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No land too remote : women travellers in the Georgian Age, 1750-1830.

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NO LAND TOO REMOTE:
WOMEN TRAVELLERS IN THE GEORGIAN AGE, 1750-1830

A Dissertation Presented

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to both my mother, Mabel Mennear Behenna, and my father, John Richards Behenna, as a tribute to their firm belief in the value of education in general, and to their constant encouragement and support of mine in particular.

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ABSTRACT

No Land Too Remote:
Women Travellers in the Georgian Age, 1750-1830
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This dissertation examines the activities of forty-five women travellers during the period 1750-1830. In this study, emphasis has been placed on some of the less well-known female travellers. These women came from a variety of economic and educational backgrounds.

Using the letters, journals and diaries of the women themselves it has been shown that, contrary to common belief, women travelled extensively during the Georgian era. They not only followed the path of the familiar Continental Grand Tour, but also, many of them embarked upon an Eastern version of the Grand Tour, which included areas of the Levant and the Near East. A few of these enterprising women went even further, to South America, Western Australia,

Burma and the South Pacific.

From the journals of these female itinerants, one sees that they were equipped mentally and physically to deal with the vicissitudes of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travel. Their eager interest in the cultural life and artistic treasures of civilizations both east and west, reflects the attempts made by women travellers to substitute a first-hand educational experience for the formal training many of them lacked. Their writings further reveal that they considered carefully their position in their home society in light of the different attitudes towards women they encountered in other lands. Finally, the works of Georgian women travellers stand as evidence that, largely through their own skill and initiative, they successfully entered two areas--overseas travel and book publishing--formerly dominated by men.

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Note on Sources

It is my intention in this study to emphasize the travel journals of lesser-known women travellers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The journals of more familiar figures, such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Mrs. Hester Thrale Piozzi, have already been fully examined over a long period of time. The relegation of these notable women to the footnotes is in no way intended to diminish their stature or slight their accomplishment, but rather to bring into focus less familiar women whose journals were frequently just as impressive. I have selected from the available source material a representative sample of women's journals (mostly British) in order to illustrate my contention that "middle" as well as "upper" class women travelled abroad in the period 1750-1830.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Women as Travellers

In her book, Literary Women, Professor Ellen Moers considers the development in literature of what she defines as "Traveling Heroinism", or "Gothic for Heroines." In this context the central figure is Ann Radcliffe, author of, among other novels, The Mysteries of Udolpho. Moers claims that Mrs. Radcliffe is concerned in her novels with the "travelling woman", defined as "the woman who moves, who acts, who copes with vicissitude and adventure."[1] Through the medium of the novel, Mrs. Radcliffe could allow her heroines to experience "all the adventures and alarms that masculine heroes had long experienced, far from home, in fiction."[2]

However, Ann Radcliffe's stories are entirely imaginary: she wrote Udolpho apparently before she left for her European tour, and the Italy that appears in her books came from "travel books by men who had made the grand tour which was closed to her by reason of her sex and social class."[3] Further, while Moers admits that "Women were. . .beginning to be travelers in the eighteenth century" she also quotes from Abigail Adams' letters on the inability of women to travel:

"'Women you know Sir,' wrote Abigail Adams, '. . .inherit an Eaquel Share of curiosity with the other Sex,'"

> yet but few are hardy eno' to venture abroad, and explore the amaizing variety of distant Lands. The Natural tenderness and Delicacy of our Constitutions, added to the many Dangers we are subject too from your Sex, renders it almost impossible for a Single Lady to travel without injury to her character. And those who have a protector in an Husband, have generally speaking obstacles sufficient to prevent their Roving. . . . To your Sex we are most of us indebted for all the knowledge we acquire of Distant lands.[4]

Moers concludes therefore that "It was only indoors, in Mrs. Radcliffe's day, that the heroine of a novel could travel brave and free, and stay respectable."[5] Moreover, she argues, in novel writing, "outdoor travel" (highly imaginative, as in Emily's fantastic travels in Udolpho) takes second place to "indoor travel." In the latter, adventures occurred in and around a Gothic castle, and because they did not necessitate venturing abroad society considered them more possible for women.[6]

Professor Moers does, however, admit that some British women did set sail for Canada, India and Africa.[7] But she considers that with their "bonnets, veils, and gloves, their teacup and tea cozies" they were "ill-equipped for the vicissitudes of travel, climate, and native mutiny, but well-equipped to preserve their identity as proper Englishwomen."[8]

Such conclusions from a woman writing as recently as 1977 show how little scholars appreciate the actual travel women

undertook in the eighteenth century. Surviving journals, diaries, and letters show that women travelled everywhere, and displayed independence, initiative and judgement in their journeys. While women did not (and could not) travel alone while abroad many more women than Mrs. Adams imagined in 1771 were "hardy eno'" to undertake journeys overseas, albeit in a group and usually with a male companion. Most of them shared an insatiable curiosity; commendable determination and persistence when faced with difficult circumstances; a realization of the educational and instructional possibilities of foreign travel; as well as a desire to record and share their thoughts and attitudes on travel with their friends, relations and the general public. This study seeks to show, then, that many travelling women of the period 1750-1830 could match Moers' make-believe woman, and cope "with vicissitude and adventure" not only in fiction, but in life.[9] Undoubtedly climate and war often caused havoc, but women nonetheless proved themselves quite capable of dealing assertively with problems endemic to all eighteenth-century travellers. The unfamiliar place or incident may have caused temporary alarm; it did not inhibit further travel or induce the travelling woman to abandon her journey.

Like their male aristocratic counterparts on the Grand Tour, these women "travelled with a purpose, never purely for pleasure."[10] True, they may not have all "studied lan-

guages, political constitutions" or collected for their homes and gardens as did some of the men, but they treated their visits abroad as more than joy-rides.[11]

In Europe they availed themselves of every opportunity to appreciate and record the architectural ruins, sculpture and paintings of antiquity, the magnificent art collections of the Renaissance and other periods, and attended enthusiastically the French and Italian opera and theatre. Similarly, those women who ventured into areas of the Near East and the Levant also paid attention to the ruins of ancient civilizations in such places as Cairo, Baghdad, Nineveh and Constantinople. Indeed, their tours deserve to fall under the rubric of the "Eastern Grand Tour."[12]

Women and Their Travel Literature

In her work, Woman as Force in History, Mary Beard observed:

> Perhaps the most astounding statement about women ever made by a thoughtful scholar was that of Henry Adams who declared that only Mme. de Sévigné and Abigail Adams had ever revealed themselves in their letters.[13]

Beard goes on to point out the injustice of such an observation, considering the "number and value" of women writers of all periods. Indeed, the journals of women travellers alone testify to the shallowness of Henry Adams' pronouncement. Women described, often in overwhelming detail, their in-

volvement in the preparatory stages of their journey, their adoption of foreign modes of transport, their seeking out suitable lodgings, and their experiments with unfamiliar foods. Their writings reveal a lively interest and an acute awareness of both the mundane and dangerous aspects of travel. While en route, these women wrote down their observations in journals, diaries, and letters, which form the basis of this study. Though of widely varying literary quality--few journals, for example, contained the profuse detail found in those of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu--the writings nevertheless reveal much that is significant about eighteenth-century women travellers in general. Beneath their painstaking descriptions lies proof of their obvious delight in historical monuments and their desire for accurate information about them.

They tended, however, not to discuss the political and economic history of the countries they visited, perhaps for the reason Maria Graham gave in the preface to her Journal of a Residence in India. She found it "remarkable that there was no work in our language containing. . .a popular and comprehensive view of India's scenery and monuments, and of the manners and habits of its natives and resident colonists. . . ."[14] Instead, she noted that the "majority of modern books on India are concerned with mainly political and military history."[15] Consequently, she believed there was room for a more popular book on India, which "should

bring before its readers much of what strikes the eye and the mind of an observant stranger,--and addressing itself rather to the general reader than to those who are professionally connected with the regions it describes. . . ."[16] The merit of her book, she concluded, would consist in the "fidelity and liveliness of a transcript from new impressions"; to this end, she would "make notes and journals. . . of whatever appeared. . .worthy of remark, either as curious in itself, or as differing from the customs, manners and habits of Europe. . . ."[17] Other women travellers, although not always so explicit, attempted similar plans, with varying degrees of success.[18]

Establishing a Precedent

Some observers of the increasing contributions of women to literature have argued that the middle-class woman writer emerged in the latter part of the eighteenth century. As Virginia Woolf noted, it was not merely the "lonely aristocrat shut up in her country house among her folios and her flatterers" who began to write.[19] For Woolf these early writers were important because their efforts provided the foundation upon which other more famous writers could build.[20] Woolf's observation applies to women travel writers as well as novelists. Perhaps one of the reasons which induced later nineteenth-century women to write about and publish their adventures was that the tradition of recording

their journeys had already been established.[21] No longer need women remain, as had Abigail Adams, indebted to men for "knowledge. . .of Distant Lands."

The Travellers: Some Selected Backgrounds

Women visitors to the Continent and beyond did not generally travel under the same circumstances as the average male Grand Tourist: Some, like Mary Holderness appear reticent about their reasons for visiting a place like the Crimea. As the writer in the British Critic declared, Mrs. Holderness "resided four years in the Crimea, in what capacity does not appear. . . ."[22] Others like Jane Rye and Margaret Calderwood travelled abroad for family reasons: Jane Rye was a member of the party which accompanied her niece's governess to Switzerland; Margaret Calderwood and her family went to assist her brother Sir James Steuart, who was living in exile at Brussels after having been implicated in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745.

Several women used travel as means of escape from something unpleasant. Lady Phillipina Knight, for example, went to Italy because in the 1770's a much-needed pension had not been granted and she found that she could live more cheaply there and educate her daughter, Cornelia, at the same time.[23] Although the details of Lady Knight's education are not known at present, she evidently realized its importance for she took considerable pains to see that Cornelia received in-

struction and developed her talents.[24] Accordingly Miss Knight attended a school kept by a Swiss pastor, learned continental languages and literature, became a competent Latin scholar, and eventually published several books. In Italy, Cornelia practised her sketching and drawing at which she apparently showed talent, and her mother collected several hundred of her compositions, based on the numerous statues and sculptures which filled that country.

An unhappy marriage could also propel women into foreign travel. After separating from her husband in 1783, Lady Elizabeth Craven set out on an extended tour which included France, Italy and the Crimea, perhaps as a panacea for her broken marriage.[25] Similarly, Lady Holland, having been disastrously married at the age of sixteen to Sir Godfrey Webster, a man many years her senior, eventually found solace overseas. After the birth of their first son, she coerced her husband into taking her abroad as a means of escape from the confinement and restrictions of rural Sussex. Finally, in 1791, she travelled to Europe, and it was in Florence in 1794 that she met her second husband, Henry, third Lord Holland.[26] Lady Holland also used her overseas travel as a means of self-improvement. As the editor of her Journals discovered, she was raised under "an entire absence of any system of education." He considered that "Everything she learnt was due to her own exertions." He found support for this belief in Lady Holland's own words: "Hap-

pily for me," she wrote, "I devoured books, and a desire for information became my ruling passion."[27] She eagerly attended lectures on geology and conversed with scholars and travellers whom she met while abroad. Later, as Lord Holland's wife, she became a recognized, if aggressive, leader of Whig society capable of attracting to her salon men like Macaulay, Sydney Smith and Charles Greville. Her extensive reading list compiled from her journals testifies both to her delight in learning and her fascination with foreign lands and cultures.[28]

Travel also played an important part in other women's lives, giving them a freedom of action which they otherwise might not have had. For example, when Mary Wollstonecraft was faced with Gilbert Imlay's departure, she allowed herself to be sent abroad to Scandinavia ostensibly as Imlay's business agent. Her published book of travels could promote a relationship as well as herald the end of one. Mary's next serious friend was William Godwin, who wrote of her travelogue that if there was a book "calculated to make a man in love with its author, this appears to me to be the book."[29] For Sophia Barnard, whose visit to Algiers was undertaken primarily as a duty to her husband, publishing her experiences was a welcome means of occupying herself after the untimely death of her son.[30] For Anna Maria Falconbridge, whose journey was also undertaken from a sense of duty, the printing of her journeys to Africa was the only way to ob-

tain public support in Bristol for her financial claims on the Sierra Leone Company.[31]

Perhaps travel had emboldened Eliza Fay for it was not until 1816 that she decided to publish her account of visits to India, although she had frequently been prevailed on by English friends to do so earlier.[32] She noted a change in public sentiment concerning women writers, explaining that

> we have now not only as in former days a number of women who do honour to their sex as literary characters, but many unpretending females, who fearless of the critical perils that once attended the voyage, venture to launch their little barks on the vast ocean through which amusement or instruction is conveyed to a reading public:. . . A female author is no longer regarded as an object of derision, nor is she wounded by unkind reproof from the <u>literary Lords of Creation</u>."[33]

Having by this time made several voyages to India, crossed the Egyptian desert, rejected an unfaithful, financially irresponsible husband, and engaged in several unsuccessful "commercial and other speculations", Eliza Fay could feel that she had something of interest to pass on to others.[34]

Despite Mrs. Fay's several misfortunes, she found time during her travels to accept any opportunities for self-improvement that came her way. As a sailor's daughter and apparently a dress-maker by profession, her early education was undoubtedly scanty. Her editor, E. M. Forster, states that she knew about as much as an intelligent lady's maid, wrote ungrammatically, and possessed inaccurate geographical

knowledge. Certainly as an ardent Protestant, she disliked Roman Catholicism, and at times misinterpreted foreign customs. For example, she believed that Moslems worshipped Mohammed, and that the Egyptian pyramids were Jewish mausoleums. On the other hand, we learn from her journal that she knew a smattering of French, Italian, and Hindi; she studied Portuguese; and she prodded her husband into teaching her shorthand.[35] Furthermore, as Forster discovered, her effects (auctioned off at Calcutta, where she died) included the works of Sir Walter Scott, Mrs. Barbauld, Hannah More, Lady Morgan, and introductions to chess, as well as two books respectively entitled Thoughts and Remarks on Establishing an Institution for the Support and Education of Unfortunate Respectable Females, and Thoughts and Remarks on a Protestant Nunnery. Perhaps she referred to these books when formulating plans for a girls' seminary which she hoped to start in Calcutta. These plans did not materialize and she returned to mantua-making and other commercial ventures. Despite all these drawbacks, however, she was always ready to educate herself during the course of her travels.[36]

After some initial misgivings, many women greatly welcomed and actively pursued overseas travel. They were more than willing to accompany their husbands abroad in what was frequently a cooperative venture. Abby Jane Morrell after five years of marriage decided to accompany her husband, Captain Benjamin Morrell on one of his frequent voyages to

the South Pacific. Despite her husband's initial protestations, she prevailed, and her journal recorded no acrimony for the duration of their trip. Ann Radcliffe and her husband divided the task of recording their European travel observations: she concentrated on the descriptive and practical aspects, while he contributed political and economic observations. Since Lady Anne Barnard had been instrumental in obtaining a post at the Cape of Good Hope for her husband, it is not surprising that she accompanied him there.[37] Ann Denman Flaxman, wife of the famous sculptor, spent several years touring Italy with her husband. She shared her husband's delight in art, architecture and antiquities, and, as her own journals make clear, regarded her Italian tour as an invaluable opportunity to improve her own knowledge.[38] In one of Mrs. Flaxman's commonplace books she reveals her extensive interest in both travel and art. Contained in her lengthy list of travel books are the well-known names of Savary, Norden, Denon, Winckelmann, Pococke, and Montfaucon. Then follow several pages of brief lecture notes on English, Egyptian and Grecian sculpture, as well as references to lectures on certain aspects of art, such as "beauty", "composition", and "drapery."[39]

Among the other women who accompanied their husbands overseas were the Duchess of Northumberland, Mary Mackintosh Rich, Maria Guthrie, and Anne Elwood. The irrepressible Elizabeth Percy, Duchess of Northumberland, frequently vis-

ited the Continent with her family, and combined her love of travelling with a delight in the arts. Perhaps the paintings and other memorabilia she collected on her foreign tours adorned one or more of her residencies--Alnwick Castle, and the houses of Syon and Northumberland.[40]

Mrs. Rich, stimulated no doubt by her husband's interest in Eastern antiquities, and perhaps by conversations with another inveterate traveller, Maria Graham, willingly accompanied her spouse to Baghdad, Kurdistan and Nineveh. An obviously intelligent and cultivated woman, as her own "Fragment" of a travel journal shows, she edited her husband's writings after his death from cholera at Shiraz in 1820, and enabled the British Museum to purchase his collections of nearly 900 volumes of Eastern manuscripts.[41] Another "team" were the Guthries, Maria and Matthew. It is true that Mrs. Guthrie toured the Crimea without her husband, but she kept in close touch with him by letter, carefully describing Southern Russia and the Crimea so that he could compare her comments with his own antiquarian studies. Apart from an ability to write which is clearly shown in her journals, Maria Guthrie was evidently a woman of some education for she was directress of the "Imperial Convent for the Education of the Female Nobility of Russia."[42] This "intelligent female Traveller", as her husband called her, presumably shared many of her husband's interests in Russian history and antiquities; she also knew French, possibly Latin and

Greek, and was familiar with ancient writers like Strabo, Herodotus and Pliny.[43] As a result of her position at St. Petersburg, Maria Guthrie may well have met such scholars, travellers and diplomats as William Coxe, Dr. Peter S. Pallas (the latter a friend of Matthew Guthrie's and a Councillor of State to the Czar) and British ambassador James Harris, whose sister, Katherine Harris Robinson, also toured Russia in the 1780's.

Colonel Elwood's military appointment in India did not prevent his wife, Anne Curteis Elwood, from describing minutely the various countries they visited. Her two volumes of travels to Europe, Egypt and India contain such enthusiasm and appreciation of foreign antiquities and cultures that one can well believe that for her, the trip was the realization of a life-long dream.

Finally, there were some Georgian women travellers who do not precisely fit into any pattern, and who yet are significant for the influence they may have had on others who wished to visit foreign countries. One woman who transferred continental ideas to the Devonshire town of Exmouth was Miss Jane Parminter. Having spent considerable time as a Grand Tourist, between c. 1773-1789, she returned home to build a house called A La Ronde. The latter was modelled on the sixth-century Basilica at San Vitale, Ravenna, with which Miss Parminter had been particularly impressed.[44] She decorated the interior along conventional eighteenth-century

lines, including among her decorations, sea-shells from Portugal, paper silhouettes, grottos, and a collection of engravings by the famous eighteenth-century Italian architect, Piranesi.[45]

Mariana Starke's fascination with travel may have begun during her childhood, much of which was spent in India where her father, Richard Starke, was governor of Fort St. George in Madras. Certainly her keen observations there provided her with material for two plays, one of which, the tragedy "The Widow of Malabar", was produced at Covent Garden in 1798. During the 1790's she spent many years in Italy and her interest in foreign countries eventually led her to publish the first of several guidebooks for those travelling on the Continent. Some editions were translated into French and German and formed useful precursors to the later travel guides of John Murray and Karl Baedeker.[46]

Finally, perhaps the woman traveller par excellence of the Georgian age was Maria Graham.[47] From 1808 until 1831, when she became an invalid, Maria travelled widely, having experienced life in India, Ceylon, Chile, Brazil, and Italy during those twenty-three years. Not only did Mrs. Graham publish several travel journals describing her various experiences, but she also composed other books on allied topics, hoping to educate the general public. Consequently, she wrote Letters on India in order to supplement material given in her earlier Journal of a Residence in India. She

intended the former book as a guide to India's history, mythology and religions, social customs, literature, and music, about which the average Britisher, she claimed, knew nothing.

Her approach to writing such books was scholarly and precise. Perhaps her intellectual curiosity had been stimulated by the kind of education she had enjoyed, and the society in which she moved. Under the strict management and encouragement of her governesses, the Misses Bright, Maria became a voracious reader and developed an abiding interest in botany that often formed an interesting motif in her travel journals.[48] In her "Reminiscences" she recalled that although she enjoyed French, English, and mathematics, her favourite subject was geography, perhaps an early indication of her future interest in foreign countries.[49] In addition to these accomplishments, Maria Graham accustomed herself to intellectual conversation. While her governesses had been acquainted with the Burneys, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Dr. Johnson, Maria herself soon shone in the "literary and scientific society" of London and Edinburgh.[50] In fact, so able a conversationalist did she become that one eminent Scottish professor dubbed her "Metaphysics in Muslin."[51] To Maria, however, her discussion had been "simple reasoning on moral points, such as the nature of truth", which she firmly believed was "just as important to women as to men; . . ."[52] Undoubtedly, such training among some of the best

Scottish minds of the time, greatly aided her in later life, when she conversed freely with many people, from Hindu and Moslem officials in India and Ceylon, to Director Don Bernardo O'Higgins of Chile and the Empress of Brazil.

Thus, it is clear that the period 1750-1830 yielded an abundance of formidable women travellers from varied backgrounds and with different talents.[53] Two characteristics, however, apart from their interest in overseas travel, bind these women together: a pervasive and restless curiosity, and a desire to record experiences each believed unique to herself.

Footnotes: Chapter I

[1]Ellen Moers, Literary Women (New York: Anchor Press/ Doubleday, 1977), p. 191.

[2]Ibid., p. 192.

[3]Ibid., p. 194.

[4]Ibid. The spelling here is Abigail's own.

[5]Ibid., p. 197.

[6]Ibid., pp. 193-197.

[7]Ibid., p. 211.

[8]Ibid. The paraphernalia women lugged with them was very little different from that carried by men, judging from the comments of J. H. Plumb, "The Grand Tour," in Men and Centuries (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), p. 58.

[9]For example, women travellers could and did travel across the Arabian desert and climb a pyramid (Anne Elwood), sail on four voyages to India (Eliza Fay), journey to the Russian Crimea (Maria Guthrie, Lady Craven, Mrs. Holderness), visit South Africa (Lady Anne Barnard), travel to and reside in Algiers (Elizabeth Broughton, Mrs. Blanckley and Sophia Barnard), live in Tripoli (Miss Tully), make a voyage round the world (Mary Ann Parker, Abby Jane Morrell), visit India, Chile, Brazil, and Italy (Maria Graham), sail to the West Indies (Janet Schaw, Lady Nugent), travel to Sierra Leone (Anna Maria Falconbridge) and tour various parts of Europe (Jane Rye, Lady Langhorn, Emma Nugent, Jane Parminter, Anne Carter, Ann Flaxman, Anne Elwood, Lady Shelley, the Duchess of Northumberland, Margaret Calderwood, Mrs. Bousquet and Lady Elizabeth Holland).

[10]J. H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1966), p. 28.

[11]Plumb, England, p. 28.

[12]Robin Fedden, in his monograph on English travellers in the Near East also suggests that "with the Earl of Sandwich's visit (1738-9) the Levant becomes an extension of the Grand Tour." See Robin Fedden, English Travellers in the Near East (London, New York & Toronto: Published for the British Council. . .by Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), p. 12.

Fedden does not use the phrase "Eastern Grand Tour."

[13]Mary Beard, Woman as Force in History (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1946), p. 345.

[14]Maria Graham, Journal of a Short Residence in India (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orne & Brown, 1812), p. iii. Hereafter, Graham, India.

[15]Graham, India, p. iv.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., pp. v, 1.

[18]See for example, the prefatory remarks to their travel journals of such women as Anna Maria Falconbridge, Anne Elwood, Mary Holderness, Miss Tully, and others.

[19]Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own (London: Harcourt, Brace, & World, 1929; reprint ed., New York & London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, a Harvest/HBJ Book, 1957), p. 68. Hereafter: Woolf, A Room. Moreover, it mattered that these women were beginning to write; Woolf argued that "if Pride and Prejudice matters, and Middlemarch and Villette. . .then it matters. . .that women generally. . .took to writing."

[20]Woolf, A Room, p. 68. She explained: "Without those forerunners, Jane Austen and the Brontes and George Eliot could no more have written than Shakespeare could have written without Marlowe, or Marlowe without Chaucer. . . ."

[21]Women like Mariana Starke, Maria Graham, Mary Holderness (her book on the Crimea was published with literary reviews prefacing the work), Anna Maria Falconbridge, Sophia Barnard, Lady Craven, the Duchess of Northumberland, Mary Rich, Anne Elwood, Abby Jane Morrell, and Jane Roberts all published within their life-times.

[22]Mary Holderness, New Russia: Journey from Riga to the Crimea. . . (London: Printed for Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1823; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), p. vii. This short review was one of several review extracts which prefaced Mrs. Holderness' text: all were favourably impressed with her work.

[23]After the death of her husband, Admiral Sir Joseph Knight, in 1775, his widow petitioned for a pension. Complications arose, and Lady Knight did not receive it.

[24]It is known, however, that Lady Knight possessed con-

siderable intelligence; and knew Sir Joshua Reynolds, Johnson and Sir William and Lady Hamilton. See D.N.B.

[25]After the death of her husband in 1791, Lady Craven wrote candidly of her second marriage to the Margrave of Ansbach, an action ill received in her family, particularly by her brother, Lord Berkeley. He criticized her for not waiting longer before remarrying, to which she replied:

> I had been eight years under all the disadvantages of widowhood, without the only consolation which a widow could desire at my time of life--which was that of bestowing my hand where I might forget, by the virtues of one man, the folly and neglect of another, to whom it had been my unfortunate lot to be sacrificed.

Quoted in Lewis Melville [pseud.], Regency Ladies 2nd. ed., (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926), p. 197. See also D.N.B.

[26]In 1797, Sir Godfrey Webster divorced her, and she married Lord Holland.

[27]See Elizabeth, Lady Holland, The Journals of Elizabeth, Lady Holland (1791-1811), 2 vols. ed., The Earl of Ilchester (London & New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908), I, p. 159. Hereafter: Holland, Journal.

[28]Her reading list included: Gibbon, Condorcet, Ockley, Le Brun, Tasso, Montaigne and Juvenal, as well as Voltaire's Memoirs, Fielding's Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones. Her list of travel books included: Mungo Park's Memoir, Cook's Third Voyage and Hearne's Travels into North America. Also she had read Ulloa's Voyage to South America, translated from the Spanish by John Adams, and Travels into Africa, by William George Browne. The latter travelled in Libya, Egypt and other parts of the Near East, dying in Persia in 1813. Lady Holland was so impressed with Indian Antiquities by Thomas Maurice (author of several works on India) that she obtained financial assistance for him. See Holland, Journal, passim.

[29]Quoted by Sylva Norman, in her introduction to Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark (London: n.p., 1796; reprint ed., London: Centaur Press, 1970), p. xiii.

[30]See Sophia Barnard, Travels in Algeirs (London: Groyder, c. 1820), p. v.

[31]See Anna Maria Falconbridge, Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone. . . 2nd ed. (London: Printed for L. I. Higham, 1802; reprint ed., London: Cass & Co., 1967), pp. iii-vii. She explained that

> being conscious of meriting the reproaches of my friends and relations, for having hastily married as I did contrary to their wishes,. . .[I] am determined rather than be an incumbrance on them to accompany my husband even to the wilds of Africa. . .

See Falconbridge, Sierra Leone, p. 9.

[32]See Eliza Fay, Original Letters from India (1779-1815), introd. E. M. Forster (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1925 [Orig. publ. 1817]), p. 30. Hereafter: Fay, Original Letters.

[33]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 30-31.

[34]Ibid., p. 31.

[35]Ibid., p. 112.

[36]See E. M. Forster, "Introductory Notes" in Fay, Original Letters, p. 12.

[37]Lady Anne Barnard had obtained the position for her husband from her intimate friend, Henry Dundas, British Secretary for War.

[38]John Flaxman regarded his wife with great affection, praised her abilities (she was a frugal housekeeper, as is shown in her journal), and often used her as his "dictionary." See D.N.B. for additional background.

[39]See B.M., Add. MSS. 39792-J, ff. ii-26. It is unclear whether Ann Flaxman took these lectures from books, or whether she attended a lecture series such as that given by her husband, after his appointment in 1810 to the newly created post of professor of sculpture at the Royal Academy, London. In any case, such notes attest to her genuine interest in painting and sculpture.

[40]Although the Duchess' learning was not profound, she enjoyed the company of literary men, paid homage to Dr. Johnson, corresponded with Boswell, and composed light verse. Perhaps her mother, Lady Hertford, communicated to her a love of learning, for she possessed a reputation for intelligence. A twentieth-century descendant, the Duke of Northumberland, wrote that Elizabeth's mother incurred the

wrath of her father-in-law (the old Duke of Somerset) "apparently merely because she had greater pretensions to learning than most ladies of her day, and was therefore regarded by him as a prig and a bluestocking." See Duke of Northumberland's Foreward, in Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland, The Diaries of a Duchess. . . ed. James Greig (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926), pp. iii-xii.

[41]For details of C. J. Rich's life and collections, see D.N.B.

[42]Maria Guthrie's title is given on the title-page of her Journal, A Tour. . .through the Taurida, or Crimea. ed. Matthew Guthrie (London: T. Cadell Jun., 1802). Hereafter: Guthrie, Tour. Dr. Matthew Guthrie, F.R.S., F.S.A., (London and Edinburgh) was a member of the Philosophical Society of Manchester, England, and held the posts of physician to the First and Second Imperial Corps of Noble Cadets at St. Petersburg, and Councillor of State to His Imperial Majesty, Alexander I (1802-1825). These were his positions in the year 1802 when Mrs. Guthrie's journal was published: Maria had actually performed the Tour in 1795-1796, but had died before it was ready for publication.

[43]Guthrie, Tour, p. ix. Other women travellers accompanied diplomatic or military husbands or relations upon their various tours of duty abroad. These included Elizabeth Simcoe (to Canada), Baroness von Riedesel (to North America), Elizabeth Blanckley Broughton (to Algiers), and Miss Tully (to Tripoli). Elizabeth Broughton was a child during her father's six years' residence as British Consul General at Algiers, and explained that her own additions to her mother's diary resulted from her youthful training. She wrote: "As the multitude of my parent's faithful counsellors in that distant land was not very numerous, I was necessarily much confided in, and not only allowed, but desired to be often present at conferences held on subjects of a grave nature. This was not only very flattering. . .but had the effect of making me very circumspect in my deportment." See Elizabeth Broughton, Six Years Residence in Algiers (London: Saunders & Otley, 1839), p. 3. Miss Tully was either the sister or sister-in-law to Richard Tully; British Consul to Tripoli, 1772-1793. The original version of her Travels was edited by someone unknown. From their content she was obviously well-read, and able to express herself clearly and concisely. The editor to the 1957 edition, Seton Dearden, claims that her journal is important because it is "almost the only consecutive picture of the inner life of the Regencies" extant. See Seton Dearden, ed. Letters written during a Ten Years Residence at. . .Tripoli (London: n.p., 1816; reprint ed., London: Arthur Barker, 1957), p. 5.

[44]See Rev. O. Reichel, ed. "Extracts from a Devonshire Lady's Notes of Travel in France in 1784," in Devonshire Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, (Plymouth, 1902), XXXIV, pp. 265-266.

[45]"Decorators'" is plural because Miss Parminter was helped in her task by her cousin, Mary. See Eric Delderfield's article, "Amateur Decorators' Tour de Force", Western Morning News, February 27, 1977.

[46]For a short biography of Mariana Starke, see D.N.B.

[47]Since "Maria Graham" was the name under which most of her travel journals were written, I have used it throughout for convenience. Maria Dundas married Captain Thomas Graham in 1809, and after his death in 1822, she married the artist, Augustus Wall Callcott in 1827, later becoming "Lady Callcott" when her husband was knighted in 1837.

[48]Maria Graham, in her "Reminiscences", recalled the books she read as a child at school in Abingdon. These included Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, the "Adventures of Dido and Aeneas" in Dryden's Vergil, Pope's Homer, Shakespeare. Among the travel books which delighted her were "Chappe d'Auteroche's travels in Siberia and Bernice's account of his journey into Circassia along the Aurenzebe." See Maria Graham, "Reminiscences" in Rosamund B. Gotch, Maria, Lady Calcott: The creator of "Little Arthur" (London: John Murray, 1937), p. 59. Gotch explains that these "Reminiscences" were taken down by the Hon. Caroline Fox (sister of Lord Holland) between 1836-1842. Maria Graham, then an invalid, dictated her recollections from her sick-bed.

[49]Graham, "Reminiscences," p. 34.

[50]Ibid., p. 74. These included Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), Professor of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh; John Playfair (1748-1819), Professor of Mathematics, and later of Natural Philosophy; Thomas Brown (1778-1820), Moral Philosopher and colleague of Dugald Stewart. See Gotch, Maria, pp. 74-75, footnotes.

[51]Graham, "Reminiscences", p. 75.

[52]Ibid.

[53]For a list of women travellers, and dates of their overseas journeys, see Appendix A.

CHAPTER II

TRAVEL PREPARATIONS

Though not all the women in this study wrote at length about their travel preparations, those who did revealed a distinct ability to deal with the many problems attached to eighteenth-century journeys. In many cases, difficulties regarding passports, or money exchange, or customs inspection were dealt with by the male companion of the party (either husband, friend or guide); even so, women shared in these experiences and communicated some of their own interest and annoyance to their journals. Some women travellers, however, took planning matters into their own hands. These women showed that they possessed organizational skills and the ability to arrange their affairs. By the turn of the century, at least two women, Mariana Starke and Anne Ellwood, eager to persuade others to follow them in venturing abroad, enthusiastically provided practical advice on numerous aspects of overseas travel.

Luggage

It is difficult to give a clear picture of what the average woman traveller carried with her on trips abroad. Few women gave any detailed account of the preparations prior to travelling, perhaps because they assumed such

knowledge commonplace, or believed that one's personal luggage depended largely upon the whims of the individual traveller. However, at least two women travellers of the early nineteenth century wished to make future adventurers' lives easier by publishing travel instructions.

One of these writers, Anne Elwood, by 1830 had fulfilled a life-long dream to visit Egypt and India. Accompanying her husband upon this expedition, she decided to keep a journal not only for the amusement of her sister Emily, but also for the edification of a wider public. Not surprisingly she appended to the main body of the journal several pages of "Hints for Travellers." Although only a partial list, it provides useful insights into necessary items of travel and possibly reflects the kind of luggage other adventurers carried with them.

Anne Elwood herself learned from Mrs. Starke, another woman traveller who provided advice for the uninitiated. While exhorting future travellers to study the works of such writers as Niebuhr, Bruce, and Volney, Mrs. Elwood eagerly recommended the "admirable work" of Marianna Starke, whose guidebook contained "every absolutely requisite information for Europe."[1] From all these valuable sources, Anne advised the traveller to make "compendious notes" before his departure.[2] Perhaps from a judicious blend of Elwood's "Hints for Travellers", Mrs. Starke's guidebook, and comments from other women travellers, we can compose a list of the most crucial

pieces of luggage women took to Europe and beyond.

Since neither of the two 'guides', nor any of the women travellers studied so far described their complete wardrobe, we must assume that their outfits resulted from the advice of husbands and friends and their own common sense. From her own experience, Mrs. Starke recommended taking "fur travelling caps, warm pelisses. . .and great coats" while travelling through Europe.[3] To withstand the chill of European brick and marble floors, she suggested "double-soled shoes and boots, and elastic soles", while clogs (called appropriately enough, "paraboues") were also necessary.[4] Items such as these were also useful for other travels, too. On her voyage to Canada, in the Triton, Mrs. Simcoe recalled that the weather was so cold and the ship so leaky that she protected her feet with clogs and wrapped a "fleecy hosiery Great Coat" around her body while on deck.[5] Perhaps she also had with her the "shawl & Furr capp and tippet" which she later found sufficient to brave the cold in Quebec, as well as the "cloth shoes or coarse worsted stockings over shoes" which enabled her to walk safely across ice-packed Canadian streets.[6]

Judging from the price lists of Italian washerwomen supplied by Marianna Starke, a woman traveller ventured abroad well supplied with such items as a shift, corset, sleeping white dresses, petticoats, cotton and silk stockings, drawers, hankies and kitchen aprons.[7] And in case they

should find themselves low on necessities, Mrs. Starke included information regarding commodities which could easily be purchased abroad: linen and well-made boots in Florence, women's silk and leather shoes in Paris, where English books, newspapers, and medicines could also be obtained.[8]

Similarly revealing in terms of planning and organization were the numerous items regarded as 'travel require ments' by Starke and Elwood. The former provided her readers with an exhaustive list of necessities. For nightly comfort, she recommended carrying leather sheets (made of sheepskin), calico sheets and pillow cases, together with pillows and blankets. Judging from the number of complaints about lodgings or travels through Europe, perhaps future women travellers were grateful for such suggestions. To ward off bugs, Starke advocated taking a mosquito net "made of strong gauze, or very thin muslin. . .", and to obstruct intruders, she recommended a "travelling chamber-lock."[9] She also advised the traveller to fix "Bramah-locks" to her coach seats and her writing case, which she should fill with adequate supplies of "pen-knives--Walkden's ink-powder--pens."[10] Dining would be made easier if the traveller carried with her "a pocket-knife to eat with--table-knives--a carving knife and fork--a silver tea-pot--or a block-tin tea-kettle, tea-pot, tea, and sugar-cannister, the three last so made as to fit into the kettle. . . ."[11] Anne Elwood advised travellers to carry with them "a portable set of cooking utensils, in

the smallest possible compass."[12] Thinking ahead to the journey beyond Europe, she further suggested that prospective travellers should carry with them a "light canteen" in which all the articles (except forks and spoons) were forged from "Britannia metal" rather than silver, since the latter, if stolen, was irreplaceable in Egypt.[13]

These two women neglected neither safety nor health. Mrs. Starke recommended stocking up with a tinder box, matches and a small lantern, and both women suggested that pistols would be useful.[14] An indispensable item for the traveller was a thermometer and a medicine chest, perhaps not supplied with the conglomeration of potions listed by Mrs. Starke, but surely including the aromatic vinegar, sal volatile and camphor recommended by Anne Elwood, who wished to prevent infection from the plague.[15]

Anne Elwood touched on other kinds of luggage in her comprehensive list: first, articles which of necessity had to be purchased in Europe prior to departure for the Near East, and second, items which were of particular importance to the women of the travelling party. For example, along with an informative atlas, a pocket compass, telescope and case of mathematical instruments, she included journals and sketchbooks, pencils and water colours. The latter she argued should be purchased in England, because these writing materials were of better quality than those on the Continent. She advocated their use on the grounds that the

traveller's own "rough sketches and memoranda made upon the spot" would create a more vivid, personal and lasting recollection than even superior works of others.[16] Other items which Mrs. Elwood advised should be obtained beforehand included "A portable iron bedstead, or sea-cot", (the latter requiring two iron screws for erection) and "mattress, pillows, blankets, counterpane, sheets, and musquito net."[17] Regarding couriers or guides, she stated that people could be found easily in London or Paris, who would travel to Egypt and even India. However, since a courier expected to be paid for his return trip, and since the traveller would probably require his guide to speak fluent Arabic, she recommended obtaining a servant/interpreter at Malta.[18]

As far as companions for a woman traveller were concerned, Anne Elwood predicted that few European female servants would cross Egypt and its desert. She could only suggest that if service was vital, an Abyssinian woman attendant might be hired. On her return trip from India, the woman traveller need have no worries about losing her companion, since Indian women delighted in accompanying "a lady to England."[19] Mrs. Elwood considered tents essential for the female traveller. She suggested that the most proper kind was a "subaltern's single pole tent" (called in India a Bachoba or sleeping tent), rather than a marquee.[20] The latter's erection required skilled people who were unobtainable at a place like Kennè, in the Arabian desert. The

twelve-foot square Bachoba, with cloth layers on top to keep out the sun, and a floor composed of carpets, could best be manufactured in London, but was obtainable also from Malta. Conveniently transported in "large canvas bags" along with such necessary items as pegs and mallet, such tents, Elwood noted, were extremely useful if sightseers visited Thebes for any length of time, or wished to travel in other parts of the desert and India.[21] Frequently, the terrain in Egypt was too bumpy for the customary takhtrouan, and she strongly advised a woman traveller to obtain a "Spanish" saddle or a side saddle for a donkey, since none was available in the Near East.[22] Mrs. Elwood believed the ideal riding apparel for women in hot desert climates was a silk or nankeen habit, fashioned so as to keep its wearer as cool as possible, while a veil of green gauze, possibly augmented by a light-weight umbrella, should protect her eyes from the sun's glare.[23] Mrs. Starke advocated the use of umbrellas even in parts of Europe: for example, to guard against a Sicilian "coup de soleil", she suggested that women might carry "Large double Silk Parasols", and wear bonnets or straw hats "double lined with thick postpaper."[24]

The question of food requirements illustrates well the lengths to which both travel writers went in their efforts to help others profit from their own experiences. For example, Mrs. Starke devoted an entire section of her guidebook to Sicily, and included the kinds of food travellers might wish

to take with them, while Mrs. Elwood outlined briefly food requirements for Egypt. Aside from equipping oneself with the requisite bed linen, crockery and cutlery, one should carry to Sicily, according to Mrs. Starke, supplies of "Sugar, Tea, Coffee, Maccaroni, Parmesan Cheese, Hams, Poultry and Potted Butter."[25] Since certain items could not be obtained in Egypt except at a high price, Mrs. Elwood suggested that the traveller stock up on them sufficiently so that supplies would last until he arrived at Bombay. In her opinion, such drinks as wine, brandy and beer travelled better in bottles than in wooden containers; kegs of biscuits could substitute for the unavailable bread; cheese should be encased in tin to preserve it, while the traveller's diet could be rounded out by packets of dried tongues, tea and dried fruits.[26] In addition, she advised that a "milch goat" be taken on board at the last European port of call, so that milk could be available both during and after the voyage. To the traveller who might doubt the stamina of a goat on such a lengthy trip, she explained that both of their animals traversed the desert almost as easily as their camels. Nor did she neglect the importance of water in such a vast and arid terrain. At first suggesting that some travellers might want to take with them some stronger beverage than water, and warning that Nile water could initially cause temporary sickness, she instructed the beginner on the best ways of preserving and purifying river water. Lest future desert ad-

venturers ignore her advice, she confessed that her party "suffered extremely" by ignoring these necessary procedures.[27]

From both of these women travellers we can obtain clear, coherent, and eminently practical suggestions which cover the planning stages of a journey. Moreover, although both had read other travel accounts, historical and otherwise, much of the advice they culled from their own experiences abroad. How far women travellers in general anticipated or followed these instructions is somewhat difficult to document fully. Nevertheless, some evidence suggests that many were keenly aware of the problems and pitfalls attached to overseas travel. Few women indulged in the self-pity and tears of Baroness von Riedesel who, having arrived at Bristol in 1776 prior to sailing to Quebec, very soon realised how circumscribed she was by her ignorance of English. But hardly any women were precisely in her position: her husband was sailing separately to North America, while she followed him accompanied by a male servant and her children. In any case her frustration was temporary and her determination considerable, for within six weeks she had learned enough English to be able to ask for "all necessities and to understand the newspapers."[28] Perhaps she had indeed remembered to bring with her an English dictionary and grammar book, as advised by her husband.[29] A later visitor to Quebec, Mrs. Simcoe, rejoiced at her own knowledge of French, which she spoke frequently, much to the delight of the French Canadians.[30] While in

Sweden, Mary Wollstonecraft strongly advised hiring a servant who could speak the language, and from Vienna, Lady Craven advocated employing a companion or servant knowledgeable in German, driving home the point with a story of the fate of two ignorant English gentlemen travellers.[31]

Mary Wollstonecraft believed that in Sweden as in other parts of Europe, it was necessary to have one's own carriage --a sentiment held by other women travellers. Crossing the Channel to Calais in 1770, the Duchess of Northumberland took her "Post Chaise" with her as a matter of course; in 1816, Lady Shelley stowed her large carriage aboard a crowded packet boat bound for Dieppe.[32] Lady Burghersh wrote from Freiburg that her own carriage was "worth its weight in gold," for there had never been "a nail out of its place" since she and her husband had left London.[33] Other items, smaller in size but not in importance, reflect the list of necessities suggested by Anne Elwood and Mariana Starke. Even in Europe, Lady Burghersh praised the tea sent her from England, and exulted over her "little cooking machine," which enabled her to avoid the "garlic and onions of foreign dishes."[34] In addition to the canvas tents shipped to Canada, Mrs. Simcoe mentioned a tapestry from Stowe which adorned her husband's hut, and rejoiced at the arrival of a "very pretty set of Nankeen China from England. . . ."[35] At her Chilean cottage in Valparaiso, Maria Graham described one of the rooms as being "lumbered with books and other things

necessary to the comfort of an English woman."[36] Perhaps she would have included such items as her side-saddle, a silver pocket-compass and a smelling-bottle.[37] On one of her last voyages to India, Eliza Fay's luggage included a piano, a pair of globes and a "good collection" of books.[38] In her own account of a journey from Baghdad to Sulimania in Kurdistan, which she performed with her husband, Mrs. Mary Rich expressed delight with the "comfortable little English travelling bedstead", which had enabled her to sleep soundly inside the tent, and out of reach of the centipedes crawling on the ground.[39] Even a month's journey across the Paradise countryside of the Cape of Good Hope necessitated much preparation, as recorded by Lady Anne Barnard. Mattresses were stuffed into sailcloth bags, and blankets, sheets and pillows had to be brought along in case no suitable lodgings could be found. She also carried with her a number of presents: handkerchiefs for slave and Boer servants, beads for Hottentots, and ribbons, gold lace, needles, thread, tea, coffee and sugar for the Boers themselves, when the latter refused money. To the bundles of knives, tobacco, candles, different foods and money, her husband added hams and beef, madeira wine, gin and rum, powder and shot for his guns, as well as a tool kit for wagon repairs on the journey.[40]

Money

Women travellers had to deal with three other important

matters while abroad: money, passports and letters of recommendation. Comments on these aspects appear quite frequently throughout their journals, although it is difficult to discover exactly how much money women took with them, or precisely what their costs were. Mariana Starke provided the most specific financial advice to visitors to the Continent. She suggested that they use "circular Exchange-Notes", payable at sight in all the main European cities and exempt from the one percent deduction made on ordinary letters of credit.[41] Her substantial notes on expenses included specific proposals regarding monetary requirements for various parts of Napoleonic Europe. While in Rome, for example, Mrs. Starke obtained enough Louis-d'ors and Napoleons to pay for her numerous expenses during her journey to Boulogne: an economical measure because there was no agio (tax) on gold at Rome.[42] The rules of money exchange for different European areas were often exacting. Throughout her guide book, Mrs. Starke provided exhaustive lists of various currencies, as well as their comparative values, and advised prospective travellers when to change their money. For example, she gave the following advice to those making the journey from Rome to Vienna, via Florence: for those parts of Germany under Austrian rule, visitors should take with them a supply of Napoleons, but for the German Imperial dominions, they should acquire souverains and imperial sequins from Florentine moneylenders, reverting to Napoleons once more if they passed

from Saxony to Hamburg.[43]

From such a profusion of tables and values, it is something of a relief to return to Mrs. Elwood's journal whose appendix contained comprehensive and clearly tabulated lists of travel information. Among these lists is one which detailed foreign currencies, covering an area from France to Tuscany to Egypt and Bombay; another described the prices charged for travelling 'post' across the Continent; while a third set forth the costs of sea passages from Naples to India, giving both the native currencies and their English equivalents.[44] Mrs. Elwood also made it clear that travellers should expect to pay more for a trip beyond Europe than their passage. She did not include the "bucksheesh" paid to camel drivers, nor tips given to the ships' crews. Whether voyagers disbursed such "customary donations" should depend on circumstances as well as adequate service and proper behaviour from all helpers.[45]

The measured distances and tariffs for travelling across the Continent were no more uniform than currencies and values. Thus, a traveller had to bear in mind that while a French post equalled 5-6 English miles, an Italian post stretched for 8; while the charge for each French horse was 1-1/2 francs throughout the country, in Italy each dominion priced its horses differently. A pair of draught horses cost 10 paoli in Tuscan and Roman territories, but 11 carlini in Neapolitan areas. Not for nothing did Mrs. Elwood suggest

carrying with one a pocket gazetteer and numerous guide books.[46]

Using information from her section "Hints for Travellers" and from her lists and tables, we can compose a fairly accurate picture of the Elwoods' financial preparations and travel expenses. They took with them quantities of exchange-notes from Hammersley and Company, Pall Mall, the same organization recommended by Mrs. Starke. For the benefit of travellers, Anne Elwood listed the exchange rates they received on Hammersley's notes for various countries, warning that relative money values would "fluctuate extremely." She also informed the would-be visitor to Egypt that these exchange bills were valid only as far as Alexandria or "Grand Cairo", where the traveller could obtain letters of credit. If he required gold, he should expect to pay highly for the metal in Egypt.[47]

For a Continental crossing, Mrs. Elwood estimated that a couple (travelling post) who rode in their own carriage, lodged at the best hotels, required private sitting-rooms, special meals and vintage wine, could expect to pay between 1 and 1-1/2 guineas a day.[48] Since one of her tables revealed that she and her husband spent 29 days "Posting in English Travelling Carriage", their overall expenses reached approximately £58 for the route from Calais to Naples.[49] In Mrs. Starke's opinion, those who travelled post in an English carriage, preceded by a courier, usually spent a lot of money,

while living no more "luxuriously" than those who took the diligence.[50] Returning to Boulogne from Rome, she herself rode in her own landaulet drawn by three horses belonging to the Roman Padrone di Vetture, called Balzani.[51] For herself, a woman companion and two servants, she paid 100 Louis d'ors, which covered the 32 day trip. She explained that out of this sum, Balzani agreed to pay any expenses at barriers and toll-bridges; to provide extra horses when necessary; to obtain daily meals, a sitting-room and four sound beds every night both on the journey and during rest days; and finally, to have taken them on to Calais if she had so demanded. In addition to the original amount, Mrs. Starke paid out 1-1/2 Louis a day whenever she decided to rest.[52] Using Mrs. Elwood's monetary values, Mariana Starke disbursed over £100 for her tour of 32 days. As she rather tritely explained, the expense of a particular journey depended largely upon the individuals themselves and their methods of travel.[53]

How did other women travellers prepare for their journey and deal with problems en route? Certainly Jane Rye, who in 1820 fulfilled a long-held ambition to visit the Continent, had no difficulty planning her finances or helping to arrange transportation for herself and three female companions. From her London bankers, she withdrew £300 which she then transferred to "Mr. Hammersley, Banker, in Pall Mall." From his office she emerged with a letter of credit and "negotiable notes" for every town on her itinerary. To

arrange for their transportation on the Continent, she and her party consulted a Mr. Emery of the White Bear, Piccadilly, a man of the "highest respectability as a Voiturier."[54] When she was satisfied that he could meet all their demands concerning board and lodging, carriage, horses and driver, she paid him in advance. Evidently, she intended to exercise firm control over their finances, for she noted that this sum of money was carefully "specified for the number of days" of travel.[55] Jane Rye's meticulousness would have been applauded by Mariana Starke, who exhorted travellers in Continental hotels to conclude a "strict bargain with the Landlord, relative to their expenses."[56]

Another traveller who experienced little difficulty in dealing with importunate drivers or greedy landlords was Ann Flaxman. Accompanying her husband and friends to Italy in 1787, she extricated the party from the toils of Italian voituriers, some of whom engaged in sharp practices. At Turin, the party had hired one of these conductors to take them to Florence for an agreed price. In the meantime, other drivers had so exaggerated the toughness of the journey, that their voiturier decided to turn the Flaxmans over to a cheaper man, while retaining the rest of his fee. Unfortunately for him, Ann Flaxman grew suspicious. She rejected his scheme "after much to do", completed a new bargain with another driver for 16, instead of the former 19 Louis, and pocketed the savings herself.[57]

During the journey to Florence, Mrs. Flaxman quickly asserted her authority over landlords who, in her opinion, served them inedible food for excessive prices. At one inn, she rebelled against the "messes" of salt or pickled fish, and "little fried things" she imagined were snails, and so refused to eat.[58] At the next establishment, she "immediately visited the kitchen", and with the assistance of the voiturier, whom she dragged with her, ordered "a good supper of meat."[59] From that day forward, she ensured palatable meals by ordering subsequent landlords to omit cheese from their soup and garlic from their meat. She also learned a valuable lesson regarding prices at this inn. After some investigation, she discovered that her party had been overcharged for their evening meal. The immediate problem she solved by paying the servant two-thirds of the bill demanded. For the rest of their journey, she induced the coachman to pay the road expenses, thus relieving her companions, and particularly herself, from further imposition.[60]

Apart from the need for planning the cost of a journey, quandaries over money could arise during the journey. Eliza Fay and her husband began their excursion to Egypt and India by experiencing exchange problems in France. Although the exchange rate in Paris yielded them 24 livres 10 sous for every English guinea (7d profit on each one), at Chalons they could not obtain full value. In this town Eliza complained that the goldsmith, having weighed their coins upon a sugar

scales, only offered 18 livres for each guinea. Annoyed, her husband tried elsewhere in town, but could only get 12 livres. Rather than accept this low rate, he decided not to change any of the money. And so, fatigued, chagrined, and unable to procure food for themselves or their horses, they wandered on to Lyons, where they eventually changed their money for a fair amount.[61]

The plight of the woman traveller of moderate means who planned to spend some time living abroad (in addition to travelling) could be serious. Certainly Lady Knight, who intended to spend a number of years in Italy, paid careful heed to her financial situation. Her journal is replete with references to the price of housing, the expenses of hiring servants, and the relative cost of living in various French and Italian cities.

One of Lady Knight's first actions on arriving at Paris was to send a letter of credit to her banker, who promptly informed her that he would call on her the following day. Perhaps during this meeting she obtained ready money and arranged her affairs. By the time she and her daughter Cornelia had reached Toulouse, they had spent nearly £90 on the journey and living expenses at Paris, and another £32 on clothes.[62] While living at Toulouse, she wrote that she hoped to be able to live on £140 per annum. This sum, however, did not include an allowance for dress, social activities, sedan-chair hire or entertaining company, nor did she

at first understand that her servants expected to be fed and given an allowance for bread and wine.[63]

In a letter written from Rome, nearly nine months after their departure from Toulouse, Lady Knight examined her accounts and discovered that they had spent only £250, even though they had travelled a considerable distance and had spent £20 on clothes.[64] From 1778, until she returned to England, Lady Knight and her daughter spent most of their time in Italy, where they were able to rely upon an "English banker" for financial counsel.[65] This advice must have been of some use to her ladyship, since her life-style included such expenses as rent for house and furniture, as well as a coach-house in Rome, and new livery, including coats and waistcoats for her servants.[66]

Baroness von Riedesel's monetary problems contrasted greatly from those of the aforementioned women. Travelling without her husband, but with her children and servants, she had set out from Germany with sufficient funds for their sea-passage, travel and equipment. However, due to an unforeseen delay in setting sail for North America, the Baroness soon found herself low on funds in Portsmouth; luckily, some friends came to her assistance. This misfortune, which occurred despite her husband's efforts to work out an adequate travel budget, did not befall most female travellers.[67] In general, women managed their financial affairs competently, were alert to any suggestion of imposition, and frequently

devised ways of overcoming acts of deception.

