Maria Graham and South America: Travel, Historiography, and Intellectual Networks

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Maria Graham's historiographical works about South America (1824-1835). Having travelled in Brazil and Chile during the Latin American Wars of Independence, Graham engaged with the histories of these countries in innovative and complex ways across a range of genres and in both published and unpublished materials. This study analyses Graham's historiographical practices in the light of her early education, her extensive travel experiences, and her wider scholarly and artistic activities and networks. I uncover how, at a time in which history writing was predominantly considered a masculine domain, Graham's discursive and visual representations of the South American past responded to, challenged, and shaped British and European debates about Latin America. In her two published South America travel journals, Graham drew on her previous travels in India and Italy and her knowledge of history, art history, associationism, and aesthetics to capture the historicity of Brazilian and Chilean landscapes. She also made strategic use of paratext to collect, store, debate, and create historical knowledge.

This study also offers the first sustained critical analysis of Graham's unpublished historiographical writing about Brazil and Chile. My research on the production, dissemination, and reception of this body of work reveals that Graham, in close collaboration with Caroline Fox and other members of the influential Holland House circle, documented Brazilian Emperor Pedro I's involvement in the development of Brazilian constitutionalism and re-imagined the history of Araucanian resistance against Spanish colonialism. Analysing a wide variety of previously unstudied archival material, I show how Graham used manuscript writing to intervene in the historical and political debates at Holland House. Analysing Graham's published and unpublished work in relation to that of her contemporaries, this thesis offers new insights into the ways in which British ideas about progress and informal empire shaped British historiographical representations of Latin America.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

> It is remarkable that the first day I touched on the coast of Brazil in the year 1821, should have been that on which the gun was fired on the part of the Independentes against the Royal Troops at Pernambuco, and that I finally quitted Rio Harbour on the very day when the Proclamation for the entire dissolution of all connexion of Brazil with the Mother Country, was read in all the public places and salvos were actually firing to celebrate the final Independence of the country. Sep 1825.[1]

In this passage from her unpublished "An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro", composed between 1834 and 1835, Maria Graham reflects on the years she spent travelling in Brazil almost a decade earlier. Observing that it is 'remarkable' that her first arrival and final departure from that country neatly coincided with the early beginnings and formal recognition of the end of the Brazilian War of Independence, she intertwines her personal history with that of the newly independent nation. In doing so, she draws attention to her extraordinary position as a British female travel writer witnessing the unfolding of these revolutionary events first-hand. My thesis explores Graham's historiographical works about South America. In the four chapters that follow, I demonstrate how Graham used her extensive travel experiences in South America to interpret and re-imagine the history of that continent in imaginative and innovative ways across a range of literary genres, and in both published and unpublished writing. In doing so, I offer new insights into an understudied yet key aspect of Graham's identity as an early nineteenth-century British female travel writer and historian.

[1] Maria Callcott, "'An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro" [Pedro I, Emperor of Brazil (b. 1798, d. 1834)], covering his early years until 1826: An unpublished work by Maria, Lady Callcott formerly Graham, based on her experiences in Brazil in 1824-1825, partly,' 1834-1835, Add MS 51996, Holland House Papers, British Library, London, 136-137. In subsequent footnotes I will refer to this manuscript as *LODP*, BL copy.

When Graham 'quitted Rio Harbour' in September 1825, she was leaving the shores of South America for the second and final time. Four years earlier, in July 1821, Graham had accompanied her husband, Captain Thomas Graham, on the ocean voyage from England to Brazil, as the Royal Navy had assigned him to protect British mercantile interests along the South American coast during the Latin American Wars of Independence.[2] By that time, Graham was already a well-established professional travel writer, having published two works on India (1812 and 1814) and one on Italy (1820). The Grahams arrived in Brazil in September 1821 and travelled there for several months before sailing on to Chile in March 1822. During the journey from Brazil to Chile, however, Thomas Graham died on board ship. Despite being a recently widowed woman on a foreign continent, Graham made the remarkable choice to stay. As Carl Thompson has noted, Graham had accompanied her husband 'partly in the hope of generating further travel accounts', and so her decision to remain in South America may at least in part have been shaped by her professional aspirations.[3]

Graham continued to travel in Chile for the following nine months; the country had become independent from Spain in 1818, and Graham kept a detailed written and visual account of the historical and political developments in Chile. Well-connected through her affiliation with the British Royal Navy, she moved in elite circles and met some of the most powerful people in Chilean politics, such as general José de San Martín and Supreme Director Bernardo O'Higgins. One of her closest friends during this time was Admiral Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald, a former British naval officer and Whig Member of Parliament who was now the Admiral of the Chilean fleet and who had played an important

[2] Jennifer Hayward, "Introduction," in Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, ed. Jennifer Hayward (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003), vxiii.
[3] Carl Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship: Hybrid Historiography and Historical Authority in Maria Graham's South American Journals," *Women's Writing* 24, no. 2 (2017): 187.

role in achieving the independence of Chile and Peru.[4] As Thompson writes, Cochrane was a former crewmate of Thomas Graham's and would take on the role of Maria Graham's 'sponsor and protector' following her husband's death in 1822.[5] Graham also developed friendships with other British travellers in Chile, including John Miers and William Bennet Stevenson.

In January 1823, Graham travelled back to Brazil with Cochrane, who had been appointed commander of the Brazilian fleet.[6] As Nigel Leask has pointed out, it was also through her connection with Cochrane that she gained access to the imperial court of Emperor Dom Pedro I and Empress Maria Leopoldina of Brazil.[7] As her travels were coming to an end, Graham accepted a request to become governess to the Emperor and Empress's eldest daughter, Princess Donna Maria da Glória.[8] Following a trip to England to gather teaching materials and prepare the publication of her two travel journals *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824), she once more crossed the Atlantic to take up her post in Rio de Janeiro. However, less than two months into her new position she was suddenly forced to resign. Hayward and Caballero suggest that it was probably the developing friendship between Graham and the Empress that marked this sudden and untimely end to Graham's time as a governess, as well as a 'mistrust of the ways they sought to transform the education (and thus the acculturation) of the Imperial Princesses'.[9] Following her expulsion from the court, Graham moved into a cottage in the Laranjeiras Valley outside of Rio de Janeiro. She spent the following months collecting seeds and plants and making landscape

[4] Andrew Lambert, "Cochrane, Thomas, Tenth Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860), Naval Officer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5757.
[5] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 187.
[6] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile, During the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823* (London, 1824), 346.
[7] Nigel Leask, "Introduction," in *Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Expansion, 1770-1835, Vol. 7: Latin America and the Caribbean*, ed. Nigel Leask (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001), xvi.
[8] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there, During Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London, 1824), 320-321.
[9] Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Caballero, "Introduction," in Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, ed. Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Caballero (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2010), li.

sketches and botanical drawings, some of which she sent to William Jackson Hooker at Kew Gardens, before returning to England for the final time in September 1825.[10]

In the passage quoted at the start of this chapter, Graham emphasizes her exceptional position as an eyewitness to key moments in the Brazilian War of Independence. The account, though written down a decade after the event, has the liveliness of on-the-spot reportage. One can almost hear the 'Proclamation for the entire dissolution of all connexion of Brazil with the Mother Country' being read aloud on crowded city squares with the sound of firing salvos echoing in the background. By adding the date immediately following this account, 'Sep 1825', Graham firmly anchors her personal experience to this historic moment. This emphasis on eyewitness historical testimony, I argue, forms a key component of Graham's historiographical writing about South America. In a time in which history writing was still largely considered a masculine pursuit, Graham used her unique position as a female British travel writer in Latin America – her Brazil and Chile journals are the only two British female-authored published travel journals on these countries in the first half of the nineteenth century – to add legitimacy to her account. As I will show, Graham not only relied on her own eyewitness observations in the creation of her historiographical accounts, but she also actively drew on her wide international networks – which included naval officers, politicians, artists, travellers, historians, philosophers, men and women of letters, and even royalty – to gather, interpret, present, and disseminate first-hand source material about the South American past. Examining her writing in the light of these intellectual networks, I offer a deeper understanding of how Graham positioned herself as a professional female writer working in a male-dominated field.

To get a more comprehensive sense of Graham's practices as a historian of South America, it is imperative that we also consider her work in the light of her wider intellectual

[10] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 64-147. For Graham's connections with William Jackson Hooker, see Betty Hagglund, "The Botanical Writings of Maria Graham," *Journal of Literature and Science* 4, no. 1 (2011): 44-58.

activities. Graham was a curious, knowledgeable, and close observer, and her South America travel journals are a rich blend of history, politics, ethnography, botany, landscape aesthetics, and geology.[11] Graham was also an accomplished watercolourist, and the illustrations which accompany her journals form an important and integral part of her narratives.[12] Even though travel writing was an essential aspect of her professional life – scholars have referred to her as the first British woman to build a career around travel writing – Graham produced a substantial body of writing across different branches of knowledge and an impressive range of genres.[13] Many of these publications have a strong historiographical dimension. *Letters on India* (1814), for example, is an ambitious introduction to Indian history and culture that was based on her travels in India between 1808 and 1811. In 1820, she published *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin*, which was the first biography in English of the French painter. She also wrote *Essays Towards the History of Painting* (1836), which Caroline Palmer describes as 'pioneering' and which, according to Rosemary Mitchell, was a 'wide-ranging consideration of the early history of painting in the ancient world' that 'showed extensive knowledge of appropriate sources in classical literature'.[14] Her Italian travel journal *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820) is also densely packed with information about Italian history and art history.

Graham also published several history books for children, the most famous of which is *Little Arthur's History of England* (1835) – it was one of the most popular children's history

[11] For an exploration of Graham's writing about natural history, see Kent Linthicum, "Stretching Beyond Anthropocentric Thinking: Maria Graham and the 1822 Chilean Earthquake," *European Romantic Review* 28, vol. 6 (2017): 679-699; Michelle Medeiros, "Crossing Boundaries into a World of Scientific Discoveries: Maria Graham in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, no. 3 (2012): 263-285; Carl Thompson, "Earthquakes and Petticoats: Maria Graham, Geology, and Early Nineteenth-Century 'Polite' Science," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17, no. 3 (2012): 329-346; and Hagglund, "The Botanical Writings of Maria Graham," 44-58.
[12] For scholarship on Graham's illustrations to her South America journals, see Luciana Martins, "A Bay to be Dreamed Of: British Visions of Rio de Janeiro," *Portuguese Studies* 22, no. 1 (2006): 19-38.
[13] Benjamin Colbert, "British Women's Travel Writing, 1780–1840: Bibliographical Reflections," *Women's Writing* 24, no. 2 (2017): 160.
[14] Caroline Palmer, "'A Revolution in Art:' Maria Callcott on Poussin, Painting, and the Primitives," *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 28 (2019): 3; and Rosemary Mitchell, "Callcott [*née* Dundas; *other married name* Graham], Maria, Lady Callcott (1785-1842), Traveler and Author," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4399.

books of the nineteenth century, going through seventy editions and selling approximately 80,000 copies over the course of the century.[15] Another children's history book Graham authored was *A Short History of Spain* (1828). In a letter to her close friend and publisher John Murray II, she comments on the historical source material she had consulted for this project:

> I enclose the preface and title page of the history of Spain. I have named the principal works I have consulted but it would appear too pedantic I think to name all (even if I could remember them) that I have looked at on the subject with, or without profit. – For instance the French précis by Rabbe, is utterly worthless as history & not much better as a piece of declamation on the subject & so forth.[16]

This passage powerfully exemplifies Graham's historiographical approach. Her projects were always authoritative and meticulously researched; she read widely and deeply and was up-to-date on the latest history publications. She was also not one to 'pedantically' provide a list of all the historical source material she had consulted; nevertheless, as I will show, she was keen to showcase her knowledge and scholarship by means of footnotes, appendices, in-text references, and scholarly allusions. In some ways, this is exactly what she can be seen doing in this letter – she displays her historical knowledge precisely by pretending not to be overtly doing so. This fragment also reflects how Graham approached her source material: confidently, with a critical eye, and scrutinizing it for its usefulness, reliability, and originality. She here writes, for example, that the 'French précis by Rabbe' – she is most likely referring to Alphonse Rabbe's *Résumé de l'Histoire d'Espagne* (1823) – is 'utterly worthless as history & not much better as a piece of declamation on the subject'. Her tone here is unapologetically self-assured, something that characterizes her historiographical style. Both *A Short History of*

[15] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)."
[16] Maria Callcott to John Murray II, 12 May 1827, MS.10486_22_12, The John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Spain and *Little Arthur's History of England* also show that Graham successfully adapted her writing style to different types of audiences, including children. As I will show, Graham drew on her wide-ranging intellectual interests and scholarly expertise when writing about the South American past, and the ideas and theories she developed in some of the works mentioned above resonate and intersect in the texts that will be the focus of my investigation.

British Women and Historiography in the Long Eighteenth Century

The past two decades have seen a growing interest in British women's historiographical practices in the long eighteenth century. Whenever I refer to 'historiography' in this thesis, I mean 'the writing of history' or 'written history', rather than 'the study of history-writing'.[17] As mentioned, historiography was a predominantly male preserve; as Madeleine Pelling puts it, women were 'commonly marginalised and excluded from the traditional routes of antiquarian and historiographical publishing', and with the notable exceptions of Catharine Macaulay and Charlotte Cowley, few women published British histories.[18] This is not to say that women were not involved in historiographical projects, however. Devoney Looser has argued that if we take a broad definition of 'history', one that encompasses historiographical engagement across a range of genres, including fiction, poetry, life-writing, drama, and travel writing, it becomes apparent that women wrote about the past in myriad ways and 'with widely diverging interests, aims, and results'.[19] My thesis advances research in this area, and helps us to obtain a better understanding of the development of British historiography and women's role in this development.

[17] "Historiography, n., 1. The writing of history; written history. 2. The study of history-writing, esp. as an academic discipline," OED Online, June 2021, Oxford University Press, https://www.oed.com (accessed June 22, 2021).
[18] Madeleine Pelling, "Reimagining Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots: Women's Historiography and Domestic Identities, c. 1750-1800," *Women's History Review* 29, no. 7 (2019): 1086-1087.
[19] Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History, 1670-1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 2.

Pelling, Looser, and other scholars such as Lisa Kasmer, Mary Spongberg, Crystal B. Lake, and Miriam Elizabeth Burstein have begun to identify, categorise, and analyse British women's wide-ranging and innovative contributions to historiography in the long eighteenth century.[20] Lake claims, for example, that Romantic-era women's marginalisation from conventional history writing offered female authors opportunities to 'intervene creatively' in the field by finding 'new methods for imagining the past and conveying its importance to their readers'.[21] The novels of Sydney Owenson (Lady Morgan) and Jane and Anna Maria Porter, the gothic fiction of Clara Reeve and Ann Radcliffe, the plays of Joanne Baillie, and the poetry of Charlotte Turner Smith are only a few examples of women's wide-ranging and imaginative historiographical involvement in this period. Mary Spongberg has looked into the political dimension of women's historiographical practices. She contends that although 'historians have generally ignored the political nature of women's historical writing', women, 'as much as men, were responding to and reacting against the political debates that framed the emergence of modern English historiography'.[22] Spongberg's study reveals how writers such as Jane Austen, Mary and Agnes Strickland, Mary Hays, and Lucy Aikin experimented with genre to provide alternative – and often politically motivated – representations of England's past.

So far, studies have mainly focused on British women's engagement with British or European history. My research complements these existing strands of scholarship by shifting focus to the South American context; among other things, I investigate how Graham

[20] See, for example, Mary Spongberg, *Women Writers and the Nation's Past, 1790-1860* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019); Crystal B. Lake, "History Writing and Antiquarianism," in *The Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in the Romantic Period*, ed. Devoney Looser, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Lisa Kasmer, *Novel Histories: British Women Writing History, 1760-1830* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012); Ann Curthoys, Barbara Caine, and Mary Spongberg, eds., *Companion to Women's Historical Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Miriam Elizabeth Burstein, *Narrating Women's History in Britain, 1770-1902* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Greg Kucich, "Women's Historiography and the (dis) Embodiment of Law: Ann Yearsley, Mary Hays, Elizabeth Benger," *The Wordsworth Circle* 33, no. 1 (2002): 3-7; and Mary Spongberg, *Writing Women's History since the Renaissance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

[21] Lake, "History Writing and Antiquarianism," 90.

[22] Spongberg, *Women Writers and the Nation's Past*, 2.

narrativized the politics of Latin American independence and the lives of the Brazilian royal family. This thesis also aims to expand our understanding of the ways in which British women engaged with historiography beyond the published text. Pelling has recently noted that the manuscript space – which she defines as including 'diaries, journals, commonplace books, albums, and even correspondence' – was an important realm for eighteenth-century women to collaborate on historiographical projects and to 'signal their historical learning and antiquarian authority'.[23] In the second half of my thesis, I build on this scholarship by examining two manuscript historiographical works about South America produced in the 1830s. Chapter Three focuses on "The Araucanians" (1833), a partial and illustrated English prose adaptation of *La Araucana* (1569-1589), a Spanish epic poem by Alonso de Ercilla about the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest of Chile. Although "The Araucanians" was produced anonymously, I have found strong evidence to suggest that Graham composed this adaptation and that she based it on her own translation of the original Spanish poem. Chapter Four centres on Graham's memoir of Emperor Pedro I, "An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro" (1834-1835). Both unpublished works have received little critical attention. The fact that the manuscripts were produced roughly a decade after Graham's final return from South America, remained unpublished in her lifetime, and do not fall neatly into a single literary category may in part account for this relative lack of scholarly attention. But it is precisely these aspects, I suggest, that allow for new ways of thinking about Graham's position and influence as an early nineteenth-century female historian. As I will demonstrate in Chapters Three and Four, Graham's unpublished writing showcases not only an expert historical knowledge but also a great degree of historiographical skill and generic experimentation and inventiveness. This manuscript material also provides insights into Graham's historiographical practices in relation to her intellectual networks and scholarly collaborations in the 1830s. Exploring a wide range of previously unused archival materials

[23] Pelling, "Reimagining Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots," 1087.

such as manuscript drafts and correspondence, I provide new perspectives on Graham's collaborative literary practices in the creation of these works, and I shed new light on the circulation and reception of these unpublished works.

We also still know comparatively little about the relationship between Romantic-era British women's travel writing and historiography. Carl Thompson notes that researchers have often commented upon the 'travelogue's capacity to function as a form of historical discourse', but that 'there have been few detailed studies of how this convergence or intersection of genres worked in practice, or of the historiographical authority some women achieved through travel writing'.[24] The travel journal's function to convey information on a wide variety of intellectual topics enabled female authors 'to roam not only geographically but also discursively', allowing them to write about subjects that were traditionally considered more appropriate for male authors, such as history.[25] Thompson expands on the work done by Looser, Mark Salber Phillips, and Nina Baym, who have started to analyse the relationship between travel writing and history in the works of, respectively, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Helen Maria Williams, and early nineteenth-century American female travellers.[26] He argues that Graham's two published South America journals 'arguably constitute the most thoroughgoing and accomplished examples of Romantic-era women's travel writing operating as historical discourse'.[27] Both journals, he argues, are 'innovative experiments in the mixing or hybridization of contemporary historical modes' and therefore make a more serious contribution to historical discourse than scholars have hitherto recognized.[28]

Thompson is not the first critic to have commented on the historiographical dimension in Graham's two published journals. Angela Pérez-Mejía, for example, notes that

[24] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 185-186.
[25] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 185.
[26] Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 92-97; Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History*, 77-88; Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 130-151.
[27] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 186.
[28] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 186.

Graham's detailed and lengthy historical introduction to the Chile journal 'makes her desire to contribute to Chilean historiography evident'.[29] Moreover, Caballero contends that Graham 'writes a history of Latin American independence that is infused with the rhetoric of romance'.[30] About the Brazil journal, Hayward and Caballero have commented that Graham 'understands clearly that she witnesses times of enormous historical importance' and that, for this reason, 'she immerses herself in Brazilian history in the newly created [Brazilian] national library, so that her narrative can more accurately convey the political changes she describes'.[31] Thompson's essay, however, proves a particularly helpful departure point for the purposes of this study because it starts to categorise and analyse the different historiographical methods Graham employed in the making of the Brazil and Chile volumes. Thompson persuasively argues that Graham, aware of the latest historiographical developments through extensive reading practices and connections with leading historians, mixes 'historiographical modes' in an 'innovative fashion'.[32] He examines the journals in the light of Mark Salber Phillips' account of the development of British historiography between 1740 and 1820. According to Phillips, conventional historiography was modelled on classical history and focused on political and military action; it told, in other words, 'the story of the public actions of public men'.[33] In the eighteenth century, however, history's scope broadened and started to include the history of commerce and navigation; of science, literature and the arts; of manners and customs; and of opinion and sentiment.[34] There was,

[29] Angela Pérez-Mejía, *A Geography of Hard Times: Narratives about Travel to South America, 1780-1849* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 98.
[30] M. Soledad Caballero, "For the Honour of Our Country: Maria Dundas Graham and the Romance of Benign Domination," *Studies in Travel Writing* 9, no. 2 (2005): 128. More recent publications that discuss Graham and historiography in the two South America journals are Nadia Altschul, *Politics of Temporalization: Medievalism and Orientalism in Nineteenth-Century South America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 39-77; Adriana Méndez Rodenas, *Transatlantic Travels in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: European Women Pilgrims* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 83-138; and Jessica Damián, "'These Civil Wars of Nature:' Annotating South America's Natural and Political History in Maria Graham's *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824)," in *Romanticism and the Anglo-Hispanic Imaginary*, ed. Joselyn M. Almeida (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 327-340.
[31] Hayward and Caballero, "Introduction," xxiv.
[32] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 199.
[33] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, xii.
[34] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 16-17.

in short, a growing interest in 'the social world of everyday life' and 'the inward world of the sentiments'.[35] Thompson demonstrates how Graham blends a 'grand narrative of political history' – mainly visible in the journals' introductions and appendices – and emerging modes of history that focus on society and the self, such as 'an experiential narrative of history in action', which she experimented with in the journal sections.[36]

My thesis expands on this scholarship through an examination of several underexplored aspects of the innovative and multi-faceted relationship between travel writing and historiography in Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile*. In Chapter One, I investigate how Graham's extensive historical, art historical, and philosophical knowledge and her previous travels in India (1808-1811) and Italy (1818-1820) shaped both her written and visual aesthetic responses to the historicity of South American landscapes. Another important dimension of Graham's historiographical practices in these travel journals that merits further investigation is the role and importance of paratext to Graham's documentation and narrativization of the South American past. Departing from Gérard Genette's definition of paratext as those discursive or visual elements of a written work (titles, epigraphs, prefaces, illustrations, or notes, for example) that 'surround' and 'extend' the main body of the text, in Chapters One and Two I analyse how Graham employed paratextual elements such as appendices, footnotes, and illustrations in inventive ways in order to narrativize the past and to strengthen her authority.[37] Together with my exploration of Graham's unpublished historiographical writing in Chapters Three and Four, I show how Graham confidently and skilfully took on the roles of traveller, author, editor, visual artist, and translator in the creation of this body of work.

[35] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, xii.
[36] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 199.
[37] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

Britain and Latin America in the Early Nineteenth Century

This study also offers new perspectives on early nineteenth-century British representations of Latin America. Jessie Reeder has recently observed that 'British literature scholars have paid only scant attention to Latin America'.[38] This is surprising given that, as Rebecca Cole Heinowitz puts it, 'Robert Southey did not exaggerate when he described the England of his day as "South American mad"'.[39] Thanks to pioneering work by Reeder, Heinowitz, and other critics such as Mary Louise Pratt, Nigel Leask, Matthew Brown, and Joselyn M. Almeida, this field has experienced an upsurge in studies focusing on British depictions of Latin America in Romantic-era travel writing, fiction, poetry, and drama.[40] Nevertheless, there remains a lot of ground to be covered. To contribute to this emerging area of study, I place Graham in dialogue with other late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century British travellers, historians, and commentators on Latin America so that we can expand our understanding of how they shaped British perceptions of Latin American history, politics, landscape, and people.

For the purposes of my thesis it is important to clarify my use of the terms South America and Latin America. Whenever I refer to South America in this thesis, I mean the South American landmass. Graham's travels all took place in South America, and she used this term herself when describing her travels in Brazil and Chile. Whenever I mention Latin America, I refer to a broader geographical area described in the Oxford English Dictionary

[38] Jessie Reeder, *The Forms of Informal Empire: Britain, Latin America, and Nineteenth-Century Literature* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), 4.
[39] Rebecca Cole Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism, 1777-1826: Rewriting Conquest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 1.
[40] Matthew Brown, *Connections after Colonialism: Europe and Latin America in the 1820s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2013); Joselyn M. Almeida, *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780-1890* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011); Joselyn M. Almeida ed., *Romanticism and the Anglo-Hispanic Imaginary* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010); Matthew Brown, *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2008) and *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies: Simon Bolivar, Foreign Mercenaries and the Birth of New Nations* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006); Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: 'from an antique land'* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Nigel Leask, ed., *Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Expansion, 1770-1835, Vol. 7: Latin America and the Caribbean* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2001); and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

as 'those countries of Central, North, and South America in which Spanish or Portuguese is the dominant language'.[41] I use this term specifically when referring to scholarship in this field or to historical, political, or cultural events in this wider geographical region, such as Spanish and Portuguese colonialism in the Americas, the Latin American Wars of Independence (1808-1826), and the relationship between Britain and Latin America in the nineteenth century.

Graham was part of a growing number of British travellers journeying to South America in the 1820s; as Mary Louise Pratt points out, in the 1810s and 1820s, the majority of travellers to South America were British.[42] In this period, Spain and Portugal were gradually loosening their hold on the colonies as a result of the ongoing Latin American Wars of Independence, which meant that travel was gradually becoming more accessible after three centuries of tight colonial control.[43] Thousands of British and Irish 'adventurers', as Matthew Brown collectively calls them, embarked on the long ocean voyage to assist in the Spanish American independence cause.[44] Many others journeyed there to seek out trade or investment opportunities; Pratt notes that the British often 'traveled and wrote as advance scouts for European capital', and she aptly refers to these male travellers – merchants, miners, scientists, entrepreneurs, naval officers, and others – as the 'capitalist vanguard'.[45] In the Brazil and Chile journals, Graham describes how English commodities were flooding the South American markets. Walking the streets of Rio de Janeiro in January 1822, she observes: 'Most of the streets are lined with English goods: at every door the words *London superfine* meet the eye: printed cottons, broad cloths, crockery, but above all, hardware from Birmingham, are to be had a little dearer than at home, in the Brazilian shops'.[46] In Valparaiso, Chile, she

[41] "Latin, adj. And n.," OED Online, June 2021, Oxford University Press, https://www.oed.com (accessed June 22, 2021).
[42] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 143.
[43] Leask, "Introduction," ix.
[44] Brown, *Adventuring Through Spanish Colonies*, 1.
[45] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 146, 143.
[46] Graham, *VTB*, 189.

observes that 'English tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, and inn-keepers, hang out their signs in every street; and the preponderance of the English language over every other spoken in the chief streets, would make one fancy Valparaiso a coast town in Britain'.[47] Graham depicts this as a positive development, and in her writing she advocates for the expansion of free trade in South America. In the Chile journal, she writes: 'I wish our government would acknowledge the independence of the states of South America at once; and send proper consuls or agents to guard our trade, and take from it the disgrace of being little else than smuggling on a larger scale'.[48] When she sails past 'the astonishingly fertile banks' of the Chilean coast during an excursion on the *Rising Star*, a state-of-the-art steam ship manufactured in Britain and the first steam vessel to cross the Pacific, she envisions a dominant role for Britain with regard to the development of an extensive coastal trade in that region.[49]

Britain's strong mercantile interest in and influence on Latin America has led historians to argue that in the nineteenth century Latin America was Britain's 'informal empire'. Developed theoretically by John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson in the 1953 essay "The Imperialism of Free Trade", the term denotes a form of imperialism that is characterized by economic influence rather than settler colonialism. It encapsulates, as Marisa Palacios Knox summarises it, 'British efforts to achieve commercial supremacy in Latin America through political influence, and political influence through commercial supremacy instead of territorial annexation'.[50] In recent decades, historians have debated the extent to which this term accurately reflects the relationship between Britain and Latin America in this period. P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, for example, argue that before 1850, 'informal empire

[47] Graham, *RIC*, 131.
[48] Graham, *RIC*, 276.
[49] Graham, *RIC*, 174.
[50] Marisa Palacios Knox, "Imagining Informal Empire: Nineteenth-Century British Literature and Latin America," *Literature Compass* 16, no. 1 (Jan 2019): 2.

was more of an ideal than a reality'.[51] Moreover, Matthew Brown argues that informal empire can only be useful as a concept if we focus not only on commerce and capital but also on culture as an influence 'that limited local sovereignty'.[52] Brown's re-configuration of informal empire is useful here, as it shifts the focus away from economics and encourages the exploration of alternative modes of analysis, including literary studies.

When examining the relationship between Britain and Latin America in the nineteenth century, it becomes apparent that the lines between formal and informal empire are not clearly defined. Britain's presence in Latin America did not solely revolve around commerce; there were some unofficial – and failed – attempts to conquer South American territories in 1806 and 1807, and Britain formally occupied Honduras (today Belize), Guyana, and the Falkland Islands.[53] These activities, Heinowitz argues, complicate 'any clear-cut distinction between an "economic imperialism" characterized by commercial expansionism and free trade, and the "formal" hegemony exercised by territorial occupation'.[54] An oft-cited example that powerfully captures this ambiguity is that when Britain was about to formally recognise Spanish American independence in 1824, Foreign Secretary George Canning wrote in a private letter: 'Spanish America is free, and if we do not mismanage our affairs sadly, she is *English*' (emphasis in the original).[55] This quotation exposes what Reeder refers to as the 'irresolvable paradox' which lies at the heart of the idea of informal empire: the notion that Britons looked to Latin America 'as both a symbol of freedom and a site of imperialism' – in other words, that Latin America could be both free and subjected to British influence.[56]

Graham and many of her British contemporaries' understanding of the nature and envisioned future of the relationship between Britain and Latin America was shaped by the

[51] P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: 1688-2015* (London: Routledge, 2016), 435.
[52] Brown, *Informal Empire in Latin America*, 39.
[53] Brown, *Informal Empire in Latin America*, 8-9.
[54] Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism,* 3.
[55] George Canning to Lord Granville, December 17, 1824, cited in William W. Kaufmann, *British Policy and the Independence of Latin America, 1804-1828* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1951), 178.
[56] Reeder, *The Forms of Informal Empire*, 3, 10.

idea of progress. David Spadafora defines progress as 'the belief in the movement over time of some aspect or aspects of human existence, within a social setting, toward a better condition'.[57] Spadafora emphasises that this definition is provisional and deliberately broad, because 'although there is only one *idea* of progress, there is a multitude of possible *expressions* of the idea' (emphasis in the original).[58] It was in the eighteenth century that the idea of progress became an especially important element in British intellectual thought; from the late 1750s, a number of 'doctrines of general progress' started to gain prominence:

> Among these there were two basic types. One, expressed primarily by Scots, depicted history, in the march from rudeness to refinement, as broadly progressive within certain temporal and cultural limits. The other, of principally English provenance, ignored these limits and conceived of progress as indefinite in scope and duration.[59]

What these two types have in common is a general belief that human societies move toward a better condition over time. The Scottish type, especially, centres on the notion of a three- or four-stage theory of human development. This so-called stadial theory was built on the work of Montesquieu, Smith, and Ferguson and, as Tim Fulford explains, accounted for 'historical change by relating social organization to mode of subsistence. Savagery corresponded to hunting and gathering, barbarism to herding, and only on emerging from these stages into those of agriculture and then commerce did a people become a civilized nation'.[60] According to this theory, Britain, being a commercial nation, had reached the

[57] David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 6.
[58] Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress*, 7.
[59] Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress*, 212.
[60] Tim Fulford, *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture, 1756-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 42.

fourth, most civilised, stage, whereas the newly independent Latin American nations were still in earlier stages of development.

Some eighteenth-century writers raised concerns about the potential negative effects of commercial society, particularly the corrupting influence of luxury and the loss of 'political equilibrium and spirit of patriotism', which would eventually lead to internal decay and eventually societal collapse.[61] Nevertheless, Spadafora asserts, 'much of the pessimism of the eighteenth century was tempered with optimism, many of its fears with hopes'.[62] In the context of Latin America, many Britons believed that by stimulating free trade and financial investment, they would contribute to the advancement of the continent's inhabitants. This way of thinking underlies much of 1820s British travel writing about Latin America. Pratt argues, for example, that it had been ideas about 'America's purported backwardness' that had originally legitimated British interference in the region.[63] Travellers of the 'capitalist vanguard' used the 'language of the civilizing mission' to 'reinvent America as backward and neglected, to encode its non-capitalist landscapes and societies as manifestly in need of the rationalized exploitation the Europeans bring'.[64] By using the language of progress, then, British writers justified their presence and activities in Latin America.

This 'language of the civilizing mission' is also visible in Graham's journals; in both the Brazil and Chile journals, she espouses the idea that British commercial expansionism can lead to the cultural and commercial development of South America. Caballero has aptly described Graham's two published travel journals as enacting 'a version of the imperial civilizing mission' that can be defined as 'benign domination'.[65] She states that

[61] Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress*, 14-16.
[62] Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress*, 16.
[63] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 148.
[64] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 149.
[65] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 112.

> Graham envisions cultural contact as disinterested benevolence of an advanced imperial power towards its Other. Her texts structure British economic contact as an infusion of British civilization and progress whose primary agents are gentility and manners rather than as the conquest of land and the extraction of raw resources.[66]

Here, Caballero persuasively argues that Graham champions the South American independence movement yet simultaneously seeks to 'civilise' the continent 'along British lines' in order to culturally advance it.[67] Expanding on these observations, my thesis looks more closely at the ways in which ideas about South American independence, informal empire, and progress shaped Graham's historiographical representation of Brazilian and Chilean history. As I will demonstrate, these ideas permeated her writing, from her assessment of the historicity of South American landscapes to her documentation of life and politics at the early nineteenth-century Brazilian court, and it determined how she perceived herself as a British female historian writing about these nations.

Graham's championing of South American independence, visions of British commercial expansionism in the region, and ideas about progress were also important shaping factors in her representation of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Graham had an enduring interest in the Araucanians, the native inhabitants of southern Chile and parts of Argentina. Unlike indigenous peoples from other parts of Chile, the Araucanians – or, Mapuche, as they predominantly self-identify as today – were never subjected to Spanish colonial rule. As Simon Collier notes, in the early seventeenth century the Bío Bío river in southern Chile became a frontier between Arauco, an unconquered and autonomous region inhabited by the Araucanians to the south of the river, and the Spanish colony that was developing north of the river.[68] Alonso de Ercilla immortalized Araucanian resistance against

[66] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 112.
[67] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 117.
[68] Simon Collier, *A History of Chile, 1808-2002* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

Spain in his epic poem *La Araucana*. This thesis explores how Graham engaged with the history of the Araucanians for a variety of reasons and from a range of different historiographical angles, such as the relationship between landscape aesthetics and informal empire (Chapter One), stadial theory (Chapter Two), and the politics of Chilean independence (Chapter Three). Studying Graham's writing alongside that of her British male contemporaries, I demonstrate how she distinguished herself as a professional female writer and provide an in-depth discussion of British interest in and engagement with the Araucanians in the early nineteenth century.

Maria Graham's Intellectual Formation and Travels in India and Italy (1785-1820)

As this study will highlight, Graham's historiographical discussions about Brazil and Chile showcase an exceptional breadth and depth of learning for a woman of her time. Throughout her writing, personal observations are richly interspersed with scholarly allusions, and Graham strengthens her authority by carefully and confidently positioning herself in relation to other historians, art historians, poets, philosophers, and travel writers. Moreover, her visual depictions of South American landscapes reveal a refined understanding of landscape aesthetics and debates concerning the relationship between history and different foreign landscapes. In order to better understand Graham's engagement with historiography in her writing about South America, it is important to first sketch her intellectual and artistic development as it was shaped by her education and early foreign travel experiences.

Maria Graham (née Dundas) was born on 19 July 1785 at Papcastle, near Cockermouth as the eldest child of George Dundas, a Scottish naval officer, and Miss Thomson or Thompson, who was originally from Virginia but brought up in Liverpool.[69] In 1793, she was sent off to school at the Manor House in Drayton, Oxfordshire, where she

[69] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)." Moreover, Regina Akel argues that Graham changed her name from Mary to Maria; see Akel, *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography*, 257.

studied Latin, Italian, French, geography, botany, English literature, music, and drawing.[70] Growing up, Graham had a wealth of educational material at her disposal. In her autobiographical 'Reminiscences', she writes that although her governess Miss Bright's private book collection 'was but small', the 'excellent library of Milton House was always at her command'.[71] Graham's fascination for history was sparked at a young age, and history formed a substantial part of her reading. As she writes in the 'Reminiscences', in the library at Milton House she would come across 'a great deal of biography and history', and after much 'poring over biographical dictionaries', she made herself '(for a Protestant) a tolerable hagiologist'.[72] In the school room at Drayton, she found 'treasures' such as Adam Littleton's *Latin Dictionary* (1673), in which she encountered a map of ancient Rome that sparked her interest in Roman antiquities.[73] Graham also spent a lot of time at the Richmond residence of her uncle, Sir David Dundas, who worked as a physician to King George III.[74] In her uncle's library, she found 'a great many books of history', including Gilbert Burnet's *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (1679), Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Julian's *The Caesars* (361), Thomas Gordon's translation of Tacitus (1728), and Bernard de Montfaucon's *The Antiquities of Italy* (1725).[75]

By the late eighteenth century, history was generally seen as a useful component of a girl's education. As Daniel Woolf notes, female readership had increased substantially since the sixteenth century, and by the eighteenth century history was one of the most popular genres among upper and middle-class women readers.[76] Mark Towsey points out that although some writers continued to hold the conventional view that history was a subject fit only for gentlemen who needed to be prepared for a life of active duty, 'there was an

[70] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)."
[71] Rosamund Brunel Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott: The Creator of "Little Arthur"* (London: John Murray, 1937), 22.
[72] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 43.
[73] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 23.
[74] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 17.
[75] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 59, 87.
[76] Daniel Woolf, *A Global History of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 287-289.

increasing recognition that history was fitted to "persons of almost all ranks and situations" – including women, for whom a "knowledge of history" was considered "a necessary accomplishment"".[77] For female readers especially, history books could also serve didactically as alternatives for experience. Looser states that girls could read histories to help them understand 'aspects of life they were not supposed to have access to without encountering problems of decorum in experiencing them'.[78] Reading history not only served a moral but also a political didactic purpose. Towsey contends that history reading was essential to the formation of British national identity, and that it helped 'readers to make sense of the contentious politics of constitution, nation and empire'.[79] Throughout this thesis, I will investigate how Graham's history reading shaped her perceptions about the political histories of the foreign countries she journeyed in.

Art history and artistic practice also played a central role in Graham's intellectual formation, and, as I will demonstrate in subsequent chapters, in her travel writing it would come to intersect with history and landscape in imaginative and innovative ways. She received her first drawing lessons from a teacher called William Crotch, and from the age of fifteen she was taught by William Delamotte, a landscape and marine painter and former student of Benjamin West.[80] Delamotte introduced her to Sir Joshua Reynolds' writing on art and Burke's work on the aesthetic category of the sublime. She reflects: 'it was almost like finding out another sense, and certainly, even to the present day, my happiness has been much increased by what I then learnt'.[81] She also enjoyed reading about art; for example, at the house of her uncle James Dundas in Edinburgh she admired 'folios of fine prints and Italian drawings', and in the library at Milton she found 'some French works on the fine arts', which

[77] Mark Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America, c. 1750-c.1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 28.
[78] Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History*, 18.
[79] Towsey, *Reading History*, 18, 22.
[80] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 26-44.
[81] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 44.

she 'devoured with the greatest eagerness'.[82] From a young age, then, she displayed an interest in artistic practice as well as art history and art criticism.

Visits to Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill further shaped Graham's interest in and knowledge of history, art history, and landscape drawing. Strawberry Hill was the house that Horace Walpole (1717-1797) lived in for the last fifty years of his life. It housed his large collection of art and antiquities, acquired during his travels on the Grand Tour and afterwards; Michael Snodin notes that by 1797 the house stored at least 4,000 objects.[83] Graham was first invited to Strawberry Hill by Walpole's close acquaintances, the sisters Mary and Agnes Berry, whose father was Graham's father's first cousin.[84] For women, houses like Walpole's were central places of learning; as Pelling points out, since women were generally excluded from art historical and antiquarian institutions, they turned to places such as Strawberry Hill and Fonthill Abbey to expand their knowledge and to cultivate their social status.[85] Diaries and letters, Pelling continues, offered discursive spaces for members of the Bluestocking circle to reflect on art collections, exchange ideas, and enact elite sociability.[86] Graham wrote an account of her first visit to the house in a manuscript diary entry dated 28th July 1804. This entry illuminates the importance of her visits to Strawberry Hill to the early development of her historiographical and art critical voice. The four-page account consists of a detailed description on the objects and art exhibited in the house. 'Highly delighted' with a chance to visit, Graham enthusiastically mentions seeing architectural features such as 'gothic niches' and curious objects such as suits of armour, 'a very curious piece of

[82] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 74, 43.
[83] Michael Snodin, "Going to Strawberry Hill," in *Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill*, ed. Michael Snodin (New Haven and London: The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale Center for British Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, in association with Yale University Press, 2009), 23.
[84] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 63.
[85] Madeleine Pelling, "Women Writing Gothic Collections: Anne Hamilton's Fonthill Abbey and Mary Hamilton's Strawberry Hill" (Paper, International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Annual Conference, University of Edinburgh, July 2019).
[86] Madeleine Pelling, "Mary Hamilton, Sociability, and Antiquarianism in the Eighteenth-Century Collection," in *Women and the Art and Science of Collecting in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Arlene Leis and Kacie L. Wills (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 130. See also Elizabeth Eger, "Paper Trails and Eloquent Objects: Bluestocking Friendship and Material Culture," *Parergon* 26, no. 2 (2009): 109-138.

stonework, part of a buttress of York Minster most exquisitely wrought', an 'Eastern powder horn visibly wrought in steel & gold', and Egyptian marble statues.[87]

Graham's eye seems to have been especially drawn to the many portraits, landscapes, miniatures, and drawings on display in the house. Her fascination with the collection is apparent throughout; for example, upon viewing 'an exquisite picture' of the poet Abraham Cowley as a young boy she writes: 'the expression of his countenance is really enchanting. I cd have looked at it for ever'.[88] Her descriptions are careful and detailed; she comments on technique, execution, and the different levels of finish observed. She writes how she saw 'three illuminations most capitally managed' and 'some beautiful miniatures' by renowned miniature painters Jean Petitot and Isaac Oliver that are 'highly finished'.[89] The entry also reveals a particular interest in historical portraits of English royalty and gentry and paintings and drawings of French landscapes, and her reflections reveal that she was curious to know more about the provenance of these artworks.[90] The diary entry demonstrates a serious interest in art history and shows the importance of Strawberry Hill as a space of learning and the development of aesthetic knowledge.

It was also at Strawberry Hill that Graham met Barbara Seton, a cousin of the sisters Berry. According to Graham, Seton 'drew very well in the French fashion', and when Seton set up a school for girls in Bideford around 1804 Graham was put under her care for six months.[91] Graham volunteered at the school, and she had been hoping that Seton could teach her 'to draw the figure'; unfortunately, however, during her six-month stay she 'applied only two half hours to that purpose'.[92] Graham's hopes of learning to draw the figure mark an unusual artistic ambition for a young woman in this period. Although women increasingly

[87] Maria Callcott, 'Extracts from Lady Callcott's journals, 1804-1829, made by William Hutchins Callcott, n.d. (watermark 1846), MS. Eng. d. 2274, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882,' Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[88] Callcott, 'Extracts.'
[89] Callcott, 'Extracts.'
[90] Callcott, 'Extracts.'
[91] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 66.
[92] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 67.

had access to drawing lessons, their education was usually restricted to the 'lower categories' of painting such as still-life, landscape, and portraiture. They were generally excluded from the most prestigious genre, history painting, primarily because this required an expert knowledge of human anatomy. This knowledge was acquired in life-drawing classes with nude models, a practice exclusively reserved for male students. According to Wendy Wassying Roworth, 'women artists could follow the early stages of copying after paintings and engravings, which might include nude or nearly nude figures […] and drawing after antique statuary or plaster casts', but when 'male artists advanced to life class women were left at a stage of arrested artistic development'.[93] Graham's disappointment reveals that she was eager to follow at least these early stages of education but never had the opportunity. Nevertheless, her wish to learn how to draw the figure reveals an artistic ambition that went beyond the conventional artistic education for girls, and the fact that she was to receive this training from a female teacher made this ambition all the more remarkable.

Graham's travels in India and Italy bolstered her authority as a woman of taste. In December 1808, Graham joined her father and two siblings on the sea voyage out to India. On board ship, she met Thomas Graham, then a midshipman, and they got married in India in 1809.[94] For the following two years, Graham lived in Bombay and Pune and travelled to places in south and east India such as Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta.[95] She published two works on her travels: *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812) and *Letters on India* (1814). These early works, which were published with engravings based on her own sketches, already reflect her deep interest in history, antiquities, and art. In *Journal Of a Residence in India*, Graham included detailed descriptions of excursions to historical sites such as the temples of Canary, Elephanta, and Carli, and she recounts a visit to the ancient city of Mahabalipuram. Graham

[93] Wendy Wassying Roworth, "Anatomy is Destiny: Regarding the Body in the Art of Angelica Kauffman," in *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*, ed. Gill Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 43.
[94] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)."
[95] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)."

also met with eminent British scholars such as the historian James Mackintosh, with whom she resided for a while. *Letters on India* is testament to her historiographical ambition; meticulously researched and detailed, the work reveals that she built on the publications in the *Asiatic Researches* by British Orientalists such as Sir William Jones, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Francis Wilford, and Alexander Dow and historian Robert Orme to trace the history of India from the ancient Hindu kingdoms through the Muslim conquests of the Indian subcontinent and until her present day.

Graham further strengthened her historical and art historical knowledge during an extended trip in Italy between 1818 and 1820. Graham sailed to Italy with her husband Thomas Graham in September 1818. They first travelled to Gibraltar and then Malta, where they met the painter Sir Charles Lock Eastlake.[95] They then journeyed to Sicily and Naples, where Graham visited and made sketches of antiquarian sites. They continued on to Rome, where they would live for at least a year. The Grahams resided with Eastlake in Rome, and in the summer of 1819 the painter accompanied them on a three-month excursion to Poli, a village in the Lazio region east of Rome. Graham and Eastlake developed a close friendship; in a letter to Francis Palgrave, she would later write: 'there are few people I love half so well in the world […] he is a brother to me'.[96] Eastlake also introduced Graham to other artists in Rome, including John Jackson and Joseph Mallord William Turner.[97] Back in Britain, Graham published *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820), a travel account of her excursion to Poli. The work includes illustrations by Eastlake.

Graham's first-hand experiences of travelling in India and Italy were of central importance to the development of her identity as a female travel writer. For most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, connoisseurship in Britain had been the domain of

[95] David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 16.
[96] Gotch, *Lady, Maria Callcott*, 171.
[97] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)."

wealthy male aristocrats, who could gain first-hand knowledge of antiquities, Renaissance art, and foreign landscapes during their travels on the Grand Tour. Elizabeth Bohls states that genteel ladies were encouraged to be involved in 'amateur aesthetic activity' such as taking drawing lessons, appreciating landscapes, and reading texts on aesthetics, but that they were mostly excluded from receiving a classical education; in other words, they were only 'tolerated as second-class practitioners or passive consumers'.[98] This changed towards the end of the eighteenth century, when elite and middle-class women increasingly gained access to foreign travel, art education, and exhibitions.[99] Travel, Bohls states, enabled women to use the language of aesthetics, especially that of landscape aesthetics, to 'work through their exclusion from the political, social, and cultural privileges of the gentleman'.[100] Because, as Elizabeth Fay points out, travel writing assumed the author to be 'amateur – that is, neither a scholar nor an authority on the visited land', the published travel account was a suitable and more accepted medium through which women could engage with debates about aesthetics.[101]

Graham applied the language of landscape aesthetics, especially that of the picturesque, in both her written and visual depictions of the historicity of foreign landscapes. The picturesque emerged in Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century and blended the atmospheric and idealised Italianate landscapes of seventeenth-century painters like Salvator Rosa, Claude Lorrain, and Gaspar Poussin with Dutch style landscape art to create landscape depictions that, in the words of William Gilpin, evoke 'that peculiar kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture'.[102] Despite its foreign influences, John Whale contends, the

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[98] Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 2.
[99] On women and foreign travel in this period, see Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: HarperCollins, 2001).
[100] Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*, 18.
[101] Elizabeth A. Fay, "Travel Writing," in *Cambridge Companion to Women's Writing in the Romantic Period*, ed. Devoney Looser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 73.
[102] William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints, Containing Remarks upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty; the Different Kinds of Prints; and the Characters of the Most Noted Masters*, second edition (London, 1768), "Explanation of Terms," 2.

picturesque offered 'a particularly English aesthetic of landscape' that could compete with that of Continental Europe and which played a central role in the formation of a specific kind of Englishness.[103] Gilpin – who was one of the most influential theorists of the picturesque – writes that the picturesque composition that travellers were after was characterised by roughness, asymmetry, and irregularity. As such, it would contain elements of light and shadow, variety, and a multi-layered perspective of foreground, middle, and background framed by side-screens. Picturesque scenes often included rugged mountains, ruined churches, castles, or abbeys, shepherds, small groups of cattle, and trees, all painted in browns, greens, and yellows.[104]

Although the picturesque was an influential aesthetic category in the 1790s and 1800s, it remains, as Stephen Copley and Peter Garside put it, 'notoriously difficult' to define.[105] Theorists often position it halfway between the beautiful and the sublime, two other aesthetic categories that were theorised by Edmund Burke in his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757). Timothy M. Costelloe, for example, notes that Gilpin pushes the picturesque 'into an uncomfortable middle ground between the other two: it must partake of beauty if it is to please and amuse them, but can do so only if it invokes the qualities that in one way or another "ruffle" the smooth surface and usher in the elements that bring it closer to the sublime'.[106] Malcolm Andrews observes that a later theorist, Sir Uvedale Price, would argue that the picturesque should be more clearly distinct from the beautiful and the sublime.[107] The picturesque also complicated the boundaries between art

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[103] John Whale, "Romantics, Explorers and Picturesque Travellers," in *The Politics of the Picturesque*: *Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 177.
[104] William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape*, second edition (London, 1794).
[105] Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, "Introduction," in *The Politics of the Picturesque*: *Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1.
[106] Timothy M. Costelloe, *The British Aesthetic Tradition: From Shaftesbury to Wittgenstein* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 141-142.
[107] Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989), 58.

and nature; on the one hand, it was thought to be an artifice that only existed in artistic representations of nature. At the same time, however, connoisseurs would often admire landscapes that naturally resembled picturesque paintings.

