WRITING IN CODE: THE TRAVEL NARRATIVES OF ANNA MARIA FALCONBRIDGE AND ELIZABETH HOUSE TRIST

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ABSTRACT: An examination of the travel narratives of Anna Maria Falconbridge and Elizabeth House Trist reveals a commonality in rhetorical conventions for the purpose of writing to an audience other than the one explicitly assumed or named in their texts. The texts of these two middle-class, late eighteenth-century women writers reveals several commonalities in both content and writing style even though Falconbridge and Trist wrote and traveled hemispheres apart. Both women travel from their homes through the insistence of their husbands only to be widowed during the duration of their travels. Furthermore, Falconbridge and Trist create a female traveling persona in their writing in order to account for certain action or thoughts that would have been deemed immodest for middle-class, married women. During the late eighteenth century, middle-class female writers from both Europe and New England utilized rhetorical conventions such as apology in order to address a male audience, a process deemed "writing in code." This study focuses on how the intended audience of the narratives of Falconbridge and Trist was different from the explicit audience as well as the rhetorical strategies they employ to accomplish this task. Writing through a female persona, the content of their texts addresses their intended male audience while apology and humility provides the code to avoid overt societal scrutiny. This strategy allows for the publication of their narratives. Looking at both the private journal and epistolary forms of life writing, this paper argues that traveling women negotiated many roles including often the role of wife

and that this gendered position resulted in a necessary writing in code within the texts to hide the authorial power claimed through the act of traveling and writing about the self during this century. Furthermore, applying a hemispheric methodology allows for the examination and comparison of narratives for two women writers in transit from vast distances apart.

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CHAPTER I

WRITING IN CODE: THE TRAVEL NARRATIVES OF ANNA MARIA FALCONBRIDGE AND ELIZABETH HOUSE TRIST

No matter the reason, the distance or the location, travel by women during the late eighteenth century, especially when unaccompanied, was regarded as unorthodox. Despite the stigma attached to these episodes, many women have documented their personal narratives detailing their travel experiences in early New England and across the ocean in Europe.[1] Travel for women during the eighteenth century, although gaining popularity, would still have been considered rather unusual unless the traveling women were accompanied, most commonly, by their husbands. Duty to one's husband or one's religion were the two most common legitimizing factors for women to leave the private realm of the home. Travel for women was viewed as unorthodox, although women in transit were not uncommon, and writing about their travels soon followed. Anna Maria Falconbridge, later Anna Maria DuBois, and Elizabeth House Trist were two of several early traveling women to publish their stories during the late eighteenth century.[2] Focusing on the travel of these two middle-class women does not suggest women from only this social stratum traveled during this century. Quite the contrary, women from all levels of society traveled for varying reasons, and a unifying of the travel experiences of

all women threatens to devalue the knowledge potentially hidden in the narratives of their unique journeys. However, both Falconbridge and Trist negotiate cultural parameters and expectations so they can address topics and express viewpoints that are deemed to belong to male realms of thought and action in eighteenth-century cultures. Thus, comparing their narratives suggests rhetorical similarities employed by middle-class women in transit. Furthermore, both women create female personas in order to purposefully utilize techniques of apology and humility to gain acceptance of their choices to both travel and write. The crafted persona allows for discussion that may seem uncharacteristic at first to the both the epistolary and diary genre forms established by Falconbridge and Trist.

Anna Maria Falconbridge's text, *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793,* appears as a set of letters that contain personal information told through the voice of a female persona along with detailed accounts of the people of Sierra Leone and the successes and failures of the Sierra Leone Company's efforts to establish a slave abolitionist colony in West Africa.[3] Although they explore the first known account of an Englishwoman's eye witness narrative of her journey to West Africa, Falconbridge's letters remain understudied.[4] The narrative of Elizabeth House Trist, *The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist: Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84* documents her journey from Philadelphia to Natchez, Mississippi in 1783 to 1784 to reach her husband, Nicholas Trist of County Devon, England, a British officer stationed in the colonies.[5] After a span apart, Nicholas entreats his wife to join him. In addition to her observations about daily life through a familiar domestic lens, Trist includes observations about the landscape and geography. Trist's narrative remained unpublished

during her lifetime, but letters between Thomas Jefferson and Trist indicate that her diary was kept at his request; however, Trist fails to alert readers to this audience in her text.

In this paper, I seek to understand the conflicting relationship between the stated or intended audience and the implicit audience established by the autobiographical personas contained in Falconbridge and Trist's travel writing. Falconbridge, as a traveling female writer, explicitly addresses her letters to a fellow female. However, due to the lack of specificity in her address, the lack of sentiment in her closure, and the later content of her letters that express her concern at the female condition in eighteenth-century England, one can surmise these letters were intended for a male audience. Falconbridge takes on a female persona and uses the familiar letter to express her views as she claims to write to a female friend in order to be published. The conventions of apology and humility expressed through her female persona allow for the act of writing and her request for money owed to be deemed more acceptable.

Following a similar pattern, Elizabeth House Trist address a presumably male audience and purposely writes with him in mind, yet we can see ways she creates a female persona in order to make her female experiences in the frontier that are outside of the normal women's experiences in that time more acceptable. As a female diary, Trist's writing would have been assumed to either be private or intended for a female reader back home; however, Trist's true audience was a male reader, Thomas Jefferson.[6] Trist alerts readers to the conventions of both diary and travel narrative by noting the two genres in her title; however, the intended purpose of her genre form remains unknown. Regardless if she intended the diary to fit the conventions of the eighteenth-century female familiar letter or the male conventions of the exploratory travel narratives of

Louis and Clark, her female persona utilizes rhetorical conventions of apology and humility interspersed with powerful claims to scientific observations and her adaptability and acceptance to life on the frontier, a discursive combination unique to either genre.

Falconbridge and Trist's narratives may have different purposes and appear in two different genre forms, but the writing of both women utilizes rhetorical moves such as apology and humility that show their letters and diary may instead have been intended for a male reader. I refer to this process of explicitly addressing a female audience in order to hide the authorial power contained in the act of writing to their implicit male audience as "writing in code." Both women, regardless of genre, create a female persona in order to make their choices to travel and write acceptable to an eighteenth-century society.