Passports

After sorting and packing the luggage, estimating the cost of the journey and arranging financial matters, the woman traveller still had to obtain her passport and letters of recommendation. Once again, Mariana Starke offered good advice on this subject for those who did not have diplomatic or military reasons for travelling abroad. She explained that, in general, if English travellers did not obtain their documents in London, then they could procure the necessary papers which often required a counter-signature by one or more authorities, from the British ambassador or consul-general in major European cities.[68] Naturally, since each nation had its own set of rules regarding travel papers, their acquisition could become a problem. To dispel confusion, Mrs. Starke discussed the regulations in considerable detail. As a result, the anxious traveller could discover within her pages some of the fees required for certain documents, the advantages of an Italian "lascia passare", or the specific passport information demanded by Spanish, Portugues, Swedish, Russian and Austrian authorities.[69]

Mariana Starke included some harrowing descriptions of Customs' practices in parts of Europe. As usual, she wrote from experience. For example, while travelling from Italy into Austria she mentioned the strict luggage search at the

customs-house in Ponteba, the frontier town of Carinthia, where officers examined her own belongings in the street before they allowed her to drive to her lodgings. She remarked that it "required Argus's eyes not to be plundered of every thing valuable our trunks contained, and Herculean strength to unpack, and repack after the fatigue of a twelve hour's journey."[70] Since this search was the kind of trouble "Travellers must necessarily be exposed to at this custom-house", she exhorted future visitors to take another route, so as to avoid harassment from customs officers who, she believed, aimed mainly to steal. Travellers might have to watch helplessly (as she did), while their small parcels were thrown on the ground, writing boxes rifled, correspondence perused, and even their coach seats poked and prodded by these merciless officials, who frequently seized gold and silver lace, snuff and tobacco.[71]

Since they could steal, the officers would not be bribed, and consequently, were "very slow in their operations."[72] Although these officers would accept no fees, such a situation did not prevail throughout Europe, and the advantages of venal customs officials were not lost upon Mrs. Starke. She urged travellers to press home their advantage at places like Neuchâtel and Bologna, where small fees given to Swiss and Italian officials prevented a baggage search. Entering Pisa presented no problem, but the customs officer would follow the visitor to her lodging and expect his fee,

while customs authorities at the Neapolitan frontier waived their right to examine trunks if the traveller paid a fee commensurate with the quantity of her luggage.[73]

Although few women travellers recorded difficulties over their luggage, several remembered unpleasant incidents concerning their passports. At the onset of their Continental journey, Eliza Fay chafed at having to remain in Paris, that "sink of impurity", while a "Lieutenant de Police" made inquiries about their passports.[74] Perhaps the Fays could have used advice similar to that of Mrs. Starke, who outlined the way to avoid the "trouble and detention" over passports which occurred frequently at Paris.[75] Her impatience aside, Mrs. Fay fully realised the importance of travel documents. After noting in her journal that authorities at Mont Cenis were most particular about their passports, which the Governor there "examined. . .minutely", she recounted a mishap which could have had unpleasant consequences for her party.[76] At Chalons, Eliza Fay had been none too pleased when her husband had strapped together their passports and guidebook, carrying them with him on horseback. Eventually, the inevitable occurred, and off they fell. The anxious party now feared they would have to return to Paris for new papers. But Mr. Fay, to their great satisfaction, retraced his steps and found the documents. Relieved, but still annoyed, Eliza had written sardonically that she hoped the scare would have a "salutary effect" for the remainder of their journey.[77]

This incident was trifling compared to the inconvenience suffered by Mrs. Radcliffe and her husband at the hands of German customs officials. Mrs. Radcliffe may have found the harassment unexpectedly provoking because of the ease with which they had passed through Holland. At the Dutch garrison town of Nimuguen, no "troublesome ceremonies" detained them at the gates.[78] The garrison's commander was satisfied with a copy of the informative report on guests, which all innkeepers in every town sent to the Dutch magistrates. At suppertime, the innkeeper handed each guest a printed paper, upon which the latter was supposed to record his name, residence, length of stay and a list of his acquaintances. Perhaps because the Radcliffes' information was so complete and harmless their passports were never demanded of them while in Holland.[79]

Once they had crossed the border into Germany, however, their luck departed. They intended to approach their ultimate destination, Switzerland, via Frankfurt, Mainz and Freiburg. Armed with a German passport from the Hanoverian minister, M. de Swartzhoff, Ann Radcliffe and her husband left Frankfurt after a six-day visit, and made their way to Mainz. Here, they encountered "troublesome" examination procedures, because the Governor, General Kalkreuth, happened to be present and made the travellers wait "as if for a sort of a review before him."[80] After this delaying and unproductive ritual, they saw the Commandant, M. de Lucadou, who examined

their passports. At this point, the Radcliffes enjoyed a respite from bureaucratic indifference. The polite and helpful Commandant knew their friends at Mainz, confirmed Swartzhoff's passport, and added an address to a M. de Wilde, Intendant of some Swiss salt mines to which they were recommended.

Thinking that all was well, Mrs. Radcliffe and her husband resumed their journey and duly arrived at the Freiburg customs house. Here, however, their troubles began anew. First, the inspector refused to accept their German passport, issued by Swartzhoff, and countersigned by M. de Lucadou, because of a careless error by the helpful commandant. He had mistakenly stamped their passport "returning to England", although he well knew that they headed for Switzerland, and that their pass was for Basle.[81] Second, to add to their discomfort, the Freiburg inspector persisted in believing them German, not English! Mrs. Radcliffe recalled that nothing they could produce had any effect whatever--not their passports from Lord Grenville and Swartzhoff, nor their London letters to Swiss families, nor even a letter of credit from Messrs. Hope of Amsterdam to the banking house of Porta, at Lausanne. Ann Radcliffe and her husband became so angered at this mixture of stupidity and obstinacy that they refused to obtain a new passport, gave up their plan of visiting Switzerland, and lodged a strong complaint with the Mainz authorities.[82] Mrs. Radcliffe made no apology for including

the details of this episode in her journal.[83] Perhaps she hoped that her experience would alert future travellers.

Letters of Recommendation and Travelling Companions

Few eighteenth-century journeys abroad went smoothly and successfully without travelling companions and letters of recommendation. If women who accompanied their husbands abroad welcomed the assistance and hospitality obtained from such procedures, both were considered indispensable aids to women travelling alone. In the 1820's, Mariana Starke suggested two means by which the astute traveller might protect himself from imposition, or from being "pillaged in foreign countries."[84] She stressed that he should carry with him introductory letters to all British ministers on the Continent, as well as notes to "respectable foreigners." Thus, by a judicious combination of commendatory letters, a "good post-book", and a competent servant who could manage horse and carriage, the traveller could dispense with expensive valets and grasping landlords.[85]

Just how useful companions and letters of recommendation were to women travellers is difficult to gauge: that those women who acted as the prime mover, or ostensible leader of their small expedition greatly appreciated them, is clearly discernible from their writings. For example, Mary Wollstonecraft travelled to Scandinavia with her eighteen-month old daughter, Fanny, for whom she hired a French woman,

Marguerite, as nurse-maid. Marguerite also proved an appealing companion for her mistress, for although she could be decidedly "timid", she possessed an "adventuring spirit."[86] Furthermore, Mrs. Wollstonecraft's visit passed more pleasantly than it might have otherwise because of the hospitality she received, often as a result of her letters of recommendation.[87]

Maria Graham's helpful friends and acquaintances in South America provided her with much-needed comfort and assistance after the death of her first husband, while her letters of introduction paved the way for her friendly reception by the wife of the governor of Chile, Dona Rosa O'Higgins.[88] Mrs. Graham's trip from Valparaiso to Santiago was made easier by the presence of "the Honourable Frederick de Roos, midshipman" as her escort, a maid and two peons, one of whom, Felipe, took charge of three of the baggage mules.[89] During Eliza Fay's later voyages to India, undertaken after her husband's death, she hired a Bengalese servant and a female companion. As if to hint at the possible difficulties which might plague a woman travelling alone, Mrs. Fay revealed in her journal that she employed Miss Tripler not for the glow of her personality, but for the "convenience" of her presence.[90] Near the end of her tour of the Crimea, Mrs. Guthrie feared that she would have to return alone to St. Petersburg, if she could not find a replacement for her recently married travelling companion. To her great relief, she learned that

her host at Nicolayef had provided her with a small military escort for the return trip. As for a female companion, she decided that if she could find "no better", she would take with her the sailor's wife, then employed as her waiting-woman.[91]

Baroness Riedesel and Lady Knight also took matters of letters and travelling companions very seriously. Before she left her native German town of Wolfenbüttel to join her husband in America, the Baroness had obtained "letters of introduction to various ladies of quality" in London and elsewhere.[92] She discovered one particular letter to a Bristol family named Ireland enormously useful. She found the head of the family, an English banker, not only wealthy, but hospitable. He went to London to visit her, and gave her letters of introduction which she could use in all the ports where poor sailing weather might detain her.[93] Both husband and wife covered many sheets of note-paper debating her necessary letters, and her travelling companion. At length, the Riedesels agreed that their family retainer Rockel should accompany the Baroness, as footman and servant to the party.[94] In addition, she had to hire a nurse for the children, as well as a "good and skilled femme de chambre" to attend to her own needs.[95] Baroness Riedesel agreed with her husband that she should sail from England with a lady of quality, and acquiesced to the General's choice of a Bristol woman for her travelling companion.[96]

Lady Phillipina Knight made as much use as she could of her fellow travellers and letters of recommendation. Her two-fold aim seemed to be to reduce her travelling expenses while ensuring that she mingled with the "quality." Her immediate entourage included a manservant, a maid and a cook, augmented later by the company of their "best friend", Père Jacquier, a learned and famous monk, and a young Frenchman who was both "sober" and "fashionable."[97] Lady Knight found their practical knowledge of great assistance: both men helped her and Cornelia find lodgings during their journey, and the Frenchman even managed "to arrange all the articles of expense."[98]

Letters of recommendation might serve to introduce one to sights, entertainments and interesting people one might not otherwise enjoy. For example, Lady Knight received a pledge from her friend, Captain Barrington, that she would be introduced to the "best company" at Paris.[99] Immensely pleased with a recommendation from an old Cambridge friend, she wrote in her journal that by means of this letter they were able to see "everything curious in Paris", and were recommended to "persons of the first fashion and first merit in the place."[100]

If letters could bring pleasure and entertainment to the affluent, for people in straitened circumstances they became almost a necessity. Lady Knight contemplated the journey from Toulouse to Rome with few misgivings, because she had

already obtained recommendations along the way, and so expected to incur few expenses on the journey. From Civita Vecchia, for example, she intended to write to a "gentleman at Rome" regarding lodgings in the Eternal City, so as to avoid "the great expense in travelling" at inns and hotels.[101] Lady Knight looked forward to her sojourn in Rome because she and her daughter had been promised "an infinite number" of recommendations to "persons of consequence", including Cardinal de Bernis, then French ambassador at Rome.[102]

Women who had few useful travel connections could always opt for Jane Rye's solution. In the spring of 1820 Miss Rye, accompanied by two female relatives and a Swiss woman friend, toured the Continent by hired coach and guide. After they had completed arrangements for this venture in London, all that remained was for them to meet their guide, or "conductor", M. Henry at Calais.[103] At first the plan went awry: Miss Rye and her party waited in vain at Calais for M. Henry. Unperturbed, they hired a voiture to take them to Paris, accompanied by the son of the landlord in whose Calais hotel they had stayed. Once they had caught up with M. Henry, they transferred themselves and baggage to his voiture and continued their journey. Jane Rye recorded her favourable impressions of the Emery organisation, commending M. Henry's civility.[104] She believed the latter to be noteworthy, in light of the criticism of Italian and German guides, rumored "sometimes very insolent particularly where there were only

females" in the group.[105] So convinced was she of Mr. Emery's reliability, that when he sent his nephew, Louis, to "guide & escort" her party to Switzerland, she accepted him immediately.[106]

In all the practical areas of travel, then, women at the very least were concerned and active rather than bored and passive. They involved themselves with such important details as travel documents, obtaining the correct money, and making use of any advantages obtained from their letters of recommendation and their travelling companions. True, women of quality dared not travel abroad alone at this period, but neither did men. And the fact that men accompanied them on their journeys does not mean that women allowed themselves to be submerged or overwhelmed by male presence. Women travellers' vitality and persistence is evident in their writings. In many cases they appear to have played a substantial role in the smooth operation and eventual success of their excursions.

Footnotes: Chapter II

[1]Anne Elwood, Narrative of a Journey overland from England, by the continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea to India. . .1825-1828, 2 vols. (London: H. Colburn and R. Bentley, 1830), p. 387. Hereafter: Elwood, Narrative. The book Mrs. Elwood praised so highly was written by Mariana Starke. See Mariana Starke, Travels in Europe between the Years 1824 and 1828 adapted to the Use of Travellers. . ., 2 vols. (Leghorn: Printed and sold by Glaucus Masi, 1828). Hereafter: Starke, Travels.

[2]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 388.

[3]Starke, Travels, II, p. 467.

[4]Ibid., p. 505. She also included the address at which these clogs could be purchased: The Patentee, Davis, Tottenham-Court Road.

[5]Elizabeth Simcoe, Mrs. Simcoe's Diary, ed. Mary Quale Innis (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1965), p. 33. Hereafter: Simcoe, Diary.

[6]Ibid., pp. 43, 39.

[7]Starke, Travels, II, pp. 602, 609. These lists also included general items, such as sheets, pillow-cases, table-cloths, napkins and towels. Mrs. Starke also mentioned men's clothes: shirts, neckcloth, pockets and sleeping waistcoats.

[8]Ibid., pp. 529, 581-589. She gave information on those shops at Paris where ready-made shoes and boots could be bought, as well as mentioning the coachmaker who could repair English carriages. British visitors who missed their own language and home events could buy English books and English daily newspapers from "Galignani, Librarian, Rue Vivienne." For those of her fellow-countrymen who became ill, Mrs. Starke recommended an apothecary who could provide English potions. Her specificity was amazing. Visitors to Florence, for example, were advised of the prices (1828) of shoes, boots and certain clothes. In case the more distant traveller wished to replenish his sea stocks, she listed the products available at Leghorn, the Italian port from which many voyagers departed for North Africa. One could purchase tea, coffee, sugar, mustard, wines and brandy, as well as soap, starch and hair-powder; Maltese and Genoese oranges, English potatoes, and dates, figs and grapes.

[9]Starke, Travels, II, p. 504. Such a lock, she explained, could be purchased in London and affixed to a door in less than five minutes.

[10]Starke, Travels, II, p. 504.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 390.

[13]Ibid. The canteen, with breakfast and dinner set, should hold enough pieces for 2-3 people. Mrs. Elwood believed that a less valuable metal would be "less likely to be stolen by the Egyptians and Arabs." Moslems were forbidden by their religion to eat out of silver dishes, but could use them for decoration.

[14]Starke, Travels, II, p. 504; Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 390. Mrs. Elwood also suggested taking a light fowling-piece, powder and shot, and a sword. Both women were writing on the assumption that at least one male would be included in the travel group; if not a husband, friend or servant, then a guide or conductor. Certainly members of Maria Graham's party carried muskets and guns when exploring Poli and Tivoli, areas of Italy beset by 'banditti.' See M. Graham, Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome. . .1819 (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1820), chs. VII & VIII. Hereafter: Graham, Rome.

[15]Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 390-391. She thought that lancets (probably used for bleeding) should also be included. Mrs. Starke's requirements for the medicine chest were specific and detailed. Whether most women travellers carried even a smaller version is hard to say: it is not mentioned in their journals. Perhaps a medicine chest was so much part of eighteenth century luggage that it was not worth mentioning. At any rate, to all travellers, Mrs. Starke recommended: "The London and Edinburgh Dispensatory; . . .a thermomenter--a medicine-chest, with scales, weights, an ounce, and half-ounce, measure for liquids--a glass pestle and mortar. . . ." She regarded "Shuttleworth's drop-measure" as an important piece of equipment, since it measured liquids accurately. Her list of 'medicines' included at least three emetics, or purgatives ("emetic tartar", "ipecacuanha", and "prepared calomel"); a tincture of opium ("paregoric elixir") to relieve pain; quinine ("bark") used to reduce fever, especially malarial; as well as sal volatile (for faintness); lint and "court-plaster." The latter, used as sticking plaster for cuts, got its name from the material used for face-patches by women at court. The number of purgatives raises the question of possible food-poisoning, but

so far no cases have been found. See Starke, Travels, II, p. 505. Lady Burghersh, travelling through Europe (1813-1814) in the wake of her husband, took great care of her health. Since she passed through cities full of dead and wounded soldiers, she tried to fend off illness by using "sulphureous powder" which was commonly "burnt in the hospitals to purify the air." In addition, she wore "quantities of camphor" and a "little aromatic vinegar-box." See Lady Priscilla Burghersh, The Letters of Lady Burghersh from Germany and France. . .1813-1814, ed. Lady Rose Weigall (London: John Murray, 1893), pp. 67-68. Hereafter: Burghersh, Letters.

[16]Elwood, Narrative, p. 388.

[17]Ibid., p. 389.

[18]Elwood, Narrative, p. 388. She warned that although Indian servants might occasionally be found at Alexandria, this was rare.

[19]Ibid., pp. 388-389.

[20]Ibid., p. 390.

[21]Elwood, Narrative, p. 390. She explained that another "single pole tent", or in Indian, a 'Rowtee', would be necessary for servants. Mrs. Simcoe and her family lived in their English "canvas houses" in Canada, although these were not single tents but marquees. Since Governor Simcoe commanded troops, there would be no lack of people able to pitch tents. Mary Rich, who accompanied her husband on some of his travels in Kurdistan in the 1820's, wrote that they carried tents with them in which to live. Presumably the horsemen, muleteers and servants they took with them helped with the pitching of the tents. See: Mrs. Rich, "Fragment of a Journal from Bagdad to Sulimania" in C. J. Rich, Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan. . ., 2 vols., ed. by his widow (London: James Duncan, 1836), pp. 333-334; 335-363 passim. Hereafter: Rich, Fragment.

[22]Elwood, Narrative, p. 390. The takhtrouan, or takhtrevan was a kind of litter, used to carry women in the Near East and India. Maria Graham, Eliza Fay, and Mary Rich, as well as Anne Elwood mentioned it. Mrs. Elwood suggested that male travellers could purchase a donkey's saddle either at Alexandria or Cairo where the takhtrouan should also be procured.

[23]Elwood, Narrative, pp. 390-391. She also recommended "green spectacles" which could be used as sunglasses. Per-

haps she thought these would be more suitable for men, while women could wear the veil. A veil would fit in with Arab conventions, according to which women rarely appeared in public, and when they did so, were covered from head to foot. She remarked that the green umbrellas carried by her husband and herself were the objects "most coveted" in Egypt.

[24]Starke, Travels, p. 79. Travel in Sicily appeared to require as much equipment as travel across Europe, or the East. Besides mules, and a guide, she recommended carrying a "block-tin tea-kettle", stew-pans, cutlery, and crockery, as well as towels, sheets and table-linen. The guide should be able to cook and supply provisions, and was an "indispensable appendage."

[25]Starke, Travels, p. 79. If it seems odd that butter had to be carried on this journey, Mrs. Starke explained that butter could only be obtained in Sicily at Messina and Palermo.

[26]Elwood, Narrative, p. 391. The wine bottles should have "straw ropes twisted round them to prevent their fracturing." She recommended carrying light Sicilian wines on long journeys, because they were refreshing, and travelled well. Any surplus brandy was always an acceptable present in Egypt.

[27]Elwood, Narrative, p. 391. With regard to taste, she believed that Nile water was "perhaps, the finest in the world", but should not be tasted until it had stood for some time "in earthen vessels of the country, rubbed over inside with almonds, in order to purify it, from its deposit of sediment." She advised that, having once reached Kennè (a town on the Nile, north of Thebes) one should let the water stand for a day and "to have some put into bottles, as well as into mussuks, or skins", adding that the corks for these containers would have to be purchased at Malta.

[28]Baroness von Riedesel, Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, 1776-1783, rev. trans. Marvin L. Brown (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1965), p. 12. Hereafter: Riedesel, Journal.

[29]Riedesel, Journal, p. 164. This information comes from one of several letters written by General Riedesel to his wife. In other letters, he sent instructions for her journey: what kind of lodgings she should obtain, how to order berths aboard ship, the need to carry bouillon cubes with her for use when the ship ran out of fresh meat. See Riedesel, Journal, p. 168. Some 40 years later, Mrs. Starke

advised those touring Europe to take "portable soup" with them. See Starke, Travels, II, p. 505.

[30]Simcoe, Diary, p. 49.

[31]Mary Wollstonecraft, Letters written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark (London, 1796, reprint ed., Centaur Press Ltd., 1970), p. 43. Hereafter: Wollstonecraft, Letters. Lady Elizabeth Craven, A Journey through. . .the Crimea to Constantinople. . .1786. . .(Dublin: Printed for H. Chamberlaine et al., 1789; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), p. 134. Hereafter: Craven, Journey.

[32]Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland, The Diaries of a Duchess: Extracts from the Diaries of the first Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776), ed. James Greig (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926), p. 100. Hereafter: Northumberland, Diaries. Frances, Lady Shelley, The Diary of Frances, Lady Shelley (1787-1817), ed. Richard Edgecumbe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), p. 188. Hereafter: Shelley, Diary.

[33]Lady Priscilla Burghersh, The Letters of Lady Burghersh, from Germany and France during the campaign of 1813-14, ed. Lady Rose Weigall. (London, John Murray, 1893), p. 101. Hereafter, Burghersh, Letters.

[34]Ibid., pp. 35, 207. Lady Burghersh's idea of a "good wholesome dinner every day" consisted of a fowl and potatoes, both of which she boiled "in the machine."

[35]Simcoe, Diary, pp. 85, 79.

[36]Maria Graham, Journal of a Residence in Chile during the year 1822. . . (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green, 1824; reprint ed., New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 280. Hereafter: Graham, Chile.

[37]Ibid., pp. 134, 316. Possibly these possessions included a copy of the "great Spanish dictionary" given her by a friend during her visit to Brazil in 1821. See: Maria Graham, Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823 (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green, 1824; reprint ed., New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 159. Hereafter Graham, Brazil.

[38]Eliza Fay, Original Letters from India (1779-1815), introd. E. M. Forster (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.,

1925 [Orig. publ. 1817]), p. 258. Hereafter: Fay, Original Letters.

[39]Rich, Fragment, p. 359. Centipedes were not the only hazard: serpents also abounded. Perhaps her "travelling bedstead" helped her to avoid the scorpions encountered in their encampment on an earlier occasion. See Rich, Fragment, p. 334.

[40]Lady Anne Barnard, South Africa a Century Ago: Letters written from the Cape of Good Hope (1797-1801), ed. W. H. Wilkins (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1910), pp. 157-158, 166, 175. Hereafter: Barnard, South Africa. In her Appendix, Mrs. Elwood also discussed presents. She suggested (from the context of the paragraph, for Egyptians) "common pen-knives, scissors, snuff-boxes for inferiors; and telescopes, etuis, or pistols, for superiors." She claimed that "Common beads, pocket looking-glasses, paper fans, or any other toy or trinket, will please the native women much, if admitted to the interior or the haram. . ." See Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 391.

[41]Starke, Travels, II, p. 503. These notes could be obtained from Herries & Co., St. James' St., or from Hammersley & Co., Pall Mall. Both Mrs. Elwood and Miss Jane Rye made use of the latter. Mrs. Starke explained that those travellers who preferred to exchange bank notes for Napoleons before leaving London, could do so at a few hours' notice, from Fisher & Co., Cockspur St. See Starke, Travels, II, p. 507. General Riedesel assured his wife that she need only take with her sufficient money for her voyage to England. Once the Baroness had arrived, however, he advised her to obtain "an open bill of exchange and letter of recommendation made out by Hertz Samson in London." See Riedesel, Journal, p. 164.

[42]Starke, Travels, II, p. 650.

[43]Ibid., p. 654. The following is an example of the detailed monetary information available to travellers, much of which Mariana Starke obtained on her own travels. One "comparative view" ran as follows: a French franc (about 10d) would go as far as 1/- in England; a Tuscan paul (usually about 5d) would go as far in Tuscany as 1 French franc (or, one English shilling) in England; a Roman paul (equal to 4d) would go as far in Naples as a Roman paul in Rome. See Starke, Travels, II, pp. 613-614. For those travelling in Germany, she wrote that the convention dollar passed for 2 florins (4/-) throughout Germany, while 60 Kreutzers equalled 1 florin. Bankers' accounts were apparently kept in florins. She noted that it was difficult to get gold or

silver in Germany without paying tax on it, but Viennese bank bills (many of which were only 5 florins each) could be used everywhere in the Imperial territories, and could always be changed into silver. See Starke, Travels, II, pp. 652-653.

[44]See Appendix B.

[45]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 375.

[46]Ibid., pp. 383-4, 388. For a sample of her tables, see Appendix B.

[47]Ibid., pp. 384-387.

[48]Ibid., p. 389.

[49]Ibid., p. 374.

[50]Starke, Travels, II, p. 514. A diligence was a public stage-coach.

[51]Ibid., p. 649. A landaulet was a four-wheeled, closed carriage, which held two inside and a driver; the front and back halves of the carriage's roof could be raised and lowered independently.

[52]Ibid., pp. 649-650.

[53]Ibid., p. 514.

[54]Journal of Miss Jane Rye, May 1820 to Oct. 1820, describing a journey to Switzerland and Italy, Rye Papers, Northamptonshire Record Office, p. 1. Hereafter: Rye Papers. For convenience, I have numbered the pages: the original MS. is unnumbered.

[55]Rye Papers, p. 1.

[56]Starke, Travels, II, p. 507. Mrs. Starke frequently gave some idea of the expenses entailed in travelling abroad. For example, expenses at watering places like Carlsbad and Spa were heavy: she enumerated prices for loading and unloading carriages, the prices of visiting-tickets, for reading gazettes, tips for water-drawers and waiters at hotel, entrance fees for balls and payments for doctors at the Baths. See Starke, Travels, II, pp. 684-685. (She referred to Carlsbad as German. Today, as Karlovy Vary, it lies in Czechoslovakia: in the 1820's it lay within the German Confederation.)

[57]Journal of Mrs. Ann Flaxman to Rome, 1787-1788, British Museum, Add. MSS. 39787: Flaxman Papers, vol. VIII, p. 43. Hereafter: B.M., Add. MSS. 39787. Since this MS. contains consecutive page numbers, I have used them instead of folio numbers.

[58]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 45.

[59]Ibid.

[60]Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[61]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 53-54.

[62]Lady Phillipina Knight, Lady Knight's letters from France and Italy, 1776-1795, ed. Lady Eliot-Drake (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1905), pp. 7, 12. Hereafter: Knight, Letters.

[63]Ibid., p. 13. While in Toulouse, Lady Knight described a dinner she had given, with some of the prices. It consisted of "a soup, and a dish of the stewed beef, a very fine large eel, mutton chops, a brace of the red partridge, an omelet with peaches in it, grapes, peaches, pears and savoy biscuits; a bottle of Bordeaux--sixteen-pence--a bottle of our own wine, value three-half pennys." See Knight, Letters, p. 19.

[64]Knight, Letters, p. 63.

[65]Ibid., p. 79.

[66]Ibid., pp. 83, 102, 104. While in Italy, Lady Knight moved house several times, mainly because of the high rents.

[67]Riedesel, Journal, pp. 164-166. In the General's letter of Mar. 31, 1776, he set forth a budget, based on the same of 15- 20, suggested to him by his English friend, Captain Foy (with whom the Baroness was to stay) as being sufficient for towns like Portsmouth and Bristol, with a servant and two maids. His budget ran as follows:

	£	sh.
Lodging 4	4	0
Food for child. and female servants, daily 6/- for 30 days	9	0
Beverages, daily 1/6d.	2	5
Tea and sugar	0	10
Wage food for manservant, daily 1/-	1	10
Maids		10
	17	15

[68]Starke, Travels, I, p. 44. For her detailed information, see Appendix C. One woman who obtained a passport without much apparent trouble was Jane Rye. There were three in her party besides herself: Mrs. Rye, Ellen Rye, (Jane's niece) and a Mlle. Gaullieur, the niece's Swiss governess. They obtained their passport from the French Ambassador in London, and this document, "to save trouble", was made out in the name of "Madame Rye & Famille." See Rye Papers, p. 1.

[69]Starke, Travels, I, p. 44; II, pp. 528, 584, 603, 624, 636-639, 646-650, 652, 664, 694, 720-721, 724, 735. For example, Mrs. Starke wrote that no foreigner could enter Russia without a passport signed by a Russian minister. See Starke, Travels, II, p. 735. However, Mary Holderness who did travel to Russia in the early 1820's, could add more information: her party carried with them passports given them by the Russian ambassador in England. After she had arrived at the port of Riga, Mary Holderness explained that her passport had to be exchanged for a "podoroshna"--a document which listed the holder's name, point of departure, destination, and the "number of horses for which he has paid a share of the progone, or post-money." See Mary Holderness, New Russia: Journey from Riga to the Crimea by way of Kiev. . .to which are added notes relating to the Crim Tatars (London: Printed for Sherwood, Jones & Co., 1823; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), pp. 1, 12-13. Hereafter: Holderness, New Russia.

[70]Starke, Travels, II, p. 475.

[71]Ibid., II, p. 476. This description is mentioned, but not footnoted in C. Hibbert, The Grand Tour (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), p. 178. Hereafter, Hibbert, Grand Tour.

[72]Starke, Travels, II, p. 476. However, she pointed out that on her return journey to England via Germany and Austria, the Viennese customs officers, although sometimes annoying to foreigners, treated them in a civil manner.

[73]Ibid., II, pp. 584, 603.

[74]Fay, Original Letters, p. 43. Lady Craven declared herself fed up with the "silly" questions asked travellers by the guards at frontier towns, such as are you married, are you travelling for business or pleasure, what is your name and quality? See Craven, Journey, p. 144.

[75]Starke, Travels, I, p. 44. See Appendix C.

[76]Fay, Original Letters, p. 51. On this occasion, although thorough, the authorities were inoffensive. Other women travellers noted the thoroughness of French customs officials. At Chalons, (also passed through by Eliza Fay) Ann Flaxman recorded in a note in her journal, that everyone was "obliged to have their Boxes search'd & their names registered." See B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 29. During her own earlier journey, Eliza Fay had some caustic comments on the customs operations at Calais: after giving their names and occupations, they had to go another half-mile and await the Governor and his questions. She found this ritual annoying after a sea voyage, especially so since his questions were "merely matter of form." See Fay, Original Letters, p. 35. Some forty years later, customs could still be an unpleasant experience at Calais. Jane Rye reported that the woman "deputed to. . .discover if any Ladies had contraband articles concealed about their persons" carried out her task "in the grossest & rudest manner." A report given her later of this female official's dismissal for "similar conduct", perhaps assuaged Miss Rye's ire. To make matters worse, one of the members of Miss Rye's party, Miss Gaullieur (Swiss governess to Jane's niece, Ellen) was refused permission to take through "twenty shillings worth of ginghams", purchased for her Swiss friends. See Rye Papers, pp. 1-2.

[77]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 51-53. She referred here to her husband.

[78]Ann Radcliffe, A Journey made in the summer of 1794 through Holland and the western frontier of Germany. . . (London: Printed for G.G. & J. Robinson, 1795), p. 82. Hereafter: Radcliffe, Journey.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Ibid., p. 235.

[81]Ibid., p. 276.

[82]Ibid., pp. 275-279. At Mainz, officials had assured them that a "proper representation" of the affair had been sent to the Commandant at Freiburg.

[83]Ibid., p. 235. She explained the actions of de Lucadou because, she wrote, these circumstances led to a problem in their journey later.

[84]Starke, Travels, II, p. 504. She believed that these letters could save the unwary traveller from imposition, not only from innkeepers, but also from valets-de-place. She explained that some landlords recompensed valets who, having

hired lodgings for travellers, passed on the expense to the latter.

[85] Ibid., p. 504.

[86] Wollstonecraft, Letters, pp. 3, 10-14.

[87] Ibid., pp. 17-18, 43, 124, 231.

[88] Graham, Chile, pp. 201, 206.

[89] Ibid., pp. 192, 196.

[90] Fay, Original Letters, p. 279.

[91] Maria Guthrie, A Tour performed in the years 1795-1796 through the Taurida, or Crimea. . ., ed. Matthew Guthrie (London: T. Cadell, Jun., 1802), p. 237. Hereafter: Guthrie, Tour.

[92] Riedesel, Journal, pp. 9, 21.

[93] Ibid., p. 14. As it turned out, the Baroness did not need to use these letters, but when she arrived in Quebec she opened them and discovered that the Irelands had asked their friends to give her all the money she might request.

[94] Ibid., pp. 3-4, 74, 151-152. She was also assisted during the journey by one of her husband's aides, a Captain Edmonstone.

[95] Ibid., p. 185.

[96] Ibid., pp. 173, 185.

[97] Knight, Letters, pp. 10, 52.

[98] Ibid., p. 52.

[99] Ibid., pp. 1-2. Note 3 on p. 1 of Lady Knight's journal reveals that the Captain had spoken with the secretary of the Embassy at Paris, Mr. St. Paul.

[100] Ibid., p. 9. A note states that this friend was Dr. Shepherd, professor of astronomy at Cambridge, and that he had given her a letter of introduction to M. de Lalande, the French Astronomer Royal.

[101] Ibid., p. 33.

[102] Ibid.

[103]Rye Papers, p. 2.

[104]Mr. Emery was the person in London who had "arranged" the tour for them by providing transportation and guides.

[105]Rye Papers, pp. 2-4. While at Paris, Miss Rye hired "a very excellent valet-de-place." Despite the fears expressed by Mrs. Starke about such servants (see note 84) Jane Rye did not allow herself to be gulled. Initially, she explained, the valet wanted 24 francs a day, but he was promptly informed that he would receive "24 francs a week, which answer'd to an English pound." She argued that if his opposite number was "contented with that in London the capital of the most expensive country in the World it must be enough at Paris." Miss Rye's persuasiveness broke down his resistance and he accepted the job.

[106]Ibid., pp. 12-13. She had informed Emery of their intention to visit Switzerland, and the nephew had arrived bearing a letter of introduction for them from his uncle. With the exception of the route from Florence to Rome, the nephew acted as their guide throughout the tour.

CHAPTER III

METHODS OF TRANSPORT: BY LAND AND SEA

To many eighteenth-century women, their means of transport were as worthy of comment as the social customs or descriptions of their destinations. Curiosity spurred many of them to discover and note down in their journals the construction and mechanism of coach, sailing ship, or sledge, alongside more customary comments on availability, appearance and comfort. Reports ranged from general accounts of trouble-free journeys in the familiar coach or boat, to detailed explanations of the hazards of riding in Dutch trecht-schuyts or Russian sledges. Nor was orthodox transportation entirely free from mishap abroad: women travellers frequently reacted with spirit and determination when faced with a journey's inconveniences. Female journals and letters bear convincing testimony to their resourcefulness in action and to their critical faculties in description. It is also evident that, while many wished to entertain their friends at home, others hoped to guide and warn future adventurers.

Throughout eighteenth-century Britain, the number and variety of conveyances greatly increased. Speed became a sought-after ingredient of travel, and development of

swifter stage and mail coaches an essential goal of avid coach builders and restless customers. So much so, that in George II's reign the proliferation of vehicles gave rise to an excise tax, imposed on ". . .every Coach, Berlin, Landau, Chariot, Calash with four wheels, Chaise, Marine, Chaise with four wheels and Caravan or by what name such Carriages now are or hereafter may be called or known."[1] With such a variety of conveyances to choose from, and faster travel an every-growing possibility, it is easy to imagine provincial interest in different modes of transport. Perhaps it was women's awareness of the variety of conveyances at home which sparked their interest in the workings of particular vehicles abroad.

Foreign Vehicles: their mechanics and construction

Dutch and Russian sledges attracted the attention of several women travellers. Mrs. John Bousquet in 1765 described an Amsterdam "slay" as "a small coach, which by squeezing close will make shift to hold four little People. . . ."[2] Sarcastically, she explained that "this most elegant carriage which is generally old and crazy" was placed on two pieces of wood, raising it six inches from the ground. The Dutch driver, she noted, "has a way of greasing the slay with a piece of cord which he throws underneath the slay every few steps."[3] Nearly thirty years later, the observant Ann Radcliffe had a different, more detailed expla-

nation for what Mrs. Bousquet called "greasing." In Mrs. Radcliffe's version, the Dutch driver walked alongside this "curious vehicle", described as a coach body put on a sledge and drawn by a horse. Holding the reins with one hand, he grasped a "wetted rope" with the other, and at intervals, tossed the rope underneath the sledge. She believed that the reason for this action was to prevent the sledge catching fire and to fill up the cracks in the pavement, thus ensuring smooth passage.[4] Margaret Calderwood's 1756 version of the ritual, although "her best description" is more muddled than the other two accounts, does give us a clear, overall picture of this "very droll machine."[5] She called it a "trano"; the sledges possessed neat interiors, and boasted plenty of glass in their construction. Evidently, Mrs. Calderwood had formed a mental picture of these vehicles prior to her trip, since she confessed in her journal that she had believed there would be "more machinery about them. . ." than she found.[6]

Women travellers also examined Russian sledges. Their journals contain many attempts to describe in some detail their peculiarities. "A cradle made of wood, and covered with leather" is the opening line of Mrs. Vigor's description of the sledge she took on a four day journey in 1730, from St. Petersburg to Moscow.[7] In fact, the only information she gave of the entire journey concerned the sledge. Built for one person only, the sledge made travelling easy:

"You lie down on a bed, dressed and covered with furs. . ."[8] Other women travellers, perhaps more observant than Mrs. Vigor, recorded details on the construction and operation of these sledges. Elizabeth Justice, a contemporary of Mrs. Vigor's, proffered a brief, but vivid, account of the topless sledge as ". . .a Thing like an Easy-Chair. . .", perched on a stout bottom of wood and iron.[9] She also noted that only a Russian courtier enjoyed the privilege of covering with white sheets the horses that drew his sledge, which prevented the churned snow from flying up into the passengers' faces.[10] A half century later, Lady Elizabeth Craven referred to the Russian "kabitkas" as "cradles", echoing the definition of Mrs. Vigor. Her ladyship was well satisfied with the "windows to the front which let down;. . ." (thus enabling her to see everything) and with the design of the sledge, which allowed her to sit up or lie down as she pleased. A profusion of pillows and blankets provided warmth within the sledge.[11]

Foreign wagons also attracted a good deal of attention from women travellers. Once again, design and construction figure significantly in their travel journals and letters. Margaret Calderwood's interest in what she claimed was the most common form of land transport in Holland led her to give a detailed description of it. The post-wagon, she wrote, resembled "a coach and a chaise joined."[12] One could ride in privacy by unfolding the canvas divider be-

tween the first two seats and the last. She also noticed that the wagon could be hitched quickly to a fresh set of horses because they were yoked together, and therefore could be moved as one unit.[13] Of a somewhat different nature was the Cape wagon, sampled by both Lady Anne Barnard and Mrs. Eliza Fay, at different times and in dissimilar circumstances. No doubt the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for War, smiled inwardly when he read Lady Anne's description, knowing that she was accustomed to a far grander equipage.[14] According to Lady Anne, she crossed the rocky and hilly terrain of the Cape of Good Hope in a long, narrow-bodied wagon, which was covered with sailcloth and drawn by oxen.[15] Eliza Fay also found it rough going in a Cape wagon, and recorded bleakly in her letters that she reached her destination "tired and bruised."[16] During a ten day visit in Capetown, Maria Graham had ample opportunity to observe this particular wagon. She seems not to have ridden in one herself, and perhaps as a result, her account is more detailed and more detached. Those wagons which she saw entering Capetown, laden with fresh fruit, vegetables and wheat from the interior, were drawn by sixteen or twenty oxen. They were driven by "a single Hottentot, who sits in the front of his wagon, and drives all the beasts in hand, with a long whip,. . ."[17] Presumably native South Africans had become inured to the hardships of travelling by wagon, because Mrs. Graham noted that "whole families" frequently

rode in them, and that they were "fitted up very commodiously within."[18]

No less observant was Mrs. Calderwood, whose lengthy description of an open Dutch wagon resembles, in one aspect, that of Lady Anne Barnard. This open wagon, like its Cape counterpart, consisted of a "long-bodied, narrow cart."[19] Perched on four wheels, with four benches (one for the driver) replete with cushions, the wagon was pulled by two horses, yoked to a cross-tree. Always methodical in her descriptions, Margaret Calderwood remarked on the "hook-like" piece of wood, fastened between the two front wheels, which the driver used like a rudder to control the horses and execute turns.[20] Another visitor to Holland, Mrs. Radcliffe, considered somewhat contemptuously, that the Dutch name, "a covered wagon", accurately described the "sort of small coach" in which she travelled.[21] Noting that this conveyance was open in front, and poorly sprung, she disparagingly likened it to those wagons featured in sixteenth-century paintings.[22]

A traveller to Russia during the late Regency period, Mary Holderness preferred to forget the nightmare of riding in a covered wagon, and to concentrate instead on the construction of the Tchumak wagon.[23] In her opinion, this wagon was indeed "worthy of notice", and certainly she supported this contention with detailed observations.[24] For example, she explained that the wagon wheel was cut from

young elm or ash, placed over a fire and bent until the two ends met. The shaping was done by placing the cut wood around a solid, circular post three to four feet high. She also noted that the wagon's purpose was to carry freight, and to this end it was built to hold as much as two and a half tons of corn or salt on regular journeys between Riga, or other post towns on the Black Sea, and Moscow. Intrigued by what seems to have been a safety precaution, she described the Tchumaks' policy of travelling in groups of twenty to forty wagons, and forming a tight, oblong formation when they rested.[25]

Although Russian nobles rode, not in Tchumak wagons but in carriages, even they travelled in great fear for their safety. Katherine Robinson recorded one example of the safety precautions taken by Prince Kavansky and his retinue during a journal from St. Petersburg to Moscow in 1778. In the first few days, she feared that she might never complete the trip because the Prince became unduly alarmed (in her opinion) over an attack by robbers upon one of his kibitkas, sent ahead of their party. She wrote that, apart from "the coolness and presence of mind" shown by Madame Richard Guignard (her femme de chambre) and herself, everyone else milled around in "general confusion."[26] In particular, the gentlemen of the party, whose "courage did not seem equal to any extraordinary exertions" appeared badly shaken, while of the four accompanying princes, three appeared "terrified out

of [their] senses."[27] As they continued their journey Katherine Robinson became more alarmed at her party's "hasty, ignorant manner of loading the fire arms" and the distribution of those arms among scared and inexperienced persons, than at the possibility of an ambush.[28] They finally entered Tzchoudoff safely, she noted, but not "without Salvolatile being necessary for the Princess and some of the Gentlemen."[29] Eventually, after long deliberation and comprehensive safety arrangements, Prince Kavansky decided to leave Tzchoudoff and continue their trip to Moscow. Their huge and well-armed party now included "twenty Carriages, and sixty-eight people" broken down into "eight Kibitkas, with three Peasants in each, four of them going first; & the other four in the rear; four Cossacks, The Opravital himself, & a Postilion. . . ."[30]

Women travellers did not write much about the design, size or construction of the ships in which they sailed. The ubiquitous packet boat, and even the more esoteric Italian felucca, were sufficiently well-known to both writers and their readers to obviate copious description. Even the usually prolix Margaret Calderwood wrote of the packet boat only that it was small, deep, and broad, that it depended on the prevailing winds, and could not depart before the arrival of the mail.[31] Both Eliza Fay and Lady Craven mentioned, in passing, their hire of Italian feluccas to Leghorn. A felucca needed no elaborate description beyond

Elizabeth Craven's terse statement of it as "a long narrow boat with shoulder-of-mutton sails, and ten oars,. . ."[32] Certainly Lady Craven and Ann Radcliffe, on their trips down the Rhône to Avignon, and from Bommel on the Waal to Rotterdam, respectively, spared few words for their vessels. Lady Craven seemed reluctant to bestow the title of "boat" upon her craft, dismissing it as simply ". . .a few planks nailed together. . .a sort of raft."[33] Ann Radcliffe, by contrast, confidently sailed in a "stout, decked sea-boat, well-rigged and. . .very dexterously navigated."[34]

Though women travellers generally gave only such brief accounts of vessels, the adventurous and talented Maria Graham said more. During her visit to India in 1810, she took a short trip to Ceylon, for health reasons. She set sail in a ship of eight-hundred tons and, perhaps because everything was "as new. . .as if [she] had never been on board of a large vessel before," she described many points about the ship which interested her.[35] Maria noticed that the eight hundred tonner was built, not of oak, but of teak, which was longer lasting and, because of its non-shrinking properties, required minimal caulking. In addition to this advantage, teak, she wrote, "contains so much oil that the iron bolts and nails do not rust;. . . ."[36] In fact, the only disadvantage with teak was that it made the ship "inconveniently heavy."[37] Perhaps to compensate for the weight, the ship's masts, she noted, were made of "poon" which was

lighter than teak, but still ". . .cumbrous compared with European timber."[38] Finally, the rigging attracted her attention: it was fabricated from strong, unshrinkable "coier" rope, produced from "the coconut husk, steeped till the woody part decays, when the fibres are beaten, washed, and laid by hand, as they are too stiff to be spun."[39] Scarcely had Maria's ship anchored at Pointe de Galle, Ceylon, than it was surrounded by a score of little boats, which, because they were "curiously constructed", caught her attention. The bottom of each boat was "a hollow tree. . . in the shape of a canoe;" and on each side of the vessel, which carried vegetables, fruit and bread, a plank was attached with coier thread.[40] She also noted the method used to prevent the little ship from overturning:

> . . .across the boat two poles are fixed, to one end of which, at the distance of twice the breadth of the boat, an outrigger is fastened to balance the boat,. . . On one of these poles the mast of bamboo is usually set up; an old mat, or a piece of coarse cotton, serves as a sail, and the rudder is an oar or paddle, sometimes tied to the boat, but oftener held by its master.[41]

Maria's curiosity about unfamiliar ships emerged once again, during a visit to Madras. Here, she encountered two varieties: accommodation-boats and catamarans. The former, she explained, sailed from land to meet arriving ships and then ferried passengers ashore. One such accommodation-boat went to meet her ship, and soon she was busily ". . .obser-

ving its structure and its rowers."[42] Perhaps the ability of the boat to skim the heavy surf roused her interest in its construction. She recorded in her journal that the vessel was ". . .large and light, made of very thin planks sewed together, with straw in the seams, for caulking would make them too stiff. . . ."[43] She explained that it was most important for the boat to maintain its flexibility, and "give to the water like leather, otherwise [it] would be dashed to pieces."[44] She also found the actions of the rowers and the seating for passengers worthy of comment. The Indian rowers, sitting on bars at the edge of the boat, chanted a "plaintive song" while battling the surf, although to her ears the song sounded more like a cry.[45] For passengers, the boat contained at one end, ". . .a bench with cushions and a curtain. . .so that they [the passengers] are kept dry while the surf is breaking round the boat."[46]

Mrs. Graham's inquisitiveness did not desert her during a week's excursion to Ennore, a fishing village eight miles from Madras. This coast was known for its catamarans, and Maria "walked to the beach" to see them. She noted that they were "formed of two light logs of wood lashed together, with a small piece inserted between them at one end, to serve as a stem-piece."[47] She wrote that customarily the fishermen dismantled the boats once they were out of the water, and dried the logs in the sun, since dryness was "essential to their lightness and buoyancy."[48] Two men, wield-

ing paddles, operated a catamaran, and used the boat for two important purposes: fishing, or ferrying food and letters to ships lying at anchor, at times when other boats could not sail. She discovered that the boatmen wore "a pointed cap of matting, in which they secure the papers with which they may be entrusted, though they should themselves be washed off their catamarans a dozen times before they reach . . .their destination."[49] On a different and smaller scale, these boats could be called an Indian version of the European packet boat.

Maria Graham showed unusual interest in the mechanical side of travel, but she was not the only woman to do so. Several women travellers discussed, in some detail, two vessels in particular: the ferry, and the trecht-schuyt. Both Margaret Calderwood in 1756, and Ann Radcliffe in 1794, mentioned the canal ferries at Rotterdam. Impressed at the ease with which horse, carriage and passengers entered the ferry from one bank, and exited on the other by driving out on "the end board", specially laid out for the purpose, Mrs. Calderwood suggested that these "convenient passage-boats" be introduced into Scotland.[50] Both women described briefly how the boatman operated the ferry by pulling it across the canal by means of a rope.[51] The eager and restless traveller presumably found these ferries a boon, since, as Mrs. Radcliffe pointed out, it was often quicker to cross a canal by boat than to walk along the bridge.[52]

A more elaborate ferry was the "flying" or "floating" bridge, experienced by Mrs. Radcliffe at Coblenz and Mrs. Holderness at Drissa. Both women gave very similar descriptions of these ferries, and Ann Radcliffe's contained considerable detail. She explained that this contraption consisted of a platform (on which perched horse and carriage) supported underneath by barges, and overhead by a cable anchored at each side of the river. In addition, she wrote that "the bridge has two low masts, one on each barge, and these are connected at the top by a beam, over which the cable is passed, being confined so that it cannot slip beyond them."[53] Steersmen, manipulating two rudders, helped maintain a straight, safe course to the opposite bank.[54]

"Too well known to need description" was the 1794 verdict of Ann Radcliffe, on the subject of trecht-schuyts, a popular Dutch form of passage boat.[55] Thirty years earlier, Mrs. Bousquet could make no such confident statement, and gave as clear a description of a trecht-schuyt as she could. One travelled, she wrote, "in a Boat cover'd like a Room where you are sheltered both from Wind and Sun: at the same time one man steers, another rides upon a good strong Horse which goes a full trot along a Road made on the edge of the Canal: he holds a Cord which is fasten'd to the Boat, and you go a good pace. . . ."[56] One need not worry about danger, "the Boat being a guard upon the Horse, and the Horse upon the Boat."[57]

Other women travellers, including Mrs. Calderwood and Mrs. Radcliffe (despite her former statement) commented on various aspects of the trecht-schuyt. Margaret Calderwood seemed fascinated with the "rooff" (Mrs. Bousquet's "Room"), describing it as "a little place at the one end, [of the trecht-schuyt] divided by a partition from the rest where all ordinary passengers sit."[58] Here, in this "little closet", lined with windows and furnished with seats and cushions, passengers could sit and smoke.[59] The manoeuvrability of the trecht-schuyt impressed several women, among them Mrs. Calderwood and Mrs. Radcliffe, who explained how the vessel passed under bridges. The former remarked that when the horse track or road along the canal alternated from one bank to another, a bridge enabled the horses to cross over, while the trecht-schuyt lowered its mast to clear the bridge.[60] Mrs. Radcliffe noticed that, in order to pass under some bridges, the boatman loosened the tow-rope "from the boat, on one side, and immediately caught [it] again, on the other, if it should not be delivered by some person, purposely stationed at the arch."[61] She also noted what happened when the vessel approached a canal with a bend in it. At this point, she wrote, "small, high posts" were erected, around which the tow-rope was drawn; to avoid wear and tear caused by friction, "the posts support perpendicular rollers, which are turned by its motion."[62] Mightily impressed with this practical piece of equipment, Ann

Radcliffe recommended its use in England.[63] In fact, she praised highly the punctuality of the trecht-schuyts, which she believed justified the Dutch practice of reckoning distance by hours rather than miles.[64]

The acceptability of the trecht-schuyt as a whole, however, prompted different opinions from women travellers. Mrs. Bousquet considered it the safest mode of travel, but both she and Mrs. Calderwood thought the trecht-schuyt useless for seeing anything of the countryside.[65] Mrs. Radcliffe, however, could sightsee most satisfactorily, since her vessel lay above the level of the countryside.[66] In her experience Dutch canals were usually "full to the brim", but perhaps Mrs. Calderwood and Mrs. Bousquet travelled at times of low water level.[67]

Performance and Availability

Women's travel journals contain more than descriptions of the mechanics and construction of the various conventional vehicles and vessels mentioned above. Women travellers also recorded their opinions of the overall performance of their transportation, including such aspects as the comfort, ease, availability, advantages and drawbacks of particular items.

Mrs. Calderwood appeared anxious to assure her readers that no loss of prestige or status occurred by her travel by post-wagon. She wrote that Dutch country folk patronized

carts and wagons, and that gentlemen's private coaches were rarely seen, most people travelling in "stage wagons."[68] She bolstered this claim with a story she had heard concerning the landlord of the "Morning Star" inn of Amsterdam, where she was staying. Apparently, the King of Prussia, travelling through Holland incognito, ordered this landlord to procure him a coach. The landlord told him that since "nobody travelled in coaches", he would have to make do with a wagon or a phaeton. In response to the king's dissatisfaction with the hired wagon, the unwitting landlord retorted that "'The best people. . .travells in it. I have hired the same machine for German counts, ay, for English lords and they never found fault with it. . . .'"[69] Mrs. Calderwood could therefore take her seat in the wagon, safe in the knowledge that this humble vehicle had received nobility's stamp of approval.

However, neither Margaret Calderwood nor Mrs. Bousquet after her enjoyed travelling by postwagon: the noise it generated annoyed both women. Mrs. Bousquet disliked its "uneasy motion", concluding that a journey by postwagon was "dreadful."[70] Women travellers also rated the covered wagon low on this scale of comfort. From Ann Radcliffe's description of poor springs one assumes that she would have agreed with Mrs. Bousquet's conclusion that riding in a wagon was "a miserable way of travelling."[71] Similarly, Mary Holder-

ness had a poor opinion of the Russian covered wagon: the novelty of the first days of travel could not diminish the discomfort of a springless carriage on bad roads. With great feeling and probably some truth, she wrote that "There are few English ladies who would chuse to undertake a journey around England in a covered wagon. . . ."[72] She added that even if they did, the journey would be less of a trial than in Russia, because of shorter distances, and better accommodation.