In both its written and visual applications, the picturesque was deeply politicised. Whereas earlier in the century, the influence of Georgic poetry had led to a celebration of rural labour in depictions of landscape, human figures now began to take up a more subordinate position in the landscape.[108] Gilpin argued that overt traces of commerce, industry, or human habitation disrupted the aesthetic effects of a picturesque scene. He notes: 'In a moral view, the industrious mechanic is a more pleasing object than the loitering peasant. But in a picturesque light, it is otherwise'.[109] Depictions of agricultural labourers working the land began to make way for gypsies, beggars, and indolent shepherds. This move towards the anti-Georgic, Andrews argues, resulted in 'a suppression of the spectator's moral response to those very subjects which it could least hope to divest of moral significance' such as hovels, ruins, cottages, and rural poverty.[110]

The political aspects of the picturesque shaped British depictions of domestic and foreign colonial landscapes. Copley and Garside give the example of the Scottish Highlands, where 'the combination of political repression, economic exploitation, and aesthetic sentimentalisation of the Scottish landscape' rendered the 'Picturesque "invention" of the region a hegemonic cultural manifestation of the English colonising presence'.[111] Leask writes that the picturesque paradigm also had a significant impact on late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century European travel writing about extra-European countries such as Ethiopia, Egypt, India, and Mexico, countries that were all considered 'antique lands' by

[108] Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 25.
[109] William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England; Particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland* (London, 1786), 2:44.
[110] Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 59.
[111] Copley and Garside, "Introduction," 7.

European travellers.[112] Even though travellers considered these countries as to some degree lacking 'the rich texture of literary and cultural associations which distinguished Greco-Roman topography', they still 'had particular resonance for romantic sensibility, attracted as it was to the antique, the picturesque, and the exotic'.[113] Because of the 'associative vacuum' travellers were facing, they "temporalized" antique lands such as India, Egypt, and Mexico in picturesque descriptions 'by comparing them with more familiar, biblical, or medieval worlds, at the same time as they incorporated them into a "universal" grid of geographical orientation' located in Europe.[114] In Chapter One, I analyse how Graham applied the language of the picturesque in different geographical contexts – India, Italy, and South America – to give expression to the particular type of historicity these different landscapes evoked. Her experiences in India and Italy, I will show, were essential to her interpretation of South American landscapes.

Another, related, intellectual interest which had a significant influence on Graham's ideas about the relationship between history, travel, and landscape was the philosophical concept of associationism. In eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain, associationism was an influential school of philosophy and psychology. It was largely derived from John Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) and consisted of a set of theories centred on the notion that the mind works through the association of ideas. Locke challenges the notion that people are born with innate ideas, claiming that at birth the mind does not contain a set of fully-formed principles and ideas but instead is comparable to 'white paper', or, as it would later be termed, *tabula rasa*.[115] Locke's theory postulates that there are two main ways in which we can acquire ideas through experience. The first way is through the perception of external objects via one or more of the five basic senses. Locke calls this 'Sensation'. A secondary

[112] Leask, *Curiosity*, 1.
[113] Leask, *Curiosity*, 2.
[114] Leask, *Curiosity*, 2.
[115] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, in *Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 1.1.8, ll. 29-30.

means of acquiring ideas is through the perception of the operations of our own mind. This he calls 'Reflection'. According to Locke, these two ways of acquiring ideas are 'the only Originals, from whence all our Ideas take their beginnings', and that 'we have nothing in our Minds, which did not come in, one of these two ways'.[116] For Locke, external objects are the foundational building blocks for the formation of personal identity.

One of the major influences on Graham's associationist thinking was Dugald Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792). She had first become acquainted with the Scottish philosopher in Edinburgh in 1805, during an extended visit to her uncle, James Dundas. Stewart then held the chair of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, and in her 'Reminiscences' Graham recalls frequent visits to his house: 'I seized every opportunity of being there, where his kindness and that of his most amiable wife and daughter soon made me feel more at home than in any other house'.[117] Her interest in philosophy did not remain unnoticed; during one of these evenings, moral philosopher Thomas Brown gave her the nickname 'Metaphysics in Muslin'.[118] One of the passages from Stewart's work that strongly resonates in Graham's travel writing is the idea that the sensory perception of external objects can cause people to experience strong emotional responses when visiting historically significant places. Stewart writes:

> Of those remarkable scenes which interest the curiosity, from the memorable persons or transactions which we have been accustomed to connect with them in the course of our studies, the fancy is more awakened by the actual perception of the scene itself, than by the mere conception or imagination of it. Hence the pleasure we enjoy in visiting classical ground; in beholding the retreats which inspired the genius of our

[116] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 2.1.4., ll. 33-34 and 2.1.5, ll. 10-11.
[117] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 76.
[118] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 75.

> favourite authors, or the fields which have been dignified by exertions of heroic virtue.[119]

In this fragment, Stewart argues that the effect of visiting sites rich with historical meaning such as classical landscapes, the former abodes of illustrious authors, or old battlefields sparks a stronger response in the beholder than the mere thought of these places would. Important here is that the person witnessing the scene already possesses some historical knowledge of the site, previously acquired through personal study. When perceiving the scene through the senses, the mind of the viewer makes new associations based on this knowledge, which has the potential to strengthen the emotional response to the scene. Stewart gives the example of Cicero, who had observed that the 'antient senate-house seems peopled with the like visionary forms', and that he would see the shades of people such as Scipio, Cato, and Laelius appear in his imagination.[120]

This idea that visiting historically significant places evoked a train of associations in the mind was closely linked to ideas about landscape aesthetics and taste. In *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790), Archibald Alison – a lifelong friend of Dugald Stewart's – applied the theory of associationism to matters of taste. According to Alison, associations could have a powerful effect on people's perception of beauty. Viewers beholding a landscape would make historical associations with the scene before them, and as a result, history and landscape would blend into one another, making the mind experience strong emotions of beauty or sublimity. Examining the relationship between the picturesque and history writing, Phillips argues that Alison 'treats history as a close cousin to the picturesque […]. The view of Rome, like the picturesque landscape, involves the viewer with a rich trove of associations and provides the theorist with a ready laboratory of aesthetic emotions'.[121]

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[119] Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (London, 1792), 278-279.
[120] Stewart, *Elements*, 277.
[121] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 331.

Education played an important role here; as Phillips asserts, 'the emotions of history are essentially a possession of men of the political class', because they would have a common framework of knowledge and travel experience that would 'give resonance' to historically significant sites and events'.[122] The more historical knowledge someone had at their disposal, the more powerful their aesthetic response to landscape would be. In Chapter One, I will show how Graham applied her deep understanding of associationism to express ideas about the histories of Brazil and Chile and these countries' indigenous inhabitants.

Maria Graham's Life and Intellectual Networks in the 1820s and 1830s

As mentioned previously, Graham continued to work on projects related to South America long after she had returned from her travels. By the early 1830s, however, ill health kept her mainly confined to her home at the Mall in Kensington Gravel Pits, where she had been living with her second husband, the painter Augustus Wall Callcott, since 1827.[123] In these years she gathered round her a large and elite group of people with whom she enjoyed sharing her wide-ranging intellectual interests; visitors included Sydney Smith, Samuel Rogers, Henry Hallam, Maria Edgeworth, Thomas Campbell, Joanna Baillie, and Jane Marcet.[124] She also built an expansive artistic network; Palmer has recently noted that Graham 'wielded considerable influence over artistic debates of the day' from her 'salon' at the Mall, conversing and corresponding with, among others, John Linnell, John Flaxman, Dawson Turner, and Francis Palgrave.[125] Graham also had a close and longstanding friendship with John Murray II. Samuel Smiles writes that Graham was 'on very intimate terms' with the Murrays and was godmother to one of their daughters.[126] She also worked as a reader and

[122] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 330.
[123] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)." Graham adopted the name Callcott upon her marriage to Augustus Wall Callcott. However, for the sake of clarity and consistency, I will refer to her as Graham throughout this thesis.
[124] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 284.
[125] Palmer, "'A Revolution in Art,'" 11.
[126] Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray* (London, 1891), 116.

editor for the publishing house; among other things, she edited and reviewed books; for example, she edited the travel journal *HMS Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the Years 1824-1825* (1826) and reviewed the latest travel journals and historical fiction.[127]

Graham's closest friend in this period was Caroline Fox. Fox was the daughter of Stephen Fox, second Baron of Holland and Lady Mary Fitzpatrick and the niece of the Whig politician Charles James Fox. Fox was also the sister of the Whig politician and man of letters Henry Richard Fox, Third Baron Holland (afterwards Vassall). Together with his wife Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland (née Vassall, other married name Elizabeth Vassall Webster, Lady Webster), the Hollands presided over a vibrant political and literary salon from their home at Holland House in Kensington, London. The prolific correspondence between Graham and Fox shows that the two friends shared many interests such as history, politics, education, religion, literature, and botany. They also collaborated on literary projects, including Graham's unpublished writing about South America. My thesis traces the connections between Graham and Fox in relation to the production of this manuscript writing. It is also the first study to explore links between the production, circulation, and reception of these two works within the context of the wider Holland House circle. As Thompson has noted, Graham was first introduced to the Whig networks at Holland House by James Mackintosh after her return from India.[128] In the late 1820s and 1830s, Graham regularly attended salons there: the Holland House dinner books show that she visited at least seventeen times between 1 September 1825 and 2 April 1836.[129]

The influence of the Whig salon on British and European culture in this period cannot be overstated: Susanne Schmid describes Holland House as 'by far the biggest and

[127] Mitchell, "Maria, Lady Callcott (1785–1842)." On Graham's editing of *HMS Blonde to the Sandwich Islands*, see Carl Thompson, "'Only the Amblyrhynchus:' Maria Graham's Scientific Editing of Voyage of HMS Blonde (1826/7)," *Journal of Literature and Science* 8, no. 1 (2015): 48-68.
[128] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 189.
[129] Holland House dinner books, 1825-1838, Add MS 51954-51955, Holland House papers, British Library, London.

most powerful salon' in this period, and Will Bowers identifies it as 'one of the most important cultural sites in Romantic London'.[130] The house was a central meeting place for politicians, writers, and artists, and it offered a lively space to discuss and exchange political and cultural ideas, form connections and alliances, and collaborate on literary projects. Among those who visited frequently were Thomas Moore, Samuel Rogers, Lord Byron, Henry Brougham, Sydney Smith, Sir James Mackintosh, Francis Jeffrey, and Lord John Russell. Others, such as Robert Southey, Jeremy Bentham, and George Ticknor also visited the house on at least one occasion.[131] Graham's close links with Holland House in this period afforded her entry into a network that was not only intellectually stimulating but also deeply cosmopolitan. The house attracted a wide range of illustrious international visitors, including Alexander von Humboldt, Germaine de Staël, Étienne Dumont, and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand. One of the factors that made Holland House such an important hub of international cultural and political life was the Hollands' love of travel and their shared interest in foreign languages and cultures. Between 1792 and 1796, Holland travelled in Portugal, Spain, Italy, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden. During a visit to Naples he met Elizabeth Vassall Webster, who was travelling through Europe with her first husband, Sir Godfrey Webster.[132] Sir Godfrey Webster divorced Elizabeth Vassall Webster on 4 July 1797, and Elizabeth married Holland two days later. The Hollands continued to travel extensively; accompanied by Holland's librarian and trusted friend John Allen, they travelled on the Iberian Peninsula between 1802-1805 and 1808-1809.[133]

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[130] Susanne Schmid, *British Literary Salons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 102; and Will Bowers, "The Many Rooms of Holland House," in *Re-evaluating the Literary Coterie, 1580-1830: from Sidney's to Blackwood's*, ed. Will Bowers and Hannah Leah Crummé (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 216, 159.

[131] For an overview of visitors, see Marie Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 2 volumes (London, 1874); and Lloyd Charles Sanders, *The Holland House Circle* (London: Methuen & Co., 1908).

[132] C. J. Wright, "Fox, Elizabeth Vassall [née Elizabeth Vassall], Lady Holland [other married name Elizabeth Vassall Webster, Lady Webster] (1771?–1845), Political and Literary Hostess," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10028.

[133] Wright, "Fox, Elizabeth Vassall [née Elizabeth Vassall]."

Holland's political beliefs also led him to espouse constitutionalist developments abroad, an interest that, I will demonstrate, he and Graham shared. Holland's career as a Whig politician was spent mainly in opposition – he was briefly in office as Lord of the Privy Seal during the Ministry of All the Talents in 1806, but when the ministry fell in March 1807 he would be out of office for the next twenty-three years.[134] Holland aimed to perpetuate Charles James Fox's legacy; following his uncle's death in 1806, Lord Holland became, in Will Bowers' words, 'the defender of Foxite principles'.[135] This meant, among other things, a vigorous defense of liberty and an opposition to arbitrary power.[136] As an Aristocratic Whig, property was essential to Holland's sense of political duty; as Kriegel writes, 'the preservation of liberty required property's continued and legitimate influence, and Holland thought he could best defend liberty in his capacity "as a man of education and property"'.[137] As Leslie Mitchell has noted, Holland was in favour of restricting the executive power of the Crown and a strong advocate for the development of constitutionalism across Europe.[138] Following the recent Restoration of Bourbon absolutism, the formation of the Holy Alliance, and the Congress of Vienna in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars, Europe saw, as Diego Saglia explains, an attempt at the 'preservation of absolutism by the systematic suppression of liberal movements aspiring to constitutionalism or independence'.[139] In the wake of these developments, Holland House opened its doors to European exiles fleeing absolute monarchical rule in their home countries. In 1816, Ugo Foscolo and many other Italians fled to Holland House to escape Austrian rule.[140] In the 1820s, Holland House welcomed many

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134 C. J. Wright, "Fox [afterwards Vassall], Henry Richard, third Baron Holland of Holland and third Baron Holland of Foxley (1773–1840), Politician and Man of Letters," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10035.
135 Bowers, "The Many Rooms of Holland House," 162.
136 Abraham D. Kriegel, "Introduction: Lord Holland, the Whigs, and the Decade of Reform," in Henry Richard Vassall Fox and John Allen, *The Holland House Diaries*, ed. Abraham D. Kriegel (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), xxiii.
137 Kriegel, *The Holland House Diaries*, xxi.
138 Leslie Mitchell, *Holland House* (London: Duckworth, 1980), 197-199.
139 Diego Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain, 1815–1832: Romantic Translations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 16.
140 Mitchell, *Holland House*, 204.

Spanish refugees who had fled the country after the reinstatement of King Ferdinand VII of Spain through an intervention of Bourbon France in 1823.[141] In this same decade, the house also saw an influx of Portuguese exiles who were fleeing persecution from the absolute monarch Dom Miguel, something which I will look into in more detail in Chapter Four.

In part due to Holland's championing of constitutionalism in Europe, recent scholarship on Holland House has described the house as a centre of European liberal politics. Kelly argues that Holland House was a 'rallying point for European liberalism'.[142] Saglia describes the house as 'the hub of an international, cosmopolitan, and ideologically "liberal" network of cultural and political contacts and exchanges'.[143] The use of the word 'liberal' in this context, however, is not without its theoretical challenges. Gabriel Paquette writes that 'the meanings of "liberal" and "liberalism" were multiple and in constant flux' in Europe and the Americas in this period, and it was not until the 1830s that the terms "liberal" or "liberalism" came to denote 'a relatively coherent set of ideas, institutions, and political practices'.[144] Paquette refers to early nineteenth-century liberalism as a 'frustratingly fissiparous concept', the significance of which 'was varied, changing, and often ambiguous'.[145] The term also signified different things in different countries. For example, in Italian exile circles it could embody 'constitutionalism, a revised international order, civil-political freedoms, gradual progress, and social reform'; and in Spain and Spanish America 'there were great internal divisions among those who called themselves "liberal,"' which resulted in significant shifts in meaning.[146]

Paquette does attempt to identify commonalities among the different European liberalist traditions, which is helpful in thinking about the international political context in

[141] William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 212; and Mitchell, *Holland House*, 238.
[142] Linda Kelly, *Holland House: a History of London's most Celebrated Salon* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 120.
[143] Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain, 1815-1832*, 114.
[144] Gabriel Paquette, *Imperial Portugal in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions: The Luso-Brazilian World, C. 1770-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 123.
[145] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 123.
[146] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 123.

which Graham would have moved at Holland House. Broadly speaking, early nineteenth-century European liberalism 'gave an account of freedom characterised by the absence of interference, normally from an arbitrary power, and advocacy of the rule of law, embodied in a written constitution, to guard against such interference'.[147] This definition appears to broadly reflect Holland's political beliefs; as mentioned, he advocated for liberty and strongly favoured constitutional forms of government over absolutist monarchical rule. In at least one instance in his diary, Holland refers to his championing of the constitutionalist cause in Spain and Portugal as 'our liberal politicks'.[148] In Chapter Four, I analyse how Graham contributed to these constitutionalist debates by documenting Pedro I's constitutionalist politics in Brazil. I illustrate how Graham made a significant contribution to historiographical and political debates at Holland House through her composition of this work and its circulation among members of the Holland House set.

With my focus on the connections between Graham and Holland House in Chapters Three and Four, I aim to encourage future research into the literary, political, and historiographical involvement and influence of women in the Holland House circle. Women have remained underrepresented in studies related to this influential political and literary salon. As Schmidt writes, 'Far fewer women than men figure in the diaries and academic studies about the Holland House set […]. As most chroniclers of Holland House were men, they may not have considered women as important guests, which would explain their lack of visibility'.[149] I offer an additional possible explanation for the relative absence of women in historical and academic sources on the Holland House circle, namely that women's literary and historiographical activities have remained overlooked when considering the extent of their involvement and influence in this circle. It is important that we do more research about

[147] Gabriel Paquette, "Introduction: Liberalism in the Early Nineteenth-Century Iberian World," *History of European Ideas* 41, no. 2 (2015): 160.
[148] Fox and Allen, *The Holland House Diaries*, 372.
[149] Schmid, *British Literary Salons*, 100.

the ways in which women affiliated to the Holland House set engaged in political and historical debates through their manuscript writing, so that we can gain a more comprehensive sense of the political and intellectual influence women such as Graham exerted on some of the central political and historical debates of their time.

Chapter One

A 'more discriminating eye': History, Associationism, and Landscape Aesthetics in Graham's Travel Writing (1812-1824)

On the 18th of August 1821, a week after the HMS *Doris* has left Falmouth and set sail for South America, Maria Graham reports in her journal that she sees the rocky and woody shores of Madeira coming into view. To Graham, it is a familiar sight; in January 1809 she had also visited the island en route to India. Upon beholding Madeira's shores again after an absence of twelve years, Graham reflects that she does not feel as enraptured as she did the first time she had caught sight of the island. She writes:

> I was disappointed at the calmness of my own feelings, looking at these distant islands with as little emotion as if I had passed a headland in the channel. Well do I remember, when I first saw Funchal twelve years ago, the joyous eagerness with which I feasted my eyes upon the first foreign country I had ever approached […]. Now I look on them tamely, or at best only as parts of the lovely landscape, which, just at sunset, the time we anchored, was particularly beautiful. Surely the few years added to my age have not done this? May I not rather hope, that having seen lands whose monuments are all history, and whose associations are all poetry, I have a higher taste, and more discriminating eye?[1]

Initially, Graham is disappointed that the view of Madeira does not excite stronger emotions in her. Upon further reflection, however, she reasons that her placid response is probably owing to her previous travels in India (1808-1811) and Italy (1818-1820), which, having exposed her to a variety of foreign and antique landscapes, have cultivated her sense of taste

[1] Graham, *VTB*, 10.

and given her a 'more discriminating eye'. She feels so strongly that 'there was a change […] either in the scene, or in me' that she runs back into her cabin to fetch a sketch she made of the prospect in 1809 to compare it to the scene she is currently beholding. 'Every point of the hill, every house was the same', she concludes, deducing that the change must then have taken place inside herself.[2]

In this opening entry to *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, marking the start of a two-year journey through Brazil and Chile, Graham sets up her authorial identity as an experienced and cultured travel writer who will expertly guide her reader through the foreign landscapes of Brazil and Chile. With her aesthetic description of Madeira and references to the antiquities of India and Italy she demonstrates a knowledge of history, art history, and aesthetics and authoritatively signals her inclusion in an elite group of – predominantly male – British travellers journeying in the context of the British Empire and the Grand Tour. By comparing one of her earlier sketches to the present view she showcases her ability to capture foreign landscapes visually as well as discursively, and she provides evidence that her on-the-spot reportage, highly valued in early nineteenth-century travel writing, is accurate and reliable. Moreover, her comment that she has visited countries 'whose associations are all poetry' shows an understanding of the theory of associationism, one of the most influential philosophical modes of thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which was interwoven with the language of aesthetics.

Graham's claim that foreign travel has cultivated her taste exemplifies the increasing confidence with which early nineteenth-century British women contributed to aesthetic debates. It also highlights the essential role travel played in the shaping of that confidence. This chapter traces the development of Graham's aesthetic discourse in her travel writing. I will be building on Caroline Palmer's recent scholarship on early nineteenth-century women writers and connoisseurship. According to Palmer, Graham's art criticism was highly

[2] Graham, *VTB*, 78.

'perceptive' and 'adventurous' in its cross-cultural breadth.[3] Referring to Graham's art historical publications published in the 1830s, such as *Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata dell'Arena; or Giotto's Chapel, in Padua* (1835) and *Essays Towards the History of Painting* (1836), she argues that Graham 'contributed to the transformation of conventional wisdom regarding early Renaissance art, while also helping to combat prejudice against women writers and connoisseurs'.[4] Palmer has started to outline the vital role travel played in the shaping of Graham's more specialised art criticism published in the 1830s, arguing that she used her travel experience to 'challenge the accepted canon of taste', and that her travels helped put her expert knowledge of literature and history into a global perspective.[5] However, there has been no in-depth analysis of the development of Graham's engagement with the language of aesthetics across her different travel journals or how this intersects with her history writing. For this I will be using Bohls' working definition of aesthetic discourse as being concerned with 'the categories and concepts of art, beauty, sublimity, taste, and judgment, and more broadly with the pleasure experienced from sensuous surfaces or spectacles'.[6] This definition will be a useful departure point for my analysis, since, as Bohls has argued, it facilitates a move beyond 'a narrowly canonical, academic notion of what counts as aesthetic thought' so that it can include the 'innovative ventures' of women writers.[7] In this chapter, I will first examine Graham's application of aesthetic discourse, both visual and written, in her published travel writing and unpublished sketches on India and Italy. I will then analyse how her historical and art historical knowledge and the experience of foreign travel in India and Italy shaped her critical views about Latin American art and her aesthetic responses to the historicity of the landscapes of Brazil and Chile.

[3] Caroline Palmer, "'I Will Tell Nothing that I did not *See*:' British Women's Travel Writing, Art and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776–1860," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): 258.
[4] Palmer, "'A Revolution in Art,'" 15.
[5] Palmer, "'I Will Tell Nothing I did not *See*,'" 15.
[6] Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*, 5.
[7] Bohls, *Women Travel Writers*, 5.

'I forget that I am only familiarized with places famed in oriental story': Travels in India and Associative Aesthetics

In the Introduction to this thesis, I have outlined how Graham's early education and her visits to Strawberry Hill shaped her ideas about history and art. In *Journal of a Residence in India* (1812), Graham started to use her knowledge of European history and art to interpret Indian art and antiquities. As Rosemary Raza notes, Graham evidenced 'cultural links with the ancient world of Egypt, Greece, and even Britain, where she considered that some cairns had a striking similarity to those in south India'.[8] She also used her knowledge of the European tradition of miniature painting – enhanced by her careful study of the miniatures at Strawberry Hill – to analyse Hindu miniatures. She recounts a visit to the botanical gardens at Calcutta, during which Scottish surgeon and botanist Dr William Roxburgh (1751-1815) allows her to see 'his native artists at work'.[9] Watching them draw 'some of the most rare of his botanical treasures', she was impressed by the quality of the work, observing that they were 'the most beautiful and correct delineations of flowers' she ever saw.[10] She continues by praising the high quality of Hindu miniatures in general, writing that 'indeed, the Hindoos excel in all minute works of this kind'.[11] She then recalls seeing a drawing in the possession of British surgeon and naturalist Dr John Fleming (1747-1829), concluding that the 'whole of the picture is finished like an exquisite miniature, and the perspective is admirably preserved'.[12] Here Graham shows not only 'a surprising willingness to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of Indian art', as Palmer has commented, but she also asserts her authority

[8] Rosemary Raza, *In their Own Words: British Women Writers and India, 1740-1857* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 185.
[9] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India*, second edition (Edinburgh and London, 1813), 146.
[10] Graham, *RII,* 146.
[11] Graham, *RII,* 146.
[12] Graham, *RII*, 146.

as an art critic by demonstrating an elite access to the private collections of male botanists and art collectors in India and giving a confident assessment of the art she sees.[13]

Graham's writing on Hindu miniatures in *Letters on India* reveals her Eurocentric view on art. She writes: 'The specimens of Hindu art I have seen, are minute imitations of nature, on a scale in general more diminutive than our common miniatures'.[14] Salient here is Graham's use of 'our' in 'our miniatures', as it reveals that although she sees connections between different artistic traditions, she ultimately identifies with a British and European art historical heritage and views India as part of a contrasting, foreign tradition. She continues by writing that 'there is a delicacy of handling about them, that seems like the remains of a more perfect art, which survives only in its mechanical part, while the soul and genius that once guided it are long since fled'.[15] Graham's use of the word 'delicacy' here shows that to a certain extent, she was using the same evaluative framework for both European and Indian art; namely, in her 1804 private diary account of her visit to Strawberry Hill she had described the execution of one of Isaac Oliver's miniatures as 'the most delicate that can be imagined'.[16] In other respects, however, her evaluation of Hindu miniatures is markedly different from that of European miniatures. For example, she views the miniature by Oliver as being embedded in the history of European art, and she is eager and able to trace its lineage, noting in her diary how it was made after a portrait of seventeenth-century English courtier and diplomat Sir Kenelm Digby and his wife Venetia Stanley by the Flemish artist Anthony van Dyck.[17] By contrast, the Hindu miniatures she interprets as the fragmented remains of an ancient and foreign civilisation that was once great but has long since degenerated. This idea of India as a formerly glorious civilisation in decline, with art and ruined temples evidencing

[13] Caroline Palmer, "Women Writers on Art and Perceptions of the Female Connoisseur, 1780-1860" (PhD diss., Oxford Brookes University, 2009), 142.
[14] Maria Graham, *Letters on India* (London and Edinburgh, 1814), 54.
[15] Graham, *LOI*, 54.
[16] Callcott, 'Extracts.'
[17] Callcott, 'Extracts.'

this, resonates throughout her writing on India. Onni Gust has noted that Graham, like many of her British contemporaries, understood India as a 'stagnant civilisation that had reached its pinnacle of arts and learning hundreds of years prior to the European encounter. What remained in the India of the early nineteenth century were the corrupted remnants of that "Hindu" civilisation, remnants that provide a window onto Europe's own antiquity'.[18] Thus, Graham does make connections between British and Indian art, but within the framework of British imperialism and with European art history as its central point of comparison.

Graham also applied the language of landscape aesthetics in both her written and visual depictions of India. She regularly used the language of the picturesque to capture the Indian landscape. For example, about Negumbo she says that 'like most towns in Ceylon, it is very picturesque', and upon visiting the village of Compowli, she writes: 'you can imagine nothing more picturesque than our station'.[19] She presents herself as someone with an expert eye who recognises a picturesque scene when she sees it. At Mahabalipuram she sees 'a large tank, the walls of which are just enough decayed to have become picturesque', and in a place near Poonah, the scenery is 'rendered picturesque by a number of tombs of a very pretty style of architecture'.[20] Leask argues that Graham's representation of India embodies the three traits of what he terms the 'Indian Picturesque'; a British imperialist way of describing the landscape that is characterised by anti-utilitarianism, a 'framing' of Indian curiosities, and associative aesthetics. According to Leask, Graham's Indian Picturesque is anti-utilitarian because it ignores any signs of industry and modernity and instead conveys the idea of a 'forced repose, the sense of arrest in experience, in history, in narrative'.[21] Secondly, Graham 'frames' indigenous curiosities by representing them as ruined remains of a formerly glorious civilisation, conveying a sense of melancholy that, according to Leask, signalled 'the triumph

[18] Onni Gust, "Mobility, Gender and Empire in Maria Graham's Journal of a Residence in India (1812)," *Gender & History* 29, no. 2 (Aug. 2017): 281.
[19] Graham, *RII*, 101, 61.
[20] Graham, *RII*, 161, 74.
[21] Leask, *Curiosity*, 169.

of British liberty over oriental despotism, and the erasure of colonial conquest past or future'.[22] Thirdly, Graham elicited 'memories of home and childhood' by making picturesque associative links with the landscapes of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.[23] According to Leask, this nostalgic and associative way of linking foreign landscapes to Britain made it an especially suitable discourse for women writers and artists.[24] Indeed, Graham compares the landscape surrounding the Karle caves to 'Scottish Highland scenery' and the scenery around Ceylon to 'Loch Catrine on a gigantic scale', thus making comparisons between India and Scotland.[25] Expanding on Leask's analysis of Graham's Indian Picturesque, I will further explore Graham's use of associative aesthetics in *Journal of a Residence in India*. I suggest that in addition to applying associative aesthetics within the framework of the picturesque to make connections with Britain and a nostalgic past, Graham expertly interwove her knowledge of history and associationism with her discursive response to the Indian landscape. Exhibiting a nuanced understanding of philosophical aesthetic theory, she pushed the boundaries of what was considered a conventional female engagement with aesthetic discourse in the early nineteenth century.

As noted in the Introduction, Graham's thinking about landscape aesthetics was greatly influenced by Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*; in particular, she was interested in the idea that the sensory perception of external objects can cause people to experience strong emotional responses when visiting historically significant places. In *Journal of a Residence in India*, Graham philosophises about this associative process in relation to Indian history and landscape. She writes that, during a sea journey from the Malabar Coast to Calicut, she strikes up a conversation with the ship's captain. When giving an account of a previous Indian government expedition, he mentions lying in 'the river', upon which she

[22] Leask, *Curiosity*, 174.
[23] Leask, *Curiosity*, 175.
[24] Leask, *Curiosity*, 175-176.
[25] Graham, *RII*, 62, 210.

automatically assumes that he meant the Thames. But the captain, it turns out, is referring to a river in India. This leaves Graham feeling disenchanted: hearing this river 'spoken of with such familiarity by such a man' has made her lose the 'kind of religious respect' acquired for far-away places; it was 'as if the places themselves had been annihilated when the illusions connected with them were destroyed'.[26] This thought leads her to reflect on whether different types of foreign landscapes could elicit different aesthetic responses in cultured viewers such as herself, depending on the type of historicity that place is imbued with. She writes:

> I should be curious to try if places immortalised by heroic deeds, and the abode of science and philosophy, could thus become uninteresting by a nearer inspection […]. Surely the plains of Marathon, the Portico and Academy, Pireus and Salamis, could not, on the most intimate acquaintance with their present state and their modern inhabitants, degenerate into common fields, schools, and fishing-towns! But I forget that I am only familiarized with places famed in oriental story, celebrated indeed for conquests and for magnificence, for luxury and for superstition, but not illustrated by virtue or by patriotism. The sacredness of the shades with which the imagination so readily peoples the banks of the Tiber and the Ilyssus, must surely preserve the holiness of their aspect uncontaminated by modern associations, and leave the soul at liberty to follow the visions of heroism, of virtue, of philosophy, which the scenes once inhabited by heroes and sages are calculated to excite.[27]

Here Graham wonders if the disillusionment with the Indian landscape she experienced when hearing the captain talk about it with such 'familiarity' would also have occurred if it had concerned the landscapes connected to classical history. 'Surely', she contends, this could

[26] Graham, *RII*, 108.
[27] Graham, *RII*, 108-109.

not be the case; the 'sacredness' of these places must 'preserve the holiness of their aspect'. This, in turn, she argues, would leave the 'soul at liberty' to make strong associative connections between history and landscape, heightening the traveller's aesthetic pleasure. What Graham is essentially arguing here is that Indian history ultimately lacks the qualities that are a necessary condition for sparking a rich associative aesthetic process. Indian history, as she describes it here, is characterised by 'conquest' and 'magnificence' but also 'luxury' and 'superstition', and it lacks the 'virtue', 'patriotism', and 'heroism' that she attributes to classical history.

Graham's reflections on Indian history as being marked by conquest, magnificence, luxury, and superstition reveal an understanding of the aesthetic representations of India's history as developed by previous British travellers in India such as William Hodges. Hodges, like Graham, was deeply interested in the relationship between history and landscape and, as L. H. Cust notes, he made a significant contribution 'to the British perception of India's past' through his writing and art.[28] Hodges depicted India's history as characterised by conquest and magnificence but also luxury and subsequent decline and ruin. As Geoff Quilley explains, Hodges' aesthetic representation of ruined Mughal tombs and monuments tells the story of the former magnificence of the Muslim conquests of the Indian subcontinent, but also of the Mughal Empire's demise that had been brought about by the corrupting influence of luxury on society.[29] As mentioned in the Introduction, some theorists of the idea of general progress argued that an excess of luxury could cause a society to be corrupted, leading to its eventual decline, just as it had happened with the Roman Empire.[30] This eighteenth-century British narrative of the deterioration of the once grand Mughal Empire served to legitimise British colonial rule; as Bernard Cohn puts it:

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[28] L. H. Cust, revised by Lindsey Macfarlane, "Hodges, William (1744–1797), Painter," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13425.
[29] Geoff Quilley, "William Hodges, Artist of Empire," in *William Hodges 1744-1797: The Art of Exploration,* ed. Geoff Quilley and John Bonehill (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 3.
[30] Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress*, 14.

> The British, in their construction of the history of India, came into the Indic world at one of its periods of inevitable decay and degeneration into chaos. Through the development of their version of rational despotism, they were able to find and maintain a stable basis for ordering Indian society.[31]

Graham offers a broadly similar narrative in *Letters on India,* although here she emphasises arbitrary and despotic rule rather than luxury as the main reason for the Mughal Empire's disintegration. In her detailed and meticulously researched historical 'sketch of the rise and decline of the Mussulman power in India', she writes that the era of the 'Mussulmans in India' brought forth some powerful rulers but that as a result of a system of government that was based on 'the arbitrary will of one man', this empire rapidly fell into decline, and she implies that it was not until the arrival of the British in the region that the situation began to stabilise again.[32] This common narrative of the decline of the Mughal Empire also contained a warning for Britain; as a self-styled commercial maritime empire of which the Roman Empire was its predecessor, Britain might eventually suffer the same fate. As Quilley explains, Hodges incorporated this tension into his aesthetic representation of Indian ruins, placing his account of the largely positive influence of British colonial presence on India in conjunction with 'an Ozymandian admonition' for eighteenth-century British imperial rule.[33] Graham's choice of words to describe Indian history in her associative passage – conquest, magnificence, luxury – likewise captures the double-edged nature of this idea.

When describing the associative effects of the historical landscapes of Italy and Greece on the traveller's mind, Graham emphasises virtue, patriotism, and heroism rather than ruin and decline. The association of these positive values with classical cultures was

[31] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 79.
[32] Graham, *LOI*, 227-228.
[33] Quilley, "William Hodges, Artist of Empire," 4.

deeply rooted in the eighteenth-century British curriculum. Linda Colley writes that the 'emphasis on Greek and Roman authors and ancient history meant a constant diet of stories of war, empire, bravery and sacrifice for the state'.[34] As the eighteenth century progressed and the British empire expanded, Philip Ayres notes, nationalist discourse started to favour the British present and its glorious future over the accomplishments and values of the classical world.[35] An added advantage was that the classical societies Britain looked to as examples of patriotism and heroism had long since gone, because, in Colley's words, 'familiarity with the recorded glories of ancient empires could throw into even greater relief the superior virtue and power of imperial Britain'.[36] But even though the classical societies no longer existed, Britons thought that the traces of their histories were still very much visible in the ruin-strewn landscapes of Italy and Greece, and they believed that these landscapes evoked strong aesthetic emotions in the British traveller.

According to eighteenth-century associationist British theories, these aesthetic emotions could be so powerful that the traveller would immediately be transported back into the past. Archibald Alison, for example, writes in *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790):

> What is it that constitutes the emotion of sublime delight, which every man of common sensibility feels upon the first prospect of Rome? It is not the scene of destruction which is before him. It is not the Tyber diminished in his imagination to a paltry stream […]. It is ancient Rome which fills his imagination.[37]

[34] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 167-168.
[35] Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.
[36] Colley, *Britons*, 168.
[37] Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (Dublin, 1790), 25.

This strong emotion, Alison continues, is the result of a long and thorough education in history: 'All that the labours of his youth, or the studies of his maturer age have acquired with regard to the history of this great people, open at once before his imagination'.[38] Graham's assumption, then, that 'the sacredness of the shades with which the imagination so readily peoples the banks of the Tiber and the Ilyssus, must surely preserve the holiness of their aspect uncontaminated by modern associations' in the passage quoted above is an allusion to Alison's text which she trusted her highly educated British reader would recognise. This allusion functions as a marker of credibility: Graham aims to convince her reader that despite her relative lack of travel experience, she possesses the required book knowledge about history and the language of aesthetics to understand and comment on the contrasting aesthetic effects of different foreign landscapes. As she admits, she has not yet actually travelled to Italy or Greece, which to some degree limits her ability to make sustained comparisons between the different aesthetic effects these landscapes would have on her as a traveller. In order to make up for that deficiency, and to prove to her reader that she is a knowledgeable and trustworthy narrator, she instead references this associationist text, but without directly quoting it.

Alison's is not the only associationist reference in this passage. She also indirectly references Stewart, who describes in *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* that there is a particular pleasure in visiting 'classical ground' or the 'fields which have been dignified by exertions of heroic virtue' and who writes how Cicero experienced strong emotions upon visiting the 'academy'.[39] The passage also contains a nod to Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). Johnson writes:

[38] Alison, *Essays*, 25.
[39] Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (London and Edinburgh, 1792), 276-277.

> Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona![40]

Graham references Johnson by lifting out the example 'the plain of Marathon' and the words 'virtue' and 'patriotism' from the passage, moving these elements around, and interweaving Johnson's words with those of Stewart, Alison, and herself. Along with Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, Graham had read *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* on the passage out to India; in an unpublished private journal she kept on the sea journey out, she had copied out the fragment alluded to in her published journal.[41] The resulting passage in the published journal reflects the professional and scholarly way in which Graham had prepared for her travels in India, and it shows that she was able to apply her freshly acquired knowledge in nuanced ways in order to construct an image of herself as a learned and intelligent observer.

With this comparative, associationist, and highly intertextual passage, Graham persuasively constructs an image of herself as a travelling woman of taste. Using the word 'surely' twice in this passage, she emphasises her confidence and conveys the idea that although she may lack the travel experience that would allow her to draw more definitive conclusions about the aesthetics of landscape, her extensive historical, art historical, and

[40] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (London, 1775), 347.
[41] Maria Callcott, 'Copy of Lady Callcott's journal, written during her journey to India, 1808-1809, and on her departure, 1811, made by Rosamund Gotch, 20th cent., 1808-1809,' 1811, MS. Eng. d. 2273, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 29.

philosophical knowledge should provide a sufficient foundation from which to develop the authoritative claims she makes. With the casual comment 'but I forget' she gives the impression that her confidence in her own assertions is so strong that for a moment she even claims to have momentarily forgotten that she has not actually travelled that widely yet. The remark that she would be 'curious to try' if the classical landscapes she had read so much about in her formative years would indeed elicit a different aesthetic response demonstrates her ambition to travel to Italy in the tradition of the Grand Tour, so that she can put her theory to the test and learn how to make even more refined associative aesthetic judgements. She would get that chance in 1818, when she travelled to Italy with her husband, Thomas Graham.

'We naturally thought of the history of the eternal city': Graham's Travels in Italy

Graham's travels in Italy between 1818 and 1820 would have a formative and lasting influence on her use of the language of aesthetics, and this is reflected in her published travel journal *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820). As mentioned in the Introduction, Graham was travelling to Italy with her husband Thomas Graham in the context of the Royal Navy. As a result, the journey was unusually adventurous for a British woman travelling to Italy in this period. Rosemary Sweet points out that few women travelled further south than Paestum, and only very rarely did they make it to southern Naples, Sicily and Malta.[42] Travelling to Italy via the Straits of Gibraltar, as the Grahams had done, was also uncommon, for men and women alike; as Jeremy Black explains, the sea passage to Italy was long and sailing across the Bay of Biscay was generally unpleasant.[43] This unconventional route allowed Graham to visit sites of historical and aesthetic significance that female

[42] Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 54-55.
[43] Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 23.

travellers only rarely had access to. For instance, she visited the historical remains at Syracuse on Sicily such as the Greek Theatre, the Latomia dei Cappuccini, the Catacombs, and the Fountain of Arethusa.[44] As I will show, she would use these experiences to further strengthen her identity as a travelling woman of taste.

Graham's three-month excursion to Poli was also unusual. One contemporary reviewer wrote that the area in which Graham travelled was 'almost a new field of enquiry', and another pointed out that the English 'had never been known to have ventured so far into the Roman highlands'.[45] According to Betty Hagglund, Graham deliberately chose to centre her narrative not on Rome but on a region little known to British readers so as to distinguish herself from the ten or more Italian travelogues that were annually coming onto the market in the years following the Napoleonic Wars.[46] Writing about this relatively unknown region gave Graham a way to persuade her reader that her knowledge about foreign places was superior to that of most other (mostly male) travellers. According to Sweet, from the latter part of the eighteenth century onwards travellers began to go "off the beaten track" to 'demonstrate their superiority over those who travelled with insufficient taste or knowledge to appreciate the hidden secrets of Italy'.[47] Instead of offering hackneyed descriptions of visits to the museums, art galleries, and antiquarian sites of Rome, Graham provided fresh aesthetic perspectives on Italy's history, art, and landscape. She was keen to emphasise that she was exploring new territory. For example, upon describing a visit to the hermitage of Santa Maria della Mentorella, she notes that the two hermits showing them the

[44] Maria Graham, unpublished sketchbook, British Museum, 1845,0405.13.1-167. See sketches 120, 121, 123, 124.
[45] Unsigned review of *Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome, during the year 1819,* by Maria Graham, *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* (December 1820): 610; and unsigned review of *Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome, during the Year 1819*, by Maria Graham, *The Eclectic Review* 15 (January 1821): 42.
[46] Betty Hagglund, "The 'Bricolage' of Travel Writing: a Bakhtinian Reading of Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Writings about Italy," *Studies in Travel Writing* 16, no. 2 (2012): 109.
[47] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 13.

antiquities of the place informed them that they were 'the first English that had ever been seen' in those mountains.[48]

In her Italy journal, Graham went off the beaten track not only with regard to her travel itinerary, but also as far as scholarly source material was concerned. Hagglund has identified between sixty and seventy references to texts from a wide range of periods and genres, with many of these sources being solely available in French, Latin, or Italian at the time of composition.[49] Contemporary reviewers did not always appreciate this, with some accusing her of assuming too scholarly an air. What appears to have irked these reviewers the most was the apparent obscurity of her source material. One critic writes that they wished that when mentioning the history of Gabii, Graham had 'rested satisfied with received allusions, and not loaded Gabii with the more recondite one, of being the place where Romulus and Remus were brought up'.[50] Another posited that readers could have 'easily dispensed with' Graham's 'tedious quotations from the unknown or undervalued Aeschinardi'; in other words, the reviewer suggests that Graham is trying too hard to come across as learned and authoritative.[51] These criticisms appear to have been based at least partly on her gender – perhaps the reviewers disapproved of such an overt display of historiographical knowledge by a female author. But the fact that Graham included references to sources that these reviewers thought were unnecessarily obscure is illustrative of the kind of historian she was developing into – thorough, ambitious, independent-minded, and striving to uncover stories that had hitherto remained untold.

Having the professional painter Charles Eastlake as a travel companion added further credibility to the art historical aspects of Graham's account. In the journal's Preface, Graham

[48] Maria Graham, *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (London and Edinburgh, 1820), 97.
[49] Hagglund, "The 'Bricolage' of Travel Writing," 115.
[50] Unsigned review of *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome, during the Year 1819*, by Maria Graham, *The Edinburgh Review* 35, no. 69 (1 March 1821): 140.
[51] Unsigned review of *Three Months passed in the Mountains East of Rome, during the Year 1819*, by Maria Graham, *The Edinburgh Monthly Review* 5, no. 5 (May 1821): 558.

highlights her connection with the painter to heighten her authority. She writes that she could not 'resist the opportunity afforded by the publication' of her work to express her 'gratitude for the additional enjoyment his taste and his knowledge enabled them to derive from their residence in Italy'.[52] She appears to imply here that because she had spent so much time with someone who possesses such great 'taste' and 'knowledge', she herself had been able to expand her art historical knowledge and refine her taste. With little surviving archival material, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which Eastlake shaped Graham's ideas about art and art history. Nevertheless, there are some tentative indications that Eastlake may have influenced Graham's drawing style. For example, Graham made a sketch of the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli that very closely resembles an oil painting by Eastlake that, according to David Robertson, the painter made around 1820.[53] In the journal Graham describes how they visited Tivoli together in 1819, so it is possible that they produced on-the-spot sketches of this scene together.

Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome reflects Graham's considerable interest in art. She compares the landscapes in the neighbourhood of Rome to the seventeenth-century paintings of Gaspar Poussin, and the early morning views of the sea from the mountain of Guadagnola remind her of Guido Reni's ceiling fresco *Aurora* (1614).[54] She also synthesises different sources by Pliny and Jean-Jacques Barthélemy to provide a short history of the provenance of the Nile Mosaic of Palestrina.[55] A fascination for Italian banditti, immortalised in the works of Rosa, runs throughout the journal. Graham makes a direct comparison between Rosa and the banditti that were roaming the countryside at the time of her travels, writing that 'their hats had high pointed crowns, like those of Salvator Rosa's banditti'.[56] Moreover, two of Eastlake's plates for the Journal depict Banditti which,

[52] Graham, *TMP*, vii.
[53] Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, 12.
[54] Graham, *TMP*, 106, 72.
[55] Graham, *TMP*, 127.
[56] Graham, *TMP*, 155.

Robertson points out, are some of Eastlake's earliest depictions of banditti.[57] Graham's writing about banditti showcased a knowledge not only of Rosa's art but also of the conventions of the picturesque. As JoEllen DeLucia states, 'At the turn of the nineteenth century, *banditti* were everywhere', occupying 'rocky shelves in picturesque landscapes'.[58] Graham may also have been inspired by Ann Radcliffe's fiction. As Jane Stabler notes, Rosa's banditti often featured in Radcliffe's novels and, as a result, 'her gothic fiction subsequently blended with picturesque guides in the minds of many travelers to Italy'.[59] By writing about banditti Graham was thus touching upon an aesthetic subject that enjoyed great popularity in early nineteenth-century Britain.

At several instances in the travelogue, Graham adopts a condescending tone to demonstrate that she possesses the ability to assess the quality of the landscape or art she sees. She writes, for example, that the Monte Soratte 'stands quite isolated, and disappoints the eye, which expects a higher mountain in the snow-clad Soracte'.[60] But then again, she admits, Horace 'only marked the severity of a particular winter, not the general aspect of the hill' when he celebrated it in his poetry.[61] Furthermore, upon visiting the gallery of the palace at Poli, she finds it 'hung with wretched daubings that would disgrace the walls of an English ale-house'.[62] During a visit to the local church at Poli, she comments that the local inhabitants erroneously believe that the three paintings near the altar were painted by the pupils of Michelangelo. 'The admiration, or rather idolatry of the people in this neighbourhood for that great man', she writes disparagingly, 'has produced some little confusion in their ideas of chronology'.[63] Graham's comment that the local population's 'idolatry' explained their

[57] Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, 17.
[58] JoEllen DeLucia, "The Haunts of the Banditti: Transnationalism and Mediation in George Robinson's Publishing Network," *European Romantic Review* 30, no. 1 (2019): 43, 45.
[59] Jane Stabler, "Taking Liberties: The Italian Picturesque in Women's Travel Writing," *European Romantic Review* 13, no. 1 (2002): 13.
[60] Graham, *TMP*, 85.
[61] Graham, *TMP*, 85.
[62] Graham, *TMP*, 21.
[63] Graham, *TMP*, 22.

misattribution of art implies a critique of Catholicism. This comment does not appear wholly representative of Graham's views on Catholicism, however, at least not in her later works. For example, Thompson has noted that in *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, she criticises Robert Southey's 'excessive "rancour against the Roman Catholic faith"'.[64] And in *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, she offers a positive assessment of religious festivals in Venice.[65] What is noteworthy is that Graham never defers to the aesthetic judgement of travel companion Eastlake when appreciating landscapes or works of art; her voice is unapologetically and confidently her own.

In Italy Graham also continued to develop her landscape drawing skills. Although she did not include any of her own illustrations in her published journal, a set of now largely forgotten sketches kept at the British Museum evidences that she nevertheless kept her sketchbook close at hand throughout the journey. According to Dolan, drawing was considered an intimate, emotional, and personal response to the landscape, and because sketches were 'taken from a position and perspective unique to the traveller', Grand Tourists could later use them to 'rekindle memories'.[66] Graham's sketchbook reflects her profound interest in Italian landscapes and antiquities, and it shows that she continued to develop her application of the aesthetic categories of the sublime and picturesque in her visual work. Among the sketches is a picturesque depiction in brown wash of a viaduct or aqueduct in the neighbourhood of Syracuse (Figure 1). The construction appears in the middle ground on the left from behind an exposed piece of rock in the foreground, and it is framed against a backdrop of rolling hills and small groups of trees. This image is contrasted with a sublime representation, again in brown wash, of an ominously smoking Mount Vesuvius on the left and rugged mountain range on the right, with in the foreground several low houses and

[64] Carl Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 192.
[65] Graham, *RIC*, 162.
[66] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, 195.

gardens (Figure 2). This large drawing was boldly drawn across two full pages, which added to its dramatic effect.

Figure 1. Maria Graham, "Rocky landscape with Norman viaduct [or Galermi aqueduct?] on left," c.1818-1819? Inscribed upper right: "Dyonisius ….. Syracuse Nov 23." Brown wash. Unpublished sketchbook, 1803-1819, British Museum, 1845,0405.13.1-167, no. 122. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo by author, adjusted for colour, contrast, and perspective.

Figure 2. Maria Graham, "From the beach by the cabbage gardens between Portici and Naples," c.1818-1819? Brown wash. Unpublished sketchbook, 1803-1819, British Museum, 1845,0405.13.1-167, no. 126*. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo by author, adjusted for colour, contrast, and perspective.

Graham's Italy sketchbook shows that she had a great eye for detail and that she enjoyed experimenting with depth, shading, and composition. The drawings made at Syracuse are particularly well-developed and detailed, providing evidence that she took the time to experiment with a variety of materials to capture different types of scenes. For example, she used brown wash combined with pen and black ink to create a picturesque depiction of the Greek Theatre (Figure 3). The old theatre, depicted in the foreground on the left, is framed by trees and partially overgrown with low vegetation, and the glittering bay of Syracuse and its low surrounding hills form the backdrop to the scene. By contrast, she turned to black and grey wash combined with graphite to convey the geometric starkness and gloomy darkness of the catacombs (Figure 4). What is interesting to note is that over a decade later, Graham would develop a selection of these sketches into lithographs. The Bodleian Library holds a largely forgotten collection of six lithographs titled 'Six Views on Italy, sketched and drawn on stone by Maria Callcott, not published'.[67] Comparing these lithographs to her earlier sketches, it becomes apparent that at least five of the six lithographs were based on sketches she had made during her travels in Italy in 1818-1819. As this later venture into lithography illustrates, Graham continued to expand her skills as a visual artist over the course of her career. The fact that she revisited these sketches more than a decade later to refine them and re-imagine them by applying different techniques also powerfully illustrates the enduring influence her Italian travels had on her artistic practice and her aesthetic imagination.

[67] Maria Callcott, 'Six views in Italy sketched and drawn on stone,' unpublished, n.d., MS. Eng. b. 2025, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Figure 3. Maria Graham, "Syracuse bay from the little Theatre Novr20 1818," 1818. Brown wash with pen and black ink. Unpublished sketchbook, 1803-1819, British Museum, 1845,0405.13.1-167, no. 120. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo by author, adjusted for colour, contrast, and perspective.