Due to societal gender norms that emphasized female subordination, middle-class women during the late eighteenth century were normally confined strictly within the boundaries of the home and garden. This attitude towards the place of women within society was not specific to a certain geographic region or culture. Both in early New England and Britain during the mid-to-late eighteenth century, the area beyond the home remained difficult to access for women. In order to account for the vast difference in location of these two narratives, I employ a hemispheric methodology approach outlined by Ralph Bauer.[7] Similar to the triangulated Atlantic model used by Latin Americanist Stephanie Merrim, who compared the ways in which early American women writers from two hemispheres utilized the formal tradition of the spiritual biography, I will use the gendered position of Trist and Falconbridge as traveling female writers to explore how they appropriated certain rhetorical conventions in their respective travel narratives

to allow for the acceptance of their stories even as they break conventions and address male readers.[8]

Although these two women lived and wrote several years apart and traveled to different places, they both use their domestic life and position as a wife to shape and comment on their travel experience as well as on the restrictions society placed upon them. Both Trist and Falconbridge embark on their journeys through a waterway, although hemispheres apart, either to rejoin or accompany their husbands. They originate from affluent families and embark on journeys into harsh terrains, battle inclement weather, and interact with the native populations. Although both women begin their journey as wives, both women emerge as widows. An additional common feature of both narratives lies in the use of humility as a rhetorical convention to mask the power contained in the act of authorship, to address a male reader, and to allow for the acceptance of their stories as traveling women. Benedicte Monicat emphasizes the importance that travel writing has for women's self-expression, stating "travel writing becomes a most important medium for women; it questions the traditional limits placed upon their writings and ways of being and allows for a complex feminine subject to emerge."[9] Through their travel writing, these women found acceptable female voices in which to comment on subjects such as scientific observations and displeasure in their marriage that may have been accompanied by social stigma.

The expectations for women of eighteenth-century England differ based on economic level, race, and religion, and therefore a unifying of all traveling women's experiences remains impossible. However, Anna Maria Falconbridge's position as a wife contributes to her assumed persona's negotiation between the public societal expectations

for a female traveler and her own private thoughts as related in her letters. Writing to an imagined male addressee, Falconbridge was aware of her duties as a wife, and her narrative employs apologetic rhetorical conventions that act to assert her modesty. Falconbridge's *Narrative* exists as one example of a female writer employing the narrative structure of travel and letter-writing to gain monetary reimbursement, an act that would have been seen as an uncharacteristic and even a socially inappropriate attempt to gain personal agency for middle-class English women during the eighteenth century. Falconbridge's persona negotiated between the two realms of the personal commonly associated solely with women and emotion and the public that remained mostly off-limits to female writers. Reporting on what she observes, her letters contain an overwhelming amount of information about the interworkings of the Sierra Leone Company along with some personal information about her own condition. She works within both the conventions associated with the eighteenth-century letter and the façade of familiar female correspondence to publish a scathing condemnation of the practices of the Sierra Leone Company and comments on her own limited position as a woman during this time.

In her "Dedication," Falconbridge writes to "The Inhabitants of Bristol" and "my *dear Country* Women [original emphasis],"[10] yet Falconbridge does not direct her letters simply to female readership, but consistently writes to a male addressee/s as well. Deidre Coleman points out in "Sierra Leone, Slavery and Sexual Politics: Anna Maria Falconbridge and the 'Swarthy Daughter' of Late 18th Century Abolitionism," that italicization in Falconbridge's text often indicates ridicule.[11] By italicizing her dedication to her fellow countrywomen, Falconbridge suggests sarcastically that she directs her

letters towards a female readership, even as she does not. From the very beginning of her letters, Falconbridge alludes to the societal necessity for a woman to write to a female audience in order to be heard, all the while knowing once approved for publication the content of her letters would naturally reach a male readership as initially intended. Falconbridge directs her letters to a female addressee as a type of writing in code where her explicit female audience acts as a rhetorical placeholder for her intended male audience. Writing to a female addressee allows Falconbridge to write freely on issues such as the limited status of women in England and her own unhappiness in her marriage to Alexander Falconbridge. Because she writes with an imagined male addressee in mind, she relates her autobiographical events in the tone of an impassioned observer, and she utilizes apology as a rhetorical act to defend her modesty. Falconbridge's letters show that she is acutely aware of societal expectations for feminine behavior during this time, and she writes within the conventions of the letter to express viewpoints that challenge the expected content of feminine writing. Thus, throughout her letters Falconbridge creates an autobiographical traveling female persona shaped by both her explicit intended addressee of "my fellow countrywomen," and her true implicit audience, the men of the Sierra Leone Trade Company.[12]

Falconbridge may have chosen the epistolary genre to voice her protest against a male audience because it was the most acceptable form of life writing for women during the eighteenth century. She establishes her position of authority as she requests money the Sierra Leone Company owed her. Furthermore, her awareness of a male audience shapes her narrative as she negotiates her many roles as traveler, reporter, woman, and wife. Deirdre Coleman claims "casting most of her narrative as a series of letters to an

intimate female friend, Falconbridge uses the epistolary form to place in the foreground the femaleness of her voice and her preoccupation with issues to do with her sex; the private letter also conveys to the reader a lively, informal firsthand view of history in the making."[13] Coleman suggests that Falconbridge's letters explicitly contain gender specific concerns because she writes to a female friend, and she asserts the "femaleness" of Falconbridge's persona. Letters generally were believed to contain personal connections with which women would identify as one outlet for expressing their feelings. Cook notes:

> The letter became an emblem of the private; while keeping its actual function as an agent of the public exchange of knowledge, it took on the general connotations it still holds for us today, intimately identified with the body, especially a female body, and the somatic terrain of the emotions, as well as with the thematic material of love, marriage and the family.[14]

Although Falconbridge's letters explicitly address "my dear friend," the "femaleness of her voice" is a code she utilizes to disguise her true motives of addressing the Sierra Leone Company. Falconbridge never names the implied female friend. Furthermore, Falconbridge excludes any sort of emotional or familiar signature on her letters. Her lack of signature distances herself personally from her intended addressee. These letters were public documents published to express Falconbridge's discontent, not intimate letters. Disagreeing again with Coleman, specifically with her assertion that Falconbridge's letters were private, I suggest that although they were indeed addressed to one person, Falconbridge's "Preface" states her intent to publish from the very beginning, and

publishing alludes to the knowledge of a third, public readership as opposed to correspondence strictly between Falconbridge and an intimate female friend.

Falconbridge uses the epistolary form to give herself an authoritative voice in a society that normally kept women in silence; however, readers must take caution before considering the narrating voice in her letters as her actual lived experience. Due to its form, letters as a genre invite multiple interpretations. [15] For example, the italicization of words and phrases throughout Falconbridge's letters, juxtaposed with an ambiguous addressee, expose the possibility for multiple meanings in the letter form. Throughout her letters, Falconbridge writes to "*My Dear Friend*," "*My dear Friend*," "*My dear Madam*," "*My Dear Madam*," and lastly "HENRY THORTON" [all original emphasis]. Readers assume her "madam" and "friend" is a friend or family member back in Bristol, but that supposed female friend is never mentioned by name. Falconbridge's "Dedication" outwardly addresses a female recipient, but her lack of specificity allows for a more open interpretation of her intended addressee. Falconbridge leaves her intended recipient vague to allow for both a male and female public readership upon her letters' publication. Falconbridge feels pressure to write to a female addressee in order to publish, but her "dear madam" greeting only exists to fulfill the conventions expected of a letter.