On the subject of the sledge, two women mingled skepticism over its performance with appreciation of its practicality. To Margaret Calderwood, the sledge in operation seemed like a "very droll machine," while Ann Radcliffe characterized it as "whimsical."[73] Both women pointed out that the Amsterdam "slay" eased the strain placed upon the city's weak, piled foundations by heavy coaches, noting that a "great tax on wheels" discouraged the use of such vehicles.[74] Mrs. Radcliffe applauded the Dutch practice of freighting heavy goods on sledges, which introduced a measure of tranquillity into the busy, bustling streets of commercial Amsterdam.[75] However, the Dutch "slay" found no favour with Mrs. Bousquet: the horse was usually "lean and boney", progress appeared slow, and this "lovely vehicle" swayed from side to side "like a ship when it tacks about."[76]

Russian sledges also posed problems for women travellers. Two women, in particular, recorded the details of

their hazardous journeys by this method. The risk of an overturning sledge could not have been unusual in an area where, as Lady Craven indicated, the large number of sledges in use packed down the snow and created dangerous ruts in the road. She herself overturned twice, and since on both occasions the postilion showed no alarm, she assumed such accidents common. Perhaps she was also hinting that the postilion's control over the three horses drawing the "kabitka" left something to be desired, since she recorded that the driver alternately whistled, shrieked, or brandished an arm, rather than wield a whip.[77] Further setbacks did not endear this form of transport to her. At Soumi, for example, during a period of thaw, she remained two days longer than expected, while her carriages were removed from sledges, and the latter replaced with wheels.[78]

Despite Mary Holderness' conviction that she could not have undertaken the journey from Riga to the Crimea in any English coach with "so little fatigue"[79] she complained nevertheless about the shortcomings of the Russian sledge. Soon after leaving Polotsk, she and her family witnessed an accident to the driver of their own britchka. Taking his galloping horses down a steep hill, the hapless postilion toppled from his seat, and fell under the sledge. Trapped in this careening carriage, at the mercy of runaway horses, Mrs. Holderness remembered her fears of being "dashed to pieces."[80] Luckily, she reached the bottom of the hill un-

scathed, but the unfortunate driver later died. Apart from the pall cast over her party by this incident, Mary worried about the "ill construction" of the sledges, which she considered an important factor in the frequent overturnings during the journey.[81] Just as Lady Craven's accident did not prevent her from continuing her journey, neither did Mary Holderness long remain depressed. However, her courage was once more tested on the Bog river. A thaw had set in, which made sledge travel difficult and dangerous. Nevertheless, after several false starts, she, her children and a servant struggled across the thawing ice on sledges, each drawn by ten men. Terrified, but undaunted, she made it safely to the other side, in a ricketty vehicle along a watery surface ". . .in many places cracked, and very thin."[82]

'Travelling post' also emerged as a major source of irritation for women on the move. Lady Elizabeth Craven found herself the butt of practical jokers during her journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow in 1786. Pranksters removed one of her set of healthy post-horses, replacing it with a sick animal. This had annoying results. As she explained, Russian post rules required compensation for any horse which died while under hire. The ailing horse duly expired along the way, and Lady Craven, protesting volubly, paid up at the next post. Her advice to future travellers? She strongly urged them not to leave a town in the aftermath

of a carnival, where innocent tourists can become the easy prey of drunks and jokesters.[83]

Mrs. Holderness not only shared Maria Guthrie's complaints of the "imposition of the post" in Russia, but also listed some of the details of hiring post horses, and highlighted some of the problems.[84] She explained briefly that the government regulated the rewarding office of post-master in the following manner: the traveller sent her passport ahead to the post-station, where officials (usually lieutenants in the Russian services) stamped and registered it in the station master's books. Only then would horses be provided for the journey. Frequently, however, travellers waited not only for a sufficient number of horses to arrive, but also for the animals to be properly fed and rested. All this, coupled with her party's need for more than a dozen horses, meant that Mary Holderness was often badly delayed. Perhaps she took advantage of the complaint service available at each post. She explained that the dissatisfied customer could file her grievance in the station-master's books, always open for inspection and periodically sent to St. Petersburg for official examination.[85] Mrs. Holderness did not, however, comment on the efficacy of this procedure: one infers from her writings and those of other women that officials did not redress grievances either automatically or swiftly.

The German post system aroused strong feelings in, and

some harsh words from, Elizabeth Craven and Ann Radcliffe. Obstinate postilions and postmasters so annoyed Lady Craven that she decided to use her initiative, and made her own way to the frontier town of Treviso. Relinquishing her carriage, drawn by ten horses and four oxen at the postilion's "snail-like pace", she hired a "traineau" from an obliging peasant and dashed along at her own speed.[86] However, she ran into trouble at the post-house when trying to leave in this fashion. Ignorant of a German law requiring strangers travelling post to remain for a two-hour period before leaving frontier towns, she was at a loss to understand the apparent rudeness of the postmaster. The communication problem was only resolved when a sympathetic officer explained the situation to her. He informed Lady Craven that the post-master spoke little Italian and no French, and took her for "an impatient boy."[87] However, as she explained in her journal, once the officer had addressed her as "miladi" all confusion disappeared.[88] The mere mention of the title brought the postmaster to such a proper sense of deference to the quality, that Lady Craven reclaimed her traineau and obtained six fresh horses for her accompanying carriage.

If Ann Radcliffe's overall opinion of the German post was negative, she certainly found the system itself worth explaining. She soon discovered that the Prince de la Tour Taxis, Hereditary Grand Post-master of the Empire, monopolized the service. No German innkeeper could maintain a

private supply of post-horses. Instead, each stage possessed a predetermined number of horses together with a postmaster, who decided how many horses each passenger must hire.[89] Seemingly impressed, Mrs. Radcliffe noted that few highway robberies occurred in Germany, a fact postmasters attributed to the predilection of highwaymen for attacking private voituriers rather than postilions who, with their passengers, travelled under the Empire's protection. If a highwayman should strike, information spread quickly throughout the network of German post-stations, and a general alarm went forth for his apprehension.[90]

Delay in travelling and recaltricant, sluggish postilions were Mrs. Radcliffe's two main complaints with the German post system. At Schwetzingen and Mannheim, she and her husband had to wait for horses, because all the post-horses were already hired, and the Austrian Army had commandeered a certain number.[91] The privilege which enabled German princes and ministers to preempt the entire stock of horses on the road might also delay tourists. Individual travellers, then, frequently waited two or more days for post-horses, or tried to hire them from a voiturier.[92] Ann Radcliffe's writing makes evident that the real object of her wrath was the postilion. Paying him "trinkgeld" (drink money) neither reversed his slackness, diminished his rudeness and incivility, nor reduced his indifference to repeated questions from anxious travellers.[93] She found that the

only solution was to pay the postilion an extra fee: only then would he agree to drive the horses beyond the slow regulation speed of four hours for each post (ten to twelve English miles).[94] One could do nothing, however, to prevent additional discomforts from tobacco smoke and dust clouds. Uttering the age-old cry of non-smokers, Mrs. Radcliffe bemoaned the fact that the postilions carried tobacco boxes, and "combustible bark", struck with flint and steel.[95] The resultant heavy smoke irritated hapless travellers as much as the constant showers of dust thrown up by the post horses.[96]

Several women complained about the difficulty in obtaining coaches in various places. Having been duped by an enterprising Calais landlord into surrendering her commodious carriage to his safekeeping, the inexperienced Baroness von Riedesel soon realised her folly, upon her arrival in England. The English post-chaise was so expensive, particularly since all luggage was priced according to weight, that she sought help from the government. Permission from the first minister, Lord North, enabled her to bring her own carriage into the country, duty-free.[97] In Canada, her resourcefulness reemerged. Finding that travel in a typical caleche yielded little space and left her three children brusied and shaken, she procured a larger vehicle. The Baroness shielded her small family and two maids from the elements by covering the caleche with a coarse linen top,

weatherproofed with oil paint.[98] Despite all her efforts, she confessed that she enjoyed real comfort in the colonies only when General Riedesel bought her "a pretty English carriage."[99]

Difficulty obtaining a carriage highlighted Mary Wollstonecraft's ill-starred arrival in Norway. Since the personal assistance she had expected never materialized, she finally endured "a rude sort of cabriole. . .a driver half drunk. . . ."[100] In these circumstances, perhaps it was as well that she was not entirely alone, having met and travelled with a helpful Danish sea captain and his mate.

Other women encountered an even greater problem regarding carriages: in some places they were unavailable. Journeying through parts of Russia, Maria Guthrie discovered that she could hire no "covered carriages" in any city from the Baltic to the Black Sea.[101] A similar situation existed for Elizabeth Justice, who for lack of anything better, set out for St. Petersburg from Poland, in a coach which the English would have called a mere open chaise.[102] Miss Tully, sister to the British Consul in Tripoli, experienced (for her) an unusual situation: the area had no carriages of any sort. When visiting the castle of the ruling Bashaw of Tripoli, she had to walk, accompanied by several gentlemen and guards.[103] Even Ann Radcliffe, who personally travelled by coach in Germany, was astonished at that vehicle's scarcity there, remarking that one usually did not see "more

than one in twenty miles."[104] When she did see two or three coaches on the road, she knew she must be approaching a larger than usual town. Intrigued by this phenomenon, she suggested some reasons for this scarcity. For one thing, she noted, the German looked on travel as a necessity, not a pleasure: he knew how tiring and painful springless carriages could be, and he constantly endured the incivility of innkeepers.[105] One imagines that Mrs. Radcliffe shared the general misgivings about German travel facilities, since she offered a specific warning about the post chaise. She stated bluntly that the latter was more "inconvenient and filthy, than any travelling carriage, seen in England, can give an idea of,. . ."[106] Her practical solution to serious travellers was to buy a carriage outside Germany. She mentioned, for example, that in Holland one could purchase a carriage for twenty pounds, and sell it for fifteen on return. Although she and her husband did not do so, they rigorously avoided the post chaise, preferring instead to hire a voiturier's coach, regardless of the increased cost.[107] She implied that comfort and convenience on the road superseded economical intentions when in Germany.

Travelling formally by post coaches may have posed many problems, but many public and private carriages fascinated women travellers, whose journals minutely described their colourful decoration, luxurious interiors and liveried drivers. For example, close observation of the Dutch "Hacke"

convinced Mrs. Calderwood of its superiority to the coach of even George III. This splendid vehicle boasted a "black japanned ground, with fine carved corners," not to mention corniced windows and gilded wheels.[108] Comparing Dutch coaches to those of Britain, she noted in the former the lower coachman's seat, the large braces which supported the chassis so that it hung well, and the back window made of glass, which reached to the seat.[109] Although large and "clumsily made," Dutch carriages in general, she believed, possessed an ornate decoration which compensated for their weak carpentry.[110] The appearance of a gentleman's coach so dazzled Margaret Calderwood that she described fully its painted, japanned coach body, further adorned with coat of arms and coronet, and lined with "flowered velvet."[111] The coachman's seat bore a gold and silver fringe, while he and the accompanying servants sported elaborate liveries. Accessories included "broad laced hats and large shoulder knots."[112] Equally spectacular were the trappings for horses. She noted the harnesses and reins of "red Turkey leather", frequently covered with gilded buckles; the manes dressed with worsted bindings of scarlet and other colours; and the tassels which decorated the horses' ears and tails.[113] The quality of the horses themselves so impressed her that she preferred the large, well-shaped horses of Holland to the "light horses" used in England.[114]

Despite her misgivings about the German post, Ann Rad-

cliffe did not fail to mention the striking uniforms of the regular drivers. Clothed in a yellow, black-cuffed coat, surmounted by a cape and yellow sash, each driver carried a bugle horn over his shoulder. Before entering a town, or negotiating a narrow pass, the driver sounded the horn, thus establishing his preeminence and obtaining the right of way.[115] Unlike many eighteenth-century women travellers, the well-to-do Lady Craven did not merely describe the fine carriages of others, but herself travelled in an imposing equipage. For instance, while journeying through Touraine, she rode in "a comfortable coach, varnished and gilt. . ."[116] Writing from Avignon, she mentioned that her coach was so spacious and equipped with "such excellent blinds", that the oppressive heat in no way disturbed her.[117]

Unorthodox Conveyances

In addition to their descriptions of conventional methods of transport abroad, women travellers obviously delighted in sharing with others their impressions of unorthodox conveyances. In so doing, they reveal superbly their inquiring minds and adventurous spirits. Setting out for Calais during her tour of the Low Countries and France, Mrs. Bousquet recorded that she and her husband travelled "in the most curious of all the curious Equipages we have met with in our travells. . . ."[118] This singular vehicle she called a Languedoc chaise and pair, which consisted of a very small

body, into which only four people could squeeze. In construction, it seemed a cross between an Amsterdam "slay" and an English, two-wheeled cart. Needless to say, the Languedoc chaise offered passengers an uncomfortable ride, and was given to violent jolts at intermittent periods.[119]

Crossing the "Tauric Stept", in the Crimea, Maria Guthrie remarked on the Tartar use of the dromedary. She noticed that two of these animals drew a "real Scythian cart", which she learned had carried women for generations.[120] It was, she wrote, a deep vehicle, mounted on two high wheels and lined with rushes and a felt mat. She surmised that the covering of felt on top of the cart might have been used to hide the women passengers from view.[121] Although at the outset of her Crimean journey, Maria had accepted from the Tartars a set of excellent horses for her coach, she could not resist mounting the dromedary for a moment. Like many other inquisitive but apprehensive people, she merely wanted to be able to say that she had sat "on this curious animal."[122]

The unfamiliar camel both fascinated and repelled Anne Elwood, as she prepared to cross the Egyptian desert before sailing down the Red Sea on her way to India. She noted a disconcerting lack of concern for order on the part of the native inhabitants, and as she made last minute arrangements for the desert trip, she tried to

capture in print the extraordinary melee around her. Buffeted by a strong wind from a "Camseen" which had just arisen, and bathed in light of a "purplish colour", drivers with their camels made lengthy arrangements to depart.[123] While they made ready, other Arabs surrounded Mrs. Elwood and her party, loudly demanding "bucksheesh", which could have included their cutlery or umbrellas, for "nothing was too high or too low for their desires."[124] Bellowing camels added to the uproar. One can sense Anne Elwood's despair and resignation as she explained that:

> Sometimes a peculiarly pious one, just after he was loaded, tired of this wordly din and uproar, would set off upon the Hadje by himself;--whilst his driver was scampering after him--lo, and behold,--another of a more idle disposition seeking to evade the journey altogether, trotted off in another direction. . . . No order or method appeared, but with the most complete Mahometan indifference and predestinarianism, everything was left to take care of itself.[125]

Circumstances often gave Eliza Fay little choice in transportation methods. She had crossed most of Europe on her way east, by coach, but to surmount Mont Cenis, she had to ride a mule. The journey, which she undertook with aplomb, was hazardous: she was advised not to touch the reins, since the mule guided itself and could very easily throw its rider, if thwarted. She admitted that the mule terrified her by wandering from the path at one point, but her alarm subsided once the animal returned to the beaten

track.[126] She had an easier time descending the mountainside. Abandoning the mule, she was carried down by two men in "an armed chair", which was "fastened to poles and slung upon straps" like a sedan.[127]

Ann Flaxman, however, using similar travelling methods, suffered discomfort when crossing Mont Cenis. After mounting her mule with some "contrivance" and much mirth, she began the ascent. She was able to quiet her fears by amused contemplation of such a "drole cavalcade" carefully winding its way to the top; the descent, however, was harder to endure.[128] Ann Flaxman explained that, having reached the summit, she, her female companion, together with her small dog were "deliver'd over & squeez'd into the smallest compass possible; it was a little kind of chair with elbows, but without feet, two Poles run along the side of the Wicker Bottom and it was a tolerable size for one Middling Person."[129] In this cramped conveyance, they descended Mont Cenis, carried by two chairmen, who, when they wanted a rest, dumped them on "the Cold Ground without the least reserve."[130] Such a journey had considerable after-effects: the men hobbled around with "legs of lead", the result of having descended on foot. As for the women, Mrs. Flaxman would say only that they "remembered the Mules for some days after."[131] By the 1820's, when Mariana Starke and Anne Elwood made their respective crossings of Mont Cenis, mules and <u>chaises a porteurs</u> had become outmoded. "Imperial en-

ergy. . .aided by the talents of Fabbroni" explained Mrs. Elwood, had provided travellers with a road suitable for heavy carriages all year round.[132] She herself ascended Mont Cenis in a six-horse carriage, passing along the way the twenty-six small inns which, as Mariana Starke had noted in her guidebook, were erected by Napoleon for the convenience of unfortunate travellers caught in snow storms.[133]

Women travellers to the East also sampled unfamiliar modes of transportation. Perhaps her earlier experience with the mule had inured Eliza Fay to bumpy and uncomfortable rides, because she crossed part of the Egyptian desert in a kind of litter, borne by two camels. The pain induced by the ride was matched by the discomfort caused by the heat, which the litter's Venetian blinds did little to assuage during the day, although at night they protected the traveller against the penetrating cold.[134] Her interest in this and other travel methods may have been roused not only because of their unfamiliarity, but also because these conveyances were used primarily by women. Men crossing the desert, for example, rode on horseback. For resting and sleeping, a man could lie on a mattress, slung across the panniers which held provisions for the journey.[135] This must have been not only an exposed, but also a rough, ride, since camels carried the panniers.

In another environment and at a later date, Mary Rich experienced similar restraints and fatigue as she journeyed

from Baghdad to Kurdistan.[136] Despite her preference for horseriding, she travelled most of the route in a takhtrouan or covered litter. She explained that since "eastern etiquette [made] it indecorous for a man to appear to care anything more about his wife than the rest of his baggage, or to allow her to form part of his more stately procession", she not only submitted to the takhtrouan, but also complied with the customary half-hour delay between her departure and that of the gentlemen, who always travelled ahead of the women.[137] However, on those occasions when she could not be observed, Mrs. Rich was able to forego her litter, and ride the horses so thoughtfully provided by her husband. Her journey was not always easy. For some time after leaving Baghdad, she had to cross "dreary, parched up, melancholy plains", only to encounter driving rain, deep mud and little dry cover.[138] But Mary Rich proved herself undaunted by these and other challenges: she traversed with ease the "formidable Taook Tchai, or torrent" which she had passed on her 1813 visit to Constantinople; joined with others as they "scrambled up the mount" of Tchemtchemal, a steep, two-hundred foot-high, artificial creation surrounded by the Kurdistan mountains; and reached the summit of the Alkosh mountain, leaving her husband, whose head would not have permitted his "climbing over the frightful precipices", to explore the Rabban Hormuzd convent near the bottom.[139]

Far grander in scale than the takhtrouan, but equally

uncomfortable, was the ambassadorial sedan-chair Lady Elizabeth Craven used in Pera and Constantinople. She explained that it resembled her own chair in London, except in decoration, which was like that of a French coach, "gilt and varnished."[140] Along with the loaned sedan-chair came six Turks to carry it (instead of the usual two or four bearers), and two Janissaries wearing high fur caps, who marched in front of the conveyance, perhaps to clear a path, guard the occupant, and stave off the curious. When travelling in a coach tired her, Lady Craven abandoned it for her horse. Riding side-saddle, however, often caused a sensation, particularly in Russia. On one occasion, the comments of passing peasants greatly amused her. They thought she had only one leg and openly and loudly expressed their sympathy.[141] In the Crimea, her riding so astonished an old Cossack chief that at the end of the journey he kissed the hem of her petticoat, informing her (she later learned from translation) that she was "worthy of being a Cossack."[142]

While in Tripoli, Miss Tully commented on the paucity of available transportation. Apart from the horse (which she and her brother's household used), the camel (mostly ridden by the Moors), and the dromedary (which conveyed the post and couriers), there was only one kind of transport vehicle. She rode in a form of palanquin, which was "entirely closed with linen, and placed on the back of a camel."[143] Perhaps this vehicle was largely used by women: certainly

Miss Tully reported that the Bashaw's elegant palanquin fulfilled only one function: it carried the royal women to their country houses.[144]

Further afield, Mrs. Graham found palanquins waiting for her on the pier when she arrived at Bombay. Fascinated, she described them as "litters, in which one may either lie down or sit upright, with windows and sliding doors; the modern ones are little carriages, without wheels;. . ."[145] She also compared the new style of palanquin with that of an earlier period. She explained that "those anciently used were of a different form, and consisted of a bed or sofa, over which was an arch just high enough to admit of sitting upright; it was decorated with gold or silver bells and fringes, and had a curtain to draw occasionally over the whole."[146] The "hamauls", or palanquin-carriers, wore only a loin cloth and a turban. This "degree of nakedness", she explained, did not shock her. Since Europeans were unaccustomed to dark skins, the unusual colour appeared to them to have "the effect of dress."[147] Later, at Sungum Poonah, Mrs. Graham wrote enthusiastically about her first elephant-ride. She considered the motion not unpleasant, and affirmed that the elephant was sufficiently quick so that a horse had to go "at a round trot to keep up with him."[148] The elephant himself stood eleven feet high, with "beautifully mottled" forehead and ears. His thick tusks were sawn off at a convenient length to enable him to kneel while

the riders hauled "an enormous pad" on his back. Upon this pad, held in place by chains and cotton rope, went "the howda, a kind of box, divided into two parts; the front containing a seat large enough for two or three persons, and the back a space for the servant who bears the umbrella."[149] The driver, she explained, sat astride the animal's neck, and guided him with one foot behind each ear. On their return, she watched while attendants removed the howdah and took the elephant down to the water where he proceeded to wash and drink. Her concern for detail led her to explain that the elephant was confined in a stable by having his heels tightly fastened to pegs. She also observed that he ate rice, grass and leaves, but preferred ". . .bread and fruit, especially the plantain."[150]

When mule, camel and elephant, takhtrouan and palanquin failed, women used their feet. Since grappling with an Egyptian pyramid was the only method of attaining its summit, Anne Elwood ignored her qualms and tried the ascent herself. Her own description of this event testified to the difficulties which an early nineteenth-century female traveller had to overcome, and to her personal determination. On May 2, 1826, she recorded in her journal that, at the northeast angle of the pyramid:

> the tug of war began. I was fairly pulled up by the friendly aid of the party, most of the rugged stones. . .being two or three feet high. My heavy cloth habit was but ill suited for the attempt,

> and I soon found neither my courage nor my strength were adequate to the undertaking. I however did not relinquish it till I had been repeatedly entreated to desist, and I was at length glad to veil my cowardice under the pretence of conjugal obedience, as C----- was really alarmed for my safety.[151]

Anne Elwood did not, however, immediately descend. Instead she accepted the assistance of Osman Effendi and waited until the rest of the party began their descent. For half an hour, she was:

> suspended, like Mahomet's coffin, between heaven and earth, upon the north-east angle of the Pyramid of Cheops. It was a curious situation, looking over the valley of the Nile on the one side, and the immense deserts of Africa on the other, surrounded by pyramids and tombs, in company with a Scotch Turk![152]

She was even more relieved that she had not attempted the summit on being told by one of the party that he had become dizzy before reaching the top. Nor was the descent without its hazards, for she had to "jump from stone to stone, and one false step" would have been fatal.[153]

In sum, women travellers, obviously, were active and inquisitive observers of their methods of transportation. As their journals have revealed, they became interested in the design and construction of various vehicles and vessels, showed concern for performance and efficiency, remarked upon decoration and livery, and described items both unusual and unfamiliar. These women, furthermore, were fully prepared

to sustain the various inconveniences attendant upon eighteenth-century travel. Rough rides over unpaved and rutted "roads", incivility from station-masters and postilions, joltings and bruisings from poorly constructed vehicles, and occasionally, a mountain to scale, or an icy river to cross: all these phenomena most women travellers encountered in some way or other. Although travelling women complained about uncomfortable transportation, they also showed their resourcefulness and presence of mind in face of difficulties. Overall, one is left with the firm impression that women possessed the desire to travel, the urge to note down their activities, and the curiosity which characterizes the acute observer.

Footnotes--Chapter III

[1]Quoted in Elizabeth Burton, The Georgians at Home (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1967), p. 19.

[2]Mrs. J. Bousquet, Mrs. Bousquet's Diary, 1765, ed. Mrs. Tindall (Norwich, England: Jarrold & Sons, 1927), pp. 20-21. Hereafter: Bousquet, Diary.

[3]Ibid., pp. 20-21.

[4]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 69.

[5]Margaret Calderwood, Letters and Journals. . .from England, Holland and the Low Countries in 1756, ed. A. Fergusson (London: Printed for David Douglas, 1884), p. 69. Hereafter: Calderwood, Letters.

[6]Ibid., p. 69.

[7]Mrs. William Vigor, Letters from a Lady who resided some years in Russia. . ., 2nd. ed. (London: J. Dodsley, 1777; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), p. 9. Hereafter: Vigor, Letters.

[8]Ibid., p. 9.

[9]Elizabeth Justice, A Voyage to Russia. . . (London: T. Gent, 1739), pp. 22-23. Hereafter: Justice, Russia.

[10]Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[11]Craven, Journey, p. 185.

[12]Calderwood, Letters, p. 69.

[13]Ibid., pp. 69, 106.

[14]Henry Dundas, later Lord Melville, presciently recognised the potential strategic value and resources of the Cape of Good Hope, and having procured a position for Mr. Barnard on the Cape, found in Lady Anne a gifted and careful correspondent on all things South African. (Dundas was a close associate of the Younger Pitt and held several ministerial posts.)

[15]Barnard, South Africa, pp. 156-191.

[16]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 284-285.

[17]Maria Graham, Journal of a Residence in India (Edinburgh: A. Constable & Co., 1812; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1812), pp. 174, 178. Hereafter: Graham, India.

[18]Ibid., pp. 174, 178.

[19]Calderwood, Letters, p. 56.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Radcliffe, Journey, pp. 6-7.

[22]Ibid.

[23]In English, the Tchumaks were known as "Little Russians."

[24]Holderness, New Russia, p. 90.

[25]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

[26]Katherine Robinson, Journal of a Visit to Moscow, Sept. 12-Nov. 2, 1778, Public Record Office 30/43/12, ff. 1-2. Hereafter: P.R.O. 30/43/12.

[27]P.R.O. 30/43/12, ff. 1-2.

[28]Ibid., f. 3.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid., f. 5.

[31]Calderwood, Letters, p. 43.

[32]Craven, Journey, pp. 77, 90.

[33]Ibid., p. 34.

[34]Radcliffe, Journey, pp. 356-359.

[35]Graham, India, p. 85.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[40]Ibid., p. 87.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., p. 123.

[43]Ibid., p. 124.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibid., p. 127.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Ibid., pp. 127-128. Maria also noted that both catamarans and accommodation-boats were under the control of a "particular police." See Graham, India, p. 128.

[50]Calderwood, Letters, pp. 68-69.

[51]Ibid.; Radcliffe, Journey, p. 16.

[52]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 16. In Rotterdam, she estimated that a ferry would take two minutes to cross a canal.

[53]Radcliffe, Journey, pp. 166-167.

[54]Ibid. In her description Mary Holderness also mentioned the ". . .flat platform, made large enough to hold two carriages, and the horses also;. . ." and explained that the boatmen guided the ferry across the river (an arm of the Dvina) by means of a rope (extended across the river), which ran through two poles at each end of the platform. See Holderness, New Russia, pp. 31-32.

[55]The word "trecht-schuyt" is spelt in several ways by women writers. Mrs. Bousquet favoured "tract-schoot", Mrs. Calderwood, "track-scoot", and Mrs. Radcliffe, "trecht-schuyt." For the sake of consistency, I have used the last throughout.

[56]Bousquet, Diary, p. 9.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Calderwood, Letters, pp. 120-121.

[59]Ibid., p. 121.

[60]Ibid., p. 126.

[61]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 53.

[62]Ibid., p. 54.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Ibid., p. 17.

[65]Bousquet, Diary, pp. 9, 18; Calderwood, Letters, p. 125.

[66]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 17.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Calderwood, Letters, pp. 100-101, 110.

[69]Ibid., p. 115.

[70]Bousquet, Diary, p. 25.

[71]Ibid., p. 8; Radcliffe, Journey, pp. 6-7.

[72]Holderness, New Russia, p. 14.

[73]Calderwood, Letters, p. 110; Radcliffe, Journey, p. 69.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 15.

[76]Bousquet, Diary, p. 21.

[77]Craven, Journey, pp. 185-186.

[78]Ibid., pp. 204-206.

[79]Holderness, New Russia, p. 12.

[80]Ibid., p. 34.

[81]Ibid., pp. 33-35.

[82]Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[83]Craven, Journey, pp. 186-187. The phrase "travelling

post" (or "posting") originated in the pre-coach era when travellers hired horses only at recognized posting places. By the eighteenth century, there were two major methods of "travelling post." First, horses could be hired at various places along a route to draw a private carriage; second, the traveller could hire both horse and post-chaise. The regulations governing this mode of travel varied from country to country, and the unwary visitor ignored them at her peril.

[84]Guthrie, Tour, pp. 3-4.

[85]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 13-14, 47, 56.

[86]Craven, Journey, p. 139.

[87]Ibid., pp. 139-140.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Radcliffe, Journey, pp. 280-281.

[90]Ibid., p. 282.

[91]Ibid., p. 279.

[92]Ibid., p. 284.

[93]Ibid., p. 283.

[94]Ibid., p. 281. The financial inducement must have been considerable, because they now travelled at five miles an hour.

[95]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 283.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Riedesel, Journal, pp. 7-10.

[98]Ibid., pp. 49, 66.

[99]Ibid., p. 74.

[100]Wollstonecraft, Letters, pp. 67-68.

[101]Guthrie, Tour, p. 72.

[102]Justice, Russia, p. 13.

[103]Miss Tully, Narrative of a Ten Years Residence at Tripoli in Africa. . . (London: Printed for Henry Colburn,

1816), pp. 137-138. Hereafter: Tully, Tripoli.

[104]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 153.

[105]Ibid., pp. 153-154.

[106]Ibid., p. 281.

[107]Ibid., p. 282.

[108]Calderwood, Letters, p. 65.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Ibid.

[111]Ibid., p. 66.

[112]Ibid. In general, she discovered that Dutch coachmen usually dressed in "work'd Ruffles, clean white Gloves & Bagg-Wigs; their Liveries in general are very grand." See Calderwood, Letters, p. 11.

[113]Calderwood, Letters, p. 66.

[114]Ibid.

[115]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 282.

[116]Craven, Journey, p. 14.

[117]Ibid., p. 39.

[118]Bousquet, Diary, p. 61.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Guthrie, Tour, p. 225.

[121]Ibid.

[122]Ibid., pp. 57-58.

[123]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 217-221.

[124]Ibid., I, p. 222.

[125]Ibid., I, pp. 222-223.

[126]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 55-56.

[127]Ibid., p. 57.

[128]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 38.

[129]Ibid., p. 39.

[130]Ibid.

[131]Ibid., pp. 39-41. She reminded herself that from the top of these mountains Hannibal showed his soldiers the Piedmont plain they were to conquer.

[132]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 11. Napoleon had a carriage road constructed here between the years 1803 and 1813. The person to whom Mrs. Elwood referred was probably Giovanni Fabbroni (1752-1822), a well-known Italian civil engineer.

[133]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 11; Starke, Travels, pp. 618-619, 641.

[134]Fay, Original Letters, p. 100.

[135]Ibid.

[136]Rich, Fragment, pp. 331-375 passim.

[137]Ibid., pp. 332-350.

[138]Claudius J. Rich, Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan. . . ed. by his widow. 2 vols. (London: James Duncan, 1836), I, p. 2. Hereafter: Rich, Koordistan. See also Rich, Fragment, p. 358. For example, when nearing the mountains of Kurdistan, Mary Rich was able to ride her horse. She explained: "As a relief to the mules, and to escape the shaking of the takht-revan over which is reckoned a troublesome road, I, nothing loth, mounted my horse about half-past five. We soon left the takht-revan, baggage, and kajavahs far behind us, and proceeded at a very pleasant pace, when not hindered by the heavy mud, which we met with every now and then in the deep ravines, formed by innumerable rills, coming in every direction over a thick red soil of almost a crimson colour." See Rich, Fragment, p. 358.

[139]Rich, Fragment, pp. 351, 357; Rich, Koordistan, II, p. 98.

[140]Craven, Journey, pp. 271-272. While in Madeira, Eliza Fay mentioned that she travelled to the consul's house in a silk net hammock, slung between poles and carried by two men. Except for horse riding, and oxen-drawn drays for freight, the place lacked other transport: hence the ham-

mock. On another occasion, her determination to see Santa Cruz made her defy the bad roads and rocky terrain. She adopted the customary mode of transport of the native women, riding on top of an ass in a "sort of armed chair, with cushions and a foot-stool." Entirely exposed, she fended off the hot sun with her umbrella, but could only endure the continual jolting. See Fay, Original Letters, pp. 264, 271-272.

[141]Craven, Journey, pp. 224-225.

[142]Ibid.

[143]Tully, Tripoli, p. 5.

[144]Ibid.

[145]Graham, India, pp. 1-2.

[146]Ibid., p. 2.

[147]Ibid.

[148]Ibid., p. 75.

[149]Ibid.

[150]Ibid.

[151]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 159.

[152]Ibid., pp. 159-160. "Osman Effendi" was the name given to a Scotsman, William Thompson, who having been rescued from Djidda by the explorer, J.L. Burckhardt, was then employed as an interpreter by the British consul, Henry Salt, at Cairo. Thompson was the "Scotch Turk" referred to by Mrs. Elwood. See Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 137.

[153]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 160-161.

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN FOOD AND LODGING

Since women travellers ventured far beyond Europe into such places as Brazil, North Africa, and the Near East, an inevitable question comes to mind: how did they react to unfamiliar forms of accommodation, and to unusual foods? Could they surmount the parochialism of the average English traveller, for whom the tea-pot and attendant paraphernalia were essential pieces of baggage? How observant of foreign food customs were they? How adaptable could they be towards housing which varied tremendously in quality? From the wealth of detail on this topic which abounds in their travel literature, it becomes clear that many women were outspoken in both praise and criticism, of foreign foods, inns, and innkeepers.

Western Europe

A good example of the type of woman traveller who commented fairly freely upon her accommodation was Margaret Calderwood, who visited Holland in 1756. Although pleased and satisfied with her lodgings at Helvoetsluys, she decided, from "curiosity" to dine one day at the "ordinary."[1] Here, she discovered an imposing array of food: sixteen meat dishes, including a "very good dessert" of fresh fruit,

which included the finest strawberries and cherries she had yet seen in Holland.[2] Certain food customs also caught her eye, and she duly noted them in her journal. For example, she noticed that Dutch women frequently carried baskets of fruit suspended from poles hung across their necks.[3] She also observed the profusion of shops and warehouses, and commented on the careful ways in which Dutch merchants exhibited their perishable goods. Market meat, for example, they kept inside a building not exposed to open air, while they sold fish in a covered area and displayed herbs and fruit separately.[4]

Later, at Brussels, Mrs. Calderwood exhibited determination and fortitude when forced to resolve domestic difficulties on her own initiative. On their arrival at Brussels, she and her family had stayed at Le Main D'or. Margaret Calderwood conceded that she and her family were "very well lodged" here, but she disliked the fact that their dining-room possessed no fire, and she worried that the house as a whole would be very chilly in winter.[5] Her husband preferred to rent a private house, but a subsequent cold kept him indoors, and so responsibility for obtaining one devolved upon his wife. This task she undertook with her usual pertinacity and caution, while at the same time hunting for, and eventually finding, a suitable school for her two small sons.[6] Finally, when she was "just dispairing" of finding lodgings she came upon the kind of house which she did not

think could be found in Brussels. She was overjoyed to find that "every room in this house would vent,. . .and would burn with coall grates."[7] She solved the problem of furnishing the new house by buying, rather than renting furniture, and discovered that she could cover the "plaister" walls easily, using a combination of "English paper" and a "rush matt,. . .which would be chair-back hight, and would both save paper, and save it from being rubbed and dirtied."[8] Having resolved these and other questions, she decided quickly, to "take the house", and eagerly sought out the landlady to make the final arrangements.[9]

In another part of Europe and at a later date, problems not so easily overcome beset Ann Radcliffe. The condition of the inns, the manners of the landlords, and the methods of obtaining shelter provoked her stinging comments during her tour of Germany. She complained bitterly of the rudeness of German innkeepers. At Rheinburg, for example, she was irritated by one landlord who "remained at the door in his cap", while the disconcerted travellers eventually made their own way to a sitting room.[10] Finally, since no one emerged to wait on them, she and her party in desperation advanced upon the kitchen, where they made shift with "bread, butter and sour wine."[11]

At first, Mrs. Radcliffe, could not believe that Rheinburg, which was not part of the post system, was representative of other German towns where she expected that standards

might be somewhat easier to maintain.[12] Alas, Rheinburg was all too typical! At the post town of Neuss, her hopes of finding comfortable lodgings and a civil owner were dashed once more. At the inn where they alighted, no one came forward to welcome them, and such inhospitality provoked her sour comment that the inmates were undoubtedly conforming to "the etiquette of sullenness in Germany. . . ."[13] Quite early in her travels, she observed that innkeepers frequently bribed German coach drivers to drop visitors at their particular inns. Naturally, drivers deposited passengers at the inn which paid the most money, regardless of its cost, comfort, or quality. However, on at least one occasion, the unfortunate driver failed to reckon with Ann Radcliffe and the driver was ordered to take them elsewhere.[14] In the Carlsruhe area, lackadaisical landlords and poor conditions were all too evident. Alighting at a small inn (between the towns of Waghäusal and Bruchsal) which "stank from a fumigation used against the bugs", Mrs. Radcliffe raged inwardly at the absence of the landlord, and deplored the careless attitude and slovenly dress of the staff, one of whom actually waited upon them wearing neither shoes nor stockings.[15] There are strong hints that Ann Radcliffe did not accept these shortcomings in silence: certainly, her journal demonstrates that she expected certain standards of civility and cleanliness to be maintained for the benefit of travellers.

Elizabeth, Lady Holland sprinkled her travel journal with caustic comments on the inconveniences she suffered while in Europe. Like Ann Radcliffe, Lady Holland found fault with German inns, chiefly for their lack of hygiene. At Heilbronn, for example, she spent a "most restless night on account of the myriads of little white bugs" in her room.[16] Perhaps this encounter gave her a jaundiced attitude toward the place, because she characterized this free Imperial city as "very dull, and declining."[17] Unhealthy accommodation also prevailed at Düsseldorf, where her ladyship "lay upon the floor a prey to every sort of vermin, bugs, spiders, ear-wigs--filthy," and at Furth, where from lack of beds, she and her maid "sat up in a small room", while husband Sir George and her servants slept in the carriages.[18]

In her opinion, the only accommodation to which she could give unqualified praise were the inns of Switzerland, which were "delightful, so convenient, so well furnished with excellent provisions."[19] She created the impression that Swiss inns were friendly, bustling places in which to stay, full of "junketing" parties and "people stuffing their bellies."[20] Compared to proprietors in other parts of Europe, she found the Swiss "passively civil", while the inns themselves had neither the "cold neglect of a French inn, the indifference and clamour of an Italian one, or the insupportable officiousness of an English one."[21]

Although another aristocrat, Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland, suffered minor inconveniences abroad, her journal dwelt more on the luxurious than on the lean moments. The Duchess' high rank and personal friends enabled her to enjoy a hospitality more sumptuous than that experienced by the humbler Margaret Calderwood. Her careful description of a public breakfast she attended at the Court of the Prince and Princess of Orange shows this aristocratic advantage quite clearly.[22] In her journal the Duchess gave some idea of the profusion and variety of standard fare and delicacies that filled the royal rooms. The tables were loaded with "biscuits, bread and butter,. . .hung beef, veal, tongue, ham, and Bologna Sausages, broadikies, cookies, lobsters, tarts, cakes and all kinds of pastry,. . .coffee, chocolate, tea, wines of all sorts, orgeat and lemonade."[23]

In an age when lavish and lengthy meals were commonplace for the nobility, Dutch displays nonetheless received a lot of her attention.[24] On another occasion, having been invited to dinner with some Dutch friends, she enjoyed a lavish meal at a private house. In fact, she declared that not only was it elegantly displayed, but that it also was "the very best eating dinner" she had ever experienced.[25] Accordingly, she described it with gusto in her journal. The feast began, she explained, with ". . .two soups, and admirable turbot, and soles as small as Thames flounders, but still better tasted; they were at the bottom [of the

table] the turbot en haut; the soups on the sides, all divided by four sauce-boats."[26] Guests could then choose from nine dishes, which included "petite pates of shrimps, tongue with spinach, chickens boiled with cauliflowers, roast beef, a Newmarket pudding, a loin of veal a la creme, a goose aux petite poix, a fricandoe, and a pye in the middle."[27] She remembered vividly the third course of 11 dishes, being particularly impressed with the "cold ham in different coloured jellies. . .asparagus, excellent turkey poults larded, green pease,. . .a fowl roasted, gateaux de Boulogne, jellies, two more dishes of pastry, and two of legumes."[28] Her host put a finishing touch to this splendid meal with a "grand desert, admirable ice and strawberries, and the best wines of every kind, Tokay, Burgundy,. . .Madeira, Claret. . . ."[29]

However, not all such lordly dinners met with Her Grace's approval. On one occasion during her visit to the Low Countries, she dined at the French Ambassador's residence. She admitted that the ambassador himself was a polite and gracious host, but criticized strongly his food and drink. Despite a "vast table of forty-four covers", she declared that nothing was "eatable except chickens, and they were frowsy"; she received no proper service since the servants were "ill-looking and awkward"; she found little variety in the food, because the same dishes were repeated several times; and she could not even drown her sorrows in drink, for the wines were "execrable."[30] The Duchess even

had harsh words for the decorative centerpiece of the table. This lamentable structure consisted of a temple "disgraced" by a clock-work toy, like an English merry-go-round, complete with two escarpolettes and two chaises volantes "which all whisked about the whole time", and left her "quite giddy."[31]

If this recital of complaints seems excessive, perhaps it is only fair to point out that the Duchess suffered one of her recurrent attacks of gout on this occasion, and such disability may well have soured her attitude towards food. Certainly this crippling affliction later prevented her from remaining for a ball given by the English ambassador. It did not, however, subdue her curiosity about the meal. Accordingly she took a "peep" into the gallery where the refreshments were to be served, and obtained an excellent view of the first course. On tables piled high with various foods, she saw the many feet of frames erected by confectioners, which included an "allegorical dessert" in honour of the King. But nothing in the end could tempt her to stay on that occasion, and she returned "soberly home to bed" to nurse her lame and swollen foot.[32]

The Duchess was, however, quite ready to give praise where she felt it due. Early in her 1771 tour, she had dined at the German Court in Bonn. Here, she marvelled at the dexterity and ingenuity of the royal cook, who despite a shortage of "legumes,. . .mutton,. . .seafish,. . .[and]

poultry, could produce tasty and satisfying creations.[33] A dish composed of eggs, thyme, cheese, eels and lemons, pleased her greatly, and although she clung to her belief that German cooks often mixed ingredients "oddly", yet she admitted freely that such a pot pourri could "taste well."[34] No English or French cook, she was convinced, possessed such skill: indeed, they would "be puzzled to make a decent dinner" out of such oddments.[35]

Russia and the Crimea

Among the travellers who ventured beyond western Europe, three of those studied spent time in Russia, particularly in the Crimea: of these three, Mary Holderness described most clearly her experiences with food and accommodation, and so deserves most attention. Together with her husband and children, Mrs. Holderness began her arduous and challenging journey to the Crimea, at Bolderaa, the port of Riga. Her four-year sojourn in Russia and the Crimea provided her with a variety of accommodations and culinary experiences, and as she travelled she recorded her impressions with considerable detail and trenchant comment.

At Riga, the food Mary and her party shared did not live up to the "well-kept" inn in which they stayed. She claimed that the room in which the food was prepared resembled a "blacksmith's shop" more than an English kitchen.[36] This "black and disagreeable" room contained a brick hearth,

in which burned a wood fire, over which hung pots of varying size. Apart from these pans and a large knife and spoon, she saw no other utensils.[37]

But Mary's trials had only just begun. She found such poor accommodation along the Russian roads that she and her companions spent a lot of time (sometimes twice a day) unpacking and repacking their ". . .canteens, tea-kettle and provisions. . ." brought with them from Riga.[38] Conveniences _en route_ appear to have been limited to the meagre offerings of the officers' room at the post-stations. Such accommodation could hardly have been comfortable: the officer's room, she explained, generally possessed a table, but "not always seats, and chairs scarcely ever."[39] But coping with the unusual became second nature to Mary Holderness as she continued her journey towards Russia.

At Trepenhoff, where they had to wait all night for horses, she could obtain only one room for herself and her party. Bedding had been placed on some hay on the floor for her companions, while she and her baby occupied the only bedstead. Her amazement at the entrance of an officer into their room who promptly arranged himself on a bench provided for his slumber gave way to resignation at the numerous additions to the room's occupants.[40] But in the privacy of her journal, she gave full rein to her disgust with their entire situation. Stressing the difficulty of conveying the true state of her lodgings and their native inmates, she

nevertheless embarked upon a vivid sketch. Apart from being surrounded constantly by "misery and dirt", the native occupants, Mary observed, slept in their clothes, removing only the upper garment, and covering themselves with a "sheep skin shube, or pelisse, or a cotton quilted coverlid."[41] She also noted that they were verminous, which she believed was the direct result of unclean bodies, clothes, and houses. Furthermore, she saw quite clearly how alarming this kind of poverty might be to the English traveller.[42] All the same, despite personal abhorrence, she stuck it out, and did not, as did Lady Elizabeth Craven, sleep in her carriage rather than endure the hardships of a "vile Tartar village."[43]

Mary Holderness' equanimity was once again severely tested when her britchka broke down, between Kekannoff and Staria Selo, and she waited out the repairs in a Russian kebac, or ale-house.[44] Interestingly enough, she entered the kebac alone except for some of her children. Her husband and the remaining offspring had continued their journey in the second carriage, and she had instructed her servant Ivan to watch the britchka and see that the repairmen stole nothing from it.[45] She soon found herself in a "low, smoky, and dark-looking room, where seated on benches around a large table, a party of men sat drinking, smoaking, and singing."[46] This merriment ceased upon her entrance, and all eyes turned towards her. She looked for another female but

could not see one, and so she sat as far away as possible from this "carousing" group, talked to her children, and pretended to ignore the rest, although "the rude gaze of these savages" greatly annoyed her.[47] Eventually Ivan tried to help. Having deputed Mary's eldest son to watch over the britchka, the servant found Mrs. Holderness something to eat in another room, which although perfumed with garlic and the size of a closet, she accepted as being infinitely preferable to the one she had entered.[48] However, this was the sum total of her relief. She tried to escape by going for a stroll, but since she "was alone could not walk far" and so turned back. After a two-hour ordeal waiting for the repairmen to finish their task, she confessed no wish to repeat her visit to a Russian kebac.[49]

Mary, herself, drew no conclusions from this incident--at least on paper. But its occurrence serves as a reminder of the difficulties a woman traveller without ranking male companions faced. She had to be careful of the places she visited, constantly aware of potential trouble from men, and adept at avoiding awkward confrontations.

Her accommodation problems continued on the difficult journey to the Crimea. Having to stay overnight while waiting to be ferried across the river Ingul, she at first found lodgings in a "miserable place, dignified by the name of a post-station. . . ."[50] Her graphic description of this building explains her reluctance to remain within its con-

fines. The so-called post-station, she explained, resembled:

> some rude hovel, the shelter of banditti, and the yemtcheks and people about appeared as ferocious and uncivilised as the place itself. It was literally a large hovel, the thatched unceiled, and the only division or break in the length of it, was the oven or stove, which projected about one-third of the length of the room, making the space left on the side, dark and gloomy, while the top of the stove,. . .in this darkened recess, served as a sleeping apartment for its inmates.[51]

The only furniture in the room consisted of a long table, with benches for seats. In such surroundings and in such company, Mary believed that one could not "venture. . .to close the eyes."[52] At this point, tired of such depressing places, and with warm memories of hospitable Russian cottages, she despatched her Russian servant to find more congenial quarters in the village. Ultimately, she exchanged this "most horrible place" for a "neat, warm cottage, and the smiles of good humour and welcome."[53]

Mary Holderness could not only endure, she could also observe carefully and record as her copious notes on Russian food and related customs illustrate. For instance, she offered a vivid description of a bi-weekly market at Nicolayef, teeming with meat and fish. All manner of things were available, including good beef (the best she had seen in Russia) but poor mutton, tallow from the large herds of oxen, and meat sold for salting, which would be eaten in winter. Probably she made purchases at the fish stall, since she could

claim that pike, carp, whiting and plaice, among others, were larger and possessed a finer flavour than the same fish in England. However, she cautioned that many vegetables were expensive, and some fruits scarce: in fact, onions came from the Crimea, as well as apples and grapes.[54] Perhaps she was also tempted by the easily obtainable Greek and Crimean wines, or by those from France, so much cheaper in Russia, she noticed, than at home in England.[55]

Mrs. Holderness seemed only mildly impressed with the typical Russian meal of the well-to-do family, expressing reservations about the taste of the food and the organization of the meal. She explained that an assortment of olives, caviar, or pickled fish, washed down with brandy or wine usually preceded dinner. The meal itself began with soup, whose "sour" flavour made it unpalatable to the English. There followed a fish course, and anywhere from six to ten courses after that. Since the meat, poultry and game, however, was invariably sliced before it was brought to table, one could scarcely distinguish one course from another. She noted the rarity of pastry, except in the form of patties which accompanied the soup, or in a tartlet at the end of the meal. Dessert she ate without the cloth being removed. Then the entire dinner party adjourned to the drawing-room for coffee.[56]

Whether the other two women travellers to Russia ever tasted such an extravagant repast they did not say, but cer-

tainly both Lady Elizabeth Craven and Mrs. Maria Guthrie recorded their opinions about the Tartar diet. While on her way to Batcheserai, Lady Craven dined with a Cossack chieftain. She noted the roast pig and tureen of curdled milk, explaining that side-dishes were prepared for her party, which suggests that she balked at the Tartar menu.[57] Her initial misgivings on Tartar food increased after dining with the sister of the Kaima Khan. From this meal she concluded that Tartar cooking used "much grease and honey. . ." as well as sherbet, lemonade, coffee and sweetmeats.[58] Maria Guthrie, who also travelled to the Crimea, and whom a Tartar chief also entertained, markedly criticized the local food. She claimed that the meal she attended "more resembled a quaker's meeting than one of our convival European treats" and lasted only one half hour.[59] She wondered whether the shortness in duration, and the solemnity of the meal, resulted from a lack of wine (forbidden by the Moslem religion). Such an omission could make even a meal of thirty dishes appear "short and serious."[60] Evidently, she felt more at ease with the more familiar, "high-seasoned" European food.[61]

Her four-year sojourn with the "Crim" Tartars gave Mrs. Holderness more time than the ordinary tourist possessed to adapt to new tastes and customs in foods. Accordingly, she reacted more objectively than Maria Guthrie to Tartar customs. In her Notes, Mrs. Holderness recorded those repre-

sentative elements of Tartar food which seemed alien to Western tastes.[62] She was struck by the Tartars' addiction to sour food, which having begun in childhood, enabled them to eat "every sort of acid with extreme avidity."[63] Sour milk, or paste rather than fresh milk, and lemons rather than oranges, were two dependable staples.

One dish Mrs. Holderness found "most conformable to a stranger's taste" consisted of "minced meat, seasoned and rolled in vine leaves," which, with butter, was stewed over a slow fire.[64] Tartars also enjoyed rice in the Turkish style, with boiled raisins and figs, the latter being made into a "cold soup,. . .which was in fact no more than the water in which they have been boiled."[65] Some delicacies which would not have found favour among her British compatriots but which Russians, Bulgarians and Greeks eagerly sought, included "frogs, land tortoises and snails,. . ."[66] Perhaps the novelty (for the English) of eating such animals prompted her to collect information on how to prepare them. She explained that snail fanciers first boiled their snails, and "having taken them from the shell, dish them up with flour, salt, and oil."[67] She hastened to point out that snails were only considered edible at two seasons of the year: once they began to "crawl" and became "slimy" they were understandably no longer palatable.[68]

Differences in table etiquette matched the noticeable differences in menu among the Tartars. Mrs. Holderness re-

ported that while dining the Tartars usually sat around a small table about a foot high, over which went a napkin long enough to cover the knees of all those seated. Everyone ate out of a common dish, and she painted an interesting verbal picture of numerous spoons dipping into the communal dish of soup, which constituted the first course.[69] The host himself sliced the roast meat (a familiar enough ritual), but then he served it "with his fingers, placing every one's portion upon his bread,. . ."[70] Naturally, hands became sticky during a meal in which the only implement was a spoon. So for the guests' convenience, the Tartar host distributed "an ewer and basin. . .to each person, before and after the meal."[71] Water was the drink most commonly offered during the meal, but, Mary noted, "excellent coffee" was also provided.[72]

Lady Craven's experiences with Turkish coffee led her to a very different opinion. She abhorred its "weak and muddy" consistency, wondered at its apparent lack of sugar, and declared it the "nastiest potion ever invented."[73] Given this uncompromising attitude, it is not surprising that she considered twenty-four servings in one day excessive, even though the coffee came in containers no larger than eggcups. All three travellers noted Tartar enjoyment of sherbet. This "very favourite drink", according to Mary Holderness, consisted of "coarse honey mixed with water."[74] She observed with interest that Tartar Moslems rarely became

drunk, although they could make exceptions to their general rule of abstinence from alcohol. For instance, some Tartars enjoyed an intoxicating drink called "booza", brewed from either millet or rice. She had even caught them drinking brandy, excusing themselves on the grounds that Mohammed had banned only fermented liquors.[75]

Transatlantic Forays

Curiosity and concern about foreign foods, dining etiquette and accommodation also appears prominently in the writing of women travellers who ventured across the Atlantic. Like their fellow travellers in Russia, they were eager to describe their reactions to the novelties and challenges they frequently encountered. For instance, Janet Schaw and Lady Nugent marvelled at the quantities of food consumed on Antigua and Jamaica respectively, while Mrs. Simcoe accustomed herself to the harsher realities of a colder Canada to the north.

Having described in some detail her arduous search for suitable lodgings, Janet Schaw turned her attention to Antiguan food, in an effort to amuse some of her "eating friends", as she called them.[76] Accustomed to more privacy when eating in England she exclaimed that Antiguans seemed to "sup in public."[77] This impression, she explained, owed partly to the proximity of the parlours to the street, and the ever-open doors and windows. A typical Antiguan table

set for a main meal would contain three rows of food, with six dishes to a row. At one particular meal she attended, a bowl of turtle soup headed the middle row, with the shell deposited at the other end: other fish, including crouper and snapper, sat between soup and shell. On either side, guinea fowl, turkey, pigeon, mutton, together with good vegetables and pickled foods abounded.[78]

Miss Schaw also noted the readily available limes to help diners digest this rich food, and observed that washing and a change of napkins occurred between courses. This aid to digestion must have come as a great relief to visitors and even native guests, who for the second course could taste jellies, rich puddings--such as coconut cheesecake--preserved fruits, and pastries. One of the pastries, indeed, provided a spectacular addition to the table: when baked, it acquired a scarlet hue through its transparent syrup. A particular delicacy, palmetto cabbage, Antiguans ate during both courses. Janet Schaw, accustomed to a hearty Scottish breakfast, found the Antiguan kind greatly to her liking. Here she could satisfy herself with breads and hams, with eggs or buttered cassava cakes, sweetened if she wished with guava jelly or pineapple marmalade. She could wash down this repast with a fine green tea, or coffee, or chocolate, all three of which she praised.[79]

To Maria, Lady Nugent, much more even than to Janet Schaw, the bountiful food supply in the West Indies was a

never-ending source of amazement, some of which she managed to convey in her journal. Shortly after arrival in late July 1801, at Spanish Town, Jamaica, the Nugents moved into the "King's House", a "large brick building of two stories high", with spacious, but "very dirty" apartments.[80] Without much ado, the "black ladies" cleaned out the rooms, and in early August, the Nugents invited the town's leading citizens to dine with them. On this occasion, Lady Nugent commented in her diary on food, the heat and the crowds. In fact she felt impelled to "remark the loads of turtle, turkies, hams, and whole kids, that. . .increased the heat of the climate."[81] Moreover, she wrote: "all the population . . .both white and black, were admitted to walk round the table, and stare at me after dinner."[82]

Lady Nugent's opinions of Jamaican food frequently combined amazement and revulsion. After breakfasting with one of the island's residents, she concluded in her journal that her host delighted to "stuff his guests" and would have considered it "quite a triumph. . .to hear of a fever or apoplexy, in consequence of his cheer."[83] The Creole breakfast she had just attended had prompted this rather acid comment. It contained "Cassada cakes, chocolate, coffee, tea, fruits of all sorts, pigeon pies, hams, tongues, rounds of beef, . . ."[84] Astonished, she could "only wonder there was no turtle", a reptile which seems to have been a Jamaican favourite at mealtime.[85] The fever which afflicted many in-

habitants, she soon ascribed to excessive eating and drinking which occurred not only at regular meals, but also at "late" or "second" breakfasts.[86]

Lady Nugent grew so accustomed to vast meals that the mere characterization of a breakfast or dinner as "profuse" was sufficient to remind her (and inform her readers) of the nature of the meal.[87] However, during what she described as her "grand tour" of the island, she encountered one dinner "really so profuse" that she felt obliged to record its contents. The first and second courses included fish, jerked hog, black crab pepper-pot, the inevitable turtle, mutton, beef, and poultry, while the third comprised sweets and fruits of all kinds.[88] Unfortunately, this "profusion of eatables" took its toll of Lady Nugent, for she described herself as "really sicker than usual" at the sight of it, and fled to her own room as quickly as etiquette allowed.[89] Appalled by the quantity of food, she was nevertheless intrigued by dishes new to her. Apart from the black crab pepper-pot, of which she had first tasted and then acquired the recipe, she sampled (at the house of a Mr. Israel) "a new fish, the Moutain Mullet, very small, but excellent."[90] At another dinner, so great was the variety--"fish, barbecued hog and fried conchs", of which she bravely "tasted of a great many"--that she could not "recollect half the strange dishes."[91]

Like Lady Nugent, Mrs. Elizabeth Simcoe travelled

abroad as the wife of an important government official. Unlike her ladyship, Mrs. Simcoe appeared preoccupied with a lack of accommodation rather than a surfeit of food. Her journal, therefore, repeatedly refers to difficulties in housing. Her innate curiosity would not let her ignore, however, some of the native Canadian foods, which she often seemed willing to try.

