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**Sentiment and Scholarship: Hybrid Historiography and Historical Authority in Maria Graham’s South American Journals**

*As scholars have registered, many female-authored travel accounts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries need to be recognized simultaneously as exercises in historical commentary and debate. This article extends our knowledge of this intersection of genres through analysis of two striking examples of women’s travel writing operating as a mode of historiography, Maria Graham’s* Journal of a Voyage to Brazil *(1824) and* Journal of a Residence in Chile *(1824). In the often overlooked prefatory material used to frame the central journal sections of these books, Graham undertook a more ambitious and original historiographical exercise than is generally appreciated. The journal portions also spoke to contemporary historical enquiries in ways not always recognized by modern critics; for example, in their occasional use of sentimental idioms and motifs. Although in these and other passages, Graham’s writing may seem today more “literary” than historiographical, this was not how they were received by many contemporary readers, who accepted Graham’s account as a useful contribution to the history of South America. This reception demonstrates the importance of not reading nineteenth-century travel writing solely as “life writing”, but rather as a multi-disciplinary and generically hybrid form which women might use to assert and display authority across a range of discourses.*

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a key part of travel writing’s appeal to women writers was the licence it gave them to roam not only geographically but also discursively. Traditionally serving as an intellectually important *omnium gatherum* for a broad range of useful information, the genre enabled women to engage with topics conventionally regarded at this date as more appropriate for male writers. Prominent among the wider array of debates and disciplines thus accessible through travel writing was history, one of the most respected and popular genres of the day. The travelogue’s capacity to function as a form of historical discourse has been often remarked by researchers in travel writing studies, and also registered by scholars exploring the historiographical developments of the Romantic period.[[1]](#endnote-1) Yet 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.[[2]](#endnote-2) To address this lacuna, the present article considers two closely linked texts which arguably constitute the most thorough-going and accomplished examples of Romantic-era women’s travel writing operating as historical discourse. Based on more than two years travelling in South America, and published within a few weeks of each other in 1824, Maria Graham’s *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *Journal of a Residence in Chile* present themselves at several junctures as merely the impressions of a woman caught up in interesting events, who was therefore able “to collect some facts which may serve as materials for future history”.[[3]](#endnote-3) However, these self-deprecating disclaimers do not adequately convey the sophistication, depth and ambitiousness of the commentary and analysis offered in the two volumes. On the one hand the culmination of a remarkable and unprecedented travel writing career, Graham’s South American journals were also, for a woman in this period, a surprisingly assertive and unabashed incursion into the more prestigious genre of history. Crucially, they were also widely received in this spirit, as useful historical contributions which fed in diverse ways into contemporary circuits of knowledge production, both within the academy and beyond, and which therefore garnered Graham considerable critical respect and intellectual authority.

In tracing the historiographical ambitions and influence of Graham’s South American journals, one aim of this article is to demonstrate the problems and limitations of resolving Romantic-era women’s travel writing too swiftly into the category of “life writing” – a common critical practice in recent scholarship on the genre. Life writing of course provides one valid lens for analysis; if it is the only lens adopted, however, researchers are liable to occlude key aspects of these texts’ original valence and achievement. As I will show, even when Graham writes at her seemingly most personal and/or literary, her South American accounts are underpinned by a strong commitment to travel writing’s traditional function as an important “knowledge genre”, in Ina Ferris’s phrase.[[4]](#endnote-4) More specifically, Graham is committed to the gathering and dissemination of knowledge that is at once historiographic, ethnographic and inherently political. On the one hand she uses the past to contextualize the present situation and likely future progress of Brazil and Chile; on the other, she uses the present to better understand the past not only of these two South American nations but also of all nations which have passed through similarly tumultuous stages of political development and self-determination. This agenda required not only on-the-spot reportage but also extensive historical research and rumination, leading in turn to two volumes which incorporated, alongside the personal narrative provided, plenty of what we might call after Jane Austen “real solemn history”, a comparatively detached, chronological narrativization of major events and public affairs.[[5]](#endnote-5) Historiography in this traditional mode was to some extent woven into the main journal sections of the published volumes, but it was more strikingly present in the substantial prefatory and supplementary material Graham included. Recent commentaries on Graham generally ignore this framing material, focusing instead on the central journal entries which conform to the modern scholarly assumption that travel writing is principally an autobiographical literary genre. Yet the preliminary “sketches” Graham offers of Brazilian and Chilean history are more substantive and original than often recognized; when their significance and prominence within the published volumes is properly acknowledged, Graham’s South American travelogues stand out more clearly as innovative experiments in the mixing or hybridization of contemporary historical modes.

**Background**

Graham travelled to South America in July 1821, accompanying her husband, the Naval captain Thomas Graham, when his ship was posted to Chile. Thirty-six years old, she was already a well-established woman of letters, with many connections in the literary and intellectual circles of both Edinburgh and London. She accompanied her husband partly in the hope of generating further travel accounts; as the preface to *Brazil* acknowledges, her original journals were “not written without a view to publication”.[[6]](#endnote-6) South America was in this period throwing off colonial rule, and so opening up to foreign investment and trade; this generated in the British economy of the early 1820s a pronounced South American “bubble” which would not burst until after Graham’s return in 1824.[[7]](#endnote-7) Graham was able to witness first hand these important political and economic developments. Thomas Graham’s ship, the *Doris*, initially skirted the coast of Brazil, allowing Maria to visit the major towns of Pernambuco, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro and to meet both sides in the incipient civil war between “Royalists” loyal to Portugal and “Patriots” who favoured Brazilian independence. After six months the *Doris* sailed on to Chile; however, Thomas Graham died of fever *en route*, and Maria arrived in Valparaiso a widow. Rather than return home, she chose to remain in Chile, where she could again watch developments at close quarters, this time with access to the highest levels of the political elite. Newly independent but at war with neighbouring Peru, Chile was on the brink of civil war. Graham met many key figures in Chilean politics, including Supreme Director Bernardo O’Higgins and the liberating general José de San Martin, through her association with Thomas Cochrane, the former British Naval officer (and erstwhile Whig MP) who now commanded the Chilean navy. A friend and former crew-mate of Thomas Graham’s, Cochrane in effect acted as sponsor and protector to Graham in Chile, although she mostly travelled and resided independently. However, when Cochrane decided to quit Chile for Brazil, Graham left with him, bringing to an end a ten-months residence in Chile.