As a traveling woman, Falconbridge interacted with the public world of sailors, fellow travelers, natives, and members of the Sierra Leone Trade Company. Yet at the same time, Falconbridge began her journey to accompany her husband, Alexander Falconbridge, and thus she maintained her private connection to the home as well. Traveling women were in constant negotiation with societal expectations even more so than those who stayed in the private sphere of the home. The female persona in women's

letters negotiated between the boundaries of public and private realms which became fluid as they traveled. Women wrote about the home as well as what they saw in their journeys, thus combining content and conventions associated with both realms. Elizabeth Cook explores the division of public and private that occurred based upon the common assumed subject matter for women and men in letter writing. She states:

> For many years much literary criticism on epistolary prose accepted the dichotomy of separate and gendered public and private spheres. Such studies assume that there are two kinds of letter-narratives, and tend to limit their investigations to one of these, treating either epistolary texts that focus on private relations and the analysis of female passion or those that address political issues, narrowly defined, and cultural contexts.[16]

Cook asserts that these are unrealistic and limiting divisions of information that women commented upon in their letters. Published travel letters of women reveal the limitations to the public/private dichotomy. Movement from the confinement of the home, as well as the act of later publishing their letters, placed them in contact with the public realm. Consequently, the act of autobiographical letter writing for traveling women provides a discursive in-between space for female writers during the eighteenth century.

Karen Lawrence alerts readers to the medial position between public and private that this type of writing presents for these women when she asserts "travel literature explores a tension between the thrilling possibilities of the unknown and the weight of the familiar, between a desire for escape and a sense that one can never be outside a binding cultural network."[17] Falconbridge struggles with her subject position as both woman and travel writer. She physically leaves England but feels bound to societal expectations for

female behavior. Her negotiation with multiple subject positions in her letter causes us to wonder, where do women who accompany their husbands to distant lands fall within the scope of "traveler"? Falconbridge, like her contemporaries, was not forced to travel due to exile, but she also did not volunteer or ask to travel. Instead, her husband was sent to Sierra Leone to serve on a slave abolition committee, and she accompanied him without question.[18] The role of wife suggests, at least initially, that her marriage shaped her position as traveler—she traveled not only as an adventurer but through her unique position as a wife. Whether the interpretations of the position as wife are part of the assumed persona expected of women travelers or if these descriptions reflect the women's real position as a wife is unanswerable, but it is clear that Falconbridge's persona often filters her interpretations of people and places through the identity of a married women in England. However, even though she was married, her narrative is not overtly sentimental. She does not focus her letters on only aspects of the home, feelings, and marriage—subjects of the private sphere that women were credited with writing about during this time. Instead, she uses the natives and other foreign women as metaphors through which to comment on her European feminine identity.

Falconbridge was neither the first person nor the first woman to visit Sierra Leone, but she was the first woman to write about it. Other European men provided detailed accounts of the slave trade in Sierra Leone both from abolitionist and pro-slavery viewpoints. However, unlike other pro-slavery travel accounts, Falconbridge's narrative is uniquely empathetic. Writing in code as a woman writing to a fellow female addressee, Falconbridge relates to the slaves of Sierra Leone by equating her own position as wife restrained by her husband with the position of the natives. Coleman posits:

> Falconbridge's *Narrative* stands a long way off from such abolitionist pieties, but it is also markedly different from the more usual run of pro-slavery travel books. While her distrust of Naimbana fits the paradigm of many travellers' perceptions of the natives—that they are treacherous, revengeful, and vindictive—her position as a woman and as colonial subject makes her an exception to the rule formulated by her contemporary, John Newton: that 'the English and Africans, reciprocally, consider each other as consummate villains.'[19]

Falconbridge does not accept the common motif of viewing the natives' experience as separate and foreign, and instead she assimilates the experience of slavery as an autobiographical expression of her own limited identity. Katrina O'Loughlin notes the connection Falconbridge makes between the disenfranchised Sierra Leone slaves and her limited position as a wife:

> [Anna Maria's] horror at the condition of these 'wretched victims' quickly transmutes to a description of her own entrapment within her 'hastily contracted' marriage. This slippage between the body of the slave and the status of a wife in marriage is clearly marked by the movement of the text.[20]

Through the guise of commenting on the conditions of the slaves, Falconbridge finds a voice for her own feelings of confinement in her marriage to Alexander. She makes reference to the cabin he keeps her in as a "floating cage" and a "floating prison." Openly expressing her discontent with her marriage may have kept her letters from publication due to the societal expectations to remain silent about marital dissatisfaction. However, Falconbridge utilizes the slaves' conditions and metaphorically gives voice to the abusive treatment she receives at the hands of her alcoholic husband. O'Loughlin posits,

accurately, that Falconbridge's persona ironically equates her own lack of freedom as the wife to a slave abolitionist with the position of the slaves.[21] Falconbridge's status as a wife allows for the inclusion of personal connections to the conditions of the slaves, connections which would have been lost on European male writers.[22]

This connection between Falconbridge's experiences in Sierra Leone and her role as a wife are seen later in a 10 February 1791 letter, when she attends a dinner for King Naimbana. The letter includes that "[she] often had an inclination to offer services to close the holes, but was fearful least [her] needle might blunder his Majesty's leg" (*AMF* 27*).* Falconbridge assesses the king's appearance based on her own wifely inclination to mend holed clothing. Furthermore, 13 May 1791, she attends a dinner with King Jemmy, his court, her husband, and other members from the Sierra Leone Company and she confesses:

> My heart quivered with fear least they might be forming some treacherous contrivance: I could not conceal the uneasiness it felt: My countenance betrayed me, and a shower of tears burst from my eyes, and I swooned into hystericks. Recovering in a short time, I observed every one around, treating me with the utmost kindness, and endeavouring me to convince me that neither insult or injury would be offered to us. (*AMF* 55)

These two scenes show the tension between the feminine persona Falconbridge utilizes in her narrative and her true power as a traveling woman expressed in the two events. Her narrative records occurrences that may be construed as immodest for women to have participated. In the second scene at court, in order to maintain credibility, she either utilizes techniques of apology or interjects comments that would partially diminish the

agency in her voice that may be construed as inappropriate for female writers. Falconbridge writes about attending the dinner with King Naimbana and the members of the Sierra Leone Company as they discuss the future of the colony. Simply including in her letters that she sits among these men and potentially contributes to the formation of the colony may suggest her claiming too much authority. Thus, in the very same passage she writes that she faints. The passage suggests her fainting occurs due to her fear of the native men and their potential for betrayal. However, mere pages before she ponders whether or not to willingly mend the King's clothing, an act which would place her within inches of the men of which her fainting suggests she fears. Fainting may seem unimportant or normal in situations when one feels threatened, but the extreme feminine sentimentality of this act is out of place in her narrative. Throughout her letters she rarely gets sick, she never cries, and she makes a point to note early on in her letters, "I did not experience any of those fears peculiar to my sex upon the water" (*AMF* 14). This claim is all the more telling coupled with the fact that seasickness caused many of her male companions to be bedridden. Thus, when she faints at the dinner, her rhetorical strategy of writing in code appears obvious. In order to be published, she must adopt some of the conventions expected of a female traveler writing to a female friend back in England, and all the while she still includes the act of sitting down with men in decision making situations among the entries of her narrative.