One very rich dish of elk meat (greatly prized by the Indians) caught her attention, as did Moravian bread, which she sampled while visiting Niagara.[92] Since the latter was "so peculiarly good", she requested (and received) the recipe.[93] She also mentioned the Sumach flowers she had gathered, and how, after soaking them in boiling water, she had produced a drink which "tasted like Lemonade", possessing a "very astringent harsh taste."[94] Even coffee "made of Peas" and sweetened with "Sugar. . .made from black walnut Trees. . ." seemed "good" to her.[95] Although in summer Canadians seemed to live mainly on vegetables and salt pork, she and her family varied their diet by cooking wild pigeons. These birds, vastly abundant, the family could roast and eat immediately, and salt and preserve in barrels as well.[96]

Finding adequate accommodation proved less easy. Travelling with small children and a husband who commanded troops often presented many difficulties but Mrs. Simcoe possessed considerable endurance and persistence and appears

to have taken everything in her stride. The rural areas through which they travelled and the unpredictability of the local inns meant that she and her family almost always carried certain supplies with them. For example, sailing on the ship Triton to Niagara, they stopped en route at Cap Santé, where an obliging cottager removed both children and furniture in order to provide Elizabeth Simcoe and her family with two empty, usable rooms. In a trice, this "indifferent apartment" became a temporary home. From supplies always carried on board ship, she selected for their use, a "boudet (which is a folding camp chair as large as a Mattrass), the Tritons cot, Blankets, & a Musquito Net Tent to hang over the bed. . . ."[97] An incident later in the Niagara trip showed clearly the necessity of such planning. Having selected a certain inn for the night, and mistakenly imagining that they would not need their own beds or provisions, Mrs. Simcoe and her family soon found themselves "the worse off as to lodging."[98] Impervious to mild discomfort, but not to the "dirty appearance of the bed", she fell asleep "on a blanket upon the table."[99] Her ingenuity and forbearance rarely left her at critical moments. On a 1794 trip to Quebec by boat, Mrs. Simcoe had to improvise her sleeping arrangements, because the baggage boat carrying the boudet had not yet arrived. Having found some wooden planks in the Triton, she "laid one of these supported by a small box at each end & put a carpet on it," and in this make-

shift bed she "slept admirably."[100]

Perhaps the greatest challenge to her courage and resolution was her semi-permanent housing solution: camping. By June 1792, she and her husband had become so disgusted with the common inns, that they "preferred pitching a Tent" for themselves, while their children slept in the boat.[101] Despite the fact that these were her first experiences with camping, and that their bed clothes became damp during the night, she found consolation in the fact that the tents kept them "quite dry", and that they had not yet caught cold.[102] Once arrived at Niagara, they discovered that the Navy Hall in which they were to live remained uncompleted. So, at first they made use of "3 Marquees. . .pitched on the Hill above the House. . . ."[103] Not long after, Mrs. Simcoe rejoiced in the arrival of a thirty-foot "canvas House" delivered from England, which lessened the privations of camping. Since this structure was boarded on the outside to keep off the snow, and internally heated by a stove, she enjoyed the luxury of two "very comfortable & remarkable warm private rooms."[104]

Perhaps she was fortunate to possess such a retreat of privacy and seclusion. The tantalizingly short description of her nightly routine while travelling would suggest that she had little time to spend upon herself. For only "after drinking tea (or supper) & the children were gone to bed" did she find the time to dress her hair. After completing

this brief toilet, she then changed her "Habit" and "lay down on a boudet before the fire, covered with a fur Blanket."[105]

Numerous difficulties and obstacles which faced most travellers probably filled her waking hours, but two in particular seemed especially annoying to campers: thunderstorms and swarms of mosquitoes. On one particularly stormy day, she and her family returned to their camp in time to save their marquees from overturning, but violent winds prevented them from burning candles in their tents. Undaunted, Elizabeth Simcoe found herself "able to drink tea" when the "forked flashes of lightening enlightened the air."[106] Invincible, she sat out the storm enveloped in "2 Great Coats", deciding that if the tent collapsed she would "take shelter under the dinner table."[107]

No shelter, however, saved her from the ubiquitous mosquito. She soon learned from experience that a net helped to stave them off, after passing "a most wretched night" without one at the mountain camp above Queenstown.[108] Later, on a trip round Niagara in 1793, she wrote that while staying at Colonel Butler's house, they could sleep only after "taking great pains to smoke the House and fix the Musquito nett well,. . ."[109]

Unusual Places, Exotic Food

Mrs. Simcoe's willingness to cope with the problems

arising from her unconventional accommodation reflects the general attitude of most of the women travellers studied so far. Many (Mrs. Calderwood, Ann Radcliffe, Mrs. Holderness and Lady Nugent among them) refused to be overwhelmed by accommodation problems, and where possible, they tried hard to improve the situation. Moreover, they showed themselves willing to sample and record, if not always to accept, the peculiarities of native foods and attendant customs. Nowhere is this phenomenon more strikingly evident than among the writings of those women who journeyed to such esoteric places as North Africa, India and parts of South America.

Two such women were Mrs. Blanckley, the wife of an English diplomat stationed in Algiers, and her daughter, Elizabeth Blanckley Broughton. Between them, the two women described some of the dinners they attended, keenly aware of the considerable cultural differences between them and their Arab hosts. At one dinner given by the Dey's wife, the Sultana provided cushions for Mrs. Blanckley, but Elizabeth and the other children "sat in the Moorish fashion" and everyone ate out of a common dish.[110] Mrs. Blanckley remembered that a "vast variety of dishes of meat, poultry, pastry, and sweetmeats,. . ." formed the meal, and that each dish was "placed separately upon a small low silver and mother-of-pearl table."[111] She greatly admired the "splendidly embroidered napkins" given them at table, as well as the "curious rosewood spoons, tipped with amber," with which they

were served.[112]

Elizabeth Broughton also recalled the singular eating style of Algerians. Although her mother visited the Moorish ladies only occasionally, Elizabeth and her sister, accompanied by their nurse Maria, were frequently and hospitably received by the wife of the Guardian Pasha. The unfamiliar table etiquette and unusual foods stimulated Elizabeth's curiosity. Before supper began, the head Negress, carrying a silver basin and ewer, poured scented rose-water over the hands of each guest, who then dried them on towels supplied by two slaves. Afterwards, the company took their places around a small octagonal table of silver and mother-of-pearl while a long napkin was spread on their laps as they sat in a circle. The food offered included a tureen of either rice semoulla or vermicelli soup, eaten once again with the rosewood spoons from the communal bowl. As an additional example of strict etiquette, attendants offered food to Elizabeth's nurse only after each dish had been removed from the guests' table.[113]

Mrs. Blanckley delighted in the prodigality of Algiers, declaring that it offered "every comfort and rarity", including fish, fowl, game, fruit, vegetables and honey.[114] Certainly one could find European food if desired. Indeed on her visit to Algiers, another Englishwoman, Sophia Barnard, mentioned only European food in her journal. Perhaps the Vice-Consul, with whom she stayed, found it safest to

offer his English guests traditional fare, such as "hot and cold meats, fish and fowl, white and brown toast, bread and butter, honey, eggs, pickles and preserves--tea and coffee . . .wines and spirits."[115] Quite possibly this food was prepared in the same kitchen described by Mrs. Blanckley on one of her visits to the same house. Spurred on by her "inquisitive nature" she examined the Vice-Consul's kitchen, which she found furnished in "the English style", with a wide fireplace, fully-equipped range and ten stoves for every kind of cooking.[116]

"Englishness" also characterized Mrs. Anne Elwood's fortnight in Cairo, spent within the English consulate: she and her husband drank coffee for breakfast, lunched at noon, and dined at four.[117] But as her distance from the British consul increased so too did her opportunities to abandon English ways and to begin to appreciate native culture. At the town of Hodeida, on the Red Sea, the Arabic architecture of the merchant's house in which they lodged impressed her. She admired the arched gateway leading into cloisters and courtyard, and the similarly styled recesses within the house, used as cupboards. The jars of sweetmeats, bottles of rose-water and perfume which adorned a heavy shelf running round the room, together with the "exquisite beauty" of the carved woodwork evoked in her an appreciation of things Arabic.[118] Making a similar journey in 1779 to the nearby town of Mocha, Eliza Fay wrote in her journal that

the Chevalier de St. Lubin had received her and her party "in the most sumptuous style" but only after having endured the desert's harsh treatment.[119] At some point in her desert journey she decided to improve the quality of her water supply, which tended to turn brown while being carried in skins by the camels. Accordingly, Eliza Fay carried beside her in her takhtrouan "small guglets of porous earth" filled with purified water.[120] This fresher water, together with watermelons and hard boiled eggs, were the main staples which enabled her to survive the blistering heat and sand.[121] Anne Elwood did not mention the food she took with her in the desert, but one can safely assume that the journey proved as challenging and hazardous to her as it had to Mrs. Fay.

When in due course, Mrs. Elwood arrived at Bombay, she began to take note of food and accommodation as she had in Cairo. Although she confessed in her journal that she was "ashamed" to admit her ignorance of Indian agriculture (and so would therefore refrain from giving erroneous information), she nevertheless commented freely upon the food and trade of Bombay, which she discovered from observation and experience. One particular meal, served in the Anglo-Indian style, included fish (some of which she had never seen before) as well as "kebaubs--the never-failing rice and curry, and many strange and unknown dishes. . . ."[122] Fruits, such as "pine-apples, pomegranates, shaddocks, mangoes, plantains,

custard-apples" also graced the board.[123] A huge, wooden, cloth-covered frame, suspended from the ceiling, and kept in motion by attendants pulling ropes, brought relief to diners like herself who were unaccustomed to the hot Indian air.[124] Perhaps this "punkah" reminded Mrs. Elwood of a lesson learned earlier at mealtime in Egypt, when her initial irritation at the servant standing dutifully behind her chair, and waving a "chowree" over her head, gave way to an appreciation of its usefulness in reducing the heat and easing the "terrible torment" of the ubiquitous flies.[125]

Marketable fruits and vegetables, many of which she sampled, abounded in the Bombay area. Apart from the "huge and mild" onions for which the region was famous, she discovered sweet potatoes, yams, eggplant and "bendy", as well as the cardamons, chili and pepper used in curry.[126] One Indian tree, the tamarind, captivated her. As beautiful as an elm, it also yielded fruit for use in curries, along with lamp oil, thatch for native huts, and the Indian liquor, toddy. Full of curiosity, Mrs. Elwood would stand and watch the Indian workers climb the trees, and make their incisions in the bark, from which they collected oozing sap.[127] However, despite the obvious fascination of the tamarind, she deemed the sacred Banyan, or Indian fig tree, the "glory of India", and she recorded a full description of it.[128]

Also fully alive to her surroundings, and ready to give detailed and interesting descriptions of her Indian accommo-

dation was Maria Graham. Like Mrs. Elwood, Maria and her party initially accepted hospitality offered by some English residents because no suitable hotel accommodation existed in Bombay.[129] But it was not long before Mrs. Graham moved into a house of her own, whose two stories she believed uncommon in India. Perhaps she selected it for its spaciousness, for the house contained a large square dining hall, enclosed by a veranda some twenty feet by one hundred, upon which she could take some exercise and enjoy the frequent rainstorms in safety.[130] She believed firmly that both the house and productive garden could have been a "paradise", had it not been for her daily fear of the "tiny white worms" which could burrow under one's skin, and of the silent but deadly cobra.[131]

Among the most unusual lodgings discovered by Mrs. Graham were the special rest-houses provided for travellers by the Ceylonese. Impressed by such hospitality, she explained that the Modeliar, or head-man of the region, controlled these resting-places. The Ceylonese provided tables and chairs; the traveller brought her own beds and "table furniture." On one occasion, while en route to see the Buddhist temple at Bellegam, she and her party encountered the overseer of all the head-men, the Maha Modeliar, who offered them breakfast from his "costly palet."[132] Accordingly, they ate their food amid the gay decorations of the rest-house, which sported "white and coloured calico tied up

in roses and coconut leaves split to form fringes", and veranda pillars covered with bunches of palm leaves.[133] Perhaps her breakfast included portions of the excellent bread and home-made butter available in Ceylon, and possibly some of the delicious fruits, like pineapples, pamplemousse, plantains or oranges.[134] For other meals Maria Graham noted that one could sample jungle fowl, wild duck and teal, as well as "good fish" and "excellent poultry."[135] One Ceylonese dish that pleased her was the ripe Jack-fruit, although she noticed that the inhabitants often sliced and curried this common fruit while unripe.

Unlike many of the women travellers in this study, Maria Graham made numerous and often extensive trips abroad. Even on a short visit to Teneriffe, en route to South America, she found varieties of food to excite her curiosity. In addition to noting the familiar flowers, vegetables and grains of Northern Europe, she also observed the less well-known "sago-palm, platanus, and tamarind,. . ." which flourished on the island.[136] She found the mixture of Spanish and English "cookery and customs" intriguing, and quite possibly sampled a staple food of the ordinary island folk, namely polenta, or maize. Certainly she tasted the Spanish darter, which she described as "a very fine fish, white but resembling a salmon in taste, with sauce made of small lobsters, oil, vinegar, garlic and pimento. . . ."[137]

Once in South America, Maria Graham manifested her con-

tinuing concern with accommodation and food. After a "most cordial welcome" at the governor's house at Pernambuco, Brazil, where she feasted on cuisine part Portuguese and part French, she set out to explore essentially native foods.[138] Soon she had tasted (and liked) the jerked beef or charqui of South America. Undoubtedly she saw it many times in Rio de Janeiro, hanging "in bales at the shop-doors, like bundles of thick ragged leather."[139] She also explained that the usual manner of eating charqui was to cut it into squares and boil it in the "mandioc pottage", the main food of the slaves and poor Brazilians.[140] Also important was the feijoam or dry kidney-bean, which was "dressed in every possible way, but most frequently stewed with a small bit of pork, garlic, salt, and pimento. . ."[141] Perhaps the tremendous popularity of all kinds of confection most intrigued and surprised her, for she noted that "sweetmeats of every description, from the most delicate preserves and candies to the coarsest preparations of treacle," were "swallowed wholesale" by all, from "the noble to the slave."[142] While making last-minute food purchases for her voyage to Rio from Pernambuco, Mrs. Graham succumbed to such tempting morsels, purchasing some "excellent sweetmeats" which went snugly packed into "neat little wooden kegs, each containing 6 or 8 pounds."[143]

On her second visit to Brazil in August 1823, she and her party accepted the hospitality of Senhor Joam Marcus

Vieira during a visit to his sugar works. She considered the food offered "excellent of its kind", although she detected an overuse of garlic in this Brazilian meal. With her customary attention to detail, she noted the progress and contents of the meal. She discovered that on a side-table, "there was a large dish of dry farinha, which the elder part of the family called for and used instead of bread."[144] For her part, she "preferred the dish of farinha moistened with broth, not unlike brose, which was presented along with the bouillie and sliced saussage after the soup."[145] Fortified with this and "small and very sweet mutton" some of the company retired for a siesta, only to rise later for supper, a meal which Maria found "almost as ceremonious. . ." as the dinner.[146]

In 1821, the intervening year between her two trips to Brazil, Mrs. Graham visited Chile. Unwell and alone in Valparaiso after the recent death of her husband, she managed with the help of friends to obtain a small house, which she claimed was one of the "better kind of really Chilean cottages."[147] Although architecturally unexceptional, with its "little entrance-hall,. . .large sitting room 16 feet square, . . .and. . .a little dark bedroom. . .," it possessed one exterior advantage, which she noticed quickly--a planked roof.[148] Apparently, such a roof withstood the region's frequent earthquakes better than the frequently used stucco. Probably her confidence in the strength of the house in-

creased when she learned that the frame consisted of "very solid walls, often four feet thick, of unburnt bricks of about sixteen inches long, ten wide, and four thick."[149] Even in this desolate situation and despite her grief, Maria Graham's curiosity and concern for detail did not fail her, for she described painstakingly how Chileans constructed their houses.[150]

By August of 1822, she had recovered sufficiently to plan a trip to Santiago and beyond. She needed to figure out accommodation needs beforehand, because she discovered that none of the inns along the way (with the exception of Casablanca) were well equipped, and that she would have to carry with her "beds as well as clothes."[151] Although she herself was not fatigued by the thirty-mile journey from Valparaiso, others were grateful for the rest. In fact, her "poor maid was so fagged" that Maria almost wished she had left the girl behind.[152] As foreseen, the inn at Casablanca offered a night's rest in beds so clean and comfortable that Mrs. Graham did not have to unpack her own. This sleep, together with wholesome food, did much to raise the spirits of the faint-hearted.[153] But at a post-house further along the route, amenities were few and sleeping arrangements makeshift. The clean room with its mud floor into which she was shown contained no beds, only "posts. . .stuck so as to form bed-places" in the corners of the room, on which they placed their mattresses.[154] The available food was substantial but

not lavish. At one post-house along the way the hostess invited Maria to join her family at dinner. Although the menu was unpretentious, her hostess served the meal with some style. Maria Graham recorded in her journal that the "usual stew, charquican, of the country, fresh and dried meat boiled together, with a variety of vegetables, and seasoned with aji or Chile pepper" was served up in a "silver dish" while "silver forks were distributed to each person. . ."[155]

Having finally reached Santiago, she accepted an invitation to stay with Don Jose Antonio de Cotapos and his family.[156] During her visit she had ample opportunity to review and comment upon Chilean dining habits. A reception awaited her arrival, and although she criticized the size of the dinner, considering it "larger than would be thought consistent with good taste", she conceded that the food was "well dressed, though with a good deal of oil and garlic."[157] She was somewhat startled to find that this family regarded it as a mark of politeness to take "things from your own plate and put it on that of your friends; and no scruple is made of helping any dish before you with the spoon or knife you have been eating with, or even tasting or eating from the general dish without the intervention of a plate."[158]

After a brief visit, Maria and her friends travelled on to Melipilla accompanied by Don Jose Antonio. With the latter's assistance, they found accommodations which offered them acceptable food but indifferent lodgings.[159] The

cramped sleeping quarters initially embarrassed her travelling companion Mr. de Roos, but as usual, Maria showed considerable tact and competence. She assured him that she was a seasoned traveller, and that their Chilean friends were quite accustomed to makeshift arrangements. Apparently one room served them all, for she wrote: "an excellent matrass, with all the proper additions, was laid on one end of the estrada for Sona Rosario and me; and across the foot of our couch the skins and carpets of the saddles furnished forth Mr. de Roos, while another of the same kind served Don Antonio."[160] To minimize discomfiture, she effected a rough screen by arranging "a parcel of high-backed chairs," over which she "spread the long skirt" of her riding-habit so that it divided the two groups.[161] Privately, she confided in her journal that all this effort on her part was "a work of supererogation" if everyone had slept as soundly as she had done in the ensuing night.[162] From experiences such as these, Maria Graham probably hoped to give readers as much information as she could about travelling conditions in South America. Future travellers would be able to profit both from her advice and her example when composing their own travel plans.

Another woman traveller to Chile who had to accustom herself to unfamiliar lodgings, Mrs. John Miers, was the wife of an English entrepreneur, who intended to build copper mills for the Chilean government of Don Bernardo O'Hig-

gins.[163] Although pregnant, Mrs. Miers decided to accompany her husband. In order to arrive at their ultimate destination she and her spouse endured extremely poor accommodation in crumbling Chilean post-houses infested with fleas and vermin, as well as indifferent service from slovenly landlords. To avoid such conditions, the couple frequently spent the night in their own coach.[164] Having survived swarms of insects and a chance fall in their carriage, Mrs. Miers arrived safely at the town of Mendoza, where her husband hired her a mule and saddle for the next part of the journey.[165] To those insistent Chileans who tried to dissuade her from continuing, Mrs. Miers "turned a deaf ear to all entreaty."[166] As her husband explained, his wife had "made up her mind to all consequences, armed with fortitude and perseverance enough to brave any dangers that a man could endure. . . ."[167]

In the hope of reaching their destination before her delivery, the Miers' set off quickly on the next stage of their journey, laden down with machinery supplies and other paraphernalia. Perhaps the jolting of the mule on a woman more than eight months' pregnant prompted her to give birth prematurely to a son in a postmaster's hut some distance from Mendoza.[168] Her husband sent a messenger to Mendoza for supplies and assistants to carry his wife back to the city. During this time, while it snowed and rained outside the hut, Mrs. Miers rested on their travelling bedstead,

which became so wet from the leaking roof that her companions had to erect a canopy of skins over it to protect mother and child.[169] As he watched her strength and appetite slowly return, her husband despaired that all he could offer her was "mouldy bread, at least a month old, dried tongue, hung beef, and tea without milk. . . ."[170] Worse misfortunes followed. Mrs. Miers' makeshift bed collapsed twice, she developed symptoms of puerperal fever, they exhausted their candle supply, and a pack of hungry dogs ran off with their remaining store of beef. Nevertheless, Mr. Miers attested to his wife's inveterate fortitude, which continued throughout the ordeal.[171]

Aboard Ship

However well women travellers coped with food and lodgings on land, the problems peculiar to voyages at sea put their endurance and fortitude to an even greater test. Even on short but difficult sea crossings, like the English Channel, women travellers frequently encountered cramped quarters, inadequate food, and sickness. Transoceanic voyages magnified these problems.[172] Few females found themselves as well provided for, or as busy, as Maria Graham on her return to England from India in 1811. Aided by an admiral friend, she obtained passage home on the frigate HMS Barbadoes.[173] To her great relief and delight, she found on board "stores of every kind, sheep, milch goats, wine, pre-

serves, pickles, fruit, vegetables, in short, everything that could possibly add to the comfort. . .of a long voyage. . . ."[174] Her own words show clearly how methodical and active she could be, on board ship, for she wrote: "I always write or study for three hours, after which I draw, or do needle-work, until dinner-time, when I again read for an hour or two before I take my evening's walk, so that my time will not hang heavy on my hands in fine weather."[175]

For others, including Jane Roberts, who sailed to Van Diemen's Land in 1829, a long voyage was often hazardous, presenting problems of both accommodation and supplies.[176] Her journal makes evident that she desired future travellers to profit from her experiences. With this in mind, she included detailed information on the difficulties that faced a voyager, and how she coped with them.

Since many of her fellow-passengers were bound for the Swan River settlement, Jane Roberts explained that they brought with them "all that was necessary for such an undertaking."[177] Not only was the ship loaded with quantities of food, but also, she noticed, the vessel's sides "were encumbered with fodder for the cattle."[178] Unfortunately, a "boisterous sea" so battered their ship that many of the bruised animals eventually died, and had to be thrown overboard.[179] In order to replenish their stocks, the captain put in at Bahia, on the Brazilian coast, and later at the Cape of Good Hope.[180] These particular visits were short,

but depletion of ship stores could cause serious delay. Jane Roberts endured a seven-week delay at Swan River, while the captain assisted the new settlers and acquired stores for the remaining voyage to Van Diemen's Land. In a special chapter of her journal, she recounted the events of those weeks. She and her companions ate a monotonous diet, since vegetables and milk were unavailable, and fresh meat scarce. "Coarse and scanty" was her descriptive phrase for their unpretentious food.[181]

For accommodation on this hot and sandy area of Swan River, the travellers pitched tents. Poorly erected, these tents permitted no air circulation, thus making them uninhabitable during the daytime.[182] For seven weeks Jane Roberts and her companions daily braved the burning sand and grimy dust from the cooking fires, and at night withstood the hungry mosquitoes and snapping lizards. In describing these events, Jane's overriding concern was to offer future visitors a clear idea of the hazards of such a journey. If others read of her difficulties, they could take steps to be "better prepared."[183]

Perhaps Anna Maria Falconbridge also wished to warn future adventurers to Sierra Leone of the food problems aboard ship. Certainly her comments on her own experiences were grimly revealing. Having arrived at the settlement in 1791, she sailed sometimes with her husband as he performed his duties in the various towns along the coast. One night

she slept aboard the Lapwing--a cutter which had arrived previously with supplies for the settlers. On this filthy and unpleasant "floating cage", the only available foods were "mouldy rotten biscuits. . ." and salt beef.[184] Even this latter staple must have proved difficult to eat, since its hardness forced them "to chop it with an axe."[185] These problems were minor however compared to those she encountered when amassing food for her return voyage to England. She could obtain no salt provisions, had to substitute coconuts for nonexistent bread, and procured goats and fowls only by bartering some of her clothes.[186]

Mrs. Falconbridge could do nothing more than hope fervently that the food she had so dearly obtained would last until they arrived at another port. On board the Natalia, bound for India, Eliza Fay behaved more aggressively. Compelled by fear of starvation, she began "to push and grab for food."[187] In her journal, she complained bitterly about the ship's inadequate provisions, which had induced the general free-for-all at table.

Storms also constantly threatened a ship's supplies. Sophia Barnard encountered bad weather in the Bay of Biscay, en route to Algiers. She and her companions abandoned their sea-soaked bread and flour, and resorted to ship's biscuits, realizing that they could not obtain replacements until they reached Cadiz.[188] During a violent storm Janet Schaw and her friends lost their private food supply while sailing to

the West Indies. Obliged to ask for "ship's provisions", she could not look with relish upon a few barrels of neck-beef, pork, oat-meal, "excellent potatoes" and "stinking herrings" that the captain had considered sufficient for the crossing.[189] Perhaps the captain's stinginess, or the fact that she had been confined to bed for the duration of the storm, eating only boiled ham and a "little wine and bisket" prepared by her brother's servant, provoked her to take some action.[190] She and her companions called "a general council" to discuss a question "truly interesting and important, What shall we eat?"[191] The answer may have lessened her anxiety, since they discovered that they still possessed a "cag [sic] of excellent butter, a barrel of flower, a barrell of onions, and half a cheese, besides a few eggs."[192] Sarcastically, she added that the captain was "nice enough" to give back to them a "parcel of very fine tusk [sic], which he had accidentally stowed away."[193] They were indeed fortunate, both in this donation from the captain, and in the remnants of their own food supply, which although depleted, at least afforded them a more varied diet than that of Jane Roberts.

Few eighteenth-century women travellers offered definitive advice in their travel journals regarding either accommodation or food. Most of them neither wished to produce a guidebook, unlike Nugent or Starke who did, nor a treatise on food like that of the French connoisseur and traveller,

Brillat-Savarin. Instead, they aimed to record as accurately as possible their own experiences of a crucial aspect of travel, partly as Miss Schaw admitted, to amuse their friends, and partly to enable others to profit from their acquired knowledge.

A very few women, like Mrs. Simcoe and Lady Nugent, recorded mainly domestic concerns in their journals. In Mrs. Simcoe's case, Canadian accommodation proved a constant challenge: camping, however well organized, was definitely hazardous and hardly suitable for the wife of a Lieutenant-governor. Lady Nugent's natural interest in etiquette and native recipes was perhaps heightened by her role as hostess for her husband in Jamaica.

For many women travellers, foreign food and lodgings both ordinary and exotic, formed a considerable, though not major, part of their journals. Such information they believed would obviously interest their English friends and relations. And if not all their comments added much new information for the benefit of the general reader, they certainly offered individual interpretations of their travels in arresting and captivating ways. Most importantly, their readers could see how each woman dealt with the problems that harass all adventurers. Mrs. Calderwood proved quite capable of acquiring suitable lodgings for her family in Brussels, despite her language handicap. Lady Holland and Anne Radcliffe refused to accept the incivility of German

drivers and landlords without protest. Mary Holderness and Lady Craven proved that they could travel as the ostensible leaders of their respective parties even in Russia.

As compared to other travel writers, women did not overemphasize living conditions. Indeed, the leading male travellers and explorers of the day seem to have dealt with similar matters at equal length. Whatever the strictures of eighteenth-century society at home, foreign travel encouraged a form of independence and even equality between the sexes.

Certainly Mariana Starke referred constantly to European food and accommodation in her publications, but then so did Thomas Nugent in his book of travels.[194] Ann Flaxman stressed her remonstrances with difficult landlords in France and Italy. But Tobias Smollett, who also described foreign food in some detail, matches her complaints with his vociferous denunciations of trickery in Continental inns. Mary Holderness' attempt to describe her own experiences of Russian life, and her observations of food, crops, produce, and commerce in the Crimea compares favourably to the longer works of William Coxe and even Peter Simon Pallas.

Male travellers appeared just as eager as women to record unfamiliar foods. Recitals of the noble hospitality received by Mrs. Blanckley's family, Sophia Barnard, and Miss Tully in Algiers and Tripoli resemble descriptions of native Arab food (albeit that of folk below royalty) by such

travellers as Thomas Campbell and George F. Lyon. Nor were Maria Graham's accounts of South American food and housing unusual: botanist George Gardiner's Brazilian journal contained many references to local delicacies, while businessman John Miers provided acute and detailed summaries on local Chilean board and lodging. The examples of the pregnant Mrs. Miers and the peripatetic Mrs. Graham in Chile; the perseverance shown by Eliza Fay and Anne Elwood as they crossed the the Arabian desert; the initiative of Janet Schaw and Jane Roberts as they braved dangerous sea passages; the innumerable female tourists on the Continent who endured public lodgings when private hospitality was unavailable: all testify to these women's strength of character. They refused to turn back in the face of hardships or awkward situations, and at the same time constantly manifested their curiosity and delight in new ways of life.

Footnotes--Chapter IV

[1]Calderwood, Letters, p. 56. The word "ordinary" in this context has two meanings: an ordinary can be a meal served to the public at large, at a fixed price; or (and this is the meaning here), a tavern or eating place serving regular meals.

[2]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[3]Ibid., p. 70. She was probably reminded of that common eighteenth-century device used by milkmaids to carry their milk.

[4]Calderwood, Letters, p. 70.

[5]Ibid., p. 235. Mrs. Calderwood wrote that they had 4 rooms for 3 guineas a month and it was agreed with the landlord that they paid a certain amount per day for breakfast, dinner, tea, supper and lodging, and also that they would provide their own fire, candles and wine. In arranging this contract she anticipated Mariana Starke, who some 70 years later, advised travellers that Dutch inns in general were "clean & good", but that those people making a lengthy visit should draw up a clear agreement with the landlord regarding room prices. See Starke, Travels, II, p. 711. In 1784, Mrs. Scrope, writing from Brussels to Lady Webb Seymour, considered that she and her family were well accommodated. Their hotel was situated in the "higher Part of the City, & at the Court end", and boasted a handsome suite of rooms, including a "Sitting Parlour. . .a Noble Room, near 40 feet long & 23 wide,. . .hung with the fine Original Paintings of Van Orley, from whence the Curious Tapestry at Blenheim House was made. . ." The room overlooked the Place Royale, "a large handsome Square." For her description, see Anne Scrope to Lady Webb Seymour July 13, 1784: Seymour Papers, Devon Record Office. However, there were exceptions to these models of luxury and cleanliness, as Mrs. Bousquet discovered in 1765. She and her party experienced difficulties obtaining lodgings at Brussels, and ultimately, "were oblig'd to take up with a wretched apartment in the Hotel de Bruxells", which, at any other time, they "would not have set a foot into." Tired, and probably hungry, having drunk "a mess of dreadfull whey", she went to bed. Here, she found no rest, having been "almost devour'd with Bugs & fleas." Later, while sailing to Bruges, she encountered lodgings equally unpleasant. She wrote that on this "large fine Barge" "the Rats began such a knawing & scratching" that she could not sleep. See Bousquet, Diary, pp. 41, 59.

Lady Langhorn's comments on accommodation in Holland were rather sparse, although the neatness of The Hague impressed her. See Journal of a Tour through France, Belgium, Germany & Holland in 1769, by Juliana, Lady Langhorn, Northamptonshire Record Office, f. 11. Hereafter: Langhorn MS. Some of William Mead's statements on Dutch inns and his open acceptance of Thomas Nugent's travel advice require modification. See William Mead, The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century, (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), pp. 100-102. Hereafter: Mead, Grand Tour.

[6]Calderwood, Letters, pp. 241-244.

[7]Ibid., p. 246.

[8]Ibid., pp. 247-248. She was also gratified to find that certain common household items were cheaply purchased, and that she could therefore equip her temporary home adequately, without worrying about waste when it came time for her to leave.

[9]Calderwood, Letters, p. 249.

[10]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 93.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid., p. 97. She wrote that this "delusion" persisted for several weeks, and that she and her husband were constantly thinking that the poverty of the inns was due to the particular circumstances of the area and would not be found elsewhere.

[13]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 97. This attitude was reiterated later in her journey when she was trying to find lodgings in the Andernach valley. See Radcliffe, Journey, p. 158.

[14]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 159.

[15]Ibid., p. 260. In his book, The Grand Tour, William Mead concluded that German inns had a poor reputation. See Mead, Grand Tour, pp. 96-100. But this view depends a great deal upon who is consulted and even which part of Germany and Austria the traveller visited. When Mariana Starke passed through Germany on her homeward journey to England (in 1828), she did not grumble about the food. She discovered that German cooking was "simple and wholesome", and that travellers could always find something to eat at most German inns around noon-time. Her list of edibles included "meat, bread, and wine. . .beer, soup, and bouillie, sour-

crout, stewed prunes, coffee, and milk . . ." She found the milk of "excellent quality", while the drinking-water was "generally speaking, good." See Starke, Travels, II, pp. 476-477. A more critical observation regarding Dutch water was made by Emma Nugent. In fact, she claimed that she and her party had found "excellent water. . .for the first time since entering Holland" only at Haarlem. She considered it remarkable that in a country so full of water very little was safe to drink before filtration, which left a "disagreeable taste." See Journal of a tour through Holland and France in 1822 by Emma Nugent, Buckinghamshire Record Office, p. 9. Hereafter: Nugent MS. In addition to German food, Mariana Starke turned her attention to other matters. She warned that frequently on her German visit "clean table linen" was so difficult to obtain that she had to buy cloths and napkins along the way. In general she found German food and lodging adequate. Among the towns she praised was Hamburg, where she discovered several acceptable inns which offered a table d'hote and a good, cheap claret. See Starke, Travels, II, pp. 477, 663-664. Mrs. Piozzi and a later traveller, Samuel Topliff had mixed feelings about German and Austrian accommodations. In 1786, Mrs. Piozzi exulted over the "cleanliness and comfort" at every inn along her route from Trent to Innsbruck. Such high quality showed in her opinion, just how far she was from "France. . .and even from Italy, where low ceilings, clean windows, and warm rooms [were] deemed pernicious to health, and destructive of true delight." See Hester Lynch Piozzi, Observations and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany, ed. Herbert Barrows, (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 358. Hereafter: Piozzi, Observations. Mrs. Piozzi, however, soon became disillusioned. From Innsbruck to Munich, the quality of amenities and service declined. She noticed that the innkeepers emerged "honest, but inflexible; the servants silent and sullen; the postillions slow and inattentive. . ." (Piozzi, Observations, p. 364). She found the inns between Vienna and Prague so "very bad" that she looked forward apprehensively to a prolonged visit to the Bohemian capital. But here she was agreeably surprised to find "beds more elegant, dinners neater dressed, apartments cleaner. . .than almost any where else" (Piozzi, Observations, p. 382). At Dresden she welcomed the "soft downy feather-beds" that were a constant feature of neighbouring inns, and admired the famous china, especially that of the elegant Hotel de Pologne; at Magdeburg, she praised the hot suppers and soft beds, which "the inns of Germany never fail to afford. . .in even elegant perfection" (Piozzi, Observations, pp. 386-387, 405). In 1828, Samuel Topliff, a Bostonian businessman touring the Continent, came to a similar conclusions. After having successfully avoided an inn at Metz of a particularly "filthy

and disgusting appearance" he concluded: "Throughout Holland, Prussia & Germany, I found good accommodations, good clean and comfortable beds. . . ." See Samuel Topliff, Topliff's Travels: Letters from Abroad in the Years 1828 and 1829, ed. Ethel S. Bolton (Boston: n.p., 1906; reprint ed., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), pp. 126, 127. Hereafter: Topliff, Travels.

[16]Elizabeth, Lady Holland, The Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland (1791-1811), 2 vols., ed. The Earl of Ilchester (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908), I, p. 79. Hereafter, Holland, Journal.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., p. 85. Later in the trip, gracious hospitality at Hamburg and an "excellent inn" at Cologne modified her initial reaction. See Holland, Journal, I, p. 109. Some travellers in Germany suffered further discomfort from the stoves which, as Mariana Starke recalled, were "always substituted for fire-places" (Starke, Travels, II, p. 467). Mrs. Piozzi complained of these stoves on two counts: first, she missed the cheerfulness of an open fire; second, she worried that the porcelain stoves would make her head ache. See Piozzi, Observations, p. 360. Near the beginning of the century, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had also deplored the prevalence of these "common stoves,. . .filled with a mixture of all sorts of scents" (Quoted in Mead, Grand Tour, p. 97). As an indication of how thoroughly Mrs. Starke considered travel problems, one should note that in addition to the unwelcome stoves, she warned prospective lodgers in Germany about "damp beds", for there were no warming-pans; the "keen air" of the Alps between Venice and Vienna; the severe climate found in Moravia and Bohemia; and the "excessive roughness" of roads between Prague and Dresden. See Starke, Travels, II, p. 467.

[19]Holland, Journal, I, p. 75.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid. Mrs. Starke echoed these sentiments. In her opinion, the best way to see Switzerland was on foot. She claimed that so many people travelled this way that pedestrians could anticipate a good reception, even at the "best" inns. See Starke, Travels, II, pp. 563-564.

[22]Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland, A Short Tour made in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy one (London: n.p., Printed in the year 1775), p. 30. Hereafter: Northumberland, Short Tour. There were 400 guests at

this event, since the princess was giving a public breakfast to people of fashion.

[23]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 30. Orgeat is a cold drink made from barley or almonds and orange-flower water.

[24]Apart from keeping a record of what was probably a memorable visit, perhaps the Duchess found some foreign meals superior to English ones.

[25]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 62. This dinner was held at M. Fagel's house near The Hague.

[26]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 62.

[27]Ibid. A "fricandoe" is a slice of fried or stewed meat, especially veal, which is served with a sauce.

[28]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 63.

[29]Ibid. Perhaps unwittingly, the Duchess has provided us with an interesting contrast between her experience of private entertainment and some more common views of ordinary fare obtained at Dutch inns. For example, Mead quotes Nugent's statement regarding Dutch frugality. See Mead, Grand Tour, p. 365. Even in 1828, the American Samuel Topliff exclaimed: "I cannot say much in praise of Dutch cookery--they give plenty of dishes for dinner, but of what composed I was not at all times able to learn. No fear of getting the Dyspepsia, for they do not give you a chance to eat to excess" (Topliff, Travels, p. 91).

[30]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 63. At one point during the meal she had asked for Vin de Grave, and reported that attendants had brought her something "as thick as water gruel, and as sour as verjuice" (Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 68).

[31]Northumberland, Short Tour, pp. 67-68. An escarpolette is a kind of swing.

[32]Northumberland, Short Tour, pp. 70-71. She noted that the "confectioners'" figures were "as well modelled, and as sharp, as any of the biscuit China." Among the dishes offered at this meal she observed "cold pyes, pickled salmon and sturgeon, cold chickens, turkies, tongues, veal, hams, beef, mutton, potted things, plovers, eggs, radishes, olives, etc. . ." (Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 71).

[33]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 13. One such fine meal mentioned here was concocted from "woodcocks. . .salmis, ragoos, and pyes,. . .soops and sausages."

[34]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 13.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Holderness, New Russia, p. 2.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., p. 15.

[39]Ibid. She wrote that during the latter part of the journey from Riga, they had to share one of these rooms with "pigs, calves, and poultry" (Holderness, New Russia, p. 15). Her disenchantment, however, was modified when she found lodging in a "neat and comfortable" room at the Polish town of Kreitzburg, although the room's temperature was raised to "West Indian heat. . ." and no fresh air could enter. She freely admitted that, in general, Russians were skilled in giving their houses "the comfort of a regular heat, which an English house never knows." She described the common brick stove as having a "top or cover of iron, made to fit close, and shut up its funnel." Once the fire had burned to embers, the chimney was closed and the heat thrown into the room. To keep out the biting wind and snow, Russians apparently used double windows; the cracks of the inner one being filled with tow (fibrous stuffing) and pasted over with "strong paper", and the space at the bottom filled with sand, to make it airtight. See Holderness, New Russia, pp. 16-18.

[40]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 24-25. Earlier (1770's-1780's) traveller William Coxe, accompanying George, Earl of Pembroke on a journey through Russia, had commented on the sleeping arrangements he had experienced during his stay. A pleasant visit to a post-house in the town of Lady [sic], was followed by an uncomfortable night at Smolensk. Here, at the only inn, Coxe and his companions had to make do with two benches, broken chairs, and a couch "so mended. . .that . . .we could not distinguish any part of the original materials." He referred several times to the Russian practice (mostly true of peasants) of sleeping upon benches, rather than in beds. See William Coxe, Travels in Poland and Russia, 5th ed. (London: Printed for T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies, 1802; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1970), I, pp. 253-254, 271; II, pp. 68-69. Hereafter: Coxe, Russia.

[41]Holderness, New Russia, p. 25.

[42]Ibid., pp. 25-26. On this occasion she wrote: Unhappily for those of the English who travel on the Continent, they are so used to all the comforts of cleanliness and decency, that it is impossible not to feel extreme disgust and abhorrence at this barbarous race of beings, who in all respects live more like herds of swine, than like rational creatures. . . ." Despite her strongly expressed opinion, Mary Holderness' tenaciousness was unsubdued and she completed her journey into the Crimea.

[43]Craven, Journey, pp. 218. I do not mean to imply here that Mary Holderness' action was somehow 'better' than that of Lady Craven's: their situation and status differed, and there were nore alternatives open to Lady Craven. It does, however, illustrate the toughness of Mrs. Holderness. Lady Craven, after having been assumed dead at first by the Cossacks because she was being driven at night in a closed carriage, was eventually escorted by them to the house of the General of Karasbayer, greeted by the latter and his brother, the Governor, entertained by peasants singing Russian folk-songs, and treated with due "respect and attention" (Craven, Journey, pp. 219-222).

[44]A "britchka" was an open carriage with a calash top (a hood which could be folded down or removed) and space for reclining.

[45]William Coxe also claimed that the Russian peasants "were in general much inclined to thieving." He discovered, as did Mary Holderness, that "in Russia, without the precaution of regularly stationing a servant in the carriage, every article would soon have disappeared. . . ." Even so, he habitually found trifles missing after a night spent at a post-house cottage. See Coxe, Russia, I, p. 272.

[46]Holderness, New Russia, p. 44.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., pp. 45-46. William Coxe noted that Russians used much garlic and onions as seasonings in their food, which although plain, included wholesome items such as "black-rye-bread,. . .eggs, salt-fish, bacon, mushrooms . . ." (Coxe, Russia, I, p. 272; II, p. 71).

[49]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 45-46.

[50]Ibid., p. 86.

[51]Ibid. William Coxe had also noticed that few Russian peasants slept in beds. As he travelled from Moscow to St. Petersburg he found that a typical family "slept generally upon. . .benches, on the ground, or over the stove." In a footnote he described the stove as a "kind of brick oven" which occupied "almost a quarter of the room, and [was] flat at top" (Coxe, Russia, II, p. 68).

[52]Holderness, New Russia, p. 87.

[53]Ibid. Inside the cottage, safe and secure, they could rest upon the "accustomed beds of hay, or straw, or on the benches around the room. . ." (Holderness, New Russia, p. 87). This conclusion about the desirability of Russian cottages came from experience. Earlier on their way to Odessa, she and her party had found all the "tracteers" i.e. inns, already occupied, and so had resorted to quarters in peasant cottages. She wrote that they had had no complaints because "it gave us in all cases more comfortable lodging and such provision or accommodation as they had, was also afforded with the good humour so peculiarly the leading trait in the Russian character" (Holderness, New Russia, pp. 74-75). She added that, in this way, she had "several opportunities of remarking the plenty and comfort of the Russian poor." Later, in her "Notes on the Colonies of New Russia", she again cautions the traveller on the south coast to use Tartar cottages for the best accommodation. (These "Notes" form part of the 1823 edition of New Russia.) Whether or not Coxe found Russian peasants friendly he did not say, but he did provide readers with a description of their cottages. He found them square in shape, built out of "whole trees, piled one on another", with tiny windows and low doors. They were rarely of more than one story, and contained a modest supply of furniture and "domestic utensils" (Coxe, Russia, I, pp. 268-271). He does not appear to have greatly enjoyed visiting these cottages, particularly since he was often awakened by "chickens picking the grains of corn in the straw" which served as his bed. See Coxe, Russia, I, p. 270.

[54]Mrs. Holderness mentioned in her Notes that in 1817, while at Shubash, in the Crimea, she bought the "famed onions" of the area. See Holderness, New Russia, p. 289.

[55]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 99-101. Earlier, she had written about the "cheapness" of all kinds of food available in the Crimean region. For example she and her party bought 38 lbs. of beef at 10 kopecks, or 1d. per lb. English money. Beef and mutton went in the Crimea for the same price. At Polotsk, they purchased 2 turkeys for 3 rubles, and at Karasubazar, 1 huge turkey for 2 rubles, or 20 d. Dried fruits at Tchernigoff were abundant and cheap, while good

raisins, prunes and currants from Odessa could be had for 10 rubles, or 8/4d for a box of 36lbs., or a Russian pood. Shop bread, however, was not cheap, but almost equivalent to London prices; home-made bread was less expensive. See Holderness, New Russia, pp. 55-56.

[56]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 51-52. Perhaps this was the kind of meal Mary Holderness was served at Homil, where she and her party stayed as guests at the country residence of Count Romanzoff, an acquaintance of a member of her group. William Coxe, however, was greatly impressed with the hospitality of the Russian nobility. Both at Moscow and St. Petersburg he described the customary menus of the privileged class in considerable detail. Coxe probably included these details because he wished to stress the accomplishments of the nobility (when compared to the lower classes in Russia), and perhaps like the Duchess of Northumberland in Holland, wanted to record a foreign version of sumptuous hospitality. See Coxe, Russia, I, pp. 313-314; II, pp. 150-152.

[57]Craven, Journey, p. 233. The roast pig would undoubtedly be retained for non-Moslem guests only. Islamic law strictly forbids its believers to touch pork. Perhaps, however, her Cossack hosts were not Moslem.

[58]Ibid., p. 241. Once she had arrived at Batcheserai, Lady Craven, escorted by the Kaima Khan (the Khan's first minister), went to the Khan's palace, where she was given a room, and suitably entertained. Lady Craven was not the only woman traveller to comment on the Tartars' delight in sweet food. Maria Guthrie noted the use Tartars made of honey and butter instead of oil, which she claimed made their food "greasy as well as sweet" (Guthrie, Tour, pp. 214-216).

[59]Guthrie, Tour, p. 216.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ibid., p. 217.

[62]The "Notes" referred to here are "Notes relating to the Crim Tatars" which Mrs. Holderness appended to her journal, New Russia; these Notes provided additional information on Tartar culture.

[63]Holderness, New Russia, p. 259. For example, Maria Guthrie tasted a Tauric drink called koumis, used not only as a food, but also specially distilled for brandy. Her curiosity roused, she discovered how this was done. During

the summer months, the Tartars collected mare's milk, old koumis, water and sour leaven from rye bread, and churned the ingredients together. After a waiting period, the top crust was broken and mixed in with the rest. In winter the brew was heated. In this case, she did not object to its "sourish-sweet taste" which reminded her of a familiar Scottish drink. (Here the editor, her husband, identified the latter as Corstarfin cream.) Maria Guthrie viewed with skepticism the Tartar method of transporting the koumis in goat-skins, perhaps because she thought it unsanitary. See Guthrie, Tour, pp. 227-228. Mary Holderness described something similar: the Tartars boiled cow's milk and then churned it; once the butter was melted it was poured into a skin. The remaining buttermilk was then poured into a cask, and any left over at the end of the day was added to it, and put aside to grow sour. See Holderness, New Russia, pp. 259-260.

[64]Holderness, New Russia, p. 260. This description resembles a common Mediterranean dish called "dolmas."

[65]Holderness, New Russia, p. 260.

[66]Ibid., p. 261.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid., pp. 261-262. Although it was not their custom to say grace aloud, she had known the elder women of the family to repeat some prayer before eating.

[70]Holderness, New Russia, p. 262.

[71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Craven, Journey, p. 358. It is a well-known Mediterranean custom to offer guests coffee, and probably because of her status, she was received by many people, hence the numerous cups of coffee.

[74]Holderness, New Russia, p. 250. Here is evidence that the Tartars also enjoyed sweet foods: both Lady Craven and Maria Guthrie mentioned the popularity of sherbet among the Tartars. While dining with the Kaima Khan's sister, Lady Craven was offered sherbet, as well as lemonade and sweetmeats. See Craven, Journey, p. 241. Mrs. Guthrie, entertained by a Tartar chief, would have preferred wine ra-

ther than the fruit-juice or sherbet provided for her. See Guthrie, Tour, p. 216.

[75]Holderness, New Russia, p. 251. She noted that firm Moslem believers refused wine, except when sick, and even then made sure that they received permission from their religious leaders.

[76]Janet Schaw, Journal of a lady of quality: being the narrative of a journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, & Portugal,. . .1774 to 1776. ed. Evangeline W. Andrews. . .(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), p. 97. Hereafter: Schaw, Journal.

[77]Schaw, Journal, p. 85.

[78]Ibid., p. 96.

[79]Ibid., p. 99. Also readily available were port, claret, punch, madeira, beer, porter and American cider.

[80]Maria, Lady Nugent, Lady Nugent's Journal: Jamaica one hundred and thirty years ago. Reprinted from a journal kept by. . .Lady Nugent, from 1801 to 1805. . . ed. Frank Cundall (London: Published for the Institute of Jamaica by the West India Committee, 1934), p. 17. Hereafter: Nugent, Jamaica.

[81]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 20.

[82]Ibid. Lady Nugent's descriptions of such festive occasions could be very vivid, and slightly humourous. In November, 1801, she attended a "grand ball" given her by the Council. To this she went in "great spirits" having donned her "smartest dress, with a gold tiara, and white feathers", convinced that she had made herself "look as magnificent" as she could. Members of the Council conducted her to "a sort of throne, covered with pink silk and draperies festooned with flowers." The decorations were "beautiful" and the supper "superb", but one thing above all else stood out in her memory, and that was the particular dish served at the meal. She described it as follows: "it was a roasted peacock, placed before me, with all the feathers of the tail stuck in, and spread so naturally, that I expected every minute to see him strut out of the dish." Always mindful of her husband's position and of her role in it, she danced herself "almost to death, to please both civil and military, army and navy, and staid till 1 o'clock." For her full account, see Nugent, Jamaica, p. 57.

[83]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 77. Their host was a Mr. Mitchell, of Bushy Park.

[84]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 77. A footnote from the editor, Frank Cundall, states that "Cassava" could be written for Cassada.

[85]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 77.

[86]Ibid., p. 78. On the day of her visit to Bushy Park, Lady Nugent noticed that some of her party ate "as if they had never eaten before--a dish of tea, another of coffee, a bumper of claret,. . .then Madeira, sangaree, hot and cold meat, stews and fries, hot and cold fish pickled and plain, peppers, ginger sweetmeats, acid fruit, sweet jellies--in short, it was as astonishing as it was disgusting." She was sickened by so much eating and with her customary determination, "got rid of the memory by going soundly to sleep at 9 o'clock." For this episode, see Nugent, Jamaica, p. 78. She also believed that the ladies ate so little at dinner because of their inordinate consumption during the day. While on a tour of the island, she and her party breakfasted at the house of a Mr. Richard, where she "could not help remarking Mrs. Cox,. . .at the second breakfast. She began with fish, of which she ate plentifully, all swimming in oil. Then cold veal, with, the same sauce!! Then tarts, cakes, and fruit. All the other ladies did the same, changing their plates, drinking wine, &c. as if it were dinner." Once again she made good her escape, overwhelmed by such excessive feasting. See Nugent, Jamaica, p. 106.

[87]Nugent, Jamaica, pp. 78, 80, 88, 93, 95. On other occasions she attended a "loaded table" or a "sumptuous second breakfast" (Nugent, Jamaica, pp. 79, 106).

[88]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 95. She asked for, and obtained the recipe for the black crab pepper-pot. Its contents were doubtless available on the island, and perhaps Lady Nugent wished her cook to try it in her own kitchen. The dish required: "a capon stewed down, a large piece of beef and another of ham, also stewed to a jelly; then six dozen of land crabs, picked fine, with their eggs and fat, onions, peppers, ochra, sweet herbs, and other vegetables of the country, cut small; and this, well stewed, makes black crab pepper-pot" (Nugent, Jamaica, p. 95).

[89]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 95.

[90]Ibid., p. 79. Her enjoyment of this culinary delight was marred by her hostess' exhortations to eat. She wrote: ". . .having expressed my approbation, it was with

great difficulty I escaped Mrs. Israel's intention to make me sick, by devouring the whole dish, or rather dishes, of marrow-like little fish" (Nugent, Jamaica, p. 79).

[91]Nugent, Jamaica, p. 93. On this occasion she first tasted the crab pepper-pot, which she considered "was very good indeed." An editorial footnote to her Journal explains that the crab is a Jamaican delicay--as is also the mountain mullet.

[92]Simcoe, Diary, pp. 42, 165.

[93]Ibid., p. 165. Moravian bread she found to be light and yet "rich like cake." It was made with "Rennet & Whey, without Yeast or Water & baked in wicker or straw baskets. . ." (Simcoe, Diary, p. 165).

[94]Simcoe, Diary, p. 166.

[95]Ibid., p. 184.

[96]Ibid., p. 165.

[97]Ibid., p. 61. The spelling here is her own.

[98]Simcoe, Diary, p. 66.

[99]Ibid.

[100]Ibid., p. 137. Her children and their nurse, Collins, were given a small room within hers.

[101]Simcoe, Diary, p. 70. Mrs. Simcoe wrote that the gentlemen in their party occupied the house, perhaps a nearby private house or inn.

[102]Simcoe, Diary, p. 70. This sounds somewhat contradictory. Perhaps she means that the bed covers became wet from leaks or condensation, but that the moisture did not soak through completely.

[103]Simcoe, Diary, p. 70.

[104]Ibid., pp. 82, 87.

[105]Ibid., p. 140. She added that she did not undress when she did not have her own bed with her: perhaps she was afraid of catching cold, or possibly some disease. At the time she wrote this entry (1794) she was travelling to Quebec.

[106]Simcoe, Diary, p. 79.

[107]Ibid.

[108]Ibid., p. 97.

[109]Ibid., p. 130. Earlier on this trip she and her family had mistakenly encamped in a field full of a "coarse weed which is such a harbour for Musquitos that the Tent was filled with them." She did not have to explain why then, on this occasion, everyone was eager to rise and breakfast at the early hour of 3:30 a.m. See Simcoe, Diary, p. 130.

[110]Elizabeth Broughton, Six Years Residence in Algiers (London: Saunders & Otley, 1839), p. 31. Hereafter: Broughton, Algiers. (Within this book there are extensive quotations about the visit to Algiers from Elizabeth's mother, Mrs. Blanckley.) A "Dey" was a ruling official of the Ottoman empire in North Africa.

[111]Broughton, Algiers, p. 31.

[112]Ibid. Mrs. Blanckley must have been gratified when the Sultana presented her with three of the napkins, richly embroidered in gold, silver and various coloured silks, as well as 10 rosewood spoons. See Broughton, Algiers, p. 78. She also noted that although it was against the "Alkoran" for "Musselmans" to eat or drink from silver utensils, its use as furniture was permitted. Other women travellers noted the rich and decorative utensils that often graced tables in the East: for example, Mrs. Anne Elwood, travelling through Egypt, was entertained at the consul's house in Alexandria, where she drank coffee from ". . .beautiful little china cups. . .in delicate stands, or saucers of filigree gold. . .brought upon a silver waiter" (Elwood, Narrative, p. 112).

[113]Broughton, Algiers, pp. 416-418.

[114]Ibid., p. 55.

[115]Sophia Barnard, Travels in Algeirs [sic], Spain. . . (London: Groyder, c. 1830), p. 36. Hereafter: Barnard, Algiers.

[116]Broughton, Algiers, pp. 61-62.

[117]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 140. Noon was the usual dinner hour for Egyptian "Franks" but in deference to English visitors the time was extended.

[118]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 321-323.

[119]Fay, Original Letters, p. 106.

[120]Ibid., p. 101. The spelling here is her own: she evidently meant "juglets", or small jugs. The takhtrouan was the litter used throughout the East to carry women. When inside, the person was concealed from view.

[121]Fay, Original Letters, p.

[122]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 364.

[123]Ibid., pp. 363-364.

[124]Ibid. She was served this meal at the government house in Bombay, where she and her husband first stayed on arriving in India. This official residence she called architecturally "unimpressive" but comfortable. Later, she and her husband rented a bungalow in Bombay about which she had no complaints. It had a wide verandah from which she could hear the Indian ocean.

[125]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 117-118. A "chowree" she described as an Indian fan.

[126]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 393-395. She noted that "bendy" was a very delicate vegetable--a 3/4" capsule with seeds like English peas. Mrs. Elwood found the grapefruit, sweet-lime and pomegranate "refreshing", but considered the mandarin oranges and grapes disappointing. During her own visit to Bombay, Maria Graham had found the peas and beans to be of "indifferent" quality, and that cabbages, carrots and turnips were in short supply. She had liked particularly the bread, made from Guzerat wheat, remarking that it was the best she had ever tasted for its white colour and light texture. She also preferred the fine butter and milk from Guzerat to the greenish-hued butter and buffalo milk of Bombay. Nor did she enjoy buffalo meat. A Bombay breakfast must also have contained some unfamiliar flavours consisting as it did of sand eels, and "kedgeree" which was a dish of rice boiled with "dol" (split country peas), and coloured with turmeric. See Graham, India, pp. 24-25.

[127]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 384-390. "Toddy" is the fresh or fermented sap of various East Indian palms. On her visit to India in 1780, Eliza Fay had found the Indians "immoderately" fond of "an intoxicating drink called toddy", made from the fermented juice of the coconut or palmyra tree. See Fay, Original Letters, p. 176.

[128]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 291-293. She wrote: "This giant of the forest,. . .charitably extends its branches in every direction, and throwing out new shoots,

which fall to the ground and there take root, without separating from the parent tree, it forms a continuous and delightful shade, . . ." (Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 392).

[129]Graham, India, p. 6. There was only one tavern in Bombay at this time (1809-11) and it was unsuitable for women. Travellers therefore relied on the hospitality of British residents. Anne Elwood echoed these sentiments later, suggesting that there may have been taverns for men, but that in India one needed to have friends. Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 365-366.

[130]Graham, India, pp. 19-21. Perhaps she also liked its claims to elegance, for the bedrooms had glass windows and Venetian shutters, and the "offices" were connected to the house by a covered passage. She also observed the differences between the houses of rich and poor Indians. The former lived in structures large enough to include a man's in-laws and his own sons. Verandas protected the rich from the heat and monsoon rain, and were painted with flowers and leaves of red and green. The lower class Indian lived in a clay hut so small that a man could only sit upright in one, and which was roofed with a "cadjan"--a "mat made of the leaves of the Palmyra or coconut tree, plaited together" (Graham, India, p. 88). Compare the above with Anne Elwood's later description of Bombay houses, and those of the poor. See Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 89-93. There are similarities which suggest that Mrs. Elwood may have read Maria Graham's Indian travel journal.

[131]Graham, India, pp. 21-23. Her garden yielded fine grapes and figs, as well as other fruit and a mixed flower bed. Her abiding interest in the unusual and mechanical led her to record the method by which the garden was irrigated. She discovered that "the water is raised by a wheel worked by a buffalo: over the wheel two bands of rope pass, to each of which are tied earthenware pots, about three or four feet from each other, which dip into the water as the wheel turns them to the bottom, and empty themselves as they go round, into a trough, communicating with shunam canals, leading to reservoirs in different parts of the garden" (Graham, India, p. 23).

[132]Graham, India, p. 88. During a visit to Barbareen, Ceylon, Maria found another "beautiful rest-house" awaiting her, and an "excellent collation." Again the house was covered with cotton cloth, decorated with leaves, flowers and bunches of coconut leaves. A temporary bridge erected across the gap between the bungalow and the village, had been covered with cottom and decorated like the bungalow. The latter she sketched. See Graham, India, p. 98.

[133]Graham, India, p. 88.

[134]Ibid., pp. 96-97. She had certainly sampled the bread and butter, if not the fruit, at some point during her visit to Ceylon.

[135]Graham, India, pp. 96-97. A "scanty" vegetable supply, however, led to Ceylonese importation of potatoes and onions from Bombay.

[136]Graham, Brazil, p. 84.

[137]Ibid., pp. 84-88. Maize flour was used in "cakes, brose, or porridge, which last [was] suffered to grow cold, and then commonly cut in slices and toasted." She also mentioned some "excellent stews, and mixtures of vegetables and quails roasted in vine leaves. . .and the wines, the growth of the island, and ices were delicious." To the word "ices" she added a footnote, which pointed out that from one of the island's mountains, ice could be obtained from "a large cavern near the cone. . ." all year round. See Graham, Brazil, pp. 84-88.

[138]Graham, Brazil, p. 113. She explained that the meal consisted of soup, boiled lean beef, slices of salty, fat pork, sausages and rice boiled with oil, and sweet herbs. Apparently, roast beef, offered as a compliment to the English, was underdone.

[139]Graham, Brazil, p. 127. Always curious as to how things were made or prepared, she learned that charqui was obtained by cutting the meat "in wide strips, clean off the bones." These pieces of meat were then salted, pressed and air-dried. Later, in Chile, she would see and describe the method of bringing beef and dairy products to market. She wrote that at day-break, "The beef cut in quarters, the mutton in halves, was mounted on horseback before a man or boy, who, in his poncho, sat as near the tail of the horse as possible. Fowls in large grated chests of hide came slung on mules. Eggs, butter, milk, cheese, and vegetables, all rode, no Chileno condescending to walk, especially with a burden. . ." (Graham, Chile, p. 203).

[140]Graham, Brazil, pp. 160-161. She explained here that "farinha" was made into "thin broad cakes as a delicacy, but the usual mode of eating it was dry." The poor folk ate it as porridge, brose and bread, in the same way that the Teneriffe islanders consumed polenta.

[141]Graham, Brazil, pp. 160-161.

[142]Ibid.

[143]Ibid., p. 216.

[144]Ibid., p. 279.

[145]Ibid.

[146]Ibid., p. 280. After this, in case anyone still felt hungry, "toasted cheese was introduced, with girdle cakes of farinha freshly toasted, and spread with a very little Irish butter;. . ." (Graham, Brazil, p. 280). Maria Graham considered that these "girdle cakes" resembled the Cassava bread of the West Indies, but were prepared here more like Scottish oat-cakes. [The word "girdle" is a Scottish variant of "griddle."]

[147]Graham, Chile, pp. 116-117.

[148]Ibid.

[149]Ibid., p. 124.

[150]Ibid. A Chilean, she wrote, builds his house as follows: first, he

> digs down a portion of the nearest hill, and waters the loose earth till it acquires the consistence of mortar; a number of peons, or country-men, then tread it to a proper smoothness and consistency; after which a quantity of chopped straw is added, which is again trodden till it is equally distributed through the mass,. . . . These bricks are formed in a wooden frame, and then placed in the shade to dry, after which they are exposed to the sun to harden.

Once the walls have been built and have settled, the rafters and roof are constructed. To do this

> A very thick layer of green boughs, leaves and all, is first fastened with twine upon the rafters, whose mortar, or rather mud, of at least four inches thick, is spread above that; and in that mud are bedded round tiles, whose ridge rows are cemented with lime-mortar, a thin coat of which is spread over the coarser plaister, both without and within the houses (Graham, Chile, pp. 124-125).

[151]Graham, Chile, p. 192.

[152]Ibid., p. 194.

[153]Ibid. As regards food, Maria herself wrote that she enjoyed an "excellent dinner, and still better breakfast." The inn was run by an "English negro" who seemed to understand the "needs and comforts required by an Englishman," and managed to offer a "very tolerable resting-place to a traveller" (Graham, Chile, p. 194).

[154]Graham, Chile, p. 195. Despite this inauspicious start, Maria and her company did, in fact, sleep well, particularly her maid. Once again, it was she (the maid) who was the "most fatigued of the party." Maria Graham regarded this tiredness as proof that "youth and health are not always the hardiest travelling companions;. . ." While her maid slept, Maria "remained up to write and prepare everything" for the following day's journey. See Graham, Chile, p. 195.

[155]Graham, Chile, p. 195.

[156]Ibid., p. 198. She explained that she had at first declined the invitation, thinking that she would be more independent at an English inn, but on hearing that the de Cotapos women would be upset at her refusal, she changed her mind.

[157]Graham, Chile, p. 198.

[158]Ibid., pp. 198-199. Careful to draw only from her own immediate experience, she added that, judging from what she had seen at dinner, the Chileans were "great eaters, especially of sweet things; but. . .they drank very little" (Graham, Chile, p. 199). She also recorded in her journal that breakfast in Chile was "usually at a latish hour", and (perhaps because of this) consisted of "soup, or meat and wine;. . ." Everyone, however, would have already consumed maté (an aromatic beverage used mostly in South America) or chocolate at their bedsides. See Graham, Chile, p. 242.

[159]Graham, Chile, pp. 258-259. On this occasion, Maria wrote that having been fortified with "excellent beef, a stewed fowl, good bread, and a bottle of very tolerable wine", they prepared to sleep.

[160]Graham, Chile, p. 259.

[161]Ibid.

[162]Ibid. She assumed that everyone had slept soundly because on waking at day-break, she found them "all still."

To perform her toilet, she "crept into a little closet, where potatoes and wool had been kept," where she had "contrived a dressing-room" (Graham, Chile, p. 259).

[163]John Miers, Travels in Chile and La Platta. . . 2 vols. (London: n.p., 1826; reprint ed., New York: AMS Press, 1970), pp. 1-2. Hereafter: Miers, Chile.

[164]Miers, Chile, I, pp. 14-17, 27, 100. Mrs. Miers was very badly bitten by mosquitoes and other insects. They were able to obtain ordinary essentials like meat, milk and eggs at times during the journey. But one post house in particular Miers described as "the most wretched of the huts we had seen, it being built of mud and sticks, the thatch ragged, and the walls falling to pieces. The people were extremely filthy and poor" (Miers, Chile, I, p. 29). Later they came across a much neater and cleaner posthouse, where they saw the familiar Chilean charqui being prepared: on a journey these strips of dried beef were roasted before a fire, and were made ready for cooking by being beaten with a piece of wood, or rolled between two stones. See Miers, Chile, I, p. 29.

[165]Miers, Chile, I, p. 151.

[166]Ibid., p. 162.

[167]Ibid. Mrs. Miers' intentions were, as she later intimated, to "attempt the passage of the central ridge of the Cordillera." She did not make this trip, but not for want of trying. See Miers, Chile, I, p. 167.

[168]Miers, Chile, I, pp. 166, 170-171. She was fortunate to have some medical attention, for in their party was a Mr. Thomas Leighton, "a surgeon of considerable professional merit" (Miers, Chile, I, p. 2).

[169]Miers, Chile, I, pp. 170-178.

[170]Ibid., p. 178

[171]Ibid., pp. 179-185. Eventually, Mrs. Miers and her son arrived safely in Mendoza, after a tough and tiring ride in a litter carried on the shoulders of four men, including Dr. Leighton and her husband.

[172]See Appendix D for brief examples of Channel crossings.

[173]Mrs. Graham's friend was Admiral Drury.

[174]Graham, India, p. 172.

[175]Ibid., p. 173.

[176]The modern name for "Van Diemen's Land" is Tasmania.

[177]Jane Roberts, Two Years at Sea: being the narrative of a voyage to the Swan River and Van Dieman's Land. . . 1829-31 (London: Richard Bentley, 1834), p. 7. Hereafter: Roberts, Swan River. The Swan River settlement was situated on the west coast of Australia, near Fremantle.

[178]Roberts, Swan River, p. 7.

[179]Ibid.

[180]Ibid., pp. 18, 22-23. At the Cape, all kinds of animals were obtained, especially goats, since they were less trouble aboard ship than cows. The latter were large, required fodder and were helpless in storms. Goats disregarded the roll of a ship, were content with biscuits and yielded milk for passengers. See Roberts, Swan River, p. 39.

[181]Roberts, Swan River, p. 52. During this time their fare consisted of "a few cakes made of flour, water, and a little butter;. . .biscuit; and tea without milk, sweetened with coarse brown sugar." At 2 o'clock they ate a second meal of salt, (or, occasionally, fresh) meat, potatoes from the ship, biscuit and cheese. The evening meal was usually fish.

[182]Roberts, Swan River, p. 51. She explained that they did not stay in nearby Fremantle, which had sturdy tents and wooden houses because the would-be settlers had to get organized, and passengers like herself were only paying a temporary visit. The tents she and her party used were "about the temperature of an oven after an extinguished fire." A heavy horse-box was conveyed ashore from the ship for use by the captain and his wife. Outside this cramped lodging, the passengers arranged a makeshift, open-air sitting-room, by placing wooden logs by the door as seats, covering the intervening sand with rushes, and on them placing a table and chair. To pass the time during these seven weeks, Jane Roberts explained that "the ladies employed themselves as well as the heat would permit with books, work, and occasional sketching;. . ." while the gentlemen rounded up stray cattle or helped the settlers. See Roberts, Swan River, pp. 51-52.

[183]Roberts, Swan River, p. 54. Jane Roberts also advised them to make a "decided agreement" (before leaving England) with the captain, whether to remain on board ship, or to go ashore during a long stop-over. She hoped that this particular chapter would prove useful to future emigrants who would "see where a different practice might have led to a different result, and act accordingly" (Roberts, Swan River, p. 46).

[184]Anna Maria Falconbridge, Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone during the Years 1791-3. . ., 2nd ed. (London: Printed for L.I. Higham, 1802; reprint ed., London: F. Cass & Co., 1967), pp. 22-24, 58. Hereafter: Falconbridge, Sierra Leone.

[185]Falconbridge, Sierra Leone, p. 58.

[186]Ibid., p. 103. Clothes were more acceptable than money at Porto Praya, St. Jago, where she obtained the food supply.

[187]Fay, Original Letters, p. 112.

[188]Sophia Barnard, Travels in Algeirs. . . (London: Goyder, n.d.), p. 8. Hereafter: Barnard, Algiers. The British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books suggests a possible publication date of 1820.

[189]Schaw, Journal, p. 52. She believed that there would have been enough for all had their cabbages, turnips and carrots not been swept into the sea when the ship keeled over.

[190]Schaw, Journal, p. 52.

[191]Ibid.

[192]Ibid., p. 53.

[193]Ibid.

[194]Thomas Nugent (1700?-1772) was a scholar and writer. Among his many works are several travel books, the most comprehensive of which is The Grand Tour, or a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and France,. . . 3rd ed. 4 vols. (London: n.p., 1778).

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE AND CULTURE

In this chapter women travellers' description and observations of foreign life-styles will be examined. It will be seen that although they did comment on dress and fashion, this was not an exclusive interest, nor were their remarks restricted to Europe. Further afield, local and national costumes were often intermingled with rituals and customs unfamiliar to many western women, the most significant being the harem. They also examined slavery and caste, as well as several faiths and religious observances. Nor did they deal with these institutions in a casual way: women travellers frequently rounded out their own experiences by including historical and other information on such topics as Indian languages, and the Hindu and Parsee religions. This was done purposely, so that both they and their readers would be better informed on foreign customs.

Local Costume and Custom

Of the women travellers studied, several discussed European dress and fashion, although the subject did not predominate in their journals. Undoubtedly, the majority would have agreed with Emma Nugent that among the higher classes at least, Continental and English fashions fre-

quently resembled each other.[1] More unusual, and therefore more noteworthy, were the national and regional variations of lower-class costume. For example, Miss Nugent recalled that the poorer women of Rotterdam wore "coloured jackets, and white petticoats, neat white caps, with low wide crowns, slippers of red morocco, and immense gold earings."[2] Although Ann Radcliffe was not as surprised by her first sight of "a foreign people" as she had expected, the novel dress of some Dutch women at Helvoetslys instantly caught her attention. Particularly eye-catching were their hats, whose dimensions resembled those of "a small chinese umbrella", snugly fitting white jackets, short petticoats, yellow slippers, and skull-like caps, decorated at the temples "by gold filagree clasps. . . ."[3]

A few upper-class English women travellers found themselves somewhat disconcerted by the attempts of poorer European women to 'ape their betters.' Lady Elizabeth Craven was shocked at the number of lower-class Viennese women who painted themselves white, while the Duchess of Northumberland appeared uneasy that at Lyons the "female Shopkeepers . . .dress out more. . ." than any others.[4] It was the incongruity of her Dutch landlady's costume that so greatly "diverted" Juliana, Lady Langhorn. The latter's hostess at St. Omer wore a "coarse linen Apron, and Stomacher. . ." decorated by a large diamond cross.[5] Her ladyship remarked that even the "very meanest of People" in Holland would "not

be without this Badge of their Religion, composed of something valuable."[6]

In general, most women commentators expressed their opinions of European dress in a calm, yet critical, manner. In so doing, they avoided the scathing commentaries of so keen an observer as Tobias Smollett, who deplored the tendency of English men and women travellers to be seduced by the "frippery" costumes of the French.[7] Instead, several women traveller's harshest comments were reserved for the clothes and appearance of more ordinary people than the 'quality' in France. In the 1770's, the Duchess of Northumberland recalled the unattractive features of women in Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, noting that the dress of the latter was remarkable only for its plainness.[8] A decade later, Lady Knight criticized Roman women for their excessive use of jewelry which resembled "Fleet St. wax-works", and their peculiar fashions, which made them look like "strolling players."[9] Subjective factors may have contributed to such unflattering conclusions: the Duchess made her comments after leaving Antwerp, which she considered to be the "coldest town in the World", while Lady Knight regarded the French as superior to the Italians (the latter were, in her opinion, a "very worthless set of people").[10]

Women travellers hastened to record local peculiarities in dress, particularly in Italy. One careful observer, Ann Flaxman, noted that second-class Florentine women enveloped

themselves in long black cloaks, while lower-class peasants and washer-women habitually wore "black Leghorn or Chip hats" over hair "curiously plaited."[11] She also observed, perhaps with some amusement, the eagerness with which Florentine ladies of quality imitated English fashions. However, the Italians never quite succeeded in obtaining "the true English mode", because, as Mrs. Flaxman explained, her compatriots usually got themselves "frenchified" before arriving in Italy.[12] Other women travellers were also intrigued by local styles of dress. Lady Craven noticed the head-dress favoured by Genoese women, Lady Holland the apron-like dress of the women of Arienzo (which appeared to be their only clothing), while Anne Elwood discovered that Spanish influences on Sicilian dress could still be found in 1825.[13] Just as Ann Flaxman found the dress of Florentine country people "very picturesque", with their dark blue petticoats, clean white shift sleeves, and blue or green ribbons and flowers adorning their hair, so did Mrs. Elwood admire the national costume of Maltese women, particularly the "faldetta and black mantilla, distended with silk."[14]

Interest in costume extended far beyond Europe. In Teneriffe, Sierra Leone, Chile, Brazil, Tasmania, and the Pacific Islands, female visitors compiled graphic descriptions of local dress. Such accounts frequently revealed a sympathetic and informed interest in the people and their various cultures. Nearly all women travellers were excited

by the exotic and novel sights before them and would have agreed with Maria Graham, whose expressed intention was: "to remark all that is unusual in my travels."[15] For example, Mrs. Jemima Kindersley emphasized the Spanish influence on the heavily veiled women of Teneriffe, who rarely left their homes except to attend mass.[16] Iberian influences were also noted by Maria Graham, as she toured parts of South America. Valparaiso women braided their hair and donned mantillas, while Chilean men's sole concession to native attire seemed to be the poncho. In Pernambuco, Brazil, Mrs. Graham was reminded instantly of the "clothing on the Egina marbles" when she saw a group of agricultural workers dressed from head to foot in tightly-fitting leather jerkins and pantaloons.[17]

When Miss Jane Roberts sailed from England to the Swan River in western Australia and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), she took particular note of local customs and costumes at the various stops along the way. These included Bahia, Brazil; the Cape of Good Hope; the Nicobar Islands; Rangoon, Burma; and Calcutta. Having reached the first of her destinations, the Swan River, she not only gave a detailed account of the new and growing settlement there, but also included information about its natural life, though "knowledge obtained of trees, plants, birds, and insects, was too new to be extensive."[18] She examined the problems concerning the use of convict labour on Van Diemen's Land, gave a

first-hand account of the native dwellings, burial grounds, and source of water discovered on the then little known Halfway Island in the Torres Straits. Miss Roberts also experienced many aspects of life in Rangoon, Burma. From the last place, she absorbed detailed information concerning the dress and social customs of lower and upper class Burmese.[19] Another voyager, Abby Jane Morrell, sailed to the Pacific Islands in the Antarctic, captained by her husband in 1829. During her sea passage, she encountered the "savages" of Massacre Island, two native chieftains, "whimsically tattoed", from Flat Point, and a rich variety of people at Manila, in the Philippines.[20]

Not unexpectedly, several female travellers paid careful attention to unfamiliar or unusual native apparel in Russia and North Africa, India and Egypt. A closer scrutiny of their journals will reveal how thoroughly these women investigated local costume and customs.

One such observant traveller was Elizabeth Justice. Visiting St. Petersburg in the 1730's, she gave a critical description of Russian women's clothes, from the courtier to the cottager.[21] By the early nineteenth century, travellers Maria Guthrie and Mary Holderness remarked on the singular nature of Russian dress. In the opinion of Mrs. Holderness (who, as an Englishwoman found Russian dress styles particularly striking), both the peasants and the Crim Tartars had skillfully evolved a costume well suited to a harsh

climate and rugged way of life. One ceremony which yielded much information on festive dress and custom was the Tartar wedding, of which Mrs. Holderness was privileged to witness several. She found particularly intriguing the lengthy duration of the event, as well as the various rituals, including the constant veiling of the bride's face. She also noticed that the Tartar bridegroom, unlike his English counterpart, set out to meet his bride unkempt and unshaven.[22] Meanwhile, the bride, having been carried (still hidden from view) into her new house, was "decorated. . .in all her gayest attire," while her mother and other female friends decorated the room with "a profusion of gay dresses, embroidered handkerchiefs and towels, rich coverlids, and cushions of cotton or Turkish silk."[23] Thus the bride awaited the first visit from her husband (whom she had never seen), surrounded by her new clothes. Some of these garments even adorned the walls, forming in Mrs. Holderness' opinion, "an extraordinary sort of tapestry."[24] She explained that she was invited to all the weddings that took place in her village--a measure of her interest in Tartar people, and their courtesy towards her. If she accepted an invitation, a considerable escort, including a band of musicians, accompanied her to and from the wedding. If she could not attend, samples of the marriage feast would be sent to her.[25]

Perhaps it was such signs of friendship, as well as her inveterate curiosity, which stimulated Mary Holderness' in-

terest in Tartar customs. With regard to their weddings, she noted the tremendous amounts of money often expended, and commented on various aspects of Moslem marriage law. She observed, for example, that whereas the law permitted four wives, few Tartar men possessed more than one; that divorce existed under certain circumstances; that where husbands had two or more wives, separate establishments had to be provided for each; and that at the death of her husband, the wife inherited one-third of his personal property. She even tried to assess the status of women under these conditions. Were Tartar wives attentive and subservient to their husbands because they knew that a dissatisfied spouse could avail himself of the polygamy law? She admitted that she could not be positive.[26] However, she remained convinced that although a Tartar husband controlled his wife absolutely, and regarded her as "most perfectly his slave", yet he showed her such affection and kindness that unhappy marriages were rare.[27]

Living in one area four years enabled Mary Holderness to delve more deeply into its culture than did some other female itinerants. Hence, certain sections of her journal contain extensive comments on the various national groups in the Crimea, culled largely from her own experience. For example, she explains the situation of the Crimea's Greek colonists, and describes the dress and customs of its affluent Moravians, mercantile Armenians, and agricultural Bul-

garians, as well as the "Crim Tatars."[28]

The last group received most of her attention, and the wealth of detail helps to illustrate the depth of her interest in them. Tartar life, she concluded, was essentially a simple one, based on rural cultivation and raising of livestock. Despite their "laxness and chicanery" Mary Holderness evidently preferred the Tartars to many other Crimean peasants, whose predilection for hard liquor she abhorred.[29] Tartar women apparently kept their dwellings clean and presentable, for she had no qualms about entering their cottages.

Greek women, on the other hand, she found to be "extremely dirty in their houses and in their persons."[30] Differences in dress also existed between the two groups. Mrs. Holderness observed that Greeks adopted Turkish costume with few variations, while Tartar women were fond of "shewy colours" and jewelry.[31] To embellish the basic dress of trousers tied at the ankle, loose shift, and a quilted robe "made either of Turkish silk or cotton, or of gold or silver brocade. . .", many women wore necklaces of coins, silver pendants, bracelets of coloured glass and numerous brass, lead and silver rings.[32] However, none of this finery could alter her opinion that Tartar women were "ungraceful and stiff-looking", nor effectually disguise the "scorbutic disorders" which affected young and old alike in the Crimean region.[33]

In other parts of the world, Moorish, Indian, and Arabic costumes and wedding ceremonies held great fascination for several women travellers. So overwhelmed were they by the unfamiliar sights and sounds that many of their descriptions proved not only detailed, but very vivid. When Mrs. Blanckley paid her wedding visit to a new bride in Algiers, she found her "literally laden with pearls," which hung down from the edges of a gold filigree cap.[34] Her colourful description of the bride's costume was echoed several years later (circa 1820) by another visitor to Algiers, Sophia Barnard. Claiming that few foreign women had ever witnessed an entire Moorish wedding, she decided not to miss her opportunity by being "very particular" in her account.[35] Apart from an explanation of the ceremony itself, she included a summary of the bride's appearance. First, Mrs. Barnard explained the ritual of cosmetic application. After the bride had bathed and been liberally powdered from head to foot with a highly scented perfume, her toe and finger nails were dyed crimson, as were the palms of her hands. Attendants then painted wreaths of flowers on her feet, above which were fastened jeweled anklets. The wedding costume consisted of a "beautiful lace chemise", with enormously wide sleeves, and drawers, or trousers of the same material, tied "just below the calf of the leg, and confined with small white roses decorated with pearls."[36] Over the chemise came a "rich embroidered blue velvet" waistcoat, the

front and armholes of which were bound "with bands of jewels!"[37] Like Mrs. Broughton before her, Sophia Barnard did not fail to comment upon the incredible quantity of pearls which adorned the bride, nor the latter's numerous gold ear-rings, set with precious stones. The wedding festivities lasted three days, but the Near Eastern custom of reclining on cushions proved too much for Mrs. Barnard, and at midnight on the first day, she took her leave in order to rest.[38]

While Elizabeth Broughton was recording the particulars of Algerian wedding dress, Maria Graham was paying careful attention to the way in which Hindu women in Bombay folded their saris, styled their hair, and wore their jewelry. She noted, as did Anne Elwood during her visit to India, that the distinguishing mark of a native Moslem woman was her loose, silk trousers and vest.[39]

Women travellers paid great attention to Moslem dress, especially in the Near East. Few, however, went quite as far as Eliza Fay, who donned Egyptian costume before entering Cairo. Her indoor dress consisted of a pair of trousers, with yellow leather half-boots partially concealed by slippers, an open-sleeved, long satin gown fastened round the waist by a girdle and covered by another short-sleeved robe, while on her head she wore a muslin turban. Mrs. Fay explained that to walk outdoors she was required to add a silk robe, resembling a surplice, a muslin veil with an opening

only for the eyes, and a cloak of black silk. At first, she found it difficult to adapt to her new costume. Nevertheless, she persisted, despite the awkward length of the garments and the hot Egyptian climate.[40] Similarly, Anne Elwood's description of Egyptian women nearly fifty years later mentioned the "coarse blue shift descending to their feet, with fashionably large sleeves."[41] Although Mrs. Elwood did not assume native dress, she soon found it helpful to make some concession to Eastern street etiquette, by covering her face with her shawl and lowering her veil. Perhaps it was partly for this reason that she was treated by the Egyptians "with the utmost deference and respect", despite the fact that her "English attire excited the utmost attention" particularly her "black jean half boots."[42] She conjectured that it may have been the contrast between her "white face and black feet" that puzzled passers-by so much.[43] The restrained behavior Anne Elwood experienced at Alexandria did not occur in the Arab town of Yambo, near Medina, which was peopled by Bedouin. Clad in the traditional "white abba or bernouse" with a "vest of blue or coloured cotton" underneath, and wearing the "keffie, or green and yellow striped handkerchiefs upon their heads in the mantilla style", the desert tribesmen found Mrs. Elwood a most unusual sight.[44] In fact, the sensation she created in Yambo convinced her that she must have been "the first and only Englishwoman that ever traversed its streets."[45]

Sailing down the Nile to Cairo during her Near Eastern tour, Anne Elwood enjoyed a comprehensive view of native life and customs. Against a background of arable land, buffalo, small villages of mud huts, and a mosque, she observed "Fellahs" tilling the soil, oxen turning water-mills, and Egyptian women, clothed in the common blue dress of the country, fetching and carrying water. Some of these native women she noticed were "much ornamented with gold, and their veils were tied up between the eyes with a string of small silver bells."[46] Others wore "dirty sarrees, or mantillas", which were so negligently fastened that they revealed the indigo stains on the women's faces.[47] En route to Cairo, Mrs. Elwood's party made occasional stops along the way. When they did so, "children crowded round. . .eyeing them with lots of curiosity," and holding out their hands for "bucksheesh."[48] Having arrived at Thebes, she and her companions were "beset by wild-looking natives, offering necklaces, scaraboei, and other curiosities for sale,. . .with the same eagerness with which the Waterloo people bring relics to travellers."[49] Her skepticism of the intrinsic value of the goods for sale did not, however, prevent her from purchasing some of these "curiosities."[50]

Mrs. Elwood's evident delight in recording her observations should not be taken for wholesale approval. Her criticisms could be quite blunt. In the Red Sea city of Hodeida, neither the variety of costume, the well-supplied

Bazaar, nor succulent camel meat, could hide the alarming poverty of the lower class, or the tiresome attentions of numerous beggars.[51] The filthiness of Yambo provoked her sweeping observation that ". . .the Arabs seem innately and naturally a dirty race."[52] On the other hand, Anne Elwood could extol the "wild independence" of Arabs over what she termed the "servility" of other oriental nations.[53] She qualified this statement by adding that she preferred an Arab hand-shake, "quite in the true, honest, John Bull style", to a Hindu salaam.[54]

The Harem of the East

Perhaps no other institution in the East aroused so many women's interest, and provided such an opportunity for the study of dress and custom, as the harem. Of the seven women studied who travelled to Eastern areas, six recorded visits to the harem in their travel journals. These do not include the account given by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, although her description may indeed have inspired some women travellers to see such sights for themselves. Certainly Anne Elwood revealed that she had been reading Lady Mary's account before she decided to see the interior of the harem at Hodeida for herself.[55] While the accounts follow the same general pattern, each one conveys a mixture of surprise, delight and even awe at the elaborate dress, costly interiors and sumptuous organization of the harem--much of

which is described in minutest detail. Conceivably, women travellers were influenced by the thought that such visits were opportunities unique to their sex, and were determined to do them justice.

While staying with her brother, the British consul at Tripoli, Miss Tully visited the Bashaw's harem. In her journal, Miss Tully decided to discuss the interior of the harem and the castle at Tripoli, since, as she claimed, they had not been portrayed "by anyone admitted confidentially within its walls."[56] On her visit to the forty-foot high castle, eunuchs escorted her from the bagnio to the harem, through long, dark passages and a courtyard enclosed by iron bars.[57] When she finally reached the harem, she found the Bashaw's wife, Lilla Kabbiera, resplendent in costly clothes and jewels, sitting in an apartment no less opulent. Her quarters were decorated with velvet tapestries, marble, turkish carpets, and gold or silver framed mirrors. Reclining on "loose mattrasses and cushions. . .made up in the form of sophas, and covered with velvet" Miss Tully drank coffee served in small saucerless china cups, placed in gold filigree containers, and ate her refreshments (which included fresh pomegranate juice) from low inlaid tables.[58] After she had concluded her visit to the Bashaw's wife, and to the wife of the Bey, Lilla Aisha, even more impressively dressed than her mother-in-law, the guards conducted Miss Tully outside the castle walls.[59]

While the formalities of the harem remained similar for all women travellers, some visitors found that they could actually participate in the activities of their hostesses. Once she had grown accustomed to the novel dress and manners of the Guardian Bashaw's harem at Algiers, Sophia Barnard and her companions "danced reels and waltzes" before the assembled women, who were "as much astonished" at their activity as the Westerners were with Moorish "solemnity" and languid movements in dancing.[60] Mrs. Barnard required an interpreter during her visit to the harem, but no such language barrier existed for Mary Rich. Attending the Pacha's harem at Sulimania, Kurdistan in 1820, Mrs. Rich and the Pacha's wife, Adela Khanum, conversed in Turkish.[61] Thus these two women achieved a greater rapport than was possible for other female travellers. During their discussions, Mrs. Rich learned of the deaths of many of the Pacha's children due to smallpox, and strongly urged Adela Khanum to have her surviving son vaccinated.[62] Apart from her concern for the health of this child, Mary Rich hoped that if the Pacha consented to try the vaccine, the general populace might be persuaded to follow suit. Despite the length of her visit, Mrs. Rich returned home "much less tired" than she had expected to be, and considerably impressed with the way in which her "interesting hostess" had made every effort to converse with her.[63]

Considering that Anne Elwood and the women of the Ara-

bian harem at Hodeida could only communicate by signs, both sides got to know each other well during her two visits. If Mrs. Elwood was impressed by the "handsome striped silk drawers, and a silk vest. . .richly trimmed with silver lace" worn by Zaccara, the principal member of the harem, the Arab women were no less inquisitve and even amused by her western dress.[64] Indeed, they examined her costume "so minutely", that she thought she would have to undress to satisfy their intense curiosity. Anne Elwood explained that what amused them most of all was that her gown fastened "behind, which mystery they examined over and over again."[65] Her lace cap she held aloft for all to see, while they eagerly tried on her gloves. Even some French tucks at the bottom of her gown intrigued them, because they could find no use for such additions.[66] Unsatisfied, Zaccara and her companions asked Mrs. Elwood for the names of everything she wore; tried, but failed to pronounce her name, while informing her of theirs; expressed surprise that her hands were unpainted, as theirs were always stained with henna; and were puzzled by the manner in which she dressed her hair. But the objects that perplexed them most were Mrs. Elwood's shoes and stockings, awareness of which created "universal astonishment."[67] Her second visit ended on a friendly, if somewhat startling note: espying from their window an obvious foreigner, the laughing harem let forth a "shriek of joy."[68] Peering out, Mrs. Elwood saw her husband walking

along, accompanied by a servant shading his master with an umbrella. She had to admit that "very foreign he certainly did look in the streets of Hodeida, with his English dress and hat."[69] When informed of his identity, Zaccara and her friends were reportedly both "delighted and ecstatic."[70] If Anne Elwood found the harem's attentions somewhat trying at times, she did not say so: rather, she implied in her journal that she was only too willing to join in an attempt at mutual discovery and communication.

Other western women, surprisingly, also defended the harem. Lady Craven considered that Turkish women were, "in their manner of living, capable of being the happiest creatures breathing."[71] Although wives other than the first played a subordinate role in family structure, yet Elizabeth Craven believed firmly that there were no women who possessed "so much liberty, safe from apprehension, as the Turkish."[72] Thus her ladyship praised the harem for its protective qualities, Sophia Barnard extolled its chaste inmates and indeed the city of Algiers as the pinnacle of "connubial chastity", and Mrs. Elwood defended its Egyptian version.[73] She was inclined not to believe in "the imprisonment of the Seraglio", suspecting that Turkish ladies were under no greater restraints than princesses in western countries.[74] Mrs. Elwood believed that the seclusion practised in the harem was nothing more than "the natural wish of an adoring husband, to guard his beloved from even the

knowledge of the ills. . .that mortal man betide."[75] She also pointed out that since the Turks considered a woman's person sacred, and respected the harem, she herself could possibly act as "a panoply from danger to my protectors themselves."[76] Furthermore, the consul, Mr. Salt, had "seriously recommended" that the party's valuable papers and money be entrusted to her for safe-keeping while in Egypt.[77]

On closer acquaintance, however, these westerners tended to abandon their uncritical views about the seclusion of women. After Mrs. Elwood had arrived in India, she soon recognized the institution's shortcomings. As a result of her meeting with the Rannee of Cutch, Ann Elwood acknowledged the "sameness and taedium" which characterized life within an Indian Zenana.[78] Even though for etiquette's sake, the Rannee could not leave the Zenana, she knew all the gossip of the English camp. Mrs. Elwood concluded that visits such as hers (which the Rannee insisted she repeat) provided the Zenana with its major source of amusement and conversation topics.[79] After her appearance at the harem of an Indian Moslem friend, Shahab o'Dien and his wife Fatima, Maria Graham gave the institution a highly critical appraisal. She acknowledged that the harem's inmates were inquisitive, hospitable and well-dressed, but she disliked the idea of "boring the hem of the ear, and studding it all round with joys", nor did she approve of the nose jewel.[80]

While Mrs. Graham conceded Fatima's gentleness and modesty, she also noted her indolence. In fact, Maria Graham wrote that she "could not help being shocked" at seeing Fatima and her attendants "so totally devoid of cultivation."[81] Although they "muttered their prayers", and some even read the Koran, she claimed that "not one in a thousand" could understand it: still fewer could read or write in their own language. Mrs. Graham observed that these women's only real occupation was embroidery, which along with sleeping, quarrelling, making pastry, and chewing betel, formed the entire sum of their existence.[82] Although Sophia Barnard admired Turkish women in Algiers for their good nature, she had to admit that their ideas were "confined", and that "artless innocence" appeared to "substitute for learning."[83] She also considered that they indulged in a narrow range of activities: "dress, embroidery, domestic duties, and the baths," were the main occupations of the harem.[84]

Similar tasks filled the days of Moorish women in the Bashaw's harem at Tripoli, according to Miss Tully. She maintained that members of this harem seemed "conscious of their confinement" when they were in the company of Christian women, and voiced "regret at their want of liberty."[85] Maria Guthrie also alluded to this female isolation after she had noted the "Eastern luxury of the haram. . ." at Batcheserai, in the Crimea.[86] She believed the harem cut off all communication between men and women, with the result

that women "have been left in all ages and countries to languish by themselves, except in the assemblies of modern Europe."[87]

In general, then, although at first momentarily dazzled by the splendour of the harem, most women travellers upon reflection naturally preferred their independence to its over-protective confinement and non-intellectual climate.[88]

Moreover, even those Western visitors who travelled widely in Arab and Indian countries were only able to modify slightly this static image of woman conjured up by the harem. Among the Abyssinians, Bedouins, urban Arabs, Hindus and Turks who crowded the streets of Mocha, Mrs. Elwood observed a number of native women. Although they were closely veiled, it appeared to Anne Elwood that they possessed as much freedom to walk abroad as Europeans. Moreover, she believed that Mocha women could divorce their husbands as they wished, while still retaining their marriage portions.[89] At Bombay, Mrs. Graham observed that Parsee women enjoyed more freedom than other oriental females, since both sexes were admitted to ladies' apartments.[90] However, having spent an evening with the family of Pestenjee Bomanjee she concluded that Parsee women had "not yet thought of cultivating their minds."[91] She surmised that this stunted intellectual growth (a recurrent theme in all her travels) may have been the result of infant marriage, by the terms of which, any

"great incitement to mental improvement is cut off."[92] Jane Roberts, who spent some time visiting Rangoon, saw Burmese women as free to come and go as they pleased. In some ways, she believed that they received better treatment than their Indian counterparts, since wives were entrusted with money and arranged their husbands' business and mercantile affairs.[93] Overall, however Eastern women remained in seclusion, concerned largely with domestic and familial affairs. From the statements of several Western women travellers, one can deduce that, re-awakened by such female captivity, they looked anew at themselves and their roles in their own society with increased confidence and vigour. Certainly they were aware of an intellectual curiosity not evident among the Eastern women they visited.

Slavery, Religion and Caste

If eighteenth-century women travellers could comment upon the ambivalent status of their sex overseas, they also discussed another, more systematic denial of liberty, namely slavery. The period 1783-1823 were crucial years of debate and decision in England over the slave trade. During these years several women visited such slave centres as Algiers, Tripoli, Sierra Leone, and Bahia, Brazil.

Perhaps the Barbary coast slave trade was too explosive a subject to be discussed in detail in a private journal, especially for members of a consul's family. Certainly,

Mrs. Blanckley, wife of the British consul at Algiers, and her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Blanckley Broughton, did no more than mention the consul's several attempts to rescue groups of hapless victims from the clutches of the Dey.[94] Elizabeth Broughton evidently took pride in her father's humanitarian efforts, referring to the commendation he received from the Ironmongers' Company of London for his redemption of British sailors from slavery, and to the hospitality he afforded the victims when freed.[95]

Jane Roberts' short visit to Bahia allowed her only a fleeting glimpse of domestic slavery. So pleasant seemed the relationships between master and slaves at one private house to which she was invited, that she regarded the latter as "happy and contented" people, rather than "wretched slaves."[96] However, she was careful to add that she rendered this favourable verdict in justice to her hosts, rather than in defence of a "system in itself radically wrong."[97] Mrs. Graham came to a similar conclusion after enjoying hospitality at a sugar estate in Affonsos, Brazil, where her hosts treated the house slaves as almost part of the family. She believed that if all slaves lived similarly, their situation could be compared "with advantage" to that of free servants.[98] Nevertheless, she quickly recognized that "the best is impossible, and the worst but too probable; since the unchecked power of a fallible being may exercise itself without censure on its slaves."[99]

Maria Graham expressed concern about the slave trade in Brazil, as well as describing the plight of its victims. After listening to the harrowing accounts of conditions aboard French slavers, she examined back copies of the Bahia newspaper, Idade d'Ouro, for lists of the ships and their cargoes. She discovered that during a three-month period, "more than one in five" slaves had died during passage.[100] At Rio de Janeiro, she walked the length of the Val Longo, where the slave market was situated. Here, she found that nearly every house was a slave depot, wherein lounged "rows of young creatures. . .their heads shaved, their bodies emaciated, and the marks of recent itch upon their skins."[101] She confessed that the sight so depressed her that if she had the power she would "appeal to their masters, to those who buy, and to those who sell, and implore them to think of the evils slavery brings, not only to the negroes but to themselves."[102] Dissatisfied with mere observation of what appeared to be an extensive Brazilian slave trade, Maria Graham went to great lengths to obtain documentary evidence of such a practice. Finally, she procured statements of customs-house slave entries at Rio for 1821-1822, which she believed proved her point.[103]

Like Maria Graham, Anna Maria Falconbridge viewed slavery at first hand, but her experiences did not leave her with Mrs. Graham's confirmed abolitionist attitudes. Mrs. Falconbridge developed her opinions on slavery while accom-

panying her husband, Alexander, to Africa, where he went as commercial agent for the anti-slavery Sierra Leone Company. She believed her opposition to slavery (before her voyage) resulted from long association with "a circle of acquaintances, bigoted for the abolition."[104] Moreover, a dearth of information on the subject had prevented her forming "any independent thoughts" of her own.[105] Having lived among European settlers, black men and tribal chiefs in Sierra Leone, witnessed the power struggles of Company members, and sailed on a slave ship from Africa to the West Indies, she concluded that the slave trade, far from being "objectionable either to morality or religion", was "consistent with both, while neither are to be found in unhappy Africa."[106] In fact, she argued that the slave trade benefited the continent, by quelling the murderous tendencies of tribal chiefs, and by placing their unfortunate subjects in the "cherishing hands of Christian masters."[107] Mrs. Falconbridge insisted that she was not "wholly an enemy to abolishing the Slave Trade."[108] However, she considered that freedom should go only to those who knew its value, while those "innate prejudices, ignorance, superstitution, and savageness, overspread Africa" obliged her to "think favourably" of the slave trade.[109] She insisted that such views did not imply that she regarded the African as innately inferior to the European. Once seminaries appeared in places like Sierra Leone, and Europeans paid "due attention" to the

"morals and manners of the rising generation", native "geniusses," she believed, "would ripen into ideas congenial with our own."[110]

It would be gratifying, but unwise, to accept Anna Maria's altered opinions solely as the result of her experiences in Africa. Her attitude towards slavery's abolition and those who promoted it may have been influenced strongly by the treatment she received from the Sierra Leone Company. In her journal, she asserted that, despite its promises, the Company had failed either to compensate her on becoming a widow, or to surrender the salary owed her husband when he died. Angry and bitter, Mrs. Falconbridge may have used her journal as a vehicle through which to bring before the public not only her unusual experiences, but also the hypocritical behaviour of an anti-slavery Company.[111]

Another crucial part of Eastern culture, which western women did not ignore, was religion. From attitudes expressed in their journals, it is clear that several writers felt a need to popularize Eastern beliefs (if not to dispel ignorance), hence their lengthy disquisitions on the history of Hinduism and Buddhism, which prefaced accounts of their own experiences. Despite Anne Elwood's fears that her correspondent would tire of her protracted sketch of Hindu mythology, she stoutly maintained that, without it, no one could have "any correct idea of India."[112] Similarly, Maria Graham believed that although the "coarseness and inelegance

of the Hindoo polytheism" might disgust those accustomed to the "graceful mythology of ancient Europe", it was valuable and instructive to "examine the various religions which the minds of man have produced."[113] In addition, she considered that the discussion of Hindu gods which preceded her description of the caves at Elephanta, rendered these excavations more intelligible to her readers.[114] Miss Jane Roberts, intrigued with Buddhism, argued that a creed which could "maintain its influence over such an extensive tract of country as the Burman Empire, guiding the conduct of millions of people, even in the nineteenth century of the Christian era" was certainly worth investigating.[115]

Spurred on by finding herself "in the midst of such an idolatrous nation as the Burmese", Miss Roberts did her best to discover what religion held such an intelligent people in its thrall.[116] To this end, she read about the history of Buddhism, asked questions of willing Burmese, examined numerous statues of Gaudma, or Buddha, and visited the Great Dagon Pagoda, one of the Burmese places of worship.[117] This additional knowledge increased her desire for Christian conversion in Burma. As an indication of what had already been accomplished, she acknowledged the work of an American missionary couple, one of whom, Mr. Judson, she was delighted to meet during her visit to Burma.[118]

Having informed themselves and their readers about Hinduism, Anne Elwood and Maria Graham drew upon their own

observations for commentary on Indian caste and custom. Mrs. Elwood warned new arrivals to Bombay that distinguishing the different sects, as well as identifying the numerous castes, could be difficult. Every Hindu, Moslem and Parsee wore the same basic dress, consisting of a light cotton jamma, or angrica (tunic). The only way to tell each sect apart was by the differently arranged turban, and by markings on foreheads, cheeks and other parts of the body.[119]

Of the "four great original castes" of the Hindus, the Brahmins and the Pariahs created the greatest interest.[120] During one of her visits to a Hindu pagoda near Bombay, Maria Graham noted the special houses set aside for the priestly caste, as well as their distinctive dress: each Brahmin, his head shaved except for the crown, wore a linen cloth from waist to ankle, and over his shoulder the braminical thread or zenaar. So arbitrary was the rule of caste, that no Brahmin would even pray for the Pariahs, or outcasts, lest he become contaminated. Mrs. Graham reported that Pariahs were confined to "the lowest and most disgusting offices" such as porters and scavengers, and could not live within any town or village.[121] She personally felt "degraded" when she came across these outcasts, half-clothed and starving.[122] Mrs. Elwood also raised questions about the dehumanizing aspects of caste. While recognizing the hopelessness of trying to "convert" the Brahmins, who had "wordly rank and consequence at stake", she believed that

missionaries might have an elevating and beneficial effect among the outcasts.[123] She could foresee an improvement here on earth for a Pariah who converted to Christianity, while his chances for eternal life would be improved immeasurably, for there was "no caste in heaven."[124]

This rigid system of social stratification also affected the behaviour of servants. In the course of her detailed account of the native servants in a typical Anglo-Indian household, Mrs. Elwood discovered that no domestic servant would perform a job inconsistent with his caste. Hamauls, therefore, would sweep the floor, but refused to clean a knife or carry a dish of meat. The only servant who could clean knives and remove bones and rubbish, as Maria Graham disclosed, was a Pariah; a fellow worker who came from a good caste could perform nothing dirtier than preparing lamps and carrying trifles.[125] Acknowledgement of inferiority was also shown in forms of etiquette. Anne Elwood recalled that her Ayah, or lady's maid, never entered her presence without first removing her slippers. In fact, all subordinates paid this mark of respect to their superiors, no matter where they met; she noted that custom considered it "a great mark of ill-breeding, for even an Oriental of rank" to wear slippers after entering one's house.[126] Prostration also denoted status. Mrs. Elwood remembered being "sometimes considerably startled by seeing a woman throw herself on the ground before [her], and with lowly obeisance"

kiss her feet.[127] An earnest supplication for her help over some matter which often involved the authorities, with whom Anne Elwood was presumed to have influence, usually followed such a display.

One particular group of Indians who interested those who visited Bombay was the Parsees. Mrs. Graham's curiosity certainly awoke when she discovered that these people, the richest in Bombay, were not widely known, despite some writing on their historical background, and their close mercantile and social contacts with the English residents. Perhaps she was also intrigued by the Parsees' somewhat exotic worship of fire, as well as the sun and sea, combined with their unusual burial practices, which included exposing the corpse to air.[128] Undoubtedly the novelty of such a practice tempted Anne Elwood to visit a new Parsee burial-place at Surat, especially since "the interior. . .[was] generally impervious to European eyes."[129] What with the hordes of "<u>living</u> Parsees" who filed along the road to Surat, eventually to inspect their future resting-place; the myriad booths and stalls erected for their convenience; and the vultures hovering overhead, Mrs. Elwood commented wryly that the whole affair smacked of the "feast of the Ghouls."[130]

The gloomier aspects of foreign religions also puzzled and horrified other women travellers. Eliza Fay and Anne Elwood deplored the practices of suttee and infanticide, Maria Guthrie and Mary Holderness were taken aback at the

almost indecorous speed of Tartar burials, Mrs. Graham recoiled from the scenes of death at the Hoogly river near Calcutta.[131] But they did not confine themselves to death and burials: they attended and described all manner of unfamiliar religious festivals and ceremonies. In 1826, Mrs. Elwood watched Coconut Day, a great Hindu festival which occurred at full-moon, observed a Hoolie, or Spring Festival, during the course of which some performers "pelted everybody playfully with red powder", and noted the Dewallee, or Hindu festival of lights.[132]

The important Moslem fast of Ramadan and feast of Beiram, in the Crimea and Algiers, were described respectively by Lady Craven and Mrs. Blanckley.[133] At Tripoli, Miss Tully actually participated in the Beiram. Strolling around the brightly lit coffee bazaar, and observing the celebrating townspeople arrayed in their gayest clothes, she concluded that the "noise and rioting which often lasted till early morning" effectively compensated for "what the Moors [had] suffered during the fast."[134] Rare natural occurrences in Tripoli could also induce much clamour. Miss Tully reported that an eclipse of the sun had a tremendous effect upon the inhabitants: Moors fired muskets into the air to frighten away the dragon they believed devouring the sun, while screaming women banged away at brass pots and kettles.[135] Other travellers were conscious of the noisier aspects of Eastern life. Lady Craven remembered what she

termed the "bawling and hallooing" of a muezzin calling the faithful to prayer at Constantinople, while at the Bay of Arabok, Anne Elwood watched pilgrims perform a Moslem rite amidst a "scene of confusion" which was "almost. . .indescribable."[136]

Finally, in assessing the impact of foreign dress, custom and religion on women travellers, several aspects emerge quite clearly. First, these women made a real effort to record the operations of other cultures by describing, often in detail, scenes from everyday life. However, fascination with costume, manners or ritual, did not blind them to the drawbacks of certain ways of life. The apparent chivalry and protectiveness shown to women of the harem could not disguise the lassitude of its inmates, or the restrictiveness of their lives. Nor could the graceful sari or dazzling jewels of many Eastern women mitigate western women's indignation at suttee or female infanticide. Visual contact with slavery and personal experience with the caste system increased their abhorrence of both. In addition to these misgivings, women travellers rejected the "mummery", superstition, and idolatry existing in many Eastern religions, and longed for what they conceived to be the civilizing power of Christianity. Thus, women like Jane Roberts, Anne Elwood and Abby Jane Morrell welcomed the missionary efforts of enterprising people like the Judsons. Several women tried hard not to disparage all aspects of foreign reli-

gions and cultures. Mrs. Elwood thought she could discern similarities between certain Hindu symbols and those of Roman Catholicism; Abby Jane Morrell believed implicitly in the "natural capacity" for growth of pagan worshippers on Tercera, in the Azores, and of Malays in Singapore; while Jane Roberts carefully stressed the potential strengths of the Burmese, as if to suggest that if only idolatry could be routed by devout Westerners, sound and resolute Christians would emerge. However, one is left with the distinct impression that western women travellers, after comparing their situation with that of their Eastern counterparts, would have agreed with Maria Graham, who concluded in her forthright way that in Europe alone "the mind of man seemed to flourish in preference to any other land."[137]

Footnotes--Chapter V

[1]Nugent MS., p. 3. Earlier in 1776 [Emma Nugent wrote her journal in 1822], Lady Knight had noted that at Paris "ladies' heads were very high and the feathers exceeding tall." Except for this, she found that Parisian women dressed similarly to the English. See Knight, Letters, pp. 8, 11.

[2]Nugent MS., p. 3. She added that they were in their Sunday best and therefore "probably gayer than usual."

[3]Radcliffe, Journey, p. 3.

[4]Craven, Journey, p. 149; Northumberland, Diaries, p. 163. When Ann Flaxman passed through Lyons she saw the female inhabitants "tolerably dress'd & powder'd", but without shoes or stockings. See B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 27.

[5]Langhorn MS., f. 2.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Tobias Smollett, Travels through France and Italy (London: John Lehmann, 1949), pp. 58-59. Hereafter: Smollett, Travels. The first edition of this work appeared in 1766.

[8]Northumberland, Diaries, pp. 65-66. At Antwerp, the Duchess wrote that "The women here have Brown skins, Black Eyes sunk in their Heads & bad Teeth." The women of Bergen-op-Zoom she thought were as "ugly as the Devil", with only "plain Holland Dutch cap, no Ear Rings nor anything round their Necks but a Blue & white Handkerchief" (Northumberland, Diaries, pp. 65-66).

[9]Knight, Letters, p. 53.

[10]Northumberland, Diaries, p. 65; Knight, Letters, p. 53.

[11]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 61.

[12]Ibid., p. 69. Smollett also refers to the "metamorphosis" undergone by the English women and men once they have arrived at Paris. See Smollett, Travels, p. 58.

[13]Craven, Journey, p. 85; Holland, I., Journal, p. 20; Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 83. Lady Craven explained that

Genoese women wore "about two yards or more of black silk . . .wrapped about their heads and shoulders, instead of a cloak;. . .." She admired its gracefulness, and the fact that by simply adjusting the folds a woman could walk around town unrecognized. See Craven, Journey, p. 85. At Arienzo Lady Holland complained that the women wore only two aprons tied in front and behind which left "a considerable aperture on each side equally unpleasant and indecent" (Holland, Journal, I, p. 20). Anne Elwood, visiting Messina in the 1820's described upper-class costume as a cross between English and French styles. See Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 83.

[14]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 83.

[15]Graham, India, p. 114.

[16]Jemima Kindersley, Letters from the Island of Teneriffe. . . (London: n.p., 1777), pp. 19-21. Hereafter: Kindersley, Letters.

[17]Graham, Chile, pp. 149, 125; Graham, Brazil, pp. 105-106.

[18]Roberts, Swan River, p. 97.

[19]Ibid., pp. 112-134, 138-149, 220-361. Miss Roberts included information on Halfway Island because she did not believe that "any detailed account of the Halfway Island in the Torres' Straits has before been given to the public" (Roberts, Swan River, p. 144). For her description of Halfway Island and some aspects of Burmese life, see Appendices E and F.

[20]Abby Jane Morrell, Narrative of a Voyage to the Ethiopic and South Atlantic Ocean. . .and South Pacific Ocean, 1829-1831 (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), pp. 31-92, passim. Hereafter: Morrell, Voyage.

[21]Justice, Russia, pp. 15-18, 22. For her descriptions, see Appendix G.

[22]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 233-235.

[23]Ibid., p. 237.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid., p. 238. Maria Guthrie described the ordinary dress of the Crim Tartars during her sojourn in the Crimea. Tartar men wore the caftan over a shorter tunic, tied round the middle with a sash. Below, they wore "loose drawers and

boots." Underneath the caftan they wore a shirt of coloured silk and cotton. Women's dress resembled that of the Turks. Mrs. Guthrie added that this similarity in dress could easily be accounted for, if one accepted the view of some ancient Oriental and Byzantine writers that Turks and Tartars were the same people. See Guthrie, Tour, pp. 214-215.

[26]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 240-241.

[27]Ibid., p. 241.

[28]Ibid., pp. 142-152, 160-161, 169-171, 175-178, 217-314.

[29]Ibid., pp. 205, 274.

[30]Ibid., p. 148.

[31]Ibid., pp. 149, 220, 223.

[32]Ibid., pp. 220-221.

[33]Ibid., p. 224.

[34]Broughton, Algiers, p. 7. The "Mrs. Blanckley" is Elizabeth Broughton's mother, extracts of whose journal were included in her daughter's account of their residence in Algiers, 1806-1812.

[35]Barnard, Algiers, p. 68.

[36]Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid., pp. 71-74.

[39]Graham, India, p. 3; Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 66. For their descriptions of the sari and Indian dress, see Appendix H.

[40]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 82-83. The 1817 edition of Mrs. Fay's book contained an engraving of her in Egyptian costume. This picture was reproduced in the 1925 edition used in this study. Much of the costume is easily recognizable from her description, particularly the turban, trousers and half-boots. In the picture she is attended by a servant, and in the background stands a mosque and minaret. See Original Letters, Frontispiece. Native dress was sometimes assumed for special occasions. While at Algiers, Mrs. Blanckley attended a masked ball at the American Con-

sul's, rigged out as a "black woman, in the complete dress of a Moorish slave" (Broughton, Algiers, p. 123.

[41]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 117.

[42]Ibid. Anne Elwood's adventurous spirit reasserted itself in Cairo over the issue of Egyptian dress. Tempted to don an Egyptian, or Turkish-style costume, she finally decided not to do so on the advice of the British consul, Mr. Salt. The Elwoods retained their English dress mainly because Mr. Salt warned that he could not be responsible for their safety otherwise. They were then most conspicuous, but she wrote that this very fact "ensured us respect wherever we went" (Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 141).

[43]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 117.

[44]Ibid., pp. 284-285.

[45]Ibid., pp. 283-284. On this occasion, she described the narrow streets of Yambo; the various styles of Arab architecture; the Bazaar, where owners sat on stone platforms under awnings, selling their goods; and the coffee-houses, which were "thatched sheds supported by wooden posts." Anne Elwood continued: "The Turks smoking in the coffee-houses, where apathy is seldom disturbed by any passing object. . .laid down their pipes to gaze at me; the more vivacious Arabs followed us with looks of curiosity; the children thronged round us;. . .the women stopped. . . and stared in mute astonishment;. . . ." Eventually, even the Governor came to see who they were. See Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 283-284.

[46]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 129-131. A "fellah" is an Arab peasant or agricultural worker.

[47]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 133.

[48]Ibid., p. 126.

[49]Ibid., p. 183.

[50]Ibid., p. 184.

[51]Ibid., pp. 326-328.

[52]Ibid., p. 291. She added that, in her opinion, Mohammed's commands to his followers that they wash frequently were probably prompted by this lack of cleanliness. Similar comments regarding lower-class Moors and Arabs in Tripoli were offered by Miss Tully. She regarded these people "in

their manner of living, but a few degrees above animals, and are content without any of the conveniences of life. . ." She considered that they might be even dirtier if Mohammed had not incorporated thrice-daily washing into his religion. She noticed that many people who could not always obtain water when needed, especially in the desert plain outside of Tripoli, went through the motions, and then washed properly later. See Tully, Tripoli, p. 316.

[53]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 351.

[54]Ibid., p. 352.

[55]Ibid., p. 334. Extracts from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's account of her visit to the harem of the Kyhaia, or deputy to the grand vizier at Adrianople in 1717, have been included in Appendix I for purposes of comparison with descriptions from other women.

[56]Tully, Tripoli, p. 27. She resided at Tripoli from 1785-1795, with her brother, Richard Tully, British consul.

[57]In this context, and at the time Miss Tully wrote, the word "bagnio" meant a bathing-house.

[58]Tully, Tripoli, pp. 28-31.

[59]Ibid., pp. 31-32. For her description of the resplendent Lilla Aisha, see Appendix I.

[60]Barnard, Algiers, pp. 50-51. For her description of the harem, see Appendix I. For Mrs. Blanckley's account of her introduction to the Dey's wife at Algiers, see Appendix I. The Turkish word "Dey" was the title given to the governor of Algiers until the French conquest in 1830. The word "Bey", used by Miss Tully, meant a governor of a district or minor province in the Turkish dominions. At the time Miss Tully wrote her journal (1785-1795) the ruler of Tripoli was called the "Bashaw" and the title of "bey" was given to his eldest son.

[61]Rich, Fragment, pp. 374-375.

[62]Ibid., p. 374. In her concern about small-pox vaccination, Mary Rich was following the lead of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. In the early eighteenth century Lady Mary had returned to England from the East, fully convinced of the efficacy of the Turkish method of containing smallpox. For a useful synopsis of early attempts at vaccination see William L. Langer. "Immunization against Smallpox before Jenner," Scientific American, (January 1976): 112-117.

[63]Rich, Fragment, pp. 374-375.

[64]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 336-337. Anne Elwood's visit was not undertaken without some trepidation, but "after some conflict between my fears and my curiosity", the latter won. She entered a small inside court, where women's slippers lay outside the door. On the inside she was met by a dozen women "clothed in silk trowers, vests closely fitting the figure, and fastening in front, and turbans very tastefully put on." She was given a cordial welcome, and served coffee "in the usual beautiful little china cups" (Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 336-337).

[65]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 336.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid., p. 338.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Ibid. Before leaving descriptions of the harem, mention should be made of women's visits to Turkish baths, which in the East often adjoined, or were close to the harem. For descriptions, see Appendix J.

[71]Craven, Journey, p. 305.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Barnard, Algiers, p. 51.

[74]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 153.

[75]Ibid., p. 154.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Ibid., II, p. 225.

[79]Ibid.

[80]Graham, India, pp. 17-18. At Calcutta, Jane Roberts found many of the native ornaments attractive, but she also could not reconcile herself to "the ring through the nose" (Roberts, Swan River, p. 374).

[81]Graham, India, p. 18.

[82]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[83]Barnard, Algiers, p. 55.

[84]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[85]Tully, Tripoli, p. 134. She noted here that their activities were mainly domestic; overseeing work of slaves, in particular those who cooked food, to prevent poisoning; or dancing and singing in their spare time.

[86]Guthrie, Tour, p. 74.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Women travellers also found the personal life of their foreign counterparts dull and confining. For example, not only did the Eastern woman grow up in a sheltered environment, she remained invisible to her husband until the marriage ceremony, the union having been arranged by the couple's parents. Jane Roberts who attended one such Indian wedding at Calcutta, remarked that from the time the ceremony was over, the ten-year-old bride would be "shut up, to spend the remainder of her life in useless and listless frivolity" (Roberts, Swan River, p. 377).

[89]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 351.

[90]Perhaps the differences in the degree of freedom enjoyed by Indian women resulted from their religion. The Parsee religion is quite distinct from Islam, which has strict rules on female seclusion.

[91]Graham, India, p. 42.

[92]Ibid., p. 43.

[93]Roberts, Swan River, p. 248. Traditional customs, however, persisted. A Burmese wife did not eat with her husband, nor was she considered an equal in other matters. For example, the custom of dislocating the arms of infant girls so that "the outside of the arm turned inwards" still continued. To Jane Roberts, this Burmese sign of beauty appeared only as a deformity. See Roberts, Swan River, pp. 248, 252.

[94]Broughton, Algiers, pp. 11, 40, 103-108.

[95]Ibid., p. 58. Mrs. Broughton included a copy of the

letter sent to her father by the Ironmongers' Company. The Londoners encouraged Consul-General Blanckley in his humanitarian efforts, and assured him that costs for slave redemption would be met by the Company. Frequently, the Dey freed captives on payment of a ransom: if Englishmen fell prey to Algerian pirates, they naturally sought assistance from their Consul.

[96]Roberts, Swan River, p. 31.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Graham, Brazil, p. 280.

[99]Ibid. She explained further: "The great evil is, that though perhaps masters may not treat their slaves ill, they have the power of doing so; and the slave is subject to the worst of contingent evils, namely, the caprice of a half-educated, or it may be an ill-educated master" (Graham, Brazil, p. 280).

[100]Graham, Brazil, p. 151. See Appendix K for the table of slave ships.

[101]Graham, Brazil, p. 227.

[102]Ibid., p. 228.

[103]Ibid., pp. 228-229. See Appendix K for the results of her research. Perhaps she intended to use the information in some kind of anti-slavery campaign, or perhaps her activity was the natural result of her insatiable curiosity.

[104]Falconbridge, Sierra Leone, p. 235. Included among these she presumably meant John Clarkson, who visited Sierra Leone to help form the Colony, and his more famous brother, the Rev. Thomas Clarkson whom she called "that unwearied stickler for human liberty" (Falconbridge, Sierra Leone, p. 124). Thomas Clarkson was also one of the directors of the Sierra Leone Company, and Henry Thornton was Chairman of the board of directors. Mrs. Falconbridge made her journey in 1791-2; by 1807 Fox had obtained parliamentary consent to the abolition of the slave trade throughout the empire.

[105]Falconbridge, Sierra Leone, p. 235.

[106]Ibid.

[107]Ibid., p. 236.

[108]Ibid., p. 238.

[109]Ibid.

[110]Ibid., p. 239.

[111]Ibid., pp. 246-257, 279-287. Two things may have contributed to Mrs. Falconbridge's altered views on slavery. First, she travelled with her new husband (Mr. Falconbridge having died in Sierra Leone) to Jamaica on board a slave ship. She stated that she was "agreeably disappointed" to find that the horrors she had been expecting did not occur. She further claimed that she had not "the slightest reason to suspect any inhumanity" had been shown towards the slaves on board. Second, she claimed that all the slaves she saw in Jamaica "seemed vastly well satisfied" with their condition, and far more cheerful than those in Africa. See Falconbridge, Sierra Leone, pp. 232-233, 236.

[112]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 60. She thought that a "slight sketch of some of the principal Deities, and some account of the Hindoo religion," might be acceptable to her readers. She realized that "appalled by the number, and by the dry appearance of the overwhelming volumes of Asiatic Researches,. . ." those readers might hitherto have been "deterred from examining their interior." She felt that people's interest in Hindu culture should be broader and more developed. At present, she wrote, only those who have friends in India seem interested, and then only on a personal level. See Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 37-38. For her description of Hindu gods, see ibid., pp. 26-69.

[113]Graham, India, p. 53.

[114]Ibid., p. 45. These enormous caves (mentioned later in this study) contained carved Hindu deities. Maria Graham then briefly explained the chief gods (Brahma, Vishnu and Siva) and their roles in the Hindu pantheon. See Graham, India, pp. 45-48. In another book on India, composed mainly from secondary sources and intended as instructional literature for the English public, Mrs. Graham included a section on Hindu mythology. See Maria Graham, Letters on India (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1814; Edinburgh: A Constable & Co., 1814), pp. 340-357.

[115]Roberts, Swan River, p. 272.

[116]Ibid., p. 271.

[117]See Appendix L for her description of the Pagoda.

[118]Roberts, Swan River, pp. 286, 302-361. The Judsons were an American couple among the first Christian mission-

aries to Rangoon. Even allowing for exaggeration, their history was incredible. Her devotion to the cause and her courage and determination in the face of many obstacles makes Mrs. Judson worthy of study in her own right. Frank Goodrich, Women of Beauty and Heroism. . . (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1859), pp. 313-352, gives an account of her work.

[119]Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 62-63.

[120]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 63. The other two castes were the Xetries, or warriors, and the Vaissyas, or merchants.

[121]Graham, India, p. 15.

[122]Ibid., p. 144.

[123]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 315.

[124]Ibid., p. 316. While there was no direct comparison made between caste and slavery, both Anne Elwood and Maria Graham deplored the dehumanizing aspects of both.

[125]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 12; Graham, India, pp. 30-31. Both Mrs. Graham and Anne Elwood mentioned the Dirjee, or tailor who came from a high caste. Maria Graham stated that her tailor was a good cutter and used his toes as much as his fingers. Mrs. Elwood described her tailor as preferring "to sit upon his carpet in the verandah. . . most indefatigably employed, in cutting out gowns and other lady-like articles of dress, the whole day. . ." (Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 6).

[126]Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 7-8.

[127]Ibid., p. 8.

[128]Graham, India, pp. 37-41. Mrs. Graham mentioned here that fragments of the ancient books of Zoroaster had been introduced into Europe by M. Anquetil, and that information on pyrolatry in Persia could be obtained from Chevalier d'Ohsson's Tableau Historique de L'Orient. However, at the time she wrote her journal, she did not know of any account of the "present state of such of the Guebres [Parsees] as are settled in India." So she collected as much information about them as she could from Dustoor Moola Firoze, the Parsee chief priest at Bombay.

[129]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 265. Earlier she had also given a quite detailed history of Parsee religion. See El-

wood, Narrative, II, pp. 40-84.

[130]Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 267. See Appendix M.

[131]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 213-214; Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 228, 112-113, 200-201; Guthrie, Tour, pp. 219-222; Holderness, New Russia, pp. 244-246; Graham, India, pp. 148-149. Concerning the scenes of death at the Hoogly river, Mrs. Graham wrote:

> [Although I am] not very anxious as to the manner of disposing of my body, and have very little choice as to whether it is to be eaten by worms or by fishes, I cannot see, without disgust and horror, the dead indecently exposed, and torn and dragged about through streets and villages, by dogs and jackals. Yet such are the daily sights on the banks of the Hoogly.

See Graham, India, p. 148.

[132]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 420-421; II, pp. 229-230, 231.

[133]Craven, Journey, pp. 357-358; Broughton, Algiers, p. 6. As Lady Craven explained, from sunrise to sunset, no Turk tasted anything; but at night all the food and coffee shops were lit up with little lamps, which could be seen at night from a boat on the canal. See Craven, Journey, pp. 357-358.

[134]Tully, Tripoli, pp. 14-17.

[135]Ibid., pp. 166-167.

[136]Craven, Journey, p. 287; Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 296-300.

[137]Graham, India, p. 133.

CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN AND EASTERN GRAND TOURS

After coping with the various problems of travel preparation, and describing the various kinds of foreign transportation, accommodation, and social customs they encountered, women travellers, one might think, had neither time nor space for the ultimate purpose of their journeys: namely, visiting the renowned places of ancient, artistic and archaeological interests both in Europe and beyond. Nothing could be further from the truth. Women travellers frequently visited the Continent, most often along the route of the familiar Grand Tour. They recorded their impressions of European cultural and artistic treasures with enthusiasm and persistence. In fact, many of these visitors appear to have regarded their foreign tours as an important opportunity to obtain an education usually denied them at home. Moreover, some of them also participated in what could be identified as an Eastern version of the Western Grand Tour. This Eastern version took them from the Byzantine and Islamic cultures of Constantinople, to the Greek ruins on the islands and at Athens; for some, it included tours of Egypt, Baghdad, Kurdistan and Mosul, with its nearby ruins of Nineveh. On all of these journeys, women re-

corded their impressions of past civilizations with determination, enjoyment and independence of spirit.

The Western Grand Tour

Since few eighteenth-century women enjoyed formal education and none had had university training, it is impossible to produce an exact female replica of the youthful male university graduate who finished his education by touring the classical Continent. However, women did travel extensively in eighteenth-century Europe; lack of training, and even ignorance of foreign languages, did not prevent them from visiting art collections, appreciating architecture, or attending plays. Their journals suggest that, even if their visits abroad were not always undertaken for ostensibly educational reasons, they nevertheless were often fully aware of the artistic richness around them, and did their best to become familiar with the great works.[1]

One such woman was the youthful Emma Nugent who accompanied her parents on an extensive tour of the Low Countries in 1822. From the contents of her lively journal, written in a neat, sloping hand, one can plainly see that this was no mere shopping spree or purposeless jaunt. Miss Nugent had arrived on the Continent prepared to investigate for herself the art treasures of Holland and Belgium. At The Hague, for example, she inspected a large collection of Dutch paintings, including "several beautiful pieces by Ger-

ard Dow, Holbein. . .Teniers, Domenichino, Tintoretto. . ."[2] In fact, she admitted that she might have seen too many pictures in the time available, since on this occasion she was left with "a confused recollection."[3] She was able to see "one of Gerard Dow's finest pictures", preserved in a wooden case, at the Amsterdam museum, as well as a "chef d'oeuvre of Rembrandt, with several large figures, called the night watch, and a fine piece of Vandervelde."[4] Two private collections of paintings at Brussels and Antwerp pleased her greatly, containing as they did works of Rubens, Maratti and Vandyck. However, what impressed her most at Antwerp was its "magnificent Gallery", where she vowed she could "have remained for hours", studying the "dazzling" array of art works.[5] Certainly she must have become very familiar with Rubens' work while on this tour, for at Antwerp she saw "the original hand writing of Rubens", at the church of St. John, the tomb of the artist's family at the church of St. James, as well as many of his greatest paintings.[6] The most superb of these she considered the "celebrated 'Descent from the Cross'", which was housed in Antwerp Cathedral.[7] Probably she agreed with Sir Joshua Reynolds, whom she quoted as having pronounced this work "the Second Picture in the World."[8] At any rate she described the painting in detail, and even returned for a final viewing before setting off for Ghent.[9]

Perhaps inspired by the masterpieces all around her, Emma Nugent took every opportunity to practice her sketch-

ing, much as Cornelia Knight had done in Italy in the 1780's and 1790's. However, while Miss Knight had made copies of the great Italian masters, Miss Nugent's subjects were more mundane. One morning while at The Hague, she "rose early, and took a sketch of a drawbridge before breakfast"; and occupied herself with drawing on a rainy day in Utrecht.[10] Not wishing to remain idle during a rest period at Louvain, she became more ambitious, sketching "the fine old Maison de Ville, which is in the richest style of ornamental Gothic . . . ."[11] At Brussels, she not only made a drawing of the ancient Town Hall--"a very handsome building, with fine, high Gothic tower"--but also sketched the ruined "Chateau de Hougoumont" at Waterloo.[12]

Emma Nugent also visited other places of interest, in addition to the art musuems and cathedrals already mentioned. At the Leiden Museum, for example, she noted the "skeletons of birds, animals and fishes,. . .stuffed animals,. . .fossils and shells."[13] She walked all over the Botanical Gardens, and examined the Cabinet of Anatomy, whose exhibits she felt were more suitable for medical students than for ill-prepared visitors.[14] Indefatigable, she accompanied her father on daily trips to drink the waters at Spa; inquisitively noted (and deplored) the current craze there for roulette, and mingled gaily with the "Quality" at the Pump Room. She attended vaudeville at Spa, Brussels, and Paris, but poured scorn upon the performances. However, a visit to

the Grand Theâtre highlighted her tour of Brussels. Here, she watched the tragic actress Mlle. Duchemois, at the "height of French declamation", take part in a "very tolerably performed" version of Racine's "Phèdre."[15] Later, among varied entertainments at Paris, she enjoyed Signora Pasta's singing in the role of Otello at the Theâtre des Italiens, but unfortunately could only deride a production of "Le Nozze di Figaro", which she believed so "wretchedly" executed that she felt Mozart would have suffered "despair" had he heard it.[16]

Miss Nugent's comments on art and other exhibits were more appreciative than analytical, more awe-inspired than probing. From her journal it is clear that she was unable, perhaps from youth, or lack of formal training, to make the kind of informed statements Edward Gibbon produced from his tour of Italy. Nevertheless, if cultural enrichment was one of her aims, then she certainly gained more from her experience in the Low Countries than did that youthful philanderer James Boswell.[17] Furthermore, Emma Nugent did not spend all her days shopping for Mechlin lace or new bonnets with her mother: instead, she visited museums, recognized the great masters, and assiduously practised her drawing. She patronized both opera and the drama. If the Grand Tour was meant to be an educational climax for the young male university graduate, perhaps for Emma and other females even a truncated version of the Tour served as a beginning rather than

an end. Such a tour could help replace the kind of university training and scholarship from which she, as a woman, was excluded.

Indeed, many other women travellers to the Low Countires manifested cultural interests similar to those of Emma Nugent. One of these, the Duchess of Northumberland, made several trips to the Continent, including a short tour of parts of Germany and the Low Countries in 1771. After making brief stops at such places as Utrecht and Gouda, where she extolled the ancient town church, with its numerous stained-glass windows, she spent some time at Antwerp.[18] Here, she indulged briefly her love of elegance by looking over the house of Monsieur de Klerch, a rich diamond merchant. The drawing-room impressed her, with its rich carpet, chairs of Brussels tapestry, black chimney-piece with gilt ornaments and a collection of Dresden china. What seemed to catch her attention most of all, however, were the painted panels on the walls of the room, representing the "life and actions of Bacchus."[19] She noted that the artwork had been executed by a young painter named Lintz, who had "made the tour of Italy and Germany [and was] now settled at Antwerp."[20] Perhaps a love of paintings had lured her ladyship hither: certainly she spent considerable time examining private collections, not simply to admire but occasionally, to buy. In all, she visited four art collections, including those of the brothers Beschey. One of the

latter had for sale a "Rubens of Hercules spinning and Omphale correcting him for not doing it well."[21] The Duchess agreed that it was "a fine picture", but decided that this was to be expected, since the asking price was fourteen hundred guineas.[22] From there, she visited the second Beschey, in the Rue d'Aremburg, where eventually she made a purchase, although not without firm bargaining on her part. To this possession she later added "many prints and three fine missals" obtained from Brussels.[23]

Paintings also fascinated Juliana, Lady Langhorn. In describing her 1769 journey through the Low Countries, she mentioned visits to several private art collections at Antwerp, Brussels, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam. At the last city, she examined "the famous Mr. Bisops collection", which consisted of paintings, drawings and "some of the finest Dresden China" she had ever seen.[24] Lady Langhorn also visited places of interest, such as Prince Charles' Cabinet at Brussels, which contained "various curiosities in natural history" but which, in her opinion, was inferior to the Prince's Cabinet at The Hague.[25] She explained that "Six Rooms [were] fitted with every thing that is curious in Natural History, as Precious Stones, Fossils, Ores, Medals, &tc. &tc."[26] She showed a lively curiosity in one room containing "the Skins of a great Variety of Birds & Animals, which [were] stuffed and each placed in their Natural attitudes so that one [could] scarcely discern that they [were]

not alive."[27]

Several women, including Mrs. Scrope, Margaret Calderwood and Mrs. Bousquet visited Holland and the Netherlands. In common with other women travellers they penned their journals and letters for private home consumption, not for publication. Descriptions of personal affairs predominated in their journals over cultural visits. Consequently, when they did tour Antwerp cathedral, or the famous Huis ten Bosch (House in the Woods), their comments were often sparse. Yet that they bothered to record some description at all suggests that their visits served an educational function.[28]

For the women as well as the men, eighteenth-century Paris was an education in itself. Male travellers as diverse as David Garrick, John Mayne, James Boswell and Thomas Pennant had hymned its praises in their journals. So did women travellers, such as Lady Holland, Lady Philadelphia Cotton and Ann Flaxman. The last (the wife of a famous eighteenth-century English sculptor, John Flaxman) journeyed with her husband through France on their way to Italy in 1788. Not all women who visited France followed Ann Flaxman's route; nor did they possess her wry sense of humour which rarely failed her at difficult moments; nor did they always voice their own opinions of art works in quite the same forthright manner. Nevertheless their journals reveal a delight in, and appreciation of, classical culture, as

well as a high degree of curiosity and motivation.

After an inauspicious beginning to her Paris visit, a tour of the Louvre perked up Mrs. Flaxman's spirits. There she was "forced to own" that the collection of paintings far exceeded that "yearly Expos'd at Somerset House."[29] The work of Madame Le Brun impressed her favourably, but David's "Death of Socrates" pleased her particularly. She believed that he deserved the "highest encomiums of the most celebrated artists" for his skill.[30] Her disdain towards the sculpture exhibition she excused by claiming that she had "chosen [her] artist in that line and [was] Partial."[31] The Louvre also held great fascination for Lady Philadelphia Cotton, who made numerous visits to the galleries during her tour of France in 1817. Intrigued by the Raphaels and Titians, she also noticed details of sculptures, particularly the "head of Antonious" and a "magnificent Pallas."[32] When Mary Gaskell entered the Louvre ten years later, she found that the picture gallery had been closed temporarily; instead, people could examine, as she did, an "'exposition des objets d'industrie nationale'", which stressed improvements in French materials, design, and manufacture.[33]

Apart from viewing the fine painting collections in the Palais Royale and Luxembourg Palace, Ann Flaxman also visited places of interest outside the city. At St. Denis, for example, she described in detail some of the monuments to the French kings, while in the Treasury she admired "a beau-

tiful Vase of Oriental agate, wonderful for its size & perhaps more so for the work which surrounds it, a Bacchanalian feast."[34] Although appalled at the dirty appearance of Versailles' exterior, she praised the superb inner apartments. The "Curious Machine" at Marli, as well as the statues and sculpture in the gardens of Versailles received her close attention.[35] Not satisfied with merely viewing the finished product, she toured the Sèvres factory and saw for herself "the Process from the first sprinkling of the flour to the last touch of the artist."[36] Similar detail about the Sèvres manufacturing process was obtained in a later visit by Lady Philadelphia Cotton. She discovered that "the china was baked twice then dipped in a mixture for glazing it, then baked again. Afterwards, painted, and baked for the 4th & last time & the colored grounds given by brushing the china over with size & then dipping it into the coloring powder."[37] Whereas Mrs. Flaxman, however, had praised the showroom's exhibits, singling out the bouquets of flowers as having been "very well imitated", her ladyship found much of the china disappointing.[38] She criticized what she termed "bad taste in Shapes, form and coloring", and claimed that many pieces had ill-fitting handles.[39] At the Gobelins factory, Ann Flaxman was astonished to see "how exactly they die their worsted to the shades of the Paintings" to be copied.[40] Such precision evidently paid dividends, for she declared that some portraits hanging in the Master's private

room, were executed "almost to a deception."[41] Four years before Ann Flaxman's visit, Jane Parminter had watched the Gobelins' workers "draw the patterns & work on silk and worsted the modern & old way."[42] They continued to do so in 1788. As Mrs. Flaxman explained in her journal, tapestries worked in the old style lay flat, and those in the modern fashion were hung up.

On October 4, 1788, Ann Flaxman and her companions set out on the next stage of their journey, which was to take them across the pass of Mont Cenis, through northern Italy, and on to Rome, "the mistress of the world." She left France with no great reluctance. For although she recognized its cultural attributes, she found the city of Paris "a Dirty filthy Place."[43] Just as the Duchess of Northumberland had noticed the "inconsistences" of life at Antwerp, so Mrs. Flaxman remarked on the "thorough mixture of magnificence & Filth, Pride and Poverty" at Paris.[44]

Having descended Mont Cenis into Italy, Mrs. Flaxman had arrived at the Mecca of all Grand Tourists. It is clear from their journals that women travellers like Ann Flaxman and Mrs. Elwood believed that their entire tours, including the Italian section, were not simply casual sight-seeing trips, but practical opportunities for self-education. Sometimes, this assurance was made explicitly in the journal. For example, although Mrs. Flaxman conceded her husband's superior technical expertise, she could nevertheless

write: "I will. . .endeavour to gain a knowledge of the Arts & a power of describing what I see of them with a Justice equal to the Love I have for them & the Pleasure I receive in Viewing those that are truly fine. . . ."[45] Most women travellers would have agreed with the sentiment even if some, like Jane Rye, Lady Knight, and Eliza Fay were unable to express themselves as volubly or as critically as Ann Flaxman, Mrs. Elwood, Maria Graham, or Lady Holland.[46]

Eliza Fay, for example, who spent only a short time in Italy while en route to India, appreciated the paintings in palaces at Turin and Genoa, admired the latter's marble-lined Cathedral, and made special note of Guido's "Assumption of the Virgin" hanging in the Jesuit's church in Genoa.[47] Lady Knight steadfastly paid attention to her daughter's education. Apart from Cornelia's tinted drawings and sketches (of which Lady Knight had collected five hundred during the period 1776-1780), she encouraged her daughter to keep her own daily journal of all their visits and sights.[48] But Mrs. Flaxman, Mary Gaskell, Anne Elwood and Mariana Starke best described, and appreciated the most, the personal educational experience of the Italian Grand Tour.

The Flaxmans began their Italian tour in Milan. Here, Mrs. Flaxman explained, the director of the Milan academy enabled them to see "Curiosities of this City" far exceeding their expectations. For example, in the Ambrosian Library, she viewed two manuscript books of Leonardo da Vinci, one of

which contained his drawings of "mechanical figures."[49] She also toured the "famous Observatory", where she tried repeatedly, although without success, to gaze at the moon through a "fine large telescope."[50] In 1827, nearly 40 years later, Mary Gaskell wrote to an English friend exhorting her to visit her (Mary's) "favourite Milan." In particular, she offered to show her friend Milan's "beautiful marble Cathedral with all its delicate sculpture, thousands of Statues & innumerable pinnacles white as the driven snow."[51]

Among numerous paintings at Bologna (the next major city on Mrs. Flaxman's route), Raphael's "St Cecilia" occupied much of her time. Its fascination for her lay in the artist's masterly portrayal of expression. In fact, Ann Flaxman and her companions viewed so many art works that their "Brains were Giddy with the multitude of Paintings" they had examined.[52] Fatigue did not, however, dampen her enthusiasm or prevent her from next visiting Florentine churches, and museums, as well as the massive painting and sculpture collections, impressions of which she eagerly captured in her journal. This "Etrurian Athens" as she called Florence, also entranced Mrs. Elwood. She visited as many of the exhibits as possible paying particular attention to Benvenuto Cellini's 'Perseus', Michelangelo's "colossal David", paintings by Donatello, da Vinci's 'Medusa', and churches like the medieval Santa Croce.[53]

For Mrs. Mary Gaskell, the fascination of Florence lay in a combination of its ancient history and "splendid works of genius."[54] It was, she wrote, an indescribable experience to "stand in the Piazza del Duomo, in the Piazza del Gran Duco,. . .to look at Duomo, the Baptistery [sic], the Campanile, the Palazzo vecchio. . .Michael Angelo's David, Benvenuto Cellini's Perseus. . .whilst all the history connected with them" overwhelmed her with the "strange feeling of dreams realized."[55] However, when she strolled along the Arno, gazed upon the Ponte Vecchio, "the most perfect bridge in the world", and admired the "rich autumnal tints of the groves of Cascine" in the distance, she could no longer tell whether her interest in things Italian was stronger in the open air or in the Palazza Pitti.[56] Among the many interesting people she met at Florence was Signora Anna Moschi, who, she claimed, copied Raphael's paintings to perfection.

Not all those women who toured Italy visited Rome, but those who did received a lasting impression of the city and its possessions. After Mrs. Elwood had taken the trouble to mention some of the early history of Rome in her journal, she then recorded her ascent to the tower of the Capitol, where she obtained "a most interesting panoramic view" of the city.[57] She toured all the major sights, from the Mamertine dungeons (where Saints Peter and Paul were imprisoned) and the Cloaca Maxima, constructed by Tarquinius Priscus, to the Vatican and St. Peter's. At the latter she

confessed that she was overwhelmed by "The walls, that glow with the richest marbles, the swelling dome, the noble statues, the fine pictures, the richly ornamented altars."[58] At the Vatican, she enjoyed the frescoes of Raphael, Michelangelo's 'The Last Judgement' and examined the "celebrated Belvedere Torso" as well as the "far-famed Laocoon."[59] Mrs. Elwood suggested most strongly that travellers with time should visit the paintings in private collections at the Borghese, Corsini and Doria palaces, as well as the numerous churches in and around Rome.[60] In 1793, Lady Elizabeth Holland embarked upon her "course of virtu" at Rome with great "alacrity." Accompanied by her cicerone, she toured some of the palaces later mentioned by Mrs. Elwood, as well as the Vatican, where she was so overcome by "the beauties of perfection" that she considered six visits inadequate for "accurate observation."[61] During her European travels in the 1820's, Mariana Starke considered the problem of how to absorb properly the numerous Roman ruins and antiquities so essential to the Grand Tour. Rather than have travellers waste time, she suggested in her guidebook that they concentrate on certain antiquities and pointed out the most convenient ways of seeing them.[62]

After Rome, Naples proved a staple of the Grand Tour. It, too, enriched the visitor's cultural experience. Apart from visiting the famous Bay, and viewing Vergil's tomb over the entrance to the Grotto of Pausilippo, Anne Elwood also

examined the Museo Barbonico. Here, in addition to statues and paintings, she saw "some fine models, in cork, of the ruins of Pompeii and the Temples of Paestum."[63] Perhaps the impact of this exhibition finally persuaded her, although limited for time, to spare one day for viewing the ruins themselves. After their coachman had driven them through "sheets of lava, and beds of ashes", Anne Elwood and her party arrived at Pompeii.[64] She marvelled at the excellently preserved Amphitheatre, Temple of Isis and the comic and tragic theatres, paved with marble; and noted the sound condition of the roads, which still had "elevated trottoirs on the sides for foot passengers", while "the marks of wheels" remained visible.[65] The eager tourist could not rid herself of the illusion that she was seeing a city whose inhabitants were only temporarily absent. She observed that on both sides of the Via Appia there were "remains of shops,. . . the walls of all of them painted, and the colours and designs perfectly fresh, as if but just finished. . .and on a marble-slab, in a coffee-house, [were] the marks of cups, as if but recently set down!"[66] To her it seemed almost "indelicate" to enter houses from which people might emerge at any moment. Mariana Starke expressed similar feelings of deep respect for the architecture and artifacts of Pompeii in her guidebook of Europe. She urged travellers to see for themselves the impressive remains of a lost civilization, if only to wonder at how little had changed over two thousand

years.[67] Periodic eruptions from nearby Vesuvius also interested several women travellers, including Mrs. Starke. In order to see the "slight eruption" of the volcano (which occurred in 1818) she hired a carriage, packed it with provisions, and "set out five hours before sun-set."[68] With the assistance of a cicerone, together with "mules, guides, and one chaise-a-porteur" she and her friends ascended the mountain, covering the final distance to the crater on foot.[69] Although tired after walking along a path "deep in ashes", she rejoiced at having made the effort, for she had seen five streams of fire pouring out of the crater.[70]

Thus many eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women travellers took a Grand Tour which closely resembled that of the men. Their comments and observations on French and Italian classical ruins and Renissance art do not differ markedly from those of the males. However, one usually does not read the journals of either sex for the information they contain on antiquities. Such matters can best come from guidebooks or scholarly authorities. Boswell's journal and even that of Gibbon reveal much more about the character and interests of the man than about the countries they visited. So, too, do the journals of the women, and in a sense their written records are more significant than those of many men travellers.[71] Unlike the latter, women were denied access to higher education. They were therefore cut off from an intimate understanding of ancient cultures which the know-

ledge of Greek and Latin might have given them.

The Eastern Grand Tour

Several women also took interest in ancient cultures and civilizations of such places as the Ottoman Empire, Kurdistan and Egypt. In the process they created an Eastern counterpart to the Western Grand Tour. In many instances, however, this Eastern Grand Tour did not result from conventions that dictated the Western one. Women often accompanied their husbands who went to specific areas for specific purposes, in some cases hired for particular work. Others travelled the Eastern Grand Tour incidentally as part of another journey, to Russia perhaps, or India.

Lady Craven, for example, did not leave the area of the Crimea without first visiting Constantinople and Greece. At the Imperial capital, she examined many Turkish customs and observed carefully through a "large telescope", the Sultan reclining upon a silver sofa. She also toured the city itself and the Mosque of St. Sophia.[72] Disenchanted with the latter's interior, she was nonetheless impressed with its "extremely large" dome which she considered "well worth seeing."[73] In this venerable city, flanked by a harbour called "the Golden Horn by the ancients", Lady Craven commented upon the city's narrow streets (which had produced houses with overhanging upper stories) and the high, encircling wall with its turrets and large square towers.[74] She was

appalled that this defence, originally built by the Greek emperors, stood "mouldering away under the negligence of the Turks."[75]

So too, did much of Greece in her estimation. She was depressed by the poverty in parts of Greece, and angered by what she believed was Turkish neglect of a famous Greek past. For, of course, that past witnessed the birth of much of western civilization. Lady Craven accordingly displayed keen interest in the ancient ruins and temples. On Naxos, she viewed the ruined temple dedicated to Bacchus, while at Athens, she admired the "superb, the beautiful temple of Theseus; the architecture simple and grand; proportioned with majesty and grace; it has stood to this day an eternal monument of the good taste of the ancients."[76] Lady Craven also praised the Temple of Minerva erected by Pericles, and the few remaining pillars of the Temple of Jupiter Olympus. The mutilated state of some interesting bas reliefs at the Temple of Theseus made her wish that she had the power to "restore things to their primitive state of perfection."[77]

She wished to do the same during her tour of the Greek Grotto of Antiparos. The amazing sight of so many "glass quills" reminded her of those she had seen "in a very imperfect state" at St. Petersburg. Such an action, however well intended, seemed to her "a sacrilege against antiquity."[78] She confessed that she would never have entered the grotto had her pride not conquered her fears: since M. de Choiseul

claimed that no woman had ever before descended into the grotto, and because she did not wish her concern for "the truths of antiquity" to appear less than his, she agreed with his plan.[79] Nor were her fears groundless. Although she landed safely at the bottom of the Grotto, after "refusing constantly to be assisted", her descent involved sitting and sliding "down small points of rock", and combatting smoke from the guides' torches.[80] Despite these difficulties, Lady Craven felt amply rewarded by the "brilliancy of the petrifactions, the jagged shapes of the rocks,. . .the darkness of part of the grotto, and the illuminations which reflected light in new places every moment. . . ."[81] She regarded her unusual visit to the Grotto, where a drawing was made of her by one of de Choiseul's artists, as the highlight of her tour of the Greek islands.

Mary Rich also included Constantinople in her extensive journeys. Unlike Lady Craven, who had reached the imperial city by sea from the Crimea, Mary Rich in 1813 journeyed with Claudius her husband from Baghdad to Constantinople on horseback. She emphasized its unusual nature by claiming that this was a "solitary instance. . .of such an expedition."[82] Later, Mrs. Rich travelled even further afield with her husband, who in addition to his position as the East India Company's resident in Baghdad, was an avid archaeologist and antiquarian. His quest for ancient coins, cuneiform inscriptions, and Syriac manuscripts took him to

the ruined civilizations between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and on to Shiraz and Persepolis. In several of these expeditions Mary Rich took an active part, sharing not only the hazards of a desert climate, but also her husband's interest in ancient history.[83]

At the village of Kara Tepeh, for example, on the way to Kurdistan, Mr. Rich believed that under an artificial mound lay an ancient cemetery. His wife fully concurred, recognizing the similarities between this burial place and those she had seen formerly at Babylon and Seleucia.[84] Further on at ruins in Kifri, Mrs. Rich helped her husband dig out "a small chamber, the walls of which were composed of loose stones laid together very coarsely, but faced with plaster covered with ornaments, in compartments, some of them really in very good taste. The floor seemed to have been plain stucco, as well as the ceiling, which was painted in fresce with ornaments of flowers, or arabesques, the outlines being black, and filled up with a bright red."[85] Such rooms, together with a burial mound and the ruins of city walls visible in the area convinced Mary Rich and her husband that they had discovered Persian or Sassanian remains.[86]

Although Mary Rich's "Fragment" ends with her visit to Kurdistan, her journey continued. She accompanied her husband to Mosul, where she saw some, if not all of the ruins of Nineveh, and then returned to Baghdad by sailing down the Tigris on a <u>kellek</u>, or raft. During this voyage Claudius

halted long enough to take her and the rest of the party to inspect the ruins of Nimrod. These included a "Pyramidal Mount" as well as "Traces of ruins like those of a city", which reminded them of buildings seen earlier at Mosul and Nineveh.[87]

While Mosul itself was far from prepossessing, the far-flung ruins of Nineveh had held all their attraction. If Mrs. Rich visited all of the ruins, she inevitably saw the mosque which covered the tomb of Jonah, the long city walls, and samples of Babylonian pottery and bricks, some with cuneiform writing.[88] In fact at Nineveh, Claudius Rich paid tribute to the determination and curiosity of his far-travelled wife. During their tour of the ruins, they had rested at Thisbe's well, and a companion had carved their names on its walls. On see this writing Mr. Rich commented:

> Some traveller in after times. . .may wonder, on reading the name of Mary Rich, who the adventurous female was who had visited the ruins of Nineveh. He will not be aware that, had her name been inscribed at every spot she had visited in the course of her weary pilgrimage, it would be found in places compared with which Mousul is the centre of civilization.[89]

Egypt, far greater than Mosul and centre of another civilization much older than Europe's also formed part of the Eastern Grand Tour. Women apparently interested themselves in Egyptian history, in part because of Napoleon's

Egyptian campaign, and in part as a result of familiarizing themselves with antiquities in Europe discovered on the continental Grand Tour.[90] For example, while in France, Lady Frances Shelley met the famous Egyptologist, Dominique Vivant Denon, who showed her his "curiosities" which included the "foot of a mummy of an Egyptian princess."[91] During a visit to Padua, Lady Holland toured the Villa Quirini, which contained "some of the oldest Egyptian monuments in Europe."[92] In the course of her visit, she met and conversed with the "learned antiquary", Dancarville, who informed her that these remains were "coeval with the Pyramids."[93] Although Lady Elizabeth discovered that "reading the Arabian History in the most methodical way", could be somewhat "laborious", she still found Ockley interesting and perused Volney's account of Egypt and Syria with "pleasure."[94] On her way to India, Eliza Fay passed through the land of the Pharaohs. Here she saw the ruins of the old city of Alexandria, toured Cairo, and viewed the Pyramids through a telescope.[95] Before crossing the Arabian desert and sailing the Red Sea to Djidda in an Arab dow, Anne Elwood and her husband toured Alexandria and Cairo, as well as the antiquities along the Nile. Mrs. Elwood actually compared these remains to those of Italy and India, and saw at first hand objects which, although intriguing to other women travellers, were not often visited by them.

Eagerly, Anne Elwood examined all the Egyptian treasures she and her husband had "so often read, heard, and talked of."[96] While at Alexandria, she walked to Cleopatra's Needle. She also saw Diocletian's Pillar, once, as she noted, attributed incorrectly to Pompey: a "noble column" but with definite signs of wear.[97] Later, she made a "grand tour of the Lions of Cairo", and from the top of its citadel obtained a panoramic view of "the Nile, the tombs of the Caliphs, and the Pyramids."[98]

In due course she and her companions organized a "picnic to the Pyramids."[99] After crossing the desert plain, Anne came upon the Sphinx, which to her "presented an African countenance."[100] She noticed that the hair of the Sphinx was dressed "in much the same style with my Nubian friends at the slave market", by which she meant that the hair looked "greased and frizzled."[101] From there, the party advanced to the Pyramids, one of which they began to climb. Though she soon desisted in that dangerous venture, she firmly resolved that nothing should prevent her exploring the interior of the pyramid. Consequently, led by William Osman, she passed through "passages, dark, steep narrow, and more gloomy than imagination could fancy", until she reached the King's chamber, where she saw the sarcophagus "hewn out of one tremendous piece" of granite.[102] The tour of the pyramids at Giza was over, but her examination of the ancient ruins had only just begun.

Among the other monuments Mrs. Elwood visited while travelling down the Nile were ancient temples carved out of solid rock, the "majestic" temple at Luxor, an "avenue of Sphynxes. . .from Carnac to Luxor. . ." as well as fine colonnades, with many courts and halls, whose walls were covered with sculpture and paintings.[103] She gained a fantastic view from the top of a propylaeum at Thebes: like radii of a circle, she saw "vast avenues of immense pillars, gigantic ruins, majestic fragments. . . ."[104] Such splendor prompted her to remark that whoever founded Thebes, its remains showed that once it might have been "the grandest city in the world."[105] She even went so far as to suggest that such architectural excellence proved that the "inhabitants of Africa", however much maligned in her own day, "were at one time very superior to ourselves in some respects. . ."[106]

At one point in her travels Anne Elwood paused at Medinet Abou, long enough to paint, in words, the tremendous scene before her:

> In the immediate neighbourhood lies a colossal statue, biting the dust;--in the background are the Temples of Medinet Abou, and the Memnonium; afar off are the excavated and perforated Mountains, containing the Tombs of the Kings;--in the front rolls the Nile, beyond which are Luxor and Carnac, with the range of hills behind:. . .[107]

Perhaps she was most overwhelmed at Medinet Abou, where she saw "the ruins of a palace, which would have made the buildings of Rome, the Palatine and the Coliseum, 'hide their

heads,' on so tremendously grand a scale" had everything in the area been erected.[108] Her visit to the Tombs of the Kings made her realize the time-scale involved with Egyptian ruins. When she compared Roman antiquities with the Egyptian mummies, she concluded that "Pompeii appeared modern, and bread out of the Tomb of King Sesostris made that in Italian ovens of no curiosity."[109] Finally, before setting out across the Arabian desert, Mrs. Elwood visited the Temple of Dendera. Here, she walked among its huge pillars covered with hieroglyphs, and searched in vain for the famous circular Zodiac, only to learn later that a Frenchman had carried it to Cairo. Anne Elwood must have paid great attention to the architectural style, because when she eventually examined the Caves of Elephanta, she was reminded instantly of the Dendera Temple.[110]

The perfect Eastern Grand Tour, therefore, as seen through the eyes of early eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women travellers, would begin with visits to Constantinople and the Greek islands, including, of course, Athens. From there one might have visited the antiquities which lay between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, or remained in Egypt to examine the monuments and remains of the Pharoahs along the Nile. Women travellers who visited these places realized their historical and architectural significance, were aware of several of the current scholars working in the field of Egyptology, like Denon and Belzoni and derived from their

expeditions a sense of personal achievement, and an intellectual stimulation not achieved from books alone.[111]

In their travels abroad women followed a tradition well honed by men, touring places of antiquity for enjoyment and self-improvement. For most of the eighteenth century, educated Englishmen turned their attentions to the Old World, not the New. Imbued with a classical schooling from an early age, those who could afford it rounded off their education with tours of classical ruins and Renaissance art. Some, fortunately placed in business, diplomacy, military affairs, or in the role of travelling companion, could cultivate antiquarian and historic interests in later life. Thus there were broadly two kinds of male travel journals: those interesting for their detailed description and bold opinions based upon personal experience alone, and others the product of careful writing and research. Frequently, the two blended nicely into one.

This written evidence one should evaluate not for what it lacks, but for what it reveals about the capacities of women who lacked formal training. Unlike Mrs. Smollett, who emerged from the pages of her husband's journal as a timid and easily alarmed creature, these women were intrepid and determined. In several cases, their husbands appeared proud to have them so. In the seventeenth century, Aphra Behn's activity had shown that women could write for money and achieve some independence.[112] Georgian women travellers

revealed in their diaries, journals and letters a similarly refreshing self-confidence, and a realization that the wonders of civilizations, old and new, were sexless.

Footnotes: Chapter VI

[1]For an idea of their itineraries, see Appendix N where they are arranged in alphabetical order, by the woman's last name.

[2]Nugent MS., p. 5.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., pp. 15-16. Thomas Pennant, who toured the Continent in 1765, also viewed Rembrandt paintings at the Stadhuis in Amsterdam. However, Emma Nugent is probably referring to the Rijksmuseum which is dominated by the works of Rembrandt. Pennant could not have seen the Rijksmuseum since it was only begun in 1808 by Louis Bonaparte. See Thomas Pennant, Tour on the Continent, 1765, ed. G. R. de-Beer (London: Printed for the Ray Society, 1948), p. 155. Hereafter: Pennant, Tour.

[5]Nugent MS., pp. 41-42. She wrote that there were in fact "so many beautiful performances" that "you know not where to fix your eyes." She noticed especially "a Gigantic Rubens, the Wise Men from the East,. . .the effect of which is best seen at a distance--a beautiful glowing Picture of Christ after Death, with his Mother & the Holy Women" as well as "a Crucifixion by Vandycke, the weeping Figure expressing deep-felt woe. . . ." She also remarked on an English artist whom she saw in the Museum copying the masters, and "envied him his situation" (Nugent MS., pp. 41-42).

[6]Nugent MS., p. 41.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid. She covered a whole quarto page in her journal describing this painting. Although Lady Langhorn's comments are brief, it is evident that she, too, was impressed with the artistic treasures of Antwerp. There was in fact so much to see in so many churches that she exclaimed: "Were I to describe the Riches of the Altars, fine Paintings, Carvings both in Marble & Wood, it would take up a Volume." She also visited several private painting collections. See Langhorn MS., f. 10. Thomas Pennant, who toured Antwerp in 1765 (four years before Lady Langhorn) also found "The pictures numerous and many fine" in Antwerp Cathedral. There being too many to describe in detail, and being pressed for

time, he marked "thus ω in a little account of the paintings . . .of this city," those which pleased him. See Pennant, Tour, pp. 165-166.

[10]Nugent MS., pp. 5, 18.

[11]Ibid., p. 35.

[12]Ibid., pp. 39-40. By 1822, of course, Waterloo had become a "tourist attraction." Emma Nugent completed a thorough tour of the battle field (the first she had ever seen), noting the "spot from whence the Duke of Wellington viewed the ground" and the various battle positions of the British and the French. The Chateau de Hougoumont, the scene of a "bloody encounter" was also visited, and she let her imagination run riot at this point, imagining "the confusion of battle, & dreadful cries of men. . . ." Men, she believed, were capable of losing "all private considerations in the idea of public glory", something she felt women could not do, except in theory. See Nugent MS., pp. 39-40. Another visitor to the Continent, Lady Frances Shelley, a close friend and great admirer of the Iron Duke, also toured the battlefield at Waterloo, three months after the battle. See Shelley, Diary, pp. 167-175. Her account does not differ substantially from that of Emma Nugent, except that it is, if anything, more pro-Wellington. Lady Burghersh, who travelled with her husband during the Continental campaigns of 1813-1814, also held Wellington in high regard. See Burghersh, Letters, passim.

[13]Nugent MS., p. 7.

[14]Ibid., p. 8. Pennant had also visited the "anatomy room" and the skeletons, but concluded that therein lay "nothing remarkable." See Pennant, Tour, p. 157.

[15]Nugent MS., p. 37.

[16]Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[17]See James Boswell, Boswell in Holland 1763-1764,. . . ed. Frederick A. Pottle (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952), passim. Hereafter: Boswell, Holland.

[18]Northumberland, Short Tour, pp. 77-78. She always considered that there were "strange inconsistencies in this fine town." She stated that if one saw the sparse shops and streets, one would imagine Antwerp "thinly inhabited", but one glance at the numerous churches would convince one that it was "uncommonly populous" (Northumberland, Short Tour, pp. 77-78). Fifteen years earlier, Mrs. Margaret Calderwood

also mentioned the prevalence of Roman Catholicism, claiming that its citizens were "the maddest ideots about papistry that ever was" (Calderwood, Letters, p. 136). In fact, the editor of her journal, A. Fergusson, deemed her anti-Catholicism so extreme that he excised some of her comments from this section. See Calderwood, Letters, p. 119.

[19]Northumberland, Short Tour, pp. 80-81.

[20]Ibid. Six years earlier, Thomas Pennant mentioned that an engraver at Antwerp had shown him the piece he was working from--"an exquisite performance by Lens [Lintz] a young man, a native of Amtwerp, now at Rome" (Pennant, Tour, p. 166).

[21]Northumberland, Short Tour, pp. 83-84. Once again, Pennant had mentioned this painting by Rubens, "at a painter's"--perhaps one of the brothers Beschey. See Pennant, Tour, p. 166.

[22]Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 84.

[23]Ibid. During her bargaining session with Beschey, she showed her true mettle, for she wrote: "I here cheapened a piece of dead game, but he asked too much. I then bid for another, a hermit in his cell, for which he asked ten guineas, and declared he never abated a farthing of what he asked at first, but upon my calling up my chariot he let me have it for four" (Northumberland, Short Tour, p. 84).

[24]Langhorn MS., ff. 20-21. Pennant had also visited Mynheer Biscop's [sic] collection and particularly mentioned his "china. . .of immense value" and his paintings of the Flemish school. See Pennant, Tour, p. 151.

[25]Langhorn MS., ff. 5-6, 13.

[26]Ibid., f. 13.

[27]Ibid. Pennant was a fraction more specific about the contents of these two collections, but this is to be expected since he was preparing his British Zoology for publication. See Pennant, Tour, pp. 156, 168-169.

[28]Anne Scrope to Lady Webb Seymour, 1783-1784, passim; Calderwood, Letters, passim; Bousquet, Diary, passim.

[29]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 14.

[30]Ibid., p. 15.

[31]Ibid. The "chosen artist" was, of course, her husband.

[32]Journal of Lady Philadelphia Cotton through France, c. 1817, Cotton MS., Madingly Hall Papers, Cambridge Record Office, ff. 5, 13. Hereafter: Cotton MS. John Mayne visited the Louvre four times during his 1814 tour of France. He was also overwhelmed by the collections "to which the admiration of the whole civilised world has so long been directed." At first he found it hard to concentrate on any one object; on his second visit, he spent the whole day examining the statues, and later gave "an hour and half to Raffaelle's paintings" for which he was "almost ready to pardon Bonaparte all his sins." For his descriptions, see John Mayne, The Journal of John Mayne during a Tour on the Continent upon its reopening after the fall of Napoleon, ed. John Mayne Colles (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1909), pp. 22-23, 25. Hereafter: Mayne, Journal. In the very same year, Anne Carter, niece of Elizabeth Carter, the classical scholar, visited France and was able to see the "entree of Louis XVIII into Paris",--at least that part of it that occurred in Notre Dame. Among many attractions, she visited the Louvre, and like John Mayne, greatly admired the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvedere and the galleries of paintings. See Anne Carter, Letters from a lady. . .during a tour to Paris. . .1814 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orne, & Brown, 1814), p. 38. Hereafter: Carter, Letters.

[33]Letter-book of Mrs. Mary Gaskell to Lady Sidmouth, concerning her tour of the Continent, c. 1827-1830, Sidmouth Papers, Devon Record Office, pp. 3-4. Hereafter: Sidmouth Papers.

[34]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, pp. 16-17. Among the other "Curious Relicts" she saw "countless crowns, sword and spurs", and in particular the "Sword of Joan of Arc", as well as "diamonds & Perles & precious Stones without number . . ." (Ibid.).

[35]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, pp. 18-19. The various cascades and fountains, and status of Apollo, Neptune and others were all carefully examined by Ann Flaxman, and also mentioned by John Mayne in 1814. See Mayne, Journal, pp. 34-37.

[36]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 21.

[37]Cotton MS., p. 23. Both Ann Flaxman and Lady Cotton were fortunate to have been able to see the process: John Mayne visited Sèvres, but reported that strangers were not allowed to see the manufacturing process without a special

permit, not easily obtained. It probably depended on one's contacts: Lady Cotton had friends in France, and the fact that John Flaxman was a professional sculptor may have gained Ann Flaxman admittance to the work areas.

[38]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 21; Cotton MS., p. 23.

[39]Cotton MS., p. 23.

[40]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 25.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Jane Parminter, "Extracts from a Devonshire Lady's Notes of Travel in France in 1784", ed. Rev. O. Reichel, Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, XXXIV (Plymouth, 1902), p. 271. Hereafter: Parminter, France.

[43]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 26. In 1765, Pennant complained that "lanthornes" were not as abundant at Paris as in London, which meant that the streets were often poorly illuminated. See Pennant, Tour, p. 20. John Mayne regretted the lack of sidewalks, or pavements for pedestrians, and deplored the reckless driving of carters and coachmen in Paris. His conclusions on Paris were not flattering: "Take away the boulevards, Place de la Concorde, Place Vendome, and the adjoining streets, and Paris is, as a town, one of the ugliest I can imagine; heavy, dark, dirty, and inconvenient" (Mayne, Journal, p. 48).

[44]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 24.

[45]Ibid., p. 48.

[46]A similar distinction exists in men's journals: there is quite a gap between Gibbon's detailed and analytical description of his tour of Rome, and that of James Boswell or even John Mayne. This comment refers to the published journals of Boswell, edited by Brady and Pottle. Boswell, we are assured, did not "neglect Italy's monuments"; in fact, he visited the well-known sights, and "conscientious note-taking on these expeditions" resulted. However, readers have to take this for granted, because, as the authors state, the "present volume omits" most of this material, the reason being that Boswell's remarks about the arts are "ordinarily conventional." Professor Brady admits that when Boswell "allowed himself to perceive directly and not through the eyes of the guide-book, his comments are amusing and sometimes shrewd." However, the editors chose to stress his "manners and conversations of his acquaintances." Per-

haps they did so because many eighteenth-century versions of the Tour itself exist, and they had thought it tiresome to introduce yet another. Nevertheless, in this writer's opinion, such an omission may leave the reader with a rather narrow view of Boswell. With little (in print) to suggest otherwise, Boswell's Grand Tour of Italy is a circumscribed affair, and the main character is necessarily diminished in stature. See James Boswell, Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765-1766, eds. Frank Brady & Frederick A. Pottle (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955), p. xviii. Hereafter: Boswell: Grand Tour.

[47]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 63-64. However, she found Genoa itself "a grand but gloomy city" because of the high houses and narrow streets. She was more at ease in the churches than the magnificent but "uncomfortable" palaces of Doria, Doraggio and Pallavicini. On another level, she deplored the Italian women's practice of using cicisbeos to squire them about town. She felt that they placed a strain on marital affection, and hoped the practice would not be adopted in England. See Fay, Original Letters, p. 65. James Boswell had not appeared too contented with his temporary role as a cicisbeo for Mme. de St. Gilles at Turin (1765). See Boswell, Grand Tour: Italy, p. 27. Tobias Smollett, in one of his usual outbursts, claimed that he would rather be a galley-slave than a cicisbeo. See Smollett, Travels, p. 207; also mentioned in Boswell, Grand Tour, p. 27, editor's footnote 8.

[48]Knight, Letters, pp. 68, 90-91. During their residence in Italy mother and daughter visited such places as the Pope's summer home of Monte Cavallo, the church of St. Paul, the Catacombs and the prison of St. Paul. They saw the Coliseum by moonlight, and Cornelia sketched such objects as the "views, statues, vases. . ." in the Barberini and Villa Sciarra gardens, the tombs of the Severus family and of Cecilia Metella. See Knight, Letters, pp. 50-90.

[49]B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, p. 48.

[50]Ibid., p. 49.

[51]Sidmouth Papers, p. 20. Thirteen years earlier, John Mayne had also admired the exterior of the Cathedral, but found the inside "dark, heavy, and almost ugly" (Mayne, Journal, p. 121). Edward Gibbon had reservations about Milan's Cathedral. During his 1764 visit, he wrote: "L'Eglise est très mal placèe, etranglèe par les batimens voisins qui en bornent la vue. Son exterieur ne m'a point frappè. . . . Tous les dehors sout ornès d'un nombre excessif de statues . . .Mais. . .Malgrè cette profusion d'ornemens, l'exterieur

a l'air petit et mesquin;. . .l'eglise entiere est de Marbre, les murailles, les colonnes, le dome, tout est de marbre, dout la plupart à la veritè est brût, et dout le reste est assez mal poli" (Edward Gibbon, Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome. . .1764, ed. Georges A. Bonnard (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1961), pp. 45-46. Hereafter: Gibbon, Journey. Gibbon's spelling and individual use of accents have been preserved by his editor, and thus have been quoted here. For example, in a footnote Professor Bonnard states: "After due consideration I have preserved the double grave on the feminine -ee(s) written -èè(s)." For a detailed explanation of Gibbon's procedure, see Gibbon, Journey, pp. xii-xvi.

[52] B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, pp. 53-56. She also recorded in her journal impressions of the city of Bologna itself. She thought it had a "heavy appearance in the Interior parts owing to an arcade or Piazza on each side of the streets." This structure, however, proved useful during the rainy season, and also provided artists with spaces on which to paint frescos. Ann Flaxman also visited the Academy of Arts and Sciences, which held "a Curious Collection of anatomical Studies. . ." (B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, pp. 54-55). When John Mayne saw the department of midwifery in the same institution, he thought it useful for students, but in "the highest style of Continental indelicacy to make such a thing a publick exhibition to ladies and gentlemen. . ." (Mayne, Journal, p. 133). If Ann Flaxman had similar qualms she did not record them in her journal.

[53] B.M., Add. MSS. 39787, pp. 61-68. Other women travellers who toured Florence included Miss Jane Rye, who visited the Pitti Palace, the mausoleum of the Medici family, one of the many Florentine art galleries, and viewed the famous Venus de Medicis. See Rye Papers, pp. 22-23. Lady Craven also mentioned seeing the Medici Venus, which met all her expectations. See Craven, Journey, pp. 109-111. Gibbon and his fellow traveller, William Guise, compared the Venus statue with the Titian painting. In his journal (once again, I have used his spelling), Gibbon wrote: "enfin nous avons vû la Venus de Medicis, et la Venus du Titien. On croiroit que la peinture et la sculpture s'etoient essayè sur la mème figure, pour [voir] si la toile ou le marbre animeroient le mieux la plus belle des femmes. Je crois que la sculpture auroit remportè la victoire" (Gibbon, Journey, pp. 122-123). Lady Craven personally believed that the Niobe statue "surpassed" even the Venus, and Hester Lynch Piozzi was impressed and overcome by her pathos. Mrs. Piozzi's comments on this, and many other works of art were not perhaps as scholarly or as objective as Gibbon's: nevertheless, they provide evidence that she really was "recording her attempts to learn to appreciate works of art," to quote

from Herbert Barrows' introduction to her work. See Piozzi, Observations, pp. 154-155, xvii. One deduces from the writings of other women travellers that they too received overwhelming and lasting impressions from viewing major works of art and classical ruins.

[54]Sidmouth Papers, p. 41.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[57]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 45.

[58]Ibid., pp. 46-48. See also Mrs. Piozzi's comments on St. Peter's, "incontestably the first object in this city." Sometimes, her curiosity was thwarted. For example, she left the "glorious Vatican, with the perpetual regret of having seen scarcely any thing of its invaluable library, except the prodigious size and judicious ornaments of it." The librarian refused to show her "book nor MS.", the only exception being some love letters from Henry VIII to Anne Boleyn. Since he had told Mrs. Piozzi that these letters were "most likely" to interest her, and since she found them "very gross and indecent", she "felt offended, and went away, in a very ill humour." Perhaps the librarian had a surly disposition, or perhaps he assumed that women were not interested in serious books and documents. At any rate, several years later, John Mayne had no difficulty inspecting the Vatican's library of books and "fine illuminated manuscripts." See Piozzi, Observations, pp. 271-278; Mayne, Journal, pp. 211-212.

[59]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 49-51.

[60]Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[61]Holland, Journal, I, p. 34. The works of art viewed by Lady Holland included Veronese's 'Venus & Cupid', and Salvator Rosa's 'St. John in the Wilderness.' Her ladyship held strong views on many subjects, and art was no exception. She felt that Rosa's naked figures fell short of the ideal, which "ought to elevate the subject and give an idea of sublimity beyond any drapery." In her opinion, his St. John lacked an aura of sanctity, and merely looked like "a man stripped of his clothes" (Holland, Journal, I, p. 32). Not all her comments were so critical. She considered the sculptures of Apollo and Paris admirable, and the Laocoon "terribly fine" (Holland, Journal, I, p. 34).

[62]Starke, Travels, I, pp. 203-334. Here, of course, she merely reiterated an old piece of advice. Gibbon, for example, employed a Scots antiquary, James Byers, as his guide in Rome. See Gibbon, Journey, pp. 236-237. And Professor Bonnard makes several references to Francois Misson, whose Nouveau Voyage d'Italie, first published in 1691, ran into several editions and became a standard guidebook for French and English travellers in Italy. Misson strongly advised using a guide for those staying only 2-3 months at Rome. See Gibbon, Journey, pp. 224, 236, editor's footnotes 2 and 1, respectively. Lady Holland employed "old Morrison" as her guide. See Holland, Journal, I, p. 32.

[63]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 68-69.

[64]Ibid., p. 70.

[65]Ibid., p. 71.

[66]Ibid., pp. 71-72. Another visitor to Pompeii, Mary Gaskell, toured the ancient ruins while staying at Naples in 1827-30. In one of her long letters to Lady Sidmouth, she wrote about Pompeii as follows:

> The effect upon the mind & feelings, is beyond all imagination & description; there it stands, in still and lonely grandeur, a perfect Roman Town, & tells more in an hour of the manners, customs, arts &c, &c of the days of Cicero, Virgil, Horace &c than years of reading can tell; the small dwelling house built round a garden or court, each room painted according to its use, one with fish, poultry, game for dinner, containing also a raised couch for 2 or 3 & the Table in the centre--another with musical instruments & so on; all magnificence, however, reserved for the public edifices, & these . . .of such stately grandeur, & ample dimensions; pillars all marble, and beautiful mosaic pavements --such sumptuous baths, & these for public use. . . (Sidmouth Papers, Part II, pp. 15-18).

[67]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 72. Mary Gaskell recalled that one could "scarcely help fancying some of the ancient Possessors" would emerge to meet the visitors. See Sidmouth Papers, Part II, p. 18.

[68]Starke, Travels, pp. 407-431. She provided her readers with the history of the discovery of Pompeii, as well as an account of her own visit. At the end of her detailed version she exclaimed "What a speculation must this city have furnished to a thinking mind" (Starke, Travels, II, p. 430).

For Mrs. Piozzi's account of her Pompeii visit, see Piozzi, Observations, pp. 239-241.

[69]Starke, Travels, II, p. 399.

[70]Ibid. Like Mrs. Piozzi, Lady Holland could not understand why, despite the recurrent eruptions, the inhabitants continued to rebuild their small towns near Vesuvius. On a 1796 visit, she wrote: ". . .I actually saw myself a house just finished, which was built within three inches (for I myself measured them) of a hole whence the smoke issued, and upon which I could not bear my hand from the excessive heat" (Holland, Journal, I, p. 143). In 1765, James Boswell paid a swift visit to Vesuvius: he wrote: Yesterday morning in chaise to Portici. Then on foot to Vesuvius. Monstrous mounting. Smoke; saw hardly anything" (Boswell, Grand Tour, p. 55).

[71]Perhaps it should be noted here that some women intinerants received support and encouragement in their travel efforts not only from their husbands but from other men. Emma Nugent travelled with her father and family, Jane Parminter with her brother, Ann Flaxman and Anne Elwood with their husbands. Mrs. Piozzi even received the commendation of Dr. Johnson (before she left him to marry Piozzi). The Duchess of Northumberland, Lady Holland, and even Lady Phillipina Knight knew and met many influential and helpful European men during the course of their travels.

[72]Craven, Journey, pp. 268, 286-287. She saw this view from windows of the French ambassador's house, where she was staying. Her inspection of the antiquities of Constantinople and the Greek islands was greatly aided by M. de Choiseul. He had a group of artists with him and he intended to "collect all the finest drawings, coloured, of the finest ruins that exist either in Europe or Asia,. . ." (Craven, Journey, p. 265). M. Etienne de Choiseul (1719-1785) was a French statesman and at this time (1785) French Ambassador at the Porte.

[73]Craven, Journey, p. 286.

[74]Ibid., pp. 268-269, 289.

[75]Ibid., p. 289. Lady Craven held in no high esteem the government of Porte. She wrote: "How the business of the nation goes on at all I cannot guess, for the cabinet is composed generally of ignorant mercenaries. . . . Places are obtained at the Porte by intrigue; each placeman, each Sultaness has her creatures, and plots for placing them. . ." (Craven, Journey, pp. 272-273).

[76]Craven, Journey, pp. 320-321, 332. After this she sailed to the island of Antiparos, noticing along the way several quarries of "that famous marble", blocks of which she would have "conveyed. . .to England, and laid them at the feet of my friend Mrs. Damer, whose talent for sculpture makes her. . .distinguished in that art. . ." (Craven, Journey, p. 321). Anne Seymour Damer (1749-1828), the sculptress, was also a close friend of Horace Walpole. For a brief account of her life, see D.N.B.

[77]Craven, Journey, pp. 339-340.

[78]Ibid., pp. 326-327. She herself, however, was not averse on this occasion to keeping pieces they had brought out of the Grotto: she even tried to keep them safely in "a box with cotton", but they almost "mouldered away at the touch." Perhaps she rationalized her action as being connected to de Choiseul's research.

[79]Craven, Journey, pp. 330-331. The plan refers to de Choiseul's intention to explore the grotto.

[80]Craven, Journey, pp. 322-323, 330.

[81]Ibid., p. 329.

[82]Rich, Koordistan, "Brief Notice of the Life of Mr. Rich", pp. xxxi-xxxii.

[83]Claudius J. Rich's Oriental MSS. collection was deposited in the British Museum by his widow, which gives some indication of their value.

[84]Rich, Fragment, p. 340.

[85]Ibid., pp. 342-343. In the Fragment Mrs. Rich included a drawing showing some of the wall decorations discovered on this occasion. After she and her husband had "laid open this chamber, with its door, very perfect", they uncovered another in a less perfect condition.

[86]Rich, Fragment, p. 344. Ruins abounded all along this route from Baghdad to Kurdistan. At the village of Taook, she surmised from the "vast ruins scattered about in every direction", that it "must formerly have been a very considerable city" (Rich, Fragment, p. 352). In Kurdistan itself, while looking over the "extensive" plain of Sulimania, she commented on the artifical mounds which peppered the countryside. She believed that they might mark the progress of some "celebrated sovereign of ancient times; perhaps Darius Hystaspes, perhaps Xerxes" (Rich, Fragment, p. 361).

[87]Rich, Koordistan, II, pp. 128-133.

[88]Ibid., pp. 29-55. While Mary Rich accompanied her husband to Mosul and Nineveh, it is difficult (at times) to prove conclusively which ruins she did or did not see. She does not appear to have kept a diary for the tours beyond the "Fragment" contained in vol. I. The "we" referred to by Mr. Rich need not necessarily refer to his wife; he had among his party numerous friends and many native workers, who helped in the excavations and sorting of the materials found. Nevertheless, there are strong hints that Mrs. Rich did view some of the Nineveh ruins; certainly her husband welcomed her assistance on many occasions, and on later travels to Persepolis and Shiraz (when Mrs. Rich did not accompany him) he kept her constantly informed by letter, of both his journey and his discoveries.

[89]Rich, Koordistan, II, p. 51.

[90]This interest in the Egyptian pyramids and antiquities had, of course, continued from the time of Herodotus. The famous Biban-el-Maluk had been a showplace for many hundreds of years, and had been visited, for example, by Richard Pococke in the 1750's. He and other travellers not only made engravings of the tombs but also copied the inscriptions. But it was only in the nineteenth century that the hieroglyphic code was broken, by such men as Robert Young and Jean-Francois Champollion. Some of the credit should also go to Napoleon himself. In 1799 he took with him to Egypt a group of scholars to make a detailed survey of the country. This multi-volume work, Le Description de L'Egypte: des observations et recherches, was published 1809-1822. In 1799, the Rosetta stone was found, and Napoleon ordered ink copies of it made and sent to notable European scholars. One of the savants who had helped set up the Institute in Cairo was Jean Fourier from whom Champollion gained his absorbing interest in things Egyptian; and it was from the Rosetta stone that Champollion learned to unravel the secret of the ancient Egyptian language. Following his work and that of others, European interest in Egypt revived. Europeans snatched a number of antiquities in addition to the Rosetta stone and transported them to London or to Paris. (In 1833, for example, one of the two obelisks at Luxor was taken to France.) Perhaps Mrs. Elwood had seen the Rosetta stone before embarking upon her trip to Egypt; it would certainly have been possible. The stone was sent to England from France under the 1801 Treaty of Capitulation, and housed in the British Museum.

[91]Shelley, Diary, p. 129. Maria Graham had noticed that a Buddhist figure in a famous temple at Bellegam, Cey-

lon, closely resembled Egyptian deities that she had seen "in Monfaucon and Denon" (Graham, India, pp. 88-89).

[92]Holland, Journal, I, p. 145.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid., pp. 37, 39, 199. Lady Holland's interest in travel was voracious: she also read Le Brun's account of his journey to Persepolis in 1704, the ruins of which she imagined must be "equal to anything of antiquity in point of solidity, size and extent" (Holland, Journal, II, p. 54).

[95]Fay, Original Letters, pp. 74-75, 84-85, 81. Unfortunately, Eliza Fay here revealed her lack of education, which appears glaring when compared to the knowledgeable Mary Rich and Anne Elwood. Mrs. Fay accepted the opinion which held that the Israelites had built the Pyramids, even though she was aware that the accepted view was that they were tombs of Egyptian kings. Her argument ran as follows: because of their size, they were meant to hold slaves, of whom the Israelites formed a contingent; therefore they were Jewish mausoleums.

[96]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 112.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid., p. 151.

[99]Ibid., p. 155.

[100]Ibid., pp. 157-158.

[101]Ibid., p. 158.

[102]Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 161. Before entering the pyramid, she and her companions had an "amusing repast,. . . spread on the ground, something in the Arab style, in a sort of recess, over the door of the great Pyramid of Cheops, and under the shelter of some huge projecting stones" (Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 161).

[103]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 168-169, 185, 188-189. At Karnak, Mr. Hay, an English excavator, showed her some of his discoveries, which she claimed she was the "first of [her] countrywomen to behold." These included two erect obelisks, fragments of a "colossal granite statue" and other broken pieces. See Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 189.

[104]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 190-191. The twentieth-

century amateur Egyptologist Leonard Cottrell describes Karnak as possessing "terrifying strength, massiveness, and power." See Leonard Cottrell, The Lost Pharaohs (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), p. 111. Similarly, in the early nineteenth century, Anne Elwood was overwhelmed by the "truly majestic forest of gigantic columns", most in perfect condition. Of all the ruins at Thebes, she considered that Karnak was the finest. See Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 189-191.

[105] Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 190.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid., p. 205. Riding on donkeys, she also went to see Biban-el Maluk (or the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings) where she claimed to have seen the tomb of King Sesostris, "lately discovered by Belzoni." It is true that Giovanni Belzoni discovered several tombs, but according to Cottrell and James, in 1817 he had excavated the tomb of Sethi (or Sethos) I, one of the most impressive in the Valley. From her description, it sounds as if Mrs. Elwood had indeed visited the latter's tomb. She marvelled at the walls of the tomb, covered with paintings in "colours as fresh and as vivid as if finished but yesterday. . . ." Belzoni, one of a rash of early nineteenth century "antiquity hunters", also helped in publicizing Egyptian work. For example, he spent months making drawings and wax impressions of Sethi I's tomb paintings, and these, together with the alabaster sarcophagus, he exhibited in Piccadilly, in what he called the Egyptian Hall. The coffin he then sold to Sir John Soane, in whose museum it still remains. However, since Sethi I's tomb is only one of the many gathered together in this area, including the Ramesseum, and the temples of Sethi I, Amenophis III and Ramesses II, the confusion is understandable. See Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 195-198; Cottrell, The Lost Pharaohs, pp. 129-132; T. G. H. James, The Archaeology of Ancient Egypt, (London: The Bodley Head, 1972), pp. 8, 76.

[108] Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 202. At the Memnonium, which she also visited, she saw the remains of the "colossal statue" of the "greater Memnon." Since she also pointed out that the statue of the Lesser Memnon was at that time in the British Museum, it is possible that she had seen it prior to her expedition to Egypt.

[109] Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 208-209. Here, she actually saw some mummies, "Grinning ghastily and horribly around," for "their countenances [were] uncovered, and their features disclosed to view" (Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 207).

[110]Elwood, Narrative, I, pp. 212-216. Her immediate reaction on learning of this removal was: "What a Goth!" She considered this dismantling of ruins just as bad as the destructive tendencies of the Turks.

[111]Such things cannot be taken for granted when dealing with eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women. Overcoming the physical difficulties of an eighteenth-century journey, as well as recording coherently the various sights, was not something learned overnight. Perhaps, however, when the journey was completed, many women realized, as did Maria Graham, the tremendously enlightening nature of education combined with experience.

[112]Aphra Behn (1640-1689) became the first professional female writer in England. One of her novels, The Fair Jilt, was set in Antwerp, and recounts experiences from her own life. For a brief account of her life and work, see D.N.B.

CHAPTER VII

BEYOND THE GRAND TOUR

If women travellers concentrated their attentions on the culture, art, antiquities, and civilization of places visited on the Grand Tour, they did not neglect these matters when they journeyed to territories which lay beyond the Grand Tour's usual boundaries. Yet other concerns, dictated in part by the lands they visited and their circumstances of travel and residence, often filled the pages of their writings. For example, the women who visited Russia--a part and yet not a part of Europe--discussed its present commerce and future prospects as well as its historic past. The voyages to South America and North Africa analyzed the political situations in the areas they observed, something their sister travellers rarely touched upon when they romped through Europe. And those hearty venturers who roamed even farther afield to Asia and the Pacific described whatever curious, strange, or marvellous objects they encountered simply for their uniqueness. They hoped, perhaps, to entertain people who would never enjoy the happy fortune of visiting exotic places for themselves.

Russia and the Crimea

Russia, of course, had ties to the East and the West.

A land of contrasts, its modern capital of St. Petersburg, whose building artisans had constructed on a western pattern under the close scrutiny of Peter the Great, seemed at odds with the ancient capital of Novgorod with its streets of wood. Overwhelmingly rural, Russia, yet wanted to expand rapidly its commerce and industry. Women travellers often saw these contrasts and detailed their observations in their journals.

One such observer, Mrs. Katherine Robinson, made several visits to Russia in the 1770's and 1780's. Since her brother, James Harris (with whom she stayed), was British ambassador to the royal court at St. Petersburg, she enjoyed a splendid opportunity to sample diplomatic social life and to make extended tours into Russia. In her St. Petersburg journal for 1777, she recorded visits to country houses, masked balls, such as Prince Orloff's fete, as well as visits to the Hermitage, and the royal palace.[1] At the latter place, she viewed an exhibition of the royal jewels, which had been arranged "in excellent taste on Cristal Spars. . ."[2] While there, Prince Potemkin conducted her and her party on a tour of the royal apartments. In particular, she noticed the Divan, "furnished with a rich gold stuff" and several small rooms, one of which was "all looking Glass." Another contained "precious stones & Jewels, presents from the Kouli-Kan & the spoils taken from the great Mogul, in short magnificence & luxury. . .to the full extent."[3] Afterwards,

she viewed the room which contained the royal crown, replete with the "largest Rubie" she had ever seen.[4] During her visit to the Hermitage, she examined two galleries of pictures and a heated winter garden, which contained "Hyacinths, Birds, and Oranges."[5]

In 1778, Mrs. Robinson departed from St. Petersburg for a tour of Moscow, in the company of the Prince and Princess Kavansky, other nobles, and a retinue of servants. They made few stops along the way, but did find time to explore Novgorod, until 882, the "antient capital of Russia." Apart from the fortifications which surrounded the city, she noticed that the buildings and even the streets were all of wood: the latter having been "floor'd. . .with planks instead of being paved with stone or flints."[6] Katherine Robinson visited the medieval brick Cathedral, discovering that its "strong & clumsy" outer walls hid an interior "much ornamented with work'd Gold, and decorated with Saints."[7] Perhaps the most "truly curious" item she examined was a pair of large doors, "of very excellent Workmanship in Brass and Bronze, on which were represented, the whole History of the New Testament."[8]

Once Mrs. Robinson had arrived in Moscow, a full schedule of social rounds and dinners did not prevent her from touring the sights of the city, including the three great Cathedrals at the Kremlin, where the Czars were married, crowned and buried. She believed that of the three, the

most imposing cathedral was that in which the coronation was performed. Supported by painted pillars, and lit by a heavy silver chandelier, this church was ornamented profusely with paintings of saints, many of which were "surrounded with frames of gold and Silver, and other decorations with diamonds & precious Stones."[9] Lavish decoration extended as well to the outside of these churches, illustrated by their gold-painted "round Tops", or onion-shaped domes.[10]

In addition to attending the Orthodox Mass, listening to French plays at the Russian theatre, and visiting "La Maison des Enfants Trouvés" in Moscow, Mrs. Robinson also toured several of Prince Kavansky's factories.[11] Before examining the wheat-grinding and wood-sawing mills, she saw "manufactories" for spinning and weaving, and listened to a careful explanation of the processes. She quickly observed that the Prince employed people of all ages, who slept in the factories "on shelves like our Bacon racks in Cottages, and each has his ladder to ascend to his Bed."[12] However, the majority of workers were women, and she discovered that they rested "by turns, three hours at a time" which she regarded as an "insupportable fatigue" for them.[13]

Perhaps one of the most spectacular sights Katherine Robinson enjoyed was the view of Moscow from the "famous Tower of Ivan Wilichi."[14] After climbing more than two hundred steps to the top, she gazed upon "a most extraordinary and Magnificent" sight: all around a "grand Variety of

Towers, Turrets & other buildings", the most striking of which were the "prodigious number of. . .Churches with their superb domes, some of these Cupolas splendidly gilt with gold & glittering in the Sun," dazzled her eye.[15]

When Elizabeth, Lady Craven visited Moscow nine years after Katherine Robinson, she supported the latter's opinion that the former Russian capital resembled an "immense town" but did not agree with her about much else there.[16] She viewed the much vaunted church steeples as nothing more than "square lumps of different coloured bricks" surmounted by gilded domes which gave the structures a "particularly gaudy and ugly" appearance.[17] Realizing that her judgement may have been somewhat hasty, her ladyship admitted that "there might have been many things worth stopping to look at" in Moscow, but her impatience to "meet the spring" induced her to curtail her visit and travel on to the Crimea.[18]

Like Lady Craven, Mrs. Guthrie and Mary Holderness also toured the Black Sea coast. Although they travelled at different times, all three exhibited wide interest in the area. They sought ruins and antiquities, put historical information into their journals, and paid attention to the Crimea's strategic and commercial importance.

Lady Craven wrote an historical introduction to that "delicious country", the Taurida, hoping to show "by remote and past ages, that the Tauride must naturally become a treasure to posterity."[19] She briefly traced the fates of

the various peoples involved with the area, from the Cimmerians of pre-Homer days to medieval Tartars, and finally to the eighteenth-century Russian overlords. Thereafter, her journal contained accounts of her progression through such places as Perecop, Karasubazar and Constantinople, and of her meetings with such people as a Cossack chief, and the French ambassador at the Porte, M. de Choiseul.[20] Maria Guthrie's view of the Crimea differed somewhat. Her entire journal consisted mostly of historical background and descriptions of the Greek and other antiquities still extant. Her avowed aim in keeping her journal was to supply her husband with as much information as possible about the new Russian possessions between the Dniester and Kuban rivers--all in a careful and methodical manner. For example, when discussing the naming of the new Crimean town of Ovidopol (after construction workers had found a tomb thought to be that of Ovid), she pointed out divided opinion regarding its authenticity. One person, at least, believed the tomb Greek. She then continued with a discussion of Ovid, and gave a brief history of the ancient towns along the Dniester river.[21] She also visited Perecop (or Taphra), which Lady Craven had ignored, claiming that "there was nothing to see."[22] To reach the town, Mrs. Guthrie passed through a vaulted gate, built on a bridge which spanned a deep trench. Though the town contained a mere fifty to sixty wooden houses, Xenophon had mentioned its famous fortified wall and

trench. She followed her description of Perecop with details of the Greek history surrounding the wall. Also (determined to change her husband's skeptical attitude towards women's travel writing), she outlined some of the geographical and political features of the Taurida, using "all the method and regularity of masculine travels."[23]

After visiting and describing the modern cities of Kerch and Theodocia, along with Greek ruins in the vicinity, Mrs. Guthrie sailed from Sevastopol to view the ruins of Inkerman. This ancient town, she claimed, had originally been erected by Diophantes, Mithridates' general, to strengthen the Heraclean wall.[24] Lady Craven also visited Sevastopol and the ruins at Inkerman, which impressed her as having once been a "very considerable and extraordinary town."[25] Upon discovering as the only remains, "rooms hewn out of the rock", she decided to investigate them.[26] So she climbed a staircase, and "crept into and out of very extraordinary spaces large and commodious", until she reached a considerable height and could look down at the Bay of Inkerman two hundred and fifty feet below.[27]

Lady Craven, however, observed far more than some unusual ruins: for she had quickly noticed the strategic naval importance of Sevastopol's harbour, and indeed, of the entire coast-line. By the late 1790's, Maria Guthrie could report that Sevastopol had become a secure port which served as base for the Russian fleet of the Euxine.[28] Both Mrs.

Guthrie and later, Mary Holderness, noticed the rapid growth of the new city of Nicolayev, built in the angle formed by the rivers Bug and Ingul. Maria Guthrie explained that in its waters ships could manoeuvre easily, which gave the harbour a decided advantage over its neighbour Kherson, whose inconvenience as a port Lady Craven mentioned in her journal.[29]

Although Mary Holderness was anxious to explain many aspects of her Russian journey from Riga to Karagoss, as well as her sojourn among the Tartars, she appeared particularly interested in the commercial prospects of the Crimea. She even began her account with detailed discussions of the trade and exports of such towns as Riga, Kiev and Odessa.[30] The last town, for example, had a flourishing seaport, two large squares of markets or bazaars, and numerous merchants whose houses had shops attached to them. Despite its unfavourable climate which produced dirt in winter and dust in summer, Odessa now contrasted its forward-looking attitude to its depression by the plague. She approved of the Italian operas, and Russian and French plays performed at Odessa's theatre, but decided that the "most remarkable thing" was the Lyceum. This school for the nobility, which taught military science and many languages, also contained facilities for educating women.[31]

Mrs. Holderness firmly believed in the Crimea's potential ability for commercial prosperity. Although the Tartar

town of Karasubazar was "more singular than pleasing", she noted that its "narrow and irregular streets" contained a large number of shops, variously owned by Tartars, Jews, Armenians, Russians and Greeks.[32] She reported that "supposedly" as many as two hundred shops sold dried and fresh fruits, while the same number sold Tartar shoes.[33] She found that Tartar agriculture relied heavily on "rude and simple" methods and implements, but acknowledged Tartar bee management superior to that of other groups in the Crimea; partly because of the fine climate, partly because of huge profits from the sale of the honey.[34] Mary Holderness would undoubtedly have agreed with Lady Craven, who in 1786, wished "sincerely" that the Crimea be "peopled by the industrious, who [might] restore it to that commerce and opulence, which the natural productions of it demand from the hand of man."[35] Furthermore, since in her opinion, no "rational being" could "see nature. . .stretching out her liberal hand to industry, and not wish to do her justice", her ladyship suggested that English families interested in commerce should settle in the Crimea, and promote trade mutually beneficial to themselves and to the native inhabitants.[36]

In Russia, therefore, one sees in women's journals a mingling of interests in both the old (the antiquities of Moscow, St. Petersburg, and the Taurida) and the new (stressing the trading and commercial prospects of certain Russian cities and particularly the Crimea).

South America and North Africa

Few of the women travellers examined in any great detail either in western Europe or in Russia the political affairs of the countries they visited, concentrating instead upon antiquities and works of art as well as cultural, social, and commercial developments. But Maria Graham, who visited Brazil and Chile, and the European women who lived in Tripoli and Algiers did delve into the world of politics. Worlds apart in culture and civilization, the two areas yet had this common thread: for different reasons the females who observed them went beyond culture, society, and history to grapple with the ambiguities and contradictions of politics.

Maria Graham considered that the independence movements in Brazil and Chile, as well as customs and natural resources, should be more widely understood in England than they were at present, especially since the "emancipation of such an empire from the thraldom of the mother country" was an event of such importance.[37]

Much of her information she obtained at first hand, for she had access to the leading administrators of both countries. In Chile, for example, she conversed freely with its Director, Don Bernardo O'Higgins, and even attended a sitting of the Chilean Consulado.[38] On this occasion, while listening to the debate, she mused on what she felt must be "a strange position for an English woman. . .to be assisting

at the deliberation of a national representative assembly in Chile."[39] She concluded, however, that perhaps such an occurence was not unusual if one considered the enormous changes experienced by her world in only thirty-five years, together with the other unconventional situations in which she had frequently found herself.[40]

For all her exuberant delight in the growth of Chilean nationalism, Mrs. Graham did not neglect historical or economic matters. Accompanied by friends always eager to fulfill her desire to see "everything curious in Chile", she visited the Salta de Agua, the only remaining work of the ancient Caciques in the Santiago regon; examined the ruined powder-mills, originally erected by Old Spain; and at a later date, investigated the manufacture of the famous pottery of Melipilla.[41] Moreover, she undoubtedly included detailed accounts of the region's natural resources with her report on the numerous products and thriving commerce of such cities as Valparaiso and Rio de Janeiro, in the hope that Anglo-South American trade would develop new momentum.[42]

Sophia Barnard, like Maria Graham, interested herself in commerce, but also like Maria, ranged farther afield to politics. Duty had called Mrs. Barnard to accompany her husband as he embarked upon "mercantile enterprizes" at Algiers. While he was so engaged, she took the opportunity to inform herself about the local social customs, met the wife of the Guardian Bashaw, and noted the position and activ-

ities of humbler Algerian women.[43] Miss Tully, who spent ten years in Tripoli, went even farther. She not only described the inner workings of the harem, but also those of the Bashaw's court. She recounted some of the intrigues and petty rivalries between the royal sons which led eventually to their overthrow by the Porte and her departure from Tripoli.[44] Perhaps Mrs. Blanckley, wife of the British consul at Algiers, and her daughter, the future Elizabeth Broughton, gave the most fascinating political descriptions of all. They recorded their impressions of the Dey's court, his dealings with the diplomatic corps, and his system of order and justice.[45]

Asia and the Pacific

The courts, the diplomacy, order and justice in British India, as well as those Indian provinces outside British jurisdiction, Maria Graham may have considered familiar to British readers. After all, at the time she wrote the British had already become the major power on the subcontinent, and numerous people had described the wars, politics, and machinations of Indian princes. But India was still a land of mystery and excitement for the British, an exotic place full of strange people and customs. In part, at least, to slake this British thirst for more and more information about the "jewel" of the British Empire, Maria Graham set down her impressions. On her journey there, she mentioned

the trade and commerce of Bombay and Guzerat.[46]

With her usual eye for detail, Mrs. Graham outlined native customs, various religions, and described some of India's ancient temples and ruins. These included the temple of Parvati at Poonah, the Great Caves at Carli, with huge pillars and arched ceiling, like a "Gothic cathedral", and the Caves of Elephanta.[47] The last, situated on a mountain island, greatly astonished her by their enormous size. The entrance, 55' wide, 18' high and 55' long, was supported by pillars carved in solid rock, while the sides of the cavern contained "sculptured. . .compartments" representing mythological figures.[48] The most remarkable piece of sculpture lay at the far end of the cave: a huge "tri-murti", or triformed god, consisting of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva.[49]

This incredible temple also fascinated Anne Elwood during her visit to India. She was struck by the similarity between Elephanta and the Temple at Dendera, which she had seen in Egypt, unaware that this resemblance was widely known among scholarly circles.[50] Like Maria Graham, Mrs. Elwood provided considerable detail on the Hindu religion and Indian languages, as well as the past and present histories of the various tribes and castes of Guzerat, Cutch and Seurat.[51]

Though India might have been somewhat familiar to Britons because of their imperial presence in that country, women travellers described from their own experiences places

even more remote and exotic. Jane Roberts and Abby Jane Morrell undertook extensive voyages: Jane sailed to the burgeoning settlement at Swan River in western Australia and on to Van Diemen's Land, Burma and India; Mrs. Morrell after much persuasion on her part, accompanied her sailor husband on a voyage to the South Seas and Pacific Islands. Like Mrs. Graham, both women published their journals not only to entertain, but also to inform their readers about these unusual places in their own fashion. Accordingly, they described the cultures and places of historical interest, and took care to point out the commercial potential of their respective areas of travel, paying special attention to Singapore and Manila.[52] Furthermore, Miss Roberts advised would-be emigrants regarding the rigours as well as the promise of new colonial settlements, while Mrs. Morrell offered suggestions to improve conditions for American seamen, and encouraged other women who wished to use travel as a means of self-improvement.[53]

Thus, one may discern in the writings of the women who journeyed beyond the conventional boundaries of the Grand Tour not only that extra spirit of adventure which beckoned them to challenge the unknown, but also a broad sweep of intellectual interests. Their catholic tastes emerged in journals which commented on matters ranging from ancient ruins to the prospects of modern commerce. Eagerly optimistic, these women writers must surely have conveyed to

friends at home a sense of the exhilaration and satisfaction that comes from personal discovery of foreign places and cultures. Caught up in the desire to amuse and inform, women travellers carried their readers across the world, intellectually and physically, from the intrigues of the Bashaw's court to the curiosities of Novgorod, from the temple of Parvati at Poonah to the growing English settlement at Swan River.

Footnotes: Chapter VII

[1]P.R.O. 30/43/12, ff. 21-28, 36, 58, 69-70.

[2]Ibid., ff. 24-25.

[3]Ibid., f. 25.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid. During her 1786 visit to St. Petersburg (en route to the Crimea), Lady Craven was invited by the Empress to the Hermitage, where court was held every Thursday evening. She noted the "long suite of rooms, full of fine pictures." During her stay she attended a carnival and several embassy balls. See Craven, Journey, pp. 166-167, 171.

[6]P.R.O. 30/43/12, ff. 7-8.

[7]Ibid., f. 8.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., ff. 20-22. When Mrs. Robinson first arrived, she described Moscow as an "Immense town, finely situated" (P.R.O. 30/43/12, f. 19).

[10]P.R.O. 30/43/12, ff. 20-22. Moscow's numerous churches were described in detail by traveller William Coxe. See Coxe, Russia, I, pp. 318-334.

[11]Coxe also visited and described The Foundling Hospital. It had been endowed by Catherine II in 1764, and could accomodate 8,000 children. See Coxe, Russia, I, pp. 384-388.

[12]P.R.O. 30/43/12, ff. 23-25.

[13]Ibid., f. 24. When she mentioned this to the superintendant he told her that he would alter the arrangement and have the women rest for a six to seven hour interval, for "their health and comfort."

[14]P.R.O. 30/43/12, f. 39.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Craven, Journey, p. 204.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 191.

[20]Ibid., pp. 191-203, 204-324.

[21]Guthrie, Tour, pp. 14-23. It is clear that she regarded compilation of this journal as a challenge. Perhaps that was because she knew and had met that inveterate traveller, William Coxe. It is certain that Coxe knew her husband, for in his Travels, he mentioned that while in St. Petersburg he had attended a series of experiments to ascertain the freezing point of mercury which were conducted by Dr. Guthrie. Coxe quoted from Guthrie's report in his journal. Guthrie was physician to the Imperial Corps of Cadets. See Coxe, Russia, II, pp. 180-198. Guthrie's wife, Maria, was governess to the Russian royal children.

[22]Craven, Journey, p. 214.

[23]Guthrie, Tour, pp. 50-55. For example, she mentioned the nomadic tribes of the Taurida, who had done little except drive each other off the grassy plains, and the seaports, which had been occupied constantly by various commercial nations, including the Greeks, Romans and Turks. She then explained that the Taurida contained two different parts: the northern half with its grassy plain, and salt mines, could produce horses, sheep, dromedaries and camels, and even corn until the onset of war. The South, however, was mountainous, possessed few metals, and a climate of hot summers and cool winters.

[24]Guthrie, Tour, pp. 113-115, 148-153, 172-173. At Kerch, she discussed the ancient ruins, most of which were Greek, and a Saracen or Gothic temple which was largely intact.

[25]Craven, Journey, p. 248.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid. On her visit, Maria Guthrie rowed from Sevastopol to the foot of a rocky mountain, on top of which, she explained, were the ruins of Inkerman. To reach them she also had to climb up through a monastery carved out of the rock, via a set of crumbling steps. She could envisage easily what must have been a "huge and impregnable fortified town" built on almost perpendicular rock. See Guthrie, Tour, pp. 113-115.

[28]Guthrie, Tour, p. 91.

[29]Ibid., pp. 1-9; Holderness, New Russia, pp. 94-99; Craven, Journey, pp. 209-211.

[30]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 3-9, 58-70, 77-78.

[31]Ibid., pp. 77-78.

[32]Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[33]Ibid. Mary Holderness also provided information about other major Crimean towns. Akmetchet and Theodosia, or Kaffa, contained (in the 1820's) c. 3,000 people. Kaffas's modest trade, however, was being challenged by Odessa and Taganrog. Sevastopol's population of around 3000 was swollen by sailors, and shipwrights and other naval personnel. The old capital of Starai Krim lay in ruins, inhabited only by a few Armenian shopkeepers. The Crimea, she explained, contained several national groups, about whom she presented rather sweeping views: besides the Tartars, there were the Germans, "largely idle and drunk"; the Bulgarians, unquestionably "the best farmers"; many Jews of the Karaite sect, who were "much respected"; and Greek and Armenian shopkeepers in most towns and villages. See Holderness, New Russia, pp. 214-216.

[34]Holderness, New Russia, pp. 197-198, 270-277.

[35]Craven, Journey, pp. 248-249.

[36]Ibid., p. 249. In the early nineteenth century, Mary Holderness could report that several English families lived in and around Odessa, almost all of whom engaged in commerce. See Holderness, New Russia, pp. 103-104.

[37]Graham, Brazil, p. v. Maria Graham's knowledge of Brazil undoubtedly increased when she became tutor to Donna Maria, daughter of the Empress of Brazil for the period 1822-1823. The English businessman, John Miers, also wrote about the Chilean revolution and the new governmental system during his travels in that country. See Miers, Chile, II, chaps. XIV-XVII.

[38]Don Bernardo O'Higgins (1776-1842), natural son of Ambrosio O'Higgins, an Irish-born Spanish colonial administrator, took part in early uprisings in Chile and eventually became supreme director of Chile in 1818.

[39]Graham, Chile, p. 221.

[40]Ibid., pp. 221-222. As Maria Graham herself explained: "I was in the Mahratta capital while it was protected by an English force; I have attended a protestant church in the Piazza de Trajano in Rome; I sat as a spectator in an English court of justice in Malta: and what wonder that I should now listen to the free deliberations of a national representative meeting in a Spanish colony?" (Ibid., p. 221). Earlier she had described how Don Bernardo O'Higgins had been chosen to preside over the new nation, with the title of Supreme Director of Chile. He operated with a senate of "respectable citizens" and a provisional constitution. However, the senate was soon dissolved in favour of a "deliberative assembly" whose members were chosen by O'Higgins and his private council from among responsible townsmen all over Chile. Their task was to form a permanent constitution. See Graham, Chile, pp. 146-147. Later, she examined the political constitution carefully. Although there were articles in the constitution that looked like restrictions on the Director's power, she remained skeptical about their effectiveness. She wrote as follows: "After setting forth these powers and privileges, there are a few articles that look like restrictions; but as I see no means of enforcing them, they act rather as the fear of punishment in another world does on too many sinners here, than as real limitations to absolute authority" (Graham, Chile, p. 293).

[41]Graham, Chile, pp. 212-215, 260-262. For other economic matters, see pp. 276-277, 287-290, 292-294.

[42]Graham, Chile, pp. 130-134; Graham, Brazil, pp. 189-190, 278-279. Her Brazilian journal contains several appendices including tables of imports and exports of the province of Maranham, to illustrate its economic importance to Brazil.

[43]Barnard, Algiers, pp. 32-80.

[44]Tully, Tripoli, pp. 227-352. Miss Tully also gave a brief history of Tripoli, mentioning its strong walls and towers, then in great need of repair, and the great desert of Barca, which divided it from Egypt. The town, she wrote, was full of "accumulated rubbish"; in fact houses were often built on top of these mounds with the result that some thresholds of street doors were on a level with the rooftops of neighbouring houses (pp. 4-5). She also described Bengazi, then governed by a Bey or viceroy, under the Bashaw, which had been formerly the ancient city of Berenice, built by Ptolemy Philadelphus in 284 B.C. Seton Dearden, the editor of the 1957 edition of Tully's book, also pays tribute to Miss Tully's clear descriptions of the political ferment surrounding the Regency of the Bashaw. See Seton Dearden,

ed. Letters written during a Ten Years Residence at the Court of Tripoli (London: n.p., 1816; reprint ed., London: Arthur Barker, 1957), p. 24.

[45]Broughton, Algiers, pp. 26-39, 72-82, 124-141, 213, 220, 229-258.

[46]Graham, India, pp. 12-13, 32-34.

[47]Ibid., pp. 76-77, 64-67, 54-58. Mrs. Graham also gave very detailed descriptions of the Caves at Canary, which although not as well finished as those at Carli, included two huge statues 25' in height, resembling the Buddhist figures she saw in Ceylon. In some rooms, carved out of the caves, the walls were covered with figures of Jine saints and indecipherable inscriptions. See Graham, India, pp. 116-117. Later, Maria visited the city of Caliane, where she had hoped to find "some ruin or vestige of Grecian antiquity", since many authors affirmed that Greeks, Romans and Egyptians had traded at this formerly large city. However, she and her friends found no classical ruins at Caliane, then occupied by Muslims, although the townspeople were quite happy to show them the broken-down wrecks of a modern vintage. See Graham, India, pp. 118-119. So impressed was she with the Great Cave at Carli, which contained "one of the most magnificent chambers,. . .both as to proportion and workmanship" that she had ever seen, that she made a drawing of the entrance and interior, which was later etched by John Storer, and included in the published volume. She compared it to Elephanta, and pointed out a "striking difference": at Carli, there were no personifications of the deity, since this place was dedicated to the religion of the Jines, who believed that men could raise themselves to divinities. She remarked that the Jines' once powerful kingdom was reduced by the Brahmins and the Moslems, as well as Hyder Ali and the East India Company. See Graham, India, pp. 64-67.

[48]Graham, India, pp. 54-55.

[49]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

[50]Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 302-309. Like many others, Mrs. Elwood remarked on the "same ponderosity of roof, massiveness of pillar, profusion of sculpture, and the resemblance of the tout ensemble. . ." between Elephanta and the Egyptian temple at Dendera. She also noted that the excavations and antiquities "have been lately preserved from destruction by an English guard stationed there, to protect them from the destructive propensities of English travellers" (Elwood, Narrative, II, p. 304).

[51]Elwood, Narrative, II, pp. 130-136, 140-159, 188-212. She devoted many pages to a study of Hindu gods (pp. 15-69), and Indian languages (pp. 114-126), as well as other sacred shrines, and ruins from Indian antiquity. The desire to spread information about the ancient cultures of India induced Maria Graham, on her return to England after her visit to India, to publish a book on these topics. The result was her Letters to India (1814). The book contained information gained from secondary sources, on religions, morals, languages, literature, astronomy, castes, etc. as well as a whole section on the status of Hindu women. Her aim was to show something of India's "former grandeur and refinement", in order to "restore it to that place in the scale of ancient nations, which European historians have in general unaccountably neglected to assign to it" (Graham, Letters on India, p. 2).

[52]Roberts, Swan River, pp. 128-129, 170-177. She wrote of Singapore: "It is the greatest mart of this part of the world; people of every country and the produce of every clime are congregated there. Chinese and Malays are the principal inhabitants; the merchants are English,. . . ." If such statements be considered inadequate to describe the trade at Singapore, it is only fair to point out that Miss Roberts realized her own shortcomings on this matter. She wrote as follows: "The knowledge obtained at Singapore being almost exclusively commercial, my want of information on that subject renders my chapter short and less interesting than it might be" (Roberts, Swan River, pp. 176-177). She suggested that those interested might want to read Crawfurd's An Embassy to Siam and Cochin China, which gave many commercial details of Singapore. Finally, since she had no first-hand information to offer, she made this honest admission: ". . .as I can know nothing from my own personal observation, I forbear futher comment" (Roberts, Swan River, p. 177); Morell, Voyage, pp. 43-46.

[53]Roberts, Swan River, pp. 41-66; Morrell, Voyage, pp. 194-203, 223-226.

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL CONCLUSION

No one could call eighteenth-century travel a neglected topic: historians from William Mead to J. H. Plumb have examined the century's major travel phenomenon, the Grand Tour, in its descriptive, educative and cultural phases. Travellers, adventurers and explorers beyond Europe have also received their share of attention, as well as numerous diplomats, ambassadors, and military men. But aside from works on celebrities like Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Lady Hester Stanhope, or mavericks like Mary Bonney, studies of women travellers have not emerged. Yet many women did travel, both to the Continent and far beyond in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like most of their male counterparts, the women voyagers who form this study came from, or married into, the upper classes, and like similarly placed men, left documentary evidence of their journeys. Their copious diaries, journals and letters testify in varying degrees to their clarity of thought and expression, and to their delight in that sense of personal autonomy and self-achievement that travel can bring to the individual.

It appears true as William Mead claimed, that few women journeyed to the Continent in the early part of the eigh-

teenth century. He implied that poor transport and hazardous travelling conditions prevented their departure for foreign lands. But major road improvements and passenger rail service came only at the end of our time period. Yet women travelled abroad from the 1750's on.[1] Though they complained of harsh conditions, particularly in Europe, they nevertheless travelled. What prompted them to go abroad despite the obvious hardships?

Some evidence exists that the example of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and other women travellers helped persuade women that they could travel in similar fashion and also educate themselves by absorbing the cultural riches available on the Grand Tour, as well as those of less familiar civilizations. Anne Elwood and Lady Craven read Lady Mary's letters from Turkey; Mrs. Holderness read the accounts of Lady Craven and Maria Guthrie from the Crimea; Anne Elwood probably also read Mrs. Graham's account of her travels in India, and definitely studied the guidebook of Mariana Starke. Personal contacts may have given added support and encouragement to women travellers: Mary Gaskell mentioned that she had met Mrs. Starke while in Florence. It seems highly possible that Mrs. Rich conversed with Maria Graham: one of the latter's closest friends was Sir James Mackintosh, Mary Rich's father.[2]

Another important factor in many of these women's successful travel plans was the cooperation and acquiescence of

their husbands in the face of opposition from friends or family. Lady Burghersh ignored her family's protestations, and followed her husband around Europe at the end of the Napoleonic wars; Abby Jane Morrell won her husband's approval to sail with him to the South Pacific; Anne Elwood accompanied her spouse on the overland route through Egypt; Mrs. John Miers made every effort to reach the Cordillera mountain range in Chile with her husband despite her pregnancy. Moreover, many husbands not only acquiesced in, but also welcomed their wives' company. John Miers did not attempt to thwart his wife's intentions to accompany him through Chile; John Flaxman in Italy and Claudius Rich in Kurdistan undoubtedly found their wives stimulating travelling companions and not merely meek appendages.

Furthermore, all these women shared whatever hardships the journey entailed and took an active, not a passive role in travelling. They felt quite capable of bearing children in a tent in Canada like Elizabeth Simcoe, or in a mouldering hut in Chile, like Mrs. Miers. Abby Jane Morrell quickly divined the unpleasant intentions of the United States consul in Manila and took appropriate action.[3] Ann Radcliffe and Mrs. Flaxman, fully aware of the attempts in Germany and Italy respectively to cheat and deceive them in matters of accommodation, actively worked to nullify such behaviour. Not even the daunting prospect of crossing the Arabian desert prevented Eliza Fay and Anne Elwood from going.

Both in western Europe and beyond, women travellers in this period speedily and effortlessly adapted themselves to the demands of particular cultures. In the East, women like Eliza Fay, Anne Elwood, Mary Rich and Maria Graham quickly accustomed themselves to unfamiliar modes of transportation. Mrs. Rich, indeed, resigned herself to the Kurdish custom which dictated that women travel in a covered litter along with the baggage, apart from the men. Despite their thankfulness for their British nationality and Christian religion, they viewed foreign customs, etiquette, and religions with an impressive degree of impartiality and open-mindedness, notwithstanding prejudices shared with most eighteenth-century travellers against Jews, Roman Catholics, and extremes of poverty, uncleanliness, and disease. Possibly their experiences of Eastern attitudes towards women, emphasized particularly by the harem, brought home to them forcibly the differences between their own situation and that of their Eastern sisters. Several women visitors to the harems of the East regretted the uselessness and lack of enterprise they found within. Beneath the gold and glitter of costumes and adornments, women had little opportunity for intellectual development or self-expression in the seraglio as Maria Graham, Anne Elwood, and Miss Tully noticed. Little wonder, then, that they praised their western culture, in which, as they proved, women could educate themselves by personal effort.

Travel, of course, was and is an education in itself. But what formal schooling had these women enjoyed to prepare them for their journeys? Though it is difficult at present to document fully the early educational lives of these women travellers, the little one can ascertain is significant. Many of them had received some private education which may have inspired in them a desire for additional information about the world around them. Perhaps also, the increasing popularity of novels like those of Mrs. Radcliffe, and the availability of non-fictional travel books, while satisfying a vicarious love of adventure, at the same time increased women's restlessness and desire for their own travel experiences. Mariana Starke wrote at least two plays based on youthful experiences in India, in addition to her numerous travel books; Lady Holland saw in Continental travel a means by which she might escape the tedium of an unhappy first marriage. Lady Knight found the Continent not only a source of cheap living but an invaluable educational experience for herself, and more importantly, for her talented daughter Cornelia. Anne Elwood preceded by much reading and discussion her visit to Egypt and India, which fulfilled a long-held dream. Even youthful travellers like Emma Nugent and Anne Carter realized the educational importance in their lives of visits to Holland and Paris.

Collectively, then, women's travel journals provide us with an insight into attempts by women to observe and under-

stand the countries and cultures they visited. Even more importantly, these writings show us that, while women had different motives for going overseas and varying abilities and personalities, they all emerged as dynamic individuals who could actively participate in the many vicissitudes of eighteenth-century travel. They felt perfectly competent, moreover, to commit their experiences to paper for the benefit of others, both male and female. Perhaps such self-confidence resulted from women's increased awareness of their own capabilities, slowly nurtured at home, to emerge full strength as they travelled abroad. The life of a "typical" woman traveller differed markedly from the domestic existence of a woman who remained at home. Yet these women travellers proved themselves perfectly at ease outside of the conventional drawing-room. In their various ways, by dint of their perseverance and achievements, they may have provided one of the first "entries" into a man's world on something resembling an equal footing.

Footnotes: Chapter VIII

[1]Macadam roads were introduced into England and Europe circa 1815. Certainly travellers benefited from the improvements initiated by Napoleon. See Mead, Grand Tour, p. 105.

[2]Somewhat more remote, but nonetheless intriguing is the fact that Margaret Calderwood's brother, Sir James Steuart, became a good friend of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in her later years.

[3]Mrs. Morrell does not clearly explain this incident. Apparently, the American consul at Manila opposed her further travel to the Fiji Islands, while allowing her husband to sail. Abby Jane believed the consul wanted Mr. Morrell out of the way, so that he could strike up a friendship with her. She tried to board their ship, the Antarctic, secretly, but the consul was not deceived. In the end, her husband sailed without her, but not before he had agreed to provide his wife with "a place of respectability to reside at. . .so that [she] should not be under the necessity of seeing the consul." She remained with an English family named Cannell, safe from this obstreperous official. See Morrell, Voyage, pp. 50-55.

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APPENDIX A

Women Travellers--Places and Dates

Name	Place	Date of Visit
Barnard, Lady Anne	South Africa	1797-1801
Barnard, Sophia	Algiers	c. 1820
Bousquet, Mrs.	Holland, The Netherlands, France	1765
Broughton, Elizabeth	Algiers	1806-1812
Blanckley, Mrs.	Algiers	1806-1812
Burghersh, Lady	Germany, France	1813-1814
Calderwood, Margaret	Holland, The Netherlands	1756
Carter, Anne	Paris	1814
Cotton, Lady	France	c. 1817
Craven, Lady	Russia, The Crimea, Turkey, Greece	1786
Elwood, Anne	Europe, Egypt, India	1825-1828
Falconbridge, Anna Maria	Sierre Leone	1791-1793
Fay, Eliza	Europe, Egypt, India	1779-1815
Flaxman, Ann	France, Italy	1787-1788
Gaskell, Mary	France, Italy	c. 1820's
Graham, Maria	India Italy Chile Brazil	1808-1811 1819 1822 1821-1823
Guthrie, Maria	The Crimea	1795-1796

Name	Place	Date of Visit
Holderness, Mary	The Crimea	1816-1820
Holland, Lady	Europe	1791-1811
Justice, Elizabeth	Russia	1734
Kindersley, Jemima	Teneriffe	1777
Knight, Lady	France, Italy	1776-c. 1795
Langhorn, Lady	France, Belgium, Germany, Holland	1769
Miers, Mrs.	Chile	1818
Montagu, Lady Mary	The Levant	1716-1718
Morrell, Abby Jane	South Pacific	1829-1831
Northumberland, Duchess of	France Holland, Belgium	1766 1771
Nugent, Emma	Holland, France	1822
Nugent, Lady	Jamaica	1801-1805
Parminter, Jane	France	1784
Piozzi, Hester Lynch	France, Italy, Germany	1784-1787
Radcliffe, Ann	Holland, Germany	1794
Rich, Mary	Kurdistan, Nineveh, Baghdad	1820
Riedesel, Baroness von	North America	1776-1783
Roberts, Jane	Western Australia, Tasmania, Burma	1829-1831
Robinson, Katherine	Moscow	1778
Rye, Jane	France, Switzerland Italy	1820
Schaw, Janet	West Indies, North Carolina, Portugal	1774-1776

Name	Place	Date of Visit
Scrope, Anne	France, Belgium, Italy	1783-1784
Shelley, Lady	France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy	1815-1817
Simcoe, Elizabeth	Canada	1792-1796
Starke, Mariana	France, Italy, Germany, Sicily	1824-1828
Tully, Miss	Tripoli	1785-1795
Vigor, Mrs.	Russia	1731-1738
Wollstonecraft, Mary	Scandinavia	1796

APPENDIX B

Mrs. Elwood's Tables of Travel Information

1. The following is a list of the tables Anne Elwood included in her own Appendix to her travel journal, which gives an excellent idea of her methodical planning and careful recording.

   1. Itinerary of Route from England to India.
   2. Number of Days Travelling and Sailing from England to India.
   3. Sums Paid for Passages from Naples to India.
   4. Posts and Days' Journeys on the Route from Calais to Naples.
   5. Continental Tariffs. (refers to the prices charged for post-horses)
   6. Tables of Foreign Coins, and of Their Relative Value.
   7. Hints for Travellers.
   8. Remarks on the Overland Routes to India.
   9. Remarks on the Communication with India by steam navigation, up the Red Sea and through Egypt.
   10. Succession of Egyptian Kings. [This list of monarchs came, in Anne Elwood's own words, "from Blair's Chronology principally."]

2. Number of Days Travelling and Sailing from England to India.

From	Conveyance	By Land. Days.	Sea. Days.
Dover to Calais	Steam Packet		1
Calais to Naples	Posting in English Travelling Carriage	29	
Naples to Messina	Steam Packet		2

Messina to Augusta	Sicilian Brigantino		3
Augusta to Malta			2
Malta to Alexandria	Eliza, 350 tons		11
Alexandria to Boulac	Maash		5
Boulac to Thebes	Cangia		13
Thebes to Kennè			1
Kennè to Cosseir	Takhtrouan and Camels, 51 hours actually travelling	6	
Cosseir to Djidda	Arab Dow		8
Djidda to Hodeida	George Cruttenden		7
Hodeida to Mocha	Native Indian		2
Mocha to Bombay	merchant vessel.		14
		35	69

By land	35 days
By sea	69 days
	104

Including two days going from Kennè to Thebes, and returning from thence.

3. Sums Paid for Passages from Naples to India

From		£.	s.	d.
Naples to Messina (in Steam Packet)	52 ducats =	10	16	8
Messina to Malta (in Sicilian Brigantino)	35 dollars	7	5	10

Malta to Alexandria (in the Eliza)	80 do.	16	13	4
Alexandria on the Canal (in Maash)	10 do.	2	1	8
El Aft to Cairo (in Maash)	7 do.	1	9	2
Cairo to Thebes and Kennè (in Cangia)	500 piastres	7	5	10
Kennè to Cosseir (29 camels, two dollars per camel)	58 dollars	12	1	8
Cosseir to Djidda (in Arab Dow)	150 do.	31	5	0
Djidda to Bombay (in George Cruttenden, Native merchantman)	550 do.	114	11	8
		203	10	10

Note.

The Neapolitan ducat averages from 3s. 9d. to 4 s. 2d.

The Spanish dollar averages 4s. 2d. English

The Egyptian piastre varies from 3-1/4 d. to 3-1/2 d.

The customary donations to the different crews, and the bucksheesh to the Camel Drivers are not included in the above statement. These, of course, depend upon circumstances, their attention and good behaviour.

4. Tables of Foreign Coins, and of Their Relative Value.

French Money

				£.	s.	d.
5 centimes	1 sous	1 sous	=	0	0	0-1/2
20 sous	1 franc	1 franc	=	0	0	10
20 francs	1 Napoleon or Louis	1 Napoleon	=	0	16	4

24 francs	1 Old Louis d'or	1 Old Louis d'or	1	0	3

The exchange on Hammersley's notes was generally twenty-five francs to the pound.

Tuscan Money

			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
5 Quattrini	1 Crazia	=	0	0	0-1/2	to	0	0	0-3/4
8 Crazie	1 Paolo	=	0	0	5	to	0	0	6
10 Paoli	1 Franciscone	=	0	4	2	to	0	5	0
20 Paoli	1 Sequin	=	0	8	4	to	0	10	0
60 Paoli	1 Ruspone	=	1	5	0	to	1	10	0

1-1/2 Paolo = 1 Lira

1 Paolo = 1/2 Fr. 6 Centimes.

1 Franciscone = 5 Frs. 60 Cents.

36 Paoli = 1 Napoleon

42 Paoli = 1 Old Louis d'or

The exchange on Hammersley's Notes was forty-three Paoli.

Roman Money

			s.	d.		s.	d.
10 Bajocchi	1 Paolo	=	0	5	to	0	5-1/2
10 Paoli	1 Scudo	=	4	2	to	4	7
32 Paoli	1 Doppia	=	13	4	to	14	8

36 Paoli = 1 Napoleon

44 Paoli = 1 Old Louis d'or

Neapolitan Money

			s.	d.		s.	d.
10 Grani	1 Carlino	=	0	4-1/2	to	0	5
10 Carlini	1 Ducat	=	3	9	to	4	2

	C.G.		French Money
120	12 0 1	Piastre	
132	13 2 1	Scudo	
146 Grani	14 6 1	Pezzoduro or Dollar	540 Grani 1 Old Louis d'or

Hammersley's Notes have been as high as 600 Grani per Pound. We received from 572 to 574. Bills are generally paid nominally in Grani.

Sicilian Money

			s.	d.		s.	d.
10 Grani	1 Taro	=	0	4	to	0	4-1/2
10 Tari	1 Dollar	=	3	4	to	3	6-1/2

We received 57-1/2 Tari in exchange for Hammersley's Notes.

Maltese Money

			s.	d.
10 Grains	1 Penny	5 grains about	0	0-1/4
2 Pence	1 Taro	1 Taro not quite	0	1
6 Tari	1 Shilling	1 Shilling	0	10
2 Shillings	1 Scudo	1 Scudo	1	8
2-1/2 Scudi	1 Dollar	1 Dollar	4	2

The English money is current at Malta.

Note.--The Spanish Dollar, or Pezzoduro, has most extensive circulation throughout the Mediterranean, Egypt, the Red Sea, and even in Bombay. Its average value may be estimated at:

4	s. 2 d.	English
9	0-1/2	Tuscan Paoli
10	0	Roman Paoli
12	Carlini 4 Grani	Neapolitan
12	Tari 8 Grani	Sicilian.

Egyptian Money

			£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
40 Paras	1 Piastre	=	0	0	3-1/4	to	0	0	3-3/4
15 Piastres	1 Dollar	=	0	4	2	to	0	4	8-1/4
2 Dollars	1 Sequin	=	0	8	4	to	0	9	4-1/2
16 Dollars	1 Doubloon	=	3	6	8	to	3	14	8

The exchange was higher at Cairo than at Cosseir, particularly for gold. At Cairo we received sixteen dollars for the doubloon, at Cosseir only fourteen. The Venetian sequin was more esteemed at the latter place than the doubloon: we did not lose more than twopence English upon the sequin.

Bombay Money

			s.	d.		s.	d.
100 Reas	1 Quarter Bombay Rupee	=	0	9	to	0	10
4 Quarters	1 Rupee Sicca Rupee	=	1	10-1/4	to	1	10-1/2

106 Bombay Rupees = 100 Sicca Rupees

Source: Items 1-4 have been extracted from Elwood, *Narrative*, II, pp. 371-387.

APPENDIX C

Passports

In the eighteenth century, most countries issued their own passports or equivalent papers to visitors, which meant that travellers could end up with several documents, requiring various signatures, depending upon their destinations. Standardization of passport issuance only began in the nineteenth century, when the Foreign Office issued a general passport, for the fee of two guineas.

To help late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travellers through the maze of regulations, Mariana Starke tried to unravel the complicated documentary requirements for them in her guidebook. She gained this information from experience. If the following instructions appear very detailed it is probably because of the turbulent political situation in Europe (especially France) both before and after Napoleon.

Mrs. Starke warned English travellers from London to Paris that passports were "absolutely necessary" for entry into France, and for the hire of post-horses. She advised travellers to procure passports from the French minister in London, which could be done at no cost, except for a tip given to the minister's porter. Passports obtained at Paris

required several counter-signatures, including those from the Ministre de l'Intérieur, and the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, as well as a fee of 10 francs for the official seal.

Mariana Starke also pointed out that much of the "trouble and detention" regarding passports at Paris could be avoided if the English traveller provided himself with as many of the necessary documents before departure from London. If he wanted to go beyond France, it was not only essential to obtain a passport from the French ambassador, but also one from the Sardinian ambassador, if he wanted to cross Mont Cenis; or, one from the Austrian ambassador if he intended to cross the Simplon pass.

If the traveller did possess these documents, he could then authorize the officials at Calais, Boulogne or other French ports to forward his passport to the last custom-house on his French itinerary. He could then ask for a provisional passport which was finally exchanged for his original document when he arrived at the Pont de Beauvoisin, or any other frontier custom-house to which he had ordered his passport sent. Armed with the correctly signed papers, he could then enter Italy.

Even within a country, additional papers might be required. Certainly an area like Italy, made up of different kingdoms, had special requirements. In Naples, for example, travellers were asked to leave their passports at the Police

Office, and could only reclaim them when they left. Mrs. Starke stressed that before leaving for a journey from Rome to Naples, passports should be obtained from the British consul-general, counter-signed at the Rome Post Office, and also by the Neapolitan minister at Rome. On the return trip (from Naples to Rome) passports from their ambassador at Naples also required signatures, including that of the Roman consul. She strongly advised people driving in their own carriages to obtain from the British consul-general a Lascia passare for Terracina, and another for the Porta di S. Giovanni at Rome. Without such documents, travellers would have their trunks examined at Terracina, or would have to pay four piastres to have them "plumbed", or sealed with lead.

Sources: See Starke, Travels, I, 44; II, 503, 635-636, 639. On the issuance of the general passport, and fee, see G. Trease, The Grand Tour (London: Heinemann, 1967), p. 7.

APPENDIX D

Channel Crossings

For commoner and peeress alike, Channel crossings could present problems and discomfort which were endured rather than avoided. For example, on her 1756 crossing to Holland, Mrs. Calderwood wrote in her journal that everyone aboard was seasick including her husband. She herself was unable to stand in her cabin and had to summon the assistance of her servant, John, before she could undress. A passenger's attempt to settle queasy stomachs with coffee failed, whereupon Mrs. Calderwood called on her servant to prepare "mutton broath" instead.

In her account of her visit to Paris in 1816, Lady Frances Shelley began by stating that she and her husband "enjoyed to the full the humours of a packet boat." Her enjoyment was shortlived upon seeing her accommodation. Their hopes of quiet sleep in the "State Cabin" were very quickly dashed. She explained that "The hole dignified by that pompous appellation contained two berths, one above the other, and was located at the foot of the stairs. It had a door at each end, which communicated with the general saloon, where about thirty people were in all the throes of seasickness." Her ladyship took one glance and decided to remain on deck.

She managed to pass a "comfortable" night, snugly ensconced in their own carriage, which had been too large to stow between decks. Many years earlier, the fastidious Smollett gave an equally detailed description of his Dover to Boulogne crossing. Complaining about the tiny room aboard ship, and the small, dirty beds, Smollett declared that only "extreme necessity" forced him to use this "most wretched hovel."

Sources: Calderwood, Letters, pp. 50-52.
Shelley, Diary, p. 188.
Smollett, Travels, p. 19.

APPENDIX E

Halfway Island

The following is Miss Roberts' description of Halfway Island in the Torres Straits. She wrote:

> I shall relate all we saw, as I do not think any detailed account of the Halfway Island in the Torres' Straits has before been given to the public.
>
> The native huts are placed close under the protection of the trees, and consist of staves forced into the ground and nicely interwoven with branches of trees. These huts are only high enough for persons in a sitting position. Close to them is their cooking-place, formed by four sticks stuck upright in the ground, and forked at the top, across which were laid other sticks, of hard, heavy, black wood, forming a kind of gridiron; in and about this place, lay oyster and other shells, as articles of cookery and drinking-cups.
>
> In each hut there were small mats, made by the natives, in different stages of progress; one was a beautiful specimen, very fine, and quite finished. It was rolled up with all the working apparatus in it, which consisted of the leaf of the brab-tree prepared for plaiting, and a long bone, apparently human, nicely notched and marked in lengths, as if for counting the number and difference of the plait or stich. There were also string and twine beautifully made from the fibre of the cocoa-nut: numbers of these nuts lay about, but they were merely a mass of fibrous substance, without either fruit or moisture.
>
> Towards the centre of the island was a place, marked out with sticks, stones, and shells, which was supposed to be either for the burial of the dead or some kind of religious ceremony. It contained a small black wooden figure, with the head of a fish, and ornamented with feathers.

As we could not perceive any appearance of a spring or well, the sailors separated, to find out what means they had of procuring fresh water, and the following ingenious and remarkable contrivance seemed to indicate that it was a luxury which cost the inhabitants some pains to procure. At the foot of most of the high trees were placed very large shells of the scollop kind, into which descended a narrow strip of the brab-tree leaf: we traced this upwards, and it was found to be suspended from the top of the tree, and, thus hanging into the shell below, formed a narrow channel or leafy water-course. All the shells were in like manner supplied with these strips; and on the ground round them were quantities of the same material, nicely rolled up, as if ready for suspending when the others failed.

The dew and rain, then, we may suppose, are the only means by which the natives can procure fresh water--the dew, rising from the ground, and adhering to the leaves and branches of the trees, falls in scanty but daily portions--whilst the occasional shower from heaven fills their shell to overflowing.

Only one tree, that we saw, bore any appearance of having fruit, and that was too high to judge if good for food; fish, therefore, is probably their greatest if not only support, and may account for the little idol, if such it were, having a fish's head.

There were rude marks of a cross and a circle on some stones on the shore, but whether cut by themselves or sailors touching there could only be a matter of conjecture.

We picked up a great many stones, with the brown circular mark in the centre, commonly called the eye-stone. We brought away with us some of their large shells, some of the leafy rolls prepared for the water-course, and some of their matting, twine, and cocoa-nuts; leaving in their stead potatoes and glass beads, of which savage nations are always fond. Whether they liked the exchange, or considered us cheats, I know not, for they continued at sea in their ark of safety, and were, it is more than likely, wishing our departure from their island home.

Fatigued with our ramble, we returned to the ship; and at night the natives again ventured to land, and for a long time appeared very busy with their fires and evening meal.

I trust that this account of the Half-way Island in the Torres' Straits may not only be found new, but, by many of my readers, be considered interesting.

Source: Roberts, Swan River, pp. 143-148.

APPENDIX F

Housing and Dress in Burma

Jane Roberts believed that a country's religion was of "paramount importance." Even so, she prefaced her report on Burmese religion by discussing other subjects. She thought that by so doing, she might "awaken the curiosity and interest of my readers as to the people of whom I write, and thus increase their wish to learn something of the religious opinions and observances of the Burmese. . . ." She further considered that "everything that is novel, from so distant and as yet little known part of the world must. . .be generally acceptable" to all.

Here is a partial rendering of Miss Roberts' description of life in Rangoon:

> In a warm climate, the only time to go out with any degree of comfort is very early in the morning: we, therefore, made our arrangements to rise by four o'clock, and visit the distant spots worth seeing, which we did in palanqueens: we returned to breakfast at ten, and remained quiet till after dinner, at six, when we again occasionally went out to sketch the near Pagodas, and other objects of religious veneration.
>
> The house in which we resided had an open balcony, the whole length of the front. It was protected from the sun by green blinds, closed at pleasure, by which means we were enabled to see all that passed in the street, without exposure to the heat; the every day domestic manners of the Burmese affording us an endless variety of amusement.

. . .[Their] houses. . .are raised some distance from the ground, by bamboo poles, to protect them from the damp swamp in which the town is situated.

These houses are built entirely of bamboo, without the use of a single nail. The front is open to the street, so that you see what passes in the general sitting room, which looks something like a tailor's board.

The floors, which are covered with mats, placed and removed at pleasure, consist of a bamboo grating. This grating offers a facility for the practice of dirty habits, which are more pernicious, and ought, therefore, to be. . .avoided, in a warm climate. The dust of the dwelling and refuse of the meals. . .are allowed to pass through the grating to the general receptacle below, rendering the habitation unwholesome. . . .*

The bamboo frame, or house, is lined and covered with matting; but, at the termination of the rainy monsoon, there is a general government order for taking off that from the roof, leaving the top of the house. . .open to the sky. This. . .is a wise precaution against fire. . . .

The shops and market at Rangoon are miserably dirty; we visited them once, but. . .afterwards we sent for any articles of Burmese manufacture that we wished to see, and the owners gladly brought them for our inspection.

They make the gay-coloured silks they wear, the dye of which must be very good to resist the effects of their powerful sun. . . . They are woven in lengths, the size of the dress, and are worn both by men and women.

. . .The women of the Burman Empire,. . .are generally pretty, and, when quite young, very much so, but they are afterwards proportionably plain; indeed, I may say, ugly. When young, they are small, have delicate limbs, with pretty hands and feet, but the arm hangs awkwardly from the elbow, which is dislocated when they are quite infants, it being considered a beauty to turn the inside of the arm outwards. . . .

Their eyes are black, and very intelligent; but their mouth and lips are red to a disagreeable de-

gree; and their teeth are black, occasioned by chewing the betel-nut, and paun-leaf, which they do continually,. . . They also smoke the cheroot, which is tobacco rolled in a leaf, to which they are accustomed even in their infancy;. . .

Their hair is black, and in great abundance; they twist it up very nicely in a knot behind, and adorn it prettily with natural flowers. They wear in the ear a small roll of gold, which is thrust through without any fastening, the hole being nearly as large as the bottom of the ear. They have also a common ear-ring, of dark wood, of the same form as the gold;. . .

The dress consists of a muslin jacket, beneath which is their own gay-coloured silk; it is so arranged as to be quite modest, but is partially open at the bottom, which shows the ancle and part of the leg in walking. . .it is an ancient Eastern fashion, and it certainly has a picturesque and graceful appearance. The shoe is pretty, consisting of a flat sole, of scarlet or green, attached to the foot by two straps, which pass between the toes, and cross on the outward side of the top of the foot, something like a sandal.

The poorer women you see constantly in the streets are, however, very little dressed; the heat renders it irksome to them, and they throw it off, without at all considering the appearance they make.

The men are strong and handsome-looking; they walk very uprightly, with a quick step, their manner and deportment being free and independent, quite unlike those of the natives of other parts of India.

They generally wear a loose black jacket, of a glazed substance, with their coloured silk beneath, and sometimes a plaid scarf is thrown over the shoulder.

Dress jackets are of the richest velvet, or muslin, beautifully embroidered in gold or silver. The hair is worn long, the same as the women's but twisted up in a knot on one side, with a muslin turban, which appears as if fastened on by the hair, and the hair to be fixed by the turban. When disarranged, they are twisted up together, which process constantly takes place as they walk along the streets. I have frequently seen a profusion of long black hair displayed, well shaken,

and twisted up in the usual form, the person continuing his active manner of walking during the whole time.

The shoes are the same as those worn by the women, merely the sole and the sandal.

Their usual habits in the street are quite like scenic representations to those not accustomed to them, and to us they were very amusing. A gentleman walking out, either on business or pleasure, is attended by a number of servants according to his rank and establishment. One of them holds the chattah, or umbrella, a second the betel box, a third a mat, and so on. Should the master stop for a moment, which he frequently does, either to speak to one of them or to a passer-by, they all immediately seat themselves around him, in their usual crouching attitude, in the middle of the street.

*Here she mentions an engraving (included in her journal) which was taken from a sketch done at the time of her visit.

Source: Roberts, Swan River, pp. 241-252.

APPENDIX G

Russian Dress

To Elizabeth Justice's unaccustomed, yet critical eyes, the clothes of Russian women looked like "an assembly of all the nations." She took particular note of what they were wearing, describing it thus:

> The Habit of a Russian Woman is a French Night-Gown; and on their Heads they wear a Cap with a bit of velvet, Cloth or rich Silk, turn'd up with Furr,. . .very indifferent Linnen, and seldom any Shoes or Stocking.

She explained that a Russian married woman put her hair under a cap, since it was not thought decent for her to show it, while single women tied back their braided hair with ribbon. Upon their foreheads they wore:

> . . .a broad Piece of Silver or Gold-Lace, tied with a Ribbon, a Jacket without Sleeves, and their Petticoats [were] generally made of something very gaudy.

The clothes of the poor also interested her. She described them as follows:

> Even the poor People wear a Cap, which is stiffened before with Pasteboard, and stands up from their Forehead about half a Quarter; upon which they put Beads, Gold, or Silver Lace, or any Thing that looks fine; and over these Caps, they hang a piece of Cloth, Silk or Callicoe, about a Yard long, holding two of the corners in their

Hands, and the other hangs over their Shoulders. In the Winter they wear a Cloak, lined with rich Furr, which reaches to their Wastes; and some will wear them in Summer, as they say, to keep out the Heat; but I am of the opinion it is to show them, they being commonly made of rich Silk; and they will have a fine Cloak and Cap, tho' they are not worth one penny more, than what they give for them.

Source: Justice, Russia, pp. 17-18.

APPENDIX H

The Sari

When visiting India, both Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Elwood paid special attention to the common dress of Hindu women, the sari. Anne Elwood decided that, with its small bodice, the sari was prettier and more elegant than "Frank female costume." She felt that the garment was so effective at covering up the figure that it was "more modest and delicate than our style of dress." However, she noticed that Indian women made up for the simplicity of their dress by wearing much jewelry: ear, and nose rings, gold and silver necklaces and bangles filled with precious stones around their arms and ankles, as well as "costly rings on their toes." So impressed were these two women travellers with the sari that they discovered exactly how it was worn. Here is Mrs. Elwood's description:

> [Indian women wore] the sarree, or long piece of cloth or silk, which is twisted round their persons so as to fall gracefully in folds to the feet, like the drapery of an antique statue, and, after forming a petticoat, it is brought over the right shoulder, across the bosom, and falls over the head like a veil.

Maria Graham's description is similar. She explained that Hindu women wore a short bodice with half sleeves, made of

coloured brocade, and fastened behind. Next came her description of the sari, or shalie, as she called it. She wrote as follows:

> [The] shalie, a long piece of coloured silk or cotton, is wrapped around the waist in form of a petticoat, which leaves part of one leg bare, while the other is covered up to the ancle with long and graceful folds, gathered up in front, so as to leave one end of the shalie to cross the breast, and form a drapery, which is sometimes thrown over the head as a veil. . . . Musselman and Parsee women have nearly the same clothing, in addition to which they wear long loose trowsers.

Sources: Elwood, Narrative, I, p. 375;

Graham, India, pp. 2-3.

APPENDIX I

The Harem

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's description of the deputy vizier's harem has been included so that other women travellers' accounts can be compared with it. Although Lady Mary was indeed something of a pioneer, later accounts show that other eighteenth-century women also possessed clear descriptive powers, and an abundant curiosity. She wrote as follows:

> I was met at the door by two black eunuchs, who led me through a long gallery between two ranks of beautiful young girls, with their hair finely plaited, almost hanging to their feet, all dressed in fine light damaska, brocaded with silver. I was sorry that decency did not permit me to stop to consider them nearer. But that thought was lost upon my entrance into a large room, or rather pavilion, [where]. . .On a sofa, raised three steps, and covered with fine Persian carpets, sat the kiyaya's lady, leaning on cushions of white satin. . .and. . .her beauty effaced everything I have seen. . . . She was dressed in a caftan of gold brocade, flowered with silver, very well fitted to her shape, and showing to admiration the beauty of her bosom, only shaded by the thin gauze of her shift. Her drawers were pale pink, her waistcoat green and silver, her slippers white satin, finely embroidered: her lovely arms adorned with bracelets of diamonds, and her broad girdle set round with diamonds; upon her head a rich Turkish handkerchief of pink and silver, her own fine black hair hanging a great length in various tresses, and on one side of her head some bodkins of jewels.

Source: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Letters from the Levant during the Embassy to Constantinople, 1716-1718. with. . .Notes. . .by J. A. St. John. (London: J. Rickerby, 1838; reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1971), pp. 158-162.

Miss Tully gave a careful and minute description of the costume of Lilla Aisha, the Bey's wife, after she had visited her harem at Tripoli Castle. Her description of Lilla Aisha ran as follows:

> [Over her chemise, Lilla Aisha] wore a gold and silver jileck, or jacket, without sleeves, and over that another of purple velvet, richly laced with gold, with coral and pearl buttons, set quite close together down the front; it had short sleeves finished with a gold band not far below the shoulder, and discovered a wide loose chemise of transparent gauze, ornamented with gold, silver, and ribband stripes. The drapery or baracan she wore over her dress was of the finest crimson transparent gauzes, between rich silk stripes of the same colour. She wore round her ancles, as did all the ladies of the Bashaw's family, a sort of fetter made of a thick bar of gold so fine that they bind it round the leg with one hand. . .: each of these weigh four pounds. . . . Just above this a band, three inches wide, of gold thread, finished the ends of a pair of trowsers, made of pale yellow and white silk. She had five rings in each ear,. . .all set with precious stones.

Source: Tully, Tripoli, p. 31.

Sophia Barnard found the harem at the court of the Guardian Bashaw in Algiers a truly amazing experience. Although she sometimes has trouble expressing her meaning clearly, her descriptions reveal that she was impressed, if

not overawed, by what she saw. Her detail is considerable, as she realized, and in a section prior to her description of the harem, Sophia gave her reasons for "descending to such particulars." She included the latter only from a "desire to give a faithful and minute detail of the Algerine customs, dresses, manners, &c. which are unknown to all, but the very few," who had never, to her knowledge, "thought it worth their while to trouble themselves in recording them for the information of the public generally."

What follows is her description of her first meeting with the ladies of the harem, and of their costume:

> On our entering the court, our hostess appeared at a door under the ground piazzas. The Vice-Consul's wife presented me first to her, as being the greatest stranger. The salutation I must notice; --she kissed her hands, and I mine; we then touched the tips of each other's fingers and kissed our hands as before:--a dozen of very lovely Turkish and Moorish ladies then rose from their rugs and mats, and paid me the same compliment, which of course passed round to all. This beautiful groupe attracted my attention, from the agreeableness of their manners and the extraordinary beauty of their faces and dresses:--they all wore fine cambric chemises and drawers, the latter were very full and tied just below the calf of the leg, edged with lace; the former drew full round the throat, trimmed with exquisite jewellery; the sleeves, which were long and wide, were gracefully drawn to the shoulders, and tied in the centre of the back. A large beautiful silk handkerchief was fastened round the waist, the bow in front; this fell open from the knees downwards, and shewed their alabaster-like legs; rich gold anklers rested on their ankle bones: their feet were painted with small wreaths of flowers, where the tops of our dress shoes go; their toe nails were dyed, some crimson, some scarlet, and of the brightest hues. The hair was tied close at the roots, and confined

> in a square silk bag edged with gold or silver fringe; a gold cap, the thickness of a guinea, fitted the head in front, one of the same material stood up the height of a sheet of foolscap paper, reaching from behind each ear. The head-dress was beautifully stamped, and on grand occasions, the front part is studded with jewels of every kind; from the top corners hang many strings of small gold beads or pearls, which, with the movement of the head, has a fine effect; these are strung in rows a quarter of a yard deep, and a rich bandeau of jewels is confined to the bottom of this head dress, quite round the head. They all wore seven rings in the hems of their ears, which were mostly large hoops of gold set with different precious gems; they also wore rich armlets and bracelets, and rings on every finger nails were dyed to match the toes. Their hair, eye-brows and eye-lashes were dyed of a fine brown or black, as they are generally grey at twelve years old.

Source: Barnard, Travels, pp. 41-49.

Mrs. Barnard was also given the opportunity to tour the elegant apartments of the Bashaw's wife. Most of the Turkish fittings impressed her, but the bedroom surpassed everything she had seen.

She wrote:

> . . .the sleeping room was beyond all: it was paved with china; an Indian matting, chair high, lined it; above that, exquisite china; crimson velvet cushions, with deep gold fringe, were placed tastefully. Marble slabs here and there were covered with corals, shells, sea-weeds, amber, cornelian, &c. At one end stood a large cedar chest, richly fillagreed; this contained the lady's velvet and superfine cloth waistcoats of every colour, most superbly embroidered with either gold or silver. At the backs of some sofas hung some handsome watches. Most elegant curtains decorated the spacious door ways, hung one above another, in full folds, of camel's hair, satin,

> velvet, &c. The bed was invisible, till a curtain of crimson velvet, four yards square, at least was drawn aside; behind it, a flight of lofty steps, led to a landing place, fronted with an inimitably carved mahogany railing. In this exalted place, was laid on the ground a large thick mattrass, covered with a splendid satin counter-pane, richly embroidered.

Source: Barnard, Travels, p. 52.

Mrs. Blanckley, wife of the British consul to Algiers, resided in that city for six years. After describing the meal of Eastern food, served upon tables of silver and mother-of-pearl, Mrs. Blanckley depicted the splendour of the Sultana's apartments.

She wrote as follows:

> I was perfectly astonished at the grandeur of all I beheld. When we entered the room in which the Sultana received us, jewels were strewed all over a carpet, which was of cut velvet, in a pattern of the richest flowers, and most varied colours. Before we left this room, to go to that in which we dined, some beautiful-looking women. . .gathered up these treasures, and placed them on the shelves of two glass cabinets. . .at our backs. In the centre of this apartment was a shallow recess, and on its walls were hanging several pistols and swords, whose handles and scabbards were entirely covered with diamonds. At the opposite end of the room from where we were seated was a gilt four-post European-shaped bedstead, on which were placed four mattresses of gold brocade, and the curtains were made of blue tiffany, embroidered with gold sprigs.

Source: Broughton, Algiers, pp. 31-32.

APPENDIX J

Turkish Baths

Although none of the women studied gave such a detailed description of Turkish baths as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, several accounts do exist, showing that the visitors wished to see this unfamiliar sight for themselves.

One such visitor was Lady Elizabeth Craven, who watched the Greek women at their toilet in the baths at Athens. She noted the niches in which bathers could relax, and described the bath as a circular building, covered by a stone dome, which provided light through small windows at the top. She had earlier deplored the "frequent use of hot-baths" when touring Constantinople claiming that they made women look older, and once again remarked on the tremendous heat at those in Athens. [It is interesting to note that Lady Craven begins her description of the Baths in a way similar to that of Lady Mary Montagu--especially since, in an earlier letter, Lady Craven openly doubts that Lady Mary wrote her travel journals herself. In a particularly acid comment, Lady Craven claimed that whoever did write them "misrepresents things most terribly."]

At Tripoli, Miss Tully visited the marble baths, and found them crowded with women and their attendants. Each of

the latter helped her mistress after each bath, by washing and perfuming her hair, plaiting it into small tresses, plucking the eyebrows, and painting the latter "with a black composition, laid on with a silver or gold bodkin." At Athens, Lady Craven noticed the use of "black dye" on the eyelids, applied with a gold pin.

At Sulimania, in Kurdistan, Mrs. Rich was surprised to find an elegant bath in so wretched a town. Here is her description of it:

> The entrance [to the bath] was not very promising: it was by so low a door that I was obliged to stoop to pass through it. The reason of making the door so very low is to secure the bath from being suddenly entered in times of confusion and war.
>
> As soon as we had passed the door, we found ourselves in a very large vaulted room, well lighted from above, and a broad kind of platform, elevated three or four feet above the ground, running all round this spacious room, and spread with carpets, for the accomodation of dressing and undressing.
>
> In the middle of the apartment was a large circular marble basin, full of clear water, bubbling up most agreeably through a small stone pipe. Beyond this public room was a more private one leading into the bath itself, which was clean, well heated, and abundantly supplied with clear hot and cold water.

The observant Mrs. Holderness also noted the extensive use of vapour, or steam baths by both Tartars and Russians. However, their heating methods differed. The Tartars used three rooms: the innermost room was heated by steam from a copper vat of boiling water, which entered through a door,

while the "heat [was] regulated by numerous small windows in a dome above, which [were] removed and replaced at pleasure."; the outer area was a dressing room; and the middle room contained two or three water baths for those who preferred this method. Mary Holderness then explained how the Russians operated their baths.

> The Russian bath is heated by a trench full of stones, which are rendered red hot by a furnace below. From water thrown upon these, the necessary vapour is created; and as the heat is greater the nearer one approaches to the roof, there is always a flight of steps in the room, by ascending which, any requisite degree may be obtained.

Sources: Craven, Journey, pp. 296, 341-343.

Tully, Tripoli, pp. 26, 156.

Rich, Fragment, p. 372.

Holderness, New Russia, pp. 257-258.

APPENDIX K

Brazilian Slave Trade

The following is the table concerning slave ships and their cargoes which Mrs. Graham culled from the pages of the Bahian newspaper Idade d'Ouro, during 1821:

	Alive.	Dead.
1 slave ship from Moyanbique, 25th March, with	313	180
1 do.....6th March	378	61
1 do.....30th May	293	10
1 do.....29th June from Molendo,	357	102
1 do.....26th June	233	21
	1574	374

Source: Graham, Brazil, p. 228.

The following are two statements of custom-house entries at Rio for the years 1821 and 1822, which Mrs. Graham believed would help to show the size of the Brazilian slave trade.

1821.

January.		February.	
Muzambique	483	Cabinda	193
Muzambique	337	Cabinda	342
Ambuebe	352	Cabinda	514
Cabinda	409	Muzambique	277
Cabinda	348	Muzambique	600
Luanda	549		1926
Benguela	396		
	2914		

March.

Quilumana	311
Quilumana	385
Quilumana	342
Quilumana	257
Quilumana	260
Quilumana	291
Quilumana	287
Angola	345
Angola	433
Angola	259
	3170

April.

Angola	430
Quilumana	280
Cabinda	287
Cabinda	451
	1443

May.

Angola	342
Angola	361
Angola	231
Quilumana	225
Muzambique	122
	1281

June.

Angola	680

August.

Luanda	514
Luanda	460
Luanda	734
Luanda	304
Luanda	227
Benguela	339
	2578

September.

Angola	685

October.

Angola	452
Angola	375
Benguela	510
	1337

November.

Ambuiz	220
Benguela	390
Angola	579
Angola	544
Angola	388
Quilumana	446
	2567

December.

Angola	516
Angola	523
Angola	309
Muzambique	394
Muzambique	330
Cabinda	562
	2634

ABSTRACT of 1821.

January	2914	September	685
February	1926	October	1337
March	3170	November	2567
April	1448	December	2634
May	1281		21,199
June	680		
August	2578		

1822.

January.

Cabinda	744
Cabinda	417
Cabinda	459
Cabinda	144
Muzambique	395
Muzambique	278
	2347

February.

Muzambique	421
Muzambique	419
Muzambique	399
Muzambique	520
Angola	406
Angola	400
Angola	406
Quilumana	436
Quilumana	446
Benguela	420
	4273

March.

Cabinda	667
Cabinda	400
Quilumana	504
Quilumana	487
Quilumana	406
Muzambique	452
Muzambique	455
Angola	305
Angola	354
Angola	371
	4401

April.

Quilumana	323
Quilumana	203
Angola	519
Angola	418
Cabinda	291
Cabinda	377
	2131

May.

Angola	398
Benguela	388
	786

June.

Cabinda	432
Cabinda	533
Angola	302
Angola	761
Benguela	390
	2418

July.

Cabinda	427
Angola	691
	1118

September.

Angola	572
Angola	534
Cabinda	466
Benguela	524
Benguela	298
	2394

October.

Luanda	467
Benguela	428
Cabinda	434
Cabinda	337
	1666

November.

Cabinda	417
Cabinda	499
Luanda	561
Benguela	425
	1902

December	
Luanda	514
Cabinda	534
Quilumana	450
	1498

ABSTRACT OF 1822.

January	2347
February	4273
March	4401
April	2131
May	786
June	2418
July	1118
September	2394
October	1666
November	1902
December	1498
	24,934

Source: Graham, Brazil, p. 229.

APPENDIX L

The Great Dagon Pagoda

Jane Roberts' detailed description of Rangoon's Great Dagon Pagoda and its surrounding areas has been included here because it helps to show just how thoroughly she investigated Buddhism. She wrote as follows:

> From the town to the Great Dagon Pagoda. . . priests' houses adorn the whole way. These houses are called kioums, and are erected at the expense of the pious. . . . They are of Chinese architecture, of two or three stories high, and have a spiral centre. . . . They are built of dark wood, most laboriously carved, and are often guarded by monsters, griffins, sphinxes, &c. . . . They are devoted to the reception and education of the Burman youth, all of whom are taught to read. . . .
>
> Among the variety of interesting costumes assumed by the Roman Catholic clergy there is none more so than that worn by the priest of Gaudma. His head is shorn and bare; his feet are also bare, and his person is covered only by the long flowing yellow robe; in one hand he holds a fan with a crooked black handle, to protect him from the sun, and on the other a string of black beads.
>
> . . . .the Great Dagon Pagoda. . .the Burmese declare. . .to have been begun by the gods; the date of its foundation is, therefore, completely enveloped in mystery.
>
> To add to the size of this Pagoda, thus strangely begun, has ever been esteemed a mark of the greatest piety; so that whenever a king wished to prove himself more religious, powerful, or rich, than his predecessor, he contributed a covering of brick to it, by which means it has been increased to its present enormous size. After each fresh covering it has to be painted and regilded, a work of considerable expence.

This solid brick building is in the form of an octagon, and tapers up to a spire about two hundred and thirty feet high. On this spire is a tee, or umbrella, which appears as if suspended over it by fairy hands. The tee is composed of open ironwork, beautifully and lightly wrought, and is so fixed that it seems as if hanging in the air without support. It is surrounded by small bells, which, played on by the wind, are just heard on the terrace below.

The base of the Pagoda is very extensive, which gives it an appearance of firmness and strength, . . .it tapers upwards to the pretty light spire by niches or steps, which go round it in regular succession. Up this gilded staircase the pious and venturesome often ascend even to the very tee. . . .

The building is after the Chinese fashion, supported by numbers of pillars; it is divided into three compartments, terminated by a spire. Under this golden canopy, which is backed by scarlet and gold, in alternate devices, sits the gilded, smiling, cross-legged god, and before him are vases to receive the offerings of his subjects.

Source: Roberts, Swan River, pp. 283-285, 290-292.

APPENDIX M

Parsee Cemetery

Since it was an unusual sight for a European to see, and since it is a tribute to Anne Elwood's curiosity, here is her description of one of the "singular cemeteries" of the Parsees, which she visited at Surat:

> This curious structure was raised on a wild looking hill, in the neighbourhood of the ancient one, which had become too full for farther use, and all around hovered that bird of ill omen, the vulture, heavily flapping its wings, as if, with odious prescience of its coming prey, it already scented its future banquet. The exterior of the building both in size and appearance, exactly resembles one of Martello towers on the Sussex coast. We entered by a sort of drawbridge, and passed into a circular and cylindrical edifice; in the centre was a well, round which rose a terrace with a slight declivity, with two concentric grooves, communicating with others, which, like the radii of a circle diverging from the same centre, extended from the well to the wall: these were for carrying off the water, and the surface was thus divided into three circular divisions, and sub-divided into numerous partitions or recesses, the outer for men, the middle for women, and the inner for children. In these are the bodies of the deceased Parsees deposited, loosely wrapt in cloth, and abandoned to the vultures, ever watching for their prey; and accordingly as the right or left eye is first attacked, is the happiness or perdition of the defunct determined. After a certain time, the bones are thrown into the well, with which, subterranean passages communicate, and by which they are removed occasionally, in order to prevent its being too soon filled,. . . .

Source: Elwood, Narrative, pp. 265-266.

APPENDIX N

Itineraries

Mrs. Mary Bousquet: Journey on the Continent, incl. Low Countries and France. 1765

Itinerary

London
Harwich
Helvoetsluys
Delft
The Hague
Scheveningen
Rotterdam
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Zeist
Breda
Antwerp
Mechlin
Antwerp (return
Ghent
Lille
Paris
Versailles
Mons
Valenciennes
Brussels
Alost
Ghent
Nieuport
Dunkirk
Dover
London.

Mrs. Margaret Calderwood: Holland and the Low Countries 1756.

Itinerary

Harwich
Rotterdam
Delft
The Hague
Amsterdam
Targow
Rotterdam (return)
Bergen
Antwerp
Tirlemont
Louvain
Liege
Spa
Liege, Tirlemont, Louvain (return)
Brussels.

Anne Carter: "Letters to Mary Pennington, 1814-" re a visit to Paris.

Itinerary

Deal
Boulogne
Abbeville
Amiens
Chantilly
Paris. . .Théâtre Feydeau
Tuileries
La Bibliothèque Royale
The Louvre
Witnessed the entrée of Louis XVIII into Paris
Sèvres
Versailles
St. Cloud
King's Library
Hotel des Invalides
Museum of stuffed animals
Catacombs
Cambrai
Climbed Mont Cassel
St. Omer
Calais
Dover

Lady Philadelphia Cotton: "Tour of France" c. 1817 (Madingly Hall Papers: Cotton MSS.)

Itinerary

Boulogne
Abbeville
Beauvais
St. Denis
Paris. . .The Louvre
Le Jardin des Plantes
Palais Royal
Père La Chaise cemetery
St. Cloud
St. Geneviève
St. Sulpice
Model of the Elephant

Church of St. Paul
Luxembourg Palace
The Louvre (return)
Bibliothèque
Gobelins
Versailles
Trianon
Sèvres
Private collection of paintings--Mr. Crawford's
Chantilly

Lady Elizabeth Craven: Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople, 1786.

Itinerary

Paris
Orleans
Blois
Lyons
Avignon
Marseilles
Toulon
Hyeres
Antibes
Genoa
Pisa
Lucca
Florence
Bologna
Venice
Vienna
Warsaw
St. Petersburg
Moscow
Cherson
Karasbayer
Batcheserai
Sevastopol
Pera
Constantinople
Athens
Smyrna
Terrapia
Belgrade
Varna
Silistria
Bucharest
Hermanstadt
Vienna.

Anne Elwood: Journey to Egypt. . .Shortened itinerary taken from her "itinerary of Route from England to India.

Itinerary [to Sicily]

Dover
Calais
Montreuil sur Mer
Paris
Fontainebleau
Auxerre
Dijon
Geneva

Aix aux Bains
Turin
Genoa
Pisa
Florence
Sienna
Radicofani
Viterbo
Rome
Terracina
Naples
Messina
Augusta.

Ann Flaxman: "Journey from London to Rome, 1787-1788." (B.M., Add. MSS. 39787).

Itinerary

London
Dieppe
Rouen
Meulant
Paris. . .Comédie Italienne
Louvre
St. Denis
Versailles
Sèvres
Palais Royal
Luxembourg Palace
Notre Dame
Gobelins
Chalon
Lyons
Mont Cenis
Turin
Milan
Parma
Bologna
Florence. . .Museums
Churches
Painting Collections
Sienna
Radicofani
Viterbo
Rome. . .St. Peter's Basilica
Vatican--Library, Museum Pium
Villa Albano
Capua
Naples
Rome (return)

Juliana, Lady Langhorn: "Journal of a Tour through France, Belgium, Germany, and Holland" (Langhorn MS.)

Itinerary

Dover
Calais
St. Omer
Lille
Courtrai
Brussels
Liege
Spa
Louvain
Antwerp
Delft
The Hague
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Gouda
Rotterdam
Helvoetsluys

Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland: A Short Tour through Low Countries and part of Germany, 1771

Itinerary

Lille
Tournai
Enghien
Brussels
Liege
Aix-la-Chappelle
Bercheim
Cologne
Bonn
Zeyst
Utrecht
Gouda
The Hague
Antwerp
Brussels

Emma Nugent: "A Tour through Holland. . .", 1822. (Nugent MS.)

Itinerary

London
Rotterdam
Delft
The Hague
Leiden
Haarlem
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Zeist
Liege
Spa
Aix-la-Chappelle
Maastrict
Louvain
Brussels
Mechlin
Antwerp
Ghent
Lille
Paris

Jane Parminter: Travels in France, c. 1784. Extracts. edited by O. J. Reichel, in Transactions of the Devonshire Society. vol. XXXIV. (1902)

Itinerary

London
Dover
Calais
Boulogne
Montreuil
Abbeville
Amiens
Chantilly
St. Denis
Paris. . .Versailles
Marly
St. Cloud
Sèvres
Military Academy
Les Invalides
Church of the Theatines
Gobelins
Church of St. Genevieve
Tuileries
Notre Dame
Le Théâtre Italien
St. Cloud (return)

Fontainebleau
Villeneuve le Roy
Sens
Joigny
Dijon

Jane Rye: "France, Switzerland and Italy, 1820". (Rye Papers)

Itinerary

London
Dover
Calais
Samer
Abbeville
Amiens
Montreuil
Paris. . .Royal Library (several visits)
Le Jardin des Plantes
Notre Dame
Fête of Sèvres
The Louvre (2 more visits)

Luxembourg Palace
Gobelins
Versailles
St. Cloud
Sèvres
Institute for the Deaf and Dumb
Tivoli
Church of St. Denis
Père La Chaise cemetery
Model of the Elephant
Military School
Marionettes, Ombres chinoises
Conciergerie de M. Antoinette
Chambre de Députés
Palace of Malmaison.

Switzerland. . .Saw Rousseau's house
Visited Pestalozzi
Too late to see Ferney
Went over Simplon Pass.

Italy. . .Milan
Florence.

Frances Sayer: Journey to France, 1824. (Sayer MS.)

Itinerary

London
Dover
Boulogne
St. Omer
Abbeville
Amiens
Beauvais

Paris. . .Palais Royal
Le Jardin des Plantes
Opéra Francaise
Luxembourg Palace
Notre Dame
Louvre
Palais Royal (return)
Versailles
Grand and Petit Trianon
St. Germains
Père La Chaise cemetery
La Conciergerie de Marie Antoinette
Slate glass manufactory
Sèvres factory
St. Cloud

Tivoli
Le Chambre des Députés
Notre Dame (return)
Les Invalides
Amiens
Boulogne
Dover

Mrs. Anne Scrope: "The Grand Tour": Journey on Continent in Letters from Mrs. Scrope to Lady Webb Seymour, 1783-1784.

Itinerary: 1783

Castle Coombe, Devon
London
Dover
Boulogne
Abbeville
Amiens
Chantilly
Paris
Fontainebleau
Sens
Auxerre
Dijon

Itinerary: 1784

Brussels
Louvain
Tirlemont
Liege
Spa
Aix-la-Chappelle
Dusseldorf
Maestrict
Brussels (return)

Frances, Lady Shelley: Journey to France, Germany and Italy in 1815.

Itinerary

Dover
Calais
Beaupré
St. Denis
Paris. . .Tuileries Gardens
Opéra--"Oedipe et Télémaque"
Louvre
Théâtre Feydeau
St. Cloud
Théâtre Francais--"Le Mariage de Figaro"