Brazil had by now declared independence from Portugal. Arriving back in Rio in March 1823, Graham’s connection with Cochrane – now appointed to command of the Brazilian fleet – again gave her an entrée to elite society and the imperial court of Emperor Don Pedro. A growing friendship with Empress Maria Leopoldina led to an invitation to become tutor to her daughter. Before taking up the post, however, Graham returned to Britain, to gather teaching materials and to oversee the publication of her journals. Before leaving Brazil, Graham wrote to the publisher John Murray that she had gathered “authentic materials for a more interesting account of the countries men & things I have seen than any body as yet has given. There is not a shipwreck in every Canto indeed [a reference to Byron’s *Don Juan*, also published by Murray] but I have Earthquakes & Civil wars; Calamities enough I assure you to last a lifetime”.[[8]](#endnote-8) These “authentic materials” were consolidated into two separate books – Graham’s third and fourth travelogues – *A Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* and *A Journal of a Residence in Chile* (hereafter, *Brazil* and *Chile*). In the summer of 1824 Graham returned to Brazil; although soon dismissed from her post at the imperial court (for reasons that remain unclear), she spent a further ten months in Rio, engaged principally in gathering natural historical specimens.

Graham’s Brazil and Chile journals represented a significant addition to the small corpus of up-to-date travel accounts about these countries. Only a handful of eye witness accounts of Brazil were produced in English across the 1810s and 1820s, all written by men.[[9]](#endnote-9) Chile was even less well represented in contemporary travel writing. Graham’s sustained description had few recent antecedents, although it formed part of a wave of new accounts of the country, with travelogues by Basil Hall and Peter Schmidtmeyer appearing more or less simultaneously, and several further accounts (again, all by men) published subsequently.[[10]](#endnote-10) Like all these male contemporaries, and like most travel writers in this period generally, Graham’s travel writing addresses a range of topics and disciplines; as discussed in the Introduction to this Special Issue, extensive scientific information is threaded through the South American journals. However, because of the political and economic contexts outlined above, it was the human as much as natural history of the region that especially interested readers in 1824.

**Graham as Historian**

In the late eighteenth century, history as a genre became more highly regarded and more popular, generating a proliferation of historiographical publications in both traditional and innovative modes, and contributing to an emerging historicist mentality that saw history as “the paradigmatic form of [all] knowledge”.[[11]](#endnote-11) It was once assumed that women were largely excluded from this burgeoning of the discipline, but recent research has demonstrated their extensive participation both as consumers and producers of history. Educational handbooks such as Hester Chapone’s *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind addressed to a Young Lady* (1773) and Maria and Richard Edgeworth’s *Practical Education* (1798) recommended a diet of historical reading for women; contemporaneously – and suggesting that these educational prescriptions were being followed – there was a dramatic rise in the number of women publishing historical material.[[12]](#endnote-12) Much of this work is positioned in what we would now regard as popular or educational history, or in parahistoriographical genres such as biography; yet as Karen O’Brien notes, in this period before the later nineteenth-century professionalization of the discipline, “boundaries between ‘high’ and popular histories remained blurred”.[[13]](#endnote-13) Romantic-era women certainly made at least one major contribution to what O’Brien here dubs “high” and elsewhere “grand narrative history”, in the form of Catherine Macauley’s critically esteemed eight-volume *History of England* (1763-83).[[14]](#endnote-14)

Graham’s intellectual development and subsequent career amply demonstrates women’s taste for history in the Romantic period. Her unpublished papers record a remarkable breadth of reading, but history features prominently. A commonplace book from her formative Edinburgh years shows her reading, *inter alia*, Gibbon, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Voltaire’s *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731), and especially Tacitus, whose account of the respectful treatment of women by German tribes prompts reflections on how to square this information with a standard tenet of Scottish Enlightenment stadial theory, that women were progressively better treated as societies became more civilized and commercialized.[[15]](#endnote-15) Graham also knew personally many leading historians of her day. In India, she resided for a period at the home of the historian, jurist and prominent Whig James Mackintosh, who became a lifelong friend. Back in England, Mackintosh introduced Graham into London intellectual circles, especially the Whig networks centred on Holland House, and she dined and conversed with figures like William Godwin, Madame de Stael, and the Swiss social theorist Etienne Dumont. The historian Henry Hallam, whom Graham first met in this period, became an especially close friend in the 1820s and 1830s, as did the pioneering archival scholar Francis Palgrave. At some point in her travels – although it is unclear precisely when – she became acquainted with the Swiss historian De Sismondi; in Italy, she met Giustina Renier Michiel, whose *Origine delle feste veneziane* is referenced in *Chile*.[[16]](#endnote-16) Later, in the 1820s and 1830s, she established connections with notable German art historians such as G.F. Waagen and J.D. Passavant.

Throughout her adult life, then, Graham was positioned within not only British but also wider European networks of active historians, both male and female; we can therefore assume some familiarity with current debates and latest developments in the field. This pronounced interest in history in turn led Graham to produce, alongside the travel accounts for which she was most famous, a range of more overtly historical publications, including an introduction to Indian history and culture in *Letters on India* (1814); a translation of Albert Jean Michel de Rocca’s *Memoir of the War of the French in Spain* (1815); and three books for children, *A Short History of Spain* (1828), the phenomenally successful *Little Arthur’s History of England* (1835) and *Histoire de France de petit Louis* (1836). In producing such works of popular and educational history, Graham conformed to the modes most strongly associated with women in this period. Yet in the 1830s, she also began to publish a more ambitious and innovative series of *Essays towards the History of Painting* (1836 and 1838), although failing health meant this project was abandoned after just two volumes. And as we shall now see, Graham’s final two travelogues, the South American journals, arguably make a more distinctive contribution to contemporary historiography than hitherto recognized

**Shaping History I: Mixing Historiographical Modes**

Here it is important firstly to register how Graham organized the material accumulated during her time in South America. By splitting her source journals into separate accounts of Brazil and Chile, Graham made these destinations the prime focal point, rather than her own personal narrative. This was necessary, she suggests in *Brazil*, because the two countries differ so markedly, in their “climate and productions”, in their Spanish and Portuguese inheritances, and in the “manners, society, institutions, and government” of their inhabitants.[[17]](#endnote-17) This prioritizing of a historical and ethnographic focus over the “life writing” aspects of the travelogues is further accentuated by the internal structure of each account. As noted earlier, the central journal portions of *Brazil* and *Chile* – in which Graham offers her personal experiences and impressions, as conventional in travel writing – are in both cases framed by extensive prefatory and supplementary material. In *Chile*,a substantial “Sketch of the History of Chile” and then several appendices took up more than half the printed pages of the published volume; in *Brazil*, a 76-page historical “Sketch” and single appendix made up about a quarter of the book. These lengthy historical introductions are necessary, Graham suggests, to contextualize the events she witnessed. Yet they also work implicitly to suggest that Graham’s own experience, as related in the journal sections, should be regarded as a lens through which to discern the further unfolding, and personal consequences, of larger historical developments.

As we shall see, some reviewers saw the historical introductions as examples of “book making”, or padding out the volumes. These dismissive verdicts are probably more attributable to antagonism towards Graham, on political and gender grounds, than to the intrinsic merits or demerits of the introductions themselves. Both are more original and ambitious accounts than hostile commentators acknowledged (as was recognized by less prejudiced reviewers). In both cases they extend further back in time than is strictly necessary to provide context to Graham’s visit, to establish a narrative that runs from the beginnings of European colonialism in each region. In early sections, Graham’s account is a synthesis of prior historical authorities, drawing on texts like Robert Southey’s *History of Brazil* (1810-20) and (for the early history of colonial Chile), Alonso de Ercilla’s sixteenth-century epic poem *La Araucana*. Yet in both cases, the bulk of each introduction provides a narrative of more recent events authored by Graham herself. With regard to Chile especially, this was a significant historiographical contribution. No history of the country had been produced in Europe since the 1780s, a situation which caused the editor Robert Kerr to lament in 1824 the lack of “any original and contemporary author” he could draw on.[[18]](#endnote-18) Graham’s Chile volume addressed this lacuna (as did, to differing degrees, the travelogues produced simultaneously by Hall and Schmidtmeyer). For Brazil, Southey’s *History* provided a more recent overview but its narrative culminated in 1802. Graham accordingly spent more than half her introduction on the momentous events since that date, which included the Portuguese court’s relocation to Rio de Janeiro during the Napoleonic War, its subsequent return to Europe, and the beginnings of the Brazilian independence movement. To some extent these developments had been covered in the press, and also touched upon in recent travel narratives by Koster, Luccock and others. Yet the prior travelogues generally only made passing references to the wider political context, and dispersed these comments across their narratives; for Brazil as for Chile, Graham may have been the first writer to separate out and offer a single, consolidated account of the country’s recent history.

Both introductory sections, then, are more substantial than the label “Sketch” might suggest. In them we see Graham doing history in the most traditional grand style, constructing a sequential narrative of political and military events, and of major affairs of state, to tell what Mark Salber Phillips dubs “the story of the public actions of public men”.[[19]](#endnote-19) The tone throughout is impersonal and authoritative; beyond the implicit self-deprecation of calling these merely “sketches”, Graham clearly felt little need to apologize for any lack of knowledge or expertise, as women often did in this period when writing on topics or in genres conventionally the preserve of male authors. There are two occasions in the account of Brazilian history when Graham admits to limited information because “my habits as a woman and a foreigner never led me into situations where I could acquire the necessary knowledge”.[[20]](#endnote-20) In context, however, these disclaimers underscore a point reiterated in both accounts, that these are narratives of recent events based on Graham’s extensive conversations with those who took part in them. Graham also stresses at several junctures her access to textual sources not available to prior writers like Southey, after her own visits to Brazilian and Chilean archives yielded material like a full set of Chilean government “gazettes from 1818 to the present” and “Barbosa Machado’s curious collection of pamphlets, in the library of Rio de Janeiro”.[[21]](#endnote-21) These are used to adjust and sometimes contest the accounts of Southey and other authorities (although Graham does not always signal clearly when she is drawing on alternative sources). In addition, Graham offers her own interpretations and moralizing commentaries on both her sources and the historical events she depicts. For example, she declares herself sceptical about the stories of brutal cannibalism attributed to native Brazilian tribes by Southey and his sources, supporting her view with reference to materials she found in the Machado archive. She similarly rebukes Southey’s excessive “rancour against the Roman Catholic faith”, and offers a surprisingly positive assessment of the influence of the adventurers who flooded into Brazil during the gold rush era of the early eighteenth century.[[22]](#endnote-22) Elsewhere, in a rhetorical device also used in the main, journal portion of the volumes, Graham throws out questions which invite readers to consider the correlation between her own researches and the information found in the prior literature on Chile and Brazil. Thus she asks at one juncture whether the Daniel de la Touche mentioned in a Brazilian tract is “Mr Southey’s Rifault?” – thereby signalling a more tentative adjustment or corroboration of existing scholarship, and a sense of engaging in dialogue with a wider community to clarify the historical record.[[23]](#endnote-23) Finally, Graham’s rendering of South American history is informed by extensive historical and political reading, and by her familiarity with various relevant historiographical exemplars. In the Chile “sketch”, for example, her commentary references works like Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall*, Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* (1776) and Gilbert Burnet’s *History of My Own Times* (1724) – the latter being an especially pertinent model for any eye-witness account of a period of political instability and civil war.

Graham’s desire to root her account in documentary sources, as well as in her own experience and personal conversations, continues in the main journal sections of each volume, where Graham frequently reprints lengthy extracts from proclamations, letters and pamphlets, and then again in the appendices provided after the main narrative. In *Brazil*, a single appendix reproduces tables summarizing, and quantifying in financial terms, the chief imports and exports to and from Maranham, the country’s most important economic region; in *Chile*, six appendices offer a lengthy account of the influential Carrera family by another English resident of Chile, extracts of correspondence between Cochrane and the Viceroy of Peru, various gazettes, proclamations and addresses (including one addressed in Inca to the indigenous population of Peru, presented as a linguistic curiosity), and finally a 1789 Chilean survey of the country’s most notable plants and shrubs. Here Graham literally gathers “materials for future history”, offering not her own narrativization of events but rather a range of primary and secondary resources for others to use.

In this way the central journal portions of Graham’s South American travelogues are framed by substantial historical material. The more personal journal sections, meanwhile, spoke to and were shaped by recent historiographical developments, even as they simultaneously conformed to well-established conventions and traditions in the “voyages and travels” genre. As Phillips and other commentators have emphasized, as Britain became a more commercial society over the eighteenth century, so the historical literature it produced and consumed shifted significantly not only in methodology – with the merging of previously separate narrative and antiquarian/documentary traditions – but also in scope and focus. Traditionally the historian’s role was to fashion an instructive narrative of the affairs of states and the acts of public men. This remained an important agenda and model for historical writing and as we have seen, Graham’s lengthy introductory sections fulfil this function. Yet this focus was increasingly supplemented, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, by a growing concern with two further dimensions of enquiry, addressing what Philips describes as “the social world of everyday life” and “the inward world of the sentiments”.[[24]](#endnote-24) A state’s history, it was increasingly recognized, encompassed more than just its politics, and the course of political events might consequently be influenced by, in Philips’ phrase, “the often invisible movements of economy, custom or opinion”.[[25]](#endnote-25) On the one hand, Scottish Enlightenment theorists encouraged a more sophisticated understanding of how different spheres – such as commerce, religion, learning and the arts – interacted to form “society” as a whole; on the other, writers began to offer histories of these diverse spheres, judging them topics more congenial to a growing middle-class (and female) readership than the high politics traditional in the genre. This growing concern with “society” in its different aspects went hand-in-hand with heightened interest in the “self” in history; that is, in the distinctive psychologies and structures of feeling generated by alternative configurations of the political and social spheres, and also in the lived experience and affective texture of differing historical moments and situations. The former focus ideally led to greater understanding of the “manners” of other eras and cultures; the latter brought history to life and conveyed how major events appeared to those caught up in them – an agenda which as Philips notes increasingly licensed the deployment of sentimental and aesthetic strategies designed to overcome historical distance, and to recreate in the reader the emotions experienced by the original participants in historical events.

For Philips, then, “what most fully characterizes the historical understanding” of the Romantic period is “its reliance on the reciprocities linking the social and the sentimental as two complementary kinds of knowledge”.[[26]](#endnote-26) It is this reciprocal linkage between society and the sentimental self that is inherently affirmed and explored by the central journal portions of Graham’s South American volumes, as they recreate for the reader the experience of being caught up in epochal events whilst simultaneously delineating multiple facets of Brazilian and Chilean culture. Here it is important to register, alongside the range of thematic concerns in the South American journals, Graham’s subtle and accomplished variegation of style and mode across each narrative. It is also instructive to triangulate the journals against a range of contemporary and prior travel accounts, the better to gauge Graham’s distinctive blend of travel writing strategies. Set against most contemporary (male-authored) accounts of Chile and Brazil, for example, Graham’s South American journals are in several regards a markedly more personal and sentimental form of travel writing.[[27]](#endnote-27) Graham’s is a comparatively pronounced and emotive narratorial presence, with journal entries often registering her affective response to the events and information she is recounting. She also includes frequent albeit usually quite discreet references to her precarious position as woman, widow and foreigner in two unfamiliar nations. In places, she offers more extended meditations on her predicament, evoking personal circumstances and inner thoughts and feelings so as to both appeal to readerly sympathy and invite metaphysical and moral speculations:

I rode to Valparaiso: the morning was dull and drizzling. I cannot describe the effect of such a day on the scenery between Quintero and Concon, by the long beach of nine miles: on one side the sand-hills with not a sign of vegetation, on the other a furious surf; both seeming interminable, and being lost in the thick air; or if a breeze now and then blows the haze aside, the distant dreary points of land seem suspended far above the visible horizon, and one goes on with a kind of desperate eagerness to see what will be the end. I was in a fine humour for moralising. Earthquake under me, civil war around me; my poor sick relation apparently dying; and my kind friend [Cochrane], my only friend here indeed, certainly going to leave the country, at least for a time. All this left me with nothing to depend on; and, like the road I was travelling, what was to come was enveloped in dark clouds, or at best afforded most uncertain glimpses of the possible future.[[28]](#endnote-28)

This passage, in which the deft correlation of outer and inner landscapes is conducive not only to sympathy but also to a degree of sublimity, demonstrates the more heightened literary mode in which Graham sometimes writes. A literary agenda also seems evident in Graham’s skilful delineation of picturesque and sublime scenery, and in her frequent quotation from poets such as Byron; both these aspects of her travel writing again serve to demonstrate authorial sensibility and to stimulate the reader’s aesthetic pleasure.

In its deployment of such sentimental and aestheticizing strategies, Graham’s travel writing stands to some extent in the tradition of two influential Romantic-era travel accounts by women, Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Letters Written During A Short Residence In Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796) and Helen Maria Williams’ *Letters Written From France* (8 vols., 1790-96). The title of the former is of course echoed in the title of *Chile*; the latter, meanwhile, was probably a model Graham kept in mind during her South American travels, since Williams’ widely circulated *Letters* similarly offered a first hand, eye-witness account of being caught up in major social upheaval and internecine politicking. Recording the experience of living through the French Revolution, Williams refracted events such as the Terror largely through her own emotional response to them, or through the moving stories of other affected individuals, to produce what Philips terms a “spectatorial” history couched in a highly sentimental, sometimes Gothic mode.[[29]](#endnote-29) Sentiment, romanticism and a subtle Gothicism are similarly a conspicuous feature of Wollstonecraft’s *Letters*, with their frequent emphasis on the author’s solitary travelling (accompanied only by her child) and their many passages of philosophical musing and self-reflection.

Wollstonecraft and Williams’ volumes thus provide a model for one pole of Graham’s writing style and focus in the South American journals. Yet if Graham is undoubtedly a more sentimental and literary writer when set against male contemporaries like Hall and Koster, she nevertheless offers, when juxtaposed with these influential female precursors, a very restrained sentimentalism. Compared with Williams especially, Graham is a much more matter-of-fact travel writer, on the one hand providing extensive empirical reportage across a broad range of topics and disciplines and on the other limiting the amount of sentimental effusion which surrounds this reportage. Addressing many facets of Brazilian and Chilean society, the investigative agenda in Graham’s travelling yielded two accounts which are, as Katherine Turner has written of *Chile*, “almost overwhelming in [their] exhaustive descriptions of [. . .] daily life and politics”.[[30]](#endnote-30) Detailed discussions are offered of customs, foodstuffs, styles of dress, the design of Brazilian shops and Chilean domestic housing, the manufacture of pottery (which Graham tries her hand at), various forms of both elite and popular sociability (the Chilean form of bowls, we learn, takes place on a court “about 30 feet long by from 15 to 18 feet broad”), and much else besides.[[31]](#endnote-31) These observations are not separated out into essays or chapters on different topics, as sometimes happens in the contemporary male-authored travelogues on Chile and Brazil; instead, they are incorporated into the journal format and presented as arising naturally out of Graham’s reflections on a specific day’s events and experiences. Yet it is apparent they often represent the summation of extended research and enquiry, as Graham acknowledges in one of several self-reflexive passages in *Chile* which address her own practice as a travel writer. Here it is explained that the journal entries in their published form are not a direct, unmediated transcription of her original, on-the-spot observations; rather, the published volumes offer what Graham terms a “copied journal”, one which has undergone editorial redaction and expansion, in part to allow a “more rational and careful account of countries visited”.[[32]](#endnote-32) The cumulative effect, she suggests elsewhere, “is something like a picture gallery; where you have historical pieces, and portraits, and landscapes, and still life, and flowers, side by side”.[[33]](#endnote-33)

In this way Graham’s journals combine aesthetic and utilitarian agendas, and blend sentiment with empirical investigation. The more literary, personal portions of the narrative may seem today merely a means of mediating and pleasantly “packaging” the more utilitarian information provided. However, for Graham and many of her original readers they constituted in themselves another significant line or aspect of empirical enquiry. Reflecting on her own travel writing practice in *Chile*, Graham comments that she has “often thought a collection of faithful journals might furnish better food to a moral philosopher for his speculations, than all the formal disquisitions that were ever written”.[[34]](#endnote-34) This is a claim and agenda strongly influenced, one suspects, by Graham’s admiration for the moral philosopher Dugald Stewart, whose *Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1792) – a text well known to Graham – stressed the need for detailed, empirical observation of “the operations of our own mind”.[[35]](#endnote-35) Only through such psychological investigations, Stewart argued, can we establish the “general laws of our constitution” and hence the foundations for accurate knowledge across a range of disciplines.[[36]](#endnote-36) Graham was also familiar with the writings of the German explorer Alexander von Humboldt, whose *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent* (1814-29)is referenced several times in the South American journals. A writer much discussed in Graham’s Scottish Enlightenment and scientific circles, Humboldt stood in a tradition of sentimentalized or Romanticized exploration which turned its focus not only outwards, on the external world, but also inwards, on the travelling/observing self, so as to better calibrate the traveller’s observations.[[37]](#endnote-37) Or as Humboldt’s mentor George Forster had written, since “two travellers seldom saw the same object in the same manner, and each reported the fact differently, according to his sensations, and his peculiar mode of thinking”, it was therefore important “to be acquainted with the observer, before any use could be made of his observations”.[[38]](#endnote-38)

It was not only scientists and philosophers who saw epistemological value in affective responses and a sentimental presentation of the self. For historians too, as we have seen, affect and sentiment had come to constitute both an important dimension of historical knowledge and a legitimate device in historical writing. If this was a lesson Graham partly imbibed from the spectatorial history on offer in Williams’ *Letters from France*, it was also probably something she learned more directly from her friendship with James Mackintosh. As Philips has shown, Mackintosh was a strong advocate of the sentimentalization of historical discourse, from a desire to bring historical events to life, and also to understand the historical agency of emotion and psychology at both an individual and collective level.[[39]](#endnote-39) It is to the latter concern, for example, that Graham speaks when she describes a visit to the camps set up by survivors of the 1822 Chile earthquake, and subsequently comments that

I can quite understand, now, the effect of great calamities in demoralizing and loosening the ties of society. The historians of the middle ages tell of the pestilence that drove people forth from the cities to seek shelter in the fields from contagion, and returned them with a worse plague, in the utter corruption of morals into which they had fallen [. . .] I fear that whatever cause makes large bodies of men very miserable, makes them also wicked.[[40]](#endnote-40)

As well as this interest in group and individual psychology, Graham likely took from Mackintosh a heightened appreciation of the importance of offering a complex, multifarious and nuanced delineation of the social sphere. As Phillips has shown, Mackintosh was a keen reader of novels who felt strongly that historians had much to learn from contemporary fiction’s ability to offer not only subtle accounts of the self but also convincing depictions of the social milieus which formed selves and through which individuals moved and acted. Both parts of this historiographical agenda seem to be reflected in Graham’s South American journals. Here it is again instructive to set her travel writing against that of her male contemporaries. Koster, Luccock and Hall, for example, offer fairly comprehensive accounts of Brazil and Chile; in addition, these writers provide more information than Graham about the non-metropolitan regions of both countries. Yet their discussions of what in Marxist terminology would be dubbed the “superstructural” elements of Brazilian and Chilean metropolitan society are less extensive and in many ways less discerning than Graham’s. An accomplished linguist who became fluent in both Spanish and Portuguese over the course of her visits, Graham often seems more integrated into elite Brazilian and Chilean society than even long-term residents like Koster and Luccock. She accordingly gives greater prominence to topics like art and literature, the progress of journalism and print culture (another theme much emphasized by Mackintosh), and various forms of sociability, and she is more precise and detailed in her discussion of a range of conventionally “feminine” themes such as dress, food and domestic arrangements. This ostensibly feminine focus, however, does not preclude extensive discussion of the corresponding “masculine” topics of politics, commerce and economics; this encompasses, *inter alia*, a detailed summary ofthe nine sections of the new Chilean constitution, knowledgeable commentary on the introduction and likely consequences of new taxation and custom regulations in both Brazil and Chile, discussion of major imports and exports, and reflections on the workings of the Chilean treasury and the effects of a lack of small coinage.

Combining these conventionally masculine and feminine spheres of interest, Graham arguably provides a more complete account of Brazil and Chile than any contemporary male traveller. At the same time, her accounts frequently seem more learned, and more cognizant of a broad range of contemporary intellectual debates than the male-authored accounts. The latter certainly sometimes produce longer, denser passages of information, while Graham generally maintains a more conversational style. And when venturing into ostensibly masculine subject areas Graham often issues the customary disclaimers, common to much women’s writing in this period, about lack of expertise. Thus she declares, after discussing the new commercial “reglamento” in Chile: “I have no patience for custom-house registers, and manifests, and invoices, and understand them as little as I like them”.[[41]](#endnote-41) With Graham, however, these apologia often seem purely a convention, applied perfunctorily, even perhaps ironically to what are frequently well-informed, sophisticated analyses of the topic in hand. The self-deprecating comment just cited, for example, comes after three quarto pages of nuanced discussion of Chile’s custom and excise arrangements. More generally, Graham’s reflections repeatedly demonstrate, either explicitly or implicitly, her familiarity with a variety of relevant historical, scientific and philosophical authorities and with current scholarly thinking across multiple fields. She draws out cross-cultural comparisons and contrasts between South America, India and Italy; in her journal sections as in her initial historical narratives she references political treatises like Jean Louis De Lolme’s *The Constitution of England* (1800), and classical exemplars like Tacitus’ *Agricola*; she presents information clearly intended to speak to (and sometimes refute) contemporary theories about, for example, climatic influences on human behaviour or the causes of earthquakes. Yet the learning is always worn lightly, with its lattice of scholarly reference and allusion woven into what remains a highly conversational style; the effect is generally one of a well-informed author not lecturing her readers but instead throwing out observations, reflections and questions to an audience assumed to be equally well-informed, and so able to recognize the larger resonance and relevance of the information offered.

Thus sentiment co-exists in the South American journals with a pronounced commitment to social, cultural, political and even economic investigation; as Mary Louise Pratt notes, Graham should be regarded as a dedicated “exploratrice sociale”.[[42]](#endnote-42) Her travel writing tracks the progress of a sentimental self, yet that self is constantly shown in social circulation, engaged in what Graham frequently dubs “rational conversation” and constantly shaped by its interaction with others, with society and culture, and with history. In the breadth of engagements and interactions she records, Graham far more than her male contemporaries seems to reflect the Scottish Enlightenment’s emphasis on understanding societies both as the totality of many different spheres, and through the interrelationship of *all* those spheres. This pan-optic understanding of both society and history is further reflected in the multiple historiographic modes Graham brings together in each volume, as she combines a grand narrative of political history with documentary source gathering and an experiential narrative of history in action.

**Shaping History II: Political and Feminist Activism**

In addition to mixing historiographical modes in this innovative fashion, Graham’s South American journals also constituted, in a variety of ways, a surprisingly unabashed assertion of women’s historical and political agency. Significantly, Graham did not confine herself to an ostensibly neutral description of recent political developments in Chile and Brazil; rather, she positioned herself as an overtly partisan commentator, and indeed activist, on behalf of the causes, factions and individuals she most admired. As she declared in *Brazil*, she did “not pretend to perfect impartiality, for in some cases impartiality is no virtue”.[[43]](#endnote-43) But she must also have known that her South American affiliations and allegiances would prove politically contentious back in Britain.

The broad geo-political tenor of the South American travelogues has been well described by Hayward and Caballero.[[44]](#endnote-44) Although periodically critical of British merchants and investors for their lack of curiosity about anything other than commerce, Graham is nevertheless a strong advocate throughout the two volumes for trade liberalization and the flow of British capital into the region. Similarly, although Graham is complimentary about many aspects of Brazilian and Chilean society, she depicts both nations as comparatively backward and undeveloped, and so in need not only of British investment but also British culture. Although she nowhere proposes any sort of imperial or colonial relationship with the continent, it is clear that Graham seeks an expansion of British influence in South America. Caballero (writing specifically of *Chile*)has deftly analysed the ideology here as one of “benign domination”, a vision of informal empire in which Britain helps Brazil and Chile throw off colonial rule, then leads both nations towards prosperity and full civilization. Caballero also registers Graham’s frequent use of romance tropes when articulating her idealized vision of the region’s future development – a rhetorical strategy which may again reflect the influence of Williams’ *Letters from France*, which similarly often invokes romance in its optimistic early volumes, as Williams tries to imagine the brave new world which will emerge from revolutionary turmoil. With Graham, this romantic imagery is also strongly associated with Cochrane, who is depicted in unequivocally heroic terms as at once the deliverer of South American independence and the epitome of British courage and chivalry.

Graham here nods towards the well-established tradition of exemplary history, as she also does in numerous vignettes and cameos which affirm her belief that “histories of revolution, when every passion and affection is called into action”, often yield instructive instances of both noble and despicable conduct.[[45]](#endnote-45) But to make Cochrane the principal hero of this exemplary history was controversial, since the former Whig MP was in the eyes of conservative British commentators both a dangerous radical and a disgraced man, tainted by allegations of financial impropriety.[[46]](#endnote-46) Similarly problematic was Graham’s conviction that revolution might be both a route to better societies and the occasion of noble endeavour. Woven through Graham’s many reflections on this theme are numerous comments on the conduct and consequences of the French Revolution, and here Graham clearly wishes to acknowledge both the horrors of the Revolution yet also the benefits ultimately brought by the transformative processes it inaugurated: “that *all* should have been for the better, no one, who reflects on the imperfect state of humanity, will believe, but I will hope that most of these changes have bettered the general condition of human nature”.[[47]](#endnote-47) This was politically provocative in the reactionary atmosphere of 1820s Britain. Along with her championing of Cochrane, it positioned Graham firmly – and for a woman writer, unusually conspicuously – in the camp of contemporary Whig liberalism; a political allegiance also signalled by her many quotations from Byron.

Graham’s assertiveness in this regard reflects a lifelong interest in politics, as evidenced in her private papers, which frequently show Graham eagerly tracking Parliamentary debates in Britain. She was also, as we have seen, well-read in political and economic theory, with the South American journals referencing figures like Adam Smith and De Lolme. As a consequence, she did not shrink from offering her own advice about the path Brazil and Chile should follow. “I think this transaction a mistake”, she declares at one juncture; elsewhere opinions are proffered as to how she would proceed “were I [Chile’s] legislator” or “if I were first magistrate of a country”.[[48]](#endnote-48) British policy makers are similarly admonished, as Graham urges recognition of the independence of the states of South America and outlines the commercial advantages formal recognition would bring.[[49]](#endnote-49) She also offers in *Brazil* a vigorous critique of slavery, as Hayward and Caballero have discussed.[[50]](#endnote-50) Such activism on the page is matched by activism in the field; in *Chile*, for example, Graham depicts herself setting up a lithographic press to print pamphlets for Cochrane. Later, during her third visit to Brazil, Graham would even act directly as what one contemporary termed a “Diplomatic Agent” for Cochrane, serving as his emissary during negotiations with a rival general.[[51]](#endnote-51)

This last task fell to Graham when she returned to Rio to take up the post of tutor at the imperial court; by this date, *Brazil* was already in print. But the two published volumes include many examples of Graham venturing into ostensibly masculine territory not only by discussing political and economic affairs, but also offering her own advice on these important public issues. This overt political activism sits within larger narratives which seem concerned to highlight wherever they can striking instances of women’s agency and accomplishment across a broad array of spheres. Some of these would have been familiar and fairly uncontroversial to contemporary British readers; thus Graham praises Dona Maria Clara as “a regular Brazilian *bas-bleu* [i.e. blue-stocking]” and salonnière, and notes the ability of many Chilean women to engage in improvised, extempore poetic composition (a skill reminiscent of De Stael’s heroine Corinne).[[52]](#endnote-52) In other cases, the female achievements depicted were to British eyes more strikingly unconventional, as Graham records women famed for their skill in horse-breaking, for fighting as soldiers in the recent civil wars, and for displaying various forms of valour and endurance during the revolutionary turmoil. In this way a distinctly feminist as well as liberal agenda underpins Graham’s South American journals, as Graham repeatedly showcases women’s ability to exercise political and moral agency, and to make both direct and indirect interventions in the public sphere.

Graham’s interest in the strategies by which women might exercise indirect political influence arguably culminates with her own acceptance of the post of tutor to the Imperial princess; a role which conforms to traditional expectations of women’s maternal, educative and moral influence, and which positions Graham as the feminine counterpart to Cochrane’s heroic British masculinity. At the same time, however, the South American journals in both form and content also constitute a more direct – and by the gender norms of the day less conventional – intervention into political debate. Producing history in a grand narrative mode as well as in more socially and self-focused modes, and engaging in discourses conventionally marked in this period as masculine, Graham arrogates to herself the right to comment on, and contribute to, what is at several junctures termed the “education of states”.[[53]](#endnote-53)

**Reception and Influence**

When published in 1824, the South American journals received mixed reviews. Where reviews were hostile, Graham’s political affiliations seem to have been the major cause. The *British Critic* rebuked the Chile volume as a “party pamphlet”, in which Graham all too frequently assumed the role of “full-grown politician”; the *London Literary Gazette* declared that *Brazil* should be adorned with a “full-length portrait” of Graham “in Blue stockings and a Red cap; as a sign that literary gossip and politics were to be found within, though not good entertainment”.[[54]](#endnote-54) As the latter criticism will suggest, these were attacks frequently made in gendered terms, in which opposition to Graham’s politics often seems fused with unease about women expressing any sort of political view, and with the patronizing assumption that women must lack credibility as political commentators simply by virtue of their sex. In other cases, Graham’s gender is not explicitly used to discredit her politics, but one senses implicit condescension and dismissal on this score. The *Quarterly Review* pronounced Graham “unqualified to write *political* disquisitions on Brazil”, due to “her slight knowledge of the characters with whom she mixed, her ignorance of the language in which they conversed, and her imperfect acquaintance with the customs and manners of the people”.[[55]](#endnote-55) Yet this seems little more than a display of, and appeal to, contemporary prejudices about women’s intellectual acumen, since the first two accusations are patently untrue (at least of the second leg of Graham’s Brazil visit when she was fluent in Portuguese and well-integrated into elite society) and the third highly debatable.

It was by and large reviewers hostile to Graham’s politics who labelled her preliminary historical sketches unnecessary examples of “book-making”. The *Quarterly*’s review of *Brazil*, for example, judged that volume’s historical narrative a “hasty and ill-arranged abridgement” of Southey, even though more than half of Graham’s account was devoted to events not covered by the earlier historian.[[56]](#endnote-56) The reviewer also seized upon what are clearly type-setting errors in a handful of dates (so that, for example, 1548 is given as 1648), greatly exaggerating these to give the impression of a generally sloppy, error-strewn narrative; a charge which careful comparison of Graham with her sources shows to be unfair and inaccurate. Reviewers more sympathetic to Graham’s liberalism, however, praised her historiographical endeavours. For the Whig *Monthly Review*, the introduction to *Chile* was “a valuable historical document” which redressed the fact that “no account had been given to the European public by any of the actors or spectators” in the recent upheavals.[[57]](#endnote-57) It further praised her “historical narratives” as “truly instructive”, and offered the overall judgement that Graham was a more accomplished traveller than Madame de Stael, surpassing the latter in “comprehension of view”, “scientific acquirement”, and “practical heroism”.[[58]](#endnote-58)

Other reviews were less fulsome but paid Graham the implicit compliment of incorporating substantial extracts from her journals for the edification of their readers. Even the *Quarterly*’s hostile review of *Brazil* recognized the usefulness of some of the information Graham had gathered, praising for example the import and export data in the volume’s appendix. The *Quarterly*’s review of *Chile* drew upon that volume extensively, even as it quibbled over the accuracy of some details and declared Graham’s account “more infected with the abstract admiration of revolution” than Basil Hall’s contemporaneous narrative.[[59]](#endnote-59) These lengthy excerpts – standard practice in contemporary review culture – show Graham’s South American volumes being received not principally as literary texts but as factually informative documents relaying useful observations to their domestic readership. Graham’s contribution to contemporary knowledge and intellectual debate is further corroborated when one traces the subsequent influence of the South American journals. In 1824 Robert Kerr had lamented the lack of reliable recent accounts of Chile; in 1825, a commentator could declare in the *Atheneum* that “the volumes of Mrs Graham and Captain Hall richly fill up the blank”.[[60]](#endnote-60) Josiah Conder subsequently drew extensively on Graham’s South American journals in both the Chile and Brazil sections of *The Modern Traveller* (1827-1830), a multi-volume digest of current geographical knowledge pitched at a popular readership. Hugh Murray similarly drew on Graham in his more scholarly *Encyclopaedia of Geography* (1834), and she was also referenced by historians like Archibald Alison and the German scholar A.H.L. Heeren; indeed, in the latter’s *Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies* (1834), Graham’s Chile journal is said to provide “the best account of the occurrences which had taken place in that country up to the year 1822”.[[61]](#endnote-61)

When she left Chile, Graham donated a number of historical works which she had taken with her to the newly established National Library.[[62]](#endnote-62) However, her greatest historiographical gift to both Chile and Brazil was her two published volumes. Cochrane would later call Graham “the first historian of the [Chilean] Republic”; the *Monthly Review* stressed at the time of publication that her journal would “probably be consulted by future historians of Chile, as fundamental authority for describing the first tottering steps of the infant-giant Independence”.[[63]](#endnote-63) The latter prediction has been amply fulfilled, with Graham’s accounts remaining even now an important resource for historians. This article has sought to demonstrate that their historical usefulness was not fortuitous, but rather the consequence of their author’s considerable expertise in the discipline – an expertise generated both through wide historical and political reading and through extensive networking with leading contemporary historians. More than most other travel accounts of this era – and certainly more than any prior or contemporary female-authored travelogue – Graham’s South American journals push travel writing in the direction of outright historiography, especially in their introductory “Sketches”. They need consequently to be credited as a more significant contribution to Romantic-era historical discourse than has hitherto been recognized, and as a noteworthy experiment in the melding of genres and historiographical modes.

1. **Notes**

 See, for example, Zoe Kinsley, *Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682-1812* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) 13; Katherine Turner, “Women’s Travel Writing, 1750-1830”, in Jacqueline Labbe, ed., *The History of British Women’s Writing, 1750-1830* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010) 47-62 (52-3); Devoney Looser, *British Women Writers and the Writing of History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000) 2, 16. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. For illuminating discussions of the historiographical aspects of Helen Maria Williams’ *Letters from France* and Mary Wortley Montagu’s *Turkish Embassy Letters*, see respectively Mark Salber Phillips, *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740-1830* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000) 92-97, and Looser, *British Women Writers* 77-88. Nina Baym has also analysed the ways in which tour narratives by American women in the 1840s function as a form of historical discourse; see *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1995) 130-151. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, eds. Jennifer Hayward and M. Soledad Cabellero([1824] Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2010) 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. Ina Ferris, “Mobile Words: Romantic Travel Writing and Print Anxiety”, *Modern Language Quarterly* 60.4 (1999): 451-68 (452, 455). For the contemporary understanding of Romantic-era travel writing as a genre principally concerned with useful information rather than literary pleasure, see also Robin Jarvis, *Romantic Readers and Transatlantic Travel: Expeditions and Tours in North America, 1760-1840* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012). [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ed. Anne Ehrenpreis ([1818] Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985) 123. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Graham, *Brazil* 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. For the political and economic context to Graham’s travels, see Rebecca Cole Heinowitz, *Spanish America and British Romanticism, 1777-1826: Rewriting Conquest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2010). [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. Letter of August 5 1823; John Murray Archive, National Library of Scotland (NLS ACC 12604 f.34). [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. The principal accounts of Brazil by British travellers the decade prior to Graham are John Mawe’s *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (1812), Henry Koster’s *Travels in Brazil* (1816) and John Luccock’s *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern Parts of Brazil* (1820). [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. See Basil Hall, *Extracts from a Journal, Written on the Coasts of Chile and Peru* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1824); Peter Schmidtmeyer, *Travels into Chile Over the Andes* (London: Longman, 1824). Four further accounts were also published in 1825-26, by Alexander Caldcleugh, Francis Bond Head, John Miers, and William Bennet Stevenson. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Stephen Bann, *Romanticism and the Rise of History* (New York: Twayne, 1995) 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. See Looser, *British Women Writers*, and Greg Kucich, “The History Girls: Charlotte Smith’s *History of England* and the Politics of Women’s Educational History”, in Porscha Fermanis and John Regan, eds., *Rethinking British Romantic History, 1770-1845* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014) 35-53. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Karen O’Brien, “English Enlightenment Histories, 1750-c.1815”, in José Rabasa *et al*, eds., *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 3: 1400-1800* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012) 518-534 (520). [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. Karen O’Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009)206. [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS ENG. E. 2428. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. Maria Graham, *Journal of a Residence in Chile*, ed. Jennifer Hayward ([1824] Charlottesville, VA: U of Virginia P, 2003) 40. [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Graham, *Brazil* 7. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Robert Kerr, *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Cadell, 1824) 5: 218. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment* xii. [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. Graham, *Brazil* 303. [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. Graham, *Chile* 95; *Brazil* 270. [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Graham, *Brazil* 263. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. Graham, *Brazil* 270. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment* xii. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment* 17. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment* 19. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. The exception here is Schmidtmeyer’s *Travels*, which mingles sentiment and science in a Humboldtian vein, and so resembles Graham’s journals in its often personal and occasionally playful or meditative tone. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Graham, *Chile* 170-171. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment* 92. [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. Turner, “Women’s Travel Writing” 54. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Graham, *Chile* 45. [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Graham, *Chile* 28. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Graham, *Chile* 145. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Graham, *Chile* 27. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Dugald Stewart, *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (London and Edinburgh: Strahan, Cadell and Creech, 1792) 10. Graham read this volume during her Edinburgh years, and re-read it with Thomas Graham during their courtship *en route* to India; see Rosamund Gotch, *Maria, Lady Callcott: The Creator of “Little Arthur”* (London: John Murray, 1937) 130. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. Stewart, *Philosophy* 29. [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Graham’s Edinburgh friends John Leslie and John Playfair both reviewed publications by Humboldt in the *Edinburgh Review*. See Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 254, 286. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. Quoted in Leask, *Curiosity* 41. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Phillips, *Society and Sentiment* 195-217. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. Graham, *Chile* 157. [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. Graham, *Chile* 138. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* ([1992] London: Routledge, 2008) 152-61. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. Graham, *Brazil* 6. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. See the Introductions to *Chile* and *Brazil*, and also M. Soledad Caballero, “‘For the Honour of Our Country’: Maria Dundas Graham and the Romance of Benign Domination”, *Studies in Travel Writing* 9.2 (2005). [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. Graham, *Chile* 164. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. For an outline of Cochrane’s career, see Tim Fulford, “El Diablo and El Angel de Cielo: Thomasn and Kitty Cochrane and the Romanticization of Latin America”, in Joselyn Almeida, ed., *Romanticism and the Anglo-Hispanic Imaginary* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010) 81-108. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. Graham, *Chile* 85. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. Graham, *Chile* 55, 41, 143. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. Graham, *Chile* 128. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Introduction to Graham, *Brazil* xxviii-lii. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. John Armitage, *The History of Brazil*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder: 1831) 1: 172; for Graham’s own manuscript account of this diplomatic mission, see *Brazil* 53, 55-56. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. Graham, *Brazil* 232. [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. Graham, *Chile* 198. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. *British Critic* 21 (1824): 551, 550; *London Literary Gazette* (1824): 227. Red caps were associated with the sans-culottes of the French Revolution. [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. *Quarterly Review* 31 (1825): 14. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. *Quarterly* *Review* 31: 13. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. *Monthly Review* 106 (1824): 189-90. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. *Monthly* *Review* 106: 200, 180. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. *Quarterly Review* 30 (1824): 446. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. *Atheneum, or Spirit of the English Magazines* 3 (1825): 369. [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. A.H.L. Heeren, *A Manual of the History of the Political System of Europe and its Colonies*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Talboys, 1834) 2:378. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. See John Miers, *Travels in Chili and La Plata*, 2 vols. (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1826) 2: 257. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Thomas Cochrane, *Narrative of Services in the Liberation of Chile, Peru and Brazil*, 2 vols. (London: Ridgeway, 1859) 1: 71; *Monthly Review* 106: 190. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)