Another example of how Falconbridge's narrative uses humility in the form of apology to counter events that may be construed as immodest for women is when she tours Bance Island. The members of the company refused to take Falconbridge to the slave quarters behind the home. On 10 February 1791 she admits:

> Delicacy perhaps, prevented the gentlemen from taking me to see them; but the room where we dined looks directly into the yard. Involuntarily I strolled to one of the windows after dinner, without the smallest suspicion of what I was to see, judge then what my astonishment and feelings were, at the sight of between two and three hundred wretched victims. . . offended modesty rebuked me with a blush for not hurrying my eyes from such disgusting scenes. (*AMF* 23)

The letter expresses the tension between the desire to seek out adventure and the expectations of her feminine modesty as a wife. The traveling party refused to take her to see the slave quarters, yet when she reports that indeed she looked out the window, she quickly affirms to her readership that her choice is not appropriate for a woman. This scene expresses her choice to adhere to male societal expectations of feminine "delicacy." Writing to a more public, male addressee necessitates the defending of her credibility as a modest woman.

Falconbridge is in constant negotiation with her position as a woman writing to an imagined male addressee. Writing within this negotiation of public (male) and private (female) realms was not an easy task. Kristi Siegel posits, "early women travelers had a lot at stake; they needed to establish some narrative credibility while, at the same time, countering attacks against their femininity prompted by their so-called unnatural and inappropriate behavior."[23] Falconbridge attempts to protect the validity of her narrative by acknowledging the common perception of men as the main sources of "truth." She simultaneously challenges this notion through the unconventional act of her own writing.

Falconbridge's negotiation of her status as woman, wife, and traveler adds to the complex position of the persona in her narrative. In *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction,*

Culture Amanda Gilroy and WM Verhoven contend "there are always at least two sides to any correspondence, two subjectivities telling and reading potentially different stories, two voices testifying differently in an 'event of utterance' through which self and other define and redefine each other."[24] This relationship between letter writer and reader becomes more complicated when the persona occupies more than one subject position. Women travel writers negotiated multiple subjectivities through their position as female, traveler, wife, and even mother, at the same time they negotiate the preexisting masculine constructs of male writers who travel and report before them. As a female writer, Falconbridge balances references to her lack of expertise as compared to other male authors who have written before her, all the while affirming her own credibility to write about what she sees.

In her "Preface," Falconbridge refers to Lieutenant Matthews's account of a journey through Sierra Leone first published in 1788.[25] Falconbridge writes of her own efforts as an author when she exclaims "She has also made a humble attempt to delineate their situations and qualities, with a superficial History, of the Peninsula of Sierra Leone and its environs, which she certainly would have enlarged upon during her second Voyage, had not Lieutenant Matthews."[26] Falconbridge writes in the third person in her preface in order to distance herself from the power associated with the act of writing contained in her letters. She uses the female persona "she" versus "I" in order to allow for the publication of her letters. She goes on to praise Matthews' text as written by an "ingenious and masterly pen" and urges her readers to consult it for any information her text may lack. She also opens herself to scrutiny. If readers find her text to be filled with any lies, she agrees to "with all due deference, *kiss the rod of correction*."[27] She both

acknowledges the publication of a similar text by a man during this time, and in a common technique by female authors, she downplays the importance of her own observations while simultaneously asserting her authority to comment on the events she sees throughout the narrative itself.[28]

In an additional act of modesty, Falconbridge continues to be apologetic even when she addresses Henry Thorton, the man she feels is responsible for cheating her out of her husband's money. Her last letter to Thorton on 4 April 1794 is the only letter that contains her supposed signature. This letter, much like her "Preface," states that she decided to publish these letters only upon the insistence of her friends. As a female writer, Falconbridge adopts the normative stance of rejecting a position of power. Her persona relinquishes power by denying that she published on her own accord. Publishing her letters places Falconbridge in a precarious position. She claims a strong voice, and this act of agency results in her perceived loss of modesty by male readers. The language in the letters of Falconbridge's contemporaries, such as Lady Mary Montagu and Eliza Fay, utilize similar rhetorical moves.[29] Throughout her letters written while accompanying her husband as he worked as Ambassador to Turkey, Montagu makes constant reference to the outrageous length of her letters and how their content must necessarily bore her intended reader. These references increase when the intended addressee is male. For example, on 10 October 1716, Montagu writes to a Mr.—"if you are sincere when you say you expect to be extremely enterain'd by my Letters, I ought to be mortify'd at the disappointment that I am sure you will receive when you hear from me." The feminine modesty expected of women motivates Montagu to include varying forms of apology for writing at all. Eliza Fay, on the other hand, does not make explicit

apologies for writing as a woman, but of the three writers, her letters include the most frequent mention of the "duties" of her sex and her own bouts of sickness and weakness. Accompanying her husband to India in her early twenties, Fay details in her letters the adventure and experiences of her one year journey from London to Calcutta in 1779. Fay writes that she must correct the behavior of other women she meets along her journey so that they reflect the proper expectations of English women. 28 October 1779 she exclaims "I have been repeatedly compelled (by the honour of my Sex) to censure her swearing and indecent behavior." Furthermore, in her "Preface," Fay writes that she will provide readers with an "unembellished narrative of simple facts and real sufferings" due to the belief that woman exaggerated their tales. All three women claim an autobiographical voice through their letter writing yet their realization of the assumed lack of modesty by male readers causes them to reaffirm their adherence to feminine decorum. However, as do her contemporaries, Falconbridge simultaneously challenges a male addressee, and she fulfills her warning that she means to publish her letters. She writes:

> Being earnestly solicited, by several friends, to publish the History of my *Two Voyages to Africa*, and having, with some reluctance, consented, I feel it incumbent on me to address this letter to you (which is hereafter intended for publication, by a way of acquitting a tribute truth and candour demand. (*AMF* 157)

Falconbridge's persona minimizes Falconbridge's choice to publish her letters by insisting that she repeatedly resisted the thought but that Thorton has given her no choice. Meanwhile, she alludes to the guilt she feels at asserting such power as a female writer.

Her rhetorical choice to diminish her assertive voice establishes modesty. She is acutely aware of her male readership; this letter explicitly addresses Thorton. Because her audience is male, she outwardly acknowledges the unacceptability of her act of writing as a woman and claims that she feels reluctance—even if her subsequent publication of the letters shows that she may not.

As a traveling woman, Falconbridge was aware that her letters must contain additional information to counterbalance the assumed lack of rational credibility commonly associated with feminine writing. So in a further attempt to establish her authority, Falconbridge includes intertexts in the form of letters from additional members of the Company.[30] 28 December 1792, she includes recreated versions of letters written by John Clarkson and Captain T.H.Wilson (*AMF* 96,100). Later, on June 5, 1793, she provides "an accurate copy of [Secretary James Strand's] dismission" (*AMF* 122). She also proffers long quoted sections which she asserts are narratives that she has copied "nearly in their own words" from two Deputies that were treated unfairly by the Sierra Leone Company on 11 October 1793 (*AMF* 143-44). That same letter contains another letter to the director of the Company, Henry Thorton by Clarkson, Thorton's reply, and one by Isaac Anderson and Cato Perkins.[31] These artifacts act as testimonials for Falconbridge's case against her mistreatment, and her active pursuit of funds to which she feels owed. Throughout the first half of her letters, no secondary support beyond the persona's voice and one story told by the natives appears in the text. But later, as she explicitly directs her narrative more and more toward a male, public readership, she endeavors to thoroughly validate her credibility using intertexts as she presents a case against Thorton through her autobiographical travel narrative.

Even though Falconbridge writes to a female addressee to vocalize concerns she may otherwise never have been able to discuss, from time to time her persona adopts the impassionate tone commonly associated with the male subject position. Falconbridge's persona speaks rationally and with specific detail about people and places in the colony.[32] Rose Gillian explains the characteristics of the voice assumed by male geographers during this time as those which are "unextravagant, unembellished, unpretentious, unexceptional, and unremarked."[33] Writing from Granville Town 8 June 1791, Falconbridge provides her "dear madam" with a detailed description of the country and town that she visits. In a fitting example of the matter-of-fact prose style of male geographers that Falconbridge's persona uses in varying sections of her letters she writes:

> Since my last visit I have been to the French Factory, visited several neighboring towns, and made myself a little intimate with the history, manner, and customs, &c. of the inhabitants of this part of Africa, which it seems, was first discovered by the Portuguese, who named it *Sierra De Leone*, or *Mountain of Lions* (original emphasis). The tract of the country Sierra Leone, is a Peninsula one half of the year, and an island the other—that is, during the rains the Isthmus is overflowed. (*AMF* 44)

This straightforward description of what she sees, including the history of the places she visits, excludes her thoughts, her feelings, or even references to the home. Furthermore, her narrative adopts an authoritative stance common to masculine writing. However, even in this unembellished description, Falconbridge negotiates her feminine position by hedging her authority to comment on such sights. Her choice to include the non-

restrictive modifier "which it seems," provides a doubtful tone to her otherwise authoritative report of the local geography.

Moreover, as a way to add more credibility to her writing she connects these reports on the local geography to English customs back home. References to practices in Europe help make her observations about this unsettled colonial venture recognizable to her readership. Referring to the houses 10 February 1791, she observes, "all of them are composed of thatch, wood, and clay, something resembling our poor cottages in many parts of England" (*AMF* 20). Then later, 28 December 1792, she exclaims, "mutton and goat's flesh are the most preferable in their kinds; indeed, the former, though not overloaded with fat, I think nearly as sweet as our English mutton" (*AMF* 102). Falconbridge feels compelled to describe aspects of culture her readers back in England would recognize. It is clear from her dedication to "Inhabitants of Bristol" that she writes to an English audience, but her attempts to connect to her "dear madam" lack a personal element. Her links between the geography and the food of Sierra Leone to those back in England are general. The vague links between what she sees in her travels and the connections to elements of English society may suggest additional ways in which Falconbridge signals to the reader that her explicit, female addressee is simply a necessary convention in order to publish her letters. If Falconbridge meant to address a specific female friend she may have included references more specific and personalized to her addressee and not broad references recognizable by a vast English readership.

Falconbridge employs a female persona in order to allow for the publication and acceptance of her text that includes experiences and commentary deemed as outside of the normal female private sphere. Similar to Falconbridge, Trist utilizes a female persona

in her travel diary as she addresses a male audience. In Trist's narrative, a reoccurring theme of a wife as chaste and devoted to her husband exists. In addition, although it appears as if her role as subservient wife would rob her of agency, she utilizes these gendered social roles to claim power. Through travel, and even more so through the publication of her story, Trist transgresses the social roles that assign women strictly to the home; however, she maintains the most influential role of the wife. Although she was first and foremost a wife, traveling through the frontier gives her access to areas beyond the home and garden which allows her to reject the expected space where a wife is normally found. Trist records her journey in diary format. It begins 23 December 1783, and breaks off mid-sentence 1 July 1784. Trist's narrative is not published upon her request nor during her lifetime, unlike Falconbridge's text published in several editions while she still lived. Susan Imbarrato recognizes that although Trist's text was not intended for a public audience, Trist "anticipates one critic's criterion for the genre of eighteenth-century travel narrative."[34] Additionally, Trist anticipates a male readership. Even though Trist does not explicitly state her purpose for writing, correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Trist indicates that the travel diary may have been started upon his request.[35] Annette Kolodny originally alerts readers to this fact; however, readers would not have been privy to this detail by reading Trist's diary in its isolation. Focusing solely on the diary as a document of travel writing and excluding Trist's letters, the rhetorical conventions employed in her writing alert readers to the expected modesty of a traveling woman.

Eighteenth-century perceptions of audience for diaries and journals written by women assume either a private or strictly female readership. Furthermore, the

information contained in women's diaries was normally thought to contain sentimental feelings and day to day observations about a woman's life. Trist's travel diary is unique in that it records the natural and geographical aspects of the journey from Philadelphia to Natchez without being overtly sentimental. Because Trist writes at Jefferson's request, we see her purpose to write is to address him. However, Trist's female persona includes details regarding her position as a wife and creates her own writing in code to allow for the acceptance of her travel diary as a scientific recording for the public, male, intended reader, Thomas Jefferson. She was aware of the conventions of humility and modesty expected of a mostly unaccompanied, traveling wife. Trist anticipates a male audience and uses the conventions of female writing to create an acceptable rhetorical space. As Merrim points out "humility topics. . . resolve the woman's double bind of how to speak in a context that mandates silence and furnish the woman writer with a socially sanctioned self-referential language."[36] Through her female persona, Trist utilizes these rhetorical conventions to avoid the scrutiny attached to a woman claiming authorial power, especially on matters of geography.

The same societal norms that made women's travel seemingly unachievable also considered the act of marriage a necessary economic pursuit for women and men alike. Married women in early eighteenth-century America traveled through the unsettled frontier, encountering other cultures as they negotiated within their own social arena. Marriage allowed for many women to travel; thus, it challenged the traditional position of women as restricted within the sphere of the home. Women were allowed to travel upon request of their husbands, and in some cases, were forced to travel because of them. Although traveling did not mean a woman would write down her journey, it did allow for

many of the stories that were written to be read and accepted. Travel allowed for women to write about their experiences outside of the space of the home and garden. This suggests the complete power marriage must have provided through women's abilities to travel; however, the position of wife enabled a woman to travel, to write about her travels, and to allow for the acceptance of her stories, but only within the limitations imposed by gendered social norms. Marriage, and their position as a wife, simultaneously provided the means for women's stories to be told and subjected them to the harsh conditions of travel in order to fulfill their marital duties.

As Trist maneuvers through the frontier, she is shaped by what she sees and experiences. Susan Clair Imbarrato states in *Traveling Women: Narrative Visions of Early America* that "as women sought their own relationship to the frontier, therefore they too altered their surroundings, both physically and socially."[37] Trist's narrative shows how she uses the domestic space connected to her wifely duties to make sense of her surroundings as she travels. The contact she makes with the frontier changes her along her journey. She begins to assimilate and accept practices that are necessary for travel to occur, yet she always asserts her position as a wife. Writing not to herself privately, but directly to Thomas Jefferson, Trist constantly reminds him that although some aspects of the frontier permeate her choices and judgment, her position as a wife and the fulfillment of the duties that go along with wifedom never waver. She employs written conventions of humility and modesty to diminish the negative stigma attached to a woman writing authoritatively about the weather and terrain.[38]

Trist was a Quaker in early New England and as such was afforded more freedoms as a woman than her fellow Puritan neighbors. Quaker women's space outside

of the home, typically the church, provided them more freedom for travel to and from the home.[39] However, their duties as a wife and a mother came first, and many women were restricted to the home while raising children. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich describes the roles of women even within a religion that afforded women more equality: "Submission to God and submission to one's husband were part of the same religious duty. . . [and] obedience was not only a religious duty but a legal requirement" from 1650 to the late 1700s.[40] Despite the belief that women remain subservient to their husbands, Quaker women were often encouraged to both travel and write. Trist's choice to travel would not have been questioned by her fellow Quakers, but may have been considered unusual and her propriety questioned by Jefferson and other affluent men of New England society. Although Trist was not from great wealth, her widowed mother ran one of the most esteemed boarding houses in Philadelphia, and thus Elizabeth grew up accustomed to city life and the societal gender norms accorded to a married woman from a good family. Expectations for a married woman would center on the theme of remaining modest and chaste in all circumstances. Ulrich notes, "within marriage, sexual attraction promoted consort; outside marriage, it led to heinous sins. For this reason female modesty was essential."[41] Moreover, adopted from medieval times in Europe "the absolute property of the women's chastity was vested not in the women herself, but in her parents or her husband."[42] Women's bodies were deemed property of their husband. To be a good wife in the terms expected through devotion to her husband, a woman would want to insure her body has remained untouched by any other man. Throughout her narrative, Trist takes great care to assure readers that she has followed all the rules of behavior expected of a married woman in eighteenth-century New England.

The most common observations Trist makes throughout her travels to illustrate her true devotion as a faithful and chaste wife record the accommodations she experiences, especially her sleeping arrangements. 25 December 1783, Trist records "We're obliged to Sleep in the same room with Mr. Fowler and another man. Not being accustom'd to such inconveniences, I slept but little" (*EHT* 201). Trist would have been familiar and more comfortable with separate sleeping arrangements for men and women, especially unknown men. Based on the lack of room in taverns and the sake of warmth along the frontier, it was common for several people to sleep in the same bed. [43] Although this worked well for the male traveler, sleeping with strangers would have challenged the middle class modesty to which Trist was accustomed.[44] 3 January 1784 Trist notes, "I made it a rule to get up before light that I might not see anybody nor they [see] me dress. It is so customary for the Men and Women to sleep in the same room that some of the Women look upon a Woman as affected that makes any objection to it" (*EHT* 206). Due to such close quarters and the presence of unknown men in the same room, Trist makes every effort to maintain her modesty by waking up earlier so that she is not seen dressing. On 1 January, she declares she would not undress at all but go to bed fully clothed to avoid either exposure or the uncleanliness of the bedding (*EHT* 205).

Furthermore, 6 and 7 January she writes, "I did not know what to do about going to bed, there being no curtains to screen us from the sight of everyone that came. At last, we had recourse to our cloaks and blankets, which answered the purpose very well" (*EHT* 209). Maintaining her decency in front of unknown visitors led her to use her coat to shield her sleeping area from view. Shortly afterwards her narrative states, "Old Mr. Waltowers and Mr. Irwin had one of the beds, Polly and myself the other—but we found

no difficulty in being private, having good worsted curtains around the bed. We allways made it a practice to dress and undress behind the curtain. Therefore, found no difficulty, notwithstanding there were Six or 7 men in the room" (*EHT* 209). Again, Trist mentions the importance of shielding herself from strangers' view. She hangs curtains, or if those are unavailable, she takes advantage of any resources on hand. Later along her journey on January 8, she describes sleeping with a woman and her children just so none of the women would have to sleep with Mr. Fowler: "Mrs. Elliot was so kind as to part beds from her husband, on our account. She wedged me in with her self and child in a miserable dirty place, she having resign'd her birth to Mr. Fowler. I never lay so uncomfortable in my life" (*EHT* 210). The frequency of these descriptions and reminders early in her narrative suggest the importance Trist places on reassuring readers of her devotion to the manners of a good housewife. In a narrative that is written in the process of reuniting with her husband, it is important that Trist's decency never be doubted.

Trist does not use just her own experiences of travel to diminish her authority by yielding to the expected views of gender in early American society; she relies on details of other women's practices and morals that she encounters on the trip. 6 January 1784 after she announces her discomfort with her sleeping arrangements, she includes the viewpoint of the country women. "One told me that I talk'd to upon the subject that she thought a Woman must be very insecure in her self that was afraid to sleep in the room with a strange man. For her part, she saw nothing indelicate in the matter, and no man wou'd take a liberty with a woman unless he saw a disposition in her to encourage him" (*EHT* 209). Trist makes this juxtaposition between the practices of the country women, or the women of the frontier, with the middle-class women of the cities. Even one's concept

of modesty changes with exposure to the living circumstances along the frontier. The wild elements shape the societal views and merge to create new views on gender and the interaction between men and women. Trist recognizes these practices and explicitly notes her position as an outsider in these circumstances. She rejects the frontier women's acceptance of sleeping in the same room with men and, consequently, the women of these houses look at her in disdain and assume she is insecure. Trist does not assert judgment against the women but instead includes their thoughts about her insecurity with normal and necessary frontier living arrangements. Further along in her journey 30 June 1784, Trist meets a Mulatto woman named Nelly, and she notes "her [Nelly's] conversation favord rather more the Masculine than was agreeable. Yet I cou'd not help likeing the creature, she was so hospitable. She gave us history of her life. She may be entitled to merit from some of her actions. But chastity is not among the number of her virtues" (*EHT* 218). Through this description of Nelly, Trist relies upon the criteria of what she knows a male reader would consider as the important aspects of female virtue: hospitality and chastity. Although Nelly is not chaste, her hospitality towards her guests allows her to be agreeable to Trist's diary persona. Some may argue that in Trist looking past Nelly's lack of chastity, Trist begins to cultivate a broader view towards gender roles in society; however, despite mentioning Nelly as having a history worth merit, Trist only focuses on the traits that would be identifiable as important in a woman in society. She empowers Nelly by defining her as a likeable person, but the very criteria she uses to make this determination reinforces the limited view of acceptable behaviors expected for women.

Trist's narrative expresses the ways in which her domestic life is used as a lens for understanding the harsh frontier. This makes her observations about weather, native populations, and terrain more acceptable to a male readership. As a wife whose understanding of the world around her mainly has been shaped by and restricted to the home, Trist relies on her personal knowledge to comment on her surroundings and make sense of the unfamiliar circumstances that she faces. Imbarrato discusses the importance of the women's travel narrative when she states, "as a genre of both empirical observation and intuitive impressions, for the travel narrative allows the female a sanctioned realm for comparative statements dealing with custom, class, religion, and gender."[45] Trist's observations on taverns and images of the home along her journey fulfill her writing in code by adopting the narrative persona of a good housewife in eighteenth-century New England society. She uses these images to justify her journey, accompanied only by another woman, Polly. These references show her motivation is to reach her husband in the name of marital devotion, not to record scientific observations.

Much like Falconbridge's responses to her encounters with the native populations of Sierra Leone, Trist's writing uses her domestic knowledge to make sense of what she sees and experiences in the frontier, even her meetings with the natives along the Ohio River. She balances her two duties as a wife: to protect her modesty and to be hospitable. As an educated woman, Trist was probably familiar with the common captivity narratives circulating during her time. According to Roy Harvey Pearce, examining these captivity stories "enables us to see more deeply and more clearly into popular American culture, popular American issues, and popular American tastes."[46] Several Puritan captivity narratives showed the fears and popular beliefs of early New Englanders who "believe

(wrongly) that Native Americans raped their female captives."[47] With knowledge of this societal belief, whether she herself believed it or not, Trist's discourse acts to thwart any doubts against her chastity by ensuring readers that she avoided all possibility of captivity. On the two occasions that readers could assume that she had contact with the Indians, Trist reiterates that she avoided contact. 11 June 1784, a potentially threatening Indian party approaches her boat, and she hides "between the flour barrels" (*EHT* 223). Then, two days later, 13 June 1784, Trist writes that she wanted to come ashore to see a fort, "but [she] was dissuaided from making the attempt as it was not certain what Indians might be there" (*EHT* 225). In both situations Trist never makes contact with the natives, but her concern for avoiding captivity causes her to hide repeatedly when a possible encounter occurs. Interestingly, just before her hesitation at seeing the fort, 10 June 1784, her traveling party allows a canoe with two male Indians, a woman, and a child to board their boat. Trist does not write that she hid from the approaching canoe; however, she reminds readers that she upholds her first duty to protect her chastity. She specifically notes that only after she determines that "they had all the appearance of friendship," does she allow her second duty as a wife to emerge. Her duties as a neighborly wife surface and she writes, "As it is good to have friends at court, I carried the Squaw some bread; and as her Infant was exposed to the sun, I gave her my Hankerchief to shade it, for which she seem'd very thankfull" (*EHT* 222). As their host on the boat, Trist displays acts of hospitality expected of a woman towards her guests. Ulrich asserts the importance of hospitality and neighborliness as a necessity and norm in early New England when she states, "it was dangerous to live alone. But beyond that, neighborliness was a cultural norm in all the New England Colonies."[48] Trist's internalization of these societal

expectations causes them to emerge even when she faces a foreign culture. She relates her expected hospitality towards her fellow New Englanders to how she should act towards an Indian woman and her child as she travels through shared territory. Furthermore, her writing of the Native American woman's thankfulness illustrates that Trist expects this to be a universal practice among women that transcends cultural differences.

Although Trist includes entries throughout her diary that relate to aspects of feminine modesty and wifely duties, her narrative, like Falconbridge's, intersperses these entries with objective commentary on the terrain, weather, and detailed accounts of the miles between locations along her journey. As Trist moved from place to place on horseback, her persona occupies an authoritative voice as she records the miles with assured accuracy. 2 and 3 January 1784, her entries describe her journey as consisting of rides of lengths of fifteen and twelve miles, respectively. Trist's recording 9 January 1784, is particularly fruitful regarding terrain, weather, miles traveled, and local wildlife. She writes of the roads, the Allegany and the Monogahala, and explains how they are named after the corresponding rivers. Then, she describes the size and attributes of the two rivers as well as the surrounding towns. Commentary on the wild vegetables and local fish follows: "In the spring of the year, the rivers abound with very fine fish…particularly the Pike. . . some of them weighing thirty pounds. . . [and] the catfish are enormous; some of them obliged to be carried by 2 men. The perch are commonly about the size of Sheep heads, but they have been caught that weigh'd 20 pound" (*EHT* 213). More common to male travel writing, Trist employs an autoptic authority, claiming truth about the natural world based solely on what she sees with her own eyes.[49] This

technique would have been less accepted when presented in women's writing due to the authority it asserts; thus, Trist intersperses these objective, assertive entries with claims to feminine modesty to downplay her observations.

In addition, Trist often includes entries that establish her persona as belonging in the world of masculine travel writers. Her persona implicitly credits Trist with bravery. 6 January 1784, she writes that although the horses were so deep in the water they had to swim, she "did not feel much intimidated but plunged through" (*EHT* 208). The entry immediately follows with the statement that Mr. Fowler praises her for her good horsemanship (*EHT* 208). In this passage, Trist is not afraid of the harsh conditions expected of many middle-class city women traveling nearly alone, and she assures her implicit male reader that she rides on horseback through the exact same conditions and distances as her male travel companions. However, even in the brief moments that she expresses fear, Trist assures her male reader that her feminine attributes did not keep her from performing the duties of observation expected of her as a traveler recording what she sees along the way. In a particularly grueling section of her travels, battling snow, water, and freezing temperatures, she records 8 January 1784, "I began to prepare my self for the other world, for I expected every moment when my neck wou'd be broke. I cou'd not help crying. Mr. Fowler kept before me and, it being dark, I did not expose my weakness" (*EHT* 208). Although she admits to crying, she specifies that she did not reveal her "weakness" to others, especially her male traveling companion. This recognition of sentimentality as unacceptable in the realm of scientific observation shows that Trist's persona wished to remain credible in the eyes of male readers.

Towards the conclusion of her journey, Trist learns to accept some of the flexibility in the strict rules of societal gender norms that must occur for travel to happen in the wilderness, but one aspect that never waivers is her position as a good wife. She diligently records her observations along her journey as requested by Jefferson under the guise of reuniting with her husband. However, her narrative abruptly ends and Kolodny and other scholars assume she received the news that her husband had died three months prior to her near arrival at her destination.[50] 1 July 1784 she writes, "Three days more I shall be happy in sight of the Natchez. Will write to Mr. Trist. Perhaps a boat may be just seting of, and he will be glad to see me, I know" (*EHT* 232). Trist's narrative expresses how she uses her familiar place as a wife to shape her observations and to provide a hidden explanation for her traveling alone and recording natural observations. With that position now gone, she requires time to redefine her roles in order to adapt her writing and make sense of her relationship within her society as a newly widowed woman. Although Trist would continue to travel throughout the rest of her life to settle estates for her deceased husband and to visit her only son, she did not write any other travel manuscripts.[51]

Despite the inclusion of details about other people and places, both Falconbridge and Trist's narratives include limited information about themselves. As O'Loughlin notes, "a powerful and distinctive voice emerges through the *Narrative,* yet little is known about Falconbridge prior to or after her journey. In her text the authorial persona is constituted almost entirely through the narrated activities of others."[52] Readers learn little about Falconbridge's life through what she tells us about herself; instead, she reveals more through her commentary on the natives and the information that she chooses

to *exclude* about her life. This exclusion of personal information makes Falconbridge's letters unique as compared to her fellow female travel writers. Very limited references are made to her husband — although she travels beside him— and her family in Bristol remains completely absent from her text, nor is there any indication she addresses the letters to them. Most tellingly, after Alexander Falconbridge's death, Anna Maria makes no reference in her remaining letters to her remarriage. Trist, also does not reveal personal details about her herself, and mentions her husband only once, in the very last entry in the diary she writes on her way to join him.

Furthermore, Elizabeth House Trist and Anna Maria Falconbridge utilized their status as wives to allow for travel. At the same time, the expectations of a wife in their societies caused their discourses to center on the home and their duties as a wife instead of their courage and hardships of their journeys. These women lived and traveled in societies both different in culture and location from one another. Despite the vast differences, they both negotiated within the gendered space of their position as both wives and traveling female writers, and they gained the power to tell their stories. In addition, these women evoked rhetorical conventions associated with the writing of women's letters and diaries to disguise the true authorial power contained in their texts. Both women write within the expected gender traditions of their respective narrative forms all the while addressing a male readership. This examination of two eighteenth-century female travel narratives shows the tension that existed between employing normative rhetorical conventions that allow for their stories to be told and breaking those molds by subtly addressing a male readership and the resulting publication of their stories regardless of this unorthodox aspect. Exploring the narratives of Trist and Falconbridge

through a comparative generic hemispheric approach shows that traveling women writing in code to gain publication is not limited to a specific cultural or geographic location. Further exploration into traveling women's writings from this era through an analysis of their intended and imagined addressees and the rhetorical conventions they utilized to negotiate their roles and still be published, may reveal the subtle strategies these women engaged in as they wrote against societies that attempted to keep both their lives and their experiences silenced.

NOTES

1. Jennifer Bernhardt Steadman, *Traveling Economies: American Women's Travel Writing* (Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University Press, 2007), notes that working class women, as well as poor women also commonly traveled during this time. However, due to their economic and social status, their choices (or more commonly their necessity) to travel was given less attention and received less societal scrutiny.
2. The discrepancy in the amount of analysis between Falconbridge and Trist is accounted for by the differences in length of the primary texts, publication dates, and available scholarship.
3. Anna Maria Falconbridge, *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793*, edited by Christopher Fyfe (Cambridge: Liverpool UP, 2000). Subsequent references to this edition will appear parenthetically in the text as (*AMF*).
4. My research has found three primary scholars who engage in a discussion and analysis of Falconbridge's text, including Averil Mackenzie-Grieve in *The Great Accomplishment: 18th-Century Englishwomen in the Colonies: Anna Maria Falconbridge (Sierra Leone).-Mrs. Brodbelt and Her Daughters (Jamaica).-Eliza Pinckney (South Carolina).-Elizabeth Postuma Simcoe (Upper Canada).-*

Elizabeth Macarthur (New South Wales.) (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1953); Deirdre Coleman, "Sierra Leone, Slavery and Sexual Politics: Anna Maria Falconbridge and the 'Swarthy Daughter' of Late 18th Century Abolitionism," *Women's Writing* 2.1 (1995): 3-23; and, most recently, Katrina O'Loughlin, " 'Our Floating Prison:'Anna Falconbridge and Travel to the River Sierra Leone," *The Journal of African Travel Writing* (1998): 38-49. Numerous anthologies and scholarship on eighteenth-century women's travel writing make mention of Falconbridge's narrative, but there appears to be a lack of analysis on the content of the letters or their importance as representational of life writing during this time. This is opposed to the vast amounts of scholarship available regarding the life and writings of Falconbridge's contemporary, Lady Mary Montagu.

5. Elizabeth House Trist, "The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist: Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84," edited with historical introduction by Annette Kolodny. In *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives,* edited by William L. Andrews, 201-32. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. Subsequent references to this edition will appear parenthetically in the text as (*EHT).*

6. Throughout my research critics use the terms "journal" and "diary" interchangeably; thus, the assumption of a woman's daily diary as full of sentimentality and as an act of writing to be shared with fellow female friends or family members would extend to Trist's writing. Cinthia Gannet, *Gender and the Journal: Diaries and Academic Discourse* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 107.

7. Ralph Bauer, "Hemispheric Studies," *PMLA* 124.1 (2009): 234-250.

8. Stephanie Merrim, *Early Modern Women's Writing and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999).

9. Benedicte Monicat, "Autobiography and Women's Travel Writings in Nineteenth-Century France: Journeys Through Self-Representations," *Gender, Place and Culture* 1.1 (1994): 61-70.

10. Anna Maria Falconbridge, "Dedication," *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793,* edited by Christopher Fyfe (Cambridge: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

11. Deirdre Coleman, "Sierra Leone, Slavery and Sexual Politics: Anna Maria Falconbridge and the 'Swarthy Daughter' of Late 18th Century Abolitionism," *Women's Writing* 2.1 (1995): 7. Although italicization does not always indicate ridicule in eighteenth-century texts, consistent use of italicized phrases throughout her narrative in reference to her feelings regarding her husband's position as a slave abolitionist, coupled with the knowledge that she felt a slave herself in her marriage to him, suggests that Falconbridge uses italicization as a form of irony or sarcasm.

12. Christopher Fyfe,"Introduction," in Anna Maria Falconbridge's *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793* edited by Christopher Fyfe (Cambridge: Liverpool UP, