapproving, but merely curious.

A woman thus alone in a strange country, was no small matter of curiosity even to poor folks, lounging at doors of huts, who rarely see a stranger. ...I sat

upon a low wall to eat my biscuit and drink my wine, near a hut from which was brought me a bason of fine milk, and presented by the master of the habitation. He did not speak, but he looked a kind welcome and I received his present thankfully.<sup>41</sup>

When Murray meets parties of male travellers (nearly always struggling up the mountain she has just climbed with ease), they express astonishment at seeing her, but Murray always leaves her readers with the impression that she has elicited admiration, not censure.

The trope of the spectator who becomes, albeit temporarily, the spectacle is, of course, a common one in eighteenth-century travel writing. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, writing in 1717, described her experiences at the women's baths in Sophia. Having begun by commenting on the naked beauty of the Turkish women, Montagu soon found herself the object of curiosity,

The lady that seemed the most considerable among them entreated me to sit by her, and would fain have undressed me for the bath. I excused myself with some difficulty. They being, however, all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt, and show them my stays; which satisfied them very well; for, I saw, they believed I was locked up in that machine, and that it was not in my own power to open it; which contrivance they attributed to my husband.<sup>42</sup>

and Anna Maria Falconbridge described the scene that met her on her arrival in Sierra Leone.

The people on the island crowded to see me; they gazed with apparent astonishment I suppose at my dress, for white women could not be a novelty to them, as there were several among the unhappy people sent out here by government.<sup>43</sup>



The experience was not necessarily restricted to women. Mungo Park, for example, travelling in Africa in 1795, repeatedly reported episodes in which he became the observed rather than the observer.

In a moment all eyes were turned upon me; I appeared like a being dropped from the clouds; every one was surprised that they had not observed me before; and a few women and children expressed great uneasiness at being so near a man of such an uncommon appearance.<sup>44</sup>

This destabilising experience could be controlled and made safe in various ways. One rhetorical strategy involves reciprocity, what Mary Louise Pratt calls 'mutual appropriation' in which 'the two sides determine each others actions and desires.'<sup>45</sup> In Falconbridge's account, Africans and Europeans remain in separate unconnected spheres, observing but otherwise not affecting each other's behaviour. Murray, on the other hand, emphasises interaction, although communication may be limited by language. She accepts that the satisfaction of others' curiosity may be the price she must pay for the satisfaction of her own. In Hawick, for example, she struggles to communicate with a local group of young people.

I walked over the bridges, and below them to the water's edge, and into the churchyard. Curiosity soon collected a small group about me, and I was somewhat mortified to find their language unintelligible to me; I learnt, however, there was a manufactory in the town, of carpets, &c. but could not acquire a knowledge of particulars. Here I was confirmed in what I had often before observed, that those who find they cannot be understood, immediately conclude the person spoken to must be deaf. Some young lads passing through the churchyard at Hawick, whilst I was in it, with dogs, and some strange looking things on their backs; I inquired what they were, and what they were going to do with them; but their language, to me, was as Arabic. On my shaking my head, as a token of not understanding them, they began

screaming in the highest note of their voices; taking me, I suppose, for a deaf woman: and at last we separated, laughing at our inability of understanding each other.<sup>46</sup>

There is a sense of equality about this encounter and the decision to give up trying to understand each other is a mutual one. Far from being unsettled by her inability to communicate, Murray seems to relish the humour of the situation. When surrounded by the group of local villagers, she does not become a passive object of their gaze; rather she takes an active part. Similarly, on Mull, she acknowledges the mutuality of the interest.

Their dress, their huts, and their mode of sitting, (that is the women,) at the doors of their habitations, were matters of as much curiosity to me as I was to them.<sup>47</sup>

By emphasising the commonality of the curiosity, Murray ensures that she remains a spectator as well as a spectacle.

Another rhetorical strategy often used by travellers who have become the observed rather than the observer is that of identifying the act of the other as part of the 'foreignness' of the situation, part of the cultural difference which the traveller is seeking.<sup>48</sup> We see an example of this in Murray's discussion of the 'curiosity' of the Highlanders, a curiosity which links them in her mind to another 'foreign' group, the Americans and which sets them apart as part of a less developed nation.

No set of beings can surpass the inhabitants of the Highlands (of every description), in hospitality and attention to strangers; but at the same time they are extremely curious, and must know every thing, of every body who comes in their way; who they are, what they are, whence they come, and whither going. They in an instant combine circumstances, and are *au fait* in a moment. They put me in mind of what Doctor Franklin mentions of the Americans. That their curiosity about strangers and travellers, took place of

every other consideration; that they would not stir an inch till that curiosity was satisfied. He, therefore, when he travelled through the country, in order to save time and trouble, made it a custom, the moment he went into an inn, to accost the landlord with, "I am Benjamin Franklin; I am a printer; I live at Philadelphia; I am going to Boston, or       ; I have with me a servant and two horses: now pray tell me what I can have for supper?" Perhaps this sort of curiosity may be common to all thinly inhabited, and seldom visited, countries, where the novel sight of strangers, leads to a desire of knowing every thing concerning them; particularly as in such an uniform round of life, where their minds are less employed and filled, than in cities and places of commerce and trade.<sup>49</sup>

Thirdly, there are times, particularly in Murray's second book, when her awareness of herself as a possible object of curiosity is decidedly tongue in cheek. At Killin she describes the peasants coming out to view the 'fearless female stranger'<sup>50</sup> while on Mull she deliberately depicts herself as a spectacle.

The picture of the outset. A very good house facing the Sound of Mull; near it a ruin of what was once a castle, by which runs a river romantically enough. Mrs. Murray appears, accompanied by gentlemen and ladies, dressed in a red leather cap trimmed with brown fur, and a habit of Tartan such as is worn by the 42d regiment of Highlanders. She mounts a white horse, with a Fingalian stick in her hand, cut out of the woods in Morven. Then comes a sheltie with creels (paniers) on his back, containing the baggage, on which sat a Highland lad. Thus moved Mrs. Murray's first cavalry expedition in the island of Mull, and laughable enough it was.<sup>51</sup>

Thus many of Murray's encounters with local people were characterised by reciprocity and an appreciation of the other's position as co-spectator. At other times, however, she kept

her distance and the local peasants served as something to look at, part of the picturesque landscape. 'Within four or five miles of Stirling,' she writes, 'I perceived, on the side of a steep craggy mountain, a herd of moving creatures; and when I came near enough to see them distinctly, I discovered they were human beings, gathering in corn: they appeared like a flock of sheep hanging on the crag's side. It is wonderful that corn should grow there'.<sup>52</sup> A family scene is described in stereotypical sentimental terms:

It is a pleasant sight to see an old woman of seventy or eighty, dressed in her snow-white cursche, sitting by a cozy (snug) fire, holding this clear taper for her daughter and grand childdren [sic], while they are, some spinning, others singing and dancing, and a group of youngsters playing on the ground with each other, and their faithful sheep dog.<sup>53</sup>

while the inhabitants of St. Kilda are dismissed as being barely human, 'no better than savages ... liv[ing] upon stinking fish, and rotten eggs, laid by birds in the hollows of the rocks'.<sup>54</sup>

In her book, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics*, Elizabeth Bohls argued that in picturesque tourism,

the tourist became a disinterested aesthetic subject by eliding the traces of the practical relation between a place and its inhabitants. Human figures in the picturesque scene were reduced to faceless ornaments, like Gilpin's ubiquitous banditti. Aesthetic distance thus reinforces the social distance between the aesthetic subject and the "Vulgar".<sup>55</sup>

Although Murray's corn-gatherers bear a close resemblance to Gilpin's banditti, she demonstrated that degree of distance only sporadically. Her dependence on local guides, drivers, cottagers and innkeepers forced her repeatedly to establish relationships with local people and made it difficult for her to sustain any level of aesthetic disinterestedness. With those upon whose labours and provisions she relied, Murray established benevolent but authoritarian relationships based on her own experience of servants. Her views of those who

worked for her were generally approving, although often condescending her Highland guides and drivers are invariably described as 'fine', 'honest-faced', 'honest-hearted', 'good-humoured', and as people who 'retain ... the honest simplicity and hospitality of the patriarchal age, which the rub of refinement has not impaired'.<sup>56</sup>

In a conference paper on women solo travellers, Lila Harper suggested that, for Victorian women travellers,

the solitary narrative stance was rhetorically empowering, yet also problematic ... presenting oneself as travelling alone ... allowed women an unusual opportunity to establish a voice of authority and move outside the limits of the domestic sphere. It also, however, required that travelers write against conventional expectations for women's writing.<sup>57</sup>

I would argue that the same was frequently true for late eighteenth-century women travellers and that for Murray, careful rhetorical negotiations were necessary for her to present herself as an authoritative solitary voice while retaining conventional respectability in a culture which treated unaccompanied women with unease.

Throughout her two books, Murray presents herself as travelling alone, other than during one week in July 1800, when she was 'accompanied by Miss Jeffery of London, a young female friend, to whom I wished to shew the beauties of nature I so much admire'.<sup>58</sup> One needs, of course, to define what was signified by 'alone'. As mentioned above, for Victorian women travellers, alone could be defined as 'without a European male at their side'; for Murray, travelling within Britain, the equivalent might be defined as 'without a male of one's own class' (and, sometimes, without any one who spoke English).

In order to affirm her own identity and authority, Murray was careful to show herself as directing and in charge of her voyage. She kept the narrative focus on herself. All travelling companions servants, coachmen and guides are presented as subordinate to her authority. In speaking of the week when she was accompanied by Miss Jeffrey, Murray took pains to represent herself as the one in control. Murray 'conducts' her friend to various

beauty spots; but the reader is shown none of her friend's reactions. All of the observation and comment is made by Murray herself. When they reached Oban, Murray reported:

When my friend had seen every thing at and around Oban worth observation, she, by my advice, returned to Perth through Appin and Glen Coe.<sup>59</sup>

Having finished serving as guide to her friend, Murray returned to solitary travel.

My mind was bent on visiting the famous island of Staffa, and as many of the western islands as I should find pleasant, as far as my courage might be sufficient to buffet the inconveniences of sea trips. That I might be at full liberty, I determined to go quite alone.<sup>60</sup>

She was aware that her solitary travel could make her an object of curiosity to some of those she met:

As I was creeping down the crag side, the children and women came to the doors to gaze at a fearless female stranger, scrambling alone amongst the crags.<sup>61</sup>

Nevertheless, she considered travelling alone to be essential to her purpose.

I will however inform you that I think I have seen Scotland, and its natural beauties, more completely than any other individual. I was alone, nor did I limit myself as to time. I took great pains to see every thing worth seeing.<sup>62</sup>

Although, as discussed above, Murray defined travel with servants and guides as 'travelling alone', she also gave evidence of pedestrian excursions taken completely alone into wild countryside. Occasionally complaining of the fatigue of walking, her solo expeditions for the most part delighted her and she took great pride in both her physical prowess and in her ability to reach the best viewpoints. Robin Jarvis in his book *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* has pointed out the ways in which walking during this period 'rapidly

assumed the character of a voluntary, pleasurable activity<sup>63</sup> and suggests that this was part of 'a new form of masculine self-fashioning'. I would argue that Jarvis too quickly dismisses women's travel writing of this period,<sup>64</sup> but Murray's descriptions of her solo pedestrian explorations did provide another way for her to present herself as capable and in control. At times they provided her with an opportunity to demonstrate that she is as competent as or more competent than male travellers. On her way down a steep and slippery cliff which she had climbed in order to view a waterfall from the best vantage point, a climb she described as 'a bold adventure (for a woman)', she told how she encountered

four travellers, males, not very active in body, who came tumbling and slipping down the banks, with fright and dismay, that made me smile. They stared at me, as much as to say,—how came you there!<sup>65</sup>

Presenting herself as a controlling solitary voice was one way in which Murray established credibility for the information she presented. A second device relied on a scrupulous attribution of sources. Most of Murray's information was based on her own observations. In both the Guide and the Description she is careful to distinguish between her own data and that from other sources. In the Supplement to the third edition, she writes:

In the second volume of my Guide I have taken up travellers at Dalmalie; in this Supplement I will meet them at Inveraray, and conduct them by a varied route to Oban, through beautiful districts, and in old and new roads. Most of the scenery in these parts, I have viewed from boats, carts, and on horseback; but as there were few roads passable for four-wheel carriages, when I was wandering on the western coast of Scotland, I shall not be able to direct you from my own knowledge; I have, however, gained information from the Fourth Report of the Commissioners for Highland Roads, &c. to the House of Commons; also from several of my acquaintance, who travelled through the

Western Highlands and Islands in the year 1809, on whose accounts I can firmly rely.<sup>66</sup>

She also clearly points out where her knowledge is lacking. She confesses that 'I am unable to point out the mineralogy of Staffa'<sup>67</sup> and at Blair Gowrie she admits to 'being ignorant of botany'.<sup>68</sup> These confessions of ignorance work in her favour, convincing the reader that she is an expert on other subjects.

The sense that this is a tour (and an author) which can be trusted is further enhanced by comparisons with other tours. Although in her 'Guide to the Lakes' Murray is complimentary about Thomas Gray, any references to the tours of others in her Scottish material serve only to emphasise how much better informed she is. For example,

Dr. Johnson had not the happiness of visiting Staffa. What a loss he sustained! The wonders of that island were very little known at the period he passed near it.<sup>69</sup>

and

Mr. Pennant, like Dr. Johnson, did not go near Staffa, he only saw it at a distance, (as I was told,) and his draftsman took a view of its general appearance on the east side, where there is the least to be seen.<sup>70</sup>

Sarah Murray presented herself as adventurous explorer, solitary traveller and authoritative guide. It was equally important to her to retain her respectability and social standing in the eyes of her readers.

At the time of her first trip in 1796, Sarah Murray was a middle-aged widow. She had been married to the Hon. William Murray, brother of the Earl of Dunmore; but he had died ten years earlier.<sup>71</sup> The first indication of social status is on the title page of the book, where the author is given as 'The Hon. Mrs. Murray, of Kensington'. Further indication of her status is given in the first few pages of the Guide to Scotland. As mentioned above, while



discussing necessary equipment for a tour, she spends several paragraphs pointing out the advantage of having one's man-servant ride on a seat behind the carriage rather than on horseback. She underlined her social position by stating 'With my maid by my side, and my man on the seat behind the carriage, I set off, May the 28th, 1796.'<sup>72</sup> In the next paragraph she emphasised the importance of her family connections.

[I] perhaps had better opportunities than most other travellers ... by having a great many good and kind friends and relations by marriage, in Perthshire, and other parts of the Highlands; whose hospitality and kindness are stamp'd upon my heart, and will not be forgotten by my pen, when I describe the country.<sup>73</sup>

At intervals through the narrative the reader is reminded of her prominent family links:

I have the honour, by marriage, of being related to the owner of Lude, which is one of the prettiest places in Scotland.<sup>74</sup>

Murray was married again in 1802 and the title page of the third edition names her as 'The Hon. Mrs. Murray Aust of Kensington' although her husband was a public servant and not titled.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, suggests Harper, women travellers deliberately mentioned the issue of dress in order to 'assure a more conservative reading public that femininity is maintained' whereas earlier nineteenth-century travellers (such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Harriet Martineau) had purposefully avoided the subject because it was associated with female frivolity.<sup>75</sup> The latter may well have been the case for Murray. When she discusses clothing it is only in order to warn her readers that they will get wet or dirty while viewing a particular sight. She shows little interest in the clothing of the Scots women she meets – there is only one description of women's physical appearance in either of the two books. Similarly, domestic description plays no part in Murray's narrative.

The fact of her class background may have given Murray a sense of safety from molestation or attack; equally, there may have been little threat. Certainly, although she

frequently mentions dangers in relation to roads, she makes no mention of any threat from human beings. She recommends that for safety her readers should '*never* be out after dark'<sup>76</sup> but this is connected to the risk of accident on rough roads. Although she sleeps at 'very bad' inns and alehouses, she indicates no fear of the other persons who might frequent such places. The possibility of fear or alarm is restricted to the possibility of accident when riding horseback down a steep pass or crossing a rickety bridge.

In 1822, Sarah Hazlitt, travelling on foot through Scotland, reported that 'You may walk all through the country without molestation or insult.'<sup>77</sup> Robin Jarvis suggests that reference to sexual dangers might have been omitted in order to uphold 'literary femininity'.<sup>78</sup> I would argue that this is not the case. A comparison of over 10 journals of women's travel in Scotland before 1840 indicates that fear of attack does not appear to have played a major part in women traveller's writing at this time, and I would suggest that this fact reflects the reality of the situation rather than Jarvis's 'literary femininity' — a term which seems to relate better to the Victorian period than to the late 18th/early 19th century.

Murray herself commented on the safety and security of the Highlands with regard to property, comparing it to what she described as the 'depravity' of the Lowlands and England.

In the Lowlands, in and about large towns, particularly where there are manufactories, or in sea-ports, there are as many depraved folks as in England: but in the Highlands all is safety and security; no fear of thieves by night or day. All the doors and windows are left unfastened: and I have even seen sideboards, covered with plate of very great value, stand open in parlours night and day, without fear of its being touched.<sup>79</sup>

Perhaps more interestingly, Murray seems unconcerned about spending long periods of time alone with men to whom she is not related. Again, her class may have influenced her beliefs. It may simply have been unthinkable that servants, guides or other lower-class men could provide a risk to an upper-class woman's morals or reputation.

Sarah Murray achieved her aims. Her guidebooks sold well and were genuinely useful to those who had not travelled in Scotland before. Aimed at an upper-class readership, they provided accurate and specific information about equipment, roads, accommodation and food. Just as importantly, however, they provided the inexperienced traveller with directions on what to see and how to see it.

Although Murray's 1799 *A Companion, and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* was not the first guidebook to the Highlands,<sup>80</sup> it was by far the most comprehensive, both in terms of distances covered and in the extent of the practical information it included. Her second book was to remain the only guide to the Hebrides for several years.

It is notable that Murray travelled much more extensively than any of the other women discussed in this thesis. While they travelled as tourists, she travelled as a professional writer, seeking out information and aiming to 'ascertain ... what may be seen, worthy of notice, in the course of a Traveller's journey'.<sup>81</sup> Defining herself as a guidebook writer, she spent many months in Scotland, exploring and taking notes. Not afraid of physically demanding activity, she encouraged her readers to do as she did, persuading them that true 'lovers of nature' should be willing to take risks and accept uncomfortable conditions. Much of her advice was aimed directly at women and it is clear that she considered adventurous travel a suitable occupation for upper-class women like herself. Presenting herself as competent and capable, Murray used a variety of rhetorical strategies to establish her authority while at the same time retaining her respectability.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ANNE GRANT OF LAGGAN AND THE MYTH OF THE HIGHLANDS

In this chapter, I will argue that Anne Grant's response to the Highland landscape and to the Highland people was coloured not only by her own identity as a Lowland-born Scot of Highland parentage but, perhaps even more significantly, by her early experience of another culture and people, as a young adolescent in the British colonies in Albany, New York.

In both the American and the Highland context, Grant explored what it meant to be simultaneously a settler and a traveller. Her early writing about Scotland told of her travels but she settled in Laggan with her husband and took on the role of interpreter for the Highland people and culture she found there, learning Gaelic just as those she most admired in Albany had learned Native American languages. Her descriptions of Albany looked at the development of a young society of colonists but some of her most vivid writing about America was reserved for descriptions of her travel into the wilderness. In both places, Grant had a peculiar position as simultaneously outsider and insider, both participant and observer.

In many ways, Grant's writings have failed to withstand the test of time. Extremely popular in her own day, most of her six books went into multiple editions.<sup>1</sup> She was widely and mostly favourably reviewed,<sup>2</sup> and in her later life, as Andrew Hook puts it, '[her] house became one of the literary centres in Edinburgh in the early nineteenth century'.<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Scott, Henry Mackenzie, Robert Southey and Joanna Baillie were among her readers and visitors and Dorothy Wordsworth wrote of reading Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* in 1813.<sup>4</sup>

By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, Grant had slipped from the public view, so much that in 1901, Emily Symonds (writing as 'George Paston') wrote:

In the opening years of [the nineteenth] century Mrs. Grant was one of the idols of literary society both in London and Edinburgh, while her *Letters from the Mountains* achieved a popularity that has only been rivalled by the

productions of our modern Kailyard School. ... [but] now she only lives in the memories of a few lovers of Highland literature.<sup>5</sup>

Her book length poems written in stilted formal language and studded with classical allusions fail to appeal to modern tastes, even among readers who read other romantic poets and she has been included in surprisingly few twentieth-century anthologies. Her *Letters from the Mountains*, while sometimes charming, seems rambling and over-long and the publication of many of her letters, particularly those included at the end of *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, now seems rather pointless. Only her *Memoirs of an American Lady* and a few of her songs still seem to have retained their charm for the reader. Tastes change, writers fall in and out of fashion. Nevertheless, I would argue that there is much of value in Grant and that her unique position provides an alternative viewpoint from which to understand early nineteenth-century Scotland.

Between the date of the military defeat of the Jacobite clans in 1746 and the early nineteenth century,<sup>6</sup> Scotland, and in particular the Highlands, began to acquire the romantic mythology which persists today.<sup>7</sup> As a writer who claimed to be 'a true Highlander' and who took upon herself the task of interpreting the landscapes and cultures she found to those outside, Grant herself made a significant contribution to the process by which the romantic image of Scotland was formed. Influential and widely read, Grant's writings, together with those of other Scottish writers — in particular, Sir Walter Scott, Elizabeth Hamilton (*The Cottagers of Glenburnie*, 1808) and Jane Porter (*The Scottish Chiefs*, 1810) — created the images of Scotland which still colour our reactions. In his *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*, Peter Womack has written:

What is *not* possible to do today, whatever our personal tastes, is to see the heather [that Edward Burt in 1730] saw. ... For us, the moment when we set eyes on a heather-covered Highland hillside, and *see what it is*, is also the moment when we register the presence of the Highland romance. ... The Highlands are no longer just a place where people and animals and plants live;

they have been colonised by the empire of signs ... [This is] the outcome of a historical process; the Highlands are romantic because they have been romanticised. This *happened*, at an identifiable point in time, in response to specific ideological requirements and contradictions which are both exhibited and disguised by its eventual form.<sup>8</sup>

Anne Grant and her writings played a part in creating that myth.

Anne Macvicar [Grant] was born in Glasgow in 1755<sup>9</sup> to Duncan Macvicar, described as 'a plain, brave, pious man'<sup>10</sup> from Argyllshire, and Miss Stewart of Invernahyle. In 1757 Anne's father, then a member of the 77th Foot regiment, went out to America. Before she was three, Anne and her mother joined him and the next ten years were spent in and around Albany in the province of New York.

The colony at Albany had originally been a Dutch one, called Oranienburgh, and Anne's early childhood was spent in a mixed community of Dutch, Scottish, English and native-born settlers. As Dorothy McMillan has written: 'Anne Grant's stay in America ... introduced her to a society in the early stages of cultural development but yet in many ways a high culture of friendship and civility; it introduced her too to the civilisation of the Mohawks.'<sup>11</sup> Grant was later to write about her early American experiences in *Memoirs of an American Lady*.

There was no school at the settlement, and Anne was taught to read by her mother. Books were scarce and her early reading was confined to the Bible, military treatises and a copy of Blind Harry's *Wallace*, given her by a Scottish army sergeant who taught her to read the broad Scots dialect.

By the aid of said sergeant, I conned so diligently, that I not only understood the broad Scotch, but caught an admiration for heroism and an enthusiasm for Scotland, that ever since has been like a principle of life.<sup>12</sup>

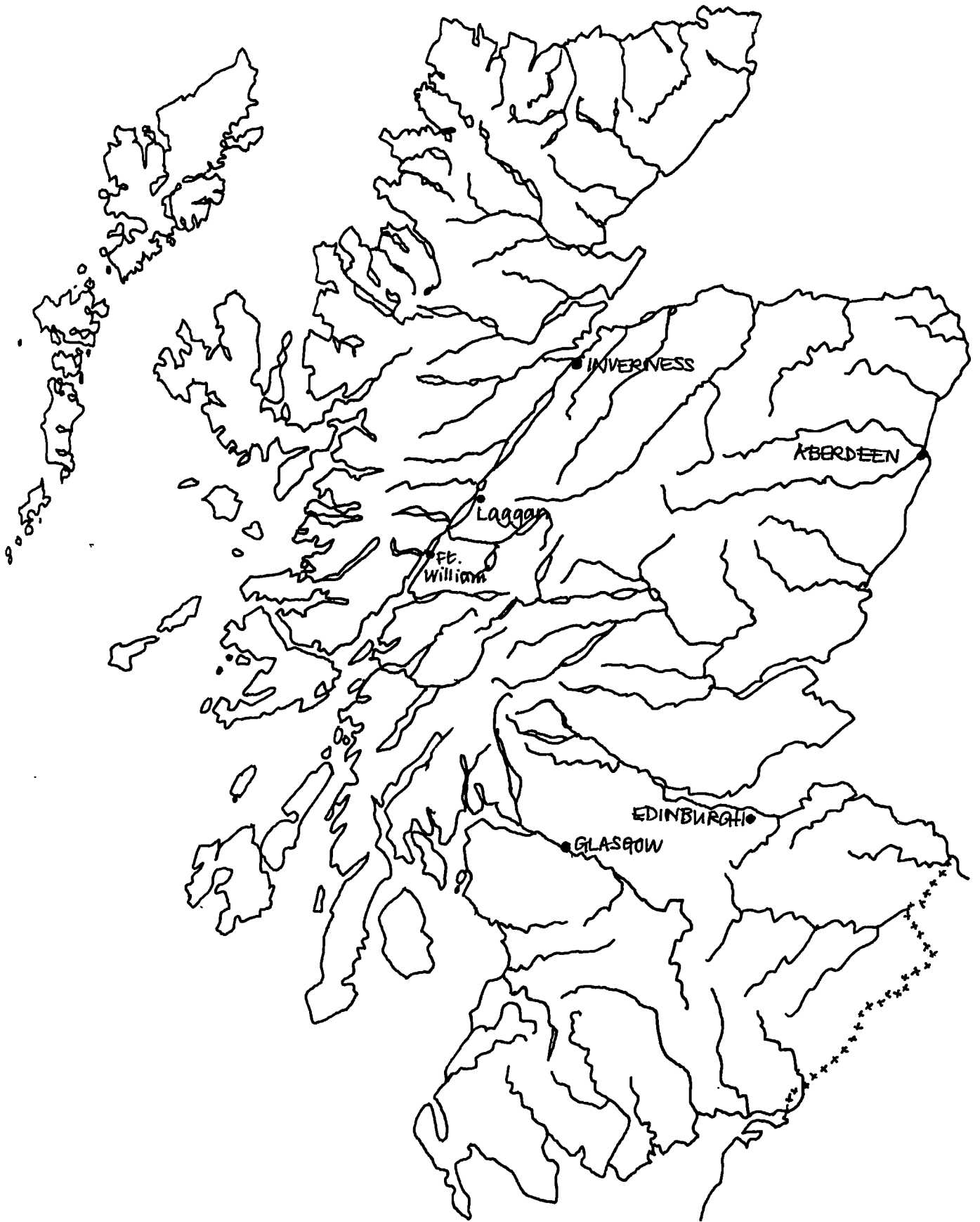
As a Scottish child living abroad, Grant was later to emphasise the importance of such experiences in maintaining her sense of connection with the land of her birth.

In 1760, at the age of five, Anne and her mother accompanied the regiment from Albany to Oswego, travelling by boat up the Mohawk River and sleeping sometimes in the woods, sometimes in the forts 'which formed a chain of posts in the then trackless wilderness'.<sup>13</sup> This romantic journey into the wilderness was, I would argue, another formative experience in Anne Grant's early life and one which helped to form her sense of landscape.

The family returned to Glasgow in 1768 and, in 1773, when Anne was seventeen, Duncan Macvicar accepted the post of Barrack-Master at Fort Augustus in Invernesshire. It was the letters written on the journey from Glasgow to her new home in Fort Augustus that form the first part of Grant's *Letters from the Mountains* and it is in these letters that we again see the early attraction to the Highland culture which was to become such a central part of Anne Grant's life.

Anne Macvicar married the Reverend James Grant, a former army chaplain who was minister to the parish of Laggan, in 1779. She moved to Laggan,<sup>14</sup> and her involvement with the Highland people, places and language truly began.

Mr. Grant having been placed in the neighbouring parish of Laggan three years before, his popularity was secured by his manners and conduct; mine was of more difficult attainment, because I was not a native of the country, and Highlanders dislike the intrusion of a stranger. However, I had both pride and pleasure in overcoming difficulties. Thus, by adopting the customs, studying the Gaelic language, and, above all, not wondering at any thing local and peculiar ... I acquired that share of the good-will of my new connections, and the regard of the poor, without which ... such a residence would have been scarcely supportable.<sup>15</sup>



Anne Grant, Laggan,  
1779-1803

50 miles  
Scale: 1:2,000,000



Grant soon acquired sufficient knowledge of Gaelic to converse freely with her husband's parishioners and to begin to translate Gaelic poetry into English. She spent the next 22 years in Laggan, farming and raising the couple's nine surviving children, three having died in infancy. Grant's eldest son died of consumption in 1800, her husband died in 1801, and Grant was left a widow with eight dependent children and a large number of debts.

Over the years, Grant had written poems for friends, and it was suggested to her that she should publish a selection of these in order to support her family. According to her account, she was at first reluctant 'to appear before the public as a writer'.<sup>16</sup> This is, of course, a conventional statement for both male and female writers of the period. What may be somewhat more unusual is Grant's open admission that her reluctance was based 'as much from pride as from modesty'.<sup>17</sup> The Duchess of Gordon interested herself in the project, and eventually three thousand subscribers were obtained. The book, *Poems on Various Subjects*, was published in Edinburgh in 1803.<sup>18</sup> Years later, George Thomson, editor and publisher of a large number of volumes of Scottish, Welsh and Irish songs, some of which included songs written by Anne Grant, was to claim that he had edited and 'superintended' the publication of Grant's poems but no mention of Thomson's involvement appears in any of Grant's writings.<sup>19</sup>

*Poems on Various Subjects* was successful and in 1808, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme brought out a second edition under the title, *The Highlanders, and Other Poems*; a third edition appeared in 1810.<sup>20</sup> The book was widely read and reviewed, but the reception from the reviewers was mixed. Perhaps perceiving from the surprising success of her poems a prospect of better maintaining her family by her literary efforts than by agriculture, Mrs. Grant abandoned the small farm near Laggan and moved to Stirling where she took in pupils and young lodgers.

Given her early experiences, it is perhaps not surprising that travel soon became an important theme in Grant's writings. When she began to write her memoir at the age of 70, she recounted a childish attempt to travel as her earliest infantine memory.

3H. h.

# POEMS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS,

BY

*MRS GRANT,*

LAGGAN.

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Edinburgh :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY J. MOIR, ROYAL BANK CLOSE:

SOLD BY LONGMAN AND REES, PATERNOSTER-RROW,  
AND J. HATCHARD, PICADILLY,  
LONDON:

BY MUNDELL AND SON, MANNERS AND MILLER, AND ARCH. CONSTABLE,  
EDINBURGH; BRASH AND REID, GLASGOW; D FEAT, PERTH;  
A. BROWN, ABERDEEN; ISAAC FORSYTH, ELGIN; AND  
YOUNG AND IMRAY, INVERNESS.

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1803

THE  
HIGHLANDERS,  
AND  
OTHER POEMS.

BY  
MRS. GRANT, LAGGAN. K

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY C. WHITTINGHAM,  
*Goswell Street;*  
FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW

1808.

My mother lived in the eastern extremity of [Glasgow]; I suppose she often spoke to others, though not to me, of my father being in America, and might very probably point westward when describing in what direction the New World lay to some one who knew still less than myself of geography. Be that as it may, I certainly set off one Sunday evening when I was at most two years and eight months old, and walked deliberately by myself very nearly a mile to the western extremity of the Trongate; how much further I might have gone is not known. A lady looking out of a window saw with some surprise a child neatly dressed in white, with bare head and arms, walking alone and unattended in the middle of the street. She sent for me and asked me where I came from. I said, 'From mamma's house;' I could tell no more. She next questioned me where I was going. I answered in my imperfect manner that I was going to America to seek papa. ... My age and the expressed intent of my journey alone made the performance of this early exploit remarkable.<sup>21</sup>

Grant's first foray into published travel writing came with the publication of her *Letters from the Mountains* in 1806, although her earlier book of poems had contained a number of poems with travel themes. In her *Memoirs*, Grant claimed that the *Letters* were real ones, sent to friends left behind in Glasgow when the Grant family moved to Fort Augustus. As she had done with the *Poems*, Grant represented herself as having been reluctant to publish her letters. Although she claimed that she 'always thought it extremely indelicate to publish letters in the lifetime of the author',<sup>22</sup> her major objection seems to have been an editorial one.

To suit them for public perusal, and avoid misconstruction in my own circle, I saw that I should find it necessary to exclude the most amusing and interesting passages, namely, those that related more particularly to my friends and their friends, as well as much harmless badinage and veritable narrative.<sup>23</sup>

As discussed in an earlier chapter, a published set of letters, despite protestations of the author's unwillingness to publish, must always be seen as a literary construct, consciously shaped both in the writing and in later selection and editing. Nevertheless, the considerable gap between the dates of the letters and their eventual publication makes it likely, I believe, that they were in fact, as claimed, copies of original letters. This is reinforced by the fact that Grant continued to publish her letters, frequently appending them to other books. Having discovered that her correspondence could be profitable, Grant seems to have decided to ignore her early doubts about the proprieties of such publication.

Although her first book of poetry had been published with the name 'Mrs Grant, Laggan' on the title page, Grant chose to publish *Letters from the Mountains* anonymously, the title page stating only that it was 'the real correspondence of a Lady'. It is likely that this reflected her initial concerns about the private nature of the letters — in the first edition the recipients were identified only by initials, although most of their names were given in full in later editions. Grant's decision to publish the full names of her correspondents again points to the likelihood of the published letters being real ones; real correspondents would presumably object if the letters were completely fictional with their names appended. Her subsequent books were published as 'By the Author of Letters from the Mountains'. Grant does not seem to have tried to hide her authorship and contemporary references to her books by both readers and periodical reviewers generally refer to her by name. It seems likely that the huge success of *Letters from the Mountains* made it commercially sensible to emphasise its connection with Grant's later works.

*Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1803*, which was published in 1806, was extremely successful, despite the fact that it was not reviewed in the periodical press.<sup>24</sup> A second and third edition appeared in London the following year (with some additional letters);<sup>25</sup> a fourth edition in 1809; a fifth in 1813; and a final posthumous edition in 1845. An American edition was published in Boston in 1809 with a further New York edition in 1813. A copy of the title page to the second edition follows this page.

LETTERS  
FROM  
THE MOUNTAINS;  
BEING THE REAL  
CORRESPONDENCE OF A LADY,  
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1773 AND 1807.

— "Memory swells  
With many a proof of recollected love."  
TOMSON.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,  
For LONGMAN, HURST, REES, & ORME, Paternoster-row;  
J. HATCHARD, Piccadilly;  
and Mrs. COOK, Bury-street, St James's.

1807.

By the time subsequent books were published, Grant had taken on the role of writer. Her letters from 1807 onward make it clear that she now saw herself as a professional author with something to say and a reasonable expectation of success.

In 1808, Grant wrote and published *Memoirs of an American Lady: with sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, As they existed previous to the Revolution*. In the Preface, she described her desire to 'delineate ... the rapid pace with which an infant society has urged on its progress from virtuous simplicity to the dangerous "knowledge of good and evil:" from tremulous imbecility to self-sufficient independence'.<sup>26</sup> As with Grant's earlier productions, *Memoirs of an American Lady* was well received. Although purportedly a biography of Catalina Schuyler, the 'American Lady' of the title, its chief interest for both its contemporary and for modern readers was in its descriptions of the customs and mores of the infant colony and of the interplay between the Dutch, British, American Indian<sup>27</sup> and black slave populations who lived side by side.

A second edition of *Memoirs of an American Lady* was published in 1809; and two further London editions<sup>28</sup> appeared in 1817. American editions were published in 1809, 1836, 1846, 1876 and 1901.

Grant moved to Edinburgh in 1810, where her house became a meeting place for much of the Edinburgh intelligentsia. In 1811, she wrote the book for which she is perhaps best known, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders*. Although influential in its day it was cited by Scott in *Waverley*, for example, and frequently mentioned in contemporaneous books about Highland myth it proved somewhat of a disappointment to reviewers and was not reprinted during Grant's lifetime. (Interestingly, however, it is the only one of Grant's books to have been reprinted in the twentieth century.)<sup>29</sup> Somewhat eccentrically, the book also contained a number of Grant's letters and several translations from the Gaelic. Her next book, *Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen* (1814), a book-length poem, primarily about England's victories during the Napoleonic Wars but touching on Scots emigration, the British Empire, the superiority of the British legal and parliamentary system

MEMOIRS  
OF  
AN AMERICAN LADY;

WITH  
SKETCHES OF MANNERS AND SCENERY  
IN AMERICA,

AS THEY EXISTED PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION.

*L. Saly, 1870*

BY THE AUTHOR OF  
"LETTERS FROM THE MOUNTAINS," &c. &c

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION,

LONDON:

*Schuyler (c.)  
K*

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATER-  
NOSTER-ROW; J. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY; AND MRS. H. COOK,  
JERMYN-STREET.

1809.

2 f



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ESSAYS  
ON THE  
SUPERSTITIONS  
OF THE  
HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GAELIC;

AND

LETTERS CONNECTED WITH THOSE FORMERLY  
PUBLISHED.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "LETTERS FROM THE MOUNTAINS."

A land of apparitions—empty shade—younge.

I recommend, though at the risk  
Of popular disgust, yet boldly still,  
The cause of piety, and sacred truth,  
And virtue, and those scenes which God ordained  
Should best secure them, and promote them most—  
Scenes that I love, and with regret perceive  
Forsaken, or through folly not enjoyed.—COWPER.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,  
SOLD ALSO BY J. HATCHEARD, PICCADILLY; MRS COCK,  
FALL MALL; AND MANNERS & MILLER, AND  
JOHN ANDERSON, EDINBURGH.

1811.

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and advice to the Prince Regent, proved less popular than her earlier works and only received one edition.

During her lifetime, Grant also published poems in collections and miscellanies and wrote a considerable number of songs for George Thomson's collections of both Scottish and Welsh airs. She was a prolific correspondent and a large number of her letters were published in 1844 after her death in 1838, together with a memoir written partly by Grant and completed by J. P. Grant, her only surviving son. This volume was again widely reviewed and was reprinted in 1845 and again in 1853.