Figure 4. Maria Graham, "Catacomb at Syracuse," 1818. Black and grey wash with graphite. Unpublished sketchbook, 1803-1819, British Museum, 1845,0405.13.1-167, no. 124. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo by author, adjusted for colour, contrast, and perspective.

Now that she was visiting the classical sites that Britons considered so essential to the development of taste, Graham's confidence as a historical and aesthetic commentator was growing. In *Journal of a Residence in India*, she had argued that the Indian landscape lacked the right kind of historical characteristics to elicit a strong associative response in the viewer. Despite the conviction with which she presented this aesthetic judgement, she did acknowledge there that her lack of travel experience prevented her from making more expert statements on the associative effects of classical landscapes on the traveller's aesthetic emotions. In the Italy journal, she confirms her hypothesis as formulated in her India journal that upon visiting classical ground the traveller must 'surely' experience strong aesthetic emotions. She writes that as she was looking down upon Rome from a hilltop in the vicinity of Capranica, she 'naturally thought of the history of the eternal city, and of its heroes'.[68] The views of ancient Rome instantly transport her back into the past and make her reflect on Rome's history. In contrast to India, these associations come 'naturally' here, for this country's history is characterised by 'heroism', 'virtue', and 'philosophy', and it is the birthplace of 'heroes' and 'sages'. As pointed out in the previous section, Graham is here again invoking British ideas about classical culture being marked by patriotism, heroism, and virtue.

Rome did not just evoke associations with what Graham considered to be the heroes of classical history – medieval heroes also played a prominent role in her aesthetic response to Italy. Looking down upon Rome from a hilltop near Capranica, she writes: 'The spot we were on fixed our attention on the middle ages'.[69] Graham's interest in medieval Italian history was not uncommon in this period. Sweet writes that by the 1780s well-educated travellers had become more interested in medieval history, even in 'that most classical of environments, the Grand Tour'.[70] As a result, 'new associative meanings and different

[68] Graham, *TMP*, 137.
[69] Graham, *TMP*, 137.
[70] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 236.

aesthetic ideals began steadily to modify the dominant classical paradigm of the eighteenth-century tour'.[71] The private diary Graham had kept on the voyage out to India reveals that she had a fascination for medieval history and that it was important to the development of her aesthetic imagination. Reflecting on Thomas Johnes' eighteenth-century translation of Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* (1369), she writes that the period of which Froissart writes 'may be really the poetical age of modern Europe, and the heroes that grace it might have been demi-gods in Greece'.[72] Reading such European histories excited feelings in her that were similar to those described by Alison and Stewart about beholding classical landscapes. She reflects that

> The age that produced a Duguesclin and a Gaston de Foix produced likewise a Froissart, a Petrarch, a Chaucer and a Barbour […]. In reading the Chronicles of Froissart, something of that solemn feeling is experienced, which takes possession of the mind on visiting a place which has been consecrated by piety or valour; that feeling which Johnson has sanctified by his remarks on Iona, and which Cicero declared whenever he entered the Roman Senate House.[73]

In this passage, Graham likens medieval and early Renaissance French military commanders such as Bertrand du Guesclin (c.1320-1380) and Gaston of Foix (1489-1512) to the 'demi-gods' of ancient Greece. To her, the act of reading Jean Froissart's prose history of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) produced 'solemn' emotions that were comparable to those experienced when visiting classical sites, because these events were characterised by the same type of heroism that suffused the history of ancient Rome. In this passage, Graham again refers to two of the texts that were essential in shaping her use of the language of

[71] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 237.
[72] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 107.
[73] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 108.

aesthetics: Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* – the latter is being alluded to by her comment about Cicero feeling powerful aesthetic emotions upon entering the Roman Senate House.

The views of Rome made Graham reflect on the life of one medieval 'hero' in particular, the Roman politician Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354). In 1347, Rienzo overthrew the rule of the local barons and for a brief period re-established the Roman Republic. Carrie E. Beneš writes that according to Rienzo's contemporary (and anonymous) biographer, the Roman had himself declared 'tribune of the people' in the classical style, after which he had attempted to re-establish public order, reform the local justice and tax systems, and curb the power of the nobility.[74] But Rienzo's rule was short-lived. Ronald G. Musto argues that a combination of personal arrogance and extravagance, complex social, economic, and environmental factors and political resistance from the Pope and angry nobles led to his excommunication from Rome in December 1347.[75] Rienzo unsuccessfully attempted to return to power in 1354, and in October of that year he was captured and killed on the Capitoline in Rome.[76]

Until the mid-eighteenth century, Rienzo was mainly remembered as a dictator and a tyrant. However, following the French and American revolutions his image started to change. According to Beneš, Rienzo increasingly came to be seen as a 'grass-roots republican hero who had rebelled against the joint "Old Regime" of Emperor and Pope'.[77] Byron, for example, characterizes him in the fourth canto of *Childe Harold* as 'a populist, a lover of freedom, an impartial legislator […] and the last of the true Romans'.[78] British travellers also started to treat him more favourably in their published journals. Sweet writes how, after the

[74] Carrie E. Beneš, "Mapping a Roman Legend: The House of Cola di Rienzo from Piranesi to Baedeker," *Italian Culture* 26, no. 1 (2008): 57-58.
[75] Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 3.
[76] Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome*, 1.
[77] Beneš, "Mapping a Roman Legend," 68.
[78] Beneš, "Mapping a Roman Legend," 69.

brief existence of a Roman Republic in 1798, British travel accounts of Rome more frequently depicted Rienzo in a positive light, 'particularly from visitors who identified with his attempts to revive political liberty'.[79] Graham's fashioning of Rienzo as a medieval hero can be read as a veiled response to recent developments on the British and wider European political stage. As mentioned in the Introduction, in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars Continental Europe was divided between conservative and more liberal movements. Diego Saglia observes that to a certain extent these developments ran parallel to political debates in Britain, noting that

> [t]he situation of a European Continent divided between conservatism and transformation (as in the constitutional uprisings in Italy and Spain, or the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence) mirrored the political divisions within Britain, where radical clamouring for reform and the Whigs' championing of foreign causes challenged the Tories' political status quo.[80]

Graham's interest in Rienzo and her positive assessment of him as a medieval hero whose life is worth commemorating as she journeys through the ruin-strewed landscape around Rome suggests that she aligned herself with this Whig 'championing of foreign causes', in particular the support for the constitutional movements springing up across southern Europe around the time of her travels. It has to be noted, though, that Graham is not wholly uncritical of Rienzo's character; in the journal, she also briefly reflects on Rienzo's fall from grace, writing that 'Unhappily Rienzo grew giddy with power and success. He owed his fall to himself'.[81] To Graham, then, Rienzo is a hero, but he is not without personal fault – this

[79] Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 260.
[80] Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain*, 16.
[81] Graham, *TMP*, 138.

could also indicate that Graham's stance towards these political developments were more complicated or ambivalent than they may appear at first glance.

Graham was not the only female British traveller to discuss Rienzo in her travel journal; other travellers such as Charlotte Anne Eaton and Lady Morgan, who published their journals in 1820 and 1821, respectively, also featured him in their published travel journals on Italy. However, they both did so through an account of a visit to what was then thought to be Rienzo's house in Rome.[82] Lady Morgan, for example, records a visit to the house, writing that the house of Rome's 'last and boldest of the champions' of Roman freedom is 'curious as a specimen of the domestic architecture of Rome in the fourteenth century'.[83] These writers took the more conventional approach – as Beneš notes, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries 'The *Casa di Cola di Rienzo* featured prominently along with the traditional monuments of ancient and papal Rome'.[84] Graham took a different, more original approach to her portrayal of Rienzo; instead of visiting the Roman's presumed former abode, she memorialised him on a spot off the beaten track, in the countryside outside of Rome. Paraphrasing a passage from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Graham writes: 'Here, perhaps on this very rock, was the mule with the jar of oil seized by robbers, which gave Rienzi occasion to exercise his wholesome severity on a nobleman of Rome'.[85] She then quotes Gibbon directly, writing that 'the Ursini Lord of Capranica was "condemned to restore the damage, and to discharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the high ways"'.[86] To this quotation she added the following footnote:

[82] Beneš, "Mapping a Roman Legend," 59.
[83] Charlotte Anne Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1820), 2:307; and Sydney Morgan, *Italy* (London, 1821), 2:256-257.
[84] Beneš, "Mapping a Roman Legend," 59.
[85] Graham, *TMP*, 137.
[86] Graham, *TMP*, 137. Graham's quote is from Chapter 70 of Gibbon's work: Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London, 1788), 6:579.

> *Gibbon, chap. lxx. See also the curious life of Cola di Rienzi, by a cotemporary [sic], written in the low Roman dialect of the time, which is a curious contrast to the language of Petrarch, the friend of the Tribune.[87]

Foregrounding her skills as a historian, in this footnote Graham compares three different historical sources written in different languages, including a medieval 'low Roman' dialect. She also displays her superior taste by implying that her expert command of medieval Roman history allowed her to make powerful associative connections with the landscape through inconspicuous landscape features such as rocks. Instead of visiting Rienzo's house, as so many of her fellow travellers did, she accessed the past through landscape features that previous travellers had consistently overlooked. It is also noteworthy that whereas elsewhere, as we have seen, Graham often referenced other scholarly texts indirectly, she here quotes Gibbon directly, using quotation marks and a footnote to increase the scholarly nature of her text. To connect her travel account to Gibbon's account even further, she noted in the short summary section at the top of the chapter that the first section would contain information about her visiting the 'rock leading to Capranica'.[88]

In this same chapter, Graham added another footnote on Rienzo. It states: 'there is a curious burlesque poem, the Maggio Romanesco, that throws some light on the state and character of the Roman populace, in the time of Rienzi'.[89] Graham included a ten-page entry on this poem in one of the Journal's four appendices. The entry on 'Maggio Romanesco' (1688) can be found in Appendix III, which, as a whole, consists of a collection of 'popular poetry of the modern Romans'.[90] Hagglund assumes that Appendix III was based on a set of poetry chapbooks Graham had managed to get hold of in Rome, with some of these books

[87] Graham, *TMP*, 137.
[88] Graham, *TMP*, 136.
[89] Graham, *TMP*, 138.
[90] Graham, *TMP*, 242.

being written in local dialects.[91] In the appendix, Graham categorised the poems into four different classes, provided extracts from the original accompanied by English translations, and offered additional historical and cultural context information for each of the poems. The 'Maggio Romanesco' entry consists of a synopsis of the poem, reprinted extracts in the original Italian with an added English translation, and elaborate footnotes. As she had done in the footnote in the travel journal, Graham evaluates different historical sources on the life of the Roman tribune. She displays a detailed knowledge of Rienzo's contemporary biography, stating that it was 'written in the common Roman of his own times', that it was published in 1624 by Fortifiocca, and that its narrative is 'more just to the Tribune' than the accounts by Gibbon and Petrarch. She ends her analysis by stating that the work is 'very interesting, and now very scarce', with which she conveys the idea that she is one of only a select group of historians to have had access to this rare source.[92]

Graham's inclusion of "Maggio Romanesco" in the appendix is a testament to her ambition to uncover alternative and original sources about well-known historical events and people in order to approach her object of study from new angles. In this method she may have been inspired by the Roman historian Tacitus. Graham's 1806 commonplace book includes an entry she titled 'The duties of an Historian'. It included a copied passage from Tacitus' *The Annals* in which the Roman historian provides a reflection on the responsibilities of the historian. In the passage copied by Graham, Tacitus writes that it is the historian's task 'to rejudge the conduct of men, that generous actions may be snatched from oblivion'.[93] Treating "Maggio Romanesco" as a historical source, Graham mines the seventeenth-century poem for any information that could help her 'rejudge' Rienzo's life and actions and that would contribute to preventing the politician's 'generous actions' from sinking into oblivion.

[91] Hagglund, "The 'Bricolage' of Travel Writing," 116.
[92] Graham, *TMP*, 284.
[93] Maria Callcott, 'Commonplace Notebook,' 1806, MS Eng. e. 2428, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

She argues that the events described in the poem are 'true', but that the narrative also includes several 'satirical remarks' at the address of the self-styled Roman tribune.[94] This is hardly surprising, she argues, when taking into account 'the date of its composition' and the 'spirit of the family, to one member of which it is dedicated'.[95] By commenting that the satirical tone of the poem was typical for the time in which it was composed, Graham showcases her ability to interpret the source by taking into account the time and circumstances of its production.

According to Graham, another reason why it was unsurprising that the poem provided a satirical account of Rienzo's life was because the poem's author 'hated or despised the plebeian author of a free constitution'.[96] Graham's criticism of the author's negative opinion of Rienzo coupled with her description of Rienzo as the 'author of a free constitution' further supports the idea that Graham may have incorporated this information about Rienzo not just to prove her skills as a historian and traveller of taste but also to signal support for the growing constitutional movement in Italy. In 1820 revolution erupted in Italy when, as Lucy Riall explains, 'a conspiracy among army officers and carbonari members' obliged 'King Fernando I to grant a constitution'.[97] The Carbonari were a secret revolutionary society in Italy that, together with other such societies, were 'disappointed by the conservatism of the Restoration in Italy' and as a result started to form 'conspiracies against the Vienna settlement'.[98] The Carbonari had different aims. As mentioned, Riall has noted that one of their goals was to revolt against conservatism and absolutism and to establish a constitutional government in Italy. Moreover, R. John Rath explains that the Carbonari aimed to 'give unity, liberty, and independence to the Italian people and to expel all

[94] Graham, *TMP*, 284.
[95] Graham, *TMP*, 284.
[96] Graham, *TMP*, 284.
[97] Lucy Riall, *Risorgimento: The History of Italy from Napoleon to Nation-state* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 13-14.
[98] Riall, *Risorgimento*, 13.

foreigners, whether French or Austrians, from the Apennine Peninsula'.[99] Despite these broad common aims, the Carbonari were not a homogenous group. Eric Hobsbawm writes that ideologically, they were a 'mixed lot', and Riall notes that their political inclinations ranged from constitutional moderate to radical democrats.[100] Graham's exact political stance with regard to the Carbonari and their political goals is similarly difficult to ascertain, but from her largely positive depiction of Rienzo and the emphasis she places on him being the 'author' of a 'free constitution' it appears that she was generally supportive of the Carbonari struggle to establish a constitutional government in Italy.

Further evidence that Graham's historiographical and associationist representation of Rienzo had an underlying political dimension can be found in a letter to John Murray that Graham composed in 1821. In this letter, she urges Murray to publish Charles Eastlake's English translation of Jakob Bartholdy's *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, particularly the Carbonari* (1821). It is clear, then, that Graham and Eastlake shared an interest in the Carbonari, and given that she composed this letter less than a year after her return from Italy, it is likely that the two travel companions had discussed this book project or at least its subject matter during their joint travels. Graham, sensing Murray's apparent hesitation at publishing the work, writes that 'All great men have to pay the penalty of their greatness, and you, *arch-bookseller* as you are, must now and then be entreated to do many things you only half like to do. I shall half break my heart if you and Bartholdy do not agree' (emphasis in the original).[101] A bit further on in the letter, Graham also makes a connection between the Carbonari and the Greek War of Independence, which erupted in February 1821, the same month in which she composed her letter. She starts by introducing Eastlake to Murray, writing: 'Now, whether you publish 'The Carbonari' or not, I bespeak your

[99] R. John Rath, "The Carbonari: their Origins, Initiation Rites, and Aims," *The American Historical Review* 69, no. 2 (January 1964): 366-367.
[100] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (London: Abacus, 1977), 145; and Riall, *Risorgimento*, 14.
[101] Maria Graham to John Murray, 24 February 1821, quoted in Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray* (London, 1891), 115.

acquaintance for the translator, Mr. Eastlake'. After extolling her friend's exceptional 'taste and talents' and emphasising her close connection with the painter, she writes: 'I have told [Eastlake] that, when he goes to London, he must show you two beautiful pictures he has done for Lord Guilford, views taken in Greece. You will see that his pictures and Lord Byron's poetry tell the same story of the "Land of the Unforgotten Brave"'.[102] With this comment, she hints at her support for the broader revolutionary movements in Southern Europe of the early 1820s. Namely, a secret society founded in Greece in 1814 named the 'Philiki Eteria' (Society of Friends) was modelled after the Carbonari and would come to play a key role in igniting the Greek War of Independence.[103] Byron took a strong interest in the Greek independence struggle against Ottoman rule, and in 1824 he would lend his assistance to the cause as a representative of the London Greek Committee.[104] He would die at Missolonghi eight months later.[105] It remains unclear why Murray initially did not seem eager to publish the book; it might have had to do with the fact that Bartholdy asked £1500 for the original and the translation.[106] Alternatively, it may have been due to the controversial political nature of the subject matter. As Bartholdy writes in the work's Preface (anonymously, however – neither his name nor Eastlake's would be named in the book), the society's revolutionary character was dividing opinion, as some considered 'sects' such as the Carbonari 'the focus of crimes and atrocity', while others regarded them as 'the asylums of virtue, and the place of refuge for oppressed patriotism'![107] Whatever the reason for Murray's reluctance, he eventually complied with Graham's request and published it, and it would become one of the most acclaimed books on the topic.[108]

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[102] Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, 115.
[103] Jonathan Israel, *The Expanding Blaze: How the American Revolution Ignited the World, 1775-1848* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), 495.
[104] Stephen Cheeke, *Byron and Place: History, Translation, Nostalgia* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 53.
[105] Cheeke, *Byron and Place*, 193.
[106] Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, 114.
[107] Anon., *Memoirs of the Secret Societies of the South of Italy, Particularly the Carbonari* (London, 1821), v.
[108] Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Counterrevolution, 1815-1848* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 55.

In this section I have shown that in *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome,* Graham presents herself as a professional and knowledgeable travel writer journeying in the tradition of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour who authoritatively and unapologetically shared her historical and aesthetic observations and who used these observations to subtly comment on more recent political developments in Europe. As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, by the time Graham set sail for Brazil in 1821 she saw herself as having 'higher taste' and a 'more discriminating eye' compared to the early days of her career as a female travel writer. In what follows, I will analyse how Graham's historical, art historical, and philosophical knowledge and her experiences of travelling in India and Italy shaped her critical views about Latin American art and her aesthetic responses to the landscapes of Brazil and Chile.

History and Landscape Aesthetics in *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824)

In the Introduction, I have sketched the political and cultural context in which Graham travelled to South America in the early 1820s, noting that she was travelling at a time in which Latin America can be perceived as having formed part of Britain's informal empire. I have also outlined M. Soledad Caballero's persuasive argument that Graham's two published travel journals were enacting 'a version of the imperial civilizing mission' that can be defined as 'benign domination'.[109] Building on this argument, I suggest that in *Journal of a Residence in Chile* Graham presents herself as someone who, in an act of 'disinterested benevolence', as Caballero puts it, is applying her sophisticated knowledge of European art – accumulated through her British art education and Grand Tour experience – to contribute to the cultural advancement of South America.[110]

[109] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 112.
[110] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 112.

In a journal entry dated 8 July 1822, Graham writes:

> To-day, a young man born in Cundinamarca, but brought up in Quito, came to stay with me, that I may put him in the way of improving a great natural talent for drawing. He has been long on board Lord Cochrane's ship, in I know not what capacity, and has displayed considerable taste in some sketches of costume, &c.[111]

Graham here writes that she has been tasked with educating a young aspiring South American artist. Although she describes him as talented, she does not expect him to excel artistically, even with her help, primarily because there is a lack of high-quality paintings for him to study. She writes: 'I have heard extravagant praises of the pictures of various South American painters, but these were given by persons who probably never saw a first-rate picture in Europe'.[112] She challenges other critics' positive assessments of South American paintings by arguing that, unlike herself, they have not actually viewed European art first-hand and are therefore unable to provide an accurate assessment of the quality of these paintings. This lack of excellent artistic examples on the continent, she argues, will negatively affect the young artist's development: 'If I had him in Europe, where he could see good pictures, and above all, good drawings, I have no doubt but he would be a painter; as it is, seeing nothing much better than his own, there is little chance of very great improvement'.[113] Graham here depicts Latin America as a comparatively underdeveloped continent that lacks a well-developed artistic tradition and that is devoid of museums and art galleries that house and display art. As a consequence, aspiring artists are prevented from developing into great painters.

In the passages quoted above, Graham implies that young artists can only become great painters by studying excellent art first-hand – the best examples of which are found in

[111] Graham, *RIC*, 178.
[112] Graham, *RIC*, 178.
[113] Graham, *RIC*, 178.

Europe. She is probably alluding here to Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses*, a text which, as we have seen, Graham had studied in her formative years. One of this work's central themes is the education of the young artist. In the 'First Discourse', Reynolds writes that 'the great examples of the Art' are 'authentic models' that form the 'materials on which Genius is to work', and that without the opportunity to study these models – predominantly ancient Greek and Roman sculptures and Renaissance paintings – even 'the strongest intellect may be fruitlessly or deviously employed'.[114] Graham also emphasised this idea in her *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* (1820). In the chapter outlining Poussin's early education, she writes that Poussin felt that his home town of Les Andelys 'afforded no models that could satisfy' his genius, and that he therefore decided to leave for Paris at the age of eighteen to seek 'greater excellence'.[115] In Paris, she writes, Poussin 'eagerly and carefully copied' a large variety 'of excellent prints, especially those by Mark Antonio after Raffaelle, and Giulio Romano' as well as 'a number of original drawings by those masters'.[116] Graham depicts this experience as a defining moment in the young painter's career, writing that Poussin's access to these works by the old masters 'began to form his taste for that grand and chaste style which distinguishes his works'.[117] In *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, Graham assesses the qualities and potential of Latin American artists not in their own right but in the light of these European models of artistic development and excellence, concluding that the only way for Latin American artists to achieve great things would be to follow such European models.

The confidence with which Graham presented her plan to transfer her knowledge of art to the young artist from Quito may also have arisen from her belief, as expressed in her memoir about Nicholas Poussin, that Britain was currently producing some of the best art in the world and that she was therefore well-positioned to teach on the subject. In the work's

[114] Joshua Reynolds, *Seven Discourses Delivered in the Royal Academy by the President* (London, 1778), 3.
[115] Maria Graham, *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* (London and Edinburgh, 1820), 9-10.
[116] Graham, *LONP*, 11.
[117] Graham, *LONP*, 11.

Preface, she argues that art can only flourish in free countries, supporting this claim by drawing on historical precedents. She points out that poetry and painting 'both sprung up in the free cities of ancient Greece', and that 'the period when the great poets of Italy wrote, and when her greatest painters were born, was one of freedom, bordering on licentiousness'.[118] She is here referring to the period between 1442 and 1492, when Florence was a republic. Continuing her argument, she states that because 'painting has hitherto loved to live in the light of liberty, Englishmen surely need not be afraid to cultivate it'.[119] She then argues that the English school of painting 'is now the best in Europe'.[120] Graham's argument is closely related to general ideas of progress. As Spadafora notes, Reynolds and many of his contemporaries thought that the natural development of the fine arts 'was widely considered to be gradual and progressive' and happened over the long term.[121] In the Chile journal, Graham suggests that now that Chile has gained its independence from Spain, the conditions for Chile to develop its own school of painting are favourable and that as a British subject, she is perfectly positioned to stimulate the artistic development of this young nation.[122]

The fact that Graham mentions Admiral Cochrane in the context of this 'imperial civilising mission' is significant. As noted in the Introduction, Graham depicts Cochrane as a liberating hero and, as Caballero has stated, 'the embodiment of her civilising model'.[123] But aligning herself with Cochrane and his cause was also controversial. Thompson argues that Graham's championing of the Scottish Admiral contributed to her being placed 'firmly – and, for a woman writer, unusually conspicuously – in the camp of contemporary Whig liberalism'.[124] As I argued in the previous section, it appears that Graham supported the constitutionalist movements in Southern Europe in the 1820s. While still in Chile, Cochrane

[118] Graham, *LONP*, ix.
[119] Graham, *LONP*, xi.
[120] Graham, *LONP*, xii.
[121] Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress*, 69-70.
[122] Graham, *RIC*, 15.
[123] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 117, 112.
[124] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 200.

was asked to help fight for the Greek cause, and in 1827 he would be appointed commanding admiral of the Greek navy.[125] In the passages quoted above, Graham presents herself as an active contributor to Cochrane's aim to liberate and by extension civilise Chile. Because, as a woman, Graham was excluded from playing an active military or political role in this process, she carved out a role for herself as a teacher. Even though this role conformed more to the normative gender roles in this period, Graham's overt and expert display of knowledge of art and art history still pushed the boundaries of what was considered proper female engagement with art criticism in this period.

In the Chile journal, Graham also discusses paintings and sculptures dating back to the Spanish colonial era. Given her generally negative assessment of Spanish colonialism, occasional criticism of Catholicism, and firm belief in the superiority of British art, it is perhaps not surprising that her assessment is disdainful. About the sculptures found in Chilean churches, for example, she states that although they give a 'strong impression of reality […] that is not sculpture', because 'sculpture is not the ape, but the perfecter of nature'.[126] This comment is another allusion to Reynolds' *Discourses on Art*. In the Third Discourse, Reynolds argues that 'a mere copier of nature can never produce any thing great'.[127] From classical antiquity onwards, Reynolds had argued, artists believed that great art goes beyond a mere imitation of nature. The trained and experienced artist is able to perceive the imperfections in nature and subsequently make 'an abstract idea of their forms more perfect than any one original'.[128] Graham's implicit references to Reynolds added credibility to her critical evaluation of Spanish colonial-era art. It also provides further evidence of the strong influence eighteenth-century British art criticism had on her views about the universal development of art.

[125] Lambert, "Cochrane, Thomas, Tenth Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860), Naval Officer."
[126] Graham, *RIC*, 178.
[127] Reynolds, *Discourses*, 69.
[128] Reynolds, *Discourses*, 77-78.

Graham writes little about Latin American Pre-Columbian art and antiquities. This is in contrast to her assessment of Indian art; in *Letters on India*, for example, she had argued that among the ancient Hindu cultures painting 'was once highly cultivated' but that the material traces of this highly developed tradition had 'perished' a long time ago.[129] Graham's exclusion of Pre-Columbian art and antiquities from her discussions may indicate that she assumed that Latin Americans lacked a well-developed artistic tradition because the continent lacked ancient history and civilizations. As Leask points out, eighteenth-century thinkers such as Cornelis de Pauw, the Abbé de Raynal, and William Robertson 'insisted that America was more recently formed and immature than the rest of the planet' and that, as a result, American nature and cultures were comparatively underdeveloped.[130] Pratt contends that it was the Prussian explorer Alexander von Humboldt who reinforced this idea of Latin America as a new continent. Between 1799 and 1804, Humboldt and his travel companion Aimé Bonpland journeyed through what are now parts of Venezuela, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Mexico between 1799 and 1804.[131] Humboldt's thirty-volume account of his travels, published over a period of three decades, was widely read across Europe and inspired future generations of travel writers.[132] In his *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent* (1814-1829), which Graham repeatedly references in her South America journals, Humboldt writes that 'in the Old World, nations and the distinctions of their civilization form the principal points in the picture; in the New World, man and his productions almost disappear amidst the stupendous display of wild and gigantic nature'.[133] Pratt argues that Humboldt 'reinvented South America first and foremost as nature […] a dramatic, extraordinary nature, a spectacle capable of overwhelming human knowledge

[129] Graham, *LOI*, 54.
[130] Leask, *Curiosity*, 257.
[131] Leask, *Curiosity*, 244.
[132] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 109-110.
[133] Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the years 1799-1804,* trans. Helen Maria Williams (Philadelphia, 1815), xxix.

and understanding'.[134] She does acknowledge that Humboldt also wrote and thought about the continent in different ways, including 'archeological and demographic ones'; however, it was 'unquestionably the image of primal nature […] that became codified in the European imaginary as the new ideology of the "new continent"'.[135] In Pratt's view, Humboldt imagined the idea of America's primeval nature 'as a state in relation to the prospect of transformative intervention from Europe'.[136]

Graham's landscape descriptions are often – although, as I will demonstrate shortly, not always – suffused with this idea of newness. As Pérez-Mejía has argued, the 'main thrust' of Graham's *Journal of a Residence in Chile* is that 'the landscapes are empty, that there is no civilization there, and therefore that human life is absent'.[137] In the Brazil volume, this is no different. Graham writes that

> the long lines of fazenda houses, that now and then take from the solitariness of nature, suggest no association with any advance either of old or present time, in the arts that civilize or that ennoble man. […] and though nature is at least as fine as in India or in Italy, the want of some reference to man, as an intellectual and moral being, robs it of half its charms.[138]

In this passage, Graham used her previous travels in India and Italy as essential reference points in this assessment, conveying the idea that in contrast to these other countries, the Brazilian landscape lacks ancient historical markers. Although she describes nature as being 'at least as fine' as in India or Italy, its newness makes it lose 'half its charms' because it prevents the mind from making powerful historical associations. Whereas in *Journal of a*

[134] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 118.
[135] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 123.
[136] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 124.
[137] Pérez-Mejía, *A Geography of Hard Times*, 96.
[138] Graham, *VTB*, 195-196.

Residence in India, she had made a clear distinction between the characteristics of Indian history and Italian history and its resulting different degrees of associative aesthetic experiences of landscape, in Brazil those differences appear to be subordinate to the distinction between the Old World – which include both India and Italy – and the New World of South America.

Elsewhere in the Brazil volume, she again classifies Europe and India under the same Old World marker – in this case, 'the East' – and contrasts it with the New World. She writes that

> There is a newness in every thing here, a want of interest on account of what has been, that is most sensibly felt. […] In the East, imagination is at liberty to expatiate on past grandeur, wisdom, and politeness. Monuments of art and of science meet us at every step: here, everything, nature herself, wears an air of newness.[139]

Here Graham writes that in 'the East', the imagination is free to reflect on the merits of human civilization. This is enabled by the multitude of historical monuments that the traveller encounters 'at every step'. In South America, Graham's perspective appears to have shifted – whereas travelling in India brought the historical differences between India and Europe into sharp relief, in South America the dominant comparative category is that of old versus new.

That Graham's travels in Italy were instrumental to her comparative description of the associative effects of foreign landscape on the imagination becomes further apparent when she describes the landscape around the Lake of Pudahuel in Chile, in the vicinity of which there is the 'beautiful fountain' of San Miguel. She writes:

[139] Graham, *VTB*, 81-82.

> How much more beautiful is the scenery round the banks of Pudaguel, than the dirty washing-place that marks the fountain of Arethusa in Syracuse! And yet, when I stood there actually hearing and seeing vulgar Sicilians, surrounded by mean squalid houses and with nothing more sacred than a broken plaster image of the Virgin, my imagination, longing from youth to see where "Divine Alceus did by secret sluice steal under-ground to meet his Arethuse," soon encrusted the rock with marble, and restored the palaces, and the statues, and the luxury of that fountain […]. Here Pudaguel sinks in lonely beauty unsung, and therefore unhonoured.[140]

In this fragment Graham compares her experience of visiting Pudahuel to seeing the Fountain of Arethusa in Syracuse in Sicily, which she had visited in 1818. She writes that upon beholding the Fountain of Arethusa, which is associated with a nymph in Greek mythology, her mind had immediately made strong historical associations, and she had been transported into the past, despite the rather disappointing present state of the fountain. In her imagination, present-day Sicily faded and she could again behold the Fountain in its full glory. By stating that she had been 'longing from youth' to visit the Fountain, she emphasizes the essential role that her classical knowledge, acquired in her childhood, played in this process. But the newness of Pudahuel prevents her from making such associations, even though the actual scenery is more beautiful.

The image of the Fountain of Arethusa that Graham invokes in this passage in the Chile journal is the discursive mirror image of a sketch she had made on the spot at Syracuse (Figure 5).

[140] Graham, *RIC*, 197-198.

Figure 5. Maria Graham, "Fountain of Arethusa," c.1818-1819? Inscribed upper right, "[Fountain of] Arethusa Novr 19th." Brown wash and graphite. Unpublished sketchbook, 1803-1819, British Museum, 1845,0405.13.1-167, no. 123. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo by author, adjusted for colour, contrast, and perspective.

The sketch shows a derelict washing-place with broken boulders strewn across the ground. The place is surrounded by low houses, and outlines of human figures have been pencilled in. This unpublished sketch includes the very quotation that she incorporated in her written account of the Fountain in the Chile journal. Written across the lower right corner of the sketch, she had included lines 30-31 from John Milton's "Arcades" (1634): 'Divine Alpheus, who, by secret sluice, Stole under seas to meet his Arethuse'.[141] In the passage in the Chile journal, however, Graham slightly misquoted the poem: 'Divine Alceus did by secret sluice steal under-ground to meet his Arethuse'. This may indicate that she did not have the sketch at hand in Chile but was working from a mental image of her sketch. Alternatively, she did

[141] For the original poem, see John Milton, "Arcades," in John Milton, *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations* (London, 1791), 101, ll. 30-31.

travel with her Italian sketch-book at hand but deliberately misquoted Milton so as to give off the impression that she had written down these lines on the spot. By emphasizing in the Chile journal that she had 'actually' visited the Fountain of Arethusa and had taken in the scene by 'hearing and seeing' what was happening around her, she added credibility to her comparative account of different foreign landscapes. As mentioned in the previous section, very few British female travellers in this period would have visited Syracuse, and so Graham referred to this exclusive experience to strengthen her voice as a professional female travel writer.

Although this perceived newness of the South American continent may have been a reason for Graham to exclude Pre-Columbian art and antiquities from her discussions about South American art, it is also possible that she did so not because she denied their existence but because she considered them in an anthropological rather than an aesthetic light. According to Leask, Humboldt acknowledged the existence of pre-Columbian art and antiquities but refused to consider them aesthetically. Challenging Pratt's interpretation of Humboldt's writing, Leask posits that Humboldt disputed de Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson's claim about the newness of the Americas and that he 'rather sought to represent it as an "antique land" bearing everywhere the same traces of classical culture as other hemispheres'.[142] But these antiquarian traces Humboldt considered on anthropological rather than on aesthetic terms. Leask writes that for Humboldt

> the great epistemological divide is not between peoples who possess a history and who do not […] so much as between those whose culture demands a hermeneutic understanding based on aesthetic judgement, and those whose artworks merely document the history of mankind understood in an anthropological sense.[143]

[142] Leask, *Curiosity*, 262.
[143] Leask, *Curiosity*, 274.

Humboldt made this distinction, Leask writes, because he viewed pre-Columbian cultures as the 'fossilized remains of extinct animal species' – which is similar to how Graham viewed Hindu culture – and not, as in the case of classical Greece and Rome, as 'the science of organic and evolving species'.[144] Perhaps Graham had been influenced by Humboldt's ideas and thought about Pre-Columbian art along largely similar anthropological lines.

And yet, there are occasions where Graham does remark upon Pre-Columbian art and antiquities, and she also uses the language of aesthetics to describe them. For example, she writes about having seen 'some jars from Melipilla and Penco which in shape and workmanship might pass for Etruscan'.[145] Although it is unclear if she is talking about antique or newly produced jars here, she nonetheless offers an aesthetic judgement of these objects by assessing them within a classical comparative framework, arguing that they are similar in shape and artistic quality to Etruscan vases. In addition, in a journal entry for the 29th of August 1822, Graham describes setting out from Santiago with a small group of English travellers and Chilean locals to visit a set of artificial waterfalls she refers to as the 'Salta de Agua'. She writes that she is curious to behold what is to her knowledge 'the only remaining work of the ancient Caciques in the neighbourhood', describing the falls as part of an ancient system of channels dug out by indigenous people with the purpose of irrigating the surrounding countryside.[146] She writes:

> The Indian chiefs, instead of one large channel have dug three smaller ones, directing them to the centre of the vale, and to the sides of the hills on either hand, so as to fertilise the whole district; an advantage as great to the admirer of picturesque beauty as to the cultivator. To the beautiful artificial waterfalls praised by travellers, I must

[144] Leask, *Curiosity*, 273.
[145] Graham, *RIC*, 142.
[146] Graham, *RIC*, 212.

> add this, which is quite as rich in natural beauty as Tivoli; and as singular, as a work of early art, as the channel by which the Velinus falls into the Nar.[147]

Graham classifies the Salta de Agua as both a site of 'picturesque beauty' and as 'a work of early art'. She emphasises that the waterfalls are an ancient human construction through a methodical description of the Indians' creation of the channels, and she makes the unusual comparison of likening the engineering achievements of the Cacique Indians to that of the ancient Romans.

In her comparison of the Salta de Agua to artificial Roman waterfalls, Graham is referring particularly to the Roman consul Marius Curius Dentatus (321 BC – 270 BC), who had ordered to cut a channel for the Velinus to fall into the Nar, resulting in the artificial waterfall called the Cataract of Terni, also known locally as the 'Caduta Delle Marmore'.[148] According to Benjamin Colbert, for early nineteenth-century British travellers the Cataract of Terni 'epitomised picturesque viewing'.[149] Graham accompanied her written description of the Salta de Agua with an engraving in which the falls are depicted in a similarly picturesque fashion (Figure 6). The falls are viewed from a low vantage point, with the water flowing playfully in and out of view down a rolling hillside dotted with small groups of trees. Whereas in other illustrations, Graham used the conventions of the picturesque to add perspective and depth but also added different types of palm trees, giant cactuses, and agaves to accentuate the differences between South American and European nature, the landscape surrounding the Salta de Agua could easily be mistaken for a scene in Italy or France. She here applies the idea put forward by Kim Ian Michasiw that theorists of the picturesque such as Richard Payne Knight discovered 'the truly picturesque in eurocentric [sic] terms. A scene

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147 Graham, *RIC*, 214.
148 Mariana Starke, *Travels on the Continent: Written for the Use and Particular Information of Travellers* (London, 1820), 503-504.
149 Benjamin Colbert, *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 161.

operating on a different scale – Canada or India – can be beautiful only if it can be assimilated to European norms'.[150] Both discursively and visually, then, Graham aimed to translate this Chilean site into an image that was recognisable and attractive for a British metropolitan readership.

Figure 6. Maria Graham, *Salta de Agua*. Engraved by Edward Finden. In Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile, During the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823* (London, 1824), facing page 213. Digitised by Google.

In her aesthetic appreciation of the Salta de Agua, Graham incorporated references to her Italian Grand Tour experience to promote the falls as an attractive tourist site. Following her detailed description of the falls, she writes: 'I appreciate the work of the Caciques the better for having seen that of the Roman consul'.[151] Her extensive stay in Italy,

[150] Kim Ian Michasiw, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *Representations* 38 (Spring, 1992), 87.
[151] Graham, *RIC*, 214.

she implies here, enabled her to recognise the aesthetic qualities of this antiquarian site where previous travellers had consistently failed to do so. Graham immortalises the Salta de Agua as an antiquarian monument of Chile's pre-Columbian past that has aesthetic merit and that can be appreciated by future tourists. Just as she had in *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* – think, for example, about the passage in which she claimed to have identified the spot where Cola di Rienzo once stood – she conveys the idea that her expert eye allows her to recognise history in the landscape and make historical associative connections where her fellow male travellers have not. Elsewhere in the journal, Graham had underscored this point by writing that male travellers failed to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of the South American landscape, and that her Italian travel experiences played an essential part in her ability to make such aesthetic judgements. Upon travelling to the Cuesta de Zapata mountain in Chile, she writes:

> I wonder that I have never heard the beauty of this road praised. Perhaps the merchants who use it frequently may be ruminating on profit and loss as they ride; and our English naval officers, who take a run to the capital for the sake of its gaieties, think too much of the end for which they go to attend to the road which leads thither. It reminds me of the very finest parts of the Apennines.[152]

Graham here conveys the idea that male travellers are too occupied with the pursuit of money or pleasure to play close attention to the Chilean landscape. As Jennifer Hayward rightly points out, Graham here covertly criticises 'male powers of perception' by drawing attention to 'the economic and other kinds of "blinders" or biases that prevent such travellers from seeing the New World accurately'.[153] I would like to add to this that Graham here also

[152] Graham, *RIC*, 194.
[153] Jennifer Hayward, "'No Unity of Design,'" in *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, ed. Jennifer Hayward (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 300.

foregrounds her identity as a professional writer and well-travelled British woman of taste. Whereas male travellers solely focused on profits and entertainment, Graham possessed the skills and taste to appraise the aesthetic qualities of the South American landscape.

There remains a curious discursive tension between history and newness in Graham's aesthetic depiction of the Salta de Agua. Whereas in one part of her description, she describes the falls as an ancient human construction that resembles the classical Roman falls she has seen in Italy, in another passage she writes that she is disappointed that the landscape surrounding the falls is devoid of antiquarian markers. She writes: 'Those who have seen the Cascatelle of Tivoli, have seen the only thing I remember at all to be compared to this; but there is no villa of Mecaenas [sic] to crown the hill, no Sybil's temple to give the charm of classic poetry to the scene'.[154] Here Graham again draws on her travels in Italy to interpret the falls, but this time she draws a different conclusion: even though the falls bear some optical resemblance to those at Tivoli, their aesthetic appeal is diminished because the surrounding landscape bears no traces of antiquity. In her Italy journal, Graham had given an associative aesthetic description of Tivoli, emphasising that the history of the landscape elicited strong emotions in her. She writes that 'The splendid villas and graceful temples are perhaps now even more attractive from the charm which time has flung around them' and that 'the names which […] have long been affixed to the rocks and woods, have enriched the neighbourhood of Tivoli with associations which will never fail to excite a glow in every heart which is not dead to the noblest sentiments of our nature'.[155] Perhaps her critique of the Chilean landscape, then, is in some ways comparable to that she expressed in India: it is not the lack of history that poses a problem so much as the lack of the 'right' kind of history. The Chilean indigenous past, she concludes, lacks the attributes that would have elicited a strong emotional response in the viewer. In contrast to India, however, Chile has no ancient

[154] Graham, *RIC*, 213.
[155] Graham, *TMP*, 219-220.

literary tradition that could have immortalised the names of the indigenous peoples who had built the site and that Graham could have drawn on to strengthen her aesthetic response to the landscape.

Graham's ambiguous depiction of the Salta de Agua as a site that was both suffused with and devoid of history also allowed her to create a vision of a mythical indigenous past that justified British imperial involvement in Chile. Upon approaching the falls, she writes:

> [a]s a dense cloud rolled from the Andes across the sky, I would, in the spirit of Ossian, have believed, that the soul of some old Cacique had flitted by; and, if he regretted that his name and nation were no longer supreme here, was not ungratified at the sight of the smiling cultivated plains his labours had tended to render fruitful; nor, it may be of me, as one of the white children of the East, whence freedom to the sons of the Indians was once more to arise.[156]

In this highly literary passage, Graham writes that the sight of the Salta de Agua sparked her imagination, and that 'in the spirit of Ossian' she could envision the 'soul of some old Cacique' in the clouds. Ossian was the narrator and alleged author of a collection of epic poems translated and published from 1760 by the Scottish writer James Macpherson, who claimed to have discovered the poems in third-century Gaelic manuscripts that he had collected in the Scottish Highlands.[157] According to Dafydd Moore, Ossian's poems are purportedly the narrator's 'reminiscences for the time of his father Fingal and a warrior society of which he is the last survivor'.[158] Despite the fact that the Ossian poems sparked a

[156] Graham, *RIC*, 118.
[157] Dafydd Moore, "Introduction," in *International Companion to James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian*, ed. Dafydd Moore (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2017), 1-13.
[158] Moore, "Introduction," 3.

fierce debate about the authenticity and origins of the poems, they had a significant influence on the aesthetics of Romanticism.[159]

In this passage in the Chile journal, Graham draws parallels between the warriors described in the Ossian poems and the indigenous inhabitants of Chile. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Araucanians (or, Mapuche), an indigenous group from Chile and parts of Argentina, uniquely never submitted to Spanish colonial rule, and their continuous resistance to colonisation was immortalised in Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*, the Spanish epic poem that Graham produced a partial prose English translation of in the early 1830s and that is the focal point of Chapter Three of this thesis. Romantic-era British authors, Fulford claims, likened the Araucanians to 'the Scottish clans described by Ossian'.[160] Caballero argues that Graham referenced Ossian here to create an idea of a primitive and distant indigenous Chilean past in order 'to imagine a British future in the area'.[161] She writes that Graham

> elides factual data – in this case the Spanish empire in Latin America – instead constructing the region's present as a cacique past – one wholly without previous European contact. And it is this romanticised cacique past that allows a British future.[162]

By collapsing Spanish and indigenous history, Caballero contends, Graham conveys the idea that 'the first Europeans in the region are the "white children" of Britain' who will bring freedom and progress to Chile.[163]

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[159] Moore, "Introduction," 6-7.
[160] Tim Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans: The Araucanians of Chile," *Studies in Romanticism* 47, no. 2 (Summer, 2008): 241.
[161] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 119.
[162] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 118.
[163] Caballero, "'For the Honour of Our Country,'" 118.

Although I agree with Caballero's assessment, I would like to offer an alternative reading of this passage, one in which Graham does not erase Spanish colonial history but rather uses associationism and intertextuality to allude to the sixteenth-century conflict between the Spanish and the Araucanians in order to validate British informal imperialism. Fulford notes that the British held a deep fascination for the Araucanians in the Romantic period.[164] He claims that the 'Chilean Indians obsessed anti-Spanish Britains […] because they already seemed to be romantic freedom-fighters' and that this image of the Araucanians as noble warriors fighting for liberty was particularly popular because it legitimised Britain's informal imperialist activity in South America.[165] The legendary story of Araucanian resistance against the Spanish perpetuated the 'Black Legend', the idea that the Spanish were superstitious and cruel imperialists, evidenced by the atrocities they committed against indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans.[166] The idea of the Black Legend – or, la leyenda negra – originated in continental and Protestant Europe; as Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan point out, Julián Juderías, the Spanish journalist who coined the term in 1912, 'rightly points to envious sixteenth-century Protestant hostility within Europe as the primary origin of such anti-Spanish sentiment'.[167] The Black Legend would become 'a weapon in an interimperial struggle', as it was used by 'the rival Dutch and English empires' to challenge Spanish imperial control in the Americas.[168] For Britons, the fierce and continuous resistance of the freedom-loving Araucanians against the Spanish oppressors were evidence that South Americans would eventually welcome colonization by the 'rational,

[164] Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 228.
[165] Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 228.
[166] See Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, "Introduction," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007): 1-24; Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990); and William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558-1660* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1971).
[167] Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, "Introduction," 1.
[168] Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, "Introduction," 6.

Protestant, commercial British' rather than the cruel Spanish oppressors.[169] Fulford's argument therefore expresses what Reeder has referred to as the 'difficult conceptual paradox' of British informal empire in South America: that the continent would be both free and subjected to British power.[170]

Graham's representation of the Araucanians supports this idea that Britons used the Araucanians' story to legitimise British presence in Chile. I argue that Graham's description of the 'soul of some old Cacique' appearing in a 'dense cloud' rolling across the Chilean sky alludes to Robert Southey's poem "Song of the Araucans During a Thunder Storm" (1799). Southey wrote this poem when he was still known as a radical writer, and, as Fulford notes, the poem was, among other things, 'allegorical of noble Britons resisting French/Spanish conquest'.[171] In the poem, Southey depicted present-day Araucanians as looking up towards the sky during a thunderstorm to see the souls of their ancestors fight with the souls of Spanish conquistadors in the clouds above their heads:

> The storm-cloud grows deeper above;
> Araucans! the tempest is ripe in the sky;
> Our forefathers come from their Islands of Bliss,
> They come to the war of the winds.[172]

As the souls of the Araucanian ancestors fiercely engage in battle, the present-day Araucanians emphatically remind them that the Spanish invaders have no right to take the Araucanians' ancestral lands: 'Remember the land was your own / When the Sons of

169 Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 228.
170 Reeder, *The Forms of Informal Empire*, 3.
171 Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 233.
172 Robert Southey, "Song of the Araucans During a Thunder Storm," in Robert Southey, *Metrical Tales and Other Poems* (London, 1805), 89, ll. 1-4.

Destruction came over the seas'.[173] Eventually, the Spanish are forced to retreat, and the souls of the Araucanians return to their 'Islands of Bliss' where the souls of their wives rejoice in their victory. Graham's subtle allusion to the poem can be interpreted as a denunciation of Spanish colonialism. The soul of one of the old Caciques who had so heroically fought off the Spanish in Southey's poem returns in Graham's journal, but this time he makes an appearance to welcome the arrival of the British on Chilean soil. This can be read as an expression of what Heinowitz has described as the Britons' view of themselves as 'enlightened liberators' who came to Latin America to rescue 'their rightful allies' – the indigenous population – from Spain's centuries-long Roman Catholic oppression.[174]

Graham's multi-layered, ambivalent, and intermedial aesthetic depiction of the Salta de Agua contrasts with descriptions of the falls offered by British male travellers journeying in Chile around the same time. Most male-authored travel journals on Chile from this period do not mention the falls at all, and the few which do show little interest in its antiquarian status or aesthetic appeal. This corresponds with Pratt's theory as outlined in the Introduction that the 'capitalist vanguard' wrote predominantly 'as advance scouts for European capital' and that as a result, their travel accounts were 'anti-aesthetic' because they resorted to 'pragmatic and economistic rhetorics' to depict South America.[175] The British naval officer Basil Hall, whom Graham became closely acquainted with in Chile, describes visiting a waterfall in the vicinity of Santiago in *Extracts from a Journal, Written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822* (1824). Based on the geographical details he provides, this waterfall is almost certainly the Salta de Agua. But in contrast to Graham, Hall hardly finds the site worth mentioning. He writes that he is 'disappointed with the waterfall' and that he finds it 'quite contemptible', and he leaves the site almost immediately

[173] Southey, "Song of the Araucans," 90, ll. 25-26.
[174] Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism*, 15.
[175] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 146.

after his arrival.[176] Hall does not describe the waterfalls as an ancient indigenous construction, and whereas Graham captures the falls and its surrounding natural environment in picturesque language and stresses that, were it not for the lack of Italian temples and villas, she could have imagined herself in Italy, Hall emphasises the foreignness and disorienting vastness of the scene. He notes: 'the enormous scale of every thing around us, with the dimensions of which we were yet far from sufficiently familiar, made it impossible to appreciate correctly either heights, distances, or levels'.[177] For Hall, the scale and dimensions of the site appear to fall outside of his aesthetic framework; it is unlike anything he has ever seen in Europe, and he struggles to find anything that pleases the eye. To a certain extent, though, Hall's anti-aesthetic stance conveys the same underlying message as Graham's highly aesthetic depiction of the same place. Both Graham and Hall conveyed the idea that the South American landscape was in need of British improvement, but Graham expressed this idea in an aesthetic rather than anti-aesthetic fashion.

The British banker Peter Schmidtmeyer also described the Salta de Agua in *Travels into Chile, over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821* (1824). Schmidtmeyer depicted the falls cartographically in a hand-coloured fold-out lithograph map of Santiago which he included in his journal (Figure 7). Titled *Plan of the City of Santiago, the Capital of Chile*, the plate consists of two parts. A schematic map of Santiago takes up the lower and by far the largest part of the page. Points of interest on the map are indicated by means of a key on the lower left-hand side of the map. The map identifies buildings, such as churches, monasteries, the custom house, the university, and the mint; and geographical features, such as hills, rivers, and roads. Above this map, taking up the whole breadth of the plate, is what is referred to in the book as a 'view (not offered as accurate, but only as a general appearance) of the Andes, and of a plan of the country near Santiago, at the foot of that chain of mountains,

[176] Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal, Written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822* (Edinburgh and London, 1824), 1:179.
[177] Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, 179.

embracing a distance of forty or fifty miles along it'.[178] A low, round hill in the foreground of this view is marked as the location of the 'Salta de Agua or Leap of Water'. There is no sign of water to be seen in this view, however; the focus is on the road leading up to it and the patchwork of green agricultural fields surrounding it.

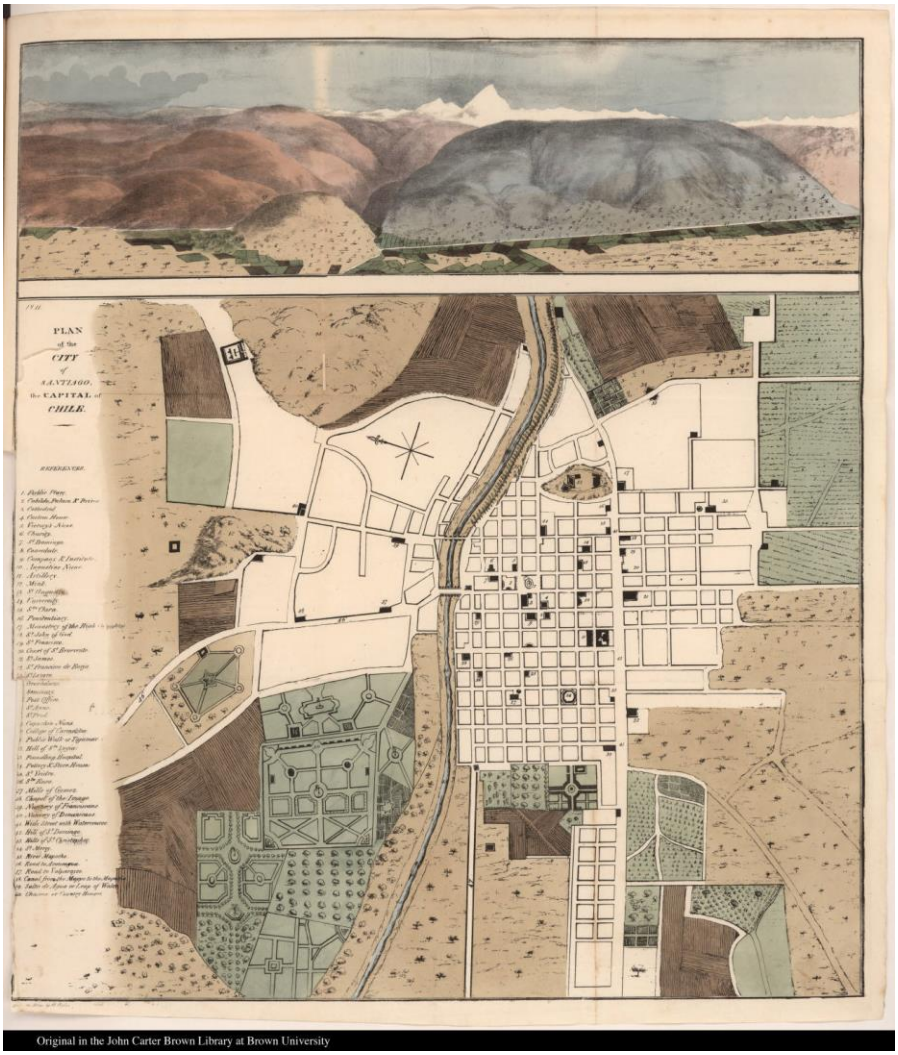

Figure 7. Peter Schmidtmeyer, *Plan of the City of Santiago, the Capital of Chile*. Fold-out plate, drawn on stone by Agostino Aglio, hand-coloured lithograph, 57.5 cm x 51 cm. In Peter Schmidtmeyer, *Travels into Chile, over the Andes, in the years 1820 and 1821* (London, 1824), following p. 130. JCB Archive of Early American Images, JCB call number D824 S354t / 1-SIZE. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library.

[178] Peter Schmidtmeyer, *Travels into Chile, over the Andes, in the years 1820 and 1821* (London, 1824), 137.

Schmidtmeyer also referred to this plate in his written journal, in a passage where he describes travelling past the falls:

> [t]he passage of a hill led us into the basin of Colina, where a fine opening and valley bring out of the Andes a river, which is a collection of many streams from an extensive range of those mountains, and yet so small, that after having served for the irrigation of a few patches of cultivated grounds in some large estates here, nothing is left of it. In order to increase the supply, some water is brought from the Mapocho, by the cut called the Salta de agua, shown in Plate II.[179]

Schmidtmeyer's written and visual description of the Salta de Agua is more geographically focused than Graham's, and he depicts the waterfalls in a schematic and cartographical rather than an aesthetic way. In fact, he does not even refer to the site as a waterfall, but as a 'cut'. Like Hall, Schmidtmeyer does not describe the Salta de Agua as an indigenous antiquarian site. As mentioned in the description of the plate, the view of the Andes he included in the map was not intended to be 'accurate' but functioned to provide an idea of the 'general appearance' of the surroundings. With this view Schmidtmeyer did not so much aim to capture the scenery in aesthetic terms as to map the area in order to enable future travellers to find the Salta de Agua and increase British economic or agricultural investment in this fertile region. As Susan Bassnet states, the history of travel writing is closely related to the history of mapping, because 'Naming the new and labelling it became a means of marking ownership, in both physical and intellectual terms'.[180] Graham also mapped the spot for future British travellers, by capturing the landscape in word and image and by identifying

[179] Schmidtmeyer, *Travels into Chile*, 233-234.
[180] Susan Bassnet, "Travel Writing and Gender," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Duncan Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 231. See also Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

spots of interest that future British travellers could visit. However, her approach is aesthetic and associationist rather than cartographical; her way of marking ownership is not through cartography but through the application of the language of aesthetics.

In this chapter, I have traced the development of Graham's aesthetic discourse in her travel writing. I have demonstrated how she drew on her extensive historical, art historical, and philosophical knowledge and her previous travel experiences to compose complex and highly comparative depictions of the foreign landscapes of India, Italy, Chile, and Brazil. In doing so, she often explicitly or implicitly referred to influential eighteenth-century texts to anchor her views and to craft her authority as a female British historian, professional travel writer, and woman of taste. Throughout her foreign travels, she drew on her wide network of eminent – and predominantly male – scholars, artists, travellers, and politicians to strengthen her scholarship and to signal her inclusion in this elite intellectual society.

Chapter Two

'Mr. Y.'s very interesting paper': Text, Paratext, and Historiography in *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824)

In the previous chapter, I started to explore the ways in which Graham used paratextual elements such as appendices and footnotes in her travel writing to assert her authority as a professional travel writer and historian. In this chapter, I will further explore this aspect of Graham's historiographical practice through an in-depth analysis of the relationship between text, paratext, and history writing in *Journal of a Residence in Chile*. The journal contains six appendices providing historical, political, and botanical information on Chile, such as excerpts from proclamations, addresses, and gazettes and a survey of Chilean trees and shrubs. The most extensive appendix is Appendix I, a 98-page narrative written by an Irish military officer named William Yates that details the final campaign of Chilean general José Miguel Carrera (1785-1821). Together, the six appendices comprise 139 pages, taking up more than a quarter of the book's 512 pages. However, despite the wealth of material offered in these appendices, literary scholars have paid scant attention to them. In the first scholarly edition of the Chile journal, edited by Jennifer Hayward and published in 2003, the appendices have been left out altogether, and Hayward does not discuss this editorial decision in the accompanying "editorial method".[1] The 1916 Spanish translation of the journal, too, has been published without the appendices.[2] Carl Thompson has remarked upon the historiographical value of the appendices, but he argues that with them Graham offers 'not her own narrativization of events, but rather a range of primary and secondary

[1] Jennifer Hayward, "Editorial Method," in Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, ed. Jennifer Hayward (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003), xxiv.
[2] Maria Graham, *Diario de su Residencia en Chile (1822) y de su Viaje al Brasil (1823)* (Madrid; Editorial-América: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1916).

resources for others to use', which implies that he considers them as separate from the main narrative.[3]

Historians of Chilean and Argentinian history have, like Thompson, acknowledged the contribution to South American history writing that Graham offers with Appendix I of the Chile journal but they, too, have separated the appendix from the other parts of the travel journal. In 1941, the 98-page appendix was translated into Spanish and published as a separate history book.[4] This edition includes a scholarly introduction and notes by José Luis Busaniche. In the introduction, Busaniche notes that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Chilean scholar Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna had drawn on Appendix I for his history of the Carrera family titled *El Ostracismo de los Carreras* (1857).[5] As both examples show, historians have treated this appendix as a valuable historical source; nevertheless, the connections between text and paratext are underacknowledged, given that the appendix has been lifted out of its original literary context and is presented and studied as a separate narrative.

The appendices in Graham's Chile journal, then, are often regarded as either subordinate to or separate from the main body of the text. This view largely corresponds with Gérard Genette's influential assessment of paratext as being 'only an assistant, only an accessory of the text'.[6] In making this assumption, however, the subtle and complex ways in which text and paratext work together in the creation of meaning remain unexplored. As shown in the previous chapter, Graham skilfully and innovatively used appendices in her travel writing to strengthen her historical narrative in other parts of the journals and to bolster her identity as a professional female travel writer. In *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820), Graham used Appendix III to add nuance and complexity to

[3] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 193.
[4] William Yates, *José Miguel Carrera, 1820-1821*, ed. José Luis Busaniche (Buenos Aires: Ferrari, 1941).
[5] José Luis Busaniche, "Introduccion," in William Yates, *José Miguel Carrera 1820-1821*, ed. José Luis Busaniche (Buenos Aires: Ferrari, 1941), 8.
[6] Genette, *Paratexts*, 410.

her associative aesthetic responses to the Italian landscape. The appendix also functioned as an archival storehouse and site of historical debate, offering a discursive space in which Graham could collect, edit, translate, and comment upon the historical sources she had gathered on her travels. As such, the appendix enabled her to present the results of her original scholarly labour about Italy to her British readership, adding to her authority and credibility as a professional traveller and historian. In this chapter, I argue that it is imperative that we consider text and paratext in Graham's travel journals not as separate components of bookmaking but as integrated elements that interact with and reinforce each other in the historiographical process.

In this chapter, I examine how Graham used Appendix I to contribute to her historiography of South America in her Chile journal. To do this, I am building on Alex Watson's more inclusive definition of 'para' in paratext as 'not just "ancillary to" but "beside", "in transgression of", "continuous with", "in counterpoint to" and "beyond"'.[7] I start by outlining the contents and generic features of Appendix I before investigating how Graham curated this appendix by means of other paratextual features such as footnotes, an editorial comment, and an illustration to make the appendix an integral part of her narrativization of the history of Chile. I then focus on the narrative in Appendix I, arguing that Graham's publication of this appendix contributed to documenting the involvement of Chilean indigenous troops in the Latin American Wars of Independence. In the final section of this chapter, I explore how Graham employed the appendix to engage with wider historiographical debates in Britain, especially those relating to conjectural history. In doing so, I offer new insights into Graham's viewpoints and influences as a historian and re-evaluate her contributions to the historiography of South America.

[7] Alex Watson, *Romantic Marginality: Nation and Empire on the Border of the Page* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 12.

Appendix I of *Journal of a Residence in Chile*: Background, Production, and Summary

Appendix I of the Chile journal is positioned first in a series of six appendices. It follows a 'Postscript' in which Graham sketches the political developments in Chile after her final departure from that country in January 1823. The full title of the 98-page appendix is 'A brief Relation of Facts and Circumstances connected with the Family of the Carreras in Chile; with some Account of the last Expedition of Brigadier-General Don Jose Miguel Carrera, his Death, &c.' (henceforth referred to as 'A brief Relation').[8] As noted in the Introduction, Graham did not write 'A brief Relation' herself; its author was an Irish military officer named William Yates who had fought under José Miguel Carrera's command until Carrera's death in 1821. Graham and Yates became acquainted in Chile in 1822, and she had requested the 'young Irish gentleman', as she describes him, to write this account so that she could add it as an appendix to her journal.[9]

Yates is a largely unknown figure who has left little trace in the historical record, but it is plausible that he was one of the several thousand British and Irish 'adventurers', as Matthew Brown has collectively described them, who travelled to Spanish America in the early nineteenth century to assist in the Spanish American independence cause.[10] Brown estimates that in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, approximately 3,650 Irish – more than any other nationality from across the globe – travelled to Spanish America to fight for Spanish American independence.[11] Although Yates may have travelled independently, it is more probable that he had originally journeyed to Spanish America as part of the British or the Irish Legion, both of which recruited large numbers of Irish men.[12] According to Brown, adventurers 'became some of the most influential chroniclers of the Wars of

[8] Graham, *RIC*, 373.
[9] Graham, *RIC*, 471.
[10] Brown, *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies*, 1.
[11] Brown, *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies*, 27-28.
[12] Brown, *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies*, 113-116.

Independence'.[13] Yates's 'A brief Relation' is an example of the proliferation of published written accounts – memoirs, poems, novels, histories, and collections of correspondence – that these adventurers produced in this period. By encouraging Yates to write 'A brief Relation', Graham offered him a platform to share his personal experiences. She also highlighted the involvement of Irish troops during the South American Wars of Independence. For Yates, this may have been a convenient way to disseminate his writing; Graham was a well-established author, and her work had the potential to reach a wide readership.

Generically, Yates's 'A brief Relation' is a hybrid text; it is a blend of travel writing, military memoir, biography, and ethnography. The account can roughly be divided into two parts. In the first part, Yates gives information about the education and early military achievements of one of the founders of independent Chile, José Miguel Carrera. Yates provides a summary of Carrera's leading role in the Chilean War of Independence and its immediate aftermath between 1811-1820. He also outlines the main military and political events in Chile in this decade and describes the crucial role other members of the Carrera family, most notably José Miguel Carrera's father and three siblings, played in the Chilean independence struggle. According to Graham, Yates was not an eyewitness to these events, and so he relied on other historical sources in the creation of this part of the account.[14] The narrative then seamlessly shifts to a first-person description of Yates's experiences of fighting under Carrera's command in 1821. After Chile had declared its independence in 1818, Carrera went on to fight in the Argentinian Civil War. Argentina had become independent from Spain in 1816 under the name of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, but the political situation in the young nation remained unstable. As Edwin Williamson explains, a civil war broke out between liberal *unitarios*, who wanted a centralist government, and

[13] Brown, *Adventuring through Spanish Colonies*, 5.
[14] Graham, *RIC*, 21.

conservative provincial *caudillos*, who were in favour of a federalist system.[15] Yates describes how, after a period of fighting on the Federalist side, Carrera was betrayed by an Argentinian ally and executed on 4 September 1821. At the close of the account, Graham informs the reader how following Carrera's death, Carrera's adversaries sent Yates to General San Martín in Peru, who subsequently imprisoned him at the Castle of Callao.[16]

In her earlier travel journal about Italy, Graham had used appendices to contribute to historical debate by collecting, translating, editing, and commenting upon existing historical materials; with the commissioning of Appendix I in the Chile journal, however, she organised the creation of entirely new historical material. In doing so, she filled a gap in the historical record. As Thompson points out, no history of Chile had been published in Europe since the 1780s, something Graham wanted to address with her travel journal.[17] In the Preface to the journal, Graham writes that 'until 1817, no records are to be traced even in the hands of the government; and until the middle of 1818 nothing whatever was printed in Chile; so that a few years hence all remembrance of the early period of the revolution in that country may be lost'.[18] I argue that by commissioning Yates's eyewitness narrative of the final campaign of one of Chile's most powerful independence leaders and including it as an appendix to her published journal, Graham aimed to preserve this particular episode in Chilean and Argentinian history for posterity. Today, scholars in Chile regard Graham's Chile journal as an important source on the country's history. The Chilean historian Tomás Lago, for example, states that

> María Graham is a well-known name in Chile. She appears in poems, newspaper articles, literary and historical studies; she's cited in footnotes. […] It was lucky for

[15] Edwin Williamson, *The Penguin History of Latin America*, revised edition (London: Penguin Books, 2009), 274.
[16] Graham, *RIC*, 471.
[17] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 191.
[18] Graham, *RIC*, iii.

> Chile, her visit. There's never been a visitor more interested in seeing everything, knowing everything, and recording everything in an epoch which is a kind of turning point in our history'.[19]

As Lago emphasizes, Graham has become a well-known figure in Chile, and historians today turn to her work to gain information on early nineteenth-century Chilean history.

Graham's quest to document these military events did not end with Yates's text; she also commissioned London-born freelance travelling artist Augustus Earle (1793-1838) to create a full-length illustration to accompany Yates's written narrative. Positioned approximately halfway through 'A brief Relation', the image 'Cacique with his troops advancing to meet Carrera' depicts an indigenous chief on horseback, riding across a plain. Several of the Cacique's troops can be seen riding in the background (Figure 8). Graham and Earle had first become acquainted during Graham's stay in Rio de Janeiro in 1822, and she commissioned 'the ingenious young English artist', as she describes him, to produce five illustrations for her South American journals: three for the Brazil journal and two for the Chile journal.[20] Given that Earle never travelled to Chile and that the image of the Cacique chief closely resembles Yates's written depiction of this scene, Graham probably instructed Earle to create his illustration on the basis of a passage in 'A brief Relation' in which Yates relates the encounter between Carrera and the allied indigenous forces.

[19] Tómas Lago, *La Viajera Ilustrada: Vida de María Graham* (Santiago: Planeta, 2000), 23, quoted in Hayward, '"No Unity of Design,"' 311. I am quoting Hayward's English translation of Lago's Spanish original.
[20] Graham, *VTB*, 302.

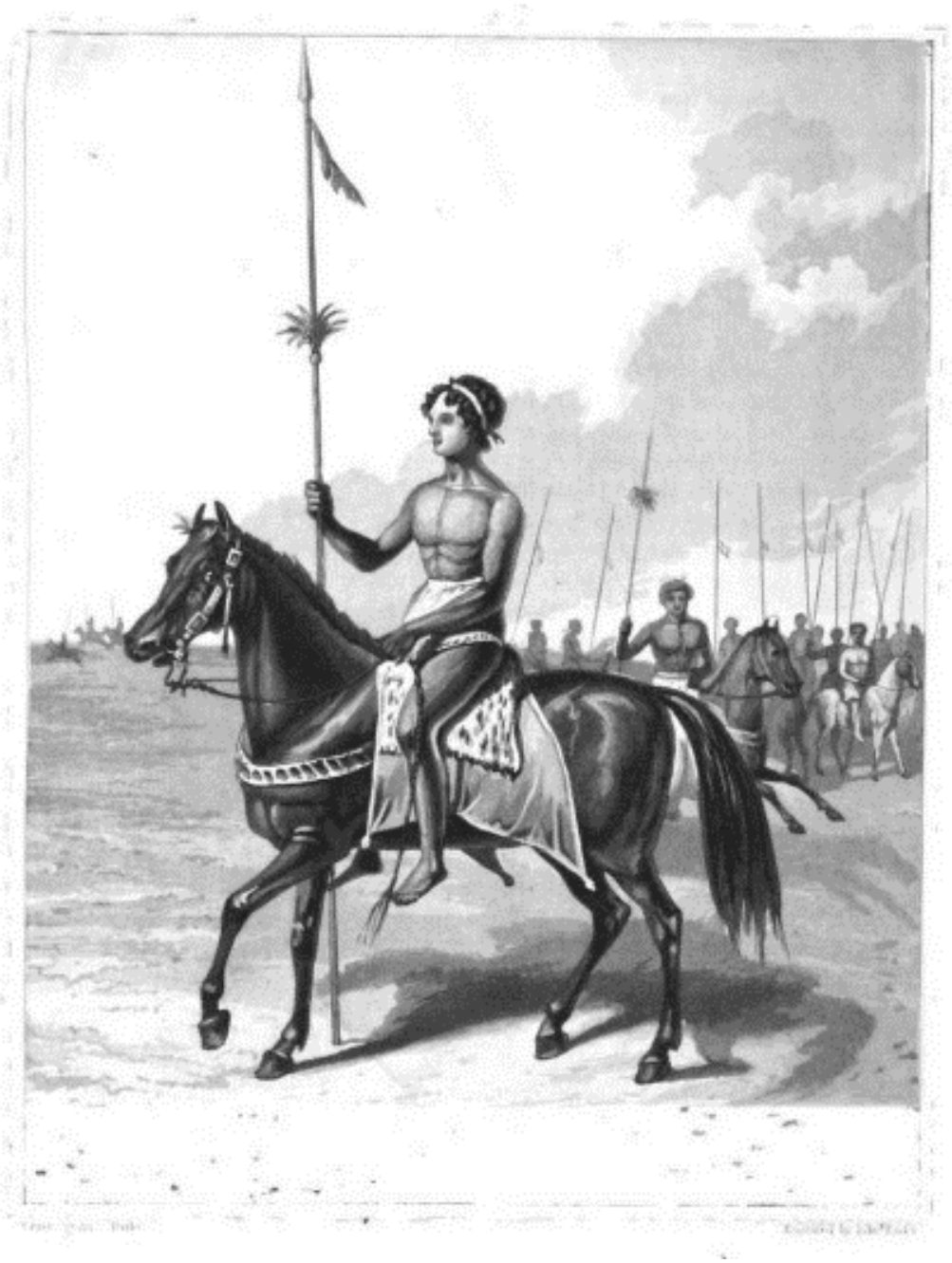

Figure 8. Augustus Earle, *Cacique with his troops advancing to meet Carrera*. Engraved by Edward Finden. In Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile During the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823* (London, 1824), facing p. 419. Digitised by Google.

After her return to England, Graham employed London-based engraver Edward Francis Finden (1791-1857) to produce the engravings for *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile*. For most of the illustrations, Finden produced his engravings after Graham's original drawings. However, going through Graham's collection of drawings in the British Museum, I discovered that Graham called in the services of an additional artist, the military painter Denis Dighton (1791-1827), for the creation of the engraving of the Cacique. The British Museum holds a print study in pen and grey ink with grey wash by Dighton after Earle's original drawing of the Cacique (Figure 9). In fact, Dighton created print studies for at least four of the five drawings that Earle had made for Graham.[21] Appointed Military Draughtsman to the Prince Regent in 1815, Dighton was an accomplished military painter with a particular expertise in battle paintings and detailed uniform studies.[22] Given that three of the five drawings made by Earle depicted military scenes – the only visual representations of military scenes in her two South America journals – it appears that Graham had deliberately commissioned Dighton, a painter specialising in military subjects, to prepare Earle's drawings for the engraving process, presumably to further optimise the quality of these detailed images.[23] The fact that Graham employed two professional painters and an esteemed engraver to produce the image of the Cacique as an illustration to this appendix indicates that she considered the appendix to be an important part of her narrative, and it is illustrative of her ambition to deliver a high-quality and original contribution to the historiography of South America. It also shows her expertise in this area, given that she chose to work with such appropriate and highly skilled artists.

[21] The other three print studies by Denis Dighton after Augustus Earle are "Travelling in Spanish America," 1792-1827, pen and ink with grey wash, British Museum, 1845,0405.14.146; "Costume of Chile," 1792-1827, pen and ink with grey wash, British Museum, 1845,0405.14.147; and "Gate and Slave Market at Pernambuco," 1792-1827, pen and ink with grey wash, Museum number 1845,0405.14.148.
[22] Jenny Spencer-Smith, "Denis Dighton (1791–1827), Military Painter," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7641.
[23] Spencer-Smith, "Denis Dighton (1791-1827)."

Figure 9. Denis Dighton after Augustus Earle, *Cacique meeting a friendly force*, 1792-1827. Print study in pen and ink with grey wash, 210 x 160 mm. British Museum, 1845,0405.14.145. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

Text, Paratext, and the Narrativization of Historical Events with 'A brief Relation'

Before publishing Yates's 'A brief Relation' as an appendix to her Chile journal, Graham carefully curated the text by adding footnotes, an editorial comment, and a commissioned engraved plate. These elements connect 'A brief Relation' to other parts of the travel journal, such as the historical introduction titled the 'Sketch of the History of Chile' and her first-person travel narrative 'Journal' that follows it. In this section, I will explore what purposes this curation served and what insights it can give us into Graham's approach to history writing, especially in relation to travel writing.

Graham added an intricate referencing system of footnotes to make connections between the appendix and other parts of the travel journal. In some instances, footnotes are short and inform the reader that an alternative or complementary narrative on that subject is offered in the appendix. For example, in the 'Journal' Graham describes a meeting with the widow of José Miguel Carrera's brother Juan José, to which she added a footnote that says: 'See Introduction, p. 24; and Mr. Yates's paper in the Appendix'.[24] Here Graham makes a reference to both the introductory 'Sketch of the History of Chile' and 'A brief Relation' to give the reader the opportunity to read more about the family history of the Carreras and to read Yates's account in conjunction with her own version of events. By providing these links, she presents herself as an authoritative historian who offers the reader a variety of narratives and who invites them to cross-reference accounts in order to compare different historical sources.

With this approach Graham was taking a fairly recent development in the discipline of history writing and incorporating it into the genre of the travel journal. Anthony Grafton claims that footnotes and critical and documentary appendices became common in history writing in the eighteenth century because the 'systematic scrutiny and citation of original

[24] Graham, *RIC*, 249.

evidence and formal arguments for the preferability of one source over another became necessary and attractive pursuits for historians'.[25] Adding footnotes and appendices also allowed historians to involve readers in this critical process. Grafton gives the example of German historian Leopold von Ranke, who, in the introduction to his history of the Reformation (1839), called for 'participatory' and 'intelligent' readers who should, if possible, read through his text and documentary appendices together.[26] Not only would this stimulate a critical engagement with the author's argument, but readers would also be able to 'follow the "particularly lively" accounts of great events that the original documents offered'.[27] Fifteen years prior to the publication of von Ranke's history, Graham adopted a similar approach in the Chile journal, with the footnotes acting as a mechanism that allowed readers to move back and forth between Yates's eyewitness account in 'A brief Relation', the historical narrative in the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', and Graham's personal account in the 'Journal'. This way, readers could compare and contrast sources and enjoy different types of historical writing, such as eyewitness narrative, military biography, and the 'traditional grand style', as Thompson has classified Graham's writing in the 'Sketch of the History of Chile'.[28] By linking these different types of writing, Graham could showcase her wide-ranging historiographical skills, and by writing in the 'traditional grand style', she boldly ventured into the male-dominated field of political history.

In these shorter footnotes, Graham facilitates a critical and comparative reading of the text but refrains from providing her own assessment of the source material, other than through its selection. However, in other, more elaborate footnotes Graham also evaluates the validity of Yates's historical account. On page two of the appendix, for example, she inserted the following footnote:

[25] Anthony Grafton, *The Footnote: a Curious History* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1997), 24.
[26] Grafton, *The Footnote*, 51-52.
[27] Grafton, *The Footnote*, 52.
[28] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 191.

> In this early part of this paper the reader is requested to remember that it is the party and family history of Carrera, and that the truth is more nearly that which is related in the Introduction; I have thought it right, however, to print it unaltered in any way. – M. G.[29]

In a direct address to the reader, Graham warns that this part of Yates's report is unreliable because it was based on partisan sources. The version provided by herself in the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', she asserts, is more objective, and so she encourages the reader to turn to that narrative instead. In addition, by explaining that she 'thought it right' to print the narrative 'unaltered in any way', she justifies her decision to leave it unedited whilst reminding the reader of the key role she played in publishing this text. The addition of her initials 'M. G.' at the end of the footnote only accentuates this authority. Although exposing what she believes are the biases in Yates's narrative, her comment that 'the truth is more nearly that' does leave some room for the reader to make their own assessment of the reliability of the source. On the following page, however, Graham forthrightly points out a factual error in Yates's account, claiming that he has provided inaccurate information on the number of soldiers present in Chile in the years prior to independence: 'There were only fifty soldiers of any kind in Santiago before the revolution. This statement is very wrong. – M. G'.[30] This strong statement, 'very wrong', appears to be less about guiding the reader in their critical approach to the text than it is about displaying her own critical skills as a historian. With this statement she also signals to the reader that the passages she does not comment on have been verified and are deemed reliable. Again, Graham added her initials here to add scholarly authority – it shows that she is the one who spotted this factual inaccuracy in Yates's text.

[29] Graham, *RIC*, 374.
[30] Graham, *RIC*, 375.

With these interventions, Graham presents herself as a knowledgeable and detail-oriented historian who is in control of the historical material she is presenting to the reader and who takes her role as editor seriously. Graham's incorporation of her own initials in footnotes is rare, but not exclusive to this work – as I will show in Chapter Four, she would use the same technique nearly a decade later when editing the manuscript of her "Life of Don Pedro".

In the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', Graham also incorporated a footnote inviting the reader to read the footnoted passage in conjunction with 'A brief Relation', and here, too, the footnote doubles as a display of authority:

> I print as an appendix Mr. Y.'s very interesting paper, entirely satisfied of the truth of every part where Mr. Y. was an eye-witness, and knowing the rest to be the story told by the family, who undoubtedly loved Jose Miguel with a warmth honourable to him, although even his friends confess that he had no steadiness and little principle even in private life.[31]

Here Graham underscores the important role of the eyewitness in producing reliable and informative histories. She notes that the rest of the account is told by Carrera's family, with which she not only demonstrates that she had privileged access to this important source but also that she is aware of its biases. The footnote is inserted early on in the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', so the reader's attention is immediately drawn to the existence of the appendix at the back of the book. In this way, Graham invites the reader to read critically and dynamically by moving back and forth between the different parts of the book, while simultaneously providing her own valuation of the reliability of the different sources.

Graham also added an editorial comment following the end of Yates's account to connect Appendix I to other parts of the journal. However, whereas the footnotes function

[31] Graham, *RIC*, 21.

to both demonstrate and facilitate a critical engagement with the historical material presented in the appendix, the editorial comment serves to shape the reader's emotional response to it. After the close of 'A brief Relation', Graham gives a brief update on Yates's fate after he had been made a prisoner of war following Carrera's defeat. She writes:

> After the death of their chief, they were sent as prisoners to San Martin in Peru; and there, after suffering great hardships on board the prison-ship in which they were transported from Chile, they were imprisoned in the castle of Callao. Their wretched situation moved the Honourable Captain F. Spencer to apply to San Martin for their release; who gave an order to that effect, on condition that they should not land again in Spanish South America. Accordingly, they both remained on board of one or other of the British ships of war on the station, until the Doris conveyed them to Brazil; where they are now both in the service of His Imperial Majesty Don Pedro.[32]

With this brief update on Yates's fate Graham shapes the reader's experience of and response to the narrative. Using emotive language such as 'suffering great hardships' and 'their wretched situation', Graham draws the reader into the story and invites them to feel sympathy for the young Irishman's fate. Sympathy was a key aspect of eighteenth-century history writing; as Shane Greentree has shown, writers such as Adam Smith argued 'for the importance of sympathy to history' and urged them 'to give their readers a spectatorial view of suffering'.[33] By including Yates's eyewitness account, Graham offered her readers such a 'spectatorial' view. Moreover, Mark Salber Phillips has noted that historians such as William Godwin and James Mackintosh 'all accepted the importance of sympathy […] as the essential

[32] Graham, *RIC*, 471.
[33] Shane Greentree, "The 'Equal Eye' of Compassion: Reading Sympathy in Catharine Macaulay's *History of England*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 52, no. 3 (Spring 2019): 302.

bond that shapes the way readers enter into and experience a text'.[34] Thompson has argued that Graham may have learnt to use affect and sentiment in her history writing in part from her friendship with Mackintosh.[35] No correspondence survives between Mackintosh and Graham, so it remains unclear if they ever discussed this idea of sympathy, but her use of emotive language in the editorial comment corresponds with his views on sympathy.

Another way in which the editorial comment makes the historical narrative more personal and affective is that it connects Yates's story to Graham's own first-person narrative in the 'Journal'. For example, Graham knew Captain Frederick Spencer personally, as he occasionally accompanied her on parts of her travels. She evidently held him in high esteem; in a diary entry in the 'Journal' she writes upon parting from him: 'at the foot of the hill Capt. Spencer left us, to my great regret; for so agreeable and intelligent a companion, delightful every where, is doubly valuable at this distance from Europe'.[36] The ship that Yates was safely escorted to Brazil with, the HMS *Doris*, is the ship that Graham travelled to South America on and that her husband was the captain of before he died of a fever off the coast of Chile in 1822. In 1824, Graham would herself end up working for Brazilian Emperor Pedro I as a governess to the Emperor and Empress's eldest daughter. Did Graham play any role in getting Yates to Brazil, or in securing him a position at the Brazilian court? The journal does not evidence this, but by mentioning Yates's connection to her future employer she underscores how closely linked her own story was to that of Yates's, and it signals that she found it important that his personal history be told.

Graham connected 'A brief Relation' to other parts of the book not only textually but also visually through Augustus Earle's full-length engraved plate of the Cacique warrior. The illustration comes last in a series of fourteen engraved plates, thirteen of which are positioned in the 'Journal'; Earle's image thus visually connects the appendix to the 'Journal'.

[34] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 126.
[35] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 197.
[36] Graham, *RIC*, 194.

Graham also listed the plates at the beginning of the book. In this overview the plates are labelled I to XIV, so no distinction has been made between the thirteen plates included in the 'Journal' and the one in Appendix I. This reinforces the idea of the appendix as forming part of a continuous narrative.[37] Furthermore, Earle's illustration is itself a visual narration and therefore interpretation of events. Since it was Graham who decided to include and commission the illustration, she indirectly contributed to the narrativization of Yates's story.

Even though Graham encouraged her audience to read the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', the 'Journal', and 'A brief Relation' in conjunction with each other through a strategic positioning of textual and visual markers, it is difficult to determine if readers of *Journal of a Residence in Chile* indeed engaged with the narrative in this way. Reviewers have not commented specifically on Appendix I, and I have not been able to find any contemporary responses from readers. What can be gleaned from the reviews, however, is that the appendix did not remain unnoticed. In the *Monthly Review* of February 1825 it is stated that: 'an Appendix of 150 pages' contains

> "A Relation of Facts and Circumstances connected with the Family of the Carreras in Chile by Mr. Yates"; extracts from Lord Cochrane's Correspondence, Official Proclamations, &c.; and "An Account of the *useful* Trees and Shrubs in Chile," drawn up for the court of Spain by Don Jude Thaddeus de Reyes, in the year 1789.[38]

Since the reviewer does not provide any further comments on Appendix I, it remains unclear how they appraised it. The reviewer does express a particular interest in Appendix IV, 'An Account of the *useful* Trees and Shrubs in Chile', writing that the 'Journal' contains 'a curious

[37] Graham, *RIC*, 'Plates' page. This page is not numbered but follows the 'Preface'.
[38] Unsigned review of *Journal of a Residence in Chile, During the Year 1822, and a Voyage from Chile to Brazil in 1823,* by Maria Graham, *Monthly Review, Or, Literary Journal* 106 (February 1825): 200.

paragraph […] on the botany of Valparaiso, which is farther illustrated in the appendix'.[39] Further on in the review, the critic notes that although the mechanical and medicinal uses assigned to the plants by Don Jude seem exaggerated, 'this list, like the paragraph […] will probably be consulted with *curiosity* by our naturalists'.[40] This shows that, by this critic at least, the 'Journal' was read alongside its appendices and that, together, they were regarded as contributing to botanical knowledge on South America.

Further evidence that critics read the appendices to Graham's travels journals and considered them of scholarly interest emerges from the reviews of Graham's travel journals on Brazil, India, and Italy. Reviewers often remarked upon the appendices and responded favourably to them. One critic reprinted an extract from Appendix II of *Journal of a Residence in India,* titled in the review as 'An account of Bengal, by Ibrahim, the son of Candu the merchant'.[41] The fact that the reviewer chose to reprint this extract suggests that they thought it contained noteworthy material, and its inclusion in the review would have encouraged readers to include the appendix in their own reading of the travel journal. The appendices of *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* also garnered a substantial amount of critical attention. A reviewer for *The Eclectic Review* called Appendix III, Graham's edited collection of the popular poetry of the modern Romans, 'not the least interesting portion of the volume'.[42] A critic for *The Edinburgh Review* noted that Graham had 'inserted a very copious account of the popular poetry of the modern Romans' before going on to discuss several examples they considered to be of particular interest to the reader.[43] *The Eclectic Review* even reprinted an extract from Graham's translation of a seventeenth-century poem about medieval Italy that she had included in this appendix because they thought that it offered 'an

[39] Unsigned review of *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, *Monthly Review*, 193.
[40] Unsigned review of *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, *Monthly Review*, 200.
[41] Unsigned review of *Journal of a Residence in India*, by Maria Graham, *Monthly Magazine, Or, British Register* 34, no. 236 (January 1813): 647.
[42] Unsigned review of *Three Months Passed*, *The Eclectic Review*, 45.
[43] Unsigned review of *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome*, by Maria Graham, *The Edinburgh Review* 35, no. 69 (March 1821): 156.

account of the wares displayed at a Roman fair'.[44] This comment implies that the reviewer appreciated the poem for the insights it afforded into Roman history.

In 1824, a reviewer for the *Quarterly Review* commented upon the appendix to the Brazil journal, writing that 'the tables in the Appendix to this lady's volume […] are interesting as exhibiting the increase of surplus productions furnished by that district in exchange for the commodities of other countries'.[45] So here, too, the reviewer scrutinised the appendix to see if it contained any information worth mentioning in the review. The fact that all of these reviewers included the appendices in their critical evaluation of Graham's travel journals demonstrates that they considered them as noteworthy and useful parts of the travel journal. Even though critical attention by reviewers does not necessarily mean that readers appraised or engaged with travel journals' appendices in the same way, the reviews did draw the reader's attention to them, increasing the probability that they would be read alongside the other parts of the journal.

An examination of reviews of the male-authored English travel accounts about South America published in the 1820s further supports the idea that reviewers of travel journals took an interest in appendices and that they scrutinised them for any new information it could provide British readers about the continent. The *Westminster Review*, for example, commented on an appendix to Captain Francis Bond Head's *Rough Notes taken during some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and Among the Andes* (1826). Following his personal narrative, Head included a document outlining 'A Few General Observations Respecting the Working of Mines in South America'.[46] A reviewer for the *Westminster Review* wrote that 'Captain Head has enumerated, in an appendix to his Rough Notes, the frightful disadvantages which agents of an European mining company must encounter, in engaging with the mines of South

[44] Unsigned review of *Three Months Passed*, *The Eclectic Review,* 47.
[45] Unsigned review of *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence There, During part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823*, by Maria Graham, *The Quarterly Review* 31, no. 61 (April 1824): 18.
[46] Francis Bond Head, *Rough Notes taken during some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and Among the Andes* (London, 1826), 273.

America'.[47] With this comment the reviewer draws the reader's attention to the appendix, implying that the document could prove useful for those looking to invest in or do business with mines in South America.

Reviewers in this period also criticised travel writers for not making clear connections between the travel account and appendices. In 1824, Captain Basil Hall published *Extracts from a Journal, Written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822*. Like Graham's South America volumes, Hall's journal has a strong historiographical component; in the Preface to his journal, he writes that given the strong contemporary interest in 'everything connected with the New World', 'it was thought that a few characteristic sketches, by an eye-witness, of the progress of the revolutions […] might be favourably received'.[48] Like Graham, Hall was aware that he was living through historically momentous times, and he aimed to capture these events by means of a travel narrative. Hall added three appendices to his travelogue. Appendix I consisted of a 'nautical memoir on the navigation of the South American station' authored by himself, to which he added a table of the 'latitudes, longitudes, and variation of the compass' which he had extracted from a hydrographical memoir composed by a Lieutenant on his ship.[49] Appendix II is a 'List of Minerals Collected on the Shores of South America and Mexico', and Appendix III consists of a 'Notice on the Climate of the Western Coasts of South America and Mexico', which Hall had taken from a manuscript memoir 'on the Climate and Diseases of South America' by the surgeon on board his ship. Like Graham, Hall sought to enrich his personal narrative by editing memoir-style accounts and to publish them as appendices to his journal. However, a reviewer for the *Oriental Herald* (1824) criticised Hall for insufficiently connecting these accounts to the other parts of the travelogue. The critic writes:

[47] Unsigned review of *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, by John Miers, and *Rough Notes taken during some Rapid Journeys across the Pampas and Among the Andes*, by Francis Bond Head, *Westminster Review* 6, no. 11 (July 1826): 226.
[48] Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, 1:v-vi.
[49] Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, 2:3, 5 of Appendix I.

> We confess that we felt not a little disappointed, when we thought that we had yet sixty or seventy pages of such amusing and interesting matter before us, to find ourselves on a sudden at the termination of the Journal, and to discover that those pages were dedicated to an Appendix.[50]

According to this reviewer, the transition between the journal and the appendices is too abrupt, and the 'uninteresting' appendices take up space that could have been used to extend the journal, which they do find highly interesting.[51] Nevertheless, they do admit that 'these additions […] will be found highly useful to those whom they particularly concern'.[52] In other words, the reviewer does see some merit in the information presented in the appendices, but they regard them not as integral parts of the journal but as separate texts that attract a different, more specialist, readership. Their comment also implies that, according to them, the lack of connection between the different parts of the journal reduced the overall strength of the narrative.

This reviewer's comments could indicate that contemporary reviewers – and possibly readers – expected there to be connections between the travel journal and the appendices, and that, in the eyes of this reviewer at least, Hall failed to meet these standards. It is true that Hall did not add any in-text references to the appendices in his journal, nor did he use footnotes or illustrations to connect the appendices to other parts of the journal. By contrast, as I have just shown, Graham strategically and effectively used footnotes, an editorial comment, and an engraved plate to forge these narrative links. Perhaps this is evidence that Graham was more skilled at making connections between text and paratext and was therefore

[50] Unsigned review of *Extracts from a Journal, Written on the Coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822*, by Basil Hall, *Oriental Herald and Colonial Review* 2, no. 6 (June 1824): 271.
[51] Unsigned review of *Extracts from a Journal*, *Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, 271.
[52] Unsigned review of *Extracts from a Journal*, *Oriental Herald and Colonial Review*, 271.

more successful in strengthening her account of the Latin American Wars of Independence. But it is also possible that Hall simply took a different approach to his historiographical practice and that he deliberately treated appendices as separate sources that future travellers or historians could turn to if they thought it necessary. In the introduction to Appendix I, for example, he signals that he has a very specific audience in mind for this memoir, writing that he considers it to be 'useful to future navigators similarly circumstanced'.[53] And in the general Preface to the travel journal, he writes that the appendices 'may be found amusing by some readers, and useful to professional men'.[54] These comments indicate that he had a distinct, specialist audience in mind for his appendices, and that he did not expect or even aim for all readers to engage with them in the same way.

'A brief Relation' and the Araucanians of Chile

In the previous section, I have explored how Graham's paratextual curation of 'A brief Relation' encouraged readers to read Appendix I alongside and in conjunction with other parts of the journal, focusing on how this contributed to her narrativization of the history of Chile. In what follows, I will have a more in-depth look at the historiographical contents of 'A brief Relation'. More specifically, I will explore how Graham used Appendix I to document the history of Araucanian involvement during the Argentinian Civil War.

Literary scholars have generally regarded Graham's South America journals as depicting the history of the Latin American Wars of Independence from a European perspective. Jennifer Hayward states that apart from a brief mention of indigenous resistance to Spanish oppression in the sixteenth century, Graham

[53] Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, 2:4 of Appendix I.
[54] Hall, *Extracts from a Journal*, 1:vi.

> sees the battle for Chile's soul through European eyes, as fought between two sides only: Spanish loyalists and (Creole and Europe-educated) Chilean Patriots. The Araucanian, Mapuche, and other indigenous inhabitants of Chile are both sidelined and silenced in her account, as in virtually all others of her era.[55]

Likewise, Pérez-Mejía has argued that 'the Mapuches who populated the Chilean territory enter Graham's text, but not as protagonists or members of the conversation'.[56] Pérez-Mejía states that Graham displays some awareness of the tensions between patriots and indigenous inhabitants, evidenced by a copy of a proclamation by Bernardo O'Higgins addressing the Peruvians that Graham included in Appendix III, but that 'she preferred to ignore it in her account of independence-era conflicts'.[57] Both critics conclude that Graham largely elides the role played by Chile's indigenous peoples in these revolutionary events.

I agree with Hayward and Pérez-Mejía that, when focusing on Graham's 'Sketch of the History of Chile' and her personal travel narrative in the 'Journal', the involvement of indigenous people remains underrepresented. Graham's account of the Latin American Wars of Independence foregrounds the struggle between Creole royalists and patriots. There are a few instances in the text, unremarked upon by Hayward and Pérez-Mejía, where Graham does acknowledge the history of the Araucanians more generally, for example when she emphasises their ancient connection to the land or their cruel treatment by the Spanish after the Spanish Conquest. In the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', for example, she mentions how 'the wars and the cruelties of the Spaniards had destroyed so many of the Indians, that there were scarcely any left to labour in the mines'.[58] And as I argued in the previous chapter, in the 'Journal' Graham also discussed and commemorated Chile's Pre-Columbian past by

[55] Hayward, "'No Unity of Design,'" 299.
[56] Pérez-Mejía, *A Geography of Hard Times*, 96.
[57] Pérez-Mejía, *A Geography of Hard Times*, 96.
[58] Graham, *RIC*, 9.

means of a complex, multi-layered written and visual description of a visit to the Salta de Agua, a set of ancient artificial waterfalls constructed by the Araucanians.[59] Nevertheless, Graham does not provide an elaborate overview of Araucanian history, nor does she comment at length on their military involvement in the Chilean War of Independence.

This image is complicated when Appendix I is taken into consideration, for indigenous Araucanian troops are an important presence in 'A brief Relation'. In the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', Graham briefly mentions indigenous involvement in José Miguel Carrera's final campaign, writing that Carrera 'was at the head of a small but determined army, and had fought his way across the continent of South America, making alliances with the Indians'.[60] Even though she does not elaborate on this here, her inclusion of Yates's account in her published journal allows her to provide further details regarding the Araucanians' military involvement in Carrera's final campaign. Yates gives detailed information about the military achievements of Carrera's indigenous allies. Many of these allies were warriors belonging to the Boroano (also referred to as Boroga or Borogano) people, a group of indigenous peoples originally from Araucania.[61] According to Meinrado Hux, the Boroano were one of Carrera's most important indigenous allies in this final campaign.[62] Hux explains that the Boroana had played a military role in the Chilean War of Independence and that following the Battle of Maipú in 1818, many of them emigrated to the pampas and set up a settlement in Guaminí. Passing through this place in 1820 on his way to Argentina, José Miguel Carrera recruited a large number of Boroano allies for his final campaign.[63] Interestingly, Hux, who published his work on the indigenous peoples of Chile in 1992, refers to 'A brief Relation' as a historical source when describing the alliance between

[59] Graham, *RIC*, 213.
[60] Graham, *RIC*, 95.
[61] Juan Ignacio Molina writes in his *Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili* (1782; first English edition published in 1808), an influential eighteenth-century history of Chile that Graham also used as a source for her Chile journal, the Boroano lived 'in the midst of the Araucanian provinces'. Juan Ignacio Molina, *The Geographical, Natural and Civil History of Chili* (Middletown, Conn., 1808), 1:233.
[62] Meinrado Hux, *Caciques Borogas y Araucanos* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Marymar, 1992), 3.
[63] Hux, *Caciques Borogas y Araucanos*, 3.

Carrera and the Boroano, writing that 'William Yames [sic] describe, como secretario de Carrera, también sus andanzas entre los indios' ('William Yames [sic] also describes, as Carrera's secretary, his wanderings among the Indians'. Translation my own.)[64] The fact that Hux used 'A brief Relation' in a late twentieth-century scholarly work that focuses on the history of Chile's indigenous people only supports my argument that Graham's commissioning of Yates's eyewitness account contributed to the historiography of Chile's indigenous peoples.

Yates gives an extensive account of his experiences of fighting alongside and against indigenous warriors in Carrera's final military campaign. He highlights the involvement of indigenous troops by emphasizing the large numbers in which they were present on the battlefield. He mentions, for example, how the Cacique Nicolas promised to deliver to Carrera's opponent 7,000 indigenous troops, and that the total number of indigenous soldiers who pledged their loyalty to Carrera 'collectively amounted to 10,000 warriors'.[65] Yates praises their military skills, writing: 'their horses […] were excellent' and 'their line was actually the best formed I ever saw'.[66] By including Yates's account, then, Graham heightened her readers' awareness of the prominent role indigenous people played in this military conflict.

Another key way in which Graham accentuated the military involvement of the Araucanians in this conflict was by commissioning the full-length engraving of the *Cacique with his Troops advancing to meet Carrera*. Offering Earle's visual interpretation of a passage in which Yates describes meeting allied indigenous troops in preparation for battle, the illustration gives the Araucanians a stronger visibility in the narrative. One of the most striking features of this illustration is that it solely depicts indigenous soldiers. Yates himself is absent from the scene, and José Miguel Carrera who, according to the title of the appendix,

[64] Hux, *Caciques Borogas y Araucanos*, 3.
[65] Graham, *RIC*, 428, 414.
[66] Graham, *RIC*, 419.

is the main focus of Yates's narrative, escapes the viewer's gaze. Although the Chilean General is mentioned in the title of the image – the caciques are 'advancing to meet Carrera' – he remains an elusive figure who hovers just outside the visual frame. Instead, the reader is stimulated to reflect on the role played by indigenous troops in this armed conflict. As such, the illustration highlights the otherwise under-recorded presence of the Araucanians in this episode in Chilean and Argentinian history.

The Araucanians' visual presence in Graham's journal also contributed to the mediation of indigenous South American culture to British audiences more generally. According to Watson, in the Romantic period one of the functions of paratext was to serve as a 'site of cultural translation' in which metropolitan authors could make peripheral or unknown places or people familiar to their readers.[67] Earle's illustration can be interpreted as such an attempt at cultural translation through paratext. By combining unfamiliar and familiar elements, Graham translated this South American battle scene for her British audiences, making it more relatable to British viewers. On the one hand, the Cacique looks outlandish and savage, wearing traditional Araucanian dress, riding barefoot and with his upper body naked, and holding a tall lance adorned with plumes. On the other hand, however, the image of the noble-looking Araucanian warrior on a strong horse echoes European visual depictions of Roman emperors such as the depiction of Tiberius (42 BC – 37 Ad) that was published in a series of engravings titled *Roman Emperors on Horseback* by Crispijn de Passe the Younger (ca. 1587-1589), (Figure 10); or the visual representation of Augustus (63 BC – 14 Ad) that forms part of *A Set of 12 Engravings of Roman Emperors on Horseback* (Netherlands? 17th Century?) (Figure 11).

[67] Watson, *Romantic Marginality*, 49.

Figure 10. Crispijn de Passe the Younger after Jan van der Straet, *Tiberius*. Engraving. In *Roman Emperors on Horsebac*k (1620-1670). British Museum, 1924,0512.35.3. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

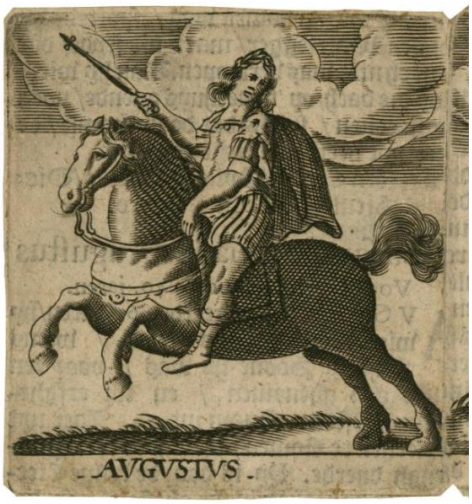

Figure 11. Unknown artist, *Augustus*. In *A set of 12 Engravings of Roman Emperors on Horseback* (Netherlands? 17th century?). LUNA: Folger Digital Image Collection, File name 34920. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

Graham was not the only early nineteenth-century traveller to make this connection. As Leask has persuasively argued, Romantic-era European travellers in South America would occasionally liken the indigenous peoples of Latin America to figures from Roman or Greek history, such as Alexander von Humboldt who described an adult Carib Indian from Cumana as resembling 'a Hercules cast in bronze'.[68] Leask describes such descriptions as 'a form of temporalization that "'attaches" the unfamiliar to the familiar, and in so doing legitimizes American culture as "classical" rather than primitive'.[69] As I have argued in the previous Chapter, Graham's discursive and visual representation of the Salta de Agua was a similar blend of Classical and new elements aimed to translate the South American landscape into a recognisable image for British readerships.