The publication of *Poems on Various Subjects* in 1803 can be seen as the first step for Grant in what was to become a lifetime's task, interpreting the Highlands and the Highlanders to the outside world. Over one hundred pages were devoted to a single poem, 'The Highlanders', subtitled 'Sketches of Highland Scenery and Manners: With Some Reflections on Emigration'. In it, the non-material assets of the financially poor but spiritually rich Highlanders were contrasted with the material assets of those in the south. As Grant explained in the Argument which preceded the first part of the poem, the poem was designed to demonstrate

Contrast betwixt that Life in which the frame is enervated by Sloth and Luxury, and the mind unhinged by visionary systems of Philosophy; — and that wherein the Contemplation of Nature, and early habits of Piety, have produced Patience, Fortitude, and every manly Virtue: — Exemplified in the opposite characters, and illustrated by two correspondent similes, the Swallow and the Lark.<sup>30</sup>

Grant's Highlanders are 'blameless' primitives with 'simple manners', 'free from cautious doubts and selfish fears', and earning 'with patient toil, / Their scanty pittance from the rugged soil'.<sup>31</sup> 'Uncouth and wild', they possess virtues unknown to those

Who on soft Luxury's velvet lap reclin'd,  
Shrink from each bold exertion of the mind,

Whose unbrac'd languid frame, dissolv'd in ease,  
Recoils and shivers at th' autumnal breeze.<sup>32</sup>

Grant's Highland idyll is populated with hearty rustics, 'careful Fathers', 'manly youths' and 'blushing maids', who meet at night, after hard but satisfying labour, to greet each other with gentle delight, as 'each individual strives to bring a share, / To aid their household wants, or help their frugal fare'.<sup>33</sup> All is tranquil, respectful and wholesome, and each member of the family or community has his or her allotted role and function. Though primitive and poor, Grant's Highlanders nevertheless demonstrate Christian piety, kneeling 'with due reverence' while the father of the family leads them in prayer, before 'blessing heaven, and by each other blest, / They drown their toils in sweet oblivious rest'.<sup>34</sup>

Simplistic though this portrait may seem, it is clear from Grant's correspondence that she believed it to be a true picture. In a letter to a friend, written in 1803 but published posthumously, Grant contrasted the 'gentle and courteous cottagers' she had known in Laggan with the peasantry she had encountered south of the Grampians:

I languish for the scenes of humble happiness that have been so long congenial as well as familiar to me. Gentle and courteous cottagers of my ever dear Laggan, where is your simplicity of Life? Where are your native undebased sentiments? Where your mutual kindness, your social affection, your reverence for virtue, your grateful respect to superiors, and your self-denial, fortitude, and unequal filial duty? Here am I grieved with the altered manners of a gross and sordid peasantry, who retain only the form they have inherited from their pious ancestors while the spirit is entirely evaporated.<sup>35</sup>

It is evident from this and other letters that Grant did not simply equate a lack of material goods with spiritual richness. As she explained in the Second Argument of 'The Highlanders', there were, in her view, particular causes

which produced and still preserve that peculiar Character, in which a manly Simplicity is blended with a degree of Sentiment, and gentleness of Manners, seldom to be found in the lower class of any other country; and which seems so intimately connected with their language and manner of life, that they generally lose it, when incorporated with any other class of people<sup>36</sup>

For Grant, it was the Highland landscape, together with the geographical isolation which protected the Highlanders from the 'corrupting influence [of] Wealth, Luxury, extensive Commerce<sup>37</sup> and modern systems of education, which was able to produce,

in whatever remote obscurity they exist, a hardy manly Race, inured to Suffering, fearless of Danger, and careless of Poverty, to invigorate Society by their Spirit, to defend it by their Courage, and to adorn it with those Virtues that bloom in the shade, but are ready to wither away in the sunshine of Prosperity.<sup>38</sup>

Grant's Highlanders are clearly a type of noble savage, a concept which she was to explore more extensively in later writings. She sees them as an endangered quasi-wild species, in need of 'cherishing' and protection from dangerous outside influences.

'The Highlanders' is a deeply ideological poem. Grant's idealised world was also a frozen world, a world where older values still prevailed and where progress was a negative quality. The Highlanders do not need to be provided with improved material well-being; they have the compensation of their communal life and rustic tranquillity.

In Peter Womack's discussion of the anti-improvement ideology which lies beneath the surface of 'The Highlanders', he wrote: 'The poetic values which she attributes to the tradition of communal farming lead her into quite direct confrontations with the prevailing rationality of Improvement.'<sup>39</sup> Although herself the manager of a farm<sup>40</sup>, she extolled the virtues of an unenclosed, 'natural' landscape: 'Here all is open as the ambient sky, / Nor fence, nor wall, obstructs the wandering eye'<sup>41</sup> where 'flocks and herds ... wander up the mountain's

side at large'.<sup>42</sup> Her husband, meanwhile, took a less romantic view. Writing for the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, he asserted, 'Farmers have at last found out the advantages of enclosures.'<sup>43</sup>

Her repeated insistence on the need to protect the Highlanders from outside influences contradicts Grant's claim that they 'naturally' refuse the 'sordid' offerings of trade and improvement. As Womack suggests, 'The massively material 'barriers of holy freedom' which keep materialism at bay are an oxymoronic acknowledgement of the repressed possibility that the poetical Highlanders would be self-interested Smithian citizens if they were free to choose'<sup>44</sup> and not denied choice by their geographical isolation.

The localised limiting of morality, community and anti-materialist sentiment gives extra force to Grant's strictures against emigration. If the topography of the Highlands creates the conditions wherein such a Utopia can flourish, then moving its inhabitants across the seas where presumably such virtue will cease to exist is evil indeed. Grant concluded the poem with a plea to those in power to recognise that protecting the simple Highlanders and their way of life was essential to the moral health of the nation.

In 1994, a British Tourist Authority brochure aimed at the North American market stated:

Scotland conjures up images of dramatic mountains, shimmering lochs, tartans, bagpipes and fine malt whisky. Scotland is all of this and more besides ... it is a land rich in romantic baronial castles, Highland Games and the historic towns and cities. Explore the beautiful Highlands, the wooded glens, meandering rivers and traditional fishing villages ...<sup>45</sup>

Most of the images which now form part of the twentieth century picture of the Highlands as a travel destination are already present in Grant's poem. Rushing streams, Celtic bards, the music of the bagpipes, purple heather, lonely mountains, sheltered bothys, simple but friendly inhabitants, Bonny Prince Charlie — all can be found there.

The collection also included one poem on an American theme. 'An Ode, on reading one upon the same subject by Professor Richardson of Glasgow', depicted the native Americans in terms similar to those used by Grant for the Highlanders. Describing the Indians in a footnote as 'generous nations who have always been beloved by persons any time resident among them',<sup>46</sup> she went on to say:

Yes! there those generous tribes I saw,  
Who, sway'd alone by Nature's law,  
Th' unerring paths of rectitude pursue:  
Who cherish friendship's holy flame,  
And valour's greenest laurel claim,  
Of rigid faith inexorably true:  
Saw them reluctant yield their poplar groves,  
And flow'ry vales in wild luxuriance gay;  
Forsake their fame, their friendship, and their loves,  
When sunk beneath the European sway;  
While peace and joy, with all their smiling train,  
Recede before th' insatiate lust of gain.<sup>47</sup>

Like the Highlanders, the Indians' communal and moral way of life is threatened by the avarice and 'lust for gain' of those who want their land and goods: See lucre covet even the furry spoil / That wont to deck his limbs and crown his toil!<sup>48</sup> Grant was later, in *Memoirs of an American Lady*, to explore these perceived similarities between the Highlanders and the native Americans in more depth.

The book concludes with a set of Grant's translations of Gaelic poems, prefaced by an essay on the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian translations.

*Poems on Various Subjects* was widely reviewed but the response from the reviewers was mixed.<sup>49</sup> There was frequent praise for Grant's poetic abilities and talents, and her

subject matter was generally admired. Censure was, for the most part, directed at Grant's rhymes and accenting of words.

*Cull and wool, store and poor, pale and meal, Thames and streams, look and spoke, star and sepulchre, hope and group, &c.* will not pass as current rhymes.<sup>50</sup>

thundered the *Monthly Review* while the *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* complained,

She is not always happy in her choice of words... In placing her accents she is frequently wrong... Some of her lines ... cannot be made to rhyme at all, but in consequence of a depraved pronunciation, which, in most of these cases, we are inclined to suppose is the pronunciation to the North of the Tweed. ... Of words and phrases not English we may mention "summer-flitting" for *summer-removal*; "wheels" for *spinning-wheels*; "moor-powts" for *young grouse*, we suppose; ... "central" for *central*; ... and "narrates" for *relates*. The noun *narration* is a very good English word; but the verb *to narrate* is a pure Scotticism.<sup>51</sup>

Scots in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was generally considered to be a sub-standard language. David Hume had his works carefully checked for Scots expressions; Johnson scoffed when Hamilton of Bangour rhymed 'wishes' and 'bushes'; James Beattie in 1787 published *Scotticisms arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improperities of Speech and Writing* 'to put young writers and speakers on their guard against some of those Scotch idioms which in this country are liable to be mistaken for English'.<sup>52</sup>

The criticism seems to have struck home and Grant's later book of poetry, *Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen*, although touching on Scottish subjects such as emigration, bards and Ossian, was written in standard London English, carefully avoiding Scots expressions and rhymes.

The *British Critic's* reviewer was the only one to draw attention to Grant's dual experience of America and Scotland and between her poetic depiction of the Highlanders and the native tribes of America. Other reviewers ignored the American references in the book, focusing primarily on 'The Highlanders'.

Grant's next book, *Letters from the Mountains*, was a three-volume collection of 132 personal letters written between 1773 (when Grant was seventeen) and 1806. The letters cover a wide range of subjects, but their relevance to this thesis lies in the evidence they provide for Grant's definition of herself as a Highlander, despite her Glasgow birth and colonial upbringing and her interest in and support for the genuineness of Macpherson's Ossianic poems.

In 1773, while in the course of their journey<sup>53</sup> from Glasgow to Fort Augustus, the Grant party were joined by a student on his way home from college. Grant wrote:

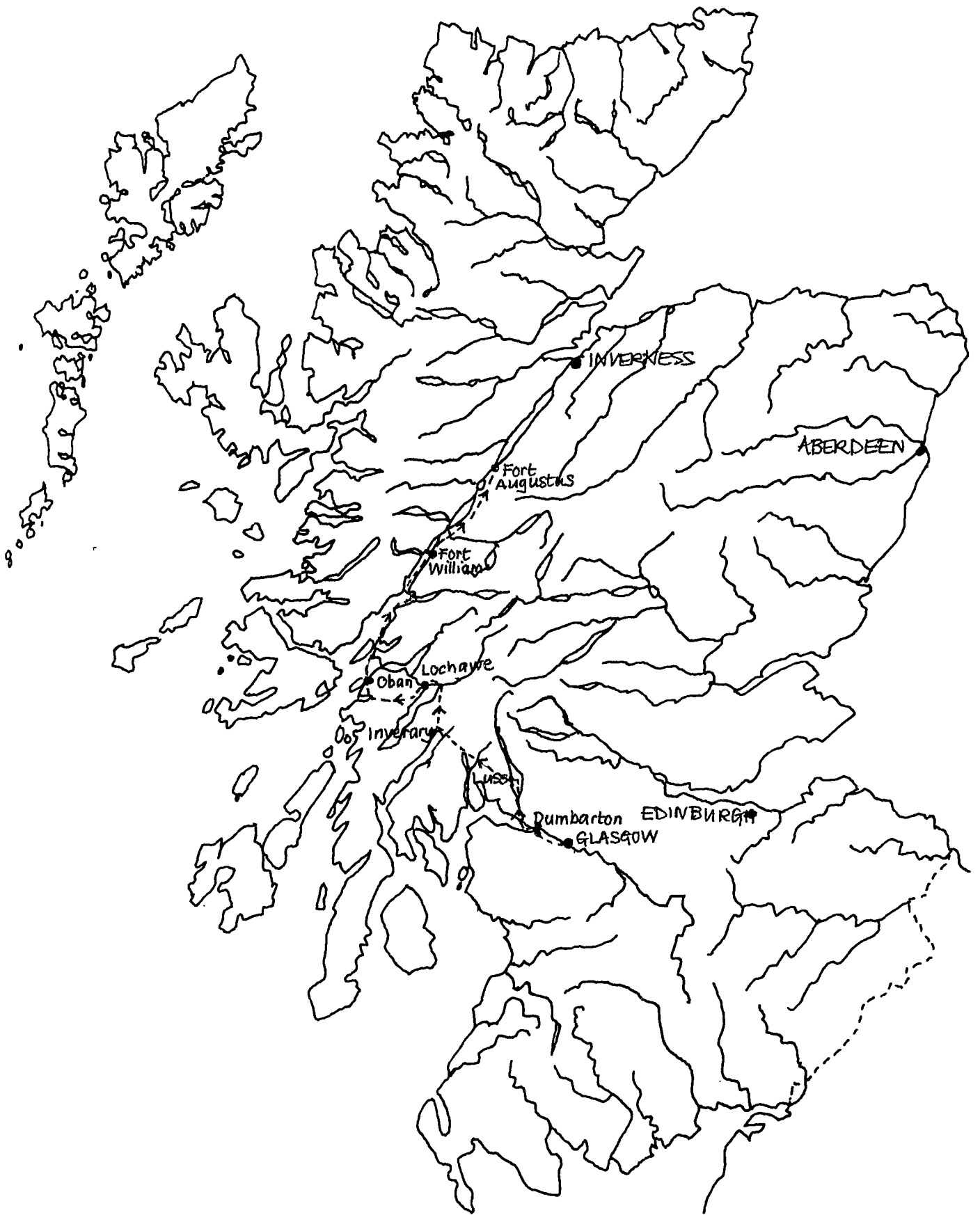
[He] was heard growling for his breakfast below. He did not swear, but was so fretful and querulous; so displeased with every thing that was given or said to him, and his manner of growling too was so amusing, he shewed so much ingenuity in discovering faults in every thing, that I burst out a laughing, and said we were certainly haunted by the ghost of Smelfungus.<sup>54</sup>

She was appalled, however, when she discovered that the newly arrived traveller was from the Highlands.

I, who for my part detest every mode of selfish luxury, could not endure to see a native highlander make his good humour dependant on a good breakfast ... He and I are a complete contrast; he has nothing of a highlander but by his birth; now that is the precise and only circumstance wanting to make me a complete one.<sup>55</sup>

For Grant, admittedly writing at a young age, to be 'a highlander' is to belong to a spiritual rather than a geographic category. For Grant, the word Highlander indicates not only





Anne Grant, 1773

50 miles  
Scale: 1:2,000,000

someone from a certain area but someone with particular values and attitudes. In a footnote to the passage she added:

Among the peculiarities of highland manners is an avowed contempt for the luxuries of the table. ... Were [a Highland hunter] to stop in any pursuit, because it was meal time, to growl over a bad dinner, or visibly exult over a good one, the manly dignity of his character would be considered as fallen for ever.<sup>56</sup>

Throughout the letters, Grant moves between a position of identification with the Highlanders — a sense of being a Highlander in every thing but accident of birth — and a position in which she stands outside, observing, commenting and interpreting. She frequently compares rural Highland culture with her memories of Glasgow society — and it is always Glasgow which she finds deficient.

Unlike L, Grant depicts her first experience of a Highland kirk service in complimentary tones and, unlike L's incredulous response to 'the strange appearance as the lower sort of women make',<sup>57</sup> Grant expresses her delight at finding that the women 'preserve the form of dress worn some hundred years ago',<sup>58</sup> seeing in this a kind of continuity with the past and an affirmation of her own beliefs that the Highlanders of the late eighteenth century are identical to those depicted in ballad and story. On a subsequent occasion, she draws a parallel between the dress of the Highlanders to that which she encountered in America, linking the subject to ideas about poverty and wealth.

If wealth was every thing to me, as it is to many you know, it would make me miserable to see so many deserving creatures what you would call very poor; but they do not think themselves so, and therefore they are not so. I know nothing so silly as the disgust and wonder your cockney Misses shew at any custom or dress they are not used to. I now think plaids and faltans (fillets)

just as becoming as I once did the furs and wampum of the Mohawks, whom I always remember with kindness.<sup>59</sup>

Repeatedly she holds up the Highlander's lack of material wealth as a virtue rather than a deficit, believing that 'Patience and fortitude, the virtues our helpless state most needs, are the growth of barren soils.'<sup>60</sup>

Her own identification with the Highlanders grew over the years and can be seen to develop through the thirty-three year period covered by the *Letters from the Mountains*. Of particular note is her decision to raise her children as native Gaelic speakers, teaching them English as a second language as they grow older. As she wrote to a friend in 1785,

I make a point of making my mountain nymphs speak the language of the mountains in the first place. ... You cannot think what a source of pleasure my little acquaintance with that emphatic and original language has afforded me. I am determined my children shall all drink "from the pure wells of Celtic undefiled." ... I never desire to hear an English word out of their mouths till they are four or five years old.<sup>61</sup>

Just as she was to later describe her memory of the Mohawk language as 'sonorous, musical, and expressive';<sup>62</sup> so too was she at great pains to convince her correspondents that the Highland language was of equal if not superior value as English.

As already mentioned, Grant's first book of poetry included an essay on the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian translations. Throughout her life, Grant strongly believed in the genuineness of the Ossianic fragments, although she expressed some doubts about the accuracy of some of Macpherson's translations. Her faith in the poems was so strong that a contemporary once remarked that had Anne Grant been obliged to relinquish belief in either Ossian or the Lord, it would have been a near-run thing.<sup>63</sup> Throughout her writings, Grant made frequent reference to Ossian, sometimes quoting from the poems, and her own translations of Gaelic verse, whether of traditional or of contemporary date, were

adduced to prove the possibility of Gaelic bards and oral composition. *Letters from the Mountains*, particularly the earlier letters, is scattered with references to Ossianic characters and imagery, and, for example, when travelling towards Fort Augustus,

My Ossianic mania returned with double force; where every blast seemed to touch a viewless harp; and every passing cloud, brightened with the beams of the moon, appeared to my mind's eye a vehicle for the shades of the lovely and the brave, that live in the songs of other times.<sup>64</sup>

It is clear from the context of the passage, and from other similar references throughout the three volumes, that this statement is not meant to be interpreted ironically. For Grant, the 'shades of the lovely and the brave' had their existence both 'in the songs of other times' and, equally, in their Highland descendants.

Grant's third book, *Memoirs of an American Lady: with sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, As they existed previous to the Revolution*, grew out of her experiences as a child in the American<sup>65</sup> colonies. Although a detailed examination of this book is outside the scope of this thesis, in it Grant linked the American Indians with the Highlanders, perceiving both groups as examples of noble primitives in need of protection from corrupting influences. Her writing in *Memoirs of an American Lady* laid the foundations for her later work on theories of societal development. Furthermore, her youthful experience in the untamed American landscape directly influenced her later responses to the Highlands.

It is perhaps important to remember that Grant was a child at the time of her stay in the American colonies, arriving at the age of two and leaving when she was thirteen years of age. This obviously allowed her entrance to certain experiences — she writes in detail of berry-picking and picnics among the children of the colony — but barred her from others. The book however is written from an adult's point of view and sees things largely through the eyes of the adult Grant then was. Dorothy McMillan has written:

[Grant's] position as a 'travel writer' is ... the reverse of the norm. Customarily travellers take a baggage of cultural assumptions to the new societies they are exploring. Anne Grant *returns* from Albany, armed with its culture, only to discover as she becomes acquainted with Britain, that much of what must have seemed natural to her is far from being so by old world standards. And so in order to write about Albany after forty years she has to learn to see, not just as is the case with all memoirs of childhood, with an adult eye endeavouring to recapture the sensations of childhood, but also with a culturally re-equipped sense of what her childhood and early adolescence must have been like to her then, and an acute awareness of how it will seem to her readers now.<sup>66</sup>

The book was not written until many years after the events and scenes described and seems to have been written from memory, Grant making no reference to owning diaries or other written records of her American sojourn. Unlike the accounts of later nineteenth-century travellers to America, there is no indication that Grant had read any earlier or contemporaneous writings about the continent at the time she wrote her own book. By the time she began writing *Memoirs of an American Lady*, Grant had defined herself as an author. The book was written from the start with a public audience in mind and she proved skilful at identifying what would interest her readers.

Shirley Foster, in her book *Across New Worlds*, divides nineteenth-century travellers to America into two groups, 'those who essentially rejected or tried to familiarise the wilderness, and those who were drawn to its otherness.'<sup>67</sup> She goes on to say:

The first group, taking Europe as their standard, assessed it in terms relevant to their own culture or to their previous experiences of foreign landscape ... [or] sought to impose conventional literary or aesthetic images of beauty on the natural environment ... [or] look[ed] for signs of man's benevolent and practical intervention focusing on cultivated nature, in harmony with

humanity. ... Others of the travellers were readier to embrace the challenge, psychological as well as physical, of the New World's uncompromising vastness. ... they welcomed the difference from an ordered landscape which represented the regular pattern of their home lives.<sup>68</sup>

Anne Grant's response to America fell into the second category. Looking back as an adult on the simpler society she had known as a child, it was the older, more refined society that she found inferior, much as she had presented the romanticised Highland community as superior to the Lowland and English ways of life. At the age of five, she embraced the wilderness landscape with enthusiasm.

In the month of October [my father] set out on this journey, or voyage rather, in which it was settled that my mother and I should accompany him. We were, I believe, the first females, above the very lowest ranks, who had ever penetrated so far into this remote wilderness. ... What joys were mine! to be idle for a fortnight, seeing new woods, rivers, and animals, every day; even then the love of nature was, in my young bosom, a passion productive of incessant delight. ... What a change from sitting pinned down to my sampler [sic] by my mother ... This journey, charming my romantic imagination by its very delays and difficulties, was such a source of interest and novelty to me, that above all things I dreaded its conclusion, which I well knew would be succeeded by long tasks and close confinement.<sup>69</sup>

Like Foster's second group of women travellers, the child Grant valued the wilderness at least partly for its contrast with the restrictions of her daily life, a life constrained by female tasks and needlework, even within the frontier settlement of Albany. The difficulties and physical challenges of making such a journey merely seem to have added to its charm for Grant.

The journey was punctuated with a visit to an Indian chieftain known to the settlers as King Hendrick. Grant's portrait of the native monarch is a sympathetic one and the child was

presumably encouraged to treat the king with respect by her parents. Nevertheless, the king, although 'a princely figure' and 'a generous warrior' is defined by Grant as 'a primitive monarch' and not quite genuine royalty in the European sense.

[We] came early in the evening to one of the most charming scenes imaginable, where Fort Hendrick was built; so called, in compliment to the principal Sachem, or King of the Mohawks. The castle of this primitive monarch stood at a little distance, on a rising ground, surrounded by pallisades. He resided, at the time, in a house which the public workmen, who had lately built this fort, had been ordered to erect for him in the vicinity. We did not fail to wait upon His Majesty; who, not chusing to depart too much from the customs of his ancestors, had not permitted divisions of apartments, or modern furniture to profane his new dwelling. It had the appearance of a good barn, and was divided across by a mat hung in the middle. King Hendrick, who had indeed a very princely figure, and a countenance that would not have dishonoured royalty, was sitting on the floor beside a large heap of wheat, surrounded with baskets of dried berries of different kinds; beside him, his son, a very pretty boy, somewhat older than myself, was caressing a foal, which was unceremoniously introduced into the royal residence. A laced hat, a fine saddle and pistols, gifts of his good brother the great king,<sup>70</sup> were hung round on the cross beams. He was splendidly arrayed in a coat of pale blue, trimmed with silver; all the rest of his dress was of the fashion of his own nation, and highly embellished with beads and other ornaments. All this suited my taste exceedingly, and was level to my comprehension. I was prepared to admire King Hendrick by hearing him described as a generous warrior, terrible to his enemies, and kind to his friends: the character of all others calculated to make the deepest impression on ignorant innocence, in a country where infants learned the horrors of war

from its vicinity. Add to all this, that the monarch smiled, clapped my head, and ordered me a little basket, very pretty, and filled by the officious kindness of his son with dried berries. Never did princely gifts, or the smile of royalty, produce more ardent admiration and profound gratitude. I went out of the royal presence overawed and delighted, and am not sure but what I have liked kings all my life the better for this happy specimen, to which I was so early introduced. Had I seen royalty, properly such, invested with all the pomp of European magnificence, I should possibly have been confused and over-dazzled. But this was quite enough, and not too much for me; and I went away, lost in a reverie, and thought of nothing but kings, battles, and generals for days after.<sup>71</sup>

Elleke Boehmer has suggested that there are two ways in which colonialist writers define and document the alien; either by screening the incomprehensible out of the picture altogether or by naming and foregrounding the strangeness, and therefore acknowledging it.<sup>72</sup> Shirley Foster adds a third device, 'whereby terms of cultural familiarisation or idealisation are subverted so as to debase or ridicule ... reinforcing rather than obliterating difference.'<sup>73</sup>

Grant's description of her encounter with King Hendrick is ambivalent. On the one hand, as already suggested, she is respectful and acknowledges him as an important figure. At the same time, much of the detail she reports create a sense of incongruity about the scene. Hendrick lives in a European house, but one built by European orders, not one he has initiated himself. The king chooses not to furnish his house in the European style, and to Grant's eyes, therefore, it appears like a good barn, divided by a mat hung in the middle, and with European gifts hanging from the rafters. The king sits upon the floor, and his son has a horse within the house, therefore reinforcing the barn image. This is a story-book fantasy, a pretend king for a child, 'level' to the five-year old's understanding.

The same contradictions run through many of the descriptions of the Indians in this book. Much of the time, Grant wrote of a noble and moral primitive society, whose people



were corrupted and damaged by their contact with Europeans, just as she was later to write (in *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders*) of the detrimental effect produced by giving a Highlander a lowland education. Nonetheless, there are occasional slippages where the Indians' flaws come to the fore.

In *Memoirs of an American Lady*, Grant proposed a theory of societal development wherein a culture passes from primitive contentment to 'a higher state of society' via a difficult intermediate state created by contact with more 'civilised' groups.

Idleness, with its gloomy followers *ennui* and suicide, were unknown among this truly active people: yet that there is a higher state of society cannot be denied; nor can it be denied that the intermediate state is a painful and enfeebling one. Man, in a state of nature, is taught by his more civilized brethren a thousand new wants before he learns to supply one. Thence barter takes place; which in the first stage of progression is universally fatal to the liberty, the spirit, and the comforts of an uncivilized people <sup>74</sup>

Grant believed this process to be a universal one, and described its effects in the middle east 'where the cradle of our infant nature was appointed'<sup>75</sup> and, perhaps more significantly, in the Highlands of Scotland.

Population extending to the milder regions of Europe, brought civilization along with it; so that it is only among the savages (as we call our ancestors) of the North, that we can trace the intermediate state I have spoken of.<sup>76</sup>

The interface between two groups at different stages of development could have two outcomes, conquest or degradation. In the Highlands,

when the savage hunters of the north became too numerous to subsist on their deer and fish, and too warlike to dread the conflict with troops more regularly armed, they rushed down, like a cataract, on their enfeebled and voluptuous

neighbours; destroyed the monuments of art, and seemed for a time to change the very face of nature. Yet dreadful as were the devastations of this flood, let forth by divine vengeance to punish and to renovate, it had its use, in sweeping away the hoarded mass of corruption with which the dregs of mankind had polluted the earth. It was an awful, but a needful process. ... where a bold and warlike people subdue a voluptuous and effeminate one, the result is, in due time, an improvement of national character.<sup>77</sup>

For Grant, however, the process in the Americas had been far more damaging to the 'primitive' group.

In similar climes and circumstances to those of the primeval nations in the other hemisphere, the case has been very different. There, too, the hunter, by the same gradation, became a warrior; but first assured by the friendship which sought his protection; then repelled by the art that coveted and encroached on his territories; and lastly by the avarice which taught him new wants, and then took an undue advantage of them; they neither wished for our superfluities, nor envied our mode of life; nor did our encroachments much disturb them, as they receded into their trackless coverts as we approached from the coast. But though they scorned our refinements; and though our government, and all the enlightened minds amongst us, dealt candidly and generously with all such as were not set on by our enemies to injure us, the blight of European vices, the mere consequence of private greediness and fraud, proved fatal to our very friends. ... To all that induces us to labour they were indifferent. ... I have already observed how much happier they considered their manner of living than ours; yet their intercourse with us daily diminished their independence, their happiness, and even their numbers. In the new world this fatality has never failed to follow the introduction of European settlers; who, instead of civilizing and improving, slowly consume

and waste; where they do not, like the Spaniards, absolutely destroy and exterminate the natives. The very nature of even our most friendly mode of dealing with them was pernicious to their moral welfare ... Untutored man, in beginning to depart from that life of exigencies, in which the superior acuteness of his senses, his fleetness, and dexterity in the chase, are his chief dependance [sic], loses so much of all this before he can become accustomed to, or qualified for, our mode of procuring food by patient labour, that nothing can be conceived more enfeebled and forlorn than the state of the few detached families remaining of vanished tribes, who, having lost their energy, and even the wish to live in their own manner, were slowly and reluctantly beginning to adopt ours.<sup>78</sup>

Linking the Highlanders with the American Indians as examples of primitive and savage peoples was not of course unique to Grant.<sup>79</sup> In 1755 William Robertson, the historian and clergyman, preached a sermon in which he stated that in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland 'society still appears in its rudest and most imperfect form';<sup>80</sup> later the same year he approvingly quoted William Douglas's comment that 'America may be called the youngest Brother and meanest of Mankind'.<sup>81</sup> Boswell found the Highlanders in Auchnasheal 'as black and wild ... as any American savages'.<sup>82</sup> Grant, however, was one of the few writers who had direct personal experience of both cultures upon which to base her observations.

Shirley Foster argues that idealisation of the primitive often works as a distancing strategy, preventing the traveller from actually 'seeing' the Indian as a real human being.<sup>83</sup> Although Grant tends to ennoble the Indians, she does seem to go beyond that tendency to a truer depiction. Unlike those whose encounters with Indians occurred on touristic journeys, Grant frequently experienced long periods of interaction between the Indians and the white settlers and was particularly influenced by encounters between women of the two groups.

Some detached Indian families resided for a while in summer in the vicinity of houses occupied by the more wealthy and benevolent inhabitants. They

generally built a slight wigwam under shelter of the orchard fence on the shadiest side; and never were neighbours more harmless, peaceable, and obliging; I might truly add, industrious; for in one way or other they were constantly occupied. The women and their children employed themselves in many ingenious handicrafts ... Baking trays, wooden dishes, ladles and spoons, shovels and rakes; brooms of a peculiar manufacture, made by splitting a birch-block into slender but tough filaments; baskets of all kinds and sizes, made of similar filaments, enriched with the most beautiful colours, which they alone knew how to extract from vegetable substances, and incorporate with the wood. They made also of the birch-bark, (which is here so strong and tenacious, that cradles and canoes are made of it,) many receptacles for holding fruit and other things, curiously adorned with embroidery, not inelegant, done with the sinews of deer, and leggions and moomesans, a very comfortable and highly ornamented substitute for shoes and stockings, then universally used in winter among the men of our own people. They had also a beautiful manufacture of deer skin, softened to the consistence of the finest Chamois leather, and embroidered with beads of Wampum, formed like bugles; these, with great art and industry, they formed out of shells, which had the appearance of fine white porcelaine, veined with purple. This embroidery shewed both skill and taste, and was among themselves highly valued. They had belts, large embroidered garters, and many other ornaments, formed, first of deer sinews, divided to the size of coarse thread, and afterwards, when they obtained worsted thread from us, of that material, formed in a manner which I could never comprehend. It was neither knitted nor wrought in the manner of net, nor yet woven; but the texture was formed more like an officer's sash than any thing I can compare it to. While the women and children were thus employed, the men sometimes assisted them in the more laborious part of their business, but oftener occupied themselves in fishing on the rivers, and drying

or preserving, by means of smoke, in sheds erected for the purpose, sturgeon and large eels, which they caught in great quantities, and of an extraordinary size, for winter provision. The summer residence of these ingenious artisans promoted a great intimacy between the females of the vicinity and the Indian women, whose sagacity and comprehension of mind were beyond belief. ... It was necessary then that all conversations should be held, and all business transacted with these females, by the mistress of the family. In the infancy of the settlement the Indian language was familiar to the more intelligent inhabitants, who found it very useful, and were, no doubt, pleased with its nervous and emphatic idiom, and its lofty and sonorous cadence. Conversing with those interesting and deeply reflecting natives, was to thinking minds no mean source of entertainment. Communication soon grew easier; for the Indians had a singular facility in acquiring other languages; the children I well remember, from experimental knowledge, for I delighted to hover about the wigwam, and converse with those of the Indians, and we very frequently mingled languages.<sup>84</sup>

As a child, Grant had possibly not yet absorbed European stereotypes of female beauty or accomplishment against which to measure the appearance and behaviour of the Indian women. In addition, values of utility in a wilderness settlement made the Indian women's craftwork more valuable and appreciated in that context than it might have been otherwise. This gendered mixing of Indian and settler families enabled Grant to come to know them as individuals, just as she would later come to know and value the Highlanders of her husband's parish in Laggan. Grant's early experience of an 'alien' culture, therefore, took place within a wider circle of female co-mingling and mutual acceptance and much of her description of the activities of the Indian women seems designed to counter traveller's accusations of 'picturesque idleness'. Furthermore, travellers often used distancing strategies to deal with new cultures or landscapes, attempting to minimise the perceived threat to their own stability

of the known. Life for any young child is filled with novelty and difference, and Grant's 'known' her parents and a sense of being included and cared for travelled with her, minimising any sense of risk in new encounters or experiences.

In a letter to a friend in 1821, Grant depicted her relationship with the women of Laggan in terms that were strikingly similar to those she used when describing her Albany experience.

Long days have I knit my stocking or carried an infant from sheaf to sheaf, sitting and walking by turns on the harvest-field, attentively observing conversation which for the first years of my residence in the Highlands I was not supposed to understand. Seldom a day passed that I did not find two or three petitioners in the kitchen respectfully entreating for advice, medicine, or some petty favour. Often I sat down with them, and led them to converse, captivated with the strength and beauty of their expressions in their native tongue.<sup>85</sup>

Unlike Mary Louise Pratt's "contact zone", which she describes as 'the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict',<sup>86</sup> Grant's experience of a 'gendered contact zone' (my term) is based on mutual respect and acceptance.

*Memoirs of an American Lady* ends with a 'last of the race' image that anticipates Grant's desire in *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* to record the remnants of a disappearing culture.

The reader, who has patiently gone on to the conclusion of these desultory memoirs, will perhaps regret parting with that singular association of people, the Mohawk tribes, without knowing where the few that remain have taken up their abode. It is but doing justice to this distinguished race to say, that,

though diminished, they were not subdued; though voluntary exiles, not degraded. Their courage and fidelity were to the last exerted in the most trying exigencies. True to their alliance with that nation with whom they had ever lived in friendship, and faithful to that respectable family, who had formed at once the cement and the medium by which that alliance was confirmed and through which assurances of attachment and assistance had been transmitted, all that remained of this powerful nation followed Sir John Johnson (the son of their revered Sir William) into Upper Canada, where they now find a home around the place of his residence. One old man alone, having no living tie remaining, would not forsake the tombs of his ancestors; and remains like "A watch man on the lonely hill;" or rather like a sad memento of an extinguished nation.<sup>87</sup>

*Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* (1811), Grant's most formal attempt to represent Highland culture to the outside world, appears in many ways to have been less successful than her attempt in *Memoirs of an American Lady* to represent American settler and Indian culture to a European audience. Certainly it seems to have disappointed many readers.

"The ostensible subject of these volumes is, in its own nature, sufficiently limited, and must derive its interest chiefly from incidental and local associations,"<sup>88</sup> wrote the reviewer in the *Monthly Review*, who went on to complain,

Indeed, a small portion only of the present publication directly bears on its avowed object ... we are presented with some nicely-trimmed sentences on particular stages in the progress of human society, and with something like the good lady's displeasure at philosophers and men of science, for neglecting the delightful occupation of studying the Erse language: but not a single ghost or fairy even beckons in the distance.<sup>89</sup>

Others protested that Grant had already written extensively about the Highlands and that she was beginning to repeat herself. The reviewer in the *Edinburgh Review* declared,

The volumes before us have the disadvantage of treating of the same general themes upon which Mrs Grant had already delivered herself at large in her former publications. To illustrate the character and manners of men in remote situations, and in the earlier stages of civilization, may be said to be the object of all her writings; and in her letters, in particular, we are made so well acquainted with her favourite Highlanders, that we were a good deal at a loss to imagine where she was to find materials for an entire new book on the subject. The present work, accordingly, is not entirely free from the fault of repeating what had been already delivered in another form by the author; and a consciousness that she had, in a good measure, exhausted the great and attractive topic of Highland character, genius and manners, has led her, we suspect, to assign a larger portion than she would otherwise have done of the present work, to the less interesting subject of their Superstitions.<sup>90</sup>

This disappointment is echoed by twentieth-century critics. 'In view of her talents and opportunities, the *Essays* make disappointing reading,' wrote Richard M. Dorson in 1968,<sup>91</sup> while 20 years later, Dorothy McMillan stated flatly, 'To come to this work after the American memoirs is a disappointment.'<sup>92</sup>

Part of the problem seems to be one of genre. What was Grant trying to do in the *Essays*? One fruitful approach might seem to be to assign the book to the growing category of folklore collection. This was certainly the expectation raised for its contemporary readership by its title.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, interest in folklore and in the literary uses of folklore spread rapidly across Europe. As Richard M. Dorson has written:



In Norway, Finland, Hungary, Serbia, and elsewhere, scholars found special national qualities in the history, literature, language, and folklore of their terrain. Now the folk are transformed from a superstitious, backward peasantry to a pastoral people attuned to nature and glowing with a natural morality.<sup>93</sup>

In England, books such as Paul Henri Mallet's *Northern Antiquities; or a Description of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Laws of the Ancient Danes*<sup>94</sup> and Robert Southey's use of folk themes in his ballads responded to this growing interest.

In 1802, Sir Walter Scott published his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish border: Consisting of historical and romantic ballads, collected in the southern counties of Scotland; With a few of modern date, founded upon local tradition*<sup>95</sup>, a mixture of orally collected songs,<sup>96</sup> literary inventions, border ballads and 'Imitations of the Ancient Ballad', in which works written in broad Scots and those written in literary English were given equal place. Scott's interest in legends and supernatural beliefs continued and his later Waverley novels were peppered with notes, prefaces and appendices, acknowledging and elaborating upon his traditional sources. In his Postscript to *Waverley*, in fact, Scott cited Anne Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands*, referring to it as 'the traditional records of the respectable and ingenious Mrs Grant of Laggan'<sup>97</sup>

During the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, a number of books on Highland poetry, folk-tales, beliefs and superstitions appeared. In 1810, the engraver Robert H. Cromek published *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song, with Historical and Traditional Notices relative to the Manners and Customs of the Peasantry*. The poems in Cromek's book were later alleged by Allan Cunningham to have been written by himself, and a subsequent edition included essays by Cunningham on such subjects as 'Scottish Games', 'History of Witchcraft, sketched from the popular tales of the peasantry ...' and 'Character of the Scottish Lowland Fairies'.

In 1824, Robert Chambers published the first volume of *Traditions of Edinburgh*, a collection of urban folklore. Having read the first part, Sir Walter Scott contributed materials for the second volume, and later supplied information for Chambers' *The Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (1826). A third book on folklore, *Scottish Jests and Anecdotes*, was published in 1832.

In 1823, William Grant Stewart produced *The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland*. Like Scott, he referred to Grant's work:

Much light has been lately thrown on the general character of the Scottish Highlander, by the ingenious Mrs Grant of Laggan ... but the more interesting and latent peculiarities have been left to expire in the dark. The want of a complete and systematic account of the Highland and Scottish Superstitions is a desideratum in our national literature.<sup>98</sup>

Stewart attempted to fill that perceived need, dividing up his accounts of ghosts, fairies, brownies, spunkies and witches according to their powers, habits and 'similitudes'.

Slightly later, Sir John Graham Dalyell took a similar approach. In *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland. Illustrated from History and Practice* (1834) he catalogued superstitions under such headings as 'Imaginary Beings', 'Faculties ascribed to Sorcerors' and 'Prognostication'. Unlike the earlier writers, however, Dalyell based his research on manuscripts and printed books in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh rather than upon oral sources.

All of these books recorded detailed accounts of traditional stories, charms, rituals and beliefs. For their readers, much of the interest lay in their 'exotic' and 'primitive' nature and in the stories and tales they contained. Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands* was a very different type of book. Although it purported to be a book about 'superstitions', it coincided far more closely with another strand of study and thought in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Scotland. Fiona Stafford has traced the way in which, during the eighteenth century,

the Apocalyptic model ... ceased to be the dominant influence on ideas of ending and ... it is possible to discern a growing interest in disappearing families, tribes, and communities. The trend reflects a new awareness of cultural relativism, which involved not only ideas of time and history, but also of race. For the first time, works began to emerge in which the central characters derive their significance from being members of a vanishing group, and are referred to specifically as 'the last of the race'.<sup>99</sup>

This coincided with a growing interest in primitive peoples and cultures and in conjecture about the origins of the writer's own society. This was perhaps particularly true in Scotland. As Robert Crawford has observed,

Discussions of the primitive and the refined were a major element of the Enlightenment, not only in a Montesquieu-fuelled Scotland but also across Europe and in North America. Yet the debate was particularly intense in, and pertinent to, Scottish culture, because, rightly or wrongly, the small country of Scotland could be seen in various ways as strikingly divided between the barbarically primitive and the confidently sophisticated.<sup>100</sup>

The concept was taking hold that all societies passed through a number of stages, four in all, based on different modes of subsistence: hunting and gathering, domestication of animals, agricultural and commercial. This replaced an earlier ethnography which mapped differences between cultures onto a taxonomy of 'peoples'.<sup>101</sup> Both the Highlands and islands of Scotland and the American Indians were frequently given as examples of society in its most primitive form. Peter Womack has affirmed that the operative distinction of the four stages theory is

... the general comparability it permits between different societies ... As early as 1746, a paper in the *Craftsman* based policy proposals on the view that the Highlands were now what England had been in the time of Henry VIII. In

1767 Sir James Steuart paused over the example of Highland agriculture 'because I imagine it to be, more or less, the picture of Europe 400 years ago.' ... Hugh Blair in 1763 made the universality of the 'four great stages' the explicit basis of his influential comparison of Ossian and Homer: 'For though Homer lived more than a thousand years before Ossian, it is not from the age of the world, but from the state of society, that we are to judge of resembling times.' In each of these widely differing contexts, the Highlanders appear, no longer as different from ourselves, but as *what we once were*.<sup>102</sup>

In *Essays*, Grant likewise represented the Highlanders as examples of a primitive people worthy of study in order that more 'civilised' cultures might be better appreciated, and so that we might understand our origins.

When nations, in the progress of knowledge and refinement, have arrived at a high state of cultivation, and are thus enabled to take extensive views of life and manners, from the height to which they have attained, they begin to look with a mixture of contempt and self-gratulation on those wider regions still inhabited by tribes, as rude and barbarous as their own ancestors have been at a remoter period. Among others, slowly advancing in gradual progression from rudeness to refinement, we find much to excite our wonder and compassion; yet often feel ourselves compelled to stoop from all the pride of science, to bestow our tribute of esteem or admiration on the talents that sometimes illuminate the gloom of ignorance, or the mild affections and faithful attachments that sometimes endear the abodes of humble simplicity. The comparison between an uncivilized and highly illuminated people, must certainly be very much in favour of the latter. We should cultivate the garden to very little purpose, if its productions were not more beautiful and more abundant than those of the wilderness. Yet the natural taste that leads us to wander and to speculate with a kind of nameless pleasure among the wildest

recesses of the forest or the fell, does not abate, but exalt our delight in the fertility and beauty of cultivated scenes: On the contrary, the pleasure is heightened by contrast.<sup>103</sup>

Despite her comment that a comparison must favour the more 'civilized' group, she asserted that, for those of 'unspoilt mind', contact with the 'uncivilised' society was a delightful experience, comparable to the pleasure given to adults by young children. She was keen to emphasise that the Highlanders, although 'primitive', were not complete savages but were, in fact, in the process of progressing towards civilization.

The solitary, cruel, selfish, and capricious savage, far from forming an object of amusing speculation, fills us with sensations of mingled horror and disgust, such as we feel at the Yahoo pictures of Swift; and make us, like his reader, shudder at owning our fellow nature with a being so degraded. But among a people, whose progress towards civilization, is so far advanced, that the feelings of the heart, and the powers of the imagination have been called forth, preceding the light of science, as the morning star and the dusky dawn do the effulgence of the sun. Among such people, the mind finds something to dwell on that is soothing and satisfactory. We contemplate nations in this state, with a feeling like that which every unspoilt mind derives from the innocent prattle of such children as are not confined in artificial trammels, but allowed to express their own thoughts in their own words. We feel all the comparative consciousness, that we can think deeper, and express ourselves better; yet, making the due allowances, we wonder how they think so soundly, and speak so well. To this wonder is added the never failing charm of simplicity, and the delight we take in detecting the first motions as they arise in the untutored breast; and assisting the retrograde view, we love to indulge of our own feelings and opinions, during that guileless period.<sup>104</sup>

When she did make comparisons between the two groups, it was generally the 'civilized' group that was found deficient. Her earlier descriptions in *The Highlanders* had repeatedly insisted on the superiority of the materially poor but spiritually rich Highlanders over those 'enervated by luxury [and] ... lost in frivolous pursuits and vain speculations'.<sup>105</sup> In the same way, her discussions in *Essays* esteemed the 'simple' mores of the Highlanders with an unspoken but underlying assumption that 'modern' society had much to learn from the values of those whose morality was rooted in the past. In a typical opposition, she contrasted varying attitudes towards marriage and divorce.

It really harmonizes the mind to contemplate the economy of human life, among those who have been at best considered as a semi-barbarous people, when contrasted with the effects of a vicious and selfish refinement. ... Those who are united together by bonds which cannot be broken without a disarrangement of the whole domestic system, do not think decay of beauty, difference of taste, or even disagreement of temper, sufficient to warrant the very wanderings of attachment. ... It could never enter into the minds of such parents, to tear asunder ties the most tender for their own selfish gratification. How dreadful would it appear to those unsophisticated beings to act any part, the result of which must be habituating young minds, whom it is the first human duty to cherish and instruct, to take part with one parent against another; or, perhaps, lose respect and affection for both. ... In a highland family, a scene of this nature rarely, if at all, occurred. ... A man so basely selfish as to prefer the gratification of his own inclination, to the peace and honour of his own family, and the many others intimately connected with it, would be considered as an outcast from society. What a contrast does this reverential awe for the sanctity of the marriage bond among those primitive people hold out to modern degeneracy.<sup>106</sup>

Grant presented herself as uniquely qualified to comment on Highland culture, referring to herself as one who 'is not absolutely a native, nor entirely a stranger, but has added the observant curiosity of the latter to the facilities of enquiry enjoyed by the former.'<sup>107</sup>

To Grant, the Highlanders of the nineteenth century were identical to those of the ancient past. 'What has been said of the immutability of Oriental customs, is, in a great degree, applicable to those of the highlanders', she wrote. 'Wherever they remain in undisturbed possession of their own language, and the prejudices connected with it, they think and act pretty much as they would have done a thousand years ago.'<sup>108</sup>

At the same time, she shared with the folklore collectors the desire to preserve the remnants of a culture which was rapidly disappearing:

The fair form, where inspiration has for so many ages, awaked the bard, animated the hero, and soothed the lover, is fast gliding into the mist of obscurity, and will soon be no more than a remembered dream.<sup>109</sup>

Later in the work, she declared herself 'satisfied, because I have, however imperfectly, preserved much that would otherwise perish.'<sup>110</sup>

In *Essays*, Grant's Highlanders again are portrayed as a highly romanticised community. They are a 'warlike, musical, and poetical people'<sup>111</sup> with a 'chivalrous dignity, and refinement of sentiment, not known to exist among the lower classes of any other country.'<sup>112</sup> Courageous, spirited and unafraid of hardship, loving their wives and children and unselfishly committed to the common good, their 'imagination was exercised and called forth. ... This is exactly the period in which heroic poetry is born: and these are the scenes fitted to awake the sensations that nurse its infancy.'<sup>113</sup> Poetry is described as natural to the Highlanders, and their primitive lifestyle was credited as having created the climate in which poetry could flourish.

The entire exclusion of science, and all the objects of interest and ambition, from the rocky abodes of these primitive hunters and graziers, left them free to

the illusions of the imagination and the emotions of the heart. And these circumstances, combined with the love of fame, derived from their past exploits, and only to be gratified in war or hunting, raised their minds to a highly sensitive and poetical state. ... Hence, poetry was earlier born, and sooner matured here than in any other country ... Poetry conducted the warrior to the field of battle, and from thence to the grave.<sup>114</sup>

Grant repeatedly used classical and literary allusions to describe the Highlanders, thereby bestowing them with extra importance and dignity. A Highlander involved in a plot is 'the Cassius of the conspiracy';<sup>115</sup> the Highlanders' talent for conversation exceeds that of the Greeks of Homer's day;<sup>116</sup> the chief's responsibility for his dependants is 'similar to that of the Romans';<sup>117</sup> there is no record of 'a highland Alexander's killing his Clytus';<sup>118</sup> 'they understand the maxim of "Nil admirari" as well as if they had studied Horace.'<sup>119</sup> The text is additionally studded with poetic quotations, particularly from Milton, which create a similar ennobling effect.

Highlanders who for any reason had left the area and been educated elsewhere were regarded by Grant as deficient and degraded.

In some instances, the younger brothers of patrician families were sent early out to lowland seminaries, and immediately engaged in some active pursuit for the advancement of their fortune. These rarely, scarce ever, returned to reside in the country. If they should, they went too early away to be learned in that species of learning cultivated at home, and were besides taught by their college acquisitions, to hold it cheap as a thing in itself deserving little attention ... A highland gentleman's education is never finished at home; and if he goes so soon out of his own country, as to obtain at an early period a critical knowledge of the English, the period of awakened fancy and unsophisticated feeling, the period of wonder and active curiosity, in short, the period favourable to strong poetical impressions is over. And the



illiberal, ignorant, and bigotted prejudice, with which the lowlanders formerly regarded this insulated, and, in a manner, concealed people, whom they only knew as rude warriors or valiant robbers these prejudices, I say, usurped some power over the mind of every highlander who received the benefit of a lowland education in fact who had any education at all.<sup>120</sup>

As well as the essays, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* included a number of miscellaneous letters (described by the *Edinburgh* reviewer as 'lively, impressive, and original, though sometimes in bad taste, and generally verbose'<sup>121</sup>) and translations of contemporary Gaelic poetry. As mentioned above, Grant was a strong believer in the genuineness of the Ossianic poems, and she used her readings of eighteenth and nineteenth century Gaelic verse to support her argument that the Highlanders were truly a 'poetical' people, with untaught bards still composing poetry.

It is difficult to assess what effect Grant's gender had either on the *Essays* themselves or on their reception. I have been unable to find other Scottish women of the period writing in a similar manner about the Highland character or Highland folklore and few female collectors of folklore anywhere in Britain at this early period. The collection of oral ballads and legends carried out by Scott, Cromek, Chambers and Stewart would have been difficult for a woman to execute in most circumstances. As in her writings about America, Grant's unique position as an 'implicated spectator'<sup>122</sup> gave her access to material which would have been otherwise unavailable.

The reviews of *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* were mediocre at best; sales of the book were poor and only one edition was published. Nevertheless, it was not without influence as evidenced by the comments from Scott and Stewart cited above.

The writings of Anne Grant played a significant part in creating the romantic image of the Scottish Highlands which continue to influence our expectations and perceptions of the Highlands in the twenty-first century. A writer who took upon herself the task of interpreting

the Gaelic landscape and culture to those outside that culture, Grant depicted Scotland in terms which still colour our reactions.

As a Lowland-born Scot of Highland parentage who spent her formative years in a British colony in New York, Grant was simultaneously a settler and a traveller. Her experiences in America helped her to understand the community she found in the Highlands; her Highlands experience enabled her to make sense of her American memories.

Grant was the author of *Poems on Various Subjects* (subsequently reissued as *The Highlanders and Other Poems*), *Letters from the Mountains*, *Memoirs of an American Lady* and *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands*. In all of her writings, she attempted to communicate her firm belief that the Highlanders were an example of a primitive but noble people, who deserved respect but who simultaneously required protection from corrupting influences. Drawing parallels between the Mohawks she had known in her youth and the Highlanders of her husband's Laggan parish, Grant depicted an almost Utopian world where older values still prevailed.

For Grant, this idealised world was a real one, rooted in her early experiences of female communal experiences in New York and reinforced by similar experiences in Laggan. At the same time, it drew on contemporary ideas about the development of human society. Her unique position as both outsider and insider, together with her female gender, gave her a particular insight into the ways that distinct communities were able to interact.

Her sense of herself as 'a true Highlander', albeit one with a wider experience of the world that most of her Laggan neighbours, led her to espouse the values which she associated with the more 'primitive' community and, long after she had left the Highlands, she continued to write interpretations and explanations of Highland culture aimed at readers outside that culture.

## CHAPTER SIX

### DOROTHY WORDSWORTH: SETTING HERSELF UP AS AN AUTHOR

Of all the writers considered in this thesis, Dorothy Wordsworth is by far the best known. She has been the subject of over seventy-five critical books and articles and one might be forgiven for thinking that she had found her way, if not into the canon, then at least into the mainstream of romantic criticism. And yet informal surveys at romanticism conferences and in university departments of English reveal surprisingly few people who even know what she wrote and fewer still who have actually read her works. Her continued position on the margins of romantic studies is reflected in the fact that complete and authoritative texts are still unavailable for several of her major writings and that some of her journals still exist only in manuscript.

For many years, critics regarded Dorothy Wordsworth's writings as of interest only insofar as they provided biographical information about her brother William, or demonstrated her influence upon his life and poetry. The authors of books with such titles as *Dorothy Wordsworth: the story of a sister's love*; *Famous Sisters of Great Men*; *The Romance of Women's Influence ... mothers, wives, sisters, and friends who have helped great men*; and *I Had a Sister*<sup>1</sup> trawled the pages of Dorothy Wordsworth's journals, looking for the source of William's 'genius'. As Rachel Mayer Brownstein wrote in 1973,

Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals have been read mostly by William Wordsworthians: they tell something about how her brother wrote poems, and they describe some of the things he wrote poems about in paragraphs which are commonly presented to classes as the raw material the poet reworked, like a photograph of the bridge at Arles. They also contain minutiae for those who are curious about William's significant but not quite scandalous relationship with his sister, and tidbits about mighty poets: Coleridge liked to eat rose hips, and it was Dorothy, not William, who painted the walls of Dove Cottage.<sup>2</sup>

Such readings are not totally absent from more recent criticism. As late as 1978, *The Wordsworth Circle* published an article in which it was claimed that Dorothy Wordsworth's writing was not:

... in any sustained way interesting as literature, no matter how beguiling it is for its accounts of the Wordsworth household and surrounding landscape. By inflating Dorothy's stature as a critic and writer, we in fact do her a disservice: we deflect attention from her real significance to William, and hence to us. Dorothy played in her dependent capacity an instrumental role in helping to create Wordsworth the poet.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly, Michael Polowitzky's 1996 book, *Prominent Sisters*, concentrates on the relationships of several famous men and their sisters, including William and Dorothy Wordsworth, although he does analyse the relationships in a more even-handed manner than did earlier critics.<sup>4</sup>

While focusing more directly on Dorothy Wordsworth herself, the majority of critical works of the 1970s and early to mid-1980s are either wholly biographical in nature or attempt a psychological analysis of Wordsworth<sup>5</sup> based on her writings. From the pioneering biographies written by Catherine Maclean and Ernest de Selincourt in the 1930s to the influential biography written by Gittings and Manton in the 1980s, Wordsworth's biographers have traditionally portrayed her as selfless and self-effacing, a devoted and self-sacrificing sister whose only purpose in life was William's happiness.<sup>6</sup> The psychological critiques have tended to focus on what their writers perceive as Wordsworth's failures, deploring her lack of poetic achievement. As Beth Darlington has pointed out in her perceptive 1987 essay, 'Reclaiming Dorothy Wordsworth's Legacy',

When critics do confront Dorothy Wordsworth ... they are frequently preoccupied by what they deem to be lacking in her writing what is not on the page rather than what is. She is reproved for not asserting her presence

more forcefully in her prose, reprimanded for not being more historical or analytic, or disparaged for not writing poetry instead.<sup>7</sup>

Writing in 1974, for example, Elizabeth Hardwick described Wordsworth as 'peculiar', with 'wild lights in her eyes', and with 'something about her of a Brontë heroine: a romantic loneliness, a sense of having special powers of little use to the world'.<sup>8</sup> Suggesting that Wordsworth's journals were encouraged by William who 'realized the need of an "occupation" for Dorothy, an anchor for her free-flying emotions and impressions',<sup>9</sup> Hardwick dismissed them as 'the occupation that filled the time left over from domestic work and nature-seeing'.<sup>10</sup>

Censuring Wordsworth for her failure to write in other, higher-status genres, Hardwick suggested a psychological cause for this deficiency.

She could not, would not analyze. ... This failure to inspect character and motive incapacitates her for fiction; her lack of a rhythmical ear, her lack of training, and her withdrawal from the general, the propositional, and from questioning made it impossible for her to turn her love of nature into poetry. ... We cannot imagine that she was incapable of thought about character, but very early, after her grief and the deaths, she must have become very frightened. Her dependency was so greatly loved and so desperately clung to that she could not risk anything except the description of the scenery in which it was lived.<sup>11</sup>

In *Women Writers and Poetic Identity*, published in 1980, Margaret Homans examines the works of Dorothy Wordsworth through a neo-Freudian lens. For Homans,

... the manner of [Dorothy Wordsworth's] resistance to poethood demonstrates most effectively the difficulties challenging all women poets ... At every point Dorothy causes her readers to wonder why she never became a competent or ready poet, at the very least, if not a great poet.<sup>12</sup>

Perceiving Dorothy Wordsworth as a failed poet, Homans attributes this failure to an inability to separate from nature and the mother, and as a refusal to grow up. Homans writes:

[Dorothy ] excludes from her vocabulary any language that would permit symbolic readings of nature. This Edenic state brings reunion with William and reunion with (maternal) nature into alignment, because the idea of a world prior to division excludes all subject-object divisions, sexual division as well as separation between the mind and nature. ... *Alfoxden* and *Grasmere* omit memory and imagination and projection because of their confidence that the division has been closed. Transposing her reunion with her brother into a reunion with nature, she appeases maternal origins, writing as Wordsworth would write had he never left his mother's knee. The result is not poetry, but it avoids conflict. For Dorothy to make that break with nature would not be to open up a creative space of yearning, but would be instead a Freudian rejection of the maternal figure.<sup>13</sup>

The disruption of the relation between childhood and adulthood, writes Homans, is responsible for Dorothy Wordsworth's 'lack of imaginative power'.<sup>14, 15</sup>

In 'Reclaiming Dorothy Wordsworth's Legacy', Beth Darlington asks a pertinent question. 'But what if Dorothy Wordsworth never really aspired to be a poet?' She continues,

I am not convinced that she did. Brother John Wordsworth, the "silent poet", as William called him, shared Dorothy's finely tuned sensibility and her love for literature, but posterity has not categorized him as a failure or insisted that he never emerged to adulthood for evading ... his poetic identity. ... In venturing toward a clearer appreciation of Dorothy Wordsworth's writing, we might begin by recalling Coleridge's admonition to judge a work of art not by its defects but by its achievements. Dorothy Wordsworth's art is her prose:

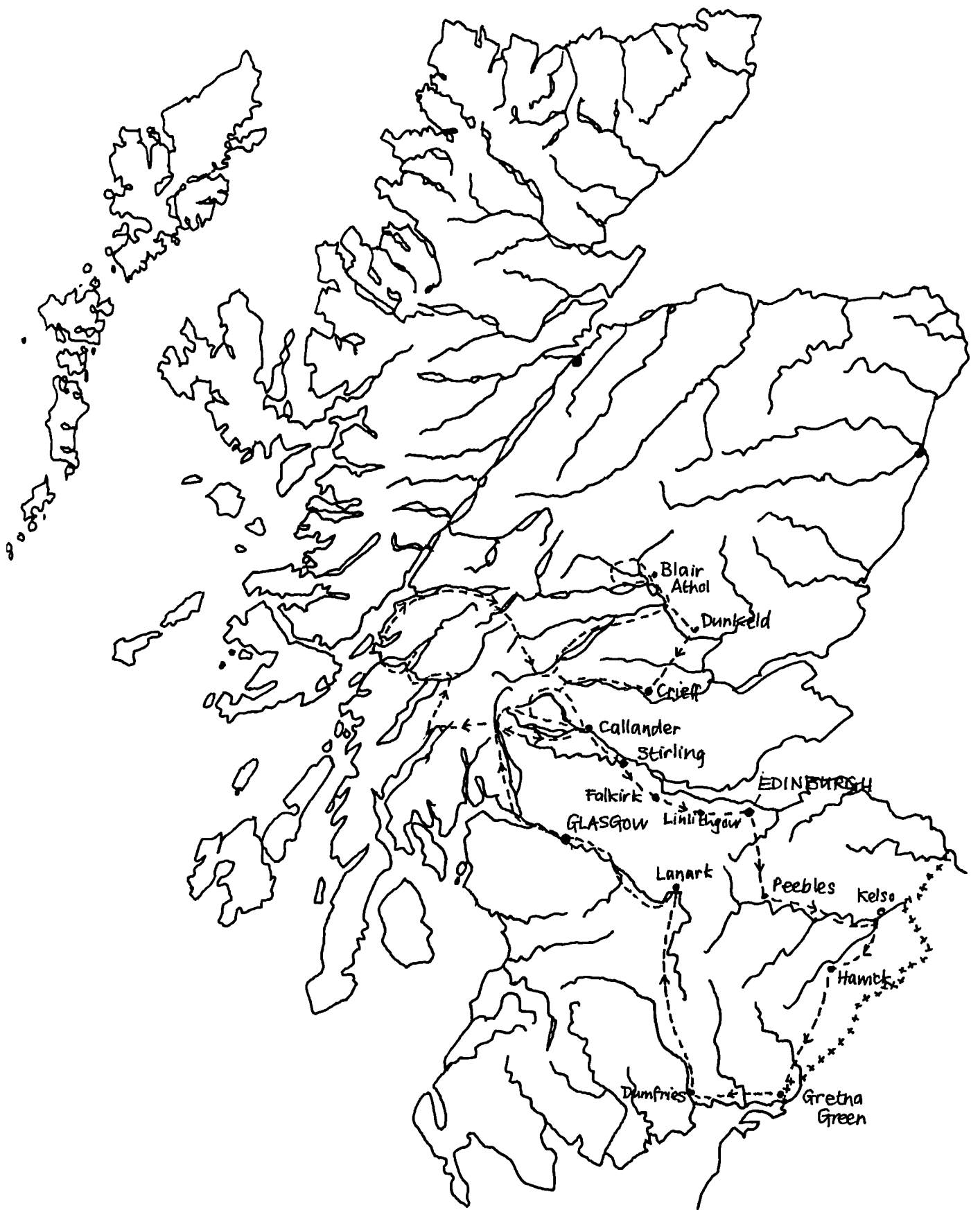
her letters, her moving and proficient *George and Sarah Green*, but especially her journals.<sup>16</sup>

Darlington goes on to characterise Wordsworth's prose as 'lean, spare, sometimes taut', with 'measured and masterly rhythms' and 'a unity of style and ... intention'.

More recently, a reevaluation of Wordsworth's works and writings has begun to take place.<sup>17</sup> Although she devotes the most space in the canon of her writing to the recording of her travels, with seven works ranging from a few to a hundred pages long, the largest part of this critical attention has focused on the Alfoxden and Grasmere journals and the travel writing is only beginning to be explored.<sup>18</sup> Some critical work has been done on Wordsworth's 1803 *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland* and Helen Boden's excellent edition of *The Continental Journals* has enabled Wordsworth's accounts of the winter she spent in Germany in 1798 and the tour she made of France, Germany and Switzerland to be read in their entirety for the first time. No adequate edition exists for her 1803 *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*<sup>19</sup> and there are no modern editions for her tour of the Isle of Man or for her accounts of excursions in the Lakes. A meticulous transcription of the three manuscripts of Wordsworth's 1822 Scottish journey was published by Jiro Nagasawa in 1989.

As I hope to demonstrate in this chapter, Dorothy Wordsworth, the travel writer, is a very different person from the woman depicted in Homans and Hardwick. If her varied accounts of her tours are read within the context of the travel literature of the day, then far from being inferior or 'failed' works, they compare extremely well to other examples of the genre. Furthermore, in her travel writings, she reveals herself as a competent, resourceful traveller upon whom others depended.

In 1803, William, Dorothy and Samuel Taylor Coleridge set off together on a six-week tour of Scotland, a trip they had been planning throughout the summer. A map of their journey follows this page. William had briefly visited Scotland for a wedding a couple of years previously, but it was a first trip for Dorothy and Coleridge. William's wife, Mary, and his son John, then two months old, stayed behind at Grasmere, together with Joanna



Dorothy Wordsworth, 1803

50 miles  
Scale: 1:2000000



Hutchinson, Mary's sister. Although Coleridge claimed that he would have preferred to make a pedestrian tour, the three eventually decided to travel in an Irish jaunting car, an open air two wheeled cart drawn by a single horse driven by William. Things did not go well between the three and Coleridge left the Wordsworths after only two weeks, largely on the grounds of his ill health. He had been ill before the journey with what he described in a letter to Southey as 'a compleat and almost heartless Case of Atonic Gout'<sup>20</sup> and although his doctor had advised him to make the trip, his physical symptoms increased during the trip so that he felt he could not go on. His struggle with opium dependency also played a part in his condition and certainly many of the symptoms he described are recognisable as the results of addiction and withdrawal.

Samuel Rogers, who was travelling in Scotland at the same time, happened to meet the Wordsworth-Coleridge party during the early days of their trip. In his description of their meeting, Dorothy was depicted as the efficient one of the three and as the one upon whom the practical chores of travel fell.

During our excursion we fell in with Wordsworth, Miss Wordsworth, and Coleridge, who were, at the same time, making a tour in a vehicle that looked very like a cart. Wordsworth and Coleridge were entirely occupied in talking about poetry; and the whole care of looking out for cottages where they might get refreshment and pass the night, as well as of seeing their poor horse fed and littered, devolved upon Miss Wordsworth. She was a most delightful person so full of talent, so simple-minded, and so modest!<sup>21</sup>

Wordsworth seems to have been less impressed by the encounter than was Rogers; her only reference to it being the terse comment that

Mr. Rogers and his sister, whom we had seen at our own cottage at Grasmere a few days before, had arrived there that same afternoon on their way to the

Highlands; but we did not see them till the next morning, and only for about a quarter of an hour.<sup>22</sup>

Upon her return to Grasmere, Wordsworth began to write her account of the Scottish tour, a process which extended over a period of twenty months. As Ernest de Selincourt explained,

The *Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland* (1803) has not, like the *Grasmere Journal*, the character of a purely private diary. It was written expressly for "the sake of a few friends, who, it seemed, ought to have been with us"; hence it was carefully composed throughout; and, further, it was not jotted down, like a diary, from day to day, but written at leisure after her return, while the events recorded were still vivid in her memory, and when she could see the whole tour in something of artistic perspective. Dorothy insists upon this in several of her letters. "I am writing", she says, "not a Journal, *for we took no notes*, but *recollections* of our tour in the form of a Journal."<sup>23</sup>

The claim to have taken no notes is somewhat misleading. Wordsworth did take occasional notes. Carol Kyros Walker has noted the existence of a Dove Cottage Library manuscript (Journal MS 7 DC MS 54) of a single folded sheet of paper, written in pencil, which records some events of the early part of the tour.

4th, 5th and 6th Days of Tour. Brownhill to Leadhills. Aug. 18th to 20th." ...  
"Dined drank tea and supped and slept at Brownhill a lone house fine  
Beechtree—Thursday ... Shepherd reading under his plaid."<sup>24</sup>

As Walker suggests, there may well have been other rough jottings. Nevertheless, Wordsworth comments in *Recollections* on her sense that, not having kept a consistent record as they travelled, she is forced to leave out descriptions and information that she would have liked to have included. When describing their journey along the Tweed, she writes

Passed by several old halls yet inhabited, and others in ruin; but I have hardly a sufficiently distinct recollection of any of them to be able to describe them, and I now at this distance of time regret that I did not take notes.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, when describing a journey taken with a Highland driver, she apologises for her lack of detailed information.

He knew the name of every hill, almost every rock; and I made good use of his knowledge; but partly from laziness, and still more because it was inconvenient, I took no notes, and now I am little better for what he told me.<sup>26</sup>

It is important to emphasise the crafted nature of this text. This is not a diary, jotted down on the spot while travelling as, for example, were the journals of Hester Thrale Piozzi and Sarah Hazlitt. Roy Pascal, writing in 1960, defined autobiography as establishing a consistent 'relationship between the self and the outside world' and distinguished the diary from the autobiography because a diary 'moves through a series of moments in time' and 'its ultimate, long-range significance cannot be assessed'.<sup>27</sup> Critics of diaries have often referred to the essentially fragmentary and sequential nature of such texts, underlining the way in which the diary form preserves the immediacy of the moment. As Harriett Blodgett has pointed out, rather than rewriting entries, diarists 'make marginal comments or add notes to incorporate information they discovered or remembered only belatedly'.<sup>28, 29</sup> Although arranged sequentially under date headings, Wordsworth's *Recollections* was composed after the event and as a unified whole. Critics of the *Recollections* repeatedly comment on its coherence and unity.<sup>30</sup>

Manuscripts of the *Recollections* were copied, bound and circulated among friends and family.<sup>31</sup> In 1820, Samuel Rogers, who had read the book several years earlier, met her in London and urged her to publish it, and before she left on her second trip to Scotland in 1822, she asked William to write to Rogers, agreeing to publication. In January 1823, she herself wrote to Rogers.

I cannot but be flattered by your thinking so well of my journal as to recommend ... that I should not part with all power over it, till its fortune be tried.<sup>32</sup> ... [I would] ask whether a middle course might not be possible, that is, whether your favourable opinion, confirmed perhaps by some other good judges, might not induce a bookseller to give a certain sum for the right to publish a given number of copies. In fact, I find it next to impossible to make up my mind to sacrifice my privacy for a certainty *less* than two hundred pounds — a sum which would effectually aid me in accomplishing the ramble I so much, and I hope not unwisely, wish for ... if there be a prospect that any bookseller will undertake the publication, I will immediately prepare a corrected copy to be sent to you.<sup>33</sup>

She spent a considerable amount of time that year in revising the manuscript but, in the end, nothing came of it and the *Recollections* were not published<sup>34</sup> during her lifetime. The matter was again discussed in the 1830s, but by then Dorothy's health was failing and William decided that it would be too much of a strain. Susan Levin reads this publication history, together with certain remarks in the *Recollections*, as evidence of 'Dorothy's general anxieties about writing and the difficulties she associates with travel writing',<sup>35</sup> and states that Wordsworth 'gave up the idea [of publishing] when William reinforced her anxieties by suggesting that the strain of authorship and publicity would be too much for her'.<sup>36</sup> This seems to me to rest on a complete misreading of the situation. In the 1820s, neither Dorothy nor William seem to have been reluctant to consider publication — Dorothy's letter to Rogers, quoted above, reveals a positive and businesslike attitude to the proposition. In 1829 and again in 1831 and 1832, Dorothy fell seriously ill and by 1835, her mind as well as her body was affected. William's decision, under these circumstances and when any thought of money for Dorothy's future travels must have seemed totally irrelevant, seems not at all surprising.

Despite the fact that the *Recollections* were not published during Dorothy Wordsworth's lifetime, I would argue that, with the decision to revise the text and to consider

the possibility of publication, she at least explored the idea of presenting herself publicly as a writer. Even within the more limited circle of manuscript circulation, she had made several copies and had at least one of them bound before sending it to Lady Beaumont.<sup>37</sup> de Selincourt has commented on the extensive textual changes made by Wordsworth once it was clear to her that the *Recollections* could potentially have a circulation beyond the immediate family circle and has pointed out the ways in which personal and family details were eliminated from the final version.<sup>38</sup> As Jill Angelino pointed out in her recent journal article, there are ways in which Wordsworth's texts

indicate that she does see herself as a writer—one of a different sort than William—but nonetheless a person with a complex vocation in which writing, not just amanuensis, plays a central and pleasurable part.<sup>39</sup>

These include her expressions of resentment when domestic and communal roles interfere with her personal writing, something which she makes explicitly clear that she enjoys.

Critics often cite a letter to Catherine Clarkson in which Wordsworth refused to have her manuscript narrative of a local tragedy published as evidence of her uneasiness about being considered a writer.

I cannot have that narrative published. My reasons are entirely disconnected with myself, much as I should detest the idea of setting myself up as an Author. I should not object on that score as, if it had been an invention of my own, it might have been published without a name, and nobody would have thought of me. But on account of the Family of the Greens I cannot consent. ... by publishing this narrative of mine I should bring the children forward to notice as Individuals, and we know not what injurious effects this might have upon them.<sup>40</sup>

Although Wordsworth does state that she would 'detest the idea of setting myself up as an Author', her objection seems to refer specifically to potential problems attendant on personal

publicity, as publishing anonymously would, she suggests, have been acceptable. The main deterrent to publication in this case, however, seems to have been the possible ill-effect that public notice might have had upon the orphaned children whose real-life story was told in the narrative.

Dorothy Wordsworth was no stranger to anonymous publication. William published a number of her poems alongside his own, signing them 'A Female Friend' or 'By my Sister'. He included extracts from the *Recollections* in his *Memorials of a Tour in Scotland in 1803*. She contributed passages to Joseph Wilkinson's *Select Views in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire*<sup>41</sup> and passages composed by her were included in Andrew Bell's *Elements of Tuition, Part II. The English School*.<sup>42</sup>

I would certainly argue that, although Dorothy Wordsworth often shunned public declarations of Authorship, she was nevertheless continually and deeply involved in her own writing and that she saw that writing as an essential part of her contribution to the community of which she was a part. She and William frequently wrote side by side and read each other's work. Her descriptions were often specifically written as part of his poetic process. As Jill Angelino has written,

Her writing catalogues her environment, and fosters her own and William's sense of self. And while Dorothy denies she is an Author--the position occupied by William--she nevertheless does negotiate authority, not only through the importance of her service, but as a writer. As Dorothy's writing orders and enables the world around her, her writing self and the act of writing legitimates and orders her other selves and actions, and makes possible a set of discourses within which she can define and defend her subjectivit(ies).<sup>43</sup>

For Wordsworth, I would argue, writing was an essential part of her life. What seems to have been non-essential was an audience beyond her known circle of family and friends.

By 1803, the date of Wordsworth's trip to Scotland, she had already read a number of travel books, including some on Scotland, and would have had a strong sense of the generic

conventions of tour writing. She refers on several occasions within the *Recollections* to John Stoddart's 1801 *Remarks on local manners and scenery in Scotland*, referring her reader to prints or descriptions in Stoddart's book. Although she does not specifically refer to William Gilpin, we do know that William had read Gilpin's *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; Particularly the High-lands of Scotland* as early as 1789. John Nabholz in his important analysis of 'Dorothy Wordsworth and the Picturesque' commented that 'Dorothy's response to many particular scenes matched Gilpin's report, and her general evaluation of Scotch landscape is so much the same that we can only conclude she shared a common vision with the author of the *Observations*'.<sup>44</sup> Other more general references to travel books and writers within the *Recollections* include James Bruce (*Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 1790) and Captain James Cook (*An Account of a Voyage round the world*, 1773).

It is, of course, impossible to recreate completely a list of the books read by Dorothy Wordsworth. Duncan Wu's excellent two volume work on *Wordsworth's Reading* specifically excludes any mentions of books read by Dorothy 'in her brother's absence';<sup>45</sup> furthermore, Wu's books only cover the period from 1770-1815. In her journals, Wordsworth refers to 'reading' or, on one occasion, to 'bearing the Books out of the Barn, and arranging them' but there is no indication of the titles to which these references apply. The important thing to note, however, is that Dorothy Wordsworth had access to a considerable number of travel books, that she definitely read at least some of them, and that her own travel writings need to be read within that context.<sup>46</sup>

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, there were no guidebooks to Scotland until the very end of the eighteenth century. Dorothy and William Wordsworth travelled at the right time to take advantage of the growth in the publication of guidebooks to Scotland. For the Wordsworths, travelling in 1803, Scotland was no longer the wild place of exploration it had been for Samuel Johnson or Sarah Murray, but neither was there a fully-organised tourist infrastructure in place. There is also evidence that they travelled with a map.<sup>47</sup> Again, this would have been much less likely twenty years earlier.

Wordsworth's *Recollections* is divided into three parts. The first part and part of the second were written before the end of 1803. The remainder of part two was written in 1804. The third part was not begun until April 1805, just two months after Dorothy's beloved younger brother John had died at sea. When she began the *Recollections*, Wordsworth's intention was to 'omit no incident, however trifling, and to describe the country so minutely that you should, where the objects were the most interesting, feel as if you had been with us'.<sup>48</sup> By 1805, however, the combination of distance of time and her distraction over John's death, had changed her plan. In a memorandum included in the manuscript, she explained,

I shall now only attempt to give you an idea of those scenes which pleased us most, dropping the incidents of the ordinary days, of which many have slipped from my memory, and others which remain it would be difficult, and often painful to me, to endeavour to draw out and disentangle from other thoughts.<sup>49</sup>

Perhaps not surprisingly, the issue of memory is a recurrent theme throughout the book. The possibility of writing an account of the trip had probably been in Wordsworth's mind from the beginning, and in the text we see her viewing a landscape with the intention of fixing it in her mind. She is greatly concerned to capture the visual image with sufficient detail to allow for its reproduction in words. Taking a short cut by boat to Glen Coe, Dorothy and William landed near a farm house. William went ashore to ask directions, while Dorothy remained in the boat. While waiting for William, Dorothy took in the appearance of the loch and the house and was able, in her *Recollections*, to describe it in very specific terms, including a description of the house itself, the plants growing nearby and the mountain in the distance. Nevertheless, in retrospect, she regretted not having gone ashore with William – it would have allowed her to 'bear away in my memory a perfect image of this place, the view from the doors, as well as the simple Highland comforts and contrivances which were near it'.<sup>50</sup> At Morven, she and William retraced their steps in order to restudy a scene.



We had to travel up the loch, leaving behind us the beautiful scene which we had viewed with such delight before dinner. Often, while we were climbing the hill, did we stop to look back, and when we had gone twenty or thirty yards beyond the point where we had the last view of it, we left the car to the care of some children who were coming from school, and went to take another farewell, always in the hope of bearing away a more substantial remembrance.<sup>51</sup>

This attention to detail and memory allowed Wordsworth to produce very specific and finely drawn studies of landscape and people.

At times, however, Wordsworth resorted to pleas of inexpressibility. As mentioned above, Wordsworth had already read a number of travel books, ranging in date from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century (and possibly some earlier ones). As has been remarked on in relation to other writers discussed in this thesis, Dorothy Wordsworth's critics frequently fail to set her travel writings within the context of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century tropes of travel. This has led to psychological interpretations being offered as explanations of statements within Wordsworth's writings when a wider knowledge of travel writing conventions might have led to very different conclusions. For example, Wordsworth frequently describes scenes as indescribable or 'too fair to be remembered'. Susan Levin, in her otherwise sensible discussion of the Wordsworth's travel writings, reads these passages as evidence of Wordsworth's worries and anxieties when engaging in an 'alien enterprise'. In response to comments from Wordsworth such as 'I would willingly have given twenty pounds to have been able to take a lively picture of [the scene]';<sup>52</sup> 'But if I were to go on describing for evermore, I should give but a faint, and very often a false, idea of the different objects and the various combinations of them in this most intricate and delicious place';<sup>53</sup> and 'My description must needs be languid; for the sight itself was too fair to be remembered'; Levin writes:

Because her writing works with such direct relationships between the mind and the world, because her mind does not seek to store images from the natural world to be used later in a process of self-definition, the immediate presence of the object seems necessary to her imaginative process. Thus the exercise of memory, the delayed return to a scene, necessary to travel writing, makes this enterprise somewhat alien to her. Even after many years and many pages of such writing, she frequently worries about the problem. About the Rhine, a scene central to her continental tour, she can write only, "It is impossible even to *remember* (therefore how should I enable anyone to imagine?) the power of the dashing, and of the sounds the breezes the dancing dizzy sensations and the exquisite beauty of the colours!"<sup>54</sup>

For Levin, therefore, Wordsworth's declarations of her inability to truly capture a scene demonstrate a concern that she may, in fact, not be capable of the task she has set herself, a concern that Levin links to 'the possibility that her writing is meddlesome tampering with the immediacy of the universe'.<sup>55</sup> My own reading of these repeated avowals is different. As I have explained in a previous chapter, one of the most common forms of hyperbole found in travel texts of this period is the declaration that no words can possibly hope to convey to the reader the dramatic intensity of a particular scene, as experienced visually by the traveller. The degree of inexpressibility corresponds with the depth of the experience. One of the uses of this hyperbole is to emphasise the traveller's status as eye-witness, as one who has truly been affected by what she or he has seen. Wordsworth would have encountered many such formulations in her reading of travel literature; her use of them seems to me merely to demonstrate an awareness of generic conventions rather than to indicate doubt or concern.

Wordsworth's comments about herself and her writing confirm my sense that she was writing with confidence rather than trepidation. She is stimulated by the experience of travel. She writes,

On going into a new country I seem to myself to waken up, and afterwards it surprises me to remember how much alive I have been to the distinctions of dress, household arrangements, etc. etc., and what a spirit these little things give to wild, barren, or ordinary places.<sup>56</sup>

While she found travel generally empowering, she was particularly pleased with the ways in which the landscape of Scotland affected her.

I never travelled with more chearful spirits than this day; our road was along the side of a high moor. I can always walk over a moor with a light foot; I seem to be drawn more closely to nature in such places than anywhere else; or rather I feel more strongly the power of nature over me, and am better satisfied with myself for being able to find enjoyment in what unfortunately to many persons is either dismal or insipid. ... Scotland is the country above all others that I have seen, in which a man of imagination may carve out his own pleasures; there are so many *inhabited* solitudes.<sup>57</sup>

In that phrase, '*inhabited* solitudes', we hear an echo of Wordsworth's own life at Grasmere, often one of shared solitude within an extended family of readers and writers. Travel through the sparsely populated landscapes of the Scotland is reminiscent of that life, but with the added bonus of a relative absence of domestic and communal chores. And just as Wordsworth's Grasmere journals are sprinkled with descriptions of meetings and conversations, the *Recollections* too are punctuated with similar encounters.

Elizabeth Bohls observed in her 1995 book, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics*, that 'the Wordsworths seem to notice, and usually strike up a conversation with everyone who crosses their paths'.<sup>58</sup> Unlike the accounts of many other travellers who related to the places and cultures through which they travelled almost exclusively through visual stimuli,<sup>59</sup> within Dorothy Wordsworth's travel narrative the visual and the social take on equal importance. The descriptions of people in the *Recollections* serve several functions.

they form a part of her general attempt to convey the 'flavour' of Scotland to those who remained at home, they provide an aide-memoire and a source of inspiration for William's poetry, and they link with those sections of her domestic journals in which she presents her observations of the Westmoreland poor.

Many of the meetings recounted in the most detail by Wordsworth are with women, often set within their domestic surroundings. As Susan Levin comments, 'Kitchens, mothers and children, and family firesides appear almost as frequently in the journals as do landscapes'.<sup>60</sup> Wordsworth's critics have often seen her interactions with local women in the *Recollections* as representing an unproblematical gendered empathy, what Elizabeth Bohls describes as 'informal, friendly interactions with Scottish women'.<sup>61</sup> While it is true that many of her encounters with women are positive and that Wordsworth's depictions are often (although not always) sympathetic, a close reading reveals that they are not ideologically neutral.<sup>62</sup> Although their Irish jaunting car and their willingness to walk long distances set them apart from most other English tourists, the fact that the Wordsworths were able to tour Scotland at all was connected directly with their middle class status. Obviously, Dorothy Wordsworth's own gender gave her access to particularly female experiences and conversations. Nevertheless, many of her interactions with Scottish women are heavily judgmental.

It is easy to recognise her moral righteousness when her response is openly negative. At Loch Creran, for example, Dorothy and William find 'only women at home'. Despite being extremely hungry, Dorothy declines to eat because of the dirty state of the house, although, she writes, 'perhaps I might have got over the dirt ... if there had not been a most disgusting combination of laziness and coarseness in the countenances of the women, though two of them were very handsome'.<sup>63</sup>

There is often just as much implied judgement in the positive encounters she describes. At Leadhills, Dorothy leaves William and goes to a shop to buy some thread. While waiting for the owner's son to fetch some from another shop, she sits and chats with the woman.

In the meantime I sat with the mother, and was much pleased with her manner and conversation. She had an excellent fire, and her cottage, though very small, looked comfortable and cleanly; but remember I saw it only by firelight. She confirmed what the man had told us of the quiet manner in which they lived; and indeed her house and fireside seemed to need nothing to make it a chearful happy spot, but health and good humour. There was a bookishness, a certain formality in this woman's language, which was very remarkable.<sup>64</sup>

I would argue that this account, which is often simplistically assumed to be wholly positive, is in fact a complex and contradictory mix of value-laden judgements. Wordsworth, 'much pleased' with the woman's manner, assumes the role of one who must be either pleased or displeased. The 'small' house seems to be clean, but Wordsworth warns her readers that she has not inspected it properly, she has seen it only by firelight.

At the same time, the use of the word 'bookish' seems commendatory. Although 'bookish' could be used pejoratively during the eighteenth century, it did not always carry negative connotations.<sup>65</sup> Wordsworth was well aware of her own reputation for bookishness and cleverness.<sup>66</sup> I would suggest that she recognised in this woman certain of her own qualities and that she found this discovery somewhat unsettling. Within her own family circle, the other women devoted themselves to household duties and were perceived as domestic, settled and maternal, while Dorothy played an intermediate role, involved in the domestic cares of the home, helping with William's children, but nonetheless included in the literary conversation and production of Coleridge and William. Her own life was different from that of other women but its difficulties were counter-balanced by the rewards of participation in travelling and in literary companionship. The Leadhills woman, however, managed to be 'bookish' while still remaining rooted in a 'quiet' 'comfortable' domestic life and it was this combination which struck Wordsworth as 'very remarkable'. Her surprise at

the woman's 'bookishness' implies an expectation that a Scottish woman who keeps a shop would be unlikely to be 'bookish'.

The *Recollections* regularly report signs of literacy being used as one of the yardsticks by which the Scots could be measured. Wordsworth had started a Sunday School in 1789 where the children were taught to read, to spell, to memorise hymns and to recite the catechism. As Lucinda Cole and Richard Swartz discuss in their article, ' "Why Should I Wish for Words?" Literacy, Articulation, and the Borders of Literary Culture', she was 'deeply interested in the particular mode of social reform and moralization that sought to bring benefits of literacy to the laboring poor'.<sup>67</sup>

Dorothy, Coleridge and William frequently interrogate children about their schooling; she remarks on a young girl who 'could repeat several [hymns] of Dr. Watts' and 'said she would buy a book' with a sixpence which Wordsworth had given her<sup>68</sup> and makes special mention of 'a shelf with some books' in an inn at Brownhill.<sup>69</sup> The miners' library at Leadhills earns their approval, although it also arouses their surprise.

We talked with one of the miners, who informed us that the building which we had supposed to be a school was a library belonging to the village. He said they had got a book into it a few weeks ago, which had cost thirty pounds, and that they had all sorts of books. "What ! have you Shakespeare?" "Yes, we have that."<sup>70</sup>

While they travelled in the Lowlands, the Wordsworths found evidence of reading. The highest literacy rates in Britain among the laboring poor of this period were, in fact, to be found in the Scottish Lowlands and the north of England, including the Lake District. With regard both to educational provision and to the habit of reading, the Scottish Lowlands and the north of England 'may have formed a zone distinct from both southern England and Highland Scotland'.<sup>71</sup> The picture changed, however, when they entered the Highlands.

As Cole and Swartz demonstrate, in the *Recollections*,

Dorothy portrays the Highlands as everything the Lowlands and northern England are not—primitive, foreign, at times repelling. ... While these cultural differences sometimes become the basis of an objectifying and essentialist picturesque, that aesthetic is punctured and often shattered when, in her accounts, Highland speech intrudes.<sup>72</sup>

In Wordsworth's descriptions of the Highlanders, we find young women 'gabbling Erse as fast as their tongues could move';<sup>73</sup> an old woman singing 'doleful Erse songs' while rocking a fretful baby in its cradle 'the more violently the more it cried';<sup>74</sup> and a boy whose call is only 'a half-articulate Gaelic hooting'.<sup>75</sup> Dorothy describes the boy as part of the wild landscape while William metonymically sees the whole of Highland culture embodied in the boy.

Those who can speak English are judged more approvingly. A 'pretty little girl, who could speak a few words of English' is rewarded with a book,<sup>76</sup> while 'a little Highland woman' who 'could scarcely speak five English words' nonetheless was 'very gracious in [her] manners'.<sup>77</sup> Highland children are repeatedly described as shy and silent, with descriptive language that seem to belong as much to forest animals as they do to human beings.

The opposite stereotype to the savage Highlander is, of course, the noble Highlander. At Loch Katterine (sic), William and Dorothy meet a man who fits their preconceived image.

We espied a man on horseback at a little distance, with a boy following him on foot ... and we hailed him. ... [T]here was something uncommon and interesting in this man's appearance, which would have fixed our attention wherever we had met him. He was a complete Highlander in dress, figure, and face, and a very fine-looking man, hardy and vigorous, though past his prime. While he stood waiting for us in his bonnet and plaid, which never look more graceful than on horseback, I forgot our errand, and only felt glad that we were in the Highlands. Wm. accosted him with, "Sir, do you speak English?" He replied, "A little". He spoke however, sufficiently well for our

purpose, and very distinctly, as all the Highlanders do who learn English as a foreign language; but in a long conversation they want words.<sup>78</sup>

The idea of the noble Highlander was widespread among English tourists to Scotland and to be a 'complete Highlander' required more than mere birth and residence in the Highlands. Sarah Murray had described the Highlanders as 'stout men, both in body and mind',<sup>79</sup> capable of prodigious feats of strength and bravery, while Anne Grant described 'true Highlanders' as manly, noble, graceful, patient and eschewing luxury. These same idealised and quasi-mythical virtues contributed to Dorothy's definition of a 'complete Highlander'. Just as Grant had dismissively described a man who fell short of the ideal as having 'nothing of a highlander but ... his birth',<sup>80</sup> so too does Wordsworth set her 'complete Highlander' apart from other Highlanders whom she meets but who fail to live up to her expectations.

The exoticism of the foreign is, of course, one of its attractions for tourists and part of the reason why tourists leave home. The mere sight of the Highlander is enough to make Dorothy 'glad that we were in the Highlands' and she goes on to say that although,

what we had seen of the main body of the lake made us little desire to see more of it; the Highlander upon the naked heath, in his Highland dress, upon his careful-going horse, with the boy following him, was worth it all.<sup>81</sup>

Using a trope common to English visitors to Scotland throughout the whole of the period discussed, Wordsworth linked the Highlanders with the natives of Britain's imperial colonies around the world. A pleasure-house near the Cora Linn waterfall resembled 'some of the huts in the prints belonging to Captain Cook's Voyages';<sup>82</sup> the view from the island of Inch-ta-vannach 'was an outlandish scene—we might have believed ourselves in North America';<sup>83</sup> the woodsmen's dwellings on the shore of Loch Lomond are 'like savages' huts' and the area around them 'might have been just visited by new settlers';<sup>84</sup> and a Highlander who finds a track 'where often no track was visible *to us* ... reminded us of what we read of the Hottentots and other savages'.<sup>85</sup> As Elizabeth Bohls argues,



It is as if, in this remote corner of Britain, the strange and exotic become the everyday, or the everyday assumes an alien aura. Tierra del Fugans, Africans, and American Indians, icons of otherness, become interchangeable with the "savage" Highlanders.<sup>86</sup>

Rarely, if ever, in my view, does Wordsworth identify fully with the people she meets. There is always a degree of distance, usually although not always, created by differences in social class. She is frequently pleased by the reception given to them by landladies and the mistresses of houses where they rest for a while, take refreshment or stay overnight, but the relationship generally remains an unequal one.

If local people form the 'Other' for Wordsworth in her encounter with Scotland, then so, in a different way, do other tourists. Dean MacCannell and other theorists have written of the tourist's desire to avoid seeming like a tourist, and Eric J. Leed has written,

The most characteristic mark of the tourist is the wish to avoid tourists and the places they congregate.<sup>87</sup>

Although they were themselves in many ways typical tourists of the early nineteenth century, with an interest in picturesque landscape and a desire to see as much as possible, William and Dorothy try to set themselves apart from other tourists, the 'prospect-hunters and picturesque travellers',<sup>88</sup> as they travel through Scotland. Sometimes this takes the form of scathing comment. At Cora Linn, a party of tourists drive away from the inn while the Wordsworths are eating dinner. Dorothy Wordsworth observes,

I guess they were fresh from England, for they had stuffed the pockets of their carriage with bundles of hether [sic], roots and all, just as if Scotland grew no hether but on the banks of the Clyde. They passed away with their treasure towards Loch Lomond.<sup>89</sup>

Dorothy implies that the Wordsworths are superior — they know about Scotland while the ordinary tourists are transported like parcels from one fixed stop to another. On the way to Inveraray, another tourist asks them 'Can that be the Castle?' Dorothy is patronising in her recording of this incident. 'Recollecting the prints we had seen, we knew it could not; but the mistake is a natural one at that distance'.<sup>90</sup> Again, the Wordsworths stand out from the crowd — they have looked at the prints in advance and come to Scotland prepared.

When Dorothy and William arrive at Hamilton, they worry that *tourists* will have taken all of the beds. Dorothy writes,

'We were rather alarmed for our accommodations during the rest of the tour, supposing the house to be filled with *tourists*; but they were in general only regular travellers; for out of the main road from town to town we saw scarcely a carriage.

She is sure that they have seen the best landscapes and that their observations are far superior to those of most people. Aware that their mode of transport might be seen as marking them out as social inferiors, she is smugly pleased to discover that, at an inn near Loch Lomond, 'a party with smart carriage and servants' received service of equal slowness to that afforded the Wordsworths 'with our single horse and outlandish Hibernian vehicle'.<sup>91</sup>

The word 'tourist' was new and newly popular. In *The High Road*, John Glendening argued,

That Dorothy generally uses the term with a touch of distaste and a disinclination to apply it to herself is due to its being stylish in a way that she had chosen not to be; a shared label would connect her to modish and superficial sightseers. That she sometimes uses "tourist" without undue emphasis, however, also suggests how quickly it had been disseminated as a needed label for the actor in what had become a common cultural role ... one

perfectly configured to receive romantic interpretations.<sup>92</sup>

Unlike the anonymous author of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*, whose travelling companions were invisible to the reader, or Sarah Murray who travelled with servants but without companions, Dorothy Wordsworth's fellow travellers were an integral part of her trip and of her *Recollections*. As Anne Mellor has written, Dorothy Wordsworth's self was 'a self built, as were many other nineteenth century women's selves, on a model of affiliation rather than a model of individual achievement ... a self grounded ... in relationship, in connection'.<sup>93</sup> Just as Dorothy was part of a shared intimate community in Grasmere, and just as her writing was frequently a communal act, shared with William and sometimes Coleridge or Mary, so too in Scotland and in the *Reflections*.

Comparing Dorothy's daffodil entry in her Grasmere Journal with William's well-known daffodil poem, both inspired by the same walk, Susan Levin writes:

The absence of the "I" in Dorothy's passages is as characteristic of her vision as is the speaker as isolate individual in William's poem. In his recounting the "I" becomes twice removed from any community, not only "lonely" but "as a cloud" remote, above, disconnected from the scene at hand. He ends up on his couch, also alone we may assume. But Dorothy writes of "we," the plural pronoun appearing six times in her description. The walk is a communal activity; the flowers themselves are part of a group. Her view locates a society engaged in a communal act of perception. Her Grasmere journals are in part the recording of that act. In this community, Dorothy herself appears as a facilitating rather than a competitive presence, constructing a nonaggressive rather than an ego-dominant self. Both William and Coleridge use her words; she offers them gladly. ... The Grasmere journals tell of writing as a family matter.<sup>94</sup>

Dorothy's use of pronouns within the *Recollections* is, I believe, careful and deliberate. Most of the time both she and William appear in the text as a symbiotic 'we'. Shared experiences, conversations and observations are recorded on behalf of them both, and there is an implication that the way they see things is frequently the same. When, however, she has had a conversation or experience separate from William, or when she wishes to express an opinion different from William or set an observation of her own against one of his, she equally carefully and deliberately writes 'I'.

During the first two weeks of the tour, Coleridge is often implicitly included in the communal 'we'. An article by Sheila Huftel in the *Contemporary Review*, however, reveals the truth behind the appearances. Placing Dorothy Wordsworth's enthusiastic descriptions in the *Recollections* side by side with Coleridge's letters to his wife about how terrible the conditions were and how unhappy he was, she gives some insight into the reasons why Coleridge separated from the others so early in the tour.<sup>95</sup>

Dorothy included a number of William's poems in the *Recollections*, using them sometimes to enhance her own observations and sometimes to contradict them. In her entry for September 18th, for example, Dorothy quoted a sonnet by William, saying,

I need not describe the scene, for Wm. has done it better than I could do in a sonnet which he wrote the same day; the five last lines, at least, of his poem will impart to you more of the *feeling* of the place than it would be possible for me to do.<sup>96</sup>

When writing of Glen Coe, she copied out William's description of the Alps from Book 6 of the *Prelude* as a way of illustrating what they had expected but not found at Glen Coe. She went on to add her own comments.

The place had nothing of this character, the glen being open to the eye of day, the mountains retiring in independent majesty. Even in the upper part of it,

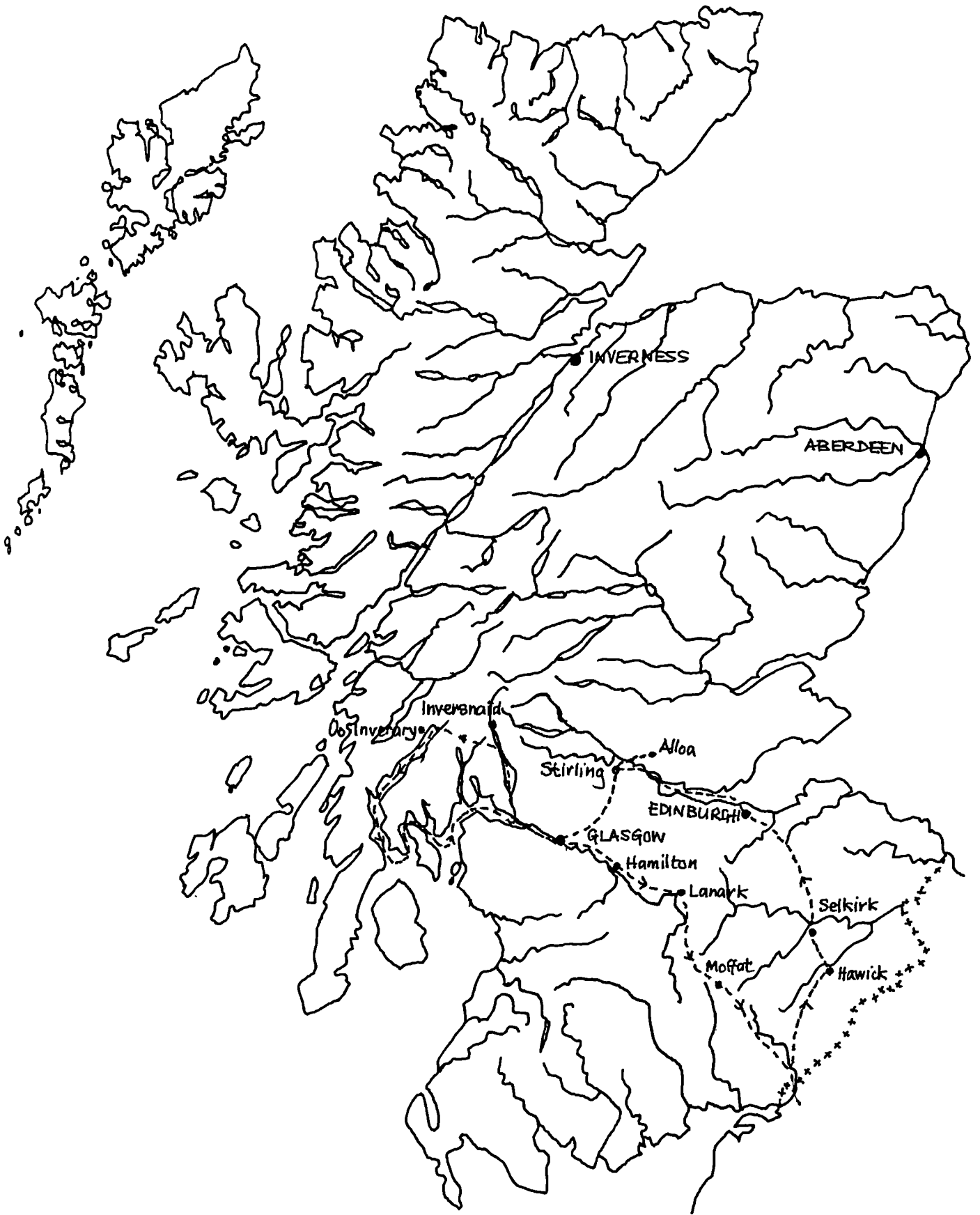
where the stream rushed through the rocky chasm, it was but a deep trench in the vale, not the vale itself.<sup>97</sup>

She set 'Sweet Highland Girl, a very shower' alongside her own extended description of two young women who helped to run the inn near Loch Lomond.<sup>98</sup> While William's poem describes an imaginary and beautiful fourteen year old who seems 'like something fashion'd in a dream', and who is 'the Spirit of ... the Cabin small, the Lake, the Bay, the Waterfall',<sup>99</sup> Dorothy describes two flesh and blood girls who turn out their wardrobe in an attempt to find dry clothes for Dorothy to put on, and who have wet bare feet, laugh, do chores and live real lives. The juxtaposition of the two texts underline the different ways of seeing and describing.

\* \* \* \* \*

*Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland and Journal of my Second Tour in Scotland* describe similar, although not identical, tours taken nineteen years apart. In 1822, Dorothy Wordsworth toured Scotland with Joanna Hutchinson, the sister of Mary Hutchinson, William's wife. A map of their journey follows this page. They had long planned to take the trip, although Joanna's health had been poor for years. The trip was originally planned to last for two weeks but it was prolonged to seven weeks because of Joanna's severe rheumatism and ended with Dorothy nursing Joanna in Edinburgh. Dorothy was 50 years old at the time of the trip; Joanna was nearly ten years younger.

Unlike the earlier trip, the second tour was made largely on public transport. During the nineteen years, a tourist infrastructure had grown up in Scotland and that, together with advances in transport technology, meant that there was now a network of coaches and steam vessels. Joanna and Dorothy travelled by cart to Penrith, together with William and with Crabb Robinson; they then took a coach to Edinburgh, travelled on to Stirling by boat and carried on to Glasgow by track-boat. From Glasgow they took the steamer to Dumbarton, the coach to Balloch, and the steamer again up Loch Lomond to Tarbet. From there they



Dorothy Wordsworth, 1822

50 miles  
Scale: 1:2 000 000

proceeded by carriage and foot to Inveraray, by steamer back to Glasgow and then returned to Edinburgh.

According to Ernest de Selincourt, Dorothy wrote her *Journal of my Second Tour in Scotland* soon after she returned from the trip, this time working from notes taken on the trip.<sup>100</sup> Jiro Nagasawa, editor of a recent edition of the *Second Tour*, has cast doubt on this statement. According to Nagasawa, it was unlikely that Wordsworth was able immediately to devote time to writing up the manuscript since her nephew Willy fell seriously ill the day after her return. She was also involved in the time-consuming task of revising the *Recollections* for publication, and in helping William to prepare a second edition of his *Guide to the Lakes*. Given these various and conflicting demands on her time, Nagasawa suggests that 'under these circumstances Dorothy's memory of and interest in the tour seems to have lapsed'.<sup>101</sup> After transcribing the notes for the first ten days, she wrote 'I have no more notes, and have not the resolution to set about arranging my recollections' and concluded the journal with a brief account of the last 19 days in 318 words.

For many years, all of the available printed texts were incomplete. Although a full and accurate transcription of the *Second Tour* manuscripts was published in 1989,<sup>102</sup> the *Second Tour* has, as yet, received very little critical attention.

Jiro Nagasawa has reconstructed the probable method of working employed by Dorothy Wordsworth in writing the notes for the *Second Tour*. According to Nagasawa,

before beginning to write what she was actually seeing, hearing, feeling, or thinking (usually on a vehicle or a vessel), it seems that Dorothy reserved a half to two blank pages to record certain of her previous experiences, and that she filled these blank pages when she put up at an inn.<sup>103</sup>

The first few pages of the narrative are still virtually in note form, but Wordsworth becomes more expansive as the book goes on. The mood of the *Second Tour* is much less confident and buoyant than that of the *Recollections*. Within the first few pages, we are shown the two women being warned by their friends about the dangers of travelling.

Sara at Mrs. Ellwoods—very dull at parting with us on our wanderings " two forlorn helpless creatures! What should we do?" and Mrs. E. put in a word of the dangers of travelling—recent accidents in coaches &c, &c.<sup>104</sup>

On the second day of their trip, they met with their first mishap. Wordsworth writes,

Before we reached Moss Paul, were alarmed by an accident, which made us resign our seats in the fresh air for the inside of the coach. One of the horses fell; & we were not set in motion again without much trouble.

It must have seemed to Dorothy and Joanna as if Mrs. Ellwood's predictions were already coming true. They were perhaps equally inconvenienced, although less alarmed, by their travelling companion, a young man who soon 'became troublesome by his loquacity'<sup>105</sup> and who claimed to be an expert on landscape, Scotland and husbandry (although Wordsworth suspected that he knew very little). A further minor accident, the breaking of a rein while crossing a bridge, 'so much disturbed' Wordsworth that she was unable to admire the scenery and pleaded with the coachman to let her sit inside the coach again.<sup>106</sup>

Joanna's illness forms a continuing backdrop to the narrative and Dorothy frequently mentions Joanna's rheumatism and her other aches and pains. As well as physical ill-health, Joanna was a nervous woman and her nervousness seems to have affected Dorothy, so that both women experienced considerable anxiety at intervals during the trip. At the same time, Joanna's illness highlights Dorothy's independence and competence. On her first trip, Dorothy had organised many of the practical arrangements food, accommodation, stabling for the horse — and on this trip, while still taking responsibility for those areas, Dorothy now also took on responsibility for decision-making and coping with public transport.

When Dorothy had made her 1820 tour of France, Germany and Switzerland, together with William, his wife, his wife's cousin Thomas Monkhouse and Thomas's new bride Jane, it was Jane Monkhouse who played the role of the sick or weak woman while Dorothy



demonstrated her stamina and courage. Helen Boden, editor of Wordsworth's *The Continental Journals*, has pointed out that

Jane Monkhouse is marginalized on her own honeymoon. She is the only member of the party not to cross the Rhine below the falls ... while Dorothy Wordsworth, so often constructed as the weakling who stays at home and does not venture out of her brother's shadow, is here seen to display, and enjoy, the increasing strength and boldness that propelled her towards, and across, the Alps.<sup>107</sup>

The use of a less competent woman traveller as a foil for the capable traveller is a trope that frequently appears in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century women's travel writing. Sarah Murray, for example, repeatedly indicated that the 'timorous' would be frightened by various dangers but that she was not; Anne Grant as a child refused to react when other women became hysterical at the sound of wolves.

Dorothy repeatedly points out the frequent episodes when she climbs hills and takes long walks, while poor Joanna is left waiting. In Edinburgh, the two women walked over the Calton Hill to Arthur's Seat. Dorothy writes,

After Luncheon at the Black Bull, over the Calton Hill to Arthur's Seat. Joanna by slow degrees reached St. Anthony's Chapel & I wandered further. On our return left her seated on a stone at the foot of Salisbury crags, and ascended by the steep road. ... View magnificent at sunset.<sup>108</sup>

Dorothy made several ascents of Calton Hill while they were in Edinburgh at the beginning of the trip. Each time, Joanna was left sitting at the bottom.

While Dorothy is confident about conversing with strangers, a constant feature of her life and travels, Joanna is much more nervous and disapproving. When an old woman tells them her story of 'distress of rogues & loss of property, of bribes and lawsuits', Dorothy is inclined to believe her. She writes that the woman's 'mean apparel was decently put on &

kept together, & she did indeed seem as if she had seen better days'. Joanna, however, dismisses the story, telling Dorothy that the woman 'took me in with her Scottish phrases, and long words'.<sup>109</sup> Perhaps because of Joanna's attitude, there are far fewer descriptions of encounters and conversations with local people than there were in *Recollections*.

The issue of travelling without male protection is not uncomplicated for Dorothy, however, and, while at times she is able to demonstrate her abilities, at other times her confidence can be very badly shaken. Near the end of the trip, lack of public transport forces the two women to walk the six miles from Elvan-foot to the toll-bar. Walking on an isolated road, Dorothy asks 'a big strong old man' how far it is to the toll-bar. His hasty reply, 'What do you mean to *hous* there?' makes Dorothy feel that she has been imprudent in speaking to him. Joanna rushes along, looking at the ground, until the man has moved on ahead.

Her looks shewed plainly what she had been suffering, & then she exclaimed, "How could you be so imprudent as to speak to that man in this lonely place?" We began, when we thought him at safe distance, to look backwards, & without halting watched till he was out of sight ... Twilight was fast approaching, & the moon hidden behind the hills ... It seemed I had never been in a place so lonely. While we were trudging on side by side, Joanna talked incessantly to keep away thought ... now & then she cast her eyes backward, and in so doing, fancied she espied a man hastily crossing over the side of a hill, *towards* us, though at a considerable distance. After this, I believe she never once looked behind: but went on at a speed for *her* almost supernatural...<sup>110</sup>

When they arrive at a farm-house, the two women are 'cheared by the sight of a Woman's kind face'. As they begin to tell their story, however, the door is opened and two rough Scotsmen come in, asking for whiskey.

The men had a rattling wild air & demeanour which would have completely upset us had they overtaken us on the road. They reminded me of the roughest of the Heidelberg Students. Each carried a knapsack, with a stout staff in hand, & leather caps on the head. You may judge we were anxious that the house should be cleared of them, especially as we were convinced that it must have been one of these men whom Joanna had seen; & that they had hurried forward to overtake us and we even *suspected*, from the tenor of their discourse, that they *had heard something* about us. They were surly & abusive when the Landlord upheld his Wife in refusing to let them stay.<sup>111</sup>

The women stay at the farmhouse but pass a disturbed night haunted by the thought that they have made themselves totally dependent on people about whom they know nothing. When they hear a sound, the terror of the previous night returns.

As for me, there was one five minutes during which I was more terrified than ever before in my whole life. I was thoroughly awake, & had heard no sound except the Brook ... the clock had been striking two—the outer door was opened from within, & the Landlord's Brother went out as I distinctly heard. He had moved very quietly, & my fears cannot be described, for at that moment I was struck with the horrible thought that he had got out of bed to admit the two men who had come in, after us, in the evening and recollecting that both he and his Brother, during the parley, had gone out with the men talking about their journey I thought what if they then settled upon murdering us! Joanna & I lay trembling side by side...<sup>112</sup>

The contrast with Dorothy's experience of her earlier tour is pronounced. When travelling with William, she felt in perfect safety and was able to enjoy their encounters with local men as well as women, responding to William's curiosity about other people as well as her own. On her own with Joanna, however, a woman of deep nervousness and fear, Dorothy's own

confidence collapses and she allows Joanna's anxiety to invade her mind. With William, the man on the road would probably have been designated an interesting local, with Joanna he becomes a potential murderer.

The same is true about the unreliability of food and accommodation. Although tourism was growing rapidly, one could still not guarantee easily finding appropriate places to stay, particularly in the more sparsely populated areas. Whereas on the first tour, bad food and accommodation had been something that Dorothy and William took in their stride, perhaps even seeing it as part of the adventure of travelling in the 'wild Highlands', Joanna's fluctuating health made it much more of a problem. At Tarbet, the dinner of mutton chops is 'so raw that J. could not taste them without reboiling, &, in attempting to do this, lost her chops into the fire'.<sup>113</sup> In *Recollections*, the reader is given a sense of Dorothy and William sharing equally in what came along; in the *Second Tour*, Dorothy's responsibility for Joanna's welfare leads to a bad meal being a sign of Dorothy's failure to provide adequately.

Another disappointment comes at Tarbet when 'the pleasant room where I had sate with Wm. & C. was already engaged by a party who had come with us in the Steamboat'.<sup>114</sup> Much of the *Second Tour* is concerned with Dorothy's attempts to retrace the steps of her earlier tour. She repeatedly compares what she sees now with what she saw and experienced then. A girl standing at the Ferry house at Inversnyde evokes a memory of an earlier encounter.

I cannot fancy her so fair as *our* Highland Girl. Poor thing! I ask myself in vain what is become of *her*? And that little Babe that squalled the harder while its Grandame rocked, as if to stifle its cries. Brought up in toil and hardship, is it still struggling on? or, with the aged woman, sleeping in the quiet grave?<sup>115</sup>

The ferry at Tarbet reminds Dorothy of an incident in which their lunch was lost in the loch. Whereas a similar incident now would be seen as a disaster, she laughs off the memory of 'our coffee & fowls dropped into the water when poor C. was with us, & of our coasting the Bay

in a vessel, even more crazy than this'.<sup>116</sup> The sense of security that she felt during the earlier trip is missing and mishaps are no longer to be laughed off.

Joanna is, of course, unable to share directly in any of these memories. Her only experience of them has been through the pages of Dorothy's *Recollections*. Both women are isolated, Dorothy from within her past, Joanna from outside it. The experiences of the second tour are fragmented, whereas those of the first tour, shared with William and Coleridge at a time when all three were at the height of their creative powers, brought a sense of unity and shared purpose. *Recollections*, although Dorothy's work, was, as is noted above, a record of communal experiences and observations, with 'we' by far the most common pronoun. The *Second Tour* is much more a private record of Dorothy's trip, with Joanna a character on the pages rather than a participant.

Dorothy's attempts to revisit the past often end in failure. She is unable, for example, to find the particular lime tree under which she has sat with William and Coleridge. She often reflects on people she had met in 1803, wondering what has happened to them, and she comments frequently on how improvement and progress has tamed the wild landscape, a process about which she is deeply ambivalent. As Susan Levin has argued,

The second journal concentrates less on the wild beauty of the country, which Dorothy feels cultivation has diminished, than on progress, time, death, and memory as her view of the country itself mirrors her own aging process. With age that brings greater wealth, polish, and self-sufficiency comes an obvious loss of youthful energy as well as, she fears, a certain loss of imaginative power.<sup>117</sup>

Scotland has changed during the intervening years between the tours and, just as she is unable to reconstruct the experience of the first tour, so too Scotland is no longer the same place and is sometimes, she implies, unrecognisable.

It seems almost churlish to regret the departure of such native attractions as *must* give way to improvements in wealth and industry. ... But in travelling beside this noble river I would not wish to forget that I was in Scotland. In 1803 I could have hardly fancied it possible to do so; for the Scottish character appeared in the fore-ground of every landscape. To-day I have oftener been reminded of fruitful vales at a distance than of the pastoral or healthy wilds of Scotland.<sup>118</sup>

There are far fewer descriptions of scenery in the *Second Tour* and those that are included are short and conventional. The reader is left with a sense that Dorothy has written the *Second Tour* because it is 'correct' to record one's travels but that, unlike her attitude to the *Recollections*, she has no real belief in the journal's intrinsic value or of a potential and interested audience.

In conclusion, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*, Dorothy Wordsworth's first Scottish travel journal, revealed her to be a competent and practical traveller; it also showed her to be a practised and self-conscious writer, whose carefully crafted text, despite its arrangement in the 'form of a journal', forms a coherent and unified whole. Although she was ambivalent about public declarations of Authorship, she was nevertheless continually and deeply involved in her own writing. For Wordsworth, that writing formed an integral part of her involvement in the community of words of which she was a member. Empowered by both her travels and her writing, she depicted both landscapes and people with precision and skill. Although she was not free from stereotypical views about those she met, she nonetheless managed at times to establish a level of empathetic understanding which, while not a relationship of equality, nevertheless enabled her to respond to difference with sympathy.

She was aware of prevailing generic conventions and criticism of her writings needs to be sited within the wider context of early nineteenth century travel texts.

Her second journal, an account of a trip taken nineteen years after the first one, is a less optimistic text. Fifty years old and travelling with a companion in poor health, Wordsworth's experience of travel caused her considerable anxiety. Much of the account is concerned with her attempts to retrace the steps of her earlier tour, and she frequently reflects on loss, ageing and change.

Travel in Scotland changed radically during the period between Wordsworth's first and second tours. By reading the two narratives side by side, it is possible to see some of the ways in which travel in Scotland moved from the pioneering exploration travel of Sarah Murray through to the fully fledged tourist trail followed by Dorothy Wordsworth and Joanna Hutchinson and, as will be discussed in the next chapter, Sarah Hazlitt.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

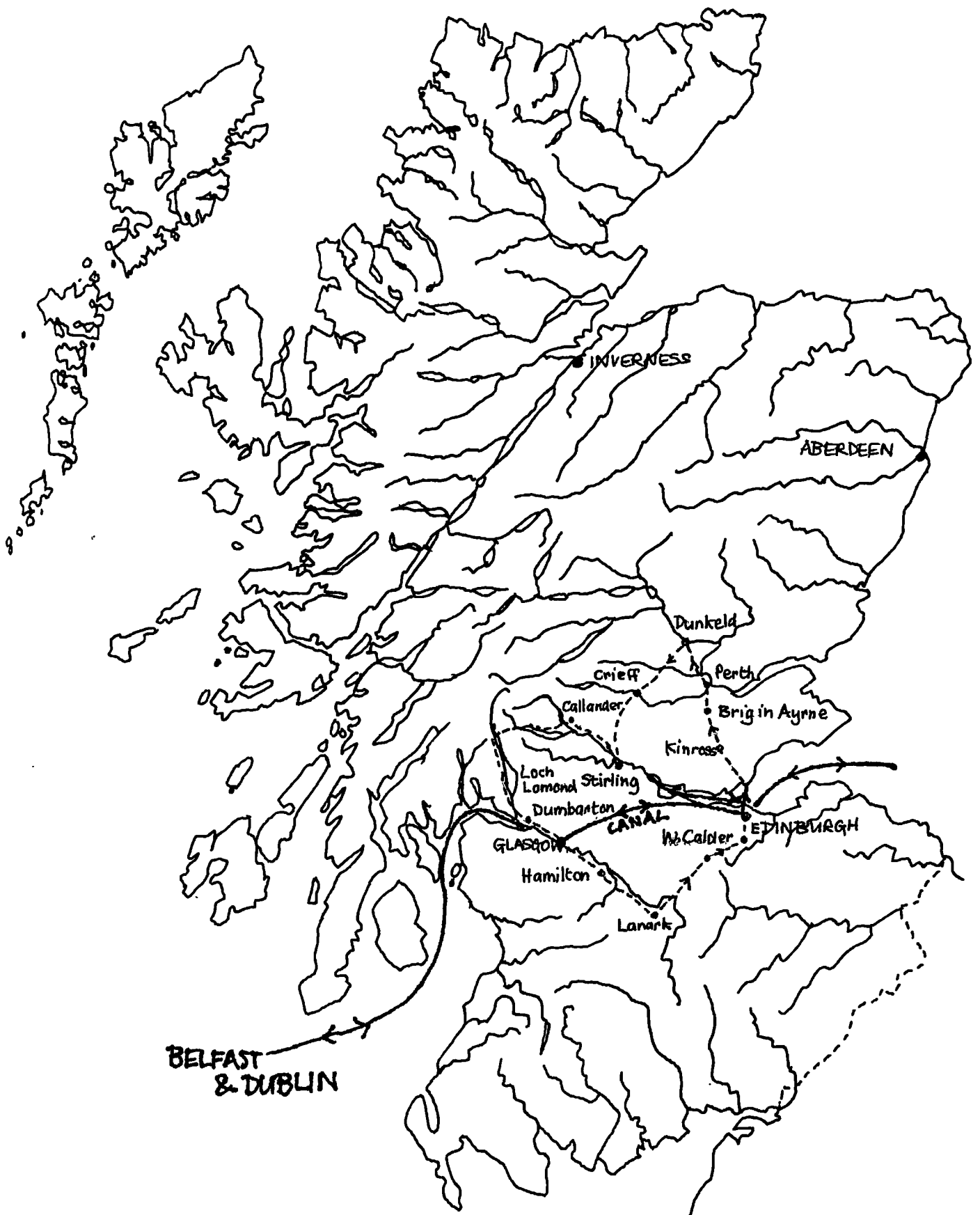
### INTERRUPTING THE AESTHETIC: SARAH HAZLITT'S *JOURNAL*

On 14th April 1822, Sarah Hazlitt, wife of the well-known essayist William Hazlitt,<sup>1</sup> left London for Scotland. Travelling by boat, she was on her way to Edinburgh to establish residence and file for divorce under Scotch law. It took three months for the legal procedures to be completed. In the intervals between the stages of the process, Hazlitt took three extensive solitary pedestrian tours, two in Scotland and one in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> Her *Journal of My Trip in Scotland* (which includes all three tours) is both a travel journal and a diary of Hazlitt's emotional and physical state as she waited for a divorce about which she was, at best, ambivalent. It was not, of course, uncommon during the romantic period for women's journals to serve a multiplicity of functions or for them to mix travel description with discussion of personal affairs. Mary Wollstonecraft's *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796), for example, makes similar shifts between touristic descriptions and concerns about her failing love affair with Gordon Imlay.

Although there is no way to be certain, the journal appears to be a private one, with no intended audience but Hazlitt herself. It was not published during Hazlitt's lifetime<sup>3</sup> and she never suggested within the journal that she planned to show it to anyone. In her 1996 article, 'I Write for Myself and Strangers': Private Diaries as Public Documents',<sup>4</sup> Lynn Z. Bloom lists five features which, she believes, generally apply to 'truly private diaries'. According to Bloom, truly private diaries

- (a) '... are those bare bones works written primarily to keep records ... Written with neither art nor artifice, they are so terse they seem coded; no reader outside the author's immediate society or household could understand them without extra-textual information.'
- (b) They generally 'lack sufficient development and detail to make [them] self-coherent. [The authors do not] identify the people, places, and allusions.'





Sarah Hazlitt, 1822

50 miles  
Scale 1:2,000,000

- (c) 'Such diaries march along chronologically, their day-by-day progress dictated by the format and textually insulated from the rest of the work. They exhibit no foreshadowing and scarcely a retrospective glance.'
- (d) 'In such truly private diaries the diarist does not shape the evidence to reinforce a preconceived and therefore self-controlled authorial persona. Indeed, she gives little or no evidence of concern with authorial image at all; it emerges unwittingly from the materials.'
- (e) 'Typical of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century [private] diaries [is the recording of] income, expenditures, the weather, correspondence, visits, everything largely uninterpreted.'<sup>5</sup>

Bloom compares truly private diaries to what she calls 'public private diaries ... essentially freestanding public documents, artfully shaped to accommodate an audience.'<sup>6</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth's travel journal, for example, would fit Bloom's category of 'public private'. In contrast, Hazlitt's journal conforms closely to the five features listed by Bloom. Hazlitt makes no attempt to identify the people named in the diary or to explain allusions to events. The subject matter is wide ranging and includes notes of meetings with barristers; copies of legal documents; records of court proceedings; descriptions of scenery, buildings and social customs; records of expenditures and income; weather; lists of letters written and visits made; health problems; accounts of interactions with William; social concerns; distances walked; and reports of conversations. There is no sense of selection or shaping; instead the events and concerns of a particular day have been written down as they occurred. The entry for 29th April 1822, for example, includes a description of the weather, a list of the sights Hazlitt saw that day, a mention that Mr. Bell<sup>7</sup> had called when she was out and would call again, and the fact that her lottery ticket had drawn a blank. No attempt has been made to create a consistent narrative.

The subject matter is considerably wider than that which Bloom attributes to 'truly private diaries' and Hazlitt does express opinions and judgements on the sights she sees. This can be explained, however, by the differences between the writing of a travel diary and the

writing of a domestic diary. Living and travelling in an unfamiliar country, the experiences which formed part of her daily life were themselves more varied than would be the case for most diary-writers.

Hazlitt was making the trip at the request of her then husband, William. The couple had been married for fourteen years but had been living separately for much of the last three years.<sup>8</sup> As Hazlitt wrote:

Mr. Hazlitt [had] certainly told me that he should never live with me again, and as my situation must have long been uncomfortable, he thought for both our sakes it would be better to obtain a divorce and put an end to it.<sup>9</sup>

William had agreed to pay Sarah Hazlitt's expenses on the trip to Scotland, although, as the *Journal* reveals, she had to ask repeatedly before any money was forthcoming, and William frequently gave her less than the amount agreed.

At the time, William had become infatuated with Sarah Walker, the daughter of the landlord at his London lodgings, lodgings originally taken purely for convenience while submitting work to London magazines.<sup>10</sup> Totally obsessed, he became convinced that a divorce would enable him to marry the young woman. As he wrote to his friend, Peter George Patmore (in a letter which he later published),

Should this unpleasant business [the divorce] ... succeed, and I should become free, do you think [Sarah Walker] will agree to change her name to       ? If she *will*, she *shall*; and to call her so to you, or to hear her called so by others, would be music to my ears, such as they never drank in. ... The truth is, I never had any pleasure, like love, with anyone but her.<sup>11</sup>

William's attachment to Sarah Walker was well-known among his friends and acquaintances in London. Barry Waller Proctor (who wrote under the name Barry Cornwall) wrote of what he regarded as William Hazlitt's 'insane passion'.

He was, for a time, unable to think or talk of anything else. He ... fatigued every person whom he met by expressions of his love, of her deceit, and of his own vehement disappointment. ... Upon one occasion I know that he told the story of his attachment to five different persons in the same day, and at each time entered into minute details of his love story.<sup>12</sup>

Others of William's contemporaries reported that if they were out when he came to call, William would repeat the entire tale to any servant willing to stand and listen. Many of his friends turned against him, some with expressions of outrage at his behaviour, others with complaints of boredom and irritation. It is generally accepted that Walker was only the last in a long line of extramarital affairs and infatuations which occurred during the marriage, although actual sexual contact appears to have been limited to prostitutes and streetwalkers. Certainly the divorce petition referred to William as having had 'carnal and adulterous intercourse and dealings with ... women one or more' prior to the year of the divorce proceedings. The public nature of this particular affair, however, seems to have caused Sarah Hazlitt especial concern. In early 1822, William's essay 'On Great and Little Things' was printed in the *New Monthly Magazine*. A section of this essay was addressed to an anonymous woman, referred to by William as 'my Infelice' but recognisable by anyone who knew the situation as Sarah Walker. Sarah Hazlitt, not surprisingly, was disturbed by the publication of this essay.<sup>13</sup>

I told him he had done a most injudicious thing in publishing what he did in the Magazine about Sarah Walker, particularly at this time, and that he might be sure it would be made use of against him, and that everybody in London had thought it a most improper thing...<sup>14</sup>

In the essay, William declared his preference for women who did not read over those who did.

I do not care a fig for any woman that knows even what an *author* means. If I know that she has read anything I have written, I cut her acquaintance immediately. This sort of literary intercourse with me passes for nothing.<sup>15</sup>

Sarah Hazlitt was known to be a great reader and throughout their marriage she had mixed in the same literary circles frequented by her husband. William's comments, therefore, may well have seemed like a deliberate attack.

A trip to Scotland was necessary if a divorce was to be obtained. Between 1670 and 1857, a marriage could only be dissolved in England by means of a private Act of Parliament. This procedure was costly and lengthy — far beyond William Hazlitt's means. Furthermore, the Act could only be obtained on the grounds of adultery by the wife. Based on the principle that a married woman was the possession of her husband, any other lover was deemed to have trespassed upon his property and an application for divorce included a civil suit for damages.

By contrast, Scottish divorce law permitted a marriage to be dissolved upon evidence of adultery on the part of either partner. John Calvin in the sixteenth century had placed equal responsibility on both husband and wife to remain sexually faithful and thus extended to both the right of divorce.<sup>16</sup>

The arrangements included William Hazlitt visiting an Edinburgh brothel on several occasions so that evidence could be produced of his adultery without the need to call witnesses from London. As part of the divorce proceedings, Sarah Hazlitt was required to sign an Oath of Calumny, declaring that there had been no collusion between the parties to obtain the divorce. This caused her considerable concern and it does seem that there was agreement between the Hazlitts if not actual collusion.

For the most part, William Hazlitt's nineteenth-and twentieth-century biographers have treated Sarah Hazlitt harshly. Her grandson, William Carew Hazlitt, while acknowledging that she was an intelligent and widely read woman who had 'an excellent disposition' and was 'an affectionate mother', went on to describe her as 'selfish, unsympathizing, without an idea of management, ... destitute of all taste in dress' and without 'the slightest turn for household

economy'.<sup>17</sup> Later biographers repeated the criticisms. To Augustine Birrell, she was 'unromantic, undomestic, untidy and selfish';<sup>18</sup> Hesketh Pearson described her as 'blunt, downright ... with much sense and no sensibility ... [lacking in ] social tact, careless ... of the ordinary forms and conventions of civilised life [and with a] vulgar love of finery ... intelligent without sympathy and homely without grace'.<sup>19</sup> Leslie Stephen in the *Dictionary of National Biography* wrote 'She was ... an utterly incompetent housewife, despised the ordinary proprieties, and had a love of incongruous finery.'<sup>20</sup>

Even some recent biographies fail to do more than to rehearse the same comments. For P.P. Howe, 'Sarah was a thirty-three year old heiress whose early training was distinguished by financial closeness, and who secured her husband on [the] rebound.'<sup>21</sup> In Stanley Jones' 1989 biography of William, Sarah Hazlitt remains 'clumsy ... masculine ... with an embarrassing brusqueness'<sup>22</sup> and a woman whose marriage to William was 'a fatal mistake'.<sup>23</sup>

William Hallam Bonner, the editor of the only modern edition of Hazlitt's journal, insists that these hostile portraits are partial and unjust. 'The damage done to Sarah Hazlitt's character by well-intentioned scholars', he writes, 'has been enormous'.

Our sympathies have been called upon to pity a nervous, high strung, brilliant man of letters married to a vain, insensitive, unromantic, selfishly practical, aggressively indecorous, incompetent woman. The unjust portrait derives principally, no doubt, from a mid- and late- 19th century attitude toward a lively, unconventional woman involved at once with a famous author and in a scandalous divorce. It has been convenient to throw Sarah into the shadow, to pass on old assumptions, to retell old denigrating anecdotes.<sup>24</sup>

Feminist critics have argued that women's lives need to be read 'contextually' if they are to be understood. As the Personal Narratives Group contend,

[Contexts play] an essential role in grounding and validating the interpretation of women's personal narratives. They show the importance of the interpersonal relationships within which the life story emerges; they illuminate the significance of the intersection of individual life and historical moment; they address the importance of the frameworks of meaning through which women orient themselves in the world; and they allow us to explore the ways in which the interpreter's own context shapes both the formation and interpretation of a personal narrative.<sup>25</sup>

The life and personality of a woman like Sarah Hazlitt needs to be seen not only in relation to her better-known husband, but within the wider social circles that she inhabited. We get a very different picture of Sarah Hazlitt from the letters of Mary Lamb (and, to some extent, from the letters of Charles Lamb) than we do from William's (mostly male) biographers. In Lamb's<sup>26</sup> letters to Sarah Hazlitt both before and after her marriage, we see a fun-loving kindly woman with a gift for lively conversation and a talent for needlework. Described by all of Mary Lamb's biographers as Lamb's 'closest friend', the two women seem to have first met in 1802. They soon became firm friends and both Charles and Mary encouraged Sarah Stoddart (Hazlitt's maiden name) to visit as often as possible – Charles once describing her as 'one of the few people who are not in the way when they are with you'.<sup>27</sup> Sadly, none of Sarah Stoddart Hazlitt's own letters to Mary Lamb have survived, but Lamb talks of the fun they have had together, praises Hazlitt's embroidery and passes on loving greetings from various other women friends. Far from the unsympathetic, selfish, vulgar woman depicted by so many of William's biographers, we find in Lamb's letters a sociable generous Sarah who is part of a circle of women who meet, write and give gifts of needlework. Hazlitt's keen intelligence and interest in literature is reflected in the subjects discussed by the two women and, in Katharine Anthony's view, Hazlitt had a direct and positive influence on Lamb's writing.<sup>28</sup> Lamb's letters also provide a sensitive insight into the troubles of the Hazlitt

marriage and in particular, Hazlitt's seven pregnancies from which only one child lived beyond his or her first year.

Much of the criticism levelled at Sarah Hazlitt seems to hang on nineteenth-century expectations and definitions of 'feminine' behaviour.<sup>29</sup> Even within the context of Mary Lamb's letters, Sarah failed at times to conform to the requirements of feminine behaviour. When Sarah's brother urged Mary Lamb to exert pressure on Sarah to change her ways, Lamb, herself no conformist, was highly amused. She wrote to Sarah,

I am making all the proper enquiries ... of the newest and most approved modes (being myself mainly ignorant in these points) of etiquette and nicely correct maidenly manners. but ... we will lay our heads together and consult and contrive the best way of making the best girl in the world the fine Lady her brother wishes to see ... it is not so difficult a matter as one is sometimes apt to imagine.<sup>30</sup>

But within the bounds of that friendship and, perhaps, within the Lambs' own unconventional ways, she was accepted and loved as she was.

Just as Sarah Hazlitt has fared badly in the writings of William's supporters, so too her journal has been sidelined. Used primarily for biographical evidence about William, Hazlitt's journal is virtually unknown. As mentioned above, the Journal was not published until after Hazlitt's death. Since its first complete publication in 1894, it has been published only once more, in 1959 in the *University of Buffalo Studies*. Robin Jarvis refers to it as a rare example of a female pedestrian journey, but devotes less than three pages to it.<sup>31</sup> P.P. Howe in his *Life of William Hazlitt* quotes briefly from it; Stanley Jones<sup>32</sup> ignores it other than as a source of information about the divorce proceedings. Bonner, Hazlitt's 1959 editor, calling the *Journal* 'a revealing and very human document' has argued on its behalf:

In it we see Sarah Hazlitt threading her way with unusual composure and good sense through the fevered emotional tangle in which she was caught. She



applied herself to the business before her, but in the intervals provided by the law's delay, saw everything she could in Scotland and beyond. She was not only the injured and distressed wife but the ardent tourist. She wore out all her shoes walking hundreds of miles. Though the towpath horses might, and did, fall into the water, she took the canal boat to Glasgow. Her zest for travelling was extraordinary. And her record of it makes a travel book and diary of no small interest, quite over and above its contribution to our knowledge of Hazlitt's distressed days.<sup>33</sup>

I would argue that the *Journal's* association with the better known William has been to its disadvantage and has led to its being overlooked as a valuable document in its own right. In the journal, Sarah Hazlitt reveals a deep interest in people and how they live, an eye for scenery, an ear for dialect, and an enthusiasm for adventure. It makes its own contribution to our knowledge of Scotland and the rapidly evolving tourist industry in the early nineteenth century and, as the journal of a pedestrian woman not cushioned by money or servants, it provides insight into the growing trend towards touristic travel for the less well-to-do, a trend which would rapidly increase during the nineteenth century.

Travel in Scotland had changed radically in a very short space of time. The first edition of Sarah Murray's *Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, &c.*, advocating adventurous travel in a 'foreign' country where few spoke English, had been published only twenty-three years earlier;<sup>34</sup> and only ten years earlier Anne Grant had actively participated in the creation of the myth of the Scottish Highlands.

For Hazlitt, it was different. By 1822, the date of her trip, Scotland was well fixed on the tourist map and various types of professional apparatus had appeared to tell the traveller what to see and how to see it. As discussed in an earlier chapter, until early in the nineteenth century, travellers to the Highlands had relied on human guides, often Gaelic-speaking, together with accounts of the travels of those few who had gone before. Johnson and Boswell took Martin Martin's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* with them

on their trip to the Hebrides<sup>35</sup>; Sarah Murray used Johnson and Pennant and hired local guides; the Wordsworths referred to John Stoddart's *Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland*<sup>36</sup> and were personally directed by Walter Scott during the concluding section of their 1803 trip. Not until the very end of the eighteenth century had Scottish guidebooks begun to be available.<sup>37</sup>

As the list in Appendix 6 indicates, Hazlitt would have had a large number of guides from which to choose. A variety of books were on sale both in Scotland and in England. She certainly travelled with a copy of Stark's<sup>38</sup> *The Picture of Edinburgh*, which guided travellers around the prominent sights of the metropolis and included a map for 'Strangers' and information on hackney cab fares.<sup>39</sup> At intervals through her journal Hazlitt quoted long passages directly from Stark (without saying that she is doing so). Nevertheless, she did not use her guide book uncritically. She copied sections of it into her diary but did so selectively, choosing the information that particularly interested her.

The formality of description and inclusion of detailed facts in other sections of the *Journal* suggest that Hazlitt also used a guidebook when travelling in the Highlands. She may also have carried a map with suggestions of what to see and mileage calculated between towns. I have not yet been able to identify what guidebook she may have been using when travelling outside Edinburgh.

With the assistance of guidebooks, suggested 'tours' and 'Stranger's Maps', travel in Scotland in the 1820s was no longer a voyage into the unknown as it had been for eighteenth century tourists. Hazlitt's Scottish travels can be interpreted as a step into unfamiliar territory

but that unknown territory was the divorce and no longer Scotland. For Hazlitt, in fact, the experience of walking through Scotland and Ireland provided a reassuring counterpart to the anxieties of the legal proceedings and difficult encounters with her husband and his supporters. Her journeys, while they sometimes fatigued her and left her footsore, never left her feeling threatened or unsafe:

You may walk all through the country without molestation or insult. I found [the people of the Highlands] universally civil and obliging; and as far as they had the means, hospitable.<sup>40</sup>

The contrast with her feelings about the divorce proceedings is striking. The various legal negotiations made her extremely anxious and her health problems, largely digestive, were repeatedly exacerbated by distressing meetings with William and his friends and by the contradictory messages she received from them. After a particularly cruel verbal attack, she herself made the link between the behaviour of one of these friends and her subsequent illness. In a drunken speech, Adam Bell, a friend of William's who acted as go-between for the couple, accused Hazlitt of money-grabbing.

He insulted me shamefully, telling me that he believed I meant to get all the money I could from Mr. Hazlitt, and cheat him at last. That I was a pitiful, squeezing, paltry creature; who wanted to oppress and grind a man into the earth .. and that it was my own fault that Mr Hazlitt could not be happy with me ... [and] that he thought my face very ugly, with a particularly bad expression.<sup>41</sup>

The incident was followed by an acute episode of illness lasting 36 hours during which a doctor was called and several doses of laudanum administered. Hazlitt had no doubt about the cause.

Mr Bell came, and saw me in my bed, to make all the apologies he could for his behaviour, which he endeavoured to excuse under the plea of drunkenness ... I told him that the truth of people's opinions frequently came out then, and that his behaviour had given me such a shock as to occasion this illness.<sup>42</sup>

Sonia Hofkosh has drawn attention to possible parallels between the Hazlitt divorce and the attempt by the King to divorce Queen Caroline in 1820 and the queen's subsequent

death from a bowel obstruction in 1821. Both divorces were the subject of public interest and controversy, and the queen's death, as Hofkosh writes,

rhetoricized by some as a direct consequence of her victimization by her husband, [had] prompted riots involving both middle class and working people.<sup>43</sup>

For Hofkosh, Hazlitt's repeated comments about the state of her bowels signify an awareness of the queen's marital situation and death. I would argue, however, that the references to bowels and illness are part of a larger picture in which Hazlitt constantly undercuts her aesthetic narrative by interspersing it with reminders of her physicality.

Much has been written by feminist critics about the ways in which female autobiographers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century write of a self that is

not only relational, formed in connection with the needs, moods and actions of other human beings, but also physically embodied — not a "mighty mind" but an organic body that feels heat and cold and hunger, that sees and hears and smells, that defecates and "washes her head," that suffers both psychosomatic and physical disease.<sup>44</sup>

Hazlitt's embodied subjectivity integrates the physical and the intellectual experience of travelling. The Hazlitt that observes and writes is also the Hazlitt that feels. At the end of a description of a trip to the cascade at the Bridge of Bracklinn, for example, a sight so beautiful that Hazlitt states, 'I should have deemed it worth coming a journey to see that alone', she adds a comment about being 'in a violent perspiration, and the check it received from the searching winds gave me a cold and sore throat.'<sup>45</sup> While attending to, and often delighted by, the picturesque and sublime scenes around her, she is never unaware of the physical hardships of travelling.

The village abounds in green shady lanes, and one of the most lovely leads to Moncrieff Hill ... the hill itself is steep and wooded to the top, which commands a very extensive prospect, but it was so dreadfully slippery to mount, and when on the top the wind was so powerful that I could not stand on it. About two miles from hence is Perth; the view of the town and river are very pretty; but the wind was so very high that you were enveloped in clouds of dust, like travelling in the desert and could scarcely see or stand.<sup>46</sup>

Again, she describes a walk from Perth to Dunkeld, where

the road winds for miles thro' woods of lofty trees, with ... immense overhanging rocks above your head; which, as the evening began to close in, had an awful and somewhat terrific effect.<sup>47</sup>

but ends with the observation that

Unluckily I had sprained my ankle over a loose stone and walked with pain and difficulty.<sup>48</sup>

Just as the travelling and writing Hazlitt was unable to ignore the sprained ankle or the clouds of dust, so too the reader of the *Journal* is forced to be aware of them.

At other points in the *Journal*, however, Hazlitt shows a pride and a delight in her own physical abilities and strength. She keeps careful records of miles walked<sup>49</sup> and hills mastered and points out areas that she has explored which others have described as risky or frightening. Her descriptions of the physical aspects of travelling can be positive as well as negative and she describes the gratification of washing her feet and putting on clean clothes at the end of a long dusty walk<sup>50</sup> and reports on the pleasures of sharing a glass of water and chatting with people whom she meets.<sup>51</sup>

It seems that, although never explicitly stated, the physical hardships remain manageable as long as Hazlitt is in control of the situation and that they can, as in the case of

the joy of washing episode, be seen as almost pleasurable challenges to be overcome. It is in Edinburgh when dealing with the legal process over which she has no control that she suffers from debilitating bouts of illness.

Walking is, of course, a very physical means of travel. Little separates the walker from the physical world around herself/himself. More than any other means of transport, walking allows the traveller to retain control of his/her own journey. Distance covered, route taken, speed travelled, pauses all are within the control of the walker in a way denied to those who travel in coaches or boats. On her three journeys, Hazlitt used a variety of means of transport walking, canal boat, steam boat, ferry, gig, and coach. Unlike better-off travellers with their own horses or carriages, Hazlitt was reliant on public transport — but the existence of a transport infrastructure in 1822 made this possible in ways that would not have existed even a few years before. While much of her time on walking trips was spent completely alone, travelling by canal boat, ferry or stagecoach meant fellow passengers and the possibility of mishaps beyond her control.

Ellen Moers has interpreted women's walking in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as having been a way of women's moving outside of the boundaries of social control.

A whole history of literary feminism might be told in terms of the metaphor of walking. ... Reckless, independent motion out of doors is a persistent metaphor of feminism or female heroism in our literature, where to rebel against the confinement of 'women's place' is often, most dramatically, simply to go, to move, to walk.<sup>52</sup>

Certainly William Hazlitt interpreted Sarah's walking trips as transgressive acts which took her away from Edinburgh and the legal proceedings and, of course, beyond his reach and that of his allies. He complained of the expense of her trips, although she appears to have spent no more than had been initially agreed; at the same time he frequently requested her to carry out various tasks for him such as writing to their son on his behalf 'as his nerves were in such

an irritable state he was unable to do so'.<sup>53</sup> She generally complied with his requests but insisted on her right to travel while waiting for the legal process to be completed, reminding him repeatedly that she was there to satisfy his desire for a divorce, not her own. I would argue that Hazlitt's journeys were, at least partially, a way of defining herself as an independent person, separate from the marriage.

Anne D. Wallace has suggested that women walkers could be misinterpreted as sexual wanderers.<sup>54</sup> There is no evidence for this in Hazlitt's *Journal* or in her reports of other's reactions to her; nor does it appear that William and his friends ever interpreted her journeys in this way. The Highlanders she passed were sometimes mystified by her but she never reports disapproval and, as noted above, never perceived herself under threat. Her reports of conversations with local people produce some of the most delightful passages in the *Journal*.

Anne D. Wallace and Robin Jarvis<sup>55</sup> have begun to explore the relationship between pedestrian travel and literature in the nineteenth century. Neither of them, however, devotes much space to women pedestrian travellers and the subject of women walkers in the Romantic period is still largely unexplored. The only woman walker/writer to have received much critical attention has been Dorothy Wordsworth. Jarvis argues that for Wordsworth,

'Pedestrian liberty' ... provided release from domestic responsibilities and narrow social definitions of her role, and mobilised her talents as a writer.<sup>56</sup>

It seems that much the same was true for Hazlitt. While out walking, she could remove herself from the tensions of the divorce proceedings and even from her worries about her son who was in London. The sheer physical demands of a strenuous walking tour, coupled with the aesthetic pleasures of exploring the Scottish Highlands and Irish countryside, focused her attention on what was around her and on the achievements and struggles of her own body as she pushed herself to the limit physically.

At the same time, much of Hazlitt's tour, and her writing, is relational in nature. Although she was interested in, and wrote about, the scenery, buildings and paintings she saw,

her most vivid descriptions were reserved for the people she encountered. She had a sharp ear for dialect and recorded it carefully in her *Journal*.

Went to see Lady Charlotte's cave ... accompanied by a little boy who lives at one of his lodges, as a guide, he discoursed all the way along to my very great amusement. Among other things, speaking of the Game in the woods, he said: "they're awfu' brutes, those Hares, they not only *eat* the things, but they hookit burrocks in the ground. The Roes are mischievous brutes; but no sae bad as the Hares, for they only eat the taps o' the greens. We planted some saat willows, sic as they mak baskets o', an the mischievous brutes eat a' the sma' spruts as they budded, an killed them a'. They sud' hae fenced 'em aff."<sup>57</sup>

Hazlitt's descriptions of the local people that she meets are consistently respectful and polite. She records the material poverty of the poor and describes those who are ill-treated with compassion, but she is not condescending. While travelling in Ireland, a group of women who become the butt of ridicule receive her particular attention:

In general the country is bare and poor, affording chiefly peat bogs, in which the women work indiscriminately with the men, with a single petticoat drawn half way up the thigh and fastened between their legs, which are tremendously swollen and discoloured by the nature of their situation and employment; standing in a bog half full of water, busied at a laborious employment, enough to kill them with fatigue and damp. Yet the deplorable figures they cut were matter of sport and laughter to the men on the outside of the coach. Such brutality is quite disgusting.<sup>58</sup>

Just as Hazlitt's comments about physical discomfort repeatedly interrupt her descriptions of landscape, so too her reporting of this incident interrupts an otherwise conventional depiction of towns and scenery passed during the coach journey. Hazlitt, a woman keenly aware of her own physical limitations and vulnerability to male attack responds to the physical misery and



vulnerability of the women she passes. For a moment, at least, the landscape itself has become embodied.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, the trope of the spectator who becomes the spectacle is common in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travel writing. Hazlitt frequently records encounters in which she, rather than the Scots, is perceived as exotic and 'other'. In a report of a typical conversation, she described the way in which local people interrogated her as they struggled to understand who she was and why she was there.

They seemed to have a great deal of curiosity, the Highlanders in particular: and their questions were generally prefaced with. "It's vara waarm the day." "O very waarm." "If you please, how far are ye come the day?" "From Crieff &c. &c." "O, aye! ye'll be vera tired." "An whar ar ye gaun?" "To Stirling." "Ou, its a sair way: ye'll ne'er get there the night." "O yes I'm a very good walker. I walked a hundred an seventy miles three weeks ago." "Gude sauf us! Ye're no a Crieff woman?" No I am English. "Aye, an what part of England" "London" "Ou aye, I thocht ye war no a Scotswoman. That's a lang way aff." Yes 400 miles from Edinburgh. I came to Leith by water." "Ou aye, I suppose sae *that* walk wad had been o'er lang for you."<sup>59</sup>

The questions continue with demands for information about why Hazlitt is in Scotland, who she has hired for her 'law business', and whether her husband is with her in Edinburgh. Still uncertain that she is who and what she claims to be, the questioner finally challenges Hazlitt's assertions.

"An what for hae ye been travelling about the countra at this gate?" "Just to see it." ... "Aye, Aye, but I'm thinking ye hae been dealing in something: ye wad nae hae travelled in this way without making some bawbees."<sup>60</sup> As it was near the time when the Scotch change their servants, as they usually hire for six months—some conjectured I was a ladies maid going to my place.<sup>61</sup>

Hazlitt's mode of locomotion sets her apart from other wealthier travellers and she fails to fit the preconceived ideas that the local people have of English tourists. Perceived by the Scots as not one of themselves, they nevertheless have difficulty in placing her into a familiar social category. Hazlitt shows no resentment towards her interrogators; nor does she suggest that she feels the need to question those she meets in the same way.

Many of those she meets in Scotland are native Gaelic speakers, but virtually all of them understand English and use Lowland Scots to address her. She occasionally mentions language problems, but seems to encounter far fewer people unable to communicate with her than had been the case for travellers twenty years earlier. Although the history of language use in Scotland is complicated, one factor may be the growth in English tourism to Scotland during the period under discussion.

As mentioned above, when Hazlitt went to view the charity schools and hospitals in Edinburgh, she quoted extensively from her guidebook. Her choice of quotations is striking. Reference to the illustrative quotations in Appendix 7 demonstrates that Hazlitt consistently chose to record information about the regime provided for the children at the schools and, just as consistently, chose not to transcribe information about the architecture, benefactors and foundations of the schools. Her focus was entirely on the human side of the institutions.

Similarly, Robert Owen's<sup>62</sup> experiments in housing and industrial reform at New Lanark, a favourite destination for socially aware English and Continental tourists, earned Hazlitt's approval. She judged New Lanark to be 'more picturesque, clean and comfortable than one ever attaches to the idea of a manufactory'.<sup>63</sup> Commenting on how successful the factories seemed, Hazlitt asked local people about Owen and found him 'much liked'.

Although Hazlitt was sympathetic to local people and interested in the conditions of the rural poor, the same cannot be said of her reactions to other travellers. Her descriptions of tourists en masse can be scathing – the Steam Boat from Glasgow to Belfast is 'exceedingly crowded' and filled with

very vulgar *mean* people, quarrelling, drinking, and, and striving for seats; and at night particularly it was extremely offensive from the number of passengers who were sick, and the state of the deck in consequence; while others were drunk, singing and pushing each other against their more peaceable neighbours ... they were drove about and penned up in different parts of the vessel no less than three times, like droves of cattle in Smithfield market, or convicts in a prison ship.<sup>64</sup>

The opposition of traveller -v- tourist is a common one in many romantic travel texts and is, of course, still found today. One has only to look at the travel supplements of the *Observer* or *Sunday Times* to find a recurring insistence that their writers are travellers, not tourists and an implicit message that their readers, too, can be 'authentic travellers'. William Wordsworth, a fierce opponent of the building of the Kendal to Windermere railway, considered tourists as outsiders responsible for the despoiling of the rural landscape. Byron complained that Rome was full of pestilential English, staring boobies who went about gaping.<sup>65</sup> The same distinction has been extensively argued within the academic literature of travel. Sarah Hazlitt was certainly not immune from this reverse elitism. Although the increase in tourist activity in Scotland must have meant that she saw other tourists in Edinburgh and in Dublin, she largely 'writes them out'<sup>66</sup> and they are rarely visible. They only appear in a negative way as drunks on the ship or as the women on the Falkirk boat who are seen stealing two pounds from a poor woman with a child.<sup>67</sup>

At the end of the divorce proceedings, both Hazlitts returned to London. For William, the trip had been more or less a success. On 17 July 1822, he wrote to Patmore (in a letter which he later published in *Liber Amoris*): 'It is all over, and I am my own man.'<sup>68</sup> For Sarah Hazlitt, however, the divorce brings no such comfort. As she remarks to Mr. Bell when she takes her leave of him and his wife, 'My situation, in my own opinion, was pretty much the same as it had long been.'<sup>69</sup> Sonia Hofkosh has written,

In the heterosexual economy within which she, single, married, or divorced, is situated, the woman may never conclude that she is her own except in contesting the very oppositions with which she is essentially aligned.<sup>70</sup>

The *Journal* ends with a final reminder of the discomforts of travelling.

I set off though a heavy thunderstorm was coming on. which soon burst. in a most tremendous manner. I took shelter ... till it abated. In the evening, called and took leave of Mrs Bancks. the rain very violent all night.<sup>71</sup>

Truly, nothing had changed.

Hazlitt's diary is simultaneously a travel journal and the story of Hazlitt's divorce. Conforming to Bloom's criteria for a 'truly private diary', its private nature permitted its author a freedom of expression which an audience would have limited. This freedom to speak seems particularly important for a woman going through difficult and disturbing legal proceedings. In the *Journal*, Sarah Hazlitt moves from the margins of literary history to the central place in her own story. Hazlitt's control of her authorial voice is echoed in her control of her journeys into the Scottish and Irish countryside.

At the same time, the *Journal* makes a useful contribution towards our understanding of the rapidly evolving tourist industry in early nineteenth Scotland. By 1822, the date of Hazlitt's trip, Scotland was a major tourist destination and various types of professional apparatus had appeared to tell the traveller what to see and how to see it. Hazlitt's restricted finances constrained the choices she was able to make and her descriptions of public transport and cheap accommodation provide a very different picture of travel in Scotland than that we find in the writings of earlier, more affluent journal-writers.

The wide-ranging subject matter of the *Journal* demonstrates Hazlitt's interest in art, her enthusiasm for landscape and her deep and abiding interest in people. Nevertheless, she repeatedly interrupted her own aesthetic discourse, focusing her own attention and that of the reader upon the physicality of her experience. Embodying 'the blank spaces and silences in

literary history',<sup>72</sup> making significant choices about what should be written, Hazlitt and her *Journal* remind the reader that travellers travel and write within a much wider context than is sometimes acknowledged.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have discussed the travels and the writings of five women who travelled within Scotland during the period 1770-1830. At the beginning of the period under consideration, Scotland attracted very few leisure travellers from outside its own borders, and even those within rarely travelled for pleasure. By the end of the period, however, Scotland had become a fully-fledged tourist destination, attracting large numbers of visitors. These changes necessitated the rapid development of a touristic infrastructure.

The relationship between tourists and the physical and economic infrastructure necessary to accommodate those tourists is, of course, a symbiotic one. Without tourists, there is little need to provide inns, guidebooks, restaurants or viewing points, and no economic incentive to do so. At the same time, however, without places to stay and eat and without a set of recommended 'sights', few tourists will be attracted to a destination. As John Urry has pointed out, 'New socialised forms of provision [must be] developed in order to cope with the mass character of the gaze of tourists.'<sup>1</sup>

Each of the five women studied approached their travels and their writings in a different way. While this is partially attributable to individual differences between them, the changes in their travels and their writing can nonetheless be seen as emblematic of the ways in which the experience of travel in Scotland was changing and, in particular, the way in which travel as an individual activity was changing to tourism as a mass activity.

L, the anonymous author of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*, was almost certainly from the upper class. Although we know very little about her identity, the class status of her correspondents and her references to books such as *Flores Musicae* (which was an expensively produced subscription volume) indicate a woman of high social standing. So too does the fact that she was travelling in Scotland at all. Travel was an expensive occupation and travel for pleasure was largely restricted to the nobility and gentry until the early nineteenth century. Entrance to the homes of the nobility to admire the decorations or

view the paintings was itself still largely restricted to those of equal or near-equal status. The lack of suitable accommodation for travellers meant that a traveller needed either to have family connections with whom they could stay, or be of a class able to procure introductions to people able and willing to offer accommodation. Nevertheless, a Scottish tourist trail was emerging, albeit one that was still restricted in the numbers and types of people it attracted. L's conventional observations on landscape and 'sights', together with the conventionality of the attractions visited, reflect this early development.

Travel in Scotland had not changed greatly when, twenty years later, Sarah Murray made her first trip. She too was monied, able to spend five months travelling. Public transport was still virtually non-existent, and Murray travelled in her own carriage, fitted with every comfort that she could possibly need. More willing than L to brave the discomforts of drovers' inns, she nevertheless insisted that, in order to visit many parts of Scotland, it was still necessary to have letters of introduction to the local landowners. The widow of the brother of the Earl of Dunmore, she herself was frequently able to find accommodation with relations.

After her first trip, Murray moved from being a novice guidebook writer to an experienced and professional writer. Taking at least some notice of the comments in the periodical reviews, her subsequent trips were taken from the viewpoint of those whom she perceived as her audience. In these later trips, she explored areas where carriages could not go, providing her readers with information about boat hire, walking tours and farmers willing to provide transport in their carts. In her writings, Murray treated Scotland as a land ripe for exploration, writing in a discourse often reminiscent of that found in the writings of later English travellers to Africa and North America.

Anne Grant wrote from a different perspective. While she did write of her travels, much of her most significant writing is based on her experience of settling in the Highlands and being simultaneously a participant and an observer in a culture which, despite her desire to keep it frozen in an idealised portrayal, was itself changing, not least because of the

increasing tourist traffic into the Highlands which brought new ideas, new people and new economic structures.

Travelling only seven years after Murray's first trip, the experience of travel in Scotland for Dorothy Wordsworth was considerably different from the experience of the earlier travellers. The increased number of people visiting Scotland, some, of course, with Murray's guidebook in their chaise pocket, had led to a rapid increase in inns. For the first time, guidebooks began to be available. Tourists no longer needed to rely on human guides who had been expensive and who often had spoken no English. At the same time, the provision of guidebooks meant that tourists were no longer seeing entirely through their own eyes. The books instructed them about what was worth seeing and how it should be viewed, and the tourists' own travel writing changed accordingly.

We see this most clearly in the travel journal of Sarah Hazlitt. Hazlitt's tour, while perhaps somewhat unusual in its heavy reliance on walking as a means of transport, was nonetheless a very conventional one. Hazlitt visited and viewed the sights to which the guidebook directed her, frequently using the actual words of the guidebook with which to describe them in her journal. She was probably the least well-off of the five women discussed and the fact that she was able to travel into the Highlands again reflects the changing nature of Scottish tourism. No longer did the tourist need a network of family connections with whom to stay, nor did they need a carriage. Public transport in the form of steamboats and stage coaches was now available and most of the acknowledged tourist sights were now within reach, even to those of limited incomes. The provision of inns had increased considerably and it was possible for a traveller to find accommodation at various levels of cost and comfort.

As I have argued above, the cultural context within which late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women wrote was different from that in which men wrote and different constraints on writing, travel and publication operated on women than on men. Nevertheless, the effect of gender on discourse cannot be divorced from the influence of other factors including class, nationality, historical time period and geographical location. While not



denying the reality and the significance of gender, the critic of women's travel must avoid assuming differences which, when women's texts are read alongside men's travel texts of the same historical period and geographical location, prove not to exist.

It is possible to generalise about both the experience and the writing of travel and tourism. Nonetheless, geographical factors are important and an analysis of travel writing must be firmly situated in the material context in which the travels have taken place.

## APPENDIX ONE

### Accounts of travel in Scotland written by women during the period 1740-1830

The following list has been compiled from (a) replies to a questionnaire sent to 123 archives in Britain in early 1997 (these did not include the fifty county record offices of England and Wales surveyed in (b)); (b) relevant entries in Robin Gard (ed.), *The Observant Traveller: Diaries of Travel in England, Wales and Scotland in the County Record Offices of England and Wales* (London: HMSO, 1989); (c) a survey of published travel accounts; (d) diaries of Scottish travel listed in secondary sources. It includes accounts of travel written jointly by families as well as those written by individuals. It does not include anonymous texts.

It is important to note that this is by no means a comprehensive list and that further work remains to be done in locating women's accounts of Scottish travel. In particular, many archives have a considerable number of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century travel diaries catalogued under 'Travel journal' or as 'Travel - Britain' but with no indication of the places visited. Further examination of these may identify some which include travel in Scotland; further examination of anonymous journals may locate some which can be definitely attributed to female authorship.

#### 1745

Henrietta Cavendish, Countess of Oxford  
(Yorkshire, Durham and Scotland)

Published in Historic Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Portland*, VI (1901), 182-191

#### 1748

Jemima, Marchioness Grey

(Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, North Yorkshire, Edinburgh, Dunkeld, Berwick)

Bedford Record Office. MS L30/9a/2

**1749**

Elizabeth Hudson

(North of England, Scotland)

Published in Margaret Hope Bacon (ed.), *Wilt Thou Go on My Errand? Three 18th Century Journals of Quaker Women Ministers* (Wallingford: Pendle Hill Publications, 1994), 171-193

**1766**

Elizabeth Montagu

(Scotland)

Uncatalogued Montagu Letters in Huntington Library. See 'A Bluestocking Over the Border: Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu's Aesthetic Adventures in Scotland, 1766' in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 28 (1964-1965), 213-233.

**1768**

Frances Bridger

(Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Lincolnshire, Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Durham, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Wales, Lakes, Scotland)

East Sussex Record Office. MS SHR 1928

**1776**

Strickland Family

(Yorkshire, Durham, Scotland)

Gloucestershire Record Office. MS D1245/F70

**1783**

Lady Louisa Stuart

(Copy letters, Yorkshire and Scotland, 1783-1817)

Scottish Record Office. Douglas-Home of the Hirsell papers.

**1788**

Elizabeth Diggle

(Scotland)

University of Glasgow Special Collections. MS General 738

**1789**

Hester Thrale Piozzi

(North of England, Scotland, Wales)

John Rylands Library, Deansgate, Manchester. English MS No. 623

**1793**

S. Metcalfe

(North of England, Scotland, London)

Lincolnshire Record Office. MS MON 15/C/2

Mrs. William Monson  
(North of England, Scotland, London)  
Lincolnshire Record Office. MS MON 15/C/1

**1794**

Pleydell-Bouverie Family  
(London to Edinburgh and return)  
Berkshire Record Office. MS D/EPb/F27

**1800**

Mary Mee, wife of 2nd Viscount Palmerston  
(Edinburgh to Boroughbridge)  
University of Southampton. MS BR18/8

Margaret Oswald

*A Sketch of the most remarkable Scenery, near Callander of Monteath, particularly, the Trosachs* (Stirling: Randall, 1800)

**1804**

Eliza and Millicent Bant, travelling with Lady Wilson  
(Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, Lakes, Hertfordshire, Scotland)  
Essex Record Office. MS D/DFrF1

**1806**

Millicent Bant, travelling with Lady Wilson  
(Worcestershire, Hertfordshire, Wales, Sussex, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Cumberland, Scotland)  
Essex Record Office. MS D/DFrF2

Anne Robertson (later Mrs. Traill)  
(Journey from Liverpool to Edinburgh)  
Liverpool City Record Office. MS Arch 920 PAR III

**1809**

Millicent Bant, travelling with Lady Wilson  
(Hertfordshire, Warwickshire, Cumberland, Scotland)  
Essex Record Office. MS D/DFrF3

**1811**

Elizabeth Isabella Spence  
*Sketches of the present manners, customs, and scenery of Scotland*  
(London: Longman & Co., 1811)

**1812**

Porter Family  
(Scotland)  
Hereford and Worcester Record Office. MS BA3940/64(i)

**1816**

Millicent Bant, travelling with Lady Wilson  
(Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cambridgeshire, Scotland, Northumberland, Durham)  
Essex Record Office. MS D/DFrF7

Horne or Hutton Family  
(Scotland)  
Hampshire Record Office. MS 87M81

Elizabeth L. Spence  
*Letters from the North Highlands, during the summer 1816.* (London: 1817)

**1817-1818**

Porter Family  
(Scotland)  
Hereford and Worcester Record Office. MS BA3940/65(ii)

**1819**

Mrs. Elizabeth Selwyn  
*Journal of Excursions through the most Interesting Parts of England, Wales and Scotland, during the Summers and Autums of 1819, 1820, 21, 22 & 23* (London: 1824)

Mrs. Elizabeth Selwyn  
*Continuation of Journal of Excursions* (Kensington: 1830)

**1823**

Mrs. Brinkley  
(Scotland)  
Ruthin Branch Office, Clwyd Record Office. MS DD/PR/135

Sarah Brinkley  
(Scotland)  
Ruthin Branch Office, Clwyd Record Office. MS DD/PR/134

Anne Porter  
(Scotland, Yorkshire, Derbyshire)  
Hereford and Worcester Record Office. MS BA3950/65(ii)

Phoebe Porter  
(Scotland, Lakes, Yorkshire, Derbyshire)  
Hereford and Worcester Record Office. MS BA3940/68(i)

**1825-1835**

John and Margaret Glennie  
(Scotland)  
Scottish Record Office.

## APPENDIX TWO

### Preliminary list of the works of Anne Grant

As far as I am aware, no accurate list exists of Grant's publications. The evidence in various reference books and listings, both contemporary and twentieth century, is contradictory and often inaccurate. The following has been compiled from a variety of sources including examination of works held by the British Library, the University of Birmingham Library, Birmingham Central Library and the library of the University of Pennsylvania; Watts' *Bibliotheca Britannica*; lists in the 1844 edition of *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan* and the 1901 edition of *Memoirs of an American Lady*; Black and Stirling's 'Select Bibliographies of Scottish Women Writers'; Jackson's *Romantic Poetry by Women, a bibliography, 1770-1835*; Sutton's *Location Register of English Literary Manuscripts and Letters*; and Blain, Clements and Grundy's *Feminist Companion to Literature in English*. More remains to be done, particularly in terms of cataloguing Grant's songs, poems included in anthologies and collections and contributions to journals and magazines.

#### **Books**

*Poems on Various Subjects*. By Mrs. Grant, Laggan. 1 vol. Edinburgh: 1803. Printed for the author by John Moir, Royal Bank Close, Edinburgh

[A list published in the 1901 edition of *Memoirs of an American Lady* refers to a second edition published in 1804. I have found no other evidence for the existence of this edition.]

*The Highlanders, and Other Poems*. By Mrs. Grant, Laggan. Second Edition. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808

*The Highlanders, and Other Poems*. By Mrs. Grant, Laggan. Third Edition. Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1810

*The Highlanders, and Other Poems*. By Mrs. Grant, Laggan. From the Second London edition. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1813

*Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1803*. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1806.

*Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1807.* Second edition. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807.

*Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1807.* Third edition. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1807

*Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1807.* 2 vols., 12mo. Boston: Greenough & Stebbins, Rees & Orme, 1809. [first American edition from the third London edition]

*Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1807.* 2 vols. Boston: E. Larkin, 1809. [second American edition from the third London edition]

[includes advertisements to first and second London editions and the introductory poem from *Poems on Various Subjects*, together with a note stating that 'The following lines are introductory to a volume of Poems drawn from obscurity by the same painful necessity which induced the publication of "LETTERS FROM THE MOUNTAINS;" they allude to the same characters and circumstances which the letters delineate, and may therefore very properly introduce this edition of them.']

*Letters from the Mountains; being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, between the Years 1773 and 1807.* Fourth edition. 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1809

[The list in the 1901 edition of *Memoirs of an American Lady* includes a two volume edition published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown in 1811.]

*Letters from the Mountains; being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, between the Years 1773 and 1807.* New York: 1813

*Letters from the Mountains; being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, between the Years 1773 and 1807.* Fifth edition. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1813

*Letters from the Mountains; being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, between the Years 1773 and 1807.* Sixth edition. Edited by J.P. Grant. 2 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1845

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." Second edition. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." 1 vol. Boston: B.W. Wells; New York: Samuel Campbell, 1809

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." 1 vol. New York: D. & G. Bruce for Samuel Campbell, 1809

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." 1 vol. Boston: W. Wells, Thomas N. Wait & Co; Hastings: Etheridge & Bliss, 1809

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." Third edition. 2 vols. London: A.K. Newman & Co. 1817

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." London: Dean & Munday, 1817.

[The title page of this edition, of which there is a copy in the University of Pennsylvania Library, is a facsimile of the 1808 Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme edition, complete with an 1808 date, but at the foot of the page it reads: Pub. Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1. 1817. by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle Street, London. The edition includes a frontispiece portrait of a young Anne Grant signed Hopwood; this frontispiece does not appear in the 1808 edition.]

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." 1 vol. New York: George Dearborn, 1836. (Contains preface by Fitz-Greene Halleck.)

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." 1 vol. New York: D. Appleton & Co; Philadelphia: Geo. S. Appleton, 1846. (Has introduction by Grant Thorburn)

*Memoirs of an American Lady, with Sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution.* By Mrs. Anne Grant, author of "Letters from the Mountains." &c., with a memoir of Mrs. Grant, by Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson. With a steel portrait of the author, and other illustrations. 1 vol. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1876

*Memoirs of an American Lady with sketches of Manners and Scenes in America as they existed previous to the Revolution, With unpublished letters and a memoir of Mrs. Grant by James Grant Wilson.* By Mrs. Anne Grant, Author of "Letters from the Mountains", &c. 2 vols. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1901

*Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland: to which are added Translations from the Gaelic; and Letters Connected with those formerly published.* By the author of



"Letters from the Mountains." 3 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1811

*Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 2 vols. in 1. New York: Eastburn, Kirk & Co.; Boston: Bradford & Read, 1813

*Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland*. New York: Eastburn, Kirk & Co., 1813

*Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland: to which are added Translations from the Gaelic; and Letters Connected with those formerly published*. By the author of "Letters from the Mountains." Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1975. [This is a facsimile edition with no added editorial material.]

*Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen: A Poem, in two parts*. Edinburgh: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1814

*Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, ed. by J.P. Grant. 3 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844

*Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, ed. by J.P. Grant. Second edition. 3 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1845

*Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, ed. by J.P. Grant. Third edition. 3 vols. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1853

*Letters Written by Mrs. Grant of Laggan, concerning Highland Affairs and Persons connected with the Stuart Cause in the Eighteenth Century*. ed. by J. R. N. MacPhail. Privately printed edition, 40 copies, 1896

'Letters Concerning Highland Affairs in the Eighteenth Century' in *Publications of the Scottish History Society*, Volume XXVI. Edinburgh: University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1896

### **Songs**

'The rising of the lark', 'Crystal Ground' (inscribed to Lady Eleanor Butler and Miss Ponsonby), 'Flora to Colin' (translated from the Gaelic), 'Colin's Answer', 'The Blue Bell of Scotland', 'O were I laid where Colin lies', 'Ye braes of Touch' in George Thomson (ed.), *Thomson's Collection of The Songs of Burns, Sir Walter Scott Bar<sup>d</sup> and other eminent lyric poets ancient & modern. United to the Select Melodies of Scotland, and of Ireland & Wales With Symphonies & Accompaniments for the Piano Forte by Pleyl, Haydn, Beethoven &c.*, 6 vols. Edinburgh: G. Thomson, 1822

'O Charlie is my Darling', 'O Where, tell me where' (also known as 'The Blue Bell of Scotland'), 'O were I laid where Colin lies', 'Could I Find a bonny glen', 'Chro Challin' (translated from the Gaelic - also known as 'Flora to Colin'), 'Colin to Flora. Were I as fleet

as the wings of the wind', 'Glencoe; I'm Weary of the sun so bright', 'The Bonnie House of Airly' in George Thomson (ed.), *The Melodies of Scotland, with symphonies and accompaniments for the piano forte, violin, &c. By Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, Hummel, &c.*, 5 vols. Edinburgh: G. Thomson, 1831

'Blue bell of Scotland' [printed on a single sheet together with two poems not by Grant]  
Boston, Massachusetts: L. Deming [1835?]

[Note: 'Roy's wife of Aldivalloch', sometimes attributed to Anne Grant, is in fact by a different person, Anne Grant of Carron, born 1745, died about 1814. 'Roy's wife of Aldivalloch' appears to be her only work.)

### **Poems in Collections and Anthologies**

Baillie, Joanna (ed.) *A Collection of Poems, chiefly manuscript, and from living authors. Edited on behalf of a friend.* 8vo. London: Longman & Co., 1823, 186-193. 'On a sprig of Heath', 'Fothringay', 'The Lament'.

[Blencowe, Mrs.] (ed.) *The Casket, a miscellany consisting of unpublished poems.* 8vo. London: John Murray, 1829, 362-363. 'To A Friend, with the Author's Picture'.

Wilson, James Grant (ed.), *The Poets and Poetry of Scotland: from the earliest to the present time. Comprising selections from the works of the more noteworthy Scottish poets, with biographical and critical notices*, 2 vols. London: Blackie & Son, 1876. Volume 1, 338-344. 'O Where Tell Me Where', 'On a Sprig of Heath', 'Oh, My Love, Leave Me Not!', 'Could I Find a Bonny Glen', 'My Colin, Lov'd Colin' (from the Gaelic), 'My Sorrow, Deep Sorrow' (from the Gaelic), 'The Highland Poor' (from *The Highlanders*), 'Lines Written on her Eighty-third Birthday'.

### **Books attributed to Anne Grant but not by her**

Grant, [Beatrice], *Popular Models, and Impressive Warnings for the Sons and Daughters of Industry* London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1815. [Note: A number of reference books attribute this work to Anne Grant, but it is clearly by another author.]

Grant, Anne, *The Touchstone or, the Claims and Privileges of True Religion. By the author of "The Harp of Zion"*. London: 1842. [Note: The 19th century short title catalogue suggests that this book is by Anne McVicar Grant. This seems unlikely. There is no mention of it in the book list printed in the 1844 *Memoir and Correspondence* or the list in the 1901 edition of *Memoirs of an American Lady*. Furthermore, *The Touchstone* has an introduction dated January 1842, after Grant's death.]

## APPENDIX THREE

### Contemporary critical reviews of the works of Anne Grant

#### ***Poems on Various Subjects (1803)***

*Annual Review*, 2 (1803), 559-61

*Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, 16 (1803), 113-129, 236-244

*British Critic*, 22 (1803), 291-97

*Flowers of Literature for 1803: or Characteristic Sketches of Human Nature and Modern Manners* (1804), 448

*Literary Journal, a Review*, 4 (1804), 730-736

*Monthly Magazine*, supplement, 16 (1804), 632

*Monthly Mirror*, 17 (1804), 182

*Monthly Review*, 44 (1804), 272-280

*New Annual Register*, 24 (1803), 328

*Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1803* (1805), 442

#### ***Letters from the Mountains (1806)***

*Eclectic Review*, 3 (1807), 1064-1071

*Monthly Review*, 56 (1808), 444-445

#### ***The Highlanders, and other Poems (1808)***

*Eclectic Review*, 4 (1808), 1034-1036

*New Universal Magazine*, 1 (1814), 127

#### ***Memoirs of an American Lady (1808)***

*Eclectic Review*, 5 (1809), 165-176

***Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders (1811)***

*Edinburgh Review*, 18 (1811), 480-510

*Monthly Review*, 69 (1812), 251-259

*Quarterly Review*, 11 (1811), 808

*Scots Magazine*, 73 (1811), 604-614

***Eighteen Hundred and Thirteen: a poem in two parts, 1814***

*British Critic*, n.s. 2 (1814), 324-326

*Eclectic Review*, n.s. 2 (1814), 101-103

*Gentleman's Magazine*, 80 (n.s. 7), (1814), 458-459

*Monthly Museum*, 1 (1814), 428-429

*The New Monthly Magazine, and Universal Register*, 1 (1814), 458

*New Universal Magazine*, 1 (1814), 127

***Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan (1844)***

*Christian Observer* (1844), 472-490, 550-559, 614-622

*Eclectic Review*, n.s. 16 (1844), 173-177

*Fraser's Magazine*, 29 (1844) 411-418

*Littell's Living Age*, 1 (1844), 412-425; 2 (1844), 550-551 (Reprint of review from *Gentleman's Magazine*)

*North American Review*, 60 (1845), 126-156

*North British Review*, 1 (1844), 99-113

*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine for 1844*, 11 (1844), 174-181

***Other printed periodical notices and discussion***

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 3 (1818), 56-58, 187-188 (Discussion of 'attacks' on Mrs. Grant in *Glasgow Chronicle*)

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Dorothy Wordsworth's reading of travel books

The following list represents an attempt to reconstruct Wordsworth's reading of travel books and books relating to Scotland. Books are listed as 'definitely read' where there is evidence from letters or journals that Dorothy Wordsworth did read them. Given that she and William frequently read aloud to each other and that she is known to have been an enthusiastic and wide reader, I have listed as 'possible' any travel books owned or borrowed by William but where there is no textual evidence of her actual reading.

The dates listed are publication dates, not dates of reading. Dates of reading are specified only if there is definite evidence for them.

The poems of Burns and Macpherson and Scott and the novels of Scott have been included in the category 'books about Scotland'. Although these works were not travel books, all three authors had a significant influence in English visitors' expectations of Scotland and the ways in which Scotland was portrayed.

#### **Books relating to Scotland definitely read by Dorothy Wordsworth before her 1803 tour of Scotland**

Burns, Robert, *Poems* (either Kilmarnock 1786 or Edinburgh 1787); read 1787

Burns, Robert, *Poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect* (1793)

Scott, Sir Walter, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* in MS., read during the 1803 tour

Stoddart, John, *Remarks on local manners and scenery in Scotland* (1801)

#### **Books relating to Scotland possibly read by Dorothy Wordsworth before her 1803 tour of Scotland**

Gilpin, William, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain: Particularly the High-Lands of Scotland* (1789)

Herd, David, *Ancient and Modern Scottish Songs* (1769)

Heron, Robert, *Observations Made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland* (1793)

Macpherson, James, 'Ossian', *Fingal* (1762)

Macpherson, James, 'Ossian', *Femora* (1763)

Martin, Martin, *A Voyage to Saint Kilda* (1753)

Pennant, Thomas, *A Tour in Scotland, 1769* (1771)

Ritson, Joseph, ed., *A Collection of Scotch Songs, with the airs* (1794)

Scott, Walter, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-1803)

Warner, Richard, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England, and the Borders of Scotland* (1802)

**Books and articles relating to Scotland definitely read by Dorothy Wordsworth between the date of her first and her second (1822) tours of Scotland**

Jeffrey, Francis, review of Burns, *Reliques of Robert Burns*, ed. R. H. Cromek (1808); read 1809

Scott, Sir Walter, *Waverley* (1814); read by 1815

**Books relating to Scotland possibly read by Dorothy Wordsworth between the date of her first and her second (1822) tours of Scotland**

Buchanan, John Lanne, *Travels in the Western Hebrides, 1782 to 1790* (1793)

Grahame, James, *Birds of Scotland* (1806)

Grant, Anne, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1811)

*Guide to the City of Perth*

Laing, Malcolm, *The History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns, etc.* (1800)

Macklin, Charles, *The True Born Scotsman* (1807)

Robertson, Joseph, *A Traveller's Guide through Scotland and its Islands* (1806)

Scott, Sir Walter, *Ballads and Lyrical Pieces* (1806)

Scott, Sir Walter, *Marmion: a tale of Flodden Field* (1808)

Scott, Sir Walter, *The Lady of the Lake* (1810)

Scott, Sir Walter, *The Lord of the Isles* (1815)

Scott, Sir Walter, *Guy Mannering* (1815)

Sinclair, Sir John, *A Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791-1799)

**Other travel books and articles definitely read by Dorothy Wordsworth**

Barrow, John, *Travels into the Interior of South Africa* (1801-1804)

Bruce, James, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile* (1803); read before 1803 tour

Brydone, Patrick, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta in a Series of Letters to William Beckford* (1796); read 1796

Cook, James, *An Account of a Voyage round the World* (1773); read before 1803 tour

Grant, Anne, *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1808), read 1813

Hentzner, Paul, *A Journey into England*, tr. Horace Walpole (1757); read by 1796

Ledyard, John, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage in the Pacific Ocean* (1783)

Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, *the Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (1803), read 1805

Moore, John, either *A Journal during a Residence in France* (1793) or *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany* (1779); read 1796

Motte, Thomas, 'Travels to the Diamond Mines of Jumbulpoor in Orissa', periodical article. Read by 1800.

Southey, Robert, *Letters written during a short residence in Spain and Portugal* (1797); read in 1800

Wilkinson, Joseph, *Select Views in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire* (1810); read 1810 (DW wrote some descriptions included in this work)



**Other travel books and articles possibly read by Dorothy Wordsworth**

Ashe, Thomas, *Travels in America, performed in 1806* (1808)

Barrow, John, *Travels in China* (1804)

Bingley, William, *North Wales: including its scenery, antiquities, customs, and some sketch of its natural history* (1804)

Bartram, William, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Countree, the Extensive Territories of the Muscolgulges or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws* (2nd edition, 1794)

Beaver, Philip, *African Memorials* (1792)

Brown, Dr. John, *A Description of the Lake at Keswick (and the Adjacent Country) in Cumberland* (1767)

Carver, Jonathan, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (1768)

Clarke, James, *A Survey of the Lakes of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire* (1789)

Columbus, Ferdinand, *The History of the Life and Actions of Admiral Christopher Columbus* (1571) in Awnsham and John Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704)

Coxe, William, *Travels in Switzerland. In a Series of Letters.* (1789)

Dampier, William, *A New Voyage round the World* (1697)

Hakluyt, Richard, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nations* (1589)

Hearne, Samuel, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (1795)

Hutchinson, William, *An Excursion to the Lakes, in Westmoreland and Cumberland* (1774)

Keate, George, *An Account of the Pelew Islands* (1788)

Keate, George, *Sketches from Nature in a Journey to Margate* (1779)

Laborde, Alexander Louis, *A View of Spain* (1809)

Scott, John, *A Visit to Paris in 1814* (1815)

Shelvocke, George, *A Voyage round the World by the Way of the Great South Sea* (1726)

Sparman, Anders, *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic polar circle* (1785)

Volney, Constantin Francois de Chasseboeuf, *Travels through Syria and Fgypt* (1787)

Warner, Richard, *A Walk through Wales, in August 1797* (1798)

West, Thomas, *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire* (1807)

Wilkinson, Thomas, of Yanwath, *Tours to the British Mountains* in MS

Williams, Helen Maria, *Letters Written in France, in the Summer 1790* (1790)

**Books on the Picturesque and/or the Sublime definitely read by Dorothy Wordsworth**

Knight, Richard Payne, *The Landscape* (1794); read 1800

Knight, Richard Payne, *An Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805); read 1806

Price, Sir Uvedale, *Essay on Decorations near the House* in MS. Read in 1806.

**Books on the Picturesque and/or the Sublime possibly read by Dorothy Wordsworth**

Burke, Edmund, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1790?)

Gilpin, William, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beaauty, Made in the Year 1772, on several Parts of England: Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786)

Gilpin, William, *Observations on the River Wye ... Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beaauty: Made in the Summer of the Year 1770* (1789)

Price, Sir Uvedale, *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794)

## APPENDIX FIVE

Extract from the essay, 'On Great and Little Things'. Written January, 1821, published in the *New Monthly Magazine*, n.s. 4 (1822)

... This is the misery of unequal matches. The woman cannot easily forget, or think that others forget, her origin; and with perhaps superior sense and beauty, keeps painfully in the background. It is worse when she braves this conscious feeling, and displays all the insolence of the upstart and affected fine lady. But shouldst thou ever, my Infelice, grace my home with thy loved presence, as thou hast cheered my hopes with thy smile, thou wilt conquer all hearts with thy prevailing gentleness, and I will show the world what Shakespear's women were! Some gallants set their hearts on princesses; others descend in imagination to women of quality; others are mad after opera-singers. For my part, I am shy even of actresses, and should not think of leaving my card with Madame Vestris. I am for none of these *bonnes fortunes*; but for a list of humble beauties, servant-maids and shepherd-girls, with their red elbows, hard hands, black stockings and mob-caps. I could furnish out a gallery equal to Cowley's and paint them half as well. Oh! might I but attempt a description of some of them in poetic prose, Don Juan would forget his Julia, and Mr. Davison might both print and publish this volume. I agree so far with Horace, and differ with Montaigne. I admire the Clementinas and Clarissas at a distance: the Pamelas and Fannys of Richardson and Fielding make my blood tingle. I have written love-letters to such in my time, *d'un pathétique à faire fendre les rochers*, and with about as much effect as if they had been addressed to stone. The simpletons only laughed, and said, that "those were not the sort of things to gain the affections." I wish I had kept copies in my own justification. What is worse, I have an utter aversion to *blue stockings*. I do not care a fig for any woman that knows even what *an author* means. If I know that she has read anything I have written, I cut her acquaintance immediately. This sort of literary intercourse with me passes for nothing. Her critical and scientific acquirements are *carrying coals to Newcastle*. I do not want to be told that I have

published such or such a work. I knew all this before. It makes no addition to my sense of power. I do not wish the affair to be brought about in that way. I would have her read my soul: she should understand the language of the heart: she should know what I am, as if she were another self! She should love me for myself alone. I like myself without any reason: I would have her do so too. This is not very reasonable. I abstract from my temptations to admire all the circumstances of dress, birth, breeding, fortune; and I would not willingly put forward my own pretensions, whatever they may be. The image of some fair creature is engraven on my inmost soul; it is on that I build my claim to her regard, and expect her to see into my heart, as I see her form always before me. wherever she treads, pale primroses, like her face, vernal hyacinths, like her brow, spring up beneath her feet, and music hangs on every bough: but all is cold, barren, and desolate without her. Then I feel, and thus I think. But have I ever told her so? No. Or if I did, would she understand it? No. I "hunt the wind, I worship a statue, cry aloud to the desert." To see beauty is not to be beautiful, to pine in love is not to be loved again.—I always was inclined to raise and magnify the power of Love. I thought that his sweet power should only be exerted to join together the loveliest forms and fondest hearts; that none but those in whom his godhead shone outwardly, and was inly felt, should ever partake of his triumphs; and I stood and gazed at a distance, as unworthy to mingle in so bright a throng, and did not (even for a moment) wish to tarnish the glory of so fair a vision by being myself admitted into it. I say this was my notion once, but God knows it was one of the errors of my youth. For coming nearer to look, I saw the maimed, the blind, and the halt enter in, the crooked and the dwarf, the ugly, the old and impotent, the man of pleasure and the man of the world, the dapper and the pert, the vain and shallow boaster, the fool and the pedant, the ignorant and brutal, and all that is farthest removed from earth's fairest-born, and the pride of human life. Seeing all these enter the courts of Love, and thinking that I also might venture in under favour of the crowd, but finding myself rejected, I fancied (I might be wrong) that it was not so much because I was below, as above the common standard. I did feel, but I was ashamed to feel, mortified at my repulse, when I saw the meanest of mankind, the very scum and refuse, all creeping things and every obscene

creature, enter in before me. I seemed a species by myself. I took a pride even in my disgrace; and concluded I had elsewhere my inheritance! The only thing I ever piqued myself upon was the writing the "Essay on the Principles of Human Action" a work that no woman ever read, or would ever comprehend the meaning of. But if I do not build my claim to regard on the pretensions I have, how can I build it on those I am totally without? Or why do I complain and expect to gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Thought has in me cancelled pleasure; and this dark forehead, bent upon truth, is the rock on which all affection has split. and thus I waste my life in one long sigh; nor ever (till too late) beheld a gentle face turned gently upon mine:.....But no! not too late, if that face, pure, modest, downcast, tender, with angel sweetness, not only gladdens the prospect of the future, but sheds its radiance on the past, smiling in tears. A purple light hovers round my head. The air of love is in the room. As I look at my long-neglected copy of the Death of Clorinda, golden gleams play upon the canvas, as they used when I painted it. The flowers of Hope and Joy springing up in my mind, recall the time when they first bloomed there. The years that are fled knock at the door and enter. I am in the Louvre once more. The sun of Austerlitz has not set. It still shines here in my heart; and he, the son of glory, is not dead, nor ever shall, to me. I am as when my life began. The rainbow is in the sky again. I see the skirts of the departed years. All that I have thought and felt has not been in vain. I am not utterly worthless, unregarded; nor shall I die and wither of pure scorn. Now could I sit on the tomb of Liberty, and write a Hymn to Love. Oh! if I am deceived, let me be deceived still. Let me live in the Elysium of those soft looks; poison me with kisses, kill me with smiles; but still mock me with thy love!

## APPENDIX SIX

### Preliminary list of guide books to Scotland before 1826<sup>1</sup>

1787

Kincaid, Alexander, *The History of Edinburgh ... by way of guide to the city and suburbs* (Edinburgh: N.R.Cheyne, 1787)

1790

*A New Guide to the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Thomas Brown, 1790; 2nd edition 1792; 3rd edition 1797)

1791

Heron, Robert, *Scotland Delineated, or a Geographical Description of every shire in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1791, 1799)

1794

*The Traveller's Guide through the City of Edinburgh & Suburbs* (Edinburgh: 1794)

1797

Heron, Robert, *Scotland Described: or a Topographical Description of all the Counties of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1797)

Macnair, James, *A Guide from Glasgow, to some of the most remarkable scenes in the Highlands of Scotland, and to the Falls of the Clyde* (Glasgow, 1797)

1798

Denholm, James, *An Historical Account and Topographical Description of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs .... To which is added, a sketch of a tour to Loch Lomond and the Falls of the Clyde*. 2nd edition. (Glasgow: R. Chapman, & Stewart & Meikle, 1798)

Richardson, T., *Guide to Loch Lomond, Loch Long, Loch Fine, and Inverary, with a description of all the towns, villages, etc.* (Glasgow, 1798: 2nd edition, 1799)

*The Traveller's Guide; or, a topographical description of Scotland, and of the islands belonging to it, etc.* (Edinburgh: J. Fairbairn, 1798; 4th edition, 1808; 5th edition, 1811; 6th edition, 1814; 7th edition, 1818; 8th edition; 1824)

**1799**

Murray, Sarah, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and to the curiosities of the district of Craven, etc.* (London: G. Nicol, 1799; 2nd edition 1803)

**1803**

*The Gazetteer of Scotland: Containing a Particular & Concise Description of the Counties, Parishes, Islands, Cities, Towns, Villages, Lakes, Rivers, Mountains, Valleys, &c. of that Kingdom* (Dundee, 1803)

Murray, Sarah, *A Companion and useful guide to the beauties in the Western Highlands of Scotland, and in the Hebrides, etc.* (London: G. Nicol, 1803; 2nd edition 1805)

**1804**

Denholm, James, *History of Glasgow and Suburbs*, 3rd edition (Glasgow: R. Chapman for A. Macgown, 1804)

**1805**

Cooke, George Alexander, *A General Description of Scotland...to which is prefixed a copious travelling guide...forming an itinerary of Scotland* (London: C. Cooke [1805?])

Duncan, James, *The Scotch Itinerary ... with copious observations for the Instruction & Entertainment of Travellers* (Glasgow, 1805; 2nd edition, 1808; 3rd edition, 1816; 4th edition, 1820; 5th edition, 1823)

Stark, J., *The Picture of Edinburgh, containing a Description of the City and its Environs, with particular account of every remarkable object, and public establishment, in the Scottish Metropolis* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1806; 2nd edition, 1819; 3rd edition, 1820; 4th edition, 1823; 5th edition, John Fairbairn, 1825)

**1807**

Hall, Rev. James, *Travels in Scotland, by an Unusual Route. With a Trip to the Orkneys and Hebrides*, 2 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1807)

Morison, J., *The New Picture of Scotland* (London: William & Smith, 1807)

*The Stranger's Guide to Edinburgh*, 5th edition (Edinburgh: J. Moir, 1807; 6th edition, 1817)

**1808**

*A Sketch of the Most Remarkable Scenery near Callander of Monteath* (Stirling, 1808)

**1810**

Aust, Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, and the Hebrides ... particularly of the Highlands and of the Isles of Mull, Ulva, Staffa, I-Columbkil, Tirii, Coll, Eigg, Rum, Skye, Raza and Scalpa*, 3rd edition [of 1799 + 1803 books] (London: G. & W. Nicol; Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1810)

**1811**

[Robertson, J.] *The Traveller's guide through Scotland and its Islands. Illustrated by maps ... views...*, 5th edition (Edinburgh: J. Thomson & Co., 1811; 6th edition, 1814; 7th edition, 1818)

**1812**

*A Guide to the City of Perth & its Environs; & to the Principal Tours through the County* (Perth, 1812; 2nd edition, 1813; 4th edition, 1822)

**1814**

T.M., *The New picture of Edinburgh, being an accurate guide to the city & environs...* (Edinburgh: W. Whyte, [1814?]; another edition as *The New Picture of Edinburgh for 1816*, [1816])

**1816**

*The Itinerary of Scotland containing all the Direct & Cross Roads necessary for the Information of the Traveller, & notice of every object which may contribute to his amusement* (Edinburgh, 1816)

**1818**

Gemmill, David, *Topography of the River and Frith of Clyde from Glasgow ... Intended as a guide, etc.* (Greenock, 1818)

*The Picture of Glasgow, and Strangers' guide*, 3rd edition (Glasgow: R. Chapman, 1818)

**1819**

*An Account of the Principal Pleasure Tours in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Thomson, 1819; 2nd edition, 1821; 3rd edition, 1824)

**1820**

*The Steam-boat Companion; and Stranger's Guide to the Western Islands and Highlands of Scotland; comprehending the land-tour to Inveraray and Oban; a description of the scenery of Loch Lomond, Staffa, Iona, and other places ... and of the River and Frith of Clyde, etc.* (Glasgow, 1820; 2nd edition, 1825)



Storer, J. & H.S., *Views of Edinburgh and its Vicinity*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: A. Constable; London: J.M.Richardson; Chapell & Son; Normaville & Fell; Smith and Elder; Cowie and Co.; Taylor and Hessey; T. Wilson; Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1820) [earlier title page also bound in both volumes: *A Graphic and Historical Description of the City of Edinburgh*, 2 vols. (London: J. & H.S. Storer, Chapel Street, Pentonville, Dec. 1, 1818)

**1821**

*The History of the Abbey, Palace, and Chapel-Royal of Holyrood House* (Edinburgh: Printed by Hay, Gall & Co. for Mrs. John Petrie, 1821)

**1823**

*Principal Roads through Scotland, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, etc.; including the Usual Tours by the Forts along the Caledonian Canal, & to Loch Katrine, etc.* (Edinburgh, 1823)

**1825**

Chambers, Robert, *Walks in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1825)

*A New Guide to Edinburgh ... to which is added a sketch of the pleasure tours*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: J. Lindsay & Co., 1825)

*The Scottish Tourist, and Itinerary; or, A Guide to the Scenery and Antiquities of Scotland and the Western Islands. With a Description of the Principal Steam-Boat Tours.*, (Edinburgh, 1825)

<sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge Kathy Grenier's collaboration in the project of tracing early Scottish guide books.

## APPENDIX SEVEN

**A comparison of selected passages from Stark's *The Picture of Edinburgh* with passages from Sarah Hazlitt's *Journal* (my emphases)**

J. Stark, *The Picture of Edinburgh, containing a Description of the City and its Environs, with particular account of every remarkable object, and public establishment, in the Scottish Metropolis*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1820)

Stark, 284-285

### *Gillespie's Hospital*

This hospital stands in a beautiful situation on the south-west border of the city. It owes its erection to the beneficence of the late Mr James Gillespie of Spylaw, who, having amassed a considerable fortune, and having no near relation, bequeathed, by a deed dated the 16th of April 1796, the greater part of his property for the purpose of founding and endowing an hospital for old men and women, and a free school for the instruction of 100 poor boys in reading, writing and arithmetic. The governors of this hospital were incorporated by a royal charter, dated the 19th of August 1801; and in that year the present building was begun.

Gillespie's Hospital is of an oblong form, and built in imitation of the ancient Gothic manner, from a design of Mr. Burn, architect. In the front are three projections; and all the angles are ornamented with turrets. The centre projection rises higher than the other parts of the building; and the whole has an elegant appearance. The schoolhouse, which is at a little distance from the hospital, is neat and commodious.

To make way for the erection of this hospital, an old building, of a castellated form, called Wryte's house, of considerable antiquity, was removed.

From Sarah Hazlitt's *Journal*, 212:

Near the end of the Links, on a rising ground is **Gillespie's Hospital, built in 1801 for old men and women, and a detached free-school for the instruction of 100 poor boys in reading writing and arithmetic.**

Stark, 283-284

*Watson's Hospital*

This hospital, which has its name from its founder, George Watson, stands likewise in the southern quarter of the city, a little to the southward of Heriot's Hospital. George Watson was in the early part of his life clerk to Sir William Dick, provost of Edinburgh in 1676. He was afterwards appointed accountant to the Bank of Scotland, after which he became receiver of the city's impost on ale, treasurer to the Merchant Maiden Hospital, and to the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Dying a bachelor in 1723, he left L. 16,000 **for the maintenance and education of the children and grandchildren of decayed members of the Merchants Company of Edinburgh.**

The design of the donor, however, was not put into execution till the year 1738, when the sum originally left had accumulated to L. 20,000. The present building was then erected at the expence of about L. 5000. Though less elegant than the neighbouring hospital of Heriot, yet the building is handsome and commodious. It is decorated with a small spire, surmounted by a ship, the emblem of merchandising. The number of boys in the hospital this year (1819) is 70. **The branches of education taught are English, Latin, Greek, and French, arithmetic and book-keeping, mathematics, geography, and the use of the globes.** The boys when they leave the hospital receive L. 100 a year as an apprentice fee, paid by instalments of L. 20 a year, and on their attaining the age of twenty-five, if unmarried and producing certificates of their good behaviour, they receive further bounty of L. 50. Such as prefer an academical education receive L. 20 *per annum* for five years. The diet and clothing of the boys is similar to that of Heriot's Hospital. **They are taken in from eight**

**to eleven, and remain till 16 years of age.** The hospital is under the management of the master, assistants, and treasurer of the Merchant Company, four old bailies, the old dean of guild, and the two ministers of the church in Edinburgh called the Old Church. The annual revenue the managers decline to make known.

Hazlitt's *Journal*, 211:

**In another walk stands Watson's Hospital, for the maintenance and education of the children and grandchildren of decayed members of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh. they [sic] are taught English, Latin, Greek, and French, Arithmetic, Geography, and the use of the Globes. They are taken in from 8 to 11 years old, and remain till sixteen. The boys when they leave the Hospital receive £100 as an apprentice fee, paid by instalments of £20 a year, and on attaining the age of 25 years, if unmarried, and producing certificates of their good behaviour, they receive a further bounty of £50. Such as prefer an academical education £20 a year for five years.**

Stark, 284-286

#### *Merchant Maiden Hospital*

The **Merchant Maiden Hospital** was founded in 1695, by a voluntary contribution raised **for the education and maintenance of daughters of merchant burgesses of Edinburgh.** Mrs Mary Erskine gave L. 12,000 Scots for the purchase of a building, besides several other sums. In 1707 the governors were erected into a body corporate by act of parliament. The old building in Bristo Street having become inadequate to its object, the governors resolved to erect a new house; and for that purpose purchased three acres of land to the west of Lauriston Lane. Competition plans having been procured, that of Mr Burn was approved of; and the foundation-stone was laid upon the 2d day of August 1816. This edifice,

which is in the Grecian style of architecture, stands on a gently rising ground with its front to the south, and bounded on that side by the public walk of the Meadows. It is 180 feet in length, and nearly 60 in depth; and has in the centre of the building to the north a circular projection 36 feet in diameter. The principal feature is the portico, supported by four handsome columns, the design of which is taken from that of the Ionic temple on the Ilyssus. The windows of the lower story are arched, which gives the building the appearance of strength and solidity, and afford to the portico and pilasters at the end a basement proportioned to their height, and the entablature they support. The general appearance of the house, however, is rather heavy.

In the basement story is contained the kitchen and apartments for the servants, laundry, washing-house, dining room for the girls, &c. The principal floor is occupied by an elegant chapel and governor's room 30 feet in diameter, and 22 feet high; one school-room 48 feet long by 26 feet wide; two others 42 by 25 feet and a smaller one for music, &c.; besides other apartments. In the second floor are the bed-rooms for the girls and detached apartments for the sick; above which are rooms the whole length of the building for drying clothes, &c. during winter. The expense of erection, including fitting, amounted to L. 19,250 Sterling.

**The girls, of which there are 80 this year (1819) in the house, are taken in from seven to eleven, and go out at seventeen years of age. They are taught English, writing, arithmetic, geography, French, and needle work. If any other branches are required, such as drawing, &c. the girl's friends pay for it. The clothing is respectable, and the diet excellent. On leaving the hospital the girls receive L. 9, 6s. 8d. The annual revenue of the hospital is about L. 3000 Sterling.**

Hazlitt's *Journal*, 212:

**Here too, is the Merchant Maiden Hospital for the education & maintenance of daughters of Merchant burgesses of Edinburgh. They are taken in from seven to eleven;**

**and go out at seventeen years of age. They are taught English, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, French, and Needle-work. If any other branches are required, such as Drawing, &c. the girl's friends pay for it. The clothing is respectable and the diet excellent. On leaving the hospital the girls receive £9 "6"8.**

**NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE**

- <sup>1</sup> I would like to acknowledge my debt to Robert Miles and Claudia Johnson for recent conference papers and subsequent discussion at the 'Exploring the Romantic-era Novel' conference, University of Groningen, November 1999. Both papers helped to clarify my thinking on terminology and romantic-era prose.
- <sup>2</sup> Thirty-one further accounts of travel in Scotland written by women during the period 1740-1830 have been identified. For further details, see appendix one, 'Accounts of travel in Scotland written by women during the period 1740-1830'.
- <sup>3</sup> Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 209.
- <sup>4</sup> Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1996), 3.
- <sup>5</sup> Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth Century Women Travellers and their Writings* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), 173. Foster's argument is based on her work on women's travel writings from Italy, America and the Far East.
- <sup>6</sup> Dorothy McMillan, 'Some Early Travellers' in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (eds.), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 119.
- <sup>7</sup> Youngs, *Travellers in Africa*, 3.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 3.
- <sup>9</sup> I am aware of the complex debates about fictional/non-fictional travel accounts and the fluidity of generic boundaries which form a central part of the consideration of eighteenth-century travel writing, although I would argue that by the end of the century, the division was generally clearer to contemporary readers than it had been earlier. As Tim Youngs has pointed out, however, the textual space created by travel writers 'must, like the worlds of novels, be an imaginary one for the readers, for even if they have travelled to the physical place described, it is unlikely they have done so in the actual presence of the author.' (Youngs,

*Travellers in Africa*, 209). I acknowledge the truth of this remark; nevertheless, I have chosen to concentrate on writers whose work was presented as non-fiction, regardless of possibilities for elaboration, shaping of anecdotal material or 'stretching the truth'.

<sup>10</sup> The exception is Dorothy Wordsworth's account of her 1803 tour, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*. This text, which survives in four quite dissimilar manuscript copies representing Wordsworth's gradual revision of the text in preparation for publication, has not yet been published in a modern edition. (The recent edition published by Yale University Press in 1997 is merely an annotated and illustrated version of an 1874 edition.) Ernest de Selincourt's 1941 edition, based on an 1806 transcript in Dorothy Wordsworth's own writing, is the most recent and most complete version available and it is this edition upon which I have based my discussion. An excellent diplomatic edition of the manuscripts of her second (1822) tour is now available and it is to be hoped that a similarly painstaking edition of the first journey will soon follow.

<sup>11</sup> Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 61, 63; quoted in James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture' 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 36. See also Chapter 2 of Dolf Sternberger, *Panorama of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. by Joachim Neugroschiel (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977) for further discussion of the effect of railway travel on perception.

<sup>12</sup> Eliza and Millicent Bant, unpublished travel journals, 1804-1816, Chelmsford Record Office, D/DFr F1-7.

<sup>13</sup> *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour: By a Lady*. (London: Printed for Fielding and Walker, [1777]), preface.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, her brother William's letter to Richard Sharp on the 12 November 1822, in which he comments, 'She has made notes of her tour, which are very amusing'. *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, revised by Alan G. Hill, 2nd edition, III:1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 159.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Suzanne Schriber, 'Introduction', in Mary Suzanne Schriber (ed.), *Telling Travels:*



*Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century American Women Abroad* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), xxx.

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth A. Fay, *A Feminist Introduction to Romanticism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 62.

<sup>17</sup> Linda Anderson, 'At the threshold of self: women and autobiography' in M. Monteith (ed.), *Women's Writing: A Challenge to Theory* (Brighton, Harvester, 1987), 60-61; quoted in Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1993), 41.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Hampsten, *Read This Only to Yourself: The Private Writings of Midwestern Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 80.

<sup>19</sup> Margo Culley, 'Introduction', in Margo Culley, (ed.), *A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1985), 3.

<sup>20</sup> The caveat applies, of course, that any study of early diaries reflects survival rates rather than actual numbers written.

<sup>21</sup> Culley, *A Day at a Time*, 3.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), 35.

<sup>23</sup> Sara Mills, for example, suggests that many women writers chose to write in low status genres, thereby avoiding the kind of public prominence and criticism that writing in more 'literary' genres might attract. For the late nineteenth-century writers upon whom Mills concentrates her analysis, travel writing itself was perceived as a low-status genre. In the eighteenth century, however, travel writing was a far more significant and respected genre, and published books of travel included those by writers of high status such as Joseph Addison and Samuel Johnson. Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 41-42.

<sup>24</sup> Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, travel and the rise of tourism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 5.

<sup>26</sup> Hon. John Byng, *The Torrington Diaries: Containing the Tours through England and*

*Wales of the Hon. John Byng (Later Fifth Viscount Torrington) between the Years 1781 and 1794*, ed. by C. Bruyn Andrews (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1934-38), II, 171.

<sup>27</sup> William Wordsworth, 'The Brothers', in Stephen Gill (ed.), *William Wordsworth* (Oxford: OUP, 1984), 155-156.

<sup>28</sup> William Marshall, *A Review of the Reports to the Board of Agriculture from the Northern Department of England* (York, 1808), xl, quoted in John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840* (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 86.

<sup>29</sup> Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling between the Wars* (Oxford: OUP, 1980), 37, 41.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 39.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel J. Boorstin, 'From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel' in *The Image, or What happened to the American Dream* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1961), 79, 85.

<sup>32</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Jonathan Culler, *Framing the Sign: Criticism and Its Institutions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 157.

<sup>34</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 104.

<sup>35</sup> Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Derek Hall and Vivian Kinnaird, 'A note on women travellers' in Vivian Kinnaird and Derek Hall (eds.), *Tourism: A Gender Analysis* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1994), 189.

<sup>37</sup> James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

<sup>38</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).

<sup>39</sup> Roger Cardinal, 'Romantic Travel' in Roy Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1997), 147-148.

<sup>40</sup> Mills, *Discourses of Difference*, 22-23.

<sup>41</sup> Mary Russell, *The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt: Women Travellers and Their World*

(London: Flamingo, 1994), 213.

<sup>42</sup> Patricia Romero, *Women's Voices in Africa: A Century of Travel Writings* (New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1992), 10; quoted in Tim Youngs, 'Buttons and Souls: Some Thoughts on Commodities and Identity in Women's Travel Writing', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 1 (Spring 1997), 122.

<sup>43</sup> Youngs, 'Buttons and Souls', 122.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) is a notable exception.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan, *Place Matters*, 3.

**NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO**

- <sup>1</sup> Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. by Peter Levi (London: Penguin, 1984), 96. [first published 1775]
- <sup>2</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ed. Pat Rogers (London: Penguin, 1986), 661, 563. [first published 1724-1726]
- <sup>3</sup> [Edward Burt], *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London, &c.*, (London: Gale, Curtis and Fenner, 1813), I, 81. The letters are undated but the Advertisement to the first edition, published 1754, refers to the letters as having come into the hands of the editor 'after the space of between twenty and thirty years'.
- <sup>4</sup> A. J. Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line: Three Journals of Travel in Eighteenth Century Scotland* (London: Collins, 1974), 13. John Ray, the botanist, visited Scotland in 1661, but only travelled as far north as Stirling; Martin Martin, a native of Skye, explored the Hebrides in the 1690s but did not travel on the mainland.
- <sup>5</sup> D. Hart-Davis, *Monarchs of the Glen* (London: J. Cape, 1978), quoted in R. W. Butler, 'Evolution of tourism in the Scottish Highlands' in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12 (1985), 374.
- <sup>6</sup> Celia Fiennes, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, 1685-c.1712*, ed. by Christopher Morris (London: Macdonald, 1982), 172.
- <sup>7</sup> Burt, *Letters from a Gentleman*, I, 192.
- <sup>8</sup> Ibid, I, 144-145. *Haniel Sasson Ugget* is probably an inaccurate phonetic spelling of 'Chan eil Sasunn agam' or possibly 'Chan eil Sasunnach', both meaning roughly 'I do not speak English'. A similar phrase is used by Scott in *Rob Roy* (heavily dependent on Burt at some points) when he writes: "To our various enquiries, the hopeless reponse of "Ha niel Sassenach," was the only answer we could extract.' Walter Scott, *Rob Roy*, ed. by Ian Duncan (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 320. My thanks to J. Derrick McClure, Ian Duncan, John MacQueen and Howard Gaskill for their help.
- <sup>9</sup> J. Duncan, *The Scottish itinerary containing the roads through Scotland on a new plan*,

*with copious observations for the instruction and entertainment of travellers and complete index*, 7th edition (Glasgow: James and Andrew Duncan, 1830), 84

<sup>10</sup> Peter Hume Brown, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891), 264 and Rev. Thomas Somerville, *My own Life and Times, 1741-1814* (1861), 356, both quoted in A.R.B. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1997), 41.

<sup>11</sup> Defoe, *Tour*, 600.

<sup>12</sup> Defoe, *Tour*, quoted in Butler, 'Evolution of Tourism', 373.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Diggle, [Journal, 1788] University of Glasgow Special Collections, MS General 738, 42.

<sup>14</sup> Johnson, *Journey*, 71.

<sup>15</sup> Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the beauties of Scotland, to the Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and to the curiosities of the district of Craven, etc.* (London: G. Nicol: 1799), 348, 82.

<sup>16</sup> Millicent Bant, 'Tour through North Wales, 1806', 'A Tour into Sussex, 1806', and 'A Tour into Scotland, 1807', unpublished travel journals (all three journals contained in one volume), Chelmsford Record Office, D/DFr F2, fols. 34v, 26r.

<sup>17</sup> Butler, 'Evolution of Tourism', 374.

<sup>18</sup> John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 39.

<sup>19</sup> Haldane, *Drove Roads of Scotland*, 32-33.

<sup>20</sup> Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Youngson, *Beyond the Highland Line*, 34.

<sup>22</sup> D. G. Moir, *The Early Maps of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Geographical Society, 1973), 86-88, 104.

<sup>23</sup> *The Steam-boat Companion; and Stranger's Guide to the Western Islands and Highlands of Scotland; comprehending the land-tour to Inveraray and Oban; a description of the scenery of Loch Lomond, Staffa, Iona, and other places ... and of the River and Frith of Clyde, etc.* (Glasgow: 1820; 2nd edition, 1825).

<sup>24</sup> Martin Martin, for example, had travelled extensively in the Hebrides in 1695 (although Martin was a native of Skye and a Gaelic speaker and not, therefore, in the same position as an English tourist); Defoe's tour had been largely confined to coastal areas. Martin's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* was the first book on the Hebrides to be published.

<sup>25</sup> Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, 40.

<sup>26</sup> A useful listing of diaries of travel in England, Wales and Scotland in the County Record Offices of England and Wales can be found in Robin Gard (ed.), *The Observant Traveller: Diaries of Travel in England, Wales and Scotland* (London: HMSO, 1989), 105-122.

<sup>27</sup> John Pinkerton, 'Catalogue of Books of Voyages and Travels: Great Britain and Ireland, Travels through Parts of England, Wales, Isles of Man and Jersey, Travels in England and Scotland, Travels in Scotland' in John Pinkerton (ed.), *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World* (London: Longman, Hurst Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814), XVII, 10-12.

<sup>28</sup> Letter 11/8/1759, Lord Breadalbane to his daughter the Marchioness Grey (Bedford Record Office 130/9/17/23), quoted in Marcus Halliwell, *Highland Landscapes: Paintings of Scotland in the 19th Century* (London: Garamond, 1990), 5 and referred to in Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 200.

<sup>29</sup> *The Scots Magazine*, 34 (1772), 19.

<sup>30</sup> Diggle, [Journal, 1788], 73.

<sup>31</sup> Rev. Dr. James Robertson, 'Parish of Callender', in *Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, ed. by Sir John Sinclair (1st edn. Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1791-1799; repr. with new introductions, East Ardsley: E.P. Publishing Ltd, 1973-1983), XII, 139.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 142.

<sup>33</sup> Anne Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, ed. by J.P. Grant, (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844).

<sup>34</sup> Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by H.J.C. Grierson (London: Constable, 1932-37), II, 357. The reference to 'mak[ing] London his washpot and throw[ing] his shoes

over Ben Nevis' is, of course, a mock-Biblical reference Psalm 60: 8; Psalm 108:9 but does not seem to carry any particular added significance in the original letter. Scott appears to have been fond of this image. In 1822, he used it again, this time to describe an acquaintance who had been successful in the world of London publishing. 'I am convinced he has still that sound judgement ... which enabled him of yore to make London his washpot & cast his shoe over the Row.' *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, VII, 249.

<sup>35</sup> Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, 41-42.

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed exploration of the relationship between land ownership, landscape gardening and eighteenth-century aesthetic theory and a discussion of the role of Knight, Price and Repton in the debate, see Tim Fulford, *Landscape, Liberty and Authority: Poetry, Criticism and Politics from Thomson to Wordsworth* (Cambridge: CUP, 1996), 116-140.

<sup>37</sup> Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, 3.

<sup>38</sup> John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place, 1730-1840* (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 6.

<sup>39</sup> William Gilpin, *Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (London: 1786), II, 44.

<sup>40</sup> Shelagh J. Squire, 'The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism' in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21 (1994), 104.

<sup>41</sup> For a discussion of the growth of the Shakespeare tourist industry, see Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, travel and the rise of tourism* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990), 23-57.

<sup>42</sup> James Plumptre, [Journal of a tour to Scotland], 1795, Cambridge University Library, MS. Add. 5808, f. 12, f. 3; quoted in Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, 213.

<sup>43</sup> James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, ed. by Peter Levi (London: Penguin, 1984), 220.

<sup>44</sup> Johnson, *Journey*, 49.

<sup>45</sup> Boswell, *Tour to the Hebrides*, 228-229.

<sup>46</sup> Diggle, [Journal, 1788]. 45.

<sup>47</sup> Murray, *Beauties of Scotland* (1799), 218.

<sup>48</sup> *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour: By a Lady.* (London: Printed for Fielding and Walker, [undated]), letter XV.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, letter XIII.

<sup>50</sup> For further discussion of the debate over the authenticity of the Ossianic poems, see Fiona J. Stafford, *The Sublime Savage: A Study of James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1988); Fiona Stafford and Howard Gaskill (eds.), *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), particularly the essay by Derick S. Thomson; Paul Baines, 'Putting a book out of place: Johnson, Ossian and the Highland Tour' in *Durham University Journal*, 84 (July 1992), 235-48; and Hugh Cheape, 'The Culture and Material Culture of Ossian, 1760-1900' in *Scotlands*, 4 (1997), 1-24.

<sup>51</sup> Leah Leneman, 'The Effects of Ossian in Lowland Scotland' in Jennifer J. Carter and Joan H. Pittock (eds.), *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 358.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 360.

<sup>53</sup> Baines, Paul, 'Ossianic Geographies: Fingalian Figures on the Scottish Tour, 1760-1830' in *Scotlands*, 4 (1997), 44.

<sup>54</sup> P. Hatley Waddell, *Ossian and the Clyde, Fingal in Ireland, Oscar in Iceland: or, Ossian Historical and Authentic* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1875).

<sup>55</sup> *John Walker's Reports on the Hebrides of 1764 and 1771*, ed. by M. M. McKay (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), 195; quoted in Baines, 'Ossianic Geographies', 45.

<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth Montagu, *Mrs. Montagu, 'Queen of the Blues': Her Letters and Friendships from 1762 to 1800*, ed. by Reginald Blunt (London: Constable, 1923), I, 145.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Heron, *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland in the autumn of MDCCXCII &c. &c.* (Perth: 1793), 157.

<sup>58</sup> Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties in the Western Highlands of Scotland, and in the Hebrides. To which is added, a Description of Part of the Main Land of Scotland, and of the Isles of Mull, Ulva, Staff, I-Columbkill, Tiru, Coll, Eigg, Skye, Raza*



*and Scalpa*. (London: Printed for the Author, 1803), 139.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 141.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, 148.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 143.

<sup>62</sup> John Leyden, *Journal of a Tour in the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland in 1800*, ed. by James Sinton (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Co., 1903), 31; quoted in Baines, 'Ossianic Geographies', 53.

<sup>63</sup> *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr Johnson's Tour*, letter XI.

<sup>64</sup> Murray, *Beauties of Scotland* (1799), 198-199.

<sup>65</sup> Diggle, [Journal, 1788], 37.

<sup>66</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland (A.D. 1803)* in *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by E. de Selincourt (London: Macmillan, 1941), I, 359.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 198.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>69</sup> J. E. Bowman, *The Highlands and Islands: a nineteenth century tour* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1986), 23; quoted in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, 64.

<sup>70</sup> Walter Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* in *Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1857), III, 4; (original work published 1810); quoted in John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 176.

<sup>71</sup> Bant, unpublished travel journals, Chelmsford Record Office, D/DFr F2, fol. 4r.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Fleeman, 'Introduction' in Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, ed. by J. D. Fleeman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xxviii--xxix.

<sup>3</sup> quoted in Ronald P. Doig, 'Reaction to the "Journey to the Western Islands"', *Transactions of the Johnson Society of Lichfield* (Dec. 1973), 20.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed discussion of press reactions to Johnson's *Journey*, see Doig, 'Reactions' and Fleeman, 'Introduction', and Helen Louise McGuffie, *Samuel Johnson in the British Press, 1749-1784* (New York: Garland, 1976).

<sup>5</sup> These include the anonymous *Remarks on a Voyage to the Hebrides, in a Letter to Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.* (almost certainly the work of Dr. A.G. Sinclair) (1775); Andrew Henderson, *A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson, on his Journey to the Western Isles* (undated but probably 1775); Andrew Henderson, *A Second Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson. In which his wicked and opprobrious Invectives are shewn, &c.* (again undated but probably 1775); *Cloacina: a Comi-Tragedy* (1775); Donald McNicol, *Remarks on Dr Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides; in which are contained, Observations on the Antiquities, Language, Genius, and Manners of the Highlanders of Scotland* (1779); and A.G. Sinclair, *The Critic Philosopher; or Truth Discovered* (1789). For a more favourable response, see John Knox, *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebride Isles, in MDCCXXXVI* (1787).

<sup>6</sup> [Halkett, Samuel and John Laing], *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, new and enlarged edition by James Kennedy, W. A. Smith and A. F. Johnson (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1928), III, 202.

Doig gives Halkett and Laing as the source for the attribution. Other commentators repeat the attribution but make no comment as to its source or justification.

<sup>7</sup> Kathleen L. Fowler, 'Mary Ann Hanway' in *An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers*, ed. Paul Schlueter and June Schlueter (London: St. James Press, 1988), 217-218.

<sup>8</sup> *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland, comprising*

*Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes of their Lives; and a Chronological Register of their Publications, with the number of editions printed* (London: Henry Colburn, 1816), 145.

<sup>9</sup> Marie McAllister, e-mail to the author, 21 December 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Kathleen L. Fowler, 'Mary Ann(e) Hanway' in *An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers*, Revised and Expanded Edition, ed. Paul Schlueter and June Schlueter (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 302.

<sup>11</sup> *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 14 March 1777, London, 1. A similar advertisement appeared in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 28 April 1777.

<sup>12</sup> Reviews of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* appeared in *The Critical Review*, 43 (1777), 238; *The Monthly Review*, 2nd edition, 57 (1777), 241-242; *The Scots Magazine*, 39 (1777), 153; and *Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement*, 36, (1777), 273-274. *The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, 46 (1777), 160, listed it without comment. No attempt to establish authorship was made in any of these reviews. No listing or review of the *Journey* appeared in the 1777 editions of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, *The Town and Country Magazine*, *The Westminster Magazine*, *The Hibernian Magazine* or the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*. Samuel Ayscough's index to the *Monthly Review*, vols. 1-70, indexed the *Journey* under 'Johnson'.

<sup>13</sup> Reviews of the novels include reviews of *Ellinor* in the *Analytical Review*, 27 (1798), 417-418; *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, 3 (1799), 37-39; *The British Critic*, 13 (1799), 75; and *The Monthly Mirror* (1798), 33; reviews of *Andrew Stuart* in *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, 6 (1800), 449-451; *The British Critic*, 16 (1800), 556; and *The European Magazine*, 38 (1800); and reviews of *Christabelle* in *The British Critic*, n.s. 3 (1815), 442-445; and *The New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register*, 2 (1815), 549.

<sup>14</sup> These included Matilda Betham, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Celebrated Women of Every Age and Country* (London: 1804); *A Biographical Dictionary of the Living Authors of Great Britain and Ireland, comprising Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes of their Lives; and a Chronological Register of their Publications, with the number of editions printed* (London: 1816); *Catalogue of Five Hundred Celebrated Authors of Great Britain, now Living; The*

whole arranged in alphabetical order (London: 1788); Mary Hays, *Female Biography; or, Memoirs of Illustrated and Celebrated Women, of all ages and countries. Alphabetically arranged* (Philadelphia: 1807); and David Rivers, *Literary Memoirs of Living Authors of Great Britain* (London: 1798). Richard Gough also refers to the *Journey in British Topography* (London: 1780), II, 573, but gives no indication of authorship.

<sup>15</sup> The letters are numbered I - XVII, but there are two number XIIIs. In the footnotes to this chapter, XIII denotes the first of these, XIII (second) denotes the second. The book is unpaginated.

<sup>16</sup> 'Preface', *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland with Occasional Remarks on D<sup>r</sup> Johnson's Tour. By a Lady* (London: Fielding and Walker, [1777]). (In subsequent footnotes this text will be referred to as *JHS*.)

<sup>17</sup> Charles L. Batten's *Pleasurable Instruction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), although now somewhat dated, particularly in its omission of any discussion of gender differences in eighteenth-century travel writing, remains a useful guide to the narrative and descriptive conventions demanded by the eighteenth-century nonfiction travel account.

<sup>18</sup> *JHS*, Dedication.

<sup>19</sup> *JHS*, Preface.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>21</sup> Marie E. McAllister, 'Woman on the Journey: Eighteenth-century British Women's Travel in Fact and Fiction' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1988), 111.

<sup>22</sup> Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy By Mr. Yorick*, ed. by Ian Jack (Oxford: OUP, 1998), 28.

<sup>23</sup> Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 206.

<sup>24</sup> John Knox, *A Tour through the Highlands of Scotland, and the Hebride Isles, in 1786* (1787), quoted in Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, 206.

<sup>25</sup> John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature, 1720-1820* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 125.

<sup>26</sup> *JHS*, letter I.

<sup>27</sup> *JHS*, letter V.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Glendening accepts the attribution of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland* to Mary Anne Hanway.

<sup>30</sup> Glendening, *High Road*, 125.

<sup>31</sup> *JHS*, letter II.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *JHS*, letter III.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *JHS*, letter XIV.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *JHS*, letter IX.

<sup>38</sup> *JHS*, letter IX. The passage recited by L was from Goldsmith's *The Traveller*:

Blest be this spot, where chearful guests retire,  
To pause from toil, and trim their evening fire:  
Bless'd this abode, where travellers repair,  
And every stranger finds a ready chair:  
Blest be these feasts, with simple plenty crown'd,  
Where all the ruddy family around,  
Laugh at the pranks or jests that never fail:  
Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale:  
Or press the bashful stranger to his food,  
And learn the luxury of doing good.

<sup>39</sup> *JHS*, letter IX.

<sup>40</sup> *JHS*, letter V.

<sup>41</sup> *JHS*, letter III.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *JHS*, letter XIV.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *JHS*, letter XIII.

<sup>46</sup> *JHS*, letter XIII (second).

- 47 *JHS*, letter VI.
- 48 *JHS*, letter IX.
- 49 *JHS*, letter XVII.
- 50 *JHS*, letter IX.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Patricia Meyer Spacks, 'Female Resources: Epistles, Plot and Power' in Elizabeth C. Goldsmith (ed.), *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature* (London: Pinter, 1989), 68.
- 54 Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel writing and imaginative geography 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 84.
- 55 Ibid, 85.
- 56 *JHS*, Preface.
- 57 *JHS*, letter VII.
- 58 *JHS*, letter IV.
- 59 *JHS*, letter XIII.
- 60 *JHS*, letter V.
- 61 *JHS*, letter XII.
- 62 *JHS*, letter V.
- 63 *JHS*, letter VI.
- 64 *JHS*, letter VII.
- 65 Chard (1999), 99.
- 66 Spacks (1989), 68-70.
- 67 Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* (London: Methuen, 1986), 125.
- 68 *JHS*, letter XI.
- 69 *JHS*, letter III.
- 70 *JHS*, letter VI.
- 71 *JHS*, letter VII.

<sup>72</sup> *JHS*, letter XVII.

<sup>73</sup> *JHS*, letter XIV.

<sup>74</sup> Marie E. McAllister, 'Woman on the Journey', 115.

<sup>75</sup> *JHS*, letter III.

<sup>76</sup> *JHS*, letter V.

<sup>77</sup> *JHS*, letter XIII.

<sup>78</sup> *JHS*, letter XVII.

<sup>79</sup> Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque*, 5.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Of the 24 quotations, seven are from Pope, two from Dryden, two from Thomson, and two from Shakespeare. The remaining authors are represented by one quotation each: Goldsmith, Gray, Shenstone, John Armstrong, Richard Blackmore, Laurence Eusden and Homer in Pope's translation. L also includes a copy of verses which she found scratched on an inn window near Ben Lomond, a transcription of a poem by the Duke of Athol which she found scratched upon a stone in the Duke's garden and a set of words for the tune 'Rosline Castle' which she says 'a gentleman has lately wrote on this delightful spot: it conveys a very good idea both of the ruinous and flourishing beauties of the place' (letter VIII). One quotation remains unidentified. Several of the poems are misquoted, some quite considerably so.

<sup>82</sup> *JHS*, letter III.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *JHS*, letter VIII.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> All four tunes were published together in *Flores Musicae* (Edinburgh: T. Clark, 1773) They may have been included, separately or together, in other collections of Scots song I would like to thank Jack Campin for his help in tracing the Scots song references.

<sup>88</sup> 'Review of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*', *Critical Review*, 43 (1777), 238

<sup>89</sup> 'Review of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*', *Scots Magazine*, 39 (1777), 153.

<sup>90</sup> 'Review of *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*', *Monthly Review*, 2nd edition, 57 (1777), 241-242.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*



**NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR**

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, to The Lakes of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; and to the Curiosities in the District of Craven in the West Riding of Yorkshire. To Which is added, a More Particular Description of Scotland, especially that part of it, called The Highlands.* (London: 1799), 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>10</sup> *The British Critic*, 14 (1799), 400-406; *Monthly Review; or Literary Journal, Enlarged*, 31 (1800), 398-404.

There is a slight discrepancy with regard to the date of the review in the *Monthly Review*.

Murray in the preface to her second volume referred to the *Monthly Review* of May 1800, and the third edition repeated that information, giving extracts from the review of that [supposed] date. In fact, the review seems to have appeared in the *Monthly Review* for April 1800.

<sup>11</sup> This was inscribed 'Volume II' on the title page and appears to have been sold together with copies of the 1799 edition.

<sup>12</sup> *Annual Review, and History of Literature for 1803*, 2 (1804), 402-408; *British Critic* 23 (1804), 620-624; *Monthly Review; or Literary Journal, Enlarged* 43 (1804), 177-182.

<sup>13</sup> Murray (1810), Supplement to volume II, 10. [the supplement has its own page numbering from 1-26, following the main pages of the volume.]

<sup>14</sup> Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to The Beauties of Scotland*, ed. by William F. Laughlan (Hawick: Byway Books, 1982). This is an abridged version combining

parts of both volumes of the *Companion*, possibly drawn from various editions. No information is given as to the editorial method, but I have identified places where large sections have been excised, and the book appears to move back and forth between the volumes. Transitions are dealt with by means of new text (composed presumably by the editor but unattributed and written in the style of the original). The section on the Lakes and most of the material in the original Guide sections of the books is omitted.

<sup>15</sup> Murray (1803), II, 177.

<sup>16</sup> Murray (1799), v-vii.

<sup>17</sup> As, for example, Thomas Nugent's *The Grand Tour* (1749) which Chloe Chard describes as offering a 'practically oriented, impersonally presented enumeration of sights'. Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel writing and imaginative geography 1600-1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 14, n.38.

<sup>18</sup> William Mavor, *The British Tourists; or, Traveller's Pocket Companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Comprehending the most celebrated tours in the British Islands.*, 6 vols. (London: 1798-1800).

<sup>19</sup> The word 'guidebook' was not used until the early nineteenth century. The *OED* lists the earliest usage of the term as being by Byron in *Don Juan* (1823). The terms Guide and Companion to denote written guides to places, however, were both in use in the early eighteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> John R. Gold & Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 44.

<sup>21</sup> *British Critic*, 23 (1804), 620.

<sup>22</sup> *Annual Review, and History of Literature for 1803*, 2 (1804), 402.

<sup>23</sup> Tim Youngs, 'Buttons and Souls: Some Thoughts on Commodities and Identity in Women's Travel Writing' in *Studies in Travel Writing*, 1 (Spring 1997), 124-25, 138-39.

<sup>24</sup> May French Sheldon, *Sultan to Sultan: Adventures among the Masai and other Tribes of East Africa* (London: Saxon, 1892); quoted in Jane Robinson, *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), 28.

- <sup>25</sup> Mary Hall, *A Woman's Trek from the Cape to Cairo* (London: 1907), 1.
- <sup>26</sup> See Lila M. Harper, 'Solitary Travelers: Negotiating Around Scenes of Impropriety in Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Accounts' (unpublished conference paper, 1997), 5 for a more extensive discussion of changes over the nineteenth century.
- <sup>27</sup> Frank Donoghue, *The Fame Machine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 159-60.
- <sup>28</sup> Murray (1799), viii.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid, 193.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid, 8-9.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid, 70-71.
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid, 123.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid, vii.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, 92-93.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid, 111.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid, 67.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid, 244-245.
- <sup>38</sup> Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 213.
- <sup>39</sup> Murray (1799), v.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibid, 327.
- <sup>41</sup> Murray (1803), II, 152.
- <sup>42</sup> Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, sixth edition (London: Richard Phillips, 1811), I, 175-176.
- <sup>43</sup> Anna Maria Falconbridge, *Two Voyages to Sierra Leone* (1794) in Deirdre Coleman (ed.), *Maiden Voyages and Infant Colonies: Two Women's Travel Narratives of the 1790s* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 53.
- <sup>44</sup> Mungo Park, *Travels into the Interior of Africa* (1799) (London: Eland Press, 1983), 62.
- <sup>45</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 80.
- <sup>46</sup> Murray (1799), 107.

- <sup>47</sup> Murray (1803), II, 151-152.
- <sup>48</sup> For a useful discussion of Mary Wollstonecraft's use of this strategy, see Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 162.
- <sup>49</sup> Murray (1799), 519-520.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 326.
- <sup>51</sup> Murray (1803), II, 147.
- <sup>52</sup> Murray (1799), 142.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 265-266.
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, 191.
- <sup>55</sup> Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 13.
- <sup>56</sup> Murray (1799), 228.
- <sup>57</sup> Harper, 'Solitary Travelers', 2.
- <sup>58</sup> Murray (1803), II, 113.
- <sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 132.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, 132-133.
- <sup>61</sup> Murray (1799), 326.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid*, 42.
- <sup>63</sup> Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), 155.
- <sup>64</sup> He refers to 'the relative scarcity of women's travel writing generally in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries, which in turn reflects the historical deep-rooted gendering of travel itself as a masculine activity'. Jarvis, 158. What this reflects, I would argue, is a relative scarcity of published travel accounts by women of this period. Over 20 women's journals of travel within the UK exist in archives and public record offices across the country – few of these accounts have received any critical attention.
- <sup>65</sup> Murray (1799), 243.
- <sup>66</sup> Murray (1810), Supplement, 3.

- <sup>67</sup> Murray (1803), II. 156.
- <sup>68</sup> Murray (1799), 188.
- <sup>69</sup> Murray (1803), II, 181.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid, 182.
- <sup>71</sup> Leslie Stephen, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, II (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1885), 258.
- <sup>72</sup> Murray (1799), 42.
- <sup>73</sup> Ibid, 43.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid, 203.
- <sup>75</sup> Harper, 'Solitary Travelers', 5.
- <sup>76</sup> Murray (1799), 49.
- <sup>77</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, 'Journal of My Trip to Scotland', *University of Buffalo Studies*, XXIV (1959), 216.
- <sup>78</sup> Jarvis, *Pedestrian Travel*, 229.
- <sup>79</sup> Murray (1799), 229.
- <sup>80</sup> See Appendix 6.
- <sup>81</sup> Murray (1799), v.

**NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE**

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Hook, notes to Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley* (London: Penguin, 1985), 600.

<sup>4</sup> 'My whole summer's reading has been a part of two volumes of Mrs Grant's *American Lady*, which Southey lent to be speedily returned ...' Letter to Catherine Clarkson, 4 October 1813, *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, rev. by Mary Moorman and Alan G. Hill, 7 vols., 2nd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), III., pt 1, 121. Duncan Wu states that Lady Beaumont recommended Grant's *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders* to William Wordsworth in 1811. Duncan Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1800-1815* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 260-261.

<sup>5</sup> 'George Paston' [pseud. of Emily Symonds], *Little Memoirs of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1901), 237-238.

<sup>6</sup> The end-point of the process is often suggested as 1810, the date when Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* was published.

<sup>7</sup> For further discussion of the creation of the Highland myth and its impact on Scotland today, see Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (London: Macmillan, 1989); John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland and Literature 1720-1820* (London: Macmillan, 1997); John R. Gold and Margaret M. Gold, *Imagining Scotland: Tradition, Representation and Promotion in Scottish Tourism since 1750* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Much of our knowledge of Anne Grant's life comes from her own writings, in particular, the sketch of her life which she began to write in 1825 and which was discovered among her papers after her death and published in *Memoir and Correspondence* in 1844. Grant's

account described her life from her birth until 1806, the date of the publication of the first edition of *Letters from the Mountains*. This was supplemented by notes added to that memoir by her only surviving son in 1844, and by a memoir written by James Grant Wilson, a descendant, who edited the 1901 American edition of *Memoirs of an American Lady*.

<sup>10</sup> Anne Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, ed. by J.P. Grant, (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1844), I, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Dorothy McMillan, 'Some Early Travellers' in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (eds.), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 131.

<sup>12</sup> Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence*, I, 6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, I, 5-6.

<sup>14</sup> See map following page 90.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, I, 12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, I, 15-17.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, I, 15-17.

<sup>18</sup> Copy title pages of the works discussed in detail in this chapter have been included, each following the page where the publication history of the book is discussed.

<sup>19</sup> According to J. Cuthbert Hadden, Thomson's biographer, 'In 1802 ... Thomson ... was engaged in editing and superintending the publication of the poems of Mrs. Grant of Laggan. ... But in her ... *Memoir* ... Mrs. Grant totally ignore[d] the good offices of Thomson. ... When Thomson read [the *Memoir*] he was naturally in some indignation at the omission of all reference to the services he had rendered entirely *ex gratia*'. J. Cuthbert Hadden, *George Thomson, the Friend of Burns: His Life and Correspondence* (London: Nimmo, 1898), 34-36.

<sup>20</sup> The 1808 publication of *The Highlanders and Other Poems* followed the considerable success of Grant's *Letters from the Mountains* in 1806. *The Highlanders and Other Poems* was substantially the same as *Poems on Various Subjects*, but the order of the poems was changed, two poems and one song were deleted and three sonnets replaced 'A Journal from

Glasgow to Laggan'. In the third (1810) edition, there were again minor changes to the order of the poems, and 'A Journal from Glasgow to Laggan' was reinstated.

<sup>21</sup> Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence*, I, 3-4.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, I, 21.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, I, 21.

<sup>24</sup> No reviews appeared of the first edition; the second edition was reviewed in 1807 by the *Eclectic Review* and in 1808 by the *Monthly Review*. The piece in the *Monthly Review* identifies the author as 'Mrs. Grant, whose name is not unknown to the literary world'. *Monthly Review*, 56 (1808), 445.

<sup>25</sup> The title of the second and subsequent editions was changed to *Letters from the Mountains: Being the real Correspondence of a Lady Between the Years 1773 and 1807*, reflecting the additional material which Grant added in 1807.

<sup>26</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, I, iii-v.

<sup>27</sup> The question of what term to use when referring to indigenous American people is a vexed one. In 2000, there is no consensus among native Americans themselves as to which name they would prefer to be known by, and there has been over the last few years a 'reclaiming' by some political activists of the name 'Indian', a name eschewed earlier in the decade in favour of 'native American'. Those tribes whose origins lie in what is now Canada have sometimes preferred the nomenclature 'First Nation'. In this chapter, I generally use the term 'Indian', reflecting the nineteenth-century usage. My choice is not meant to imply a particular twenty-first century political stance.

<sup>28</sup> One published by A.K. Newman and one published by Dean and Munday.

<sup>29</sup> Norwood, Pennsylvania: Norwood Editions, 1975. This is a facsimile edition with no added editorial material.

<sup>30</sup> Anne Grant, 'The Highlanders' in *The Highlanders and Other Poems*, third edition, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1810), 15.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 20, 29.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 20.



- <sup>33</sup> Ibid, 29.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, 32.
- <sup>35</sup> Grant, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 38.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid, 24
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid, 69.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid, 69.
- <sup>39</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 125.
- <sup>40</sup> Not a glebe farm as stated by Womack, 125 — there was no glebe attached to the parish of Laggan and the Grant family rented a farm at a 'favourable' rent from a local landowner.
- <sup>41</sup> Grant, *The Highlanders*, 28.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid, 28.
- <sup>43</sup> *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799* (East Ardsley: E.P. Publishing Ltd, 1973-1983), XVII, 223.
- <sup>44</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 130.
- <sup>45</sup> British Tourist Authority, *The lands of Britain: your vacation planner* (London: BTA, 1994), 34; quoted in Gold and Gold, *Imagining Scotland*, 5.
- <sup>46</sup> 'An Ode, On Reading One Upon The Same Subject By Professor Richardson of Glasgow', *The Highlanders and Other Poems*, 193.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibid, 193-194.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid, 194.
- <sup>49</sup> Reviews appeared in the *Annual Review*, the *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine*, the *British Critic*, *Flowers of Literature for 1803*, the *Literary Journal*, the *Monthly Magazine*, the *Monthly Mirror*, the *Monthly Review*, the *New Annual Register*, and the *Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1803*.
- <sup>50</sup> *Monthly Review*, XLIV (1804), 279-280.
- <sup>51</sup> *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* (1803), XVI, 116-117, 241.
- <sup>52</sup> James Beattie, *Scoticisms arranged in Alphabetical Order, designed to correct Improperities of Speech and Writing* (Edinburgh: W. Creech, 1787); quoted in J. Derrick

McClure, *Why Scots Matters* (Edinburgh: Saltire Society, 1997), 60-61.

<sup>53</sup> A map of the family's journey follows this page.

<sup>54</sup> *Letters from the Mountains*, I, 16. Smelfungus is a character in Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey*, generally believed to represent Tobias Smollett, who had, in 1765, published his *Travels through France and Italy*.

<sup>55</sup> Grant, *Letters from the Mountains*, I, 17; 22.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, I, 17

<sup>57</sup> *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland with Occasional Remarks on D<sup>r</sup> Johnson's Tour. By a Lady* (London: Fielding and Walker, 1776), letter XIV.

<sup>58</sup> Grant, *Letters from the Mountains*, I, 54.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, I 73

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid* I 73

<sup>61</sup> Grant *Letters from the Mountains*, II, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, I, 17.

<sup>63</sup> Quo ed in McMillan, 'Some Early Travellers', 141, note 19.

<sup>64</sup> Grant, *Letters from the Mountains*, I, 12.

<sup>65</sup> In this chapter I use the terms 'America' and 'American' to refer generally to the North American continent.

<sup>66</sup> McMillan, 'Some Early Travellers', 131.

<sup>67</sup> Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-century Women Travellers and their Writings* (London. Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), 85.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, 84-89.

<sup>69</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, II, 106-113.

<sup>70</sup> A term used several times by Grant to refer to the British monarch when discussing Indians

<sup>71</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, II, 110-114.

<sup>72</sup> Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Oxford: 1995), especially chapter 2, cited in Shirley Foster, 'The depiction of Native Americans in the early nineteenth century'

(unpublished conference paper, 1998), 2.

<sup>73</sup> Shirley Foster, 'Depiction of Native Americans', 3.

<sup>74</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, I, 218-219.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, I, 219.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, I, 220.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, I, 221-222.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, I, 225-229.

<sup>79</sup> For extensive discussion and examples, see Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge CUP, 1976), particularly chapters 2 and 4, and Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992).

<sup>80</sup> William Robertson, *The Situation of the World at the Time of Christ's Appearance, and its Connection with the Success of his Religion, considered. A Sermon Preached ... January 6, 1755*, 6th edition (Edinburgh: Elphinstone Balfour, 1791), 53.

<sup>81</sup> William Robertson, 'Review of William Douglas's *A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Plantings, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North-America*', *Edinburgh Review*, 2 (1755), 42.

<sup>82</sup> James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1996), 260.

<sup>83</sup> Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds*, 102, 104.

<sup>84</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, I, 121-126.

<sup>85</sup> Grant, *Memoir and Correspondence of Mrs Grant*, II, 264.

<sup>86</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 6.

<sup>87</sup> Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, II, 344.

<sup>88</sup> *Monthly Review* 69 (1812), 251.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, 18 (1811), 482.

<sup>91</sup> Richard M. Dorson, *The British Folklorists, A History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul,

1968), 153.

<sup>92</sup> McMillan, 'Some Early Travellers', 133.

<sup>93</sup> Dorson, *British Folklorists*, 91.

<sup>94</sup> Originally published in French in 1755 and translated into English in 1770 by Thomas Percy in 1770. It was reprinted in Edinburgh in 1809.

<sup>95</sup> Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish border: Consisting of historical and romantic ballads, collected in the southern counties of Scotland; With a few of modern date, founded upon local tradition*, 2 vols. (Kelso: James Ballantyne, 1802).

<sup>96</sup> 'The Bonny Hynd', for example is stated to have been 'Copied from the Mouth of a Milkmaid, in 1771', II, 298.

<sup>97</sup> Walter Scott, *Waverley* (London: 1814; repr. London: Penguin Books, 1985), 494.

<sup>98</sup> William Grant Stewart, *The Popular Superstitions and Festive Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1823), xi.

<sup>99</sup> Fiona Stafford, *The Last of the Race* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 83.

<sup>100</sup> Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 16.

<sup>101</sup> For a detailed discussion of the 'four stages theory', see Ronald L. Meek, *Social Science and the ignoble savage* (Cambridge: CUP, 1976); for discussion of the ways the theory supported the ideology of Improvement in Scotland, see Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 20-26.

<sup>102</sup> Womack, *Improvement and Romance*, 22-23.

<sup>103</sup> Anne Grant, *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland: to which are added Translations from the Gaelic; and Letters Connected with those formerly published*, 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1811), I, 1-3.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, I, 4-5.

<sup>105</sup> Grant, *The Highlanders* (1810), 69.

<sup>106</sup> Grant, *Essays*, I, 53-57.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*, I, 10.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, I, 117.

- 109 Ibid, I, 9.
- 110 Ibid, II, 182-183.
- 111 Ibid, I, 12.
- 112 Ibid, I, 12.
- 113 Ibid, I, 14.
- 114 Ibid, II, 3-4.
- 115 Ibid, II, 42.
- 116 Ibid, I, 201-202.
- 117 Ibid, II, 37.
- 118 Ibid, II, 22.
- 119 Ibid, II, 31-32.
- 120 Ibid, II, 31-32, 34, 38.
- 121 *Edinburgh Review*, 18 (1811), 507.
- 122 I owe this description of Grant's position to Dorothy McMillan.

**NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX**

<sup>1</sup> Lee, 1894; Kirlew, 1905; Corkran, 1906; Davies and Ashton, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Rachel Mayer Brownstein, 'The Private Life: Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals' in *Modern Language Quarterly*, 34 (1973), 48.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Fadem, 'Dorothy Wordsworth: A View from "Tintern Abbey" ', *Wordsworth Circle*, 9:1 (1978), 17.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Polowitzky, *Prominent Sisters* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> In the remainder of this chapter, I will refer to Dorothy Wordsworth as 'Wordsworth', as 'Dorothy' or as 'Dorothy Wordsworth' and to her brother as 'William' or as 'William Wordsworth'.

<sup>6</sup> Catherine McDonald Maclean, *Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932); Ernest de Selincourt, *Dorothy Wordsworth: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933); Ernest de Selincourt, 'Preface' to *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth* (London: Macmillan, 1941); Robert Gittings and Jo Manton, *Dorothy Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). A similar emphasis is found in Mary Moorman's biographical essays.

<sup>7</sup> Beth Darlington, 'Reclaiming Dorothy Wordsworth's Legacy' in Kenneth R. Johnston and Gene W. Ruoff (eds.), *The Age of William Wordsworth: Critical Essays on the Romantic Tradition* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 162.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Hardwick, *Seduction and Betrayal: Women and Literature* (New York: Random House, 1974), 146.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 147.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 151.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 156.

<sup>12</sup> Margaret Homans, *Woman Writers and Poetic Identity: Dorothy Wordsworth, Emily Bronte, and Emily Dickinson* (New Brunswick: Princeton University Press, 1980), 41

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 56-57.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 67.

<sup>15</sup> Other critics who emphasise Dorothy Wordsworth's psychic dislocation include Judy Simons, James Holt McGavran, Donald Reiman and Anita Hemphill McCormick. Even Susan Levin, whose detailed and complex reading of Wordsworth's writings provides what is, to date, the most extensive and sympathetic investigation, still describes her writing as 'writing characterized by refusal', defining what she sees as Dorothy's ambivalence about life at Grasmere as 'the negative center from which the positive field of her journals radiate'. Susan Levin, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers State University Press, 1987), 4, 26.

<sup>16</sup> Darlington, 'Reclaiming Dorothy Wordsworth's Legacy', 166-167.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Meena Alexander, *Women in Romanticism* (London: Macmillan, 1989); the Beth Darlington article referred to in note 7 above; Alan Liu, 'On the Autobiographical Present: Dorothy Wordsworth's Grasmere Journals' in *Criticism*, 26:2 (1984), 115-137; Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993), particularly chapter 7; and Levin's book-length study of Dorothy Wordsworth's writings, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, mentioned above. The Levin book also contains an appendix which reproduces thirty poems written by Dorothy Wordsworth. Robert Con Davis ('The Structure of the Picturesque: Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals', *Wordsworth Circle*, 9 (1978), 45-49) and John R. Nabholz ('Dorothy Wordsworth and the Picturesque' in *Studies in Romanticism*, 3 (1963/64), 118-128) draw connections between Wordsworth's observations in her domestic journals and the picturesque.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), chapter 6, and Helen Boden's introduction to Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Continental Journals* (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> The recent edition published by Yale University Press in 1997 is, disappointingly, an annotated version of Shairp's 1874 edition.

<sup>20</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. by Earl Leslie Griggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956-1972), II, 974.

<sup>21</sup> Samuel Rogers, *Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers*, ed. by A. Dyce (1887),

208-209.

<sup>22</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth, 'Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland (A.D. 1803) in *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by E. de Selincourt, (London: Macmillan, 1941), I: 198. All references are to this edition unless otherwise stated, and the title will be abbreviated to *Recollections* in subsequent footnotes.

<sup>23</sup> Ernest de Selincourt, 'Preface', *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, (London: Macmillan, 1941), I:vii. de Selincourt does not give specific references for the quotations from Wordsworth. This first is, however, from a letter to Catherine Clarkson, dated 11 June 1805 in *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, rev. by Alan G. Hill, Mary Moorman, and Chester L. Shaver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967-1982), I, 598 (hereafter referred to as *Letters*); the second quotation is from a letter to Catherine Clarkson, dated 13 November 1803, *Letters*, I, 421.

<sup>24</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth, quoted in 'Introduction' to *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*, ed. by J.C. Shairp, introduction and notes by Carol Kyros Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 20.

<sup>25</sup> *Recollections*, 390.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, 331.

<sup>27</sup> Roy B. Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 9, 2; quoted in Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff, 'Issues in Studying Women's Diaries: A Theoretical and Critical Introduction' in Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff (eds.), *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 3.

<sup>28</sup> Harriett Blodgett, 'Preserving the Moment in the Diary of Margaret Fountaine' in Bunkers and Huff, *Inscribing the Daily*, 166. For further discussion of the distinction between autobiography and diary, see Margo Culley (ed.), *A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1985); Elizabeth Hampsten, *"Read This Only to Yourself": The Private Writings of Midwestern Women*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); and Rebecca Hogan, 'Engendered



Autobiographies: The Diary as a Feminine Form' in Shirley Neuman (ed.), *Autobiography and Questions of Gender* (London: Frank Cass, 1991), 95-107.

<sup>29</sup> I do not want, however, to claim a kind of 'truth' for diaries. Diaries are verbal constructs, and as Margo Culley has pointed out, 'the process of selection and arrangement of detail in the text raises an array of concerns appropriately "literary," including questions of audience (real or implied), narrative, shape and structure, persona, voice, imagistic and thematic repetition.' Culley, *A Day at a Time*, 10.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Ernest de Selincourt, *Dorothy Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 162-163; Carol Kyros Walker, 'Introduction' in Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland*, ed. by J.C. Shairp, introduction and notes by Carol Kyros Walker (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 15.

<sup>31</sup> The history of the composition of the *Recollections* and of the considerable differences between the five existing manuscripts is complex. It is discussed at length in de Selincourt's 'Preface' to *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, I, viii-xiv, and in the 'Appendix' to his 1933 *Life of Dorothy Wordsworth*, 404-415; along with a discussion of the varying choices of source texts made by Wordsworth's nineteenth and twentieth-century editors.

<sup>32</sup> In a previous letter, Rogers had recommended the retention of the copyright.

<sup>33</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth to Samuel Rogers, 3 January 1823, quoted in Ernest de Selincourt, *Dorothy Wordsworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 361.

<sup>34</sup> By 'published' I refer to printed publication. Harold Love categorises manuscript circulation as 'scribal publication', a mode of small-scale publishing engaged in frequently by both men and women throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and there were precedents for manuscript circulation and exchange within the Wordsworth circle. Margaret Ezell has pointed out that the nature of manuscript circulation is a social one, which acknowledges the communal and collaborative nature of the texts. Given Dorothy Wordsworth's collaborative work with both William and Coleridge, her participation in the process of manuscript circulation can be seen as a type of publishing and the *Recollections* were certainly always intended for an audience, although originally that audience was

envisaged as a limited one. It is interesting, however, that she did decide to prepare and revise the manuscript for outside publication. For further discussion of the function of scribal publication within a writing/reading community, see Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) and Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), particularly pages 50-57.

Unless I specifically state otherwise, I will continue to use the terms 'publication' and 'published' to refer to printed publication.

<sup>35</sup> Levin *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, 79.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid* 66

<sup>37</sup> 'Lady Beaumont of Coleorton Hall, Leicestershire: wife of Sir George Beaumont, 7th Bt., amateur painter, patron of the arts, and W.W.'s benefactor.' Alan G. Hill, 'Letters of Dorothy Wordsworth A Selection' (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985). The reference to sending the *R collections* to the bookbinder is from Dorothy Wordsworth's letter to Lady Beaumont of 20 April 1806 *Letters* II, 25.

<sup>38</sup> de Selincourt, 'Preface' in Dorothy Wordsworth, *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by E de Selincourt, (London: Macmillan, 1941), I, xiii.

<sup>39</sup> Jill Angelino, 'Writing Against, Writing Through: Subjectivity, Vocation and Authorship in the Work of Dorothy Wordsworth' in *[Im]positions*, 1 (1996), online edition, <http://www.gwu.edu/~position/index.html>

<sup>4</sup> *Letters*, II, 453-454

<sup>41</sup> In a letter to Catherine Clarkson, 12 November 1810, Dorothy Wordsworth writes: 'I wrote so far last night after W. and M. were gone to bed; for in the evening Wm. employed me to compose a description or two for the finishing of his work for Wilkinson.' *Letters*, II, 449. Duncan Wu writes: 'Owen and Smyser find the description of Wastwater to be in DW's hand ... Other passages are detectable as hers on stylistic ground but without textual evidence.' Duncan Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1800-1815* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 249.

<sup>42</sup> According to Wu, 'Bell's MS was virually rewritten by DW during Aug. 1812 ... Few of her

alterations were incorporated by Bell.' Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1800-1815*, 249.

<sup>43</sup> Angelino. 'Writing Against, Writing Through'.

<sup>44</sup> Nabholtz, John R., 'Dorothy Wordsworth and the Picturesque', 123.

<sup>45</sup> Wu, *Wordsworth's Reading 1800-1815*, x.

<sup>46</sup> A further discussion of travel books definitely and/or possibly read by Dorothy Wordsworth will be found in Appendix 4.

<sup>47</sup> At Blair, Wordsworth writes: 'Being come to the most northerly point of our destined course, we took out the map...' Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections*, 351.

<sup>48</sup> *Recollections*, 344.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, 344.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 311-312.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 321-322.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 338.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, 274.

<sup>54</sup> Levin, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, 76.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*, 77.

<sup>56</sup> *Recollections*, 247.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 214.

<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), 189.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Mary Wollstonecraft who assured her readers, 'Though I could not speak Danish, I knew I could see a great deal: yes, I am persuaded that I have formed a very just opinion of the character of the Norwegians, without being able to hold converse with them.' Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Short Residence in Sweden*, ed. by Richard Holmes (London: Penguin, 1987), 113.

<sup>60</sup> Levin, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, 80.

<sup>61</sup> Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*, 190.

<sup>62</sup> I would like to acknowledge the contribution which Alexis Easley's article, 'Wandering

Women: Dorothy Wordsworth's *Grasmere Journals* and the discourse on female vagrancy' in *Women's Writing*, 3:1 (1996), has made to my thinking on the ways in which Dorothy Wordsworth's descriptions of encounters with impoverished women intersected with early nineteenth-century issues of class and gender.

<sup>63</sup> *Recollections*, 318.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, 210.

<sup>65</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary lists both negative and neutral examples of usage.

<sup>66</sup> Neighbours and local acquaintances remembered her as 'ter'ble clever', 'having the wits' and as the one to whom William 'allays went ... when he was puzzelt' when interviewed in 1882. See H.D. Rawnsley, 'Reminiscences of Wordsworth among the Peasantry of Westmoreland', *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, 6 ([1882]), 159-194.

<sup>67</sup> Lucinda Cole and Richard G. Swartz, ' "Why Should I Wish for Words?" Literacy, Articulation, and the Borders of Literary Culture' in Mary A. Favret and Nicola J. Watson (eds.), *At the Limits of Romanticism: Essays in Cultural, Feminist, and Materialist Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 146.

<sup>68</sup> *Recollections*, 220-221.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, 211.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, 209.

<sup>71</sup> Robert Allen Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Literacy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 265; cited in Cole and Swartz, 'Why Should I Wish', 156.

<sup>72</sup> Cole and Swartz, 'Why Should I Wish', 156.

<sup>73</sup> *Recollections*, 280.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, 281.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 286.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 314.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 260.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, 263-264.

- <sup>79</sup> Sarah Murray, *A Companion, and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland* (London: Printed for the author and sold by George Nicol, 1799), 245.
- <sup>80</sup> Grant, *Letters from the Mountains*, I, 22.
- <sup>81</sup> *Recollections* 264.
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, 224.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, 252.
- <sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, 254
- <sup>85</sup> *Ibid* 372-373
- <sup>86</sup> Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*, 195.
- <sup>87</sup> Eric J Leed *The Mind of the Traveler: From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism* (New York: Basic 1991), 287, cited in John Glendening, *The High Road*, 126.
- <sup>8</sup> *Recollections* 271
- <sup>89</sup> *Ibid* 225
- <sup>90</sup> *Ibid*, 294
- <sup>91</sup> *Ibid*, 255
- <sup>92</sup> Glendening, *The High Road*, 128
- <sup>93</sup> Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993), 166.
- <sup>94</sup> Levin, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, 36-37.
- <sup>95</sup> Sheila Huftel 'Reflections on a Tour Made in Scotland: August 1803', *Contemporary Review*, 249.1447 (1986), 89-93.
- <sup>96</sup> *Recollections*, 388.
- <sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, 336
- <sup>98</sup> *Ibid* 279-285
- <sup>99</sup> William Wordsworth, 'Sweet Highland Girl, a very shower' in *Recollections*, 283-285.
- <sup>100</sup> Ernest de Selincourt, 'Preface', *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by E. de Selincourt, (London. Macmillan, 1941), I:xviii.
- <sup>101</sup> Jiro Nagasawa, 'Preface' in Dorothy Wordsworth, *Journal of My Second Tour in Scotland, 1822*, ed. by Jiro Nagasawa (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1989), 8. Quotation is taken from

an anonymous English translation of the original Japanese preface included in the British Library copy of the *Second Tour*.

<sup>102</sup> Dorothy Wordsworth, *Journal of My Second Tour in Scotland, 1822*, ed. by Jiro Nagasawa (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1989). This is the edition which will be cited in the notes to this dissertation, unless otherwise stated. The title will be abbreviated to *Second Tour*. The Nagasawa edition is comprised of three copy manuscript texts, together with possible variant readings. I have based my discussion on Manuscript 99, the final 'semi-fair' copy of the other two manuscripts and the source text used by Ernest de Selincourt for his 1941 edition of the *Second Tour* in de Selincourt (ed.), *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, (London: Macmillan, 1941). The de Selincourt edition has a considerable number of omissions — described by de Selincourt as 'unimportant' but calculated by Nagasawa to comprise 21 per cent of the original manuscript.

<sup>103</sup> Jiro Nagasawa, English translation of 'Preface' in *Second Tour*, 5.

<sup>104</sup> *Second Tour*, 76.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, 77.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, 81.

<sup>107</sup> Helen Boden, 'Introduction' in Dorothy Wordsworth, *The Continental Journals*, ed. by Helen Boden (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1995), xxviii.

<sup>108</sup> *Second Tour*, 83.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, 85.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 160-161.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 163.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid*, 164-165.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, 100.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid*, 101.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, 98.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

<sup>117</sup> Levin, *Dorothy Wordsworth and Romanticism*, 86-87.

<sup>118</sup> *Second Tour*, 147.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

- <sup>1</sup> In this chapter, Sarah Hazlitt will be described as 'Hazlitt', 'Sarah' or 'Sarah Hazlitt'; William Hazlitt will be referred to as 'William' or as 'William Hazlitt'.
- <sup>2</sup> A map of her Scottish tours follows this page.
- <sup>3</sup> The first complete publication of Sarah Hazlitt's journal was in the appendix to a privately printed edition of William Hazlitt's *Liber Amoris*, edited by Richard le Gallienne (1894), although her grandson had quoted from it in *Memoirs of William Hazlitt with Portions of his Correspondence* (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), and le Gallienne had himself included extracts in an 1893 edition of *Liber Amoris*.
- <sup>4</sup> Lynn Z. Bloom, "'I Write for Myself and Strangers': Private Diaries as Public Documents" in Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff (eds.), *Inscribing the Daily: Critical Essays on Women's Diaries* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 23-37.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 25-27.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 28.
- <sup>7</sup> A friend of William's who acted as go-between during the proceedings.
- <sup>8</sup> Mrs. [Anne] Gilchrist, *Mary Lamb* (London: W.H.Allen, 1883), 217.
- <sup>9</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal of my Trip to Scotland*, 22 April 1822, in *The Journals of Sarah and William Hazlitt, 1822-1831*, ed. by William Hallam Bonner, *The University of Buffalo Studies*, 24:3 (February 1959), 186. All further references are to this edition of the *Journal*. Punctuation and capitalisation has been left as in the original.
- <sup>10</sup> Katherine Anthony, *The Lambs: A Study of Pre-Victorian England* (London: Hammond, Hammond & Co., 1948), 137-138.
- <sup>11</sup> William Hazlitt, *Liber Amoris* in P.P.Howe (ed.), *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt* (London: J.M.Dent, 1932), IX, 120-121. All references to *Liber Amoris* are to this edition unless otherwise stated.
- <sup>12</sup> Bryan Waller Proctor, *An Autobiographical Fragment* (London: George Bell, 1877), 180.
- <sup>13</sup> A copy of the relevant extract will be found in Appendix 5.



- <sup>14</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 17 July 1822, 248.
- <sup>15</sup> See Appendix 5.
- <sup>16</sup> See Roderick Phillips, *Untying the Knot: A Short History of Divorce* (Cambridge: CUP, 1991); Lawrence Stone, *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce in England 1660-1857* (Oxford: OUP, 1993) and Lawrence Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530-1987* for further information on this subject.
- <sup>17</sup> William Carew Hazlitt, *Memoirs of William Hazlitt with Portions of his Correspondence*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1867), I, 214.
- <sup>18</sup> Augustine Birrell, *William Hazlitt* (London: Macmillan, 1902), 109.
- <sup>19</sup> Hesketh Hesketh, *The Fool of Love* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1934), 95.
- <sup>20</sup> Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, quoted in William Hallam Bonner, 'Sarah Hazlitt as She Has Been Pictured', *The Journals of Sarah and William Hazlitt 1822-1831*, *University of Buffalo Studies*, 24:3 (February, 1959), 174.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.
- <sup>22</sup> Stanley Jones, *Hazlitt: A Life -- From Winterslow to Frith Street* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 96.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.
- <sup>24</sup> Bonner, 'Sarah Hazlitt as She Has Been Pictured', 175.
- <sup>25</sup> Personal Narratives Group (eds.), *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 23. See also Pauline Polkey, 'Collaboration and co-operation: a contextured-political reading of Edith Simcox's *Autobiography of a Shirtmaker*' in John Lucas (ed.), *Writing and Radicalism* (London: Longman, 1996).
- <sup>26</sup> Mary Lamb is referred to as 'Lamb' or 'Mary Lamb'; Charles Lamb as 'Charles' or 'Charles Lamb'.
- <sup>27</sup> Charles Lamb, *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, ed. by Edwin W. Marris, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), II, 200.
- <sup>28</sup> Anthony, *The Lambs*, 84, 135.

<sup>29</sup> See Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993), particularly Chapter 6; Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: national identity and language in the eighteenth century* (London: Routledge, 1996); Carol Shiner Wilson, 'Lost Needles, Tangled Threads: Stitchery, Domesticity, and the Artistic Enterprise in Barbault, Edgeworth, Taylor and Lamb' in Carol Shiner Wilson and Joel Haefner (eds.), *Re-Visioning Romanticism: British Women Writers 1776-1837* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 166-190; and Lucy Frost, 'Untrodden Dresses, Loose Trowsers, and Trailing Skirts: walking through colonial space' in *Women's Writing*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1998), 201-212 for discussion of the boundaries between 'masculinity' and 'femininity' at this time.

<sup>30</sup> Mary Lamb, *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb*, II, 184.

<sup>31</sup> Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> Jones, *Hazlitt: A Life*.

<sup>33</sup> William Hallam Bonner, 'The Nature of the *Journal*', *The Journals of Sarah and William Hazlitt 1822-1831* (1959), 172.

<sup>34</sup> Sarah Murray, *A Companion and Useful Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, &c.* (London: George Nicol, 1799).

<sup>35</sup> 'Among the books from the Advocates' Library now part of the National Library, Edinburgh, there is ... a copy of the first edition (1703) of Martin's work with the following inscription in Boswell's hand-writing: "This very book accompanied Mr. Samuel Johnson and me in our tour to the Hebrides." ' Donald J. Macleod, 'Editorial Note' to Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695* and Sir Donald Monro, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland Called Hybrides* (1549) (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1994), 9.

<sup>36</sup> John Glendening, *The High Road: Romantic Tourism, Scotland, and Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 250-51, n. 2.

<sup>37</sup> Itineraries, road books and surveys for the use of seamen had, of course, been available for a much longer period, as had individual travellers' accounts of their trips. I refer here specifically to guidebooks aimed at guiding the tourist in his or her own travels. City guides

to Edinburgh first became available during the 1780s. See Appendix 6.

<sup>38</sup> J. Stark, *The Picture of Edinburgh, containing a Description of the City and its Environs, with particular account of every remarkable object, and public establishment, in the Scottish Metropolis* (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1806; 2nd edition, 1819; 3rd edition, 1820; 4th edition, 1823; 5th edition, John Fairbairn, 1825)

<sup>39</sup> This can be proven by comparison of sections of the *Journal* with Stark. See Appendix 7.

<sup>40</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 1 June 1822, 216.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 10 June 1822, 222.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>43</sup> Sonia Hofkosh, 'Sexual Politics and Literary History: William Hazlitt's Keswick Escape and Sarah Hazlitt's *Journal*' in Mary A. Favret and Nicola J. Watson (eds.), *At the Limits of Romanticism: Essays in Cultural, Feminist, and Materialist Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 134, 140, n. 11.

<sup>44</sup> Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (London: Routledge, 1993), 157. See also Felicity A. Nussbaum, 'Eighteenth-Century Women's Autobiographical Commonplaces' in Shari Benstock (ed.), *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings* (London: Routledge, 1988), particularly pages 159-164; and Meena Alexander, *Women in Romanticism* (London: Macmillan, 1964).

<sup>45</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 14 May 1822, 201.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 29 May 1822, 214.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>49</sup> 112 miles from the 31 May to the 4th June, for example. Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 4 June 1822, 221.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 20 May 1822, 208.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 1 June 1822, 215.

<sup>52</sup> Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976); quoted in Alexis Easley, 'Wandering Women: Dorothy Wordsworth's *Grasmere Journals* and the discourse on female

vagrancy' in *Women's Writing*, 3:1 (1996), 74.

<sup>53</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 29 June 1822, 237.

<sup>54</sup> Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 29-30.

<sup>55</sup> Wallace (1993); Jarvis (1997).

<sup>56</sup> Jarvis (1997), 176.

<sup>57</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 2 June 1822, 216-217.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, 20 June 1822, 232.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*, 1 June 1822, 215. Punctuation as in the original.

<sup>60</sup> Money or coins.

<sup>61</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 1 June 1822, 215.

<sup>62</sup> Owen, a British industrialist and philanthropist, was the co-owner of successful cotton mills at Lanark. He instituted a system of co-ownership, improved conditions and wages for workers, reformed child labour, and provided housing and education for those who worked in his factories. William Hazlitt disliked Owen and attacked him in the *Table Talk* essay, 'Of People With One Idea'.

<sup>63</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 19 May 1822, 207.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid*, 19 June 1822, 230.

<sup>65</sup> James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to "Culture"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 24, 28.

<sup>66</sup> I am indebted to Graham Dann's article, 'Writing Out the Tourist in Space and Time' in *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26:1 (1999), 159-187, for this phrase.

<sup>67</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 18 June 1822, 229.

<sup>68</sup> William Hazlitt, *Liber Amoris*, 138.

<sup>69</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 18 July 1822, 251.

<sup>70</sup> Hofkosh (1994), 136.

<sup>71</sup> Sarah Hazlitt, *Journal*, 18 July 1822, 252.

<sup>72</sup> Sonia Hofkosh, *Sexual Politics and the Romantic Author* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998), 109.

**NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT**

<sup>1</sup> John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 3.

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