Graham's editorial choice to include a commissioned illustration of an Araucanian warrior on horseback was also born out of her fascination with Ercilla's *La Araucana*, a recurring theme in her writing that I have started to analyse in the previous chapter and that I will explore more fully in the following chapter. As we have seen, in Graham's description of her visit to the Salta de Agua she invoked the idea that the Araucanians were noble warriors and freedom-fighters who were heroically resisting oppression from the cruel Spanish colonisers, an image that was popular in Britain at the time and that she used in part to legitimise the Chilean independence movement and British informal imperialist activity in Chile. Aware that with the publication of the Chile journal she would be catering to a British readership whose imaginations had been captured by the Araucanians, Graham used Earle's illustration to provide her readership with a rare visual depiction of these legendary warriors.[70] In *La Araucana*, Ercilla celebrates the Araucanians for their military prowess and unparalleled skill on horseback, features that are also powerfully evoked in Earle's visual

[68] Leask, *Curiosity*, 258.
[69] Leask, *Curiosity*, 259.
[70] The only other visual depictions of Araucanians that I have encountered in early nineteenth-century British travel journals are the illustrations in Schmidtmeyer's *Travels into Chile*, (1824), following p. 348.

representation of the Cacique warrior. Yates's written depiction of the Araucanians also appears to have been influenced by *La Araucana*, because he refers to them as 'these turbulent sons of liberty'.[71] Earle's illustration of the Cacique chief is reminiscent of some of the Araucanian warriors Ercilla glorified, such as Lautaro who, as Graham writes in the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', was 'a young hero of his nation' who 'overcame the Spaniards in a great battle'.[72] With its added layer of literary and historical associations, the visual depiction of Carrera's indigenous allies transcends its immediate early nineteenth-century historical context, becoming a symbol for Chilean resistance to Spanish colonialism and, by extension, a justification for British economic expansion on the South American continent.

Despite Graham's efforts to draw attention to Araucanian military involvement in the history of the Latin American Wars of Independence, the narrative remains a Eurocentric one. The events are mediated solely through the eyes of Yates, Earle, and Graham, all of whom looked at the world from a European perspective. Nowhere in Yates's account are the Araucanians given a voice of their own; no dialogues have been recorded, and their viewpoints and experiences remain obscure. Even the Cacique Nicolas, described by Yates as one of the most powerful Caciques in the war, remains shrouded in mystery. In this regard, 'A brief Relation' is typical of Romantic-era travel accounts about South America. According to Fulford, almost no Britons let the Araucanians 'speak or write for themselves; their own opinions, desires and needs remained obscure, hidden behind their usefulness in arguments about social and political changes in Britain and Europe'.[73] Neither Yates nor Graham offered them a platform to express their own opinions and experiences, and their depiction appears to have been used at least in part to show support for the Latin American Wars of Independence and to legitimise British informal imperialist influence in South America. Unlike most other travel works on South America in this period, however, Yates's narrative

[71] Graham, *RIC*, 427.
[72] Graham, *RIC*, 5.
[73] Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 252.

does acknowledge the important military role the Araucanians played in the conflict he reported on, and Graham used paratext in such a way as to make the Araucanians' role in history more visible in this narrative.

'A brief Relation' and Conjectural History

During Carrera's final military campaign, the Chilean general and his troops spent some time with an allied indigenous – if we follow Hux's assessment, Boroano – tribe on the pampas outside of Buenos Aires. Yates provides a detailed written account of this experience; referring to this time as his 'residence in the country of the Indians', he describes, among other things, the tribe's language, dress, habitation, ways of time-keeping, forms of government, and habits in warfare.[74] I suggest that this ethnographical component was one of the reasons why Graham was interested in including 'A brief Relation' as an appendix to her travel journal. Namely, I argue that she saw Yates's first-hand description of indigenous culture as offering primary source material that scholars could use to engage with historiographical debates related to conjectural history, an eighteenth-century branch of history writing that sought to provide a universal history of the development of human society and civilisation.

Yates's account of his residence among the allied indigenous tribe on the pampas starts a little over halfway through the text. The Irish soldier writes how, after marching for thirty-two days, they 'arrived at the toldos, or habitations of the Indians' and set up camp 'about one mile distant from the dwelling of one of the caciques'.[75] He then goes on to relate that, in subsequent days, the indigenous warriors' 'attachment to Carrera daily increased' and that 'all the neighbouring caciques came to congratulate and welcome him to their country;

[74] Graham, *RIC*, 435.
[75] Graham, *RIC*, 425.

offering at the same time to serve with him in any part against his enemies'.[76] Sometime after Carrera's arrival, the allied caciques of neighbouring tribes assembled for a council meeting to discuss their military support for the Chilean General. Yates describes how, prior to this meeting, several priests sacrificed a colt to 'their great patron and preserver the Sun'.[77] Graham added a footnote to Yates's description of this sacrificial ritual:

> It is curious that the account given here by Mr. Yates, of the sacrifice of the colt, agrees with what we are told of the ceremonies practised by the ancient Mexicans at a human offering. It should seem, therefore, that the horse is only a substitute for man. The way is now open, and I do not doubt that an intelligent observer might find among the Araucanians much to throw light on the history of the more polished ancient American states.[78]

Here, Graham is using the footnote not to forge direct links with other parts of her journal or to comment on the reliability of Yates's observations, as we have seen her do elsewhere in Appendix I, but to present herself as a processor of the ethnographical source material Yates offers. Offering a supplementary comment on the text, she observes that Yates's account of the Araucanians' ritual of sacrificing a horse before the opening of their council meeting corresponds with other sources discussing the rituals of human sacrifice practised by the 'ancient Mexicans' or, the Aztecs. The horse in the Araucanian ritual, she argues, appears to be 'only a substitute' for the humans the Aztecs used to sacrifice in their rituals. With this footnote Graham also signals the historiographical potential of this text; drawing attention to this similarity in customs between the Aztecs and the Araucanians, she writes that 'the way is now open' for other scholars to draw on Yates's rare and valuable first-hand

[76] Graham, *RIC*, 425.
[77] Graham, *RIC*, 426.
[78] Graham, *RIC*, 427.

observations to try to gain new insights into the history of 'the more polished American states' of the Aztecs and the Incas.

With this footnote, Graham signalled her knowledge of and engagement with conjectural history. Phillips describes this branch of history writing as the historiographical investigation into 'the fundamental principles of human nature', and he classifies it as 'the most ambitious development in eighteenth-century history writing'.[79] One of the main aims of conjectural history, first referred to as such by Dugald Stewart in the 1790s, was to formulate a credible account of what human social life looked like in remote periods of human history for which few to no written or other material sources were available. As Woolf puts it, conjectural historians used speculation or 'conjecture' in combination with a comparative approach to fill gaps in the historical record and to form 'informed generalizations' regarding the history of humanity.[80] Conjectural history was closely associated with Scottish Enlightenment thought; some of the most influential conjectural histories were written by Scottish Enlightenment intellectuals such as Adam Ferguson; Adam Smith; John Millar; and Henry Home, Lord Kames.[81]

Most conjectural histories published in this Scottish Enlightenment tradition centred on the three- or four-stage theory of human development. As mentioned in the Introduction, according to this stadial theory Britain had reached the most civilised stage. By contrast, as Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra notes, most indigenous peoples of the Americas were categorised as living in the most primitive, hunting and gathering, state, and the Aztecs and Incas were generally classified as 'very primitive agriculturists'.[82] Conjectural historians therefore thought that studying sources describing the customs and manners of the indigenous peoples of the

[79] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 171.
[80] Daniel Woolf, *A Concise History of History: Global Historiography from Antiquity to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 138.
[81] Woolf, *A Concise History of History*, 138.
[82] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 51.

Americas could help them to form a better understanding about Britain's remote civil past. Graham's early reading reveals an interest in this stadial argument; as Thompson observes, in her 1806 commonplace book she philosophised about the theory elaborated on by writers such as John Millar that the status and treatment of women in a society could offer insights into that society's degree of civilisation.[83] In her footnote to Yates's account, drawn up twenty years later, Graham shows an interest in this stadial approach when arguing that the Aztecs and Incas were 'more polished' in comparison to the Araucanians.

It is perhaps not surprising that Graham engages with conjectural historiography in her journal, given that travel narratives were considered important primary sources in conjectural historiography. As Cañizares-Esguerra asserts, 'Reports by reliable philosophical travelers on contemporary non-European societies, which had been arrested at older stages of development, were the literary sources scholars had been looking for to write the history of the obscure ages of Europe'.[84] Adam Ferguson, for example, argued in *An Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) that 'the inhabitants of Britain, at the time of the first Roman invasions, resembled, in many things, the present natives of North America'.[85] Using travel narratives about North America as source material, he writes that it is in the indigenous peoples' 'present condition that we are to behold, as in a mirrour, the features of our own progenitors'.[86] Ferguson's writing demonstrates that the ultimate focus of conjectural history was on European, not American, civil history. As Fulford puts it, 'Native Americans were put to rhetorical use in a discourse that was fundamentally concerned not with them but with white Europeans'.[87] In this sense, indigenous peoples of the Americas were used as a tool that allowed European historians to study European history.

[83] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 189.
[84] Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 50.
[85] Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 75.
[86] Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, 80.
[87] Fulford, *Romantic Indians*, 44.

Paradoxically, however, indigenous peoples themselves were often represented as being without history. Cañizares-Esguerra writes that according to Scottish writers such as Henry Home, Lord Kames and William Robertson, only the Incas and Aztecs were thought of as having some '"history", but it was history too recent to bother about'.[88] This argument was related to the idea touched upon in the previous chapter that according to natural philosophers such as Cornelis de Pauw and the Abbé de Raynal, the Americas were geologically younger than the other continents and therefore lacked an ancient history. J. G. A. Pocock argues that Robertson, in his *History of America* (1777), 'aligned himself, to a visible degree, with Raynal and de Pauw in pronouncing, on philosophical grounds, that America had possessed no civil history and must be studied as a world of nature'.[89] As both Cañizares-Esguerra and Pocock have observed, then, Kames and Robertson argued that even though the Aztecs and Incas could in some ways be considered slightly more culturally advanced than the other indigenous peoples of the Americas, their history was comparatively recent and therefore not worth studying.

I argue that Graham's footnote to Yates's description of the Araucanians' ritual of animal sacrifice can be read as a response to Robertson's claims about the relative newness of the Americas. Graham does not explicitly refer to Robertson's *History of America* as a source in her South America journals, but she was likely familiar with it. Fulford notes that the work became 'enormously popular' in Europe and 'became the standard authority in Britain' on this subject.[90] Moreover, in the Preface to *A Short History of Spain* (1828), Graham notes that Robertson was one of the 'guides chiefly followed' for her historical account of the period following the union of the crowns of Castile and Arragon in 1469.[91] Even though she published *A Short History of Spain* four years after the publication of the two South America

[88] Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*, 51.
[89] J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion, Volume 4: Barbarians, Savages and Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 220.
[90] Fulford, *Romantic Indians*, 48.
[91] Maria Callcott, *A Short History of Spain* (London, 1828), 1:vi.

journals, her extensive historiographical knowledge and scholarly approach to her journals make it likely that she would have read this hugely influential work in preparation for her travels to South America. Assuming, then, that she was familiar with the work, I suggest that instead of using Yates's observation about Araucanian customs and manners to gain new insights into the earlier stages of European civilization, she employed it to 'throw light on the history' of the Aztecs and Incas. Shifting the focus of conjectural history from Europe to the Americas, she here appears to argue that the history of the indigenous peoples of the Americas was a subject worth studying in its own right, while expressing the confidence that 'an intelligent observer' would want to continue to pursue this line of investigation. By using the word 'we' – 'it is curious that the account given here by Mr. Yates [...] agrees with what we are told of the ceremonies practised by the ancient Mexicans' – she marks her inclusion in a scholarly British – and predominantly male – community. Speaking as a historian to other historians, she signals that she is up-to-date on the latest scholarly evidence and should be taken seriously as a scholar.

By including 'A brief Relation', Graham may have been encouraging future scholars to continue to build on Alexander von Humboldt's research into the history of the Aztecs as published in *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas* (1814; first published in French between 1810-1813). As I have shown in the previous chapter, Humboldt, whose writing Graham references elsewhere in her South America journals, had challenged de Pauw, Raynal, and Robertson's ideas about the perceived newness of the Americas. Leask asserts that Humboldt was 'consistently critical' of other scholars' efforts 'to interpret [...] the "high cultures" of Mexico and Peru [...] as noble savages at the dawn of civilization'.[92] In *Views of the Cordilleras*, Humboldt included an extensive analysis of the Aztecs' ritual of human sacrifice, which he based on a plate depicting a set of 'Aztec

[92] Leask, *Curiosity*, 261.

hieroglyphs' from the Velletri manuscript, which was being preserved in Italy at the time.[93] One of these hieroglyphs, Humboldt notes, is 'a depiction of a human sacrifice'.[94] The Prussian explorer observes a similarity between the clothing of the Aztec priest performing the sacrificial ritual and Hindu culture, writing that 'the sacrificer's disguise' exhibits 'some remarkable and seemingly nonaccidental connections with the Hindus' Ganesh'.[95] Perhaps, he continues, this means that these cultures were somehow connected, writing that another scholar has suggested that 'the worshipers of Vishnu and those of Shiva [...] spread into the Americas' and influenced the sacrificial rituals of the Aztecs and Incas.[96] Upon further reflection, however, Humboldt concludes that this similarity may also have been accidental, writing that

> One cannot assume that such contacts took place whenever one happens to find the worship of the sun or the custom of sacrificing human victims among semibarbarous peoples. Far from having been brought from eastern Asia, this custom may have arisen in the Valley of Mexico itself.[97]

Speculating about the historical evolution of this ritual, Humboldt concludes that it may also have originated in Mexico itself. Graham, observing a similarity between the Araucanian ritual of sacrificing a horse to their 'patron and preserver the Sun' and the Aztec and Inca ritual of human sacrifice, possibly aimed to contribute to this debate by positing that the Boroano ritual as described by Yates may provide insights into the early development of the ritual of human sacrifice as practised by the Aztecs and Incas.

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[93] Alexander von Humboldt, *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas: A Critical Edition* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 110.
[94] Humboldt, *Views of the Cordilleras*, 110.
[95] Humboldt, *Views of the Cordilleras*, 113.
[96] Humboldt, *Views of the Cordilleras*, 114.
[97] Humboldt, *Views of the Cordilleras*, 114.

By presenting her argument in a footnote to the text, Graham was not only responding to ongoing historiographical debates concerning Aztec and Inca culture, but she was also encouraging other scholars to regard 'A brief Relation' as a rare and valuable eyewitness account of Araucanian customs and manners that could be used to study the history of South American indigenous culture more generally. In early nineteenth-century Europe, little was known about Chile's indigenous inhabitants. Chile was among the remotest of all Spanish colonies, which made it even more difficult for overseas travellers to obtain information about the country and its people. Fulford notes that 'Britons' version of South America was compounded from historians who mostly relied on sixteenth-century narratives of the conquest'.[98] First-hand information about the Araucanians was particularly scarce, as 'previous representations of Indians, especially, depended on eyewitness accounts that were over 250 years old'.[99] By writing that she does 'not doubt that an intelligent observer might find among the Araucanians much to throw light on the history of the more polished ancient American states', Graham is advertising Appendix I as one of the first of such accounts to be published in Britain in almost three hundred years, highlighting the fact that with its publication she would fill a gap in scholarship. Apart from this one footnote, however, she does not explicitly engage with this ethnographical aspect of Yates's narrative in the appendix or in other parts of the journal, which could indicate that she aimed to demonstrate the potential of the text rather than engage in any in-depth discussions relating to conjectural history herself.

In the years following the publication of Graham's two South America travel journals, other British travellers started to incorporate similar eyewitness accounts of the Araucanians into their travel journals. Two of these journals are William Bennet Stevenson's *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America* (1825) and John

[98] Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 226.
[99] Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 226.

Miers's *Travels in Chile and La Plata* (1826). By comparing and contrasting Graham's, Miers's, and Stevenson's approaches, I aim to put Graham's contributions to conjectural historiography into the larger framework of early nineteenth-century travel writing. I also hope to offer new insights into the efforts made by early nineteenth-century British travellers to contribute to this type of historiographical debate in Britain.

John Miers was an English botanist and civil engineer who travelled in Chile between 1818 and 1825. Miers came to South America with his wife after accepting an invitation by Admiral Thomas Cochrane to set up a copper rolling press in Chile. Soon after his arrival, however, Miers lost faith in the project's commercial potential, and he abandoned the plan. Nevertheless, he remained in Chile for several years to study the fauna of Chile, of which little was yet known in Europe. Upon his return to England he published his two-volume travel journal *Travels in Chile and La Plata*.[100] William Bennet Stevenson was a writer and traveller who lived in South America between 1804 and 1824. In 1818 he became secretary to Admiral Cochrane and worked under his command in many of his naval operations in the independence wars in Chile and Peru. In 1825 he sailed back to England and published the three-volume *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America*.[101]

Graham, Miers, and Stevenson all knew each other, having become acquainted in Chile through their personal connections with Admiral Thomas Cochrane. Graham's friendship with the Miers family appears to have been close; in the 'Journal', Graham refers to Miers's wife and daughter as 'my friends Mrs. and Miss Miers's.[102] In addition, after a heavy earthquake in November 1821, in which the Miers's family home in Concon was destroyed, Graham sent her maid there to look after Miers's children.[103] Graham and Stevenson also

[100] D. E. Allen, "Miers, John (1789–1879), Botanist and Civil Engineer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18688.
[101] E. I. Carlyle and John Dickenson, "Stevenson, William Bennet (b. 1787?, d. after 1830), Writer on South America," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26444.
[102] Graham, *RIC*, 186.
[103] Graham, *RIC*, 341.

knew each other well. Referring to him as 'Mr. Bennet', and 'Don Benito', Graham describes Stevenson as 'a remarkable person, on account of his long residence and singular adventures in South America'.[104] She describes how, on several occasions, he would tell them 'various parts of his adventures'.[105] After the 1821 earthquake Graham, Cochrane, and Stevenson lived in tents near Cochrane's house as it was considered too dangerous to remain indoors. Graham relates how they would all sit around a campfire in the evening and listen to Stevenson talk about his South American adventures. She writes: 'Don Benito is perhaps the best companion for such a time that we could have had: he has seen so much of every thing that we have never either seen or heard, that his tales are always new'.[106] Graham's emphasis on the originality of Stevenson's stories further illustrates her eagerness to collect new information about South America, and by emphasising her personal connection with him in her journal, she reinforces her own authority as a historian of South America. Given that Graham, Miers, and Stevenson shared stories and experiences of life in South America, it is possible that they exchanged information about the Araucanians or, perhaps, even discussed the potential interest such narratives would generate in Britain.

In *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, Miers presents detailed information about the Araucanians in a chapter titled 'The Indians'. The chapter summary at the beginning of the chapter demonstrates that he aims to provide information on 'Their Number. – Arts. – Houses. – Dress. – Manners. – Customs. – Religion. – Funerals., [and] Government', before ending the chapter with extracts from a military eyewitness account titled 'Dr. Leighton's Journal of a Military Expedition into the Indian Territory'.[107] Miers writes that with this chapter he wants to describe 'the actual condition of this people' before offering an account of 'the Indian territory' and a 'description of some of the peculiar customs still observed

[104] Graham, *RIC*, 302.
[105] Graham, *RIC*, 303.
[106] Graham, *RIC*, 324.
[107] John Miers, *Travels in Chile and La Plata* (London, 1826), 2:459.

among them'.[108] Like Graham, Miers himself never travelled to Araucanian territory, and he, too, relied on a military eyewitness account to provide most of his information about the Araucanians. Miers presented this eyewitness information in a thirty-two page extract from a diary kept by his friend, the military surgeon Dr. Thomas Leighton. In an introduction to this account, Miers informs the reader that Leighton had been part of a military expedition in Araucania on behalf of the Chilean government to punish the Araucanians for their hostility against Chilean patriots and to force them to give up Spanish refugees that had joined forces with them.

Miers used the military eyewitness source to engage more directly with discussions relating to conjectural historiography in the main part of his journal. Whereas Graham only touched upon such discussions in one footnote in Appendix I, Miers (despite including five appendices to his journal) reprinted Leighton's eyewitness account as an embedded narrative in his own personal travel account. Having said that, the way in which Leighton's account has been incorporated into the text does have a paratextual feel to it, given that Miers placed Leighton's account between quotation marks in order to mark the distinction between Leighton's and his own narrative voices. In his chapter on 'The Indians', Miers directly responds to historical accounts reflecting on the Araucanians' societal development. He refutes earlier, mainly Spanish, sources, writing that the Araucanians 'have been the theme of much exaggeration with all Spanish authors, who, to excuse the ill success of their arms against these barbarous tribes, have magnified their numbers, their arts, their social government, their knowledge, and attainments'.[109] He is especially critical of Juan Ignacio Molina's *Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chile* (1776); for example, he argues that 'The abbe Molina has attempted to show, that the Indians have attained some proficiency in the sciences, but this is rhapsodically fallacious. It is not possible that a nation of savages should

[108] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:459.
[109] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:458.

have any definite ideas of the nature and motions of the heavenly bodies'.[110] At other instances, he refers to Molina's claims as 'absurd' and argues that 'the accounts of the Spaniards, quoted by Molina, respecting [the Araucanians'] republican and civil form of government, are fabricated'.[111] For example, Miers is eager to prove that the Araucanians, although 'more advanced in civilization than the wandering Indians of the Pampas' are 'still far behind the state of advancement in which they are said to be by Herrera and Molina'.[112] He draws on Leighton's eyewitness account to support his claims. Leighton's first-hand description of Araucanian burial practices, Miers argues, evidences that Molina's description of such practices 'is exaggerated'.[113] He writes: 'Dr. Leighton, in his journal, has given us an account of one of the Indian cemetries [sic] which he visited, which confirms all the accounts I had heard of their savage rites'.[114] Miers thus uses Leighton's embedded narrative to corroborate his point that the Araucanians are still living in a savage state.

To further substantiate his claims, Miers attempts to convince his readers that Dr. Leighton's account is a reliable and valuable primary source. Introducing the extract from Leighton's military diary, Miers writes that

> Dr Leighton's journal affords the most accurate and interesting description ever given of the actual state of the civilization, habits, and customs of the Araucanian Indians. I have carefully given the narration in the words of Dr. Leighton; any attempt to arrange the subject matter would destroy the force, and much of the importance of the detail.[115]

[110] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:462.
[111] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:469.
[112] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:458.
[113] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:467.
[114] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:467.
[115] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:472.

In this passage, Miers emphasises that Leighton's account is 'accurate' and 'interesting' and that he has been careful to provide the account in Leighton's own words so as not to lose any of the immediacy and detail of the account. As I have shown, Graham took a similar approach with 'A brief Relation' when mentioning in a footnote that she had printed Yates's account 'unaltered in any way'.[116] Miers further underscores this issue of reliability by including part of an address from Leighton to Miers, in which Leighton himself tries to convince Miers of the authenticity of his account:

> "The account I send you", says Dr. Leighton, "is an extract from my diary, which I have kept pretty regularly since my arrival; you will perceive that it is hastily and carelessly written. In the situation in which I was often placed it could not be otherwise; however, as I always noted down the circumstances as soon as possible after they occurred, I can rely upon their correctness, and the detail would lose probably some of its interest were I now to attempt either to curtail or to dilate upon it".[117]

By reprinting Leighton's claim that he composed an account of events as soon as possible after they happened and that he presented them to Miers in their original form, Miers provides additional evidence of the reliability and authenticity of Leighton's historical narrative.

Reviewers of Miers's *Travels in Chile and La Plata* considered Dr. Leighton's diary account of his military expedition into Araucanian territory to be one of the most interesting and newsworthy parts of the journal. A reviewer for the *Literary Gazette* states: 'an account of a military expedition into the Indian territories near Valdivia […] we have found to be very

[116] Graham, *RIC*, 374.
[117] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 2:471.

interesting'.[118] They also reprinted long fragments from it; in fact, the reviewer does not even include any extracts from Miers's own first-person narrative but only copies fragments from Dr. Leighton's diary. At the end of the review, the critic writes: 'Having been induced by the picturesque characters of the scenery, and the atrocious features of this war, to go so fully into the narrative, we shall take some other occasion for referring to Mr. Miers's account of the mines of Chile'.[119] Apparently the reviewer found Dr. Leighton's story so captivating that it left no room to comment on Miers's own observations. Moreover, in a one-paragraph review published in *The Lady's Monthly Museum*, the reviewer states that, among other things, Miers provided 'an interesting account of a military expedition against the Indian tribes to the South of Chile. Mr. Miers deserves the praise of having added considerably to our stock of intelligence about the new States of South America'.[120] That Dr. Leighton's relatively short and embedded narrative – 32 pages out of a total of 1,026 – garnered so much critical attention supports the idea that there was a strong contemporary interest in and demand for first-hand information on the Araucanians.

When reading Graham and Miers's accounts side by side, it becomes apparent that both authors collected and reprinted an eyewitness account of a military officer's residence among an Araucanian tribe in order to engage with historiographical discussions related to conjectural historiography. Both also argued for the reliability of the account by emphasising its authentic, eyewitness, and unedited nature. Miers, however, incorporated Leighton's account into the narrative of his own personal travel narrative in order to support his own claims about the uncivilised nature of the Araucanians. Graham, by contrast, did not overtly engage with such discussions in her 'Sketch of the History of Chile' or 'Journal'; instead, she used the paratextual spaces of the footnote and the appendix to spark a scholarly discussion

[118] Unsigned review of *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, by John Miers, *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 499 (12 August 1826): 499.
[119] Unsigned review of *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, *The Literary Gazette*, 501.
[120] Unsigned review of *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, by John Miers, *The Lady's Monthly Museum* 24 (September 1826): 163.

about the societal development of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. And whereas Miers used Leighton's account to develop his theory about the Araucanians only, Graham drew on Yates's narrative to make connections between the Araucanians and the Aztecs and Incas.

Like Miers, Stevenson also included a chapter on the Araucanians in his personal travel narrative, and he, too, embedded a military eyewitness report describing Araucanian customs and manners. However, as Stevenson had travelled in Araucania himself in 1804, he also drew on his personal eyewitness experiences in his written representation of them. In Chapter Three of Volume 1 of his *Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, Stevenson provides a detailed account of Araucania and its indigenous inhabitants. He describes, among other things, Araucanian farming methods, topographical divisions, forms of government, the military system, religion, and commerce. He emphasises that although he has drawn on Molina's *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chile*, his narrative is largely based on his own observations: 'In my description of Araucania I have in some measure followed Molina's ingenious work; but I have not ventured to state any thing which I did not see myself, or learn from the Indians, or persons residing among them'.[121] In contrast to Miers, Stevenson provides a more positive assessment of Molina's research about the Araucanians, referring to it as 'ingenious' and positing that his own observations to some degree match those described by Molina.

Whereas Miers aimed to prove that the Araucanians were less developed than previous historians had claimed, Stevenson attempts to convince his readers of the opposite. Upon describing Araucanian forms of government, for example, he writes that 'this division existed prior to the arrival of the Spaniards' and that it displays 'more wisdom than civilized countries are willing to allow to what they term barbarous tribes'.[122] He continues to argue

[121] William Bennet Stevenson, *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America* (London, 1825), 1:61.
[122] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence,* 1:48.

that the fact that the Araucanians have no written code of laws does not mean that they cannot have developed forms of government: 'can that country be called barbarous which, although its code of laws is not written on vellum, or bound in calf, has an established mode of government for the administration of justice and the protection of property'?[123] Stevenson is also interested in studying the Araucanians for the insights it could offer into Europe's ancient past, which is something that, as I have shown, Graham does not comment on. He observes that the Araucanians have an 'aristocratical' form of government that resembles the 'military aristocracy' of the 'old world', leading him to speculate that Europe used to be 'peopled by migrations' from Chile 'at a time beyond the reach of record, or even of oral tradition'.[124] Here, Stevenson suggests that in the obscure past the Araucanians lived in Europe before migrating to South America.

To supplement his own observations of the Araucanians, Stevenson included an extract from a military diary kept by Spaniard Don Tomas de Figueroa Y Caravaca, who had commanded the Spanish forces in a battle against the Araucanians in 1792. Stevenson writes:

> As any authentic accounts of this almost unknown but highly interesting country cannot fail to be acceptable, I shall here introduce some extracts from the journal kept by Don Tomas de Figueroa Y Caravaca, during the revolution of the Indians in the year 1792, Figueroa being the person who commanded the Spanish forces sent against the Indians by the government of Valdivia.[125]

Like Graham and Miers, Stevenson emphasises here that 'authentic' accounts of Araucania and its population are both scarce and highly interesting. And like Miers, Stevenson did not present the example in an appendix but incorporated this account into a chapter in his main

[123] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence*, 1:48.
[124] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence,* 1:48-49.
[125] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence*, 1:77.

journal. The extract is approximately three pages long and is printed in a smaller font size and placed between quotation marks so as to distinguish Caravaca's writing from Stevenson's. Stevenson's reason for including this extract, he writes, is that he thought it would afford 'a fair specimen of the mode of warfare pursued by the Spaniards and indians'.[126] Apart from this comment, he does not directly engage with the embedded account. Unlike Graham, he did not add any footnotes to it, and he also did not refer to it to support his own argument, as Miers had done. Unfortunately, it is also unclear how reviewers responded to this embedded account, because I have not come across any reviews that mention it.

In this chapter, I have examined the interplay between text and paratext in Graham's *Journal of a Residence in Chile* by focusing on the innovative and varied ways in which Graham made connections between Appendix I and other parts of the travel journal for historiographical purposes. I have shown how Graham encouraged her audience to read the 'Sketch of the History of Chile', the 'Journal', and 'A brief Relation' in conjunction with each other through a careful and strategic positioning of textual and visual elements in order to offer an authoritative and comprehensive historical account of the Latin American Wars of Independence. Graham's approach reveals an informed understanding of and serious engagement with different strands of eighteenth-century historiographical debate. It is also illustrative of her strong authorial control of text and paratext, and it speaks to her ambition to be taken seriously as a professional writer and historian documenting the South American past.

[126] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence*, 1:80-81.

Chapter Three

'Ercilla will be valued as he ought to be': Adaptation and Historiography in "The Araucanians" (1833)

Among the collection of unpublished materials in the 'Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott' at the Bodleian Library in Oxford is a manuscript book titled "The Remembrancer for 1833" (Figure 12). It consists of xiii + 269 indexed pages and is bound in a gilt- and blind-tooled polished green calf binding.[1] The manuscript book has fifty-eight entries and is an eclectic collection of poetry, short pieces of prose, and illustrations on a variety of topics, including history, art history, travel, and fiction.

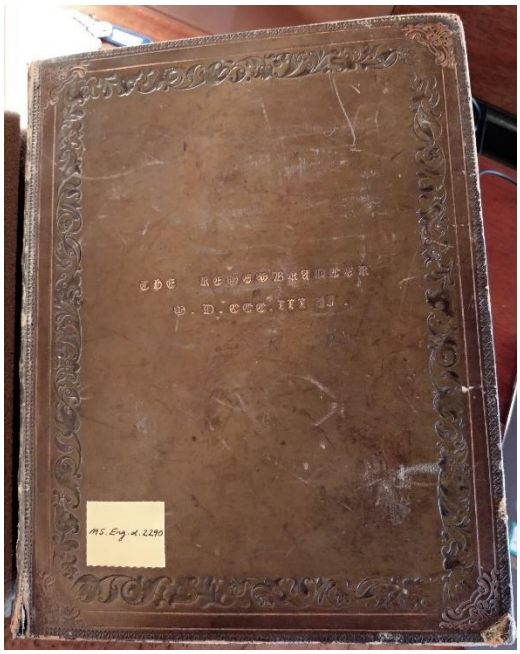

Figure 12. Binding of "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast.

[1] "'The Remembrancer for 1833" by John Callcott Horsley and "W. A. B.,'" 1833, MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Graham was closely involved in the creation of "The Remembrancer for 1833". In the early 1830s, Graham's close friend Caroline Fox set up three schools for poor children in Kensington, the Potteries, and Shepherd's Bush, and Graham, despite her ill health, aided Fox wherever she could.[2] Among other things, she raised money for the schools by coordinating the distribution and sale of hymn books, and she helped draw up rules for the schools.[3] In this context, Graham also helped two of her great-nieces, the sisters Frances Arabella Horsley and Sophia Hutchins Horsley, with the production of "The Remembrancer for 1833".[4] The price for borrowing the book to read it or examine its illustrations was one shilling, and the proceeds would be donated to the schools.[5]

The book's opening entry is titled "The Araucanians". It is a nineteen-page illustrated prose adaptation in English of Alonso de Ercilla's epic poem *La Araucana* (1569-1589), framed by a short historical introduction and conclusion. The author of this adaptation is not mentioned; as I will demonstrate in this chapter, however, I have found strong evidence to suggest that Graham produced this entry and that she drew on her extensive knowledge of Chilean history, the Araucanians, and Ercilla's *La Araucana* for its creation. It is essential that this writing be studied in conjunction with Graham's published writing on South America, both to allow for a re-evaluation of her published travel journals and to open up new ways of thinking about Graham's engagement with South American history. As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, Graham contributed to the historiography of South America through the genre of the published travel journal. In this chapter, I will explore how she did so in unpublished writing and through the genre of translated epic poetry. I will first give some contextual information about "The Remembrancer for 1833"

[2] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 284-285.
[3] Maria Callcott and Caroline Fox, correspondence, 1832-1839, Add MS 51962 and Add MS 51963, Holland House Papers, British Library, London.
[4] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 300. For more information on Graham's great-nieces, see Frances Arabella (Horsley) Thompson and Sophia Hutchins Horsley, *Mendelssohn and his Friends in Kensington. Letters from Fanny and Sophy Horsley, written 1833-36*, ed. Rosamund Brunel Gotch (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).
[5] "The Remembrancer for 1833," title page.

and Graham's involvement in the creation of this work. Following that, I will analyse the entry "The Araucanians", examining it in the light of her previously published South America journals, her history of Spain titled *A Short History of Spain* (1828), and her private correspondence. In doing so, I offer a deeper understanding of Graham's historiographical practices and her political viewpoints with regard to the Latin American Wars of Independence.

"The Remembrancer for 1833": Background

With its diverse collection of poetry, prose, and illustrations, "The Remembrancer for 1833" (hereafter referred to as "The Remembrancer") was presented as a literary annual in manuscript form. In the work's preface, it is stated that

> [a]fter the publication of such Annuals as The Keepsake, the Landscape Annual, and the Picturesque Annual, to attempt a work of the same nature must wear the appearance of presumption; yet in the fields of literature, some ears may be gleaned after the full harvest has been gathered by abler, or earlier labourers.[6]

The literary annual was a popular early nineteenth-century genre. Katherine D. Harris describes the genre as 'British texts published yearly in England from 1822 to 1860' consisting of miscellaneous collections of 'poetry, short stories, dramatic scenes, sheet music, travel accounts, political statements, historical renderings, classical references, descriptions of Europe, war accounts, art-work, portraits, lavish bindings, and bevy of famous authors'.[7] The first literary annual in Britain was *Forget me Not*, published by Rudolf Ackermann in

[6] "The Remembrancer for 1833," preface.
[7] Katherine D. Harris, *Forget me Not: The Rise of the British Literary Annual, 1823-1835* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2015), 1.

November 1822. The genre quickly gained in popularity, and by 1829 there were forty-three separate titles in Britain alone, such as *The Keepsake*, *Friendship's Offering*, *The Literary Souvenir*, and *Remember Me*.[8] Paula R. Feldman explains that literary annuals were commonly published in October or November so that they could be purchased as gifts for the holiday season.[9] It is therefore likely that "The Remembrancer" was composed in 1832 but did not circulate until late 1832 or early 1833. Copies of literary annuals are thought to have been primarily gifted to and read by female, middle-class readers of marriageable age; Harris notes that editors created literary texts that encouraged female readers to 'enjoy moments of visual and literary stimulation', while imbuing them 'with a sense of culture'.[10] However, Feldman's study of 354 British literary annuals shows that the annuals' reading audience could also include men, parents, siblings, and school pupils.[11] "The Remembrancer" is signalled in the work's preface as fitting into the popular tradition of 'such Annuals as The Keepsake, the Landscape Annual, and the Picturesque Annual'. In contrast to the published annuals named in this preface, however, there are no indications that "The Remembrancer" was ever meant to be published.

The production of "The Remembrancer" was a highly collaborative and largely family effort. Gotch has identified the copperplate handwriting as belonging to Frances Horsley.[12] Names have been pencilled in next to most of the drawings, attributing them to 'Fanny', 'John', 'Uncle', and 'Aunt'. 'Fanny' is Frances Horsley, and 'John' refers to her brother John Callcott Horsley, an aspiring painter who had recently entered the Royal Academy Schools.[13] Like Frances and Sophia, John Callcott Horsley spent much of his time at the Callcotts' during his formative years; in his memoirs, he writes: 'both as a boy and as

[8] Harris, *Forget me Not*, 3.
[9] Paula R. Feldman, "Women, Literary Annuals, and the Evidence of Inscriptions," *Keats-Shelley Journal* 55 (2006): 55.
[10] Harris, *Forget me Not*, 4.
[11] Feldman, "Women, Literary Annuals, and the Evidence of Inscriptions," 57-60.
[12] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 300.
[13] Helen Valentine, "Horsley, John Callcott (1817–1903), Painter," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2011), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/33998.

a young man I was continually there, sometimes doing work for Sir Augustus, and in this way I became acquainted with many interesting and distinguished individuals'.[14] 'Uncle' Augustus Wall Callcott also contributed several drawings to the manuscript. 'Aunt' Maria Graham made approximately thirty drawings.

Graham probably edited and wrote much of the work's literary content, despite the fact that the names of the editor and literary contributors are not given. The manuscript was finished to a high standard – it contains prefatory material, full indexes to the literary entries and the illustrations, and numerous carefully selected and positioned illustrations, for example. This suggests that the manuscript was edited by someone with extensive editorial experience. It is likely that Graham, having gained professional editorial experience in her role as editor for John Murray, took on the task of editing this manuscript. According to Gotch, Graham 'was by far the largest contributor' of literary matter.[15] I agree with this assessment; many of the topics dealt with in the entries reflect Graham's personal travel experiences and areas of scholarly expertise. There is, for example, an image of the Hindu God Ganesha, which she appears to have adapted from an engraving in *Journal of a Residence in India* (Figure 13).

[14] John Callcott Horsley, *Recollections of a Royal Academician* (London: John Murray, 1903), 63.
[15] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 300.

Figure 13. Left: Maria Graham, *Banian Tree*, 1812. Etched by James Storer. In Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in India,* second edition (Edinburgh and London, 1813), p. 7. Digitised by Google. Right: Maria Callcott, illustration of Ganesha. In "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 94. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast.

There is also a seascape of St. Helena, which Graham visited on the sea voyage from India to England in 1811 and of which another watercolour has been preserved in one of her sketchbooks (Figure 14).

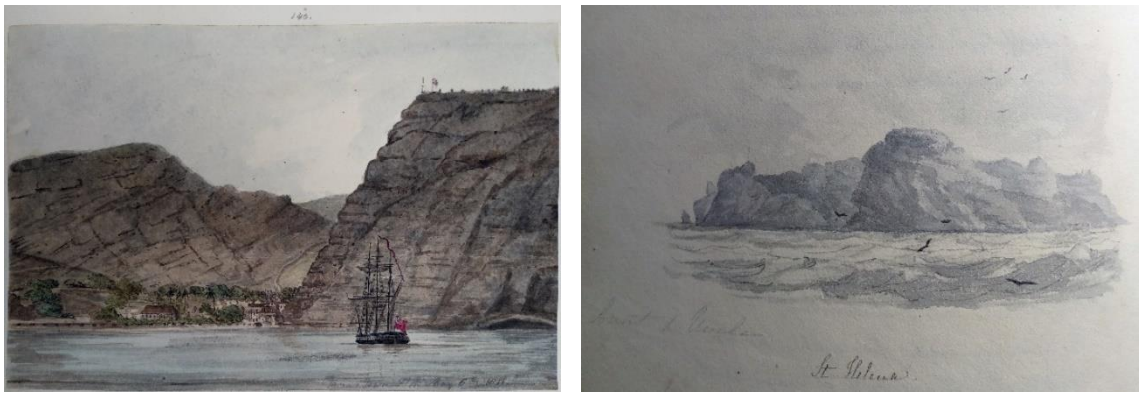

Figure 14. Left: Maria Graham, "James Town St H[i.e. St Helena] May 6th 1811," 1811. Watercolour, 174 x 270 mm. Unpublished sketchbook, 1821-1825, British Museum, 1845,0405.14.1-261, no. 140. © The Trustees of the British Museum. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast. Right: Maria Callcott and Augustus Wall Callcott, "St. Helena." In "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 48. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast.

Furthermore, an anecdotal fragment about Broughty Castle was presumably derived from the time Graham spent in Broughty Ferry in the mid-1810s. Several other contributions were probably based on the European tour she made with Augustus Wall Callcott in 1827, such as a piece on modern German art and a biographical entry on the Danish artist Bertel Thorvaldsen, whom Graham became closely acquainted with in Rome.[16]

Other literary entries can be traced back to Graham's travels in Brazil and Chile. "The Araucanians", as I will demonstrate shortly, relates to her experiences of travelling in Chile in 1822. Another entry comprises a four-page illustrated piece of prose on Brazil titled "The Negress". It tells the story of a formerly enslaved woman who has looked after an orphaned young white girl for years and is now seeking financial help from Madame Lisboa to allow the girl to get an education. Moved by the story, Madame Lisboa calls in the help of Empress Maria Leopoldina, and the girl is immediately placed in the Asylum for desolate orphans in Rio de Janeiro. The Empress also grants the woman's carer a small pension and the girl a dowry. This story links to Graham's second stay in Brazil between 1824 and 1825, given that Madame Lisboa provided Graham with a cottage in the Laranjeiras Valley after her dismissal from her post as a governess to Maria Leopoldina's eldest daughter, Maria da Glória.[17] It is possible that Graham included this story to voice her abolitionist viewpoints. Hayward and Caballero have noted that Graham expressed a 'clear investment in contributing to the growing body of abolitionist discourse' in her Brazil journal.[18] As they explain, since the late eighteenth century the slave trade 'had become a central issue, first of British domestic and then of foreign policy. Portugal, and in particular Brazil, the largest slave-holding and trading empire that remained, incited particular fervor for British abolitionists'.[19] When Brazil gained

[16] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 266 and 270-271.
[17] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy. The manuscript contains a footnote at the bottom of leaf 64 that reads: 'The excellent Mme Lisboa & her worthy husband, the parents of the Chevalier Lisboa (now [1835] chargé d'affaires in England) lent me a cottage in their fine garden at the entrance to the valley for the whole time I staid in Brazil'.
[18] Hayward and Caballero, "Introduction," xl.
[19] Hayward and Caballero, "Introduction," xxx.

its independence, Britain made the abolition of the slave trade a key condition for British recognition of independence; however, by the 1830s, slavery was still a contentious issue, since 'abolition did not emerge as an official position until the latter third of the nineteenth century' in Brazil.[20] Including this story into the manuscript, then, would have enabled Graham to express her criticism of the slave trade in Brazil.

Graham's contributions to "The Remembrancer" have remained largely overlooked. Gotch has described Graham's involvement as an example of her generously helping out her two young great-nieces with a charitable yet also rather frivolous project, defining it as 'a charming example of her interest in their occupations'.[21] The only entry Gotch comments on is the work's concluding poem, which she characterises as no more than a 'jingling doggerel by "Aunt" herself, scribbled down to help the children with their "Annual," and in no way to be taken seriously as a composition'.[22] Later critics have, apart from the occasional biographical note, ignored the manuscript altogether. I suggest, however, that Graham's contributions to the manuscript annual, including the entry on the Araucanians of Chile, are the product of more serious intellectual and historiographical endeavours and deserve further scrutiny. As I will demonstrate, Graham's entry on the Araucanians is illustrative of her proficiency in Spanish and her expert knowledge of Spanish literature and Chilean history. In addition, although "The Remembrancer" was most likely not intended to be published, its charitable purpose meant that the work did circulate among family, friends, and acquaintances, and possibly among members of the influential Holland House circle through Graham's connection with Caroline Fox. The high standards to which the manuscript was finished demonstrate that Graham took the project seriously and that she was keen to showcase her high level of professionalism and editorial skills.

[20] Hayward and Caballero, "Introduction," xxxvii and xxxix.
[21] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 300.
[22] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 300.

Another indication that "The Remembrancer" should be regarded as a serious literary project and that it may have had a wider readership than has hitherto been assumed, is that it seems to have been the precursor to a published literary annual that Graham helped to create in subsequent years, again to raise money for the same local schools. In 1834, the annual *Friendly Contributions for the Benefit of three Infant Schools, in the Parish of Kensington* was first published, with later editions appearing in 1836, 1838, and 1843. The editor for all four editions was Lady Mary Fox (née FitzClarence). Fox was an illegitimate child of King William IV by his mistress Dorothea Jordan, and in 1824 she had married Charles Richard Fox, the Hollands' eldest and illegitimate son.[23] What has hitherto remained unremarked upon by scholars is that Graham was actively involved in the creation of at least two editions of the *Friendly Contributions*, inviting writers to contribute, providing literary entries herself, and assisting with the editing of the volumes. For example, a manuscript version of the 1836 edition, now preserved among the Holland House Papers at the British Library, reveals that Graham assisted Fox in the editing of the work by adding corrections.[24] In a letter to Caroline Fox, she also offers to be responsible for communicating with the printer about the printing of the volume.[25] *Friendly Contributions* received a positive review from the *Literary Gazette*; the reviewer describes the work as a 'charming miscellany' and praises Fox's charitable efforts.[26] The reviewer also attributes one of the book's entries, a short piece of prose titled "Reminiscences; or, Tales of the Sea", to Graham's pen, even though her name is not mentioned in the work itself.[27] The reviewer commends Graham's work, offering her 'a tribute of applause' for her literary contribution.[28]

[23] Kelly, *Holland House*, 138.
[24] Manuscript copy of the 1836 edition of *Friendly Contributions*, ed. Lady Mary Fox, c.1836, Add MS 51997, British Library, London.
[25] Maria Callcott to Caroline Fox, 31 March 1836, Add MS 51963, 79, Holland House Papers.
[26] Unsigned review of *Friendly Contributions, for the Benefit of Three Infant Schools in the Parish of Kensington*, ed. Lady Mary Fox, *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 1017 (16 July 1836): 449.
[27] Unsigned review of *Friendly Contributions*, *The Literary Gazette*, 449.
[28] Unsigned review of *Friendly Contributions*, *The Literary Gazette*, 449.

Graham also contributed to the creation of the third volume of *Friendly Contributions*, which was published in 1838. This edition was dedicated to Graham. Fox writes:

> Dear Lady Callcott,
>
> The third volume of "Friendly Contributions" printed for the benefit of the Royal Schools of Industry at Kensington, you must forgive me for dedicating, WITHOUT PERMISSION, to you, who contributed so considerably to establish them; and whose energy of mind, during years of sickness and suffering, has enabled you still to continue, with unabated zeal, your kind help in promoting the welfare of your fellow creatures.[29]

This dedication shows that, despite her ill health, Graham played a central role in the setting up of the schools in Kensington. This edition also supports the idea that "The Remembrancer" served as the inspiration for *Friendly Contributions*, since an illustration by Fanny Callcott Horsley of a sculpture made by Graham's acquaintance Bertel Thorvaldsen in "The Remembrancer" was reproduced as an engraving on the title page of *Friendly Contributions* (Figure 15).

[29] *Friendly Contributions for the Benefit of the Royal Schools of Industry, at Kensington, the Potteries, and Shepherds' Bush*, ed. Lady Mary Fox (published solely for the benefit of the schools, 1838), iii-iv.

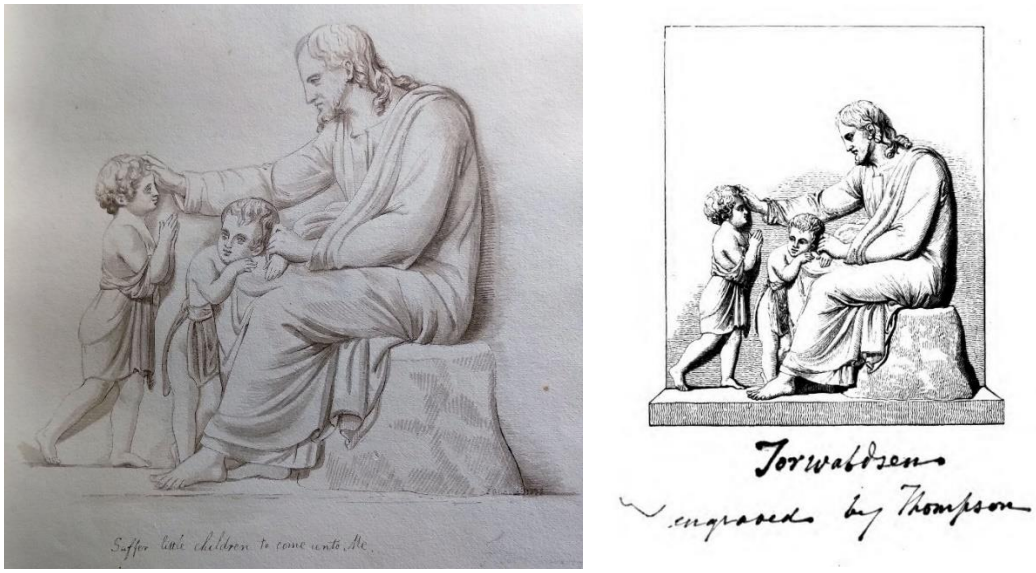

Figure 15. Left: Fanny Callcott Horsley? "Suffer little children to come unto me." In "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 59. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast. Right: [James?] Thomson, frontispiece to *Friendly Contributions for the Benefit of the Royal Schools of Industry, at Kensington, the Potteries, and Shepherds' Bush*, ed. Lady Mary Fox (published solely for the benefit of the schools, 1838). Digitised by Google.

Graham also made a literary contribution to the 1838 edition of *Friendly Contributions*. Titled "Grave Song", the short entry consists of an extract from a poem translated from Swiss German into English. The introduction to the poem, probably written by Lady Mary Fox, reads:

> Translated from the Aaran dialect, spoken in the Aaran or Alpine Valley, and in many of the German Swiss Glens and Valleys. A little collection of the vernacular poetry of these Glens has been printed: a friend of Lady Callcott's found it at Weisbaden [sic], bought it, and with a little help from one of the students of the Hofwyl School, and being herself an excellent linguist, made out the dialect: she says many of the pieces are extremely pretty, and only want translators.[30]

[30] *Friendly Contributions* (1838), 147.

Like her partial prose translation of the epic poem *La Araucana* for "The Remembrancer", Graham's contribution to this edition of the annual consisted of translated poetry. In the introduction, Graham is referred to as an 'excellent linguist' who was interested in having the other poems from that collection of Swiss poetry translated as well. Graham's translations for these annuals shed interesting new light on Graham's literary practices, since scholarship on Graham has drawn little attention to her skills as a translator, nor has it focused on her interest in poetry written in languages other than English. This edition of *Friendly Contributions* was again positively reviewed; a reviewer for *The Examiner* noted that 'the contributions are of various kinds, each excellent in its way', and that it would be 'difficult in five times the amount of letter-press taken from any given number of the Annuals to discover half the amount of pleasant reading' the reviewers had found in the present volume.[31]

In *Friendly Contributions for 1842*, the fourth edition of the annual (1843), Graham is again mentioned, but this time her name is listed as one of the patronesses of the Royal Schools of Industry at Kensington, the Potteries, and Shepherd's Bush.[32] There is no evidence that Graham played an active role in the creation of this edition, but given her poor health in the final years of her life, she may have been too ill to write. In the introduction, Fox mentions that it 'it is now ten years since the first of these schools was established', which further supports the idea that "The Remembrancer" – which was produced ten years previously – was an early experiment in the creation of a literary annual that would help raise money for the setting up of the schools.[33] A bit further on in the introduction, Fox notes that by 1842, instruction is afforded to 'nearly *one hundred and fifty* children of the poorer class, who, but for this aid, would linger on in idleness and ignorance' (emphasis in the original).[34]

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[31] Unsigned review of *Friendly Contributions; for the Benefit of the Royal Schools of the Royal Schools of Industry at Kensington, the Potteries, and Shepherds Bush*, *The Examiner* 1612 (23 December 1838): 805.
[32] The other patronesses listed in this edition are Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, Lady Augusta Gordon, Lady Mary Fox, Lady (V) Holland, Honourable Miss Fox, and Mrs. Valpy. His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex is mentioned as the only male patron.
[33] *Friendly Contributions* (1843), 5.
[34] *Friendly Contributions* (1843), 5.

The book was a key source of income for the project. Fox writes that 'one of the most successful sources of profit has been a small Volume, printed under the title of "Friendly Contributions": the profits from the sale of this Work have been applied to the support of the Schools'.[35]

The fourth edition of *Friendly Contributions* includes a list of subscribers, which provides interesting insights into how the annual may have circulated. The total number of subscribers is 138 and includes Queen Victoria (5 copies), Prince Albert, Queen Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen (10 copies), the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Sussex, and the Duchess of Gloucester (5 copies).[36] Among the subscribers are also several members of the Holland House circle, including Lord Holland's librarian John Allen, Lady Holland, Mrs. Holland, and Caroline Fox (two copies). Although "The Remembrancer" was produced a decade earlier, given its strong links with *Friendly Contributions* it is plausible that "The Remembrancer" had a similar intended audience. It is therefore possible that Graham's adaptation of *La Araucana* was read and perhaps discussed among these intellectual circles.

"The Araucanians": Context

Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana* was originally published in three parts between 1569 and 1589. It consists of thirty-seven Cantos describing the military conflict between the Spanish and the Araucanians during the Spanish conquest of Chile in the 1550s, in which Ercilla himself had taken part on the side of the Spanish. As mentioned, *La Araucana* offers an elaborate depiction of Araucanian resistance against Spanish colonial control. This has sparked two opposing critical interpretations of the poem. As Craig Kallendorf explains, some scholars regard it as a pro-Spanish and pro-imperialist text, given that the poem 'was dedicated to Philip II, the Indians depicted had rebelled against Spanish authority, and

[35] *Friendly Contributions* (1843), 6.
[36] *Friendly Contributions* (1843), 7-8.

Ercilla's contemporaries understood clearly that the poem depicted the legitimate punishment of those who stood in the way of divinely sanctioned imperialism'.[37] Others see it as a pro-Chilean and anti-imperialist text, given that the poem lacks a clear Spanish hero, glorifies Araucanian bravery and defiance of Spanish authority, and is narrated partly from an indigenous viewpoint.[38] David Quint argues that although Ercilla decided 'to celebrate both Spanish imperialism and the Indians' defense of their liberty', the narrative is ultimately more sympathetic to 'the Araucanian chiefs and their desperate struggle' than to the Spanish.[39] As I will demonstrate shortly, Graham's adaptation emphasises Ercilla's sympathetic treatment of the Araucanians and presents it as a pro-Chilean and anti-Spanish text.

Graham selected two fragments told across four Cantos in Part II of *La Araucana* for her adaptation. She titled the first fragment 'Story of Tegualda' and based it on parts from Cantos XX and XXI. In this fragment, Ercilla meets Tegualda, a young Araucanian woman of noble birth whom he encounters on the battlefield, desperately searching for the corpse of her husband after he was killed by the Spaniards. Ercilla takes pity on the young widow and helps her find her husband's body among the slain. When they finally find his body, Tegualda is broken with grief, and Ercilla orders for the corpse to be carried away into safe territory.[40] The second fragment is titled 'Glaura' and is based on parts of Cantos XXVII and XXVIII in the original version. It captures the encounter between Ercilla and Glaura, another young Araucanian woman of noble lineage. Glaura tells the Spanish Conquistador that she is the daughter of a chieftain, with whom she lived a happy life, until she is asked to marry her father's brother. Despite her objections, he pursues her, but before they are

[37] Craig Kallendorf, "Representing the Other: Ercilla's La Araucana, Virgil's Aeneid, and the New World Encounter," *Comparative Literature Studie*s 40, no. 4 (2003): 394.
[38] Kallendorf, "Representing the Other," 395.
[39] David Quint, *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 159.
[40] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 3-11.

officially married the Spanish attack and her betrothed and her father are killed. Glaura flees but is almost immediately captured by two black men. She is saved by the heroic young Araucanian Cariolano. They are married, but soon after Cariolano is captured by Spanish soldiers and is taken away. When Ercilla meets Glaura, she is still searching for her husband. However, just as she is relating her story to the Spanish Conquistador, they are surprised by an Indian attack. An Araucanian in Ercilla's party offers to sacrifice himself so that the Spaniard can escape, upon which Glaura recognises him as Cariolano. As it turns out, Ercilla had previously taken Cariolano prisoner. After having heard Glaura's story, however, he decides to grant Cariolano his freedom.[41]

As I have shown, Graham used paratext in clever and innovative ways in her travel writing to strengthen her position as a professional writer; in this unpublished text, too, she uses paratext to signal her professional historiographical approach to the project. For example, she framed the two adapted fragments of Ercilla's poetry with a brief historical introduction and concluding remarks. I will explore the function of these elements in more detail shortly. Graham's adaptation also contains three illustrations. At the top of page one, above Graham's historical 'Introduction' to the story, is an illustration by John Callcott Horsley depicting a scene from Tegualda's story, where Tegualda, surrounded by Spaniards, is relating her woeful tale (Figure 16). At the bottom of page 11, after the close of Tegualda's story, Graham included a small vignette of an Araucanian spear and a shield lying on the ground (Figure 17). A third image, again attributed to John Callcott Horsley, was placed at the close of Glaura's story. This illustration depicts Ercilla standing beside his horse whilst talking to Glaura, who is seated on the ground beside him (Figure 18). The inclusion of these illustrations – both here and elsewhere in the manuscript book – demonstrates that even with unpublished projects, Graham was keen to showcase the writing and editing skills which she had gained both as an author and as a reader for John Murray.

[41] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 12-18.

Figure 16. John Callcott Horsley, illustration of Tegualda. In "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast.

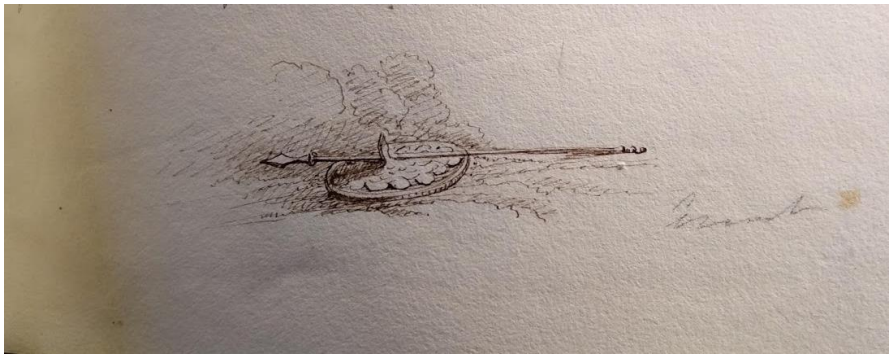

Figure 17. Maria Callcott, illustration of an Araucanian shield and spear. In "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 11. Photo by author.

Figure 18. Maria Callcott, illustration of Glaura and Alonso de Ercilla. In "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1833. MS. Eng. d. 2290, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 19. Photo by author, adjusted for colour and contrast.

Graham drew on her extensive knowledge of *La Araucana* and Chilean history for this adaptation. As stated in Chapter Two, she cited *La Araucana* as a historical source for her 'Sketch of the History of Chile', the historical introduction to her Chile journal. In the 'Sketch', she praises Ercilla's poetic achievements, writing that it has been the Araucanians' fortune 'to have a poet in the person of Ercilla, among their enemies, who has done justice to their valour, and preserved the memory of their very singular customs and polity, of which he was an eye-witness, having taken a distinguished part in most of the battles he describes'.[42] As this passage illustrates, Graham was interested in the poem for its eyewitness portrayal of historical events. Her comment that Ercilla managed to 'preserve the memory' of the Araucanians in his poetry shows that she treats *La Araucana* as a reliable eyewitness account. In the 'Sketch', Graham also compares the poem to a lesser-known pseudo-sequel to the narrative, *Cuarte y quinta parte de la Araucana* (1598), written by Diego de Santisteban Osorio. Graham writes that 'the continuation of the poem by Osorio is far from possessing equal merit with that of Ercilla: it extends no farther than the death of the second cacique (called

[42] Graham, *RIC*, 4.

Caupolican), the temporary subjugation of Araucana, and the disappearance of its chiefs'.[43] With this comment, she signals her scholarly interest in and detailed knowledge of *La Araucana* and its historical context. By stating that Osorio's poem was 'far from possessing equal merit with that of Ercilla', she foregrounds her knowledge about Spanish literature covering the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest of Chile.

Graham also devoted a section to *La Araucana* and its author in *A Short History of Spain* (1828). In a chapter on the Spanish king Phillip II, who was King of Spain between 1556 and 1598 and to whom Ercilla dedicated his epic poem, she writes that Ercilla can be 'counted among the nine muses of Spain'.[44] After giving some brief biographical information on the Spanish poet, she recounts Ercilla's journey to Chile and his subsequent writing on the Araucanians:

> Hearing […] of the war Valdivia and other Spanish captains of renown were waging against the Araucanian Indians in Chile, he set out as a volunteer to join them. There he distinguished himself by his bravery, and, if we may trust to the internal evidence afforded by his writing, by his humanity. His poem of the Araucana contains the most exact account of the natural and political state of the Indians, the most generous praises of their valour, and some incidents so touching with regard to them, that we feel that he could not have been a cruel enemy to the people he had taken so much pain to know.[45]

In this fragment, Graham expresses her lasting interest in the poem. As she had done in the historical introduction to the Chile journal, she approaches *La Araucana* as an eyewitness historical source, writing that the poem provides 'the most exact account of the natural and

[43] Graham, *RIC*, 6.
[44] Callcott, *SHOP*, 2:440.
[45] Callcott, *SHOP*, 2:440.

political state of the Indians' and that Ercilla went to 'much pains' to get to know the subject of his poem. Moreover, she argues that the poem affords 'internal evidence' of Ercilla's humanity towards the Araucanians, though her comment 'if we may trust' shows that she is not necessarily uncritical of the historical evidence presented.

This assessment of Ercilla's accomplishments as a historian reveals much about Graham's own approach to history writing. Her praise of Ercilla as providing 'the most exact account' shows that she valued precision and reliability. Her description of his writing as being occasionally 'touching' further supports the idea touched upon in the previous chapter that Graham placed great importance on the idea of sympathy in history writing to evoke an emotional response in the reader. Even her praise of Ercilla for going to such great lengths to get to know the Araucanians is telling, as it suggests that Graham considered it the eyewitness historian's duty not only to do thorough research but also to be a close and careful observer. More generally, Graham may have been interested in the poem for the ways in which Ercilla blended different genres in the composition of his account. Elizabeth B. Davis points out, for example, that *La Araucana* was unusual for its combination of 'poetry, history, and autobiography'.[46] Moreover, James Nicolopulos writes that although in this period there was an 'acute consciousness of participating in events of "epic" proportions', something which is 'evident in the eyewitness reports and chronicles of the conquest', Ercilla 'was the first to formulate his account explicitly as a long heroic poem [...] rather than as a historiographical prose narrative'.[47] As has become apparent from my analysis of Graham's work so far, Graham's own historiographical writing is also characterised by a certain generic hybridity, so this may in part explain her attraction to the poem.

[46] Elizabeth B. Davis, *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 20.
[47] James Nicolopulos, *The Poetics of Empire in the Indies: Prophecy and Imitation in La Araucana* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 1.

"The Araucanians": Sources

There are several possible sources for Graham's "The Araucanians". Two partial English translations were circulating in early nineteenth-century Britain. The English poet William Hayley was the first to publish a partial English translation in *An Essay on Epic Poetry* (1782). He translated hundreds of lines in verse in a section he titled 'A Sketch of the Araucana' and supplemented the translated lines with prose summaries of and commentaries on the remaining stanzas. Hayley complemented this translation with a long biographical note on Alonso de Ercilla, describing him as a 'military Bard' who was 'one of the most extraordinary and engaging characters in the poetical world'.[48] Another translation by Irish translator and clergyman Henry Boyd appeared in 1806. Boyd, known for having produced the first full English translation of Dante's *La Divina Commedia* (1802), produced a full translation of *La Araucana*, but he was unable to find a publisher for this work. He did eventually manage to publish a translation of Cantos III and IV in *The Poetical Register, and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1804*.[49]

Both Hayley and Boyd's partial English translations were reprinted in an appendix to an 1808 English translation of Juan Ignacio Molina's *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili* (originally published in Italian in 1782). Molina's work is an authoritative history of Chile and was one of the main historical sources for Graham's Chile journal. However, this appendix only appeared in the 1808 American edition (printed in Middletown, Connecticut) and was not included in the English edition, which was edited by Robert Southey and published in London in 1809. It is unclear if Graham used the American or the English edition as a source for her Chile journal, but even if she did not have access to the American edition, she will probably still have known about Hayley's and Boyd's partial translations

[48] William Hayley, *An Essay on Epic Poetry; in Five Epistles to the Revd. Mr. Mason* (London, 1782), 211.
[49] B. C. Skottowe and Nilanjana Banerji, "Boyd, Henry (1748/9-1832), Translator and Church of Ireland Clergyman," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3104.

through their original publications. Fulford notes that Hayley's translation in particular was popular in England at the time.[50]

If Graham was indeed familiar with the 1808 American edition of Molina's *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili*, it likely would have influenced her perception and treatment of *La Araucana* as an eyewitness historical source. The 'Advertisement' to the appendix containing Boyd and Hayley's translations states that

> The subject of the Araucana being so immediately connected with the preceding history, the translators have believed that extracts from some of the most striking passages in that celebrated poem could not fail of proving highly acceptable to a considerable portion of readers. This consideration, together with that of the poem being in many respects elucidatory of the history, has induced them to add the following sketch.[51]

Here, the translators justify the inclusion of the translated fragments of *La Araucana* as an appendix to Molina's volume, arguing that it is not only closely connected with the volume's main subject – the civil history of Chile, which contains several chapters on the Araucanians – but that it can also serve to illuminate that history. Readers are therefore encouraged, the translators claim, to read the translated passages in the appendix alongside Molina's history, because it can help them understand Chilean history better. The 'Advertisement' also emphasises the eyewitness nature of the source, stating that the poem not only distinguishes itself for its poetic excellence, but that it also has the 'singular advantage of being an historical record of a war in which the poet was himself engaged, and an eye-witness of many of the incidents'.[52] Graham echoes this language in her historical introduction to her Chile journal,

[50] Fulford, "British Romantics and Native Americans," 228.
[51] Molina, *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili*, 2:326.
[52] Molina, *The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili*, 2:326.

when she writes that Ercilla 'preserved the memory of their very singular customs and polity, of which he was an eye-witness, having taken a distinguished part in most of the battles he describes'.[53] For Graham and other British historians in the early nineteenth century, then, *La Araucana* appears to have been valuable for its historical content and its status as an eyewitness source.

Graham probably also had access to the original Spanish version of the epic poem. In the preface to *A Short History of Spain*, Graham writes that since 'Spanish books are not always easy to procure, the author was indebted for very many to the liberal kindness of several friends whose libraries were open to her'.[54] One of the libraries Graham was probably alluding to here was that of Henry Vassall Fox, Lord Holland at Holland House. Holland's private library reflected his broad cultural interests; as Will Bowers notes, 'the strengths in the collection of 15,000 books purchased for the library were varied and many of the strongest holdings were in foreign languages, reflecting the Hollands' interest in European culture'.[55] Holland also owned one of the most extensive collections of Spanish literature outside of Spain. Linda Kelly has noted that one of Holland's reasons for travelling to Spain had been to gather materials for a biography of the renowned Spanish author and contemporary of Alonso de Ercilla's, Lope Félix de Vega y Carpio (1562-1635).[56] Holland published this biography, titled *Some Account of the Life and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio*, in 1806, and he continued to have a deep interest in Spain for the rest of his life.[57] Kelly notes that the Spanish collection in the library at Holland House 'was said to be the best in England', while James L. Whitney lists Holland's 'private collection' of Spanish books, which consisted of both printed books and manuscripts, as one of the finest collections of its kind

[53] Graham, *RIC*, 4.
[54] Callcott, *SHOP*, 1:vii.
[55] Bowers, "The Many Rooms of Holland House," 168.
[56] Kelly, *Holland House*, 87.
[57] Mitchell, *Holland House*, 217.

outside of Spain.[58] Lady Holland noted in a letter composed around 1827 that Graham was 'writing a history of Spain', which suggests that Graham had been discussing her book project with the Hollands.[59] In 1827 and 1828, when Graham was working on her history of Spain, she was regularly invited to the house; Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways notes that 'Augustus Callcott, an old friend of the family, was a constant guest about this time, accompanied by his wife'.[60] It is likely, then, that Graham visited the library on these occasions to access Holland's collection of Spanish books.

Graham and Holland also shared a fascination for *La Araucana*, and they corresponded about the poem on several occasions. As Marie Liechtenstein has noted, it was Hayley's writing on Ercilla that had first inspired Holland to study Spanish.[61] According to Fox-Strangways, in early life Holland had also attempted to produce a translation of Ercilla's poetry.[62] Moreover, Fox-Strangways notes that Holland wrote a letter to Graham in which he confessed that 'his boyish efforts' of trying to translate Ercilla were 'far removed in merit from William Hayley's treatment of the same subject'.[63] In a letter to Holland, Graham writes: 'I read Ercilla when I was in sight of the Caupolican mountains'.[64] Graham is here referring to her travels in Chile, although her reference to the Caupolican mountains seems to have been symbolic rather than geographical. Today, at least, Chile has no mountains going by this name, and 'Caupolicán' was one of the heroic Araucanian warriors in *La Araucana*. In her letter to Holland, Graham also argues that *La Araucana* deserves more general recognition. She writes that 'one of these days Ercilla will be valued as he ought to be: &

[58] Kelly, *Holland House*, 202; James Lyman Whitney, *Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese Books bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library* (Boston, 1879), vi.
[59] Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, *Chronicles of Holland House, 1820-1900* (London: John Murray, 1937), 108.
[60] Fox-Strangways, *Chronicles of Holland House*, 107.
[61] Marie Liechtenstein, *Holland House* (London, 1874), 1:138.
[62] Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, *The Home of the Hollands, 1605-1820* (London: John Murray, 1937), 1:217.
[63] Fox-Strangways, *The Home of the Hollands*, 217.
[64] Maria Callcott to Lord Holland, [1835?], Add MS 51839, Holland House Papers, British Library, London, quoted in Hayward, "'No Unity of Design,'" 312.

some bookseller in Van Diemen's land will speculate upon a translation of it in honour of the friendly nation of the Araucanians'.[65] In this letter she expresses her opinion that the poem is currently undervalued, but that 'some bookseller in Van Diemen's land' will 'speculate' upon an English translation in the near future. This letter exchange demonstrates that Graham and Holland enjoyed discussing their mutual interest for the poem. There is no record of Holland reading Graham's adaptation of *La Araucana* and there is no information on how "The Remembrancer" circulated, but given Graham and Holland's correspondence about the poem and taking into account the fact that Graham created the work in close collaboration with Holland's sister, Caroline Fox, Holland will in all likelihood have been familiar with Graham's adaptation.

There are also indications that Caroline Fox took a special interest in Graham's adaptation. In an 1827 letter from Jeremy Bentham that was most likely addressed to Fox, Bentham mentions the political situation in South America. Bentham writes: 'The last letter I received from Spanish America […] I was styled Legislador del Mundo [Legislator of the World], and petitioned for a Code of Laws. It was from the man to whom that charge was committed by the legislature of his country – Guatemala'.[66] Bentham is here referring to José del Valle, one of the most important leaders of Central America's independence process and somebody with whom Bentham corresponded regularly. Although the letter from Caroline Fox to Bentham has not been preserved, Bentham's formulation suggests that Fox had expressed an interest in receiving news on South America's independence movements.

Another library Graham may have consulted for her adaptation was that of politician and book collector Thomas Grenville. From the correspondence between Graham and Fox it becomes apparent that the two were acquainted.[67] Grenville had an extensive library – after

[65] Callcott to Holland, [1835?], quoted in Hayward, "'No Unity of Design,'" 312.
[66] Jeremy Bentham to Caroline Fox?, April 1827, quoted in L. O'Sullivan and C. Fuller, eds, *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, Volume 12, *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. P. Schofield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2015): doi:10.1093/actrade/9780199278305.book.1, 334.
[67] Maria Callcott to Caroline Fox, 15 January 1835, Add MS 51963, 162, Holland House Papers.

his death, the British Museum acquired more than 20,000 volumes from his collection – and among the most valuable items were works of old Italian and Spanish literature.[68] In this period, Graham was also close friends with historian Henry Hallam. They had spent a lot of time together in Italy during a European tour made with Callcott following their marriage in 1827; among other things, they went on a three-day expedition of historical and archaeological sites including Hadrian's Villa and Tivoli.[69] In the 1830s, Hallam would visit Graham at her home in Kensington Gravel Pits.[70] Between 1837 and 1839, Hallam published a four-volume *Introduction to the Literature of Europe, in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*. In the second volume of this work, he provides a lengthy discussion of the literature of Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century. He also included an entry on Alonso de Ercilla and *La Araucana*, which makes it probable that he would have possessed books related to this topic that Graham could have borrowed.[71]

Adapting *La Araucana*: Indigenous Women, Romantic Scenery, and the Black Legend

Of the three main sources – Ercilla, Hayley, and Boyd – that Graham may have used, her prose adaptation of Cantos XX, XXI, XXVII, and XXVIII shows most similarities with the original Spanish verse. There is no overlap with Boyd's version, since he only published a translation of Cantos III and IV. Hayley's edition does cover the Cantos Graham translated, but the language she uses is closer to the original Spanish than it is to Hayley's English. For example, in Graham's rendition of the opening part of Tegualda's story, the young Araucanian widow relates how she refused her father's wishes to get married because she

[68] G. B. Smith and R. W. Davis, "Grenville, Thomas (1755-1846), Politician and Book Collector," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11500.
[69] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 271.
[70] See a letter from Graham to Caroline Fox on 8 July 1840, in which Graham describes a visit from Hallam. Add MS 51964, 34, Holland House Papers, British Library, London.
[71] Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe, in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1839), 2:283.

wanted to remain free, writing: 'I preferred my freedom'.[72] This is similar to the original Spanish, which uses the words 'libertad' (freedom) and 'libre' (free) to express Tegualda's wish to remain unmarried.[73] By contrast, in Hayley's version the words 'freedom' and 'free' do not occur. He writes that Tegualda informs de Ercilla

> that her name is Tegualda: – that she is the daughter of the Chieftain Brancól; – that her father had often pressed her to marry, which she had for some time declined, though solicited by many of the noblest Youths in her country.[74]

In Hayley's translation, Tegualda's motivations for her decision to reject several marriage proposals – that is, she wants to retain her freedom – are left out, whereas Graham preserved this in her version of the narrative.

Another indication that Graham worked with the original Spanish version when composing her adaptation is that she included passages from the Spanish version that were entirely left out of Hayley's translation. For example, in the fragment on Tegualda Graham includes a landscape description that loosely corresponds with the Spanish version. Graham writes that 'the bright stream gurgled past through fields of flowers, and the young trees fanned by the western winds sighed back the sounds'.[75] In the original Spanish, this is:

el agua clara en torno murmuraba,	the clear surrounding water murmured
los árboles movidos por el viento	the trees, swayed by the wind
hacían un movimiento y un rüido	made a movement and a sound
que alegraban la vista y el oído.[76]	that brightened sight and hearing.[77]

[72] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 6-7.
[73] Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, *Primera Segunda, y Tercera Partes de la Araucana de don Alonso de Ercilla y Cuñiga* (Barcelona, 1591), 190.
[74] Hayley, *An Essay on Epic Poetry*, 254.
[75] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 7.
[76] Ercilla y Zúñiga, *Primera segunda, y tercera partes de la Araucana,* 190.
[77] English translation by Joel Baker.

Although there are differences between Graham's English and the original Spanish versions – Graham playfully changes 'trees' into 'young trees' and 'wind' into 'western winds', and adds 'fields of flowers', for example – this passage provides further evidence that she used the original Spanish as a main source.

Graham's adaptation differs from the original Spanish in a number of ways. For example, Graham changed the narrative from verse to prose. Also, whereas Ercilla's version was written in the first person, in Graham's version the events are told from a third-person perspective, with an omniscient narrator relating Ercilla's experiences. Because, in Graham's version, Ercilla's experiences are mediated through a third-person narrator, the description of events feels less immediate. Another noteworthy aspect of Graham's selection of material, both literary and visually, is that in both fragments indigenous and female characters take centre stage. In Ercilla's poem, much of the narrative focuses on recounting the military actions and heroic deeds of male Spanish Conquistadors such as Diego de Almagro, Pedro de Valdivia, and Francisco de Aguirre and male Araucanian warriors such as Lautaro, Caupolicán, and Tucapel. However, as Kallendorf notes, Ercilla also treats the female indigenous characters 'with special sympathy'.[78] This is an aspect of the poem that Graham evidently took a special interest in, since she singled out fragments that specifically captured the indigenous female experience, making these the focal point of her adaptation.

This focus on the female experience, coupled with her interest in the theme of freedom, also links to Graham's story about the formerly enslaved woman that she had included elsewhere in "The Remembrancer". This editorial decision to foreground women's experiences in the context of key historical events is in line with what Thompson has described as a 'distinctly feminist' agenda underpinning Graham's writing about South America. As Thompson rightly points out, in her published travel writing on Brazil and Chile Graham 'records women famed for their skill in horse-breaking, fighting as soldiers in the

[78] Kallendorf, "Representing the Other," 395.

recent civil wars, and displaying various forms of valour and endurance during the revolutionary turmoil'.[79] In doing so, he argues, Graham 'repeatedly showcases women's ability to exercise political and moral agency, and to make both direct and indirect interventions in the public sphere'.[80] By relating the histories of Tegualda and Glaura, two Araucanian women who displayed exceptional loyalty and bravery in the face of war and adversity, Graham highlights female strength and assigns indigenous women a more prominent place in the historiography of Chile. More broadly, Graham's focus on female experience may also have been related to her interest in conjectural history. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Graham took an interest in the theory that the status and treatment of women in a society could provide insights into the level of civilisation that society had attained in relation to other societies around the world. Providing information on the treatment of Araucanian women, then, would have enabled her to further this debate.

Graham occasionally deviated from the original poem by embellishing the story with her own additions. In the fragment on Tegualda, for instance, she added a geographical description of Chile, writing that Ercilla's armour was 'covered by his ample cloak, for though the flames of the southern volcanoes burnt at the great distance, the snowy summits of the nearer Andes rendered the wind that blew down into the valley as piercing as the wintry blasts of the Alps'.[81] With this description of volcanoes, snow-capped mountains, and a comparison to the harsh winter conditions in the European Alps, Graham gives a Romantic touch to the sixteenth-century poem, making it more appealing and relatable to a nineteenth-century British readership. With this addition she also signals her own command of the language of landscape aesthetics, and she emphasises her ability – born out of her extensive travels in both Europe and South America – to compare European and extra-European foreign landscapes.

[79] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 201.
[80] Thompson, "Sentiment and Scholarship," 201.
[81] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 3-4.

Some of the other additions made by Graham reinforce the idea of the Black Legend. For example, she changed a description of the Spanish attacks on the Araucanians and altered dialogues in these fragments to emphasise Spanish cruelty and aggression. In the original sixteenth-century version, Tegualda tells Ercilla that within one month of her marriage to Crepino the Spanish arrived, killing her husband and her people. Tegualda states that

Ayer me vi contenta de mi suerte,	Yesterday I was content with my lot,
Sin temor de contraste ni recelo;	With no fear of misfortune or mistrust;
Hoy la sangrienta y rigurosa muerte	Today, bloody and uncompromising death
Todo lo ha derribado por el suelo.[82]	Has torn it all to the ground.[83]

Ercilla here describes the cruelty of the Spanish invasion of Chile. Nevertheless, he does so implicitly; although the poet acknowledges that his people were responsible for killing Tegualda's husband, he places the emphasis on the attack rather than the attackers. In addition, Celia López-Chávez has argued that in scenes which particularly focus on Spanish violence against the Araucanians – such as the one just quoted – Ercilla takes an ambiguous ideological position by relating the events through the eyes of indigenous female characters such as Gualcolda, Tegualda, and Glaura.[84] López-Chávez notes that 'these characters denounce the Spaniards' excessive use of force and other instances of violence, which represents criticism against the invaders' cruelty'. However, by using the technique of 'further voices', a common technique in Renaissance epic poetry, Ercilla manages to 'distance himself from the violence that he, in part, helped cause'.[85] Graham preserved this ambivalent perspective in her English translation.

[82] Ercilla y Zúñiga, *Primera Segunda, y Tercera Partes de la Araucana*, 194.
[83] English translation by Joel Baker.
[84] Celia López-Chávez, *Epics of Empire and Frontier: Alonso de Ercilla and Gaspar de Villagra as Spanish Colonial Chroniclers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 79.
[85] López-Chávez, *Epics of Empire and Frontier*, 79.

The fact that Graham selected specifically these fragments told from the perspective of female indigenous people demonstrates that she was interested in re-telling sections that would most forcefully illustrate the violent effects of Spanish imperialism. Her prose rendition of the scene is less ambiguous about representing violence than Ercilla's, for her version includes a section in which Tegualda passionately recounts the attack, describing the Spanish as 'white strangers with their fierce horses and destroying thunders'.[86] Tegualda recalls: 'in one short month from the day on which he received my hand my husband was slain in guarding our homes, our fathers, our little ones, and our graves'![87] Graham here puts the emphasis on the Spanish attackers, depicting them as violent 'strangers' and trespassers on Araucanian territory who are threatening to destroy indigenous ways of life. Graham's use of the word 'strangers' here echoes Robert Southey's description of the Spanish invaders in his poem "Song of the Araucans", a poem that, as I mentioned in Chapter One, Graham was probably familiar with. Here, however, Graham explicitly incorporated a reference to skin colour, referring to the Spanish as 'white strangers'. In doing so, she more explicitly marks the racial distinction between the white Spanish invaders and the indigenous peoples of Chile.

Graham's way of denouncing Spanish imperialism by focusing on their cruel treatment of the indigenous populations of the Americas can be traced to responses to the life and works of Spanish friar, historian, and activist Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. In 1502 Las Casas sailed from Spain to Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic. Early on in his stay he witnessed a series of atrocities committed against the Taíno, a group of indigenous people from the Caribbean. Deeply influenced by these experiences, Las Casas devoted the next fifty years of his life trying to defend and protect indigenous peoples. In 1516, he was granted the official title of 'protector of American Indians' by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de

[86] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 10.
[87] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 10.

Cisneros.[88] Las Casas published several scathing critiques of Spanish imperialism. His most famous work, published in 1552, was titled *Brevísima relación de la destruicíon de las Indias*, often translated into English as *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. In this work, he depicted the Spanish as cruel oppressors and represented indigenous people as excellent warriors – physically strong and possessing exceptional mental and spiritual characteristics. Daniel Castro notes that Las Casas' descriptions 'turned the natives into paradigms of perfection, anticipating by centuries the Enlightenment's concept of the "noble savage"'.[89] Lawrence A. Clayton notes that Las Casas is 'known principally in the English-speaking world as the author of the Black Legend', and argues that his writing offered 'Spain's rivals and critics the facts they needed to condemn that great Catholic nation that led in the conquest of the Americas'.[90]

Graham explicitly refers to Las Casas in the historical introduction to "The Araucanians". She writes that

> The warlike genius that inspired the Cortez' & Pizarros was appreciated and described by historians who followed in their train. The virtues & labours of Las Casas, are recorded in his own, and his sons curious letters; but the conquerors of Chili owe the register of their fame, to one of their own number, Don Alonzo de Ercilla, whose bravery equalled that of any of the Spanish Heroes, and whose humanity if it could not prevent, lessened the sufferings of the conquered.[91]

In this opening passage, Graham notes that the actions of famous Spanish Conquistadors such as Hernán Cortés and the four Pizarro brothers were chronicled by historians who

[88] Lawrence A. Clayton, *Bartolomé de las Casas: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.
[89] Daniel Castro, *Another Face of Empire: Bartolomé de Las Casas, Indigenous Rights, and Ecclesiastical Imperialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 35.
[90] Clayton, *Bartolomé de las Casas: A Biography,* 1-2.
[91] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 1-2.

accompanied them on their voyage to the Americas. She makes particular mention of Las Casas, noting the historian's 'virtues & labours' as a reference to the activist work he did as protector of the American Indians. Given Britons' association of Las Casas' work with the idea of the Black Legend, it is likely that Graham's readership would have read his name as synonymous to a critique of Spanish imperialist ideology.

By mentioning Las Casas alongside Ercilla in this introductory passage, Graham also draws a subtle parallel between the two writers, classifying them both as historians who were humane critics and whose work drew attention to the suffering of the indigenous peoples. She applauds Ercilla not only for his bravery but also for his humanity, stating that although he could not prevent the sufferings of the Araucanians, he did at least diminish them. Graham apparently felt strongly about this, for she expressed this sentiment a few years later in a letter to Fox, writing: 'great praise & laud be to Ercilla, who Spaniard & Conqueror as he was, felt for and with the Araucanians'.[92] She also praises Las Casas in *A Short History of Spain*, writing how 'the famous Bartholomew de Las Casas' continued to be 'the friend and apostle of the Indians' at a time when 'atrocious cruelties' were being committed against them by the Spanish.[93] In another passage in her history of Spain, she writes how Las Casas was watching 'unceasingly for occasions to improve their condition'.[94] By likening Ercilla to Las Casas, then, Graham presents *La Araucana* as a text that exposes Spanish misconduct in colonial Chile.

William Robertson's *The History of America* (1777) seems to have been another important influence on Graham's understanding of Las Casas. As noted previously, Graham was likely familiar with this work. Robertson describes Las Casas as a man who wrote with great ardour about Spain's cruel treatment of indigenous populations. He writes:

[92] Maria Callcott to Caroline Fox, 10 October 1835, 44, Add MS15963, Holland House Papers.
[93] Callcott, *SHOP*, 2:331.
[94] Callcott, *SHOP*, 2:331.

> With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld had made a deep impression, he [Las Casas] describes the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World, the Indian race almost swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapid decay.[95]

In this fragment, Robertson describes how Las Casas, deeply impressed by the suffering he had witnessed, wrote about the demise of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. This is followed by a more general observation of the ways in which native communities in the New World would be almost entirely destroyed in less than half a century.

Although Robertson and Graham both laud Las Casas for his zealous efforts to protect indigenous peoples from cruel mistreatment by the Spanish, their historiographical approach is different. Robertson's narrative voice is detached, and he seems primarily concerned with providing the general process of historical development. By contrast, Graham's voice is more sympathetic and focused on the individual. In *La Araucana*, she gives voice to the cacique widows Tegualda and Glaura, having them tell their personal stories of suffering at the hands of the Spanish. In *A History of Spain,* she employed a similar narrative strategy when, re-telling a fragment from Las Casas' *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, she writes how a female cacique named Anacaona was 'seized by the Spanish governor in the midst of a friendly feast, carried in chains to San Domingo, tried by a Spanish judge, and hanged'![96] With this approach, Graham distinguished herself from previous historians writing about this subject. Graham's different historiographical approach appears to have in part been fuelled by recent developments in history writing, such as the 'sentimentalist desire to endow the past with strong evocative presence', to repeat Mark Salber Phillips' words,

[95] William Robertson, *The History of America*, third edition (Edinburgh, 1780), 3:119.
[96] Callcott, *SHOP*, 2:328.

that had started to develop in the eighteenth century.[97] But it may also have been related to Graham's careful positioning of herself as a female historian; as a woman, she seems to say, she was able to zoom in on the more personal aspects of female lived experience.

Adapting *La Araucana*: Britain's Informal Imperialism in Latin America

In the previous section I demonstrated how some of Graham's additions to her adaptation of *La Araucana* condemn Spanish imperialism in South America. In this section I will show how some of the other changes she made to the poem reflect Britain's own complex and ambiguous imperial relationship with the territory of Araucania. For example, in the original Spanish version, Ercilla's conversation with Tegualda happens outside, on the battlefield, but in Graham's version Ercilla invites Tegualda into his military tent. Graham writes:

> The tent of Alonzo de Ercilla was not far from the spot where he had discovered the unhappy widow; a few minutes walk led them thither, the rough canvass was spread over objects less rich indeed than those that filled the temporary dwellings of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru, but the riches of the Chilian Caciques were not contemptible. The utensils though of coarse form, were of the purest silver; the skins of the Puma and leopard spread his couch, and the beautifully coloured woollen mantle, woven by the wives and daughters of the Caciques, formed a decoration as beautiful and costly as could be afforded by the looms of Persia. On a silver table stood a lamp of gold, in which burned the fragrant oil of the palm, enriched with the perfume of the native cinnamon.[98]

[97] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 295.
[98] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 5-6.

In the first part of this fragment, Graham emphasises the looting done by the Spanish Conquistadors in their previous invasions of Mexico and Peru, again reinforcing the idea of the Black Legend. However, she then gives a vivid description of the costly Araucanian objects confiscated by the Spanish, writing that they are 'less rich' than those found in other Latin American countries but 'not contemptible' either. In Graham's imagination, the tent is filled with an abundance of silver and gold objects and wild animal skins. With this description, she depicts the region as rich in precious metals and natural resources that is waiting to be extracted from the ground by British mining companies. Also, her depiction of the beautiful coloured woven woollen mantle made by Araucanian women suggests an underlying assumption that Britain would greatly benefit from doing future trade with the Araucanians. In this depiction, then, she makes a clear distinction between economic expansionism and settler colonialism. As argued earlier, for Graham the ideal future relationship between Britain and Chile was characterised by the former, not by the latter.

Graham may have been influenced by Daniel Defoe's fictional travel narrative *A New Voyage Round the World* (1724) when making this addition to the poem. In Defoe's novel, an unnamed narrator embarks on a sea voyage around the world in the year 1713 on a ship commanded by a French captain. When they reach the coast of southern Chile, the narrator is intrigued by the country and starts exploring the possibilities for setting up a colony there. Graham discusses this enterprise described in *A New Voyage Round the World* in her letter to Holland. She writes:

> The Araucanians have a fine country & a good climate where they must work for clothing & finery. De Foe's notion of a colony there or about Chiloe, in his new voyage round the world, has always appeared to me the most rational of Colonizing speculations.[99]

[99] Maria Callcott to Lord Holland, quoted in Hayward, "'No Unity of Design,'" 312.

In this passage, Graham reflects on Defoe's suggestion that the British should aim to colonise the southern regions of Chile. Defoe never travelled to South America himself, but he expressed a lively interest in the British colonisation of that continent. Kathryn Rummell has pointed out that Defoe wrote a letter to his employer Robert Harley in 1711 in which he laid out a thorough 'Proposall for Seizing, Possessing, and forming an English Collony on the kingdome of Chili in the South Part of America'.[100] Rummell argues that even though Harley rejected the plan, Defoe continued to hold on to his idea, and that in *A New Voyage Round the World* he expanded 'upon his scheme in an effort to convince his English readership that South America is ideal for an English colony'.[101] Similarly, Robert Markley has noted that the novel's purpose was to fire 'imagination of his English readers to explore and exploit the lands that the novel describes'.[102] Defoe does not mention the territory of Araucania by name in the novel, but his geographical descriptions focus on the area between the cities of Valdivia and Concepcion, which roughly corresponds with Araucanian territory. Graham writes that to her, Defoe's idea has 'always appeared' to be 'the most rational of Colonizing speculations'. This does not mean, however, that she unequivocally agreed with his plan to set up a colony there in the formal sense. At the time, Defoe's plan was already over a century old, and as noted in the Introduction, by the early nineteenth century the economic, political, and technological circumstances had changed dramatically. It appears, then, that when she describes the idea as 'rational', she evaluates it within the framework of the time in which it was written.

Graham's depiction of the riches displayed on the table in Ercilla's hut echoes Defoe's representation of southern Chile as an area rich in precious metals. When Defoe's narrator arrives in Valdivia, an important port city in the south of Chile close to the border

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[100] Kathryn Rummell, "Defoe and the Black Legend: The Spanish Stereotype in A New Voyage Round the World," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 52, no. 2 (1998): 13.
[101] Rummell, "Defoe and the Black Legend," 13.
[102] Robert Markley, "'So Inexhaustible a Treasure of Gold:' Defoe, Capitalism, and the Romance of the South Seas," *Eighteenth Century Life* 18 (1994): 159.

with Araucania, he is curious to learn more about the commercial potential of the region. When he asks a Spanish man what can be found in and beyond the Andes mountains, the man replies that 'there is more gold at this time in the mountains of the Andes, and more easy to come at, than in all the world besides'.[103] In fact, the man continues, 'there is more gold every year washed down out of the Andes of Chili into the sea, and lost there, than all the riches that go from New Spain to Europe in twenty years amount to'.[104] Furthermore, upon entering the house of a Spanish coloniser, the narrator recounts how 'we had Chilian wine served us up in round gold cups, and water in large silver decanters […]. Our chocolate was brought up in the same manner, in deep cups, all of gold, and it was made in vessels all of silver'.[105] In both Defoe and Graham's descriptions, then, the south of Chile is depicted as a region of limitless commercial potential.

As mentioned previously, Graham's South America journals reflect an informal imperialist attitude towards Chile, but they do not specifically mention Araucania in this context. Graham's fellow British travellers John Miers and William Bennet Stevenson did, however. It is plausible that Graham discussed these matters with them, and that this informed her thinking about the Chilean region and the nature of its potential future relationship with Britain. As shown in Chapter Two, Stevenson and Miers shared Graham's fascination for Araucania; both provided detailed descriptions of the region and its indigenous inhabitants and included embedded military eyewitness accounts of the Araucanians. Their detailed descriptions of Araucanian territory shed light on Britain's desire to expand their commercial foothold in the region. Stevenson, for example, writes in *Twenty Years' Residence* that

[103] Daniel Defoe, *A New Voyage Round the World, by a Course never Sailed Before* (London, 1725).
[104] Defoe, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 360.
[105] Defoe, *A New Voyage Round the World*, 370.

> this interesting part of South America is less known than any other accessible portion. […] Araucania, from its locality, climate, and productions, appears destined to become one of the first and fairest portions of the new world; and should the eyes of philanthropical speculators be directed to its shores, their capitals would be more secure in the formation of new establishments than in loans to many of the old.[106]

Like Defoe and Graham, Stevenson describes Araucania as a little-known region full of untapped commercial potential. He argues that this potential could be unlocked with the help of British, and possibly other European 'philanthropical speculators' who inject their capital into the region.

Stevenson's use of the term 'philanthropical' in this passage exemplifies how Britain saw its own role in shaping the future of a newly independent Chile – as a benevolent force committed to bringing free trade and prosperity to its inhabitants. He writes that although 'in trade little could be done at present', he is convinced that once the Araucanians become acquainted with those 'commodities which produce real comforts to society', they can start trading hides, ponchos, and gold for 'white and greenish blue flannels, salt, sugar, tobacco, bridle-bits, knives, axes, hatches, nails, buttons, glass beads and other trinkets'.[107] Stevenson here emphasises that trade will be beneficial to both parties: the large variety of goods imported from Europe will bring the Araucanians comfort, and the British, in their turn, will be able to tap into what he calls 'ready' markets in Peru or Chile.[108]

Like Stevenson, John Miers was eager to draw his British readers' attention to the commercial potential of Araucania. In his *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, he even goes so far as to map out the region in both word and image so as to enable future British travellers to explore mining and trade opportunities. In a chapter titled 'Indian Chile', he writes that

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[106] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence*, 1:66.
[107] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence*, 1:65-66.
[108] Stevenson, *Twenty Years' Residence*, 1:66.

> The Indian territory commences to the southward of the Biobio; and, although the Indians themselves separate the country into about twenty divisions, it may with greater propriety be treated of under the following designations:
>
> | | | |
> |---|---|---|
> | 1. Arauco | 4. Boroa | 7. Cunches |
> | 2. Puren | 5. Maquegua | 8. Guilliches[109] |
> | 3. Repocura | 6. Tolten | |

In this fragment, Miers simultaneously maps and re-maps the region, stating that although the Araucanians themselves divide the country 'into about twenty divisions', it would be better to divide them into the eight regions he proposes. As discussed in Chapter One, the act of mapping territories in travel writing was an integral part of any type of imperial project. Miers is here claiming ownership of Araucanian territory through the act of labelling and re-labelling indigenous lands. His written description of each division that follows this classification underscores this: he locates inlets of rivers that may be navigable by ships, speculates about where there may be goldmines, and describes fertile ground that may be used for agriculture.[110]

To further facilitate future entrepreneurial and commercial efforts of British travellers in the region, Miers included a map of the region in his published journal. The map is titled *Map of Chile, including Indian Chile: By John Miers, 1825* (Figure 19).

[109] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 1:482.
[110] Miers, *Chile and La Plata*, 1:482-494.

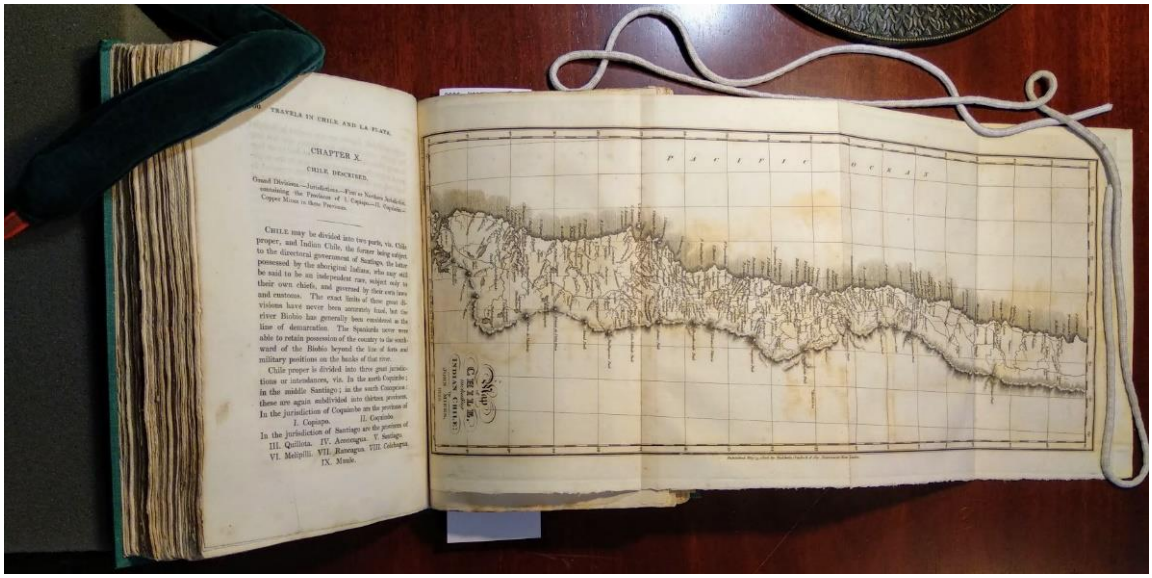

Figure 19. John Miers, *Map of Chile, including Indian Chile: By John Miers, 1825*. In John Miers, *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, Vol. 1. (1826), p. 426. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library. Photo by author.

Miers's map appears to be the only map in early nineteenth-century British travel writing on Chile to specifically refer to Araucanian territory in its title. In doing so, Miers acknowledges the autonomy of this region, and he explicitly draws the reader's eye to it. At the same time, however, by labelling this region 'Indian Chile' he erases much of Chile's indigenous history, eliding the fact that historically there had been many other indigenous groups living throughout Chile whose territories had been usurped as a result of Spanish colonialism. In addition, the prominent inclusion of his own name on the map: 'by John Miers' signals a type of intellectual ownership over this region. A closer look at the map reveals that the area depicting Araucania – labelled 'Indian Chile' by Miers – is much emptier than the other parts of the map. In other places, Miers included markers such as the names of settlements and rivers, and he indicates the presence of gold mines. Araucania, however, is comparatively empty. With the production and distribution of this map, Miers encourages future travellers to try to fill in the blank spaces on his map.

Adapting *La Araucana*: the History of Chilean Independence

Graham could have chosen to let her adaptation stand on its own and present it as an exercise in translating sixteenth-century Spanish epic poetry. However, as mentioned she decided to frame the selected fragments with a brief historical introduction and conclusion. In this final section of my analysis, I take a closer look at how this historiographical framing material opened up new opportunities for the literary interpretation of the poem. I argue that Graham used this material to draw parallels between the sixteenth-century events described in Ercilla's poem and the involvement of the Araucanians during the recently fought Chilean War of Independence – an event to which Graham had been an eyewitness herself. The framing materials also gave her adaptation a more scholarly appearance, allowing her to present *La Araucana* as a historical source for the interpretation of more recent Chilean history and to show her support for the Chilean independence movement.

In both the introductory and concluding remarks, Graham provides a wider historical framework for her reader by establishing connections between the Araucanians' sixteenth-century resistance against the Spanish invaders and their role in the recently fought Chilean War of Independence. In the Introduction, she writes:

> The Araucanians were a people inhabiting part of the hilly country of Chili, near where the Maypu breaks through the barrier of the Andes. They were governed by their own Caciques, and acknowledged a certain but very small degree of dependance [sic], on the Incas of Peru. – as the Spanish armies spread to the northward, the Chilian tribes fell one by one, ~~by one~~ either by force or fraud; but some portion of the Araucanians has never been subdued entirely and when the mixed race of Spaniards and Indians with the Spanish creoles, resolved to throw off the yoke of the mother country about

> twenty years ago the Araucanian Indians were invited as brothers to join them, in asserting their right to an independant [sic] government.[111]

In this passage, Graham offers her reader a brief overview of Araucanian history from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. She writes that although the Spanish attempted to conquer the Araucanians either by 'force or fraud', they never fully succeeded. In the same sentence she then moves forward in time two hundred and fifty years, relating that when the Chilean War of Independence broke out, the Araucanians were 'invited as brothers' to join the patriots in order to claim their right to be independent.

What stands out in this passage is Graham's emphasis on the mixed-race identity of the revolutionaries or, as she phrases it: 'the mixed race of Spaniards and Indians with the Spanish creoles'. Graham is here using a rhetorical technique used by pro-independence historiographers to justify and show support for the Chilean independence movement. According to Rebecca Earle, during the Latin American Wars of Independence military and political leaders across the continent drew heavily on the preconquest era in the development of an insurgent nationalist rhetoric. Earle argues that 'advocates of independence across Spanish America began to describe the new nations they sought to create as continuations of the pre-Columbian civilizations destroyed by the conquistadors in the sixteenth century', with the deceased indigenous leaders who had died resisting the Spanish conquest being the 'true fathers of Spanish America'.[112] In Chile, *La Araucana* emerged as 'the urtext of independence-era celebration', since the story of indigenous Chilean warriors valiantly and successfully resisting Spanish domination offered the Chilean insurgents a past that was both heroic and national.[113] Depicting the Chilean patriots as having indigenous blood running

[111] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 2.
[112] Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 3-4.
[113] Earle, *The Return of the Native*, 29-30.

through their veins strengthened this sense of national identity. As Elizabeth Quay Hutchison et al. have argued, *La Araucana* marked 'the origin of the romantic vision of Chile's indigenous peoples as a noble but bellicose race who, in intermixing with the Spanish, would give rise to Chile's "mestizo" (mixed Indian-Spanish) identity'.[114] By emphasising this point in the introduction to her adaptation, Graham presents *La Araucana* not only as a historical source but also as a nationalist myth of origin. Drawing on these familiar tropes, she turns the poem into a sign of her support for Chilean independence.

Graham had probably become familiar with this nationalist rhetoric during her travels in Chile, for it was commonly used by Chilean independence leaders she had met personally in Chile, such as the Argentinian José de San Martín and the Irish-Chilean Bernardo O'Higgins. In Appendix III to the Chile journal, Graham copied a speech by O'Higgins in which he addresses the Peruvians in a call for arms against the Spanish. In an editorial note she added to this speech, she states that her reason for including the speech was to show 'the views held out by the revolutionary chiefs to the natives'.[115] O'Higgins told his audience:

> Sons of Manco Capac, Yupanqui, and Pachacutec! These venerable shades are the witnesses of the conditions which the people of Chile offer you by my voice, and of the alliance and fraternity we seek, in order to consolidate our independence, and to defend our rights in the day of peril.[116]
>
> […]
>
> What are you waiting for, Peruvians? Hasten to break your chains. Come; and at the tombs of Tupac-Amaru, and Pumacahua, of those illustrious martyrs to liberty, swear to the contract which is to secure your independence and your eternal friendship.[117]

[114] Elizabeth Quay Hutchison et al., eds., *The Chile Reader: History, Culture Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 62.
[115] Graham, *RIC*, 475.
[116] Graham, *RIC*, 475-476.
[117] Graham, *RIC*, 485.

O'Higgins here addresses the Peruvians as the sons of legendary Inca kings and warriors to unite them in a constructed idea of common heroic ancestry that is national and anti-Spanish. The 'venerable shades' or ghosts of these ancestors, O'Higgins claims, are witnesses to this struggle.

It is important to note, however, that Araucanians usually fought on the side of the Spanish during the independence conflict. Simon Collier, for example, states that the Araucanians 'had tended to favour the royalists during the war'.[118] Likewise, Patricia Richards argues that

> efforts to symbolically incorporate the Mapuche into the nation failed to garner their support for Chilean independence. Although there were important exceptions, most lonkos sided with Spain during the War of Independence, largely because their treaties had generally been respected.[119]

Graham thus appears to have been employing Chilean symbolist nationalist rhetoric rather than chronicling historical fact when stating in her historical introduction that the Araucanians enthusiastically joined the insurgents to fight for independence.

Graham returns to this nationalist rhetoric in her concluding remarks by emphasising that Bernardo O'Higgins has Araucanian blood running through his veins. She writes that

> It is a singular and gratifying circumstance that the first chief Director of the republic of Chili was an Araucanian on the mother's side. Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, the benefactor of Chili under the government of Old Spain, married the daughter of an Araucanian cacique. She was very beautiful and delicate in her appearance. Her only

[118] Collier, *A History of Chile*, 41.
[119] Patricia Richards, *Race and the Chilean Miracle: Neoliberalism, Democracy, and Indigenous Rights* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 36.

> son passed some years in England for his education, and soon after his appointment he succeeded his father as captain General, the cry of independence arose, and among the first of his acts was the invitation of the Araucanian Indians to join the Creoles in throwing off the yoke of Spain.[120]

Graham here draws attention to Bernardo O'Higgins' Araucanian lineage and his efforts to include the Araucanians into the independence struggle, further strengthening her justification of Chilean independence. She also highlights O'Higgins' connections with England, writing that he had 'passed some years in England for his education'. As Brown notes, O'Higgins led a transatlantic life; born in Chile in 1778, from 1797 he spent several years attending school in Richmond, England.[121] At Richmond O'Higgins also became acquainted with the independence leader Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda y Rodríguez, who would become his political mentor.[122] As mentioned in the Introduction, as a child Graham spent a lot of time at her uncle's residence in Richmond, and although she nowhere mentions this connection, it is likely that she was aware of this connection. Her mention of this connection with England here may have served as a patriotic reminder of the role Britain had played in effecting Latin American independence.

Graham appears to have been passionate about the idea of O'Higgins being of Araucanian descent, for she also mentions it in a letter to Caroline Fox:

> is Lord Holland aware that Bernardo O'Higgins the first supreme director of freed Chile is the son of an Araucanian woman - & of the admirable Don Ambrosio O'Higgins who but for his name deserves an epic poem to himself? I always used to be glad to think of the Araucanian blood in the Director's veins – but I'm a fool.[123]

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[120] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 18-19.
[121] Brown, *Connections after Colonialism*, 166.
[122] Brown, *Connections after Colonialism*, 166.
[123] Maria Callcott to Caroline Fox, 10 October 1835, Add MS 51963, 44, Holland House Papers.

In this passage, Graham shows her support for the Chilean independence movement by stating that Bernardo O'Higgins' had Araucanian blood from his mother's side. In both her private correspondence and her unpublished and published writing, then, Graham expresses her support for O'Higgins and his cause by underscoring this point. Elsewhere in the Chile journal, she accentuates his mixed Irish-Chilean descent, describing him as 'short and fat, yet very active: his blue eyes, light hair, and ruddy and rather coarse complexion, do not bely his Irish extraction; while his very small and short hands and feet belong to his Araucanian pedigree'.[124]

Having briefly reflected on Chile's past and present situation, Graham ends her concluding remarks by looking towards the future. She writes:

> In a few years, the wise measures taken by the first governors of the republic, for the civilization of their Araucanian brethren, will unite them as one nation, and we may hope that the crimes of the conquerors, may be expiated by the blessings bestowed by their descendants on the conquered country.[125]

In the final lines of her conclusion, Graham confidently predicts that the Chileans' 'wise measures' to civilise the Araucanians will eventually integrate them with the rest of the Chilean population. As discussed in Chapter Two, Graham's thinking about indigenous populations was influenced by stadial theories of progress. According to these theories, the indigenous peoples of the Americas were living in a more primitive state than Europeans. Graham regards the civilisation of the Araucanians as a historical process and hopes that it could be a way for the Chileans – many of whom were direct descendants of the Spanish – to compensate for the atrocious behaviour displayed by their forefathers. This passage

[124] Graham, *RIC*, 208.
[125] "The Remembrancer for 1833," 19.

captures the paradox of British informal imperialism that, as I have shown earlier in this chapter, pervades her adaptation. On the one hand, Graham represents the Araucanians as equal 'brethren' of the Chileans who may finally, after three hundred years of attempted suppression from the Spanish, enjoy independence. On the other hand, she depicts the Araucanians as being in need of civilizing by the Chileans, which in itself is related to imperialist ways of thinking.

As I hope to have shown, Graham's partial and prose English adaptation of *La Araucana* for "The Remembrancer" was a remarkable historiographical and literary endeavour. A decade after her final return from Chile, she returned to the source material she had gathered during her travels and complemented it with fresh material obtained from her London friends' libraries to produce a rich and generically hybrid written engagement with the indigenous Chilean past and the Chilean War of Independence. This project provides further evidence of Graham's extensive scholarly and editorial skills and tight textual and paratextual control. It also offers new insights into the creative and original nature of her historiographical engagements. Although this manuscript was never submitted for publication, its private circulation allowed Graham to share the fruits of her scholarly labour with her elite London friends and to continue the historiographical debate about the South American past.

Chapter Four

'All that I had heard [...] I learnt from the Emperor himself': "An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro" and Holland House (1834-1835)

In this final chapter, I continue my investigation of Graham's unpublished historiographical writing on South America by exploring the connections between Graham's manuscript memoir "An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro" and the Holland House circle. As noted in the Introduction, Graham had gathered much of the source material for this work during her second trip to Brazil between 1824-1825, when she briefly worked as a governess to the Emperor and Empress's eldest daughter, Donna Maria da Glória, and she composed it in London between 1834 and 1835. Although the title of the work suggests a biographical focus on Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro I, the narrative has a much broader scope. For example, Graham included an eyewitness account of key events in the Brazilian War of Independence, some of which were based on her first journey to South America in 1821-1823. She also offers personal reflections on her time as a governess, describes the inner workings of the Imperial Court in Rio de Janeiro, and provides insights into the lives of and her relationship with the Brazilian Empress Maria Leopoldina and her pupil Maria da Glória. Moreover, she discusses her sudden dismissal from her post and provides a travel account of her subsequent travels in Brazil. The work remained unpublished in Graham's lifetime, but in 1938 it was translated into Portuguese and published in Brazil as *Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro I*.[1] A new edition of this translated version was issued in 2010.[2] To date, no full English edition of the memoir has been published, but Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Caballero have reproduced part of the memoir as an appendix to the 2010

[1] Maria Graham, *Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro I com uma Notícia do Brasil e do Rio de Janeiro em seu Tempo*, trans. Americo Jacobina Lacombe, Vol. LX (Rio de Janeiro: Anais de Biblioteca Nacional, 1938).
[2] Maria Graham, *Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro I* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, 2010).

academic edition of Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*.[3] Their discussion of the biographical aspects of the memoir has been a useful departure point for my analysis of the work's historiographical aspects.[4]

In the previous chapter, I touched upon the connections between Graham's historical manuscript writing on South America and Holland House. I showed that Graham and Holland shared an interest in Spanish literature and Spanish America, that they discussed these matters in correspondence, and that Graham probably consulted Holland's extensive collection of Spanish books and manuscripts in his private library at Holland House. I also demonstrated that Graham collaborated with Holland's sister, Caroline Fox, on the annual "The Remembrancer", which contained a translated adaptation of Alonso de Ercilla's *La Araucana*, and that this work may have circulated among the Holland House circle. In this chapter, I will deepen my investigation of the connections between Graham's manuscript historical writing on South America and Holland House by examining the production, circulation, and reception of "The Life of Don Pedro" in relation to the salon culture and collaborative literary practices at Holland House in the early 1830s.

At the heart of my analysis will be two manuscript copies of "The Life of Don Pedro". The first copy is in the Holland House Papers collection in the British Library in London (hereafter to be referred to as the BL copy).[5] It consists of iii + 149 unbound leaves encased in an embossed leather book (25 x 20 cm) with a metal lock on the front cover. The title of this work, as presented on the title page, is "'An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro'". Graham sent this manuscript to Caroline Fox upon completion, and it remained in the possession of the Holland family until the collection was donated to the British Library in 1959.

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[3] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, ed. Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Caballero (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2010), 332-344.
[4] Hayward and Caballero, "Introduction," ix-xi, lviii. Regina Akel also devotes a chapter to the memoir in *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography*, 195-218.
[5] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy.

A second manuscript is kept in the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (and will hereafter be referred to as the BN copy).[6] The work consists of partially bound leaves in a marbled hardcover notebook. The front cover has a small pasted-on piece of paper on which the words 'Don Pedro' have been written in ink. In contrast to the BL copy, this version has no title page, so this work is simply known as *Don Pedro*. This was Graham's personal copy; a note in Graham's handwriting in the Holland House copy refers to this book as the 'copy belonging to MC' (Maria Callcott).[7] There is a twentieth-century typescript of this manuscript at the Bodleian Library in Oxford.[8]

So far, scholars have assumed that the BL and BN copies are the only two known surviving copies of the memoir. However, while going through an old inventory list of the Holland House library, I discovered a reference to a third manuscript. The library inventory was drawn up between 1945-1949 by Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, who owned Holland House at the time. Fox-Strangways made the inventory after a large part of the library's collection had been lost during an air raid in 1940, during the Second World War. Under the heading 'books of family interest (retained)' he made the following entry:

> MS notices of The Life of Don Pedro the first, emperor of Brazil, dictated to Miss Fox by Lady [Calcott ?] Governess to the Princes[sic?], 2 vols. 4to, green silk 1835.[9]

If this entry is accurate, a third copy of Graham's "The Life of Don Pedro" was produced in 1835, alongside the other two that are now at the British Library and the Biblioteca

[6] Maria Callcott, *Escorço Biográfico de D. Pedro I com uma Notícia do Brasil e do Rio de Janeiro em seu Tempo*, 1834-1835, mss1303521, Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. Digital copy: http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_manuscritos/mss1303521/mss1303521.pdf.
[7] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy.
[8] Maria Callcott, 'Typescript made from a copy in the Brazilian Archives, of Lady Callcott's account of her life in Brazil,' 1824-6, n.d., MS. Eng. c. 2730, Archive of Sir Augustus and Maria, Lady Callcott, 1768-c.1882, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[9] Giles Stephen Holland Fox-Strangways, 'Holland House; 1945-1949,' Add MS 54721(4), Hodgson Papers, British Library, London.

Nacional. The current location of this third manuscript is unknown, but it is plausible that it was auctioned off by Sotheby's in the 1960s, when many remaining items from the Holland House library were sold.[10]

The fact that two of the three manuscript copies of Graham's "The Life of Don Pedro" were kept at Holland House suggests a closer relationship between the memoir and Holland House than scholars have hitherto assumed. Critics such as Regina Akel, Jennifer Hayward, and M. Soledad Caballero have noted that Graham dictated the memoirs to Caroline Fox between 1834 and 1835 when she herself was too ill to write, but there has been no sustained investigation into Graham and Fox's collaboration in the creation of this work, nor has there been any research on the circulation and reception of the manuscript.[11] This chapter addresses that gap. As I will show, "The Life of Don Pedro" was produced in close collaboration with different members of the Holland House circle. Furthermore, the manuscript memoir circulated privately within that circle, and it was enthusiastically read and discussed for the information it provided on the political history of Portugal and Brazil and for the insights it afforded into the private lives of the Brazilian royal family. By uncovering and analysing the manifold connections between "The Life of Don Pedro" and Holland House, I show how Graham purposefully and strategically used manuscript writing to disseminate her eyewitness experiences of life at the Brazilian court and her extensive knowledge of Pedro's contributions towards the development of constitutionalism – a development that had been eagerly followed and discussed among the Holland House set from the 1820s. "The Life of Don Pedro", this chapter suggests, gave Graham as a female historian a platform to contribute to the otherwise largely male-dominated political and historical discussions about Portugal and Brazil at Holland House.

[10] Kelly, *Holland House*, preface.
[11] Akel, *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography*, 195; and Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Caballero, "Appendix IV: Maria Graham's Unpublished 'Life of Don Pedro,'" in Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* ed. Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Caballero (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2010), 332.

Britain and the Luso-Brazilian Empire in the Early Nineteenth Century: Historical Context

Graham's "The Life of Don Pedro" consists of three chapters and covers the years between Dom Pedro I's birth in 1798 until Graham's final departure from Brazil in September 1825. The narrative captures a formative period in history, not only for Brazil and Portugal but also for these two countries' political, commercial, and imperial relations with Britain. Britain was Portugal's oldest ally; as Martin Robson points out, 'At the heart of Anglo-Portuguese relations was a mutually beneficial maritime trade' that went back to the twelfth century.[12] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, English mercantile influence in Portugal grew significantly. As Malyn Newitt writes, by 1750 Britain 'was in a position to supply industrial goods to Portugal's colonies and to dominate its overseas trade. […] Portugal became in effect an economic and political dependency of Britain'.[13] In the first phase of the Napoleonic Wars, the old alliance between the two countries was reaffirmed in a 1793 treaty, and, as Gabriel Paquette notes, between 1796 and 1801 Britain had provided large quantities of arms, money, and other war-time supplies to support Portugal.[14]

In 1806, Napoleon, in an effort to block British access to European markets, demanded that Portugal close their ports to the British, have British merchandise be confiscated, and have British subjects. However, Joseph Smith notes, Portugal hesitated to comply with these demands, given their close links with Britain and their fear of France.[15] When Portugal remained indecisive, Britain presented the cabinet of the Portuguese prince regent Dom João (1767-1826) with an ultimatum; as Paquette explains, Britain asked Portugal to either renew treaty obligations with Britain and have the Portuguese court evacuated from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro with British support, or to see their naval fleet

[12] Martin Robson, *Britain, Portugal and South America in the Napoleonic Wars: Alliances and Diplomacy in Economic Maritime Conflict* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 27-28.
[13] Malyn Newitt, *Portugal in European and World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 128.
[14] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 86.
[15] Joseph Smith, *History of Brazil, 1500-2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 38.

destroyed by the British to prevent the ships from falling into the hands of the French.[16] Portugal eventually accepted the deal. As part of the treaty, Britain vowed to acknowledge only members of the Braganza dynasty as the rightful monarchs of the Portuguese throne. In exchange, Portugal accepted the occupation of Madeira and Goa.[17] Thus, with the French approaching, João and his court were evacuated to Rio de Janeiro with British support. Approximately 15,000 people sailed from Portugal to Brazil in more than forty ships.[18] Among the passengers were many members of the House of Braganza dynasty, as well as Portuguese government officials, members of the clergy, and military and naval officers, and the fleet also transported the government archives, libraries, the royal treasury, and a printing press.[19]

With the evacuation of the Portuguese court to Brazil in 1807, Rio de Janeiro effectively became the capital of the Portuguese empire. In 1815, João issued a law that elevated Brazil to the status of 'kingdom' (previously, it had the colonial status of 'state'), thus being bestowed equal status to Portugal, and he created the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves. Having the Portuguese government safely in Rio de Janeiro also allowed Britain to expand its influence on Portugal and Brazil. For example, Britain continued to intensify its trade with Brazil; Newitt states that Britain's support in the evacuation of the Portuguese court helped them to establish 'an informal hegemony, becoming the patron and protector of a new kingdom in the Americas'.[20] In the years following the evacuation, Britain continued to support Portugal financially and militarily which, Paquette claims, 'translated into direct political influence'.[21] In 1810 the British government negotiated a preferential trade deal with Brazil in exchange for its protection of

[16] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 88.
[17] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 89.
[18] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 39.
[19] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 39.
[20] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 88-89; and Newitt, *Portugal in European and World History,* 158.
[21] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 92. According to Paquette, Portugal effectively gave up its 'colonial monopoly' upon accepting the 1807 treaty.

the Braganza family, which only further strengthened Britain's already privileged trade relationship with the Portuguese colony.[22]

As noted in Chapter One, following the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Congress of Vienna, Europe experienced political unrest and dissatisfaction with absolutist rule, which led to a wave of revolutions across Southern Europe. In August 1820, there was an uprising in Oporto, Portugal, and in January of the following year a national Cortes (parliament) was called, and a committee was formed to create a new constitution.[23] The Cortes also demanded that King João VI, who had ascended the throne upon the death of his mother in 1816, return to Lisbon immediately and reign as a constitutional monarch. Worried that he might lose the crown, the king reluctantly returned to Portugal in 1821 after a fourteen-year stay in Brazil. João's heir Pedro stayed in Brazil as Prince Regent.[24] When the Cortes planned to reinstate the former colonial relationship between Portugal and Brazil and ordered Pedro to return to Portugal, this was met with criticism and resistance in Brazil. A short period of fighting between patriots and loyalists ensued, and on 7 September 1822 Pedro uttered the famous words 'independence or death'. This event is known as the Cry of Ipiranga and is now celebrated as Brazil's Independence Day. Pedro was proclaimed emperor of an independent Brazil the following month.[25]

In the years following Brazil's independence, Pedro played a key role in the development of constitutionalism in both Brazil and Portugal. Brazil's first constitution came into effect in 1824.[26] A year earlier, he had dissolved the Brazilian Assembly that was drafting a new constitution, because he felt that it was too similar to the 1822 Portuguese constitution. In 1826, after the death of his father, Pedro framed a new constitution for Portugal: the *Carta*

[22] Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London and New York: Longman, 1993), 43.
[23] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 40-41.
[24] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 41.
[25] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 42-43.
[26] Smith, *History of Brazil*, 44.

Constitucional. The *Carta*, which was hastily drawn up and largely modelled on the 1824 Brazilian constitution, replaced the 1822 Portuguese constitution and would remain in force, except for brief interruptions (1828-34, 1836-42) until 1910.[27] To avoid jeopardizing the delicate relationship between Portugal and a recently independent Brazil, Pedro also abdicated the Portuguese throne. He attempted to secure it for his daughter Maria instead by forcing his brother Miguel to be married to her and to swear allegiance to the new constitution.[28]

In 1828, civil war broke out in Portugal when Miguel staged a coup and usurped the Portuguese throne. Supporters of Donna Maria and the *Carta* fled the country, and in the years that followed, thousands of *emigrados* would fight for Donna Maria's cause from exile abroad.[29] Many *emigrados* sought refuge in England. Anderson writes that approximately 3,000 of them fled to Plymouth, where they 'formed the nucleus of a liberal army'; and according to Sousa, by July 1828 'there were already 300 Portuguese exiles of high rank living in London'.[30] Others travelled to the island of Terceira in the Azores, since that was the only part of Portugal that had remained loyal to Maria's cause. In 1830, James Maxwell Anderson notes, the Duke of Palmela set up a Council of Regency there, which Pedro sanctioned.[31] In 1831, Pedro abdicated the Brazilian throne in favour of his son Pedro II and travelled to Britain. He sailed to Terceira to join the fight against Miguel's absolutist rule. Two years of bitter fighting ensued; as David Birmingham notes, the period between 1832 and 1834 'marked a brutal mid-point in the slowly developing revolution which carried Portugal from royal absolutism to constitutional democracy'.[32] In 1834, Pedro's forces eventually succeeded

[27] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 10.
[28] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 202.
[29] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 235.
[30] James Maxwell Anderson, *The History of Portugal* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 132; and José Baptista de Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal, 1793-1840: English Whiggery and the Constitutional Cause in Iberia* (London and New York: Anthem Press, 2018), 5.
[31] Anderson, *The History of Portugal*, 132.
[32] David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 117.

in overthrowing Miguel's army, and Miguel, abandoning all claims to the Portuguese throne, went into exile.[33] Maria ascended the Portuguese throne in 1834.[34]

Although historians largely agree that Pedro played a key role in the development of constitutionalism on both sides of the Atlantic, his motives for advocating this system of government remain a contested point. As Newitt has argued, the Emperor had an enthusiasm for constitutional monarchy.[35] For example, in 1824 he had said: 'If I were obliged to govern without a constitution, I would sooner give up my throne, for I want to govern hearts filled with dignity and honour, marked by freedom instead of slavery'.[36] Newitt also points out, however, that Pedro often 'acted in an authoritarian and even violent manner in order to suppress dissent'.[37] Paquette even goes so far as to describe the 1826 Portuguese *Carta* as 'an explicit repudiation of representative institutions endowed with significant legislative power and an attempt to re-outfit absolutism with the political language of moderate constitutionalism'.[38] Nevertheless, as I will show in this chapter, Graham wrote favourably of Pedro's constitutionalist cause, a view that was shared by Holland and other members of the Holland House circle.[39]

"The Life of Don Pedro": Summary

Graham begins "The Life of Don Pedro" with a short chapter in which she gives a brief overview of Pedro's childhood, his evacuation to Brazil in 1807, his upbringing, and his early education. She also focuses on Pedro's romantic relationships with women. First, she describes his secret marriage to the French dancer Noémi Thierry, who would have a

[33] Anderson, *The History of Portugal*, 133.
[34] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 235-236.
[35] Malyn Newitt, *The Braganzas: the Rise and Fall of the Ruling Dynasties of Portugal and Brazil, 1640-1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2019), 208; and Gabriel Paquette, "The Brazilian Origins of the 1826 Portuguese Constitution," *European History Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2011): 447.
[36] Paquette, "The Brazilian Origins of the 1826 Portuguese Constitution," 448.
[37] Newitt, *The Braganzas*, 208.
[38] Paquette, "The Brazilian Origins of the 1826 Portuguese Constitution," 445.
[39] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 110.

stillborn child by him. She then gives an account of Pedro's arranged marriage to Maria Leopoldina in 1817 while emphasising his reluctance to break off his relationship with Thierry. The chapter concludes with an account of the early years of Pedro's marriage to Maria Leopoldina and the return of Pedro's father, King João VI, to Portugal in 1821, which left Pedro in Brazil as Prince Regent.

Chapter Two of the memoir opens with Graham's arrival in the port of Bahia at the end of September 1821 on board the HMS *Doris*, and from here onwards much of Graham's narrative is based on her own experiences, an account of which she had previously published in *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*. Having arrived to find that Brazil is engaged in a struggle for independence with Portugal, Graham gives a lively eyewitness account of the ensuing struggle between the patriots and the loyalists, writing that it was 'a curious sight to observe from the ships in the Harbour the artillery of the town drawn up in the square of the Opera House'.[40] Halfway through the chapter, Graham writes that she 'left Brazil and did not return to it for twelve months' – this is when she set off for Chile, where she would travel for nearly a year.[41] Despite her physical absence during that period, she continues her historical narrative of the Brazilian War of Independence. Her writing expresses support for the Brazilian patriots fighting for independence, as she describes the Portuguese Cortes' demands as 'very degrading terms' and 'unjust and arbitrary orders'.[42] The chapter ends with a brief assessment of Pedro's character based on his behaviour during the Brazilian War of Independence. She observes, for example, that in the early days of his reign Pedro's activity 'was more like that of a young officer just commissioned than of a Sovereign going to commission others' and that he had a 'wish to govern in little things', but that given the 'circumstances of the country […] the fault will appear a very venial one'.[43] Although she

[40] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 8.
[41] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 12.
[42] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 9, 16.
[43] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 15.

here draws attention to what she considers are flaws in Pedro's character, she argues that they are ultimately forgivable.

The memoir's third and final chapter starts with a description of the meeting of the First Legislative Assembly of Brazil on 3 May 1823, which was the first step in the establishment of a new constitution. At this point in the narrative, Graham had just returned from her travels in Chile, and she alternates political observations on, for example, the drawing up of a Constitution, with personal reflections on how she first came into contact with the Emperor and Empress. Graham then provides an elaborate and personal account of her experiences of working as a governess to Donna Maria, and she reflects on her close friendship with the Empress. She also provides an insider's view of life at the Imperial Court, giving detailed accounts on the personalities, habits, and daily lives of the Royal Family. Graham then relates at length how, only little over a month after taking up her post, she was suddenly dismissed from the palace and that she subsequently settled into a small cottage in the Valley of the Laranjeiras, bestowed on her by her friend Madame Lisboa and her husband. The narrative then describes her life at the cottage, the expeditions she made into the countryside outside of Rio de Janeiro, the affiliations she formed with influential European families in Brazil, the landscape sketches she made, and the botanical specimens she gathered for botanist William Hooker (1785-1865). Organically interwoven with these descriptions are analyses on the political situation in Brazil. In the final part of the chapter, Graham reflects on the final months of Maria Leopoldina's life and her death, copying in letters that Maria Leopoldina had written to her. The memoir ends with Graham's return to England in September 1825.

Holland House, Portugal, and Brazil

In the Introduction, I outlined Holland's fascination with the history, literature, and language of Portugal, and I noted that Holland took a serious interest in foreign politics and the development of constitutionalism outside of Britain. Holland House attracted visitors with similar political interests, which shaped political and historical discussion at the dinner table. Here, I will look more closely at Holland's engagement with early nineteenth-century Portuguese and Brazilian politics and constitutionalism, as it will help to form a clearer sense of how Graham's "The Life of Don Pedro" would have been read and received at Holland House.

Holland openly and fervently supported Pedro and Maria's constitutionalist cause during the Portuguese Civil War, even though the British government had adopted a policy of non-interference with regard to the conflict.[44] For example, when Portuguese affairs were debated in Parliament in June 1829 Holland, along with some of his fellow Whig party members, gave full support to the constitutionalist cause from the opposition benches.[45] C.J. Wright explains that Holland also criticised the British government's policy of non-interference as 'favouring the conservative Miguelites against Dom Pedro and Maria II'.[46] In September 1831, – Holland was by this point Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Whig cabinet of Lord Grey – Holland spoke in favour of declaring war on Miguel in a cabinet meeting.[47] He also proposed the formation of an alliance between Britain and France in the fight against the Miguelites, but to Holland's disappointment, this plan was met with criticism and rejection in Parliament.[48] As late as 1833, Kriegel notes, Holland was trying to persuade

[44] Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*, 6.
[45] Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*, 6.
[46] Wright, "Fox [afterwards Vassall], Henry Richard, third Baron Holland of Holland and third Baron Holland of Foxley." On the British policy of non-interference, see also Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*, 96-97, 144.
[47] Henry Richard Vassall Fox and John Allen, *The Holland House Diaries*, ed. Abraham D. Kriegel (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), 59.
[48] Fox and Allen, *The Holland House Diaries*, 59; and Mitchell, *Holland House*, 282.

hesitant cabinet members that Britain should support Pedro and Maria.[49] Despite or possibly also because of the resistance he met with in Parliament, Holland continued to actively support the Portuguese constitutionalist cause from Holland House. Mitchell writes that Holland had close connections with leaders of the constitutionalist party in Portugal, and that he used these connections to turn Holland House into the 'centre of pressure group politics in the liberal cause'.[50] Holland also regularly invited Portuguese guests to the house; according to Sousa, there were a total of 165 visits, with one of the most notable and frequent guests being the Portuguese Minister in London, the Duke of Palmela who, as I mentioned in the previous section, set up a Council of Regency on Terceira in 1830 in resistance to Miguel. In 1828 and 1829, when thousands of Portuguese *emigrados* were fleeing to England to escape persecution by Miguel, Holland frequently entertained Portuguese exiles and politicians at the house.[51] Pedro himself also called at Holland House on 20 July 1831.[52]

Given Holland's open and active support of Pedro and Maria's constitutionalist cause, it is likely that he would have been keen to read Graham's eyewitness and insider's account of life at the Brazilian Royal court as well as Graham's reflections on the development of a constitutional government in Portugal and Brazil. It is even possible that Holland had personally encouraged Graham to write the work, for he had known about her personal connections with the Brazilian Royal Family since at least 1828. The Biblioteca Nacional holds a letter from Graham to the Duke of Palmela, composed in 1828. In the letter Graham asks Palmela if she could be granted a visit to her former pupil, who was residing in England at the time.[53] Graham writes that she wrote to Palmela at the advice of her friends, the Hollands. Palmela responded by offering to visit Graham at her house in

[49] Abraham D. Kriegel, "Introduction: Lord Holland, the Whigs, and the Decade of Reform," in Henry Richard Vassall Fox and John Allen, *The Holland House Diaries*, ed. Abraham D. Kriegel (London, Henley, and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), xlii.
[50] Mitchell, *Holland House*, 279.
[51] Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*, 5-6.
[52] Sousa, *Holland House and Portugal*, 132.
[53] Maria Callcott to the Duke of Palmela, 1828, Portuguese translation of the original French in Callcott, *Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro I* (2010), 295-296.

Kensington to talk to her about the princess, to which Graham eagerly replied that she was honoured by this offer and would gladly invite him to her home.[54] Although this brief and formal exchange does not reveal if she was eventually granted a personal meeting with Maria, it does show that as early as 1828, Graham had made her former role as governess to the princess known to the Hollands, and she gratefully made use of their influential Portuguese contacts to get back in touch with her former pupil.

Although, as stated in the Introduction, Graham was a regular dinner guest at Holland House in the late 1820s and early 1830s, she does not often appear to have been present when either Portuguese guests or British guests directly involved in Portuguese or Brazilian politics were also there. On 10 August 1828, Graham did attend a dinner where one of the other guests was Lord George William Russell (1790-1846).[55] In 1832, Russell would be sent on a special mission to Portugal, promoting the support of Maria during the ongoing civil war.[56] In 1832 and 1834, Graham also dined with Lord George William Russell's younger brother Lord John Russell (1792-1878).[57] Russell had accompanied the Hollands on their journey to Portugal and Spain in 1808-1809 and had an interest in constitutional history, having published *An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution* in 1821.[58] It is therefore possible that she discussed Portuguese and Brazilian political matters on these occasions, though such opportunities appear to have been rare. As discussed previously, however, Graham was closely connected to Holland House beyond the dining room, as she was close friends with Caroline Fox, corresponded with Holland, and most likely made use of his library. As I will show in subsequent sections of this chapter,

[54] Callcott to the Duke of Palmela, 297-299.
[55] 'Holland House dinner-book: Volume 6 (1831-1838),' Add MS 51955, Holland House Papers, British Library, London.
[56] E. M. Lloyd, Thomas Seccombe, and James Falkner, "Russell, Lord George William (1790–1846), Army Officer and Diplomatist," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24310.
[57] 'Holland House dinner-book: Volume 6 (1831-1838),' Holland House Papers.
[58] John Prest, "Russell, John [formerly Lord John Russell], first Earl Russell (1792–1878), Prime Minister and Author," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2009), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24325.

instead of having had unrestricted physical access to such political gatherings at Holland House, Graham used the discursive space of the memoir to contribute to the political and constitutional debates about Portugal and Brazil.

'An Authentic Memoir': Graham and Memoir Writing

In choosing to present her narrative about Dom Pedro as 'An Authentic Memoir', Graham was contributing to a growing trend in early nineteenth-century history writing. Mark Salber Phillips has noted that the memoir was one of the most popular narrative genres in Britain in this period, owing its popularity to the 'sentimentalist desire to endow the past with strong evocative presence' that had started to develop in the eighteenth century.[59] As a historiographical genre, the memoir was considered less prestigious than the traditional grand narrative history.[60] Nevertheless, the memoir's focus on individual and private lives was thought to give readers a more vivid and immediate sense of former ages than those offered in traditional historiography. As Karen O'Brien puts it, the increasing popularity of the memoir could be explained by a 'growing interest in stories of individual lives as a point of access to history' and 'a new awareness among writers of the affective possibilities of history'.[61] A reviewer for the January 1834 edition of the *Edinburgh Review* defined the memoir as occupying 'a place intermediate between political history and historical romance', stating that it 'should have the truth and authority of the former – the detail and lively interest of the latter'.[62] It was precisely this combination of attributes – 'truth and authority' such as inherent in traditional political histories and 'detail and lively interest' that characterised contemporary historical fiction – that made this genre so attractive.

[59] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 295.
[60] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 28.
[61] Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 209, 211.
[62] Unsigned review of *Memoirs of the Court of Charles I*, by Lucy Aikin, *The Edinburgh Review* 58, no. 118 (January 1834): 399.

Memoirs also found favour with Holland and other inner members of the Holland House circle. Since, as I shall argue shortly in more detail, Graham wrote "The Life of Don Pedro" with the Holland House circle as her intended audience, this may have influenced her choice of genre. Holland himself wrote three manuscript memoirs and edited two others.[63] Francis Jeffrey, editor of the *Edinburgh Review* between 1803 and 1829, also had a particular interest in memoirs. Described by Phillips as 'one of the foremost opinion-makers of his day', Jeffrey's enthusiasm for the memoir further helped to popularise this genre in the early nineteenth century.[64] As Schmid and Saglia have pointed out, many of the editors and reviewers for the *Edinburgh Review* had close connections with Holland House – Jeffrey, for example, was a regular visitor and correspondent, and John Allen contributed historical pieces to the periodical.[65] With the memoir, Graham chose a literary form likely to be popular with her intended readers.

An increasing number of memoirs published in the early nineteenth century were written by women. As Devoney Looser states, the memoir was one of the narrative genres with which women writers 'responded to, participated in, and contributed to the development of history writing during the long eighteenth century'.[66] Examples of such works are Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, which was written during the Civil War and published by a descendant in 1806; Mary Hays' *Memoirs of Queens, Illustrated and Celebrated* (1821); and Lucy Aikin's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1818) and *Memoirs of the Life of Anne Boleyn, Queen of Henry VIII* (1827).[67] Karen O'Brien argues that Victoria's accession to the throne sparked 'an extraordinary outpouring of histories of queens and princesses, written mainly by women writers', with most of these narratives taking 'the

[63] Wright, "Fox [afterwards Vassall], Henry Richard, third Baron Holland of Holland and third Baron Holland of Foxley."
[64] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 261.
[65] Schmid, *British Literary Salons*, 202-203; and Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain*, 120.
[66] Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History*, 16.
[67] For scholarship on female authorship of memoirs about women in this period, see for example Spongberg's *Women Writers and the Nation's Past*; Karen O'Brien's *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain*; and Kucich, "Women's Historiography and the (Dis)embodiment of Law."

form of "lives" or "memoirs", rather than political narratives'.[68] Among these works were Anna Jameson's *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831); Hannah Lawrance's *Historical Memoirs of the Queens of England* (1838); and Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England* (1840-1848). Furthermore, Amy Culley notes that some women in the early and mid-nineteenth century wrote court memoirs, a hybrid genre based on eyewitness testimonies which 'combines autobiographical reflections, royal biography and political history'.[69] One such example is Lady Charlotte Bury's *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George IV* (1838).[70]

As the above list of examples illustrates, most of these female-authored memoirs centred on the lives of female – and often British – royals of bygone ages. As Phillips points out, one of the reasons why Jeffrey valued the memoir so much was because it afforded insights into the private lives of women, a group that was often excluded from general histories.[71] As I will demonstrate shortly, "The Life of Don Pedro" contributed to this emerging trend in some ways, particularly with regard to Graham's detailed documentation of the royal lives of Empress Maria Leopoldina and Princess Donna Maria da Glória. But first, I would like to emphasise that Graham's memoir differed from other female-authored accounts in several key ways. Unlike most other works, "The Life of Don Pedro" was based on Graham's own eyewitness account of working and living at a foreign royal court. Graham also distinguished herself from her contemporaries by centring her narrative on a male monarch. Her decision to make Emperor Dom Pedro and not – as would have been far more conventional – Empress Maria Leopoldina as her main subject of biography reveals her ambition to push the limits of what was considered appropriate historiographical activity for British female authors in the early nineteenth century.

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[68] O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment*, 216.
[69] Amy Culley, "'Prying into the Recesses of History:' Women Writers and the Court Memoir," in *Women's Life Writing, 1700-1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship*, ed. Daniel Cook and Amy Culley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 133.
[70] Amy Culley, "'Prying into the Recesses of History,'" 133.
[71] Phillips, *Society and Sentiment*, 264.

Graham had unconventionally turned her female memoirist's attention to men at several earlier points in her career. These understudied writings shed new light on Graham's confidence and ambition as a female historian. In 1815, she translated Jean Michel de Rocca's *Memoirs of the War of the French in Spain* from the original French. Her *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* also focuses on a male subject. Graham's sustained interest in male biography is reminiscent of the eighteenth-century historiographical writing of Sarah Scott (1720-1795). Scott, too, had expanded the limits of appropriate female engagement with history writing by focusing on male biography in works such as *The History of Gustavus Ericson, King of Sweden* (1761). It is unclear if Graham was familiar with Scott's writing, but it is not inconceivable that Graham had taken inspiration from her work.

In the 1830s, Graham moved her biographical focus to capture the lives of some of the illustrious men of science and the arts she had become acquainted with over the years. As I mentioned in Chapter Three, Graham probably authored illustrated memoir-style entries for "The Remembrancer" on two friends, Thomas Lawrence and Bertel Thorvaldsen.[72] The Bodleian Library also holds a manuscript copy in an unidentified hand of a fifteen-page memoir of the Scottish mathematician and natural philosopher Sir John Leslie (1766-1832), composed by Graham around 1834.[73] Her friendship with Lawrence, Thorvaldsen, and Leslie legitimised her biographical writing, as it allowed her to capture these prominent men's lives, personalities, and scientific and artistic achievements based on her personal memories of them. About Thorvaldsen, for example, she writes: 'His manners are simple and agreeable, his conversation cheerful, and he is very fond of talking of his art'.[74] Graham's personal connections with these men also increased her authority to discuss and assess achievements in the traditionally masculine fields of the natural sciences and the arts.

[72] Callcott, "The Remembrancer for 1833," 68, 61-67.
[73] Maria Callcott, 'Copy of Lady Callcott's Reminiscences, of Sir John Leslie, Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University in an unidentified hand, 1834,' n.d., MS. Eng. d. 2284, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
[74] Callcott, "The Remembrancer for 1833," 66-67.

In Leslie's memoir, she writes how she 'happened to be in Edinburgh' when Leslie's 'experiments proved the facts connected with his Theory of Congelation', describing how she witnessed 'the beautiful phenomenon that took place when the dry thin air was allowed to play over the surface of the water to be congealed'.[75] By including such eyewitness anecdotes, Graham showed that for a woman she had enjoyed an unusual degree of access to people and spaces of learning.

In "The Life of Don Pedro", Graham continued to use the memoir as an alternative platform for women to contribute to debates on subjects that were traditionally thought to be more appropriate for men, such as history and international politics. She legitimised this intervention by drawing on her unique position as a former resident and employee of the Brazilian court. In the preface to the work, for example, she highlights her eyewitness position, stating: 'I accordingly engaged to tell, not only what I knew of my personal knowledge of Don Pedro, but what I had learned, on what I thought good authority, of his early life'.[76] Here she advertises her memoir as one based on her own eyewitness account as well as other sources considered by her to be of 'good authority', sources that she had been able to gather by virtue of working as a governess to Pedro's eldest daughter. Graham continued to highlight her unique position as an eyewitness historian and former court insider throughout the work. In Chapter Three, she writes:

> All that I had heard of the politics of the country or of Don Pedro, during my short residence in the Palace, I learnt from the Emperor himself, who sometimes by word of mouth and sometimes by lending me the newspapers, informed me of the success of the Fleet to the Northward and of the progress of the Legislative Assembly.[77]

[75] Callcott, 'Copy of Lady Callcott's Reminiscences, of Sir John Leslie,' 12-13.
[76] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, preface.
[77] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 62-63.

In this passage, Graham signals to her readership that she had gathered all of her intelligence concerning Pedro and the political developments in Brazil from the Emperor himself. She is careful to mention the sources he had received his information from – newspapers and word of mouth – to demonstrate that the information she collected was reliable and up-to-date. With this passage Graham also licensed her discussion of overtly political matters elsewhere in the memoir: having the exclusive opportunity to discuss the latest updates on the military and political situation with the Emperor himself at the Imperial Court in Rio de Janeiro granted her the authority to chronicle and comment upon these events.

As mentioned previously, Graham also used her eyewitness experience to capture the lives of the women at the Brazilian court. In the preface, Graham specifically draws attention to the fact that she found it important to include accounts of Empress Maria Leopoldina and princess Donna Maria in her memoir. She writes: Pedro's 'little Daughter and his first most amiable wife are also named often, and to me, what concerns the latter is the most interesting part of the narrative'.[78] Here, Graham emphasises that although the narrative centres on Pedro, in later parts she also draws attention to the experiences of the Empress and her eldest daughter. Graham even writes that for her personally, this is 'the most interesting part of the narrative'. Indeed, a considerable portion of the narrative is devoted to descriptions of the princess' early upbringing and education, especially during Graham's time as a governess. As we have seen in the previous section, she also provides extensive information on Maria Leopoldina's life, from her wedding to Pedro in 1817 until her death in December 1826. In fact, Graham's account of the Empress is so detailed that Cecília Costa, who wrote the introduction to the Biblioteca Nacional for a 2010 re-publication of the 1938 Portuguese translation of "The Life of Don Pedro", remarks that the memoir could also suitably have been titled 'Tormentos de uma Imperatriz' (torments of

[78] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, preface.

an Empress), because of the personal hardship the Empress suffered later in life.[79] Costa also remarks that Brazilians today are very grateful for Graham's chronicling of Maria Leopoldina's life, because without her a lot of knowledge about the Empress would now have been lost.[80]

Graham not only recorded her personal observations of Maria Leopoldina, but she also included copies of the letters addressed to her by the Empress, some of which she translated from the original French. From what I have been able to gather from the 2010 Portuguese translation of "The Life of Don Pedro", Graham even collected her correspondence with Maria Leopoldina in a separate document, ordering them chronologically, numbering them, and accompanying them with a note providing a short biographical introduction to the Empress.[81] A Portuguese translation of an introductory note written by Graham has been added to the 2010 Portuguese translation of "The Life of Don Pedro". It opens with: 'Maria Leopoldina, Imperatriz do Brasil, signatária a maior parte das cartas deste volume' (Maria Leopoldina, Empress of Brazil, author of the majority of the letters in this volume).[82] It appears, then, that Graham carefully preserved Maria Leopoldina's letters, both the originals and the (translated) copies reproduced in "The Life of Don Pedro", with the aim of creating an archive in an attempt to preserve Maria Leopoldina's voice for posterity and to provide first-hand evidence of Graham's close friendship with the Empress. Graham had employed the same historiographical technique in her memoir about John Leslie. In the work's final paragraph, she mentions that the memoir contains an appendix consisting of letters written by Leslie as well as a letter by another correspondent containing an announcement of Leslie's death. This careful preservation of primary sources during the process of memoir writing reveal the rigour of Graham's historiographical approach.

[79] Cecília Costa, "Apresentação," in Maria Callcott, *Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro I* (Rio de Janeiro, 2010), 13.
[80] Costa, "Apresentação," 13.
[81] Callcott, *Escorço Biográfico de Dom Pedro I* (Rio de Janeiro, 2010), 244.
[82] Callcott, *Escorço Biográfico* (2010), 244. English translation my own.

Graham not only inscribed the lives of Maria Leopoldina and her eldest daughter into her memoir, but she also documented her own personal experiences of her second extended stay in Brazil, first as a governess and later as an independent traveller. These narrative digressions from Graham's purported object of study, the Brazilian Emperor, may partly explain why the work has remained understudied for its historiographical qualities by literary scholars. Regina Akel, for example, has labelled the work as a travel journal and not a memoir. Akel writes in an endnote that Graham's

> third, unpublished, journal claims to be a history of Don Pedro I, the first Emperor of Brazil, but it is in reality a justification of her abrupt dismissal from the Palace, and her decision to remain in the country after this event, without a plausible reason for doing so.[83]

According to Akel, Graham's work is in fact a journal poorly disguised as a historical work, and she argues that it functioned merely as a justification of Graham's mysterious dismissal from the palace. I argue, however, that the inclusion of Graham's personal experiences of the time she spent at the Brazilian court, including the description of her dismissal, demonstrates that she considered herself as an active historical agent whose actions in Brazil during a period of revolutionary upheaval were worthy of memorialisation. For example, Graham's description of her response to the Emperor and Empress' request to become the governess to Maria da Glória reveals that she thought of herself as having the potential to shape the future of Brazil by educating the Princess. Reflecting on the Emperor and Empress' offer to become governess, she writes: 'I confess that I was carried away by the notion of bringing up a person, on whose education and personal qualities, the happiness of a whole Empire was to depend'.[84] By recording her time as a governess, Graham argues that

[83] Akel, *Maria Graham: A Literary Biography*, 192.
[84] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 18.

the role she played – both as an individual and as a British subject – in the shaping of the future of the young independent nation of Brazil was an important one and therefore worth documenting, however short-lived her stay at the imperial court may have been.

The fact that Akel interpreted "The Life of Don Pedro" as a travel journal also reveals yet another way in which Graham experimented with historiographical genre, namely the blending of history writing and travel writing. In the first two chapters of this thesis, I have shown the various and dynamic ways in which Graham incorporated historiographical techniques into her travel writing. Here, she appears to be doing the reverse, namely employing narratological tropes of the travel writing genre to support her historiographical narrative. But to dismiss the work as merely a travel journal would be to gloss over the work's larger historiographical purpose and significance, and it leaves the historiographical professionalism with which Graham produced the work unacknowledged. In what follows, I will show how Graham tailored the contents of her narrative to her intended readership at Holland House to create a historical account with which she contributed to the political history of Portugal and Brazil, a history which, she claims, she herself had taken part in shaping.

'My kind amanuensis': The Collaborative Production of "The Life of Don Pedro"

Graham started composing her memoir shortly after Pedro's death on 24 September 1834. She had possibly conceived the idea of writing the memoir as early as 1825, when she was still residing in Brazil; pasted onto the inside of the front cover of the BN copy is a small piece of paper on which the words 'Don Pedro – Rio 1825' are written, although without any more context it is difficult to confirm this.[85] By 1834, however, Graham was often confined to her home in her house at Kensington Gravel Pits due to illness. Because of her

[85] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy, inside front cover.

weak physical condition, friends or family members regularly took dictation when she wished to write letters or work on literary projects. In the early writing stages of *The Life of Don Pedro*, Graham's close friend Caroline Fox acted as her amanuensis. In the preface to the work, Graham writes that she began the memoir as a result of her 'having mentioned some of the circumstances related in them to Miss Fox', who subsequently wrote down everything she would narrate.[86]

As we have seen, Fox shared Graham's enthusiasm for history and politics. They also enjoyed collaborating on historiographical projects throughout the 1830s and up until Graham's death in 1842; between 1836 and 1842, Graham dictated her own memoirs to Fox from her sickbed.[87] In addition, in 1835 Fox assisted Graham with an art historical project, the first part of which was published the following year as *Essays Toward the History of Painting*. While coming up with the plan for the essays, Graham wrote to Fox: 'when they are more perfect & that even one portion of the plan of the essays is so far done as to be a fair example of what I aim at you shall bid me shew it & I will say yes'.[88] As that project advanced, Graham wrote: 'Yourself, Mr Smith, & Mr Callcott are the only persons who have seen or will see the essays, at any rate till the 1st five are done & revised more than once'.[89] These letters show that Graham entrusted Fox with her work, even if it was still in its early stages, and that she relied on her friend to provide her with honest feedback.

The BL copy of "The Life of Don Pedro" provides further evidence of Graham and Fox's close collaboration in the early stages of the writing process. The first twenty-seven leaves are written in Fox's hand, which confirms Graham's remark that Fox acted as her amanuensis at the start of the project. After Fox had dictated Graham's words, Graham would proofread these pages, as occasional corrections, additions, and updates in Graham's

[86] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 1.
[87] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 7.
[88] Maria Callcott to Caroline Fox, 6 November 1835?, Add MS 51963, 55, Holland House Papers.
[89] Callcott to Fox, January 1836, Add MS 51963, 76, Holland House Papers.

hand show. For example, Graham describes that when it was announced that Pedro was to marry Maria Leopoldina, Noémi Thierry was sent away, and that it was rumoured that she consented to marry a French officer and moved to Paris, where 'she lived many years and perhaps still lives privately and respectably'.[90] Following this sentence, there is an added note in square brackets in Graham's hand, providing an update on the situation: '[yes she lives & Don Pedro saw her at Paris MC]'.[91] The presence of both Fox and Graham's handwriting on these leaves showcases their close collaboration and a professional approach to the writing and editing process. By leaving her initials, 'MC', at the end of the note, Graham added further authority and legitimacy to the statement, assuring her readers that the added information came from a reliable source. As pointed out in Chapter Two, Graham also added her initials in editorial notes to Appendix I of her *Journal of a Residence in Chile* to demonstrate her authority as a historian.

Although the project started out as a collaboration between Graham and Fox, with Fox acting as Graham's amanuensis, more people became involved as the project evolved – something which has remained unremarked upon. For example, on the back of leaf twenty-seven the handwriting shifts from Fox's to Graham's, before changing back to Fox's a few leaves later. From leaf thirty onwards, the manuscript is written in a third hand. Most of the remaining leaves are written in this hand, although Graham's handwriting occasionally reappears for a page or two. A possible explanation for this is that in early 1835, Fox was unable to visit Graham due to an injury to her knee and thus had to suspend her duties as amanuensis. As Fox writes to Graham on 4 April: 'Nothing vexes me so much at being [home?] tied by the knee as the obstacle it throws in the way of my daily visits to you'.[92] In January 1835, Graham also started to send Fox parts of the manuscript by post. At this stage

[90] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 6.
[91] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 6.
[92] Fox to Callcott, 4 April 1835, Add MS 51963, 11, Holland House Papers.

of the writing process, then, it seems that Graham felt well enough to write herself and would send the freshly written material to Fox for proofreading.

The third handwriting in the manuscript indicates that in the latter stages of the writing process, Graham called in the help of a second person to act as her amanuensis. Although there is no acknowledgement to the writer in the manuscript, I suggest that the handwriting could be attributed to Holland's librarian, John Allen. Graham had first met Allen in London in 1817 during a dinner party with her friend Sir James Mackintosh. She wrote that the meeting was 'very agreeable' and that they talked about 'Mrs. Elliott, the Duke of Orleans's Mrs. E., whose adventures at the beginning of the revolution I once wrote out, and many other things'.[93] This comment shows that Graham and Allen enjoyed discussing historical matters together, which is not surprising given that Allen was renowned for his historical learning. According to Henry Lord Brougham, Allen studied history 'with the minute observation of facts and weighing of evidence which we trace through the luminous and picturesque pages of Robertson and Gibbon'.[94] Allen published several historical works, most notably *A Short History of the House of Commons* (1831). He also contributed reviews of historical works for the *Edinburgh Review* and wrote the historical sections of the *Annual Register* for 1806–7.[95] As Linda Kelly has noted, Allen was an expert on European constitutional history and politics. Having travelled extensively on the Iberian Peninsula with the Hollands in the early 1800s, his knowledge of the history of Spain and Portugal was exceptional for the time, and in 1809 he published a pamphlet on constitutional politics in Spain titled *Suggestions on the Cortes*. He also frequently corresponded with leading Spanish intellectuals on constitutional matters.[96] Given this background and knowledge and

[93] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 165.
[94] Henry Lord Brougham, *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who Flourished in the Time of George III*, Third Series (London, 1843), 346.
[95] W. P. Courtney and H. C. G. Matthew, "Allen, John (1771–1843), Political and Historical Writer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2008), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/383.
[96] Kelly, *Holland House*, 121.

considering that "The Life of Don Pedro" addresses the constitutional history of Portugal and Brazil, Allen would have been a suitable person to assist Graham with the project. Another indication that this part of the manuscript was indeed written in Allen's hand, is that the handwriting is very similar to that of the BN copy which, as a note at the bottom of the preface notes, was copied almost entirely by (what appears to say) 'James Allen, Esq.'.[97] The only exception to this is the preface, which was written in Graham's own hand. Presumably, Allen made this copy upon completion of the BL copy so that Graham could have her own copy of the work.[98]

The correspondence between Fox and Graham provides further evidence that it was indeed John Allen who helped Graham finish the manuscript. In response to a letter from Fox, who wrote on 14 April 1835 that she was unable to visit Graham and that she was very sorry for being unable to 'hear the chapter' of "The Life of Don Pedro" for her 'own amusement', Graham writes:

> I am sorry you have felt disappointed but I am sure your staying at home is best for you especially as you have been walking. […] I wd send you Dr W's note &c &c but my kind amanuensis Mr Allen is laid up & writes me word he cannot come out for two or three days so my laziness must write out the things & when done they shall be sent to you.[99]

In this message, Graham refers to Allen as her 'kind amanuensis', which may suggest that he took over the task of taking dictation from Graham when Fox was unable to come out due

[97] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy, preface.
[98] It is puzzling that the note appears to say James Allen and not John Allen. However, this might be explained by the fact that the note was added later, for the handwriting looks slightly smaller and condensed than the rest; possibly, the person writing the note wrote Allen's first name wrong. The cataloguers of the Bodleian Library have also assumed that John Allen was the scribe for this copy. Also see the note added to the catalogue description of the typescript of the BN copy in the Callcott papers finding aid, MS. Eng. c. 2730, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The note says that the work was 'copied by James [John?] Allen, Lord Holland's librarian'.
[99] Callcott to Fox, 14 April 1835, Add MS 51963, 28, Holland House Papers.

to her injured knee. She adds in a light-hearted tone that she sees no other option than to write out the materials herself, good-humouredly making reference to herself as 'my laziness', even though she must have been very ill at that time.

In another letter to Fox, written in 1839, Graham also mentions Allen helping her with another historiographical project. She writes:

> I have been doing a good deal of ould ancient reading about the Druids & the Romans & the Anglo Saxons: if you were here, I should have had aid from you, I do not doubt. I ought to be proud of my helpers already: what think you of Mr Thomas Grenville & Mr Allen of Holland House! Who wd. not be a sick woman?[100]

In this letter, Graham playfully yet gratefully refers to Allen as one of her 'helpers' (the other 'helper' being her friend Thomas Grenville, the politician and book collector). Allen was an enthusiastic student of Anglo-Saxon, and so he would have made an interesting conversation partner concerning this topic.[101] Perhaps their Anglo-Saxon history study session was related to Graham and Allen's common interest in constitutional matters. According to James Campbell, there was an ongoing centuries-old debate in England that the English constitution had Anglo-Saxon origins.[102] Not wanting Fox to feel excluded, Graham also writes that if Fox had been able to come out, she would undoubtedly have been able to help her with her historical studies. The authority with which Graham describes Allen and Grenville, both respected scholars, as her 'helpers', testifies to her scholarly confidence. It also shows that in this period she had gathered round her a gifted group of people, both male and female, with whom she could discuss historical and intellectual matters.

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[100] Callcott to Fox, 15 January 1835, Add MS 51963, 161, Holland House Papers.
[101] Courtney and Matthew, "Allen, John (1771–1843)."
[102] James Campbell, "The Anglo-Saxon Origins of English Constitutionalism," in *Law, Governance, and Justice: New Views on Medieval Constitutionalism*, ed. Richard W. Kaeuper (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 15.

Graham also called in the help of Doctor Pelham Warren (1778-1835) to proofread her manuscript, as a surviving note by Warren in the BN copy testifies.[103] Warren was Graham's physician in Kensington and a close family friend. I have not been able to find any connections between Warren and Holland House, but given that, according to W.W. Webb and Patrick Wallis, Warren had one of the largest doctor's practices in London, it is not inconceivable that there was a connection.[104] Warren had advised Graham to continue writing to keep her occupied during her illness. Following this advice religiously, she regularly sent him her work for proofreading and editing. For example, in 1836 Graham wrote a letter to Fox expressing her wish that Warren, who had died in 1835, could have lived to read and revise her *Essays Towards the History of Painting,* on which she was working at the time. She writes: 'To my dear Dr. Warren I owe the thought of so occupying myself – He saw Little Arthur had done more for me than medicine, & urged me to <u>begin</u> something more – alas I thought I might have left <u>him</u> the task of revising for me'.[105] Upon publication, Graham dedicated her *Essays* to Warren's daughters. Next to expressing her gratitude for their father's friendship and care, she stated that she 'hoped to have had the benefit of his advice' during the project.[106]

As I have shown, Graham's "The Life of Don Pedro" was a highly collaborative and professional literary effort. During a prolonged period of illness, Graham drew on a network of trusted friends – Caroline Fox, John Allen, Pelham Warren – to complete the memoir. Her approach was professional and systematic, making sure that the manuscript would go through several rounds of edits before sending the final manuscript upon completion to Caroline Fox. Upon returning the manuscript to Graham after having proofread it, Warren included a note that ended with the comment: 'No one has seen this but myself since you

[103] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy, separately added note.
[104] W. W. Webb and Patrick Wallis, "Warren, Pelham (1778-1835), Physician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28785.
[105] Callcott to Fox, January 1836, Add MS 51963, 76, Holland House Papers.
[106] Maria Callcott, *Essays Towards the History of Painting* (London, 1836), preface.

entrusted it in my hands'.[107] This comment shows that Graham took a professional approach to her writing and that she was careful not to circulate the manuscript beyond her self-selected private audience until she was satisfied with the final result.

However, in contrast to some of Graham's other works that were a result of similar collaborative literary efforts – *Essays towards the History of Painting*, for example – there are no indications that Graham intended to publish the memoir during her lifetime. One explanation for this could be that the work was deemed unsuitable for publication; as scholars have argued, in the eighteenth century print publication became increasingly associated with a certain qualitative standard, diminishing the importance of manuscript circulation. Harold Love has stated that 'What was kept in manuscript was increasingly what lacked the quality required for print publication'.[108] I suggest, however, that Graham deliberately chose to keep this work in manuscript form, because she wrote it for a select audience centred mainly on the Holland House circle. This is not to say that Graham did not want the manuscript to fall into the hands of future historians – in fact, as I will show, one of the main reasons for writing the work was to provide historical material for future biographers and political historians. However, I argue that keeping it as a manuscript allowed her to better control the work's dissemination. Building on Michelle Levy's claim that manuscript culture continued to exist alongside print culture well into the Romantic period and that many Romantic authors – and particularly women authors – 'worked within a manuscript culture, writing, at least originally, for smaller, more private audiences', in the section that follows I will further explore the circulation and reception of Graham's manuscript "The Life of Don Pedro" within the Holland House circle.[109]

[107] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy.
[108] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 288.
[109] Michelle Levy, *Family Authorship and Romantic Print Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 2.

'[S]o welcome to the company round the breakfast table': The Circulation and Reception of "The Life of Don Pedro" at Holland House

The correspondence between Graham and Fox regarding "The Life of Don Pedro" reveals that the manuscript circulated among members of the Holland House circle, and that the work was positively received. In April 1835, Graham wrote a letter to Fox to give her friend an update on her progress regarding the final editing of "The Life of Don Pedro". She writes:

> I was in hopes of returning Don Pedro to you now, but various interruptions have prevented my finishing the literal & verbal corrections it required. I have not attempted any other – you will see a great many pages scratched across which should be cancelled if the paper should ever be made use of by anyone writing an account of Don Pedro's early days in Brazil. For you & yours they may be tolerated among you because of your indulgence for the scribbler – they are unconscionably lengthy as brother Jonathan would say & not very germain[e] to the matter.[110]

In this passage, Graham directs Fox's attention to the fact that she crossed out a large number of pages in the manuscript. In both the BL and BN copies, a substantial portion of the work has indeed been crossed out. These are mainly passages from Chapter Three, in which Graham relates her personal travels in Brazil following her expulsion from the Imperial Palace. Graham's justification for leaving these passages in may indicate that as the project progressed, the intended purpose of the work shifted. When she first started relating her experiences to Fox, she may initially have had a smaller, more intimate audience of personal acquaintances in mind. As the project progressed and more people became involved, she may have started to conceive of a broader and perhaps future readership. This could also at least in part account for the generic hybridity of the work.

[110] Callcott to Fox, 16? April 1835, Add MS 51963, 34, Holland House Papers.

As the letter suggests, Graham expected her immediate, intimate audience to consist of Fox and those closest to Fox – most likely the Hollands – described by Graham as 'you & yours' and those with an 'indulgence for the scribbler'. These readers, Graham argued, may enjoy reading the long personal digressions in the narrative for the insights it provided into Graham's life and travels in Brazil. In the preface to the memoir, Graham expresses a similar sentiment. She writes: 'To the few into whose hands this manuscript is likely to fall, perhaps the passages concerning myself may not be quite valueless'.[111] As both her letter and the comment in the preface reveal, Graham wished – expected, even – that the manuscript would circulate privately among the Holland House circle. The correspondence between Graham and Fox in January 1835, when Graham was sending Fox instalments of her work by post, confirms this. On 13 January, Fox writes to Graham to thank her for sending her the latest instalment of the manuscript: 'We received two sheets of the memoirs yesterday & a third today within your letter to me. All I can say is that they whet our appetite for more'.[112] Significant here is Fox's use of 'we' instead of 'I', which indicates that Graham's work was eagerly anticipated and read, not only by Fox but also by some of the other members of the inner Holland House circle. Moreover, Graham's comment that the scratched out pages should be left out 'if the paper should ever be made use of by anyone writing an account of Don Pedro's early days in Brazil' reveals that, at least towards the end of the project, she also wrote with a wider audience of future historians in mind. The note that Pelham Warren sent Graham when he returned the manuscript to her underscores this. He writes:

> If the Portuguese succeed in establishing a free constitution of government you will be a distinguished person in the history of their nation & this memoir will give any

[111] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, preface.
[112] Fox to Callcott, 13 January 1835, Add MS 51963, 3, Holland House Papers.

> future writer of this history of the times of this revolution an almost invaluable view of the natural character of the individual by whom it was effected.[113]

In his note, Warren looks ahead at Graham's potential professional legacy, predicting that the work will provide future historians of this revolutionary period in Portuguese history with important information. He even goes so far as to say that Graham herself will be remembered as a 'distinguished person in the history of' the Portuguese nation if the Portuguese manage to set up a 'free constitution of government'.

Pelham wrote his note during the early days of the reign of Queen Maria II. In the first years of her reign, there were three main political factions: the absolutists on the one hand, and the liberals, split into moderates and radicals, on the other. Since each of these three factions had different constitutional preferences, there was political unrest as Portugal was trying to establish a new constitution.[114] Hence, Pelham argued, Graham had performed a valuable task in documenting the turbulent period that immediately preceded this. As I have shown in a previous section, Holland had been involved in these events, supporting Pedro and Maria in their constitutionalist cause and opening the doors of Holland House to Portuguese politicians and exiles. This would have offered a substantial potential readership for "The Life of Don Pedro" and a chance for Graham to distinguish herself as a historian. Graham preserved Pelham's original note in her personal copy of the work, and she made sure to include a copy of it in the BL copy. In an accompanying note written at the top of the copied note in the BL copy, Graham writes: 'Copy of a note sent me by Dr. Warren when he returned the MS. MC'.[115] Strategically positioning the note to directly follow the preface, it functioned as an advertisement or positive review that readers of the manuscript would read before reading the work itself.

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[113] Callcott, note added to *LODP*, BN copy.
[114] Anderson, *History of Portugal*, 133-134.
[115] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 2.

As Graham had anticipated, the work was indeed read both by Fox and the Hollands as well as by a wider circle of Holland House members. In a letter dated 15 January 1835, Fox thanks Graham for sending her another portion of the manuscript. She writes:

> A thousand thanks dear Mrs Callcott, for your welcome sheets so welcome to the company round the breakfast table that to Mr Hallam who was in possession of the foregoing [?] I generously consigned them before I read them myself & as Mr Fazakerley was going off after luncheon to pursue his journey into Devonshire he made them over to him & I am not yet myself acquainted with their contents, but I see the men who read have less patience when they come to an abrupt end than we have. I was doubly delighted to see them even as a proof of your amendment without reading them.[116]

Here, Fox describes how Graham's manuscript was read eagerly by 'the company round the breakfast table', which consisted of herself, the Hollands, and the overnight guests at Holland House. It was not unusual for literary and political matters to be discussed at the Holland House breakfast table. According to Schmid, breakfast often functioned as an extension of the dinner salon hosted by the Hollands the previous evening. Although the dinners – which required a formal invitation – were at the core of the lively political and literary salon culture at the house, the relatively remote location of the house in Kensington meant that many guests had to travel there by coach, and that some would also stay overnight. In practice, this meant that dinner conversations were often continued the following morning.[117] Schmid points out that 'in these ongoing conversations, Holland House differs from other intellectual circles, where the end of an evening party marked the end of a conversation'.[118]

[116] Fox to Callcott, 15 January 1835, Add MS 51963, 5, Holland House Papers.
[117] Schmid, *British Literary Salons*, 101.
[118] Schmid, *British Literary Salons*, 101.

Breakfast at Holland House thus meant an opportunity to continue political and literary conversations that had been initiated the night before.

In her letter Fox mentions two overnight guests who were keen to read the work: Graham's friend and historian Henry Hallam, and British Whig MP John Nicholas Fazakerley (1787-1852). Fox writes how she 'generously' gave Hallam and Fazakerley the opportunity to read her friend's work, before reading it herself. Her playful comment 'I see the men who read have less patience when they come to an abrupt end than we have', might imply that the two men had also read previous instalments of the work (possibly the sheets that Graham had sent two days previously), and were eager to find out how the narrative continued. Since this information is conveyed through Fox, it is possible that she was predominantly trying to flatter Graham. However, it appears that Hallam, at least, held the work in high esteem; Augustus Callcott's nephew William Hutchins Callcott (1807-1882) would later write on the inside of the front cover of the BN copy that 'Mr Hallam considered that this M.S. was most important'.[119] Perhaps Hallam was interested in "The Life of Don Pedro" for its attempt to capture a key moment in the history of Portuguese and Brazilian constitutionalism. Hallam was an expert on British constitutional history; he devoted a chapter on the subject in his *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818), and in 1827 he published the influential *The Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II*. As David M. Fahey explains, these books reveal 'as his dominant passion a good Whig's hostility towards arbitrary power'.[120] Hallam's preference for constitutional forms of governance and his expertise on the matter may explain his interest in Graham's memoir.

[119] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy, inside front cover.
[120] David M. Fahey, "Henry Hallam – A Conservative As Whig Historian," *The Historian* 28, no. 4 (August 1966): 628-629.

Lord and Lady Holland were also interested in discussing the latest instalment of the memoirs over breakfast. Fox writes:

> a propos of don Pedro & your little royal pupil I must tell you that I hear from my brother & Ly Holland they are charmed with the Duc de Leuchtenberg. Ld Palmerston brought him to visit them in [?] he is very handsome pleasing, sensible & quite manlike & in short is all that a little Queen could wish, if he has not, as her father unfortunately had, a <u>first</u> and perhaps deserving love.[121]

From Fox's description it can be inferred that as a natural extension of the sheets sent by Graham, the Hollands mentioned the upcoming marriage between Graham's former pupil and Auguste, Duke of Leuchtenberg, which was scheduled to take place on 26 January 1835. Fox informs Graham that the Hollands had met Leuchtenberg through another regular guest at Holland House, the Whig politician Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865). The comment that the Hollands were hoping that Leuchtenberg had not, as Queen Maria II's 'father unfortunately had, a <u>first</u> and perhaps deserving love', alludes to the passage in the memoir in which Graham provides an account of Pedro's secret marriage to Noémi Thierry prior to his marriage to Maria Leopoldina. This discussion shows that Graham's work was perceived to contain relevant information that could help put in perspective more recent political events related to the Portuguese royal family.

Fox also comments on Graham's depiction of the women at the Brazilian court. As I stated previously, part of what made early nineteenth-century memoirs so appealing was the insights they afforded into the private lives of royal women, and Graham personally regarded her account of Maria Leopoldina and Maria da Glória as the most interesting aspect of her narrative. Fox appears to have shared that sentiment, because after receiving another instalment of the memoir, she writes:

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[121] Fox to Callcott, 15 January 1835, Add MS 51963, 5, Holland House Papers.

> Two more delightful sheets this morning dearest Mrs Callcott […]. Your poor young Empress's sorrows begin to be touching & I am afraid there will be more to weep than to smile at in what remains of her story. When she is left without a friend to [soothe?] or to advise her.[122]

Grateful for receiving yet another section of the work, Fox expresses her sympathy for the tragic life story of Empress Maria Leopoldina as narrated by Graham. She states that she is afraid that 'there will be more to weep than to smile at' in the remainder of the Empress's life story, now that Graham, her only close friend, had been expelled from the court and could thus no longer keep her company.

Unfortunately, the correspondence between Graham and Fox provides few other details regarding Holland's reception of the memoir, but it does reveal that he had read the work with a critical eye. In a letter to Graham, Fox writes: 'You will see by the inclosed that my brother has some fears of the legitimacy of the little Queen being called in question if the sentence respecting Pedro I prior marriage remains as it is'.[123] It is not entirely clear what Fox was referring to here. Perhaps Holland was alluding to the sentence in which Graham relates that Pedro had clandestinely married Noémi Thierry prior to his officially acknowledged marriage to Maria Leopoldina – in more recent histories of the Braganza family, the relationship between Pedro and Thierry is also alluded to as an affair and not a marriage.[124] Related to this, Holland may also have been referring to a footnote in the BL copy that states that if Pedro refused to terminate his relationship with Thierry, 'he would not only be disinherited, but shut up as a madman'.[125] In the BN copy, this footnote was not included, and a sentence was added in later, crammed in between two neatly written lines, that

[122] Fox to Callcott, 17 or 19 January 1835, Add MS 51963, 7, Holland House Papers.
[123] Fox to Callcott, 18 April 1835[?], Add MS 51963, 35, Holland House Papers.
[124] Newitt, *The Braganzas*, 66.
[125] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 5.

mentions that in a personal conversation with Thierry, the Queen was 'hinting at the possibility of his being disinherited if she persisted in staying'.[126] Even without knowing exactly what passage is being discussed here, Fox's expression of Holland's apprehensions reveals that Holland took Graham's work seriously as an authoritative historiographical work. Holland's concern for the potential political implications of her writing also indicates that he anticipated a wider audience for her memoir.

Holland may even have seen "The Life of Don Pedro" as an opportunity to further support the constitutionalist cause in Portugal and to shape Pedro's future reputation. However, for it to have that power the work would have to be read more widely and preserved for future generations of historians. Perhaps this is why Holland included a third copy of "The Life of Don Pedro" in his library. Fox-Strangways' inventory description tells us that this edition of the work was quarto size, presented in two volumes, and bound luxuriously in green silk. According to Nicholas Pickwood, silk was one of the most expensive materials used for bindings from the Middle Ages onwards and in the eighteenth century had mainly been used for presentation copies of special books. From 1800, silk bindings started to form 'part of the repertoire of most of the better quality binders', but they were 'never common'.[127] Thus, the work had a high-quality finish, and if the binding is indeed original, this suggests that the work was perceived to have special merit. The appearance of this work contrasts with the BL copy which, although complete and encased in a leather notebook, appears to have been used as a first draft, given that it was written in several hands and contains many corrections and alterations. Combined with the fact that this version of the work was presented in two volumes, this third copy appears to have been

[126] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy, 5.
[127] Nicholas Pickwood, "Bookbinding in the Eighteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol. 5: 1695-1830, ed. Michael F. Suarez and Michael L. Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 279.

intended as a more polished and expensive edition than the other two versions of the work, one that was meant to be preserved and consulted by its owner and users of the library.

Holland is known to have regularly granted members of the Holland House circle and other acquaintances access to his private library, and so he may have allowed historians and politicians interested in the constitutional politics of Portugal and Brazil to consult Graham's work. As discussed in the previous chapter, Graham herself may have borrowed books from his collection, and as Marie Liechtenstein has noted, other borrowers included prominent politicians, historians, and writers, such as Jeremy Bentham, Robert Southey, Madame de Staël, Sir James Mackintosh, and Ugo Foscolo.[128] Graham's comment to Fox that the large number of pages she scratched out 'should be cancelled if the paper should ever be made use of by anyone writing an account of Don Pedro's early days in Brazil' takes on new meaning in this context. Perhaps Graham already anticipated her work ending up in Holland's library and its being borrowed by fellow historians, and she wanted to instruct Fox on how the work should be edited. This idea is not inconceivable, given that Holland owned at least one other work by Graham that others had borrowed. In her history of the house, Marie Liechtenstein copied part of the borrowing register of Holland House library.[129] One entry mentions that a certain 'Lewis' – probably the English novelist and dramatist Matthew Gregory Lewis – had borrowed 'Miss Graham's Indian Tour' (*Journal of a Residence in India*).[130] Holland may have been interested in lending "The Life of Don Pedro" to others interested in constitutionalist ideas.

[128] Marie Liechtenstein, *Holland House* (London, 1874), 1:181-182.
[129] The original register is not part of the Holland House Papers, and it is unclear whether it still exists.
[130] Marie Liechtenstein, *Holland House*, 2:181; and Sanders, *The Holland House Circle*, 167.

'[T]he people are less made for Kings, than Kings for the people': Constitutionalism in "The Life of Don Pedro"

As I have argued in this chapter, one of the reasons why Graham's "The Life of Don Pedro" generated interest among members of the Holland House set was because it captured Pedro's role in the development of constitutionalism. In the final section of this chapter, I will take a closer look at the ways in which Graham addressed this theme in the memoir. Graham first mentions constitutionalism in Chapter Two of the memoir, in a passage in which she describes how, in 1822, Dom Pedro first started shaping the outlines of what would evolve into Brazil's first ratified constitution in 1824. She writes that Brazil's constitution was to be 'representative and modelled much more upon that of the United States, than upon that of Portugal, and the Imperial power as something between the President of the United States and the limited Monarch of England'.[131] Here Graham compares the Brazilian constitution to two other constitutions, that of the United States (1788) and that of Portugal (1822). She notes that the Brazilian constitution resembles that of the United States rather than Portugal, and that the power of Dom Pedro would lie somewhere in between that of the President of the United States and the limited British monarch.

By comparing the Brazilian constitution to those of Portugal, Britain, and the United States, Graham confidently presents herself as a knowledgeable commentator on constitutional developments in Brazil. She had studied constitutionalism in Brazil and Chile during her first extended stay in South America, and she had written about this topic in both *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile*. Between 1822 and 1824, Graham closely observed and documented the constitutional developments on that continent. In the Brazil journal, for example, she included an eyewitness account of the Brazilian constitution and described how friends would provide her with insider information on the proceedings

[131] Callcott, *LODP*, BN copy, 22.

of political debates taking place in the Assembly.[132] Furthermore, she copied in an eleven-page speech by Pedro in which he presented Brazil's first constitution to the Brazilian people.[133]

Journal of a Residence in Chile contains detailed information about the constitutional developments in Chile. Patricio Navia notes that between 1810 and 1833, several constitutions came into effect, although none of them lasted long.[134] While Graham was in Chile in 1822, Supreme Director Bernardo O'Higgins formed the country's fifth constitution. Graham provides a detailed four-page summary and assessment of the 'newly printed' eight sections of the 1822 Chilean constitution.[135] However, as I have shown in previous chapters, Graham was aware that her writing about political history could be met with scepticism or scorn because it could be regarded as transgressing the bounds of normative femininity, so she employed the "modesty topos" to introduce her in-depth discussion of constitutional matters.[136] She writes:

> I remember the time when I should as little have thought of reading the reglamento of Chile, as I should of poring over the report of a committee of turnpike roads in a distant country; and far less should I have dreamed of occupying myself with the *Constitucion Politica des estado de Chile*. But, times and circumstances make strange inroads on one's habits both of being and thinking; and I have actually caught myself reading, with a considerable degree of interest, the said Political Constitution.[137]

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[132] Graham, *RIC*, 314.
[133] Graham, *VTB*, 233-244.
[134] Patricio Navia, "The History of Constitutional Adjudication in Chile and the State of Constitutional Adjudication in South America," *Asian Journal of Latin American Studies* 2 (1999): 3-4.
[135] Graham, *RIC*, 291-294.
[136] For more information on the modesty topos in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writing, see Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print*: *Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 102-106.
[137] Graham, *RIC*, 290.

Here Graham claims that prior to her South American travels, she could never have imagined busying herself with reading the constitution of such a far-off country as Chile. The experiences gained by international travel, however, have surprisingly changed her 'habits both of being and thinking' and have sparked her interest in Chile's constitution. By presenting herself as a reluctant and humble female observer with little prior knowledge of such overtly political matters, she combatted the prejudice that she knew her writing would encounter based on her gender.

Elsewhere in the South America journals, however, Graham demonstrates to the reader that she had extensively studied British constitutional history prior to her South American travels and was thus perfectly qualified to reflect on such matters.[138] She does this by relating how she would teach constitutional history to the midshipmen on the HMS *Doris*. On the long transatlantic voyage out to South America, Graham set up a school for the young midshipmen.[139] She would build a lasting relationship with some of the midshipmen, evidence of which comes from a number of letters that were written by one of Graham's former pupils.[140] All letters, Gotch observes, open with 'My dear Mama', and usually end with 'ever your very affectionate son'.[141] In *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, Graham writes that although the education of the midshipmen mainly centered on the subjects that the boys needed in order to 'learn their profession', such as mathematics, nautical astronomy, and seamanship, she also made sure to teach them history, poetry, and literature.[142] She writes:

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[138] David Lieberman has pointed out that after the 1707 Act of Union, the foundation of the constitutional structure was British, not English but that the church and law remained separate. This led to confusing terminology, with the constitution variously being referred to as the 'English constitution', 'British constitution', or 'Britannic constitution'. In this chapter, I will be using the term 'British constitution'. David Lieberman, "Chapter 11: The Mixed Constitution and the Common Law," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 317.
[139] Graham, *VTB*, 90.
[140] Three of these letters have been reprinted by Jennifer Hayward in the academic edition of *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (2003), 282-283.
[141] Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott*, 299.
[142] Graham, *VTB*, 91.

> The books we intend for our boys to read are, -- history, particularly that of *Greece*, *Rome*, *England*, and *France* […] Delolme, with the concluding chapter of Blackstone on the history of the law and the constitution of England; and afterwards the first volume of Blackstone, Bacon's Essays, and Paley.[143]

These works, Graham emphasises, were all they dared to include in the curriculum, given that they had 'only three years to work in'.[144] As this fragment illustrates, among Graham's careful selection of reading materials were a considerable number of influential eighteenth-century works discussing British constitutional history: Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-9), Jean-Louis Delolme's *The Constitution of England; or, An Account of the English Government* (1775 – first published in French in 1771), and William Paley's *An Essay upon the British Constitution* (1792). These works were widely read and debated throughout Britain and Europe at the time. Wilfrid Prest describes Blackstone's *Commentaries* as the 'most celebrated, widely circulated, and influential law book ever published in the English language', and Iain McDaniel states that Delolme was an 'innovative constitutional theorist' whose arguments 'featured prominently in debates about modern constitutional government'.[145] By including this detailed list of works in the journal, packaged within the context of her role as educator of the future generation of British Royal Navy officers, Graham added to her credibility as an eyewitness commentator on the establishment of a new constitutional system in the newly independent South American nations.

Having these resources at hand during her travels also enabled Graham to interpret South American constitutional developments as they were unfolding in front of her eyes. For her analysis of Chilean constitutionalism in *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, for example, she used

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143 Graham, *VTB*, 91.
144 Graham, *VTB*, 91.
145 Wilfrid Prest, "Blackstone, Sir William (1723-1780), Legal Writer and Judge," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2536; and Iain McDaniel, "Jean-Louis Delolme and the Political Science of the English Empire," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 1 (2012): 22.

Delolme's *The Constitution of England* as a tool for interpretation. Towards the end of the journal, in an entry dated 9 January 1823, Graham describes how Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director and creator of Chile's fifth constitution, was about to be deposed and replaced by Ramón Freire Serrano (1787-1851).[146] According to Navia, the fall of O'Higgins in 1823 would lead to an unstable period in which 'political and constitutional anarchy ensued'.[147] Witnessing this political unrest as a result of the change in leadership, Graham turned to British constitutional history to find historical parallels with the current situation in Chile. In a footnote, she argues how, in 'the 1st chapter of the 2nd book' of Delolme's *The Constitution of England*, from 'the paragraph beginning "If we cast our eyes on all the states that were ever free" to the end of the quotation from Machiavel's History of Florence', the theorist offers 'rather a history than a description of the events that have taken place in Chile since 1810'.[148] In countries without a British-style constitution, Delolme argues in the passage referred to by Graham, individuals will inevitably stand up and wrestle for power, and eventually these 'rival powers endeavour to swallow up each other' and 'the state becomes a scene of endless quarrels and broils, and is in a continual convulsion'.[149] The constitution of England, Delolme continues in a later section, 'has prevented the possibility of misfortunes of this kind' as a result of the balance of power between monarch and people.[150] In this footnote Graham thus contends that the lack of political stability in Chile was the result of a flawed constitutional system. By extension, she implicitly argues that adopting the British model instead would lead to a better balance of power and thus a more stable political climate.

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146 Graham, *RIC*, 344.
147 Navia, "The History of Constitutional Adjudication," 7.
148 Graham, *RIC*, 344.
149 Jean-Louis Delolme, *The Constitution of England; or, an Account of the English Government*, a new edition (London, 1821), 192-193.
150 Delolme, *The Constitution of England*, 195.

Graham's depiction of the superiority of the British constitution, coupled with her view that it was essential to teach British constitutionalism to the next generation of British naval officers stationed in South America, is exemplary of the belief held among many of her circle that the newly independent South American nations would benefit from having a British-style constitution. In this period, Britons widely celebrated their constitution for the exceptionally high degree of liberty and political stability it was thought to provide.[151] Lieberman notes that theorists such as William Blackstone argued that this liberty and stability could be achieved in Britain because the country had a 'mixed' and 'balanced' constitution – its legislative power was divided across the monarch, the Lords, and the Commons, and these powers were combined in such a way as to keep each other in check.[152] The Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the ensuing Bill of Rights (1689) and the Act of Settlement (1701), which together secured the Protestant succession to the throne and limited the power of the monarch while giving more power to Parliament and individuals, was seen by its supporters as the 'definitive clarification and vindication of the political order' and a 'repudiation of the pretensions of Stuart absolutism, and the supporting doctrines of non-resistance and divine right kingship'.[153] By contrast, Kelly L. Grotke and Markus J. Prutsch argue, Britons thought that constitutions that were the result of 'modern constitutionalism' – constitutions that came into effect in the period following the French and American revolutions – were the direct product of revolution and were therefore destined to lead to chaos and anarchy. To prevent this from happening, such countries (which included newly independent South American nations such as Brazil and Chile), needed a British-style constitutional government, one that was founded on a balance of power between monarch, aristocracy, and an elected set of representatives in parliament.[154]

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[151] Lieberman, "The Mixed Constitution and the Common Law," 317.
[152] Lieberman, "The Mixed Constitution and the Common Law," 317-331.
[153] Lieberman, "The Mixed Constitution and the Common Law," 319-320.
[154] Kelly L. Grotke and Markus J. Prutsch, *Constitutionalism, Legitimacy, and Power: Nineteenth-Century Experiences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 46.

One of the people who advocated this idea for Brazil was Graham's close friend, Admiral Thomas Cochrane. Paquette writes that in 1823, Pedro sought advice from the then commander of the Brazilian fleet on how to shape Brazil's constitution.[155] In a letter to the emperor, Cochrane suggested that the Brazilian constitution should be fashioned after the British model. He argues:

> As no monarch is more happy, or more truly powerful than the limited monarch of England, surrounded by a free people, enriched by that industry which the security of property by means of just laws never fails to create – if Your Majesty were to decree that the English constitution […] shall be the model for the Government of Brazil […] it would excite the sympathy of powerful states abroad, and the firm allegiance of the Brazilian people to Your Majesty's throne.[156]

Cochrane here attempts to convince Pedro to adopt a British-style constitution for Brazil, because he claims the British model is superior and will lead to a stable and powerful monarchy, stronger relations with other influential nations, and loyal subjects. In the end, Pedro did not heed Cochrane's advice, since Pedro and his advisers felt that it was imperative that the constitution be adapted to Brazil's unique situation – nevertheless, it is plausible that Graham and Cochrane discussed these matters during the time they spent together in South America, and that this further strengthened Graham's belief that Brazil would do well to adopt a British-style constitution.[157]

Some Britons of a Whiggish stamp also used British-style constitutionalism as a tool against modern constitutionalism in order to promote their interests and preserve British

[155] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 170.
[156] Thomas Cochrane, Tenth Earl of Dundonald, *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chili, Peru and Brazil, from Spanish and Portuguese Domination* (London, 1849), 2:101-102.
[157] Paquette, *Imperial Portugal*, 170.

influence abroad.[158] Britain could take on the role of spreading British-style constitutionalism across the globe because of its growing world power and powerful navy. Among Britons, this led to feelings of 'national pride: Britain knew best what was good for others and how they should best be governed – by British-inspired constitutional government'.[159] In the context of Latin America, these ideas were intricately connected with notions of informal empire. As noted in previous chapters, critics such as Reeder have demonstrated how British informal imperialism in Latin America was paradoxically founded on the idea of freedom; informal empire required the sovereignty of the Latin American nations, because this would allow Britain to extend its economic influence on that continent. By encouraging constitutional governance modelled after the British example, then, Britain could both support Latin American liberation from absolute monarchical rule and subjugate the continent to its own economic control through free trade and commercial investments. Graham's scepticism of the fragility of Chile's 'modern constitution', her confidence in the strengths of the British constitution, and her attempts to disseminate British constitutional ideas in South America by educating the next generation of British naval men show that her views on this matter aligned with these ideas.

In "The Life of Don Pedro", Graham continues her discussion of Brazilian constitutionalism in ways that run parallel to her writing on this subject in the two South America journals she had published a decade earlier. Again, she analyses the Brazilian constitution in the light of the – in her eyes, superior – British constitution; she argues that Brazil would be best off adopting a British-style constitutional system; and she presents these ideas in relation to her role as educator and distributor of these constitutional theories. For example, in Chapter Three of the memoir, she relates the excitement she felt when Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy (1769-1839), then commander-in-chief of the English Squadron

[158] Grotke and Prutsch, *Constitutionalism, Legitimacy, and Power*, 46.
[159] Grotke and Prutsch, *Constitutionalism, Legitimacy, and Power*, 47.

in South America, asked her if she would be interested in becoming the governess to Maria da Glória. Graham writes:

> Not dreaming that he was in earnest, I answered "to be sure", and added what a delightful thing, to rescue that fine child from the hands of such creatures as surround her, to bring her up like a European gentlewoman – to teach her, since she is to govern this wide country, that the people are less made for Kings, than Kings for the people.[160]

In being offered this position, Graham saw a significant opportunity to 'rescue' the princess from Brazilian influences and instead raise her according to European values so that she could grow up to be a 'European gentlewoman'. Graham emphasises that she particularly wishes to teach the princess about the notion that 'the people are less made for Kings, than Kings for the people'. Here Graham refers to one of the central beliefs underpinning British-style constitutionalism. In this system, as Graham puts it, the monarch does not have absolute power over its citizens but is, instead, a limited monarch whose power is kept in check by the House of Lords and the House of Commons. This passage also once again highlights the perceived importance of her self-fashioned role as educator: as a British subject, she considered herself as having the essential duty to teach the Brazilian princess about British-style constitutional government, both to help improve the living conditions of Brazilian subjects, and to extend British influence in that country.

Graham continues her political discussion of Brazilian constitutionalism by speculating about Brazil's future; what if she could play an active role in securing the future stability and prosperity of Brazil and its empire by teaching the princess the fundamental principles of British constitutionalism? She writes:

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[160] Graham, *LODP*, BL copy, 18.

> I fancied what Brazil might be under a better Government than any country but my own had ever enjoyed. I never had much faith in new Constitutions, made to slip on like garments, whenever men fancy themselves tired of the old, and I knew that the best of our own institutions had grown with the Nation's Growth, and like the bark of our own Oak, had accommodated itself, in size and shape, as the tree itself increased its trunk, its branches and its root.[161]

In this authoritative passage – she uses 'I' three times in the space of two sentences – Graham reflects on the general nature of constitutional government before giving her opinion on the recently ratified Brazilian Constitution. She opens the passage by trying to imagine what Brazil would be like under a 'better Government' than any country except Britain had ever enjoyed – again emphasising the superiority of the British constitutional system. She then expresses a scepticism on the part of what she calls 'new Constitutions'. Here Graham is probably referring to the constitutions that had been formed as a result of the constitutionalist revolutions that had erupted in Southern Europe in the early 1820s and that, I argued in Chapter One, she had displayed her support for in *Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820). But in this passage in "The Life of Don Pedro", composed over a decade later, she appears more critical of these developments, as she writes that she 'never had much faith in new Constitutions' and compares the adoption of new constitutions to the act of frivolously donning a new item of clothing as soon as one has grown bored with the old. These constitutions are less stable, she argues here, because they are continuously being adapted to suit the latest political fashions.

Graham then contrasts these 'new Constitutions' with the older British constitution. Comparing the British constitution to an old oak tree, she argues that a stable constitutional monarchy such as Britain's has been the result of a slow and organic growth process. The

[161] Graham, *LODP*, BL copy, 18-19.

'best of' Britain's institutions, she argues, have slowly and gradually grown along with the nation's growth. Graham here invokes the theory of ancient constitutionalism. Mark Goldie explains that J. G. A. Pocock, in his influential *The Ancient Constitution and the feudal law* (1957), argues that ancient constitutionalism has two components: the first is an idealisation of English common law, and the second is the idea that the British constitution had Saxon roots.[162] Graham's writing here has resonances of the first of these two components – her writing embodies the idea that the common law – on which the British constitution was based – was 'ancient', that it 'grew incrementally and through practice', and that it was 'not embodied in formal codes'.[163] Graham here thus emphasises the fact that Britain (unlike most other modern nations) does not have a written or codified constitution, but that it is instead based on common law or '*lex non scripta,* unwritten law rooted in usage'.[164] Goldie notes that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries 'jurists stressed the common law's capacity for adaptation and development in the face of social and economic change', and Graham, who writes that the British constitution had 'accommodated itself, in size and shape' to the nation's development, emphasises this idea.

By using the metaphor of the oak tree to describe the slow and gradual development of the British constitution, Graham was also asserting her patriotism. As scholars such as William Ruddick and Tim Fulford have shown, the oak had developed into a national symbol over the course of the eighteenth century.[165] Fulford notes, for example, that James Thomson politicised the oak in his poetry by representing it as a 'gentlemanly oak'; like aristocratic

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[162] Mark Goldie, "The Ancient Constitution and the Languages of Political Thought," *The Historical Journal* 62, no. 1 (2019): 8-12.
[163] Goldie, "The Ancient Constitution," 8-9.
[164] Goldie, "The Ancient Constitution," 10.
[165] William Ruddick, "Liberty Trees and Loyal Oaks: Emblematic Presences in some English Poems of the French Revolutionary Period," in *Reflections of Revolution: Images of Romanticism*, ed. Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 59-67; Tim Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak: Thomson, Garrick and the Language of Eighteenth-Century Patriotism," in *James Thomson: Essays for the Tercentenary*, ed. Richard Terry (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000): 191-216; and Tim Fulford, "Romanticizing the Empire: The Naval Heroes of Southey, Coleridge, Austen, and Marryat," *Modern Language Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (1999): 161-196.

gentlemen, oak trees were the 'natural protectors' of Britain and the 'guardians of its commerce'.[166] Moreover, many of the ships making up the British fleet were constructed of English oak, and patriotic songs such as 'Hearts of Oak' and 'Rule Britannia' drew on the trope of the English oak to glorify British naval supremacy: 'We scorn'd the foreign yoke,/ Our Ships were British oak,/ And hearts of oak our men'.[167] Here, oak refers both to the materiality of the ships and the patriotic, sturdy, and courageous British naval officers. By the early nineteenth-century, the oak was also commonly used to symbolise the slow growth, gradual development, and political stability of the British constitution.[168] However, the oak tree was also a contested symbol. As Fulford explains, the oak was first associated with the Stuart monarchy and '[n]urtured by Jacobites' but 'later grew under the hands of Hanoverian Whigs into a symbol of the Britain that was thought to have resulted from the constitutional settlement of 1688 – a Britain of rooted traditions which changed slowly and organically, a Britain strong and independent, capable of resisting sudden shocks'.[169] From the late eighteenth century, the image of the oak tree was adopted by people with a wide range of political views and affiliations, including the Whig gentry, Patriot politicians, and reformers and radicals.[170] In "The Life of Don Pedro", Graham's use of the metaphor of the oak tree is related to the idea of informal empire: by combining the oak tree's patriotic association with the Royal Navy and the Glorious Revolution, she conveys the idea that the British constitution is a durable and stable system of government whose foundational ideas she, as a British traveller and educator who has come to Brazil on a Royal Navy ship, can help bring to Brazil in order to improve the young nation. Graham's repetitive use of 'our own' in this passage to refer to both the British constitution and the oak – 'I knew that the best of *our*

[166] Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak," 195.
[167] Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak," 193.
[168] Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak," 193-194.
[169] Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak," 193.
[170] Fulford, "Britannia's Heart of Oak," 193.

own institutions had grown with the Nation's Growth, and like the bark of *our own* Oak' (emphasis added) – highlights her patriotism and strengthens her authority on this subject.

Despite her initial scepticism of Brazil's 'new Constitution', Graham is cautiously optimistic about the future success of Brazil's constitutional governance. She continues:

> Still I thought it possible that out of the Portuguese Ordinances and Colonial Customary Laws, aided by the Regulations of the Church, which though a corrupt one, I cannot help thinking, quite as well adapted to the wants of the people, as a simpler form of religion; such a Constitution might be framed, as without interfering too much with what had hitherto been regarded with veneration, might supply everything that was wanting to secure impartial tribunals, to foster industry and commerce, to abolish slavery and its consequent evils, and above all, to maintain the country in peace.[171]

Graham here conveys the idea that upon further reflection, a new constitutional government in Brazil may turn out to be a positive development for the young nation. Although her tone is tentative here, using phrases such as 'I thought it possible' and 'might supply', her overall verdict is that a Brazilian constitution may bring about 'secure impartial tribunals' and can 'foster industry and commerce'. Both of these consequences are related to ideas about informal empire, since a more stable governmental system and increased opportunities for commerce and industrial investment would facilitate British commercial expansionism in Brazil. Graham also writes that the new constitution may lead to the abolition of slavery 'and its consequent evils'. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Graham took an abolitionist stance with regard to the Brazilian slave trade. Here, she couples this stance to constitutionalist theory, writing that implementing a constitutional government in Brazil could contribute to the abolition of the slave trade in that country.

[171] Callcott, *LODP*, BL copy, 18.

In this passage, Graham also conveys a tolerant stance with regard to Catholicism. Although she is not uncritical, calling the Catholic church 'corrupt' and referring to Catholicism as 'a simpler form of religion', she argues that ultimately, it could be 'quite as well adapted to the wants of the people'. In *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, Graham had also written about religion in the context of the new constitution, applauding the Brazilian constitution for the religious freedom it offered. She writes that 'all Christians may enjoy the political rights of the empire' and that 'All Christians are eligible to all offices and employments'.[172] In fact, she here even goes so far as to make Brazil's constitution an example for European countries to follow, writing: 'I only wish older countries would deign to take lessons from this new government in its noble liberality'.[173] With these reflections, Graham may also have wanted to show her support for the political issue of Catholic emancipation that was being debated in Britain and Ireland.[174]

As I have shown in this chapter, Graham used the space of the manuscript memoir to experiment with the genre of the memoir and to contribute to the political history of Brazil and Portugal. Directing her writing at the Holland House circle, she anticipated that her reflections about the Brazilian royal family and the role Pedro played in the development of constitutionalism would generate interest among its readers. However, studying the different manuscript versions of the work also raises new questions. For example, the passage from "The Life of Don Pedro" that I discussed most recently – starting from Graham's description of being asked by Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy to become governess to Maria da Glória and ending with Graham's political reflections on British and Brazilian constitutionalism – is included in the BL copy but does not appear in the BN copy.[175] This is remarkable, given that the two manuscripts are for the most part identical and the passage has not been crossed

[172] Graham, *VTB*, 317.
[173] Graham, *VTB*, 317.
[174] Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 384.
[175] Graham, *LODP*, BL copy, 18.

out in the BL copy. Why, then, did Allen leave out this passage when producing Graham's own – cleaner – copy of the memoir (which was based on the BL copy draft version), and who decided that this should be so? As I have argued, this passage is one of the most authoritative and politically outspoken of the entire memoir, so perhaps it may have been regarded as too transgressive to have come from a female pen. If this were indeed the explanation for its exclusion, it would open up new questions concerning the purpose of the BN copy. Perhaps Graham never intended for this to be her own copy for private use, but she was aiming for it to be distributed more widely, possibly for future generations of historians. It would also be interesting to investigate if this passage was included in the third copy of the memoir, which was kept by Holland in his private library. More broadly, the exclusion of this passage offers new research avenues regarding the public or private nature and purposes of early nineteenth-century women's manuscript writing and the extent to which Graham and her contemporaries engaged with political historiography.

As I have demonstrated in this thesis, Graham's historiographical writing about Brazil and Chile, created over the course of more than a decade, encompasses an extraordinarily broad range of genres and appeared in both printed and manuscript form. In her published writing about Brazil and Chile, Graham used the genre of the travel journal in innovative ways to convey the South American past for British audiences. Through an inventive interplay between text and paratext, she added depth, nuance, and originality to her narrativization of early nineteenth-century Chilean and Argentinian history. She also drew on her personal recollections of Italian and Indian landscapes and her extensive knowledge of history, art history, associationism, and aesthetics to produce a multi-layered and highly intertextual account of the historicity of South American landscapes. Influenced by ideas about progress and informal empire, Graham responded to and re-interpreted male-dominated scholarly debates about the history of South America and its indigenous inhabitants.

My analysis of Graham's unpublished writing about Brazil and Chile demonstrates that in the 1830s, Graham continued to explore different literary forms to give expression to the South American past. For "The Araucanians", she translated and adapted the sixteenth-century Spanish epic poem *La Araucana* to re-imagine the history of Araucanian resistance against Spanish colonialism for early nineteenth-century British audiences. Framing her adaptation with a historical introduction and conclusion, she emphasized the enduring relevance of *La Araucana* in relation to the recently fought Chilean War of Independence and foregrounded the importance of the poem for the construction of Chilean national identity. "The Life of Don Pedro", composed approximately two years later, is a sophisticated piece of historiographical writing that showcases Graham's advanced skills at using, adapting, and combining different literary forms such as the memoir, letter correspondence, and the travelogue in the creation of historical knowledge. The result is a generically hybrid and politically engaged account of a formative episode in the history of Brazil which was read and well-received among members of the elite and influential Holland House circle.

When examining these four works collectively, the image that emerges of Graham as a historian of South America is that of a deeply learned, versatile, and confident scholar. For Graham, eyewitness historical testimony – be it her own or those offered by military and naval officers, fellow travellers, politicians, and royalty – was central to her historiographical approach. Studying these works together also reveals the diverse ways in which Graham drew on her extensive intellectual networks in the production of these works. She commissioned renowned male artists on both sides of the Atlantic to produce illustrations, asked military officers to document their experiences of battle, consulted history books in her friends' private libraries, and closely collaborated with Caroline Fox and other members of the Holland House set to produce a multi-faceted account of Brazilian and Chilean history. In both her published and unpublished writings, Graham expressed the hope that her historiographical account of South America be used by future generations of historians. That

hope has certainly been fulfilled; for the past two centuries and up until today, Graham's work has continued to inform and shape the historiography of South America on both sides of the Atlantic. As I have shown in this thesis, it is essential that we consider Graham as a professional early nineteenth-century female writer who drew on her extensive, international, and influential network of travellers, artists, publishers, and politicians for the production and dissemination of these important works.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL copy	British Library copy
BN copy	Biblioteca Nacional copy
LODP	"An Authentic Memoir of the Life of Don Pedro" (1834-1835)
LOI	*Letters on India* (1814)
LONP	*Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* (1820)
RIC	*Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824)
RII	*Journal of a Residence in India* (1813)
SHOP	*A Short History of Spain* (1828)
TMP	*Three Months Passed in the Mountains East of Rome* (1820)
VTB	*Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (1824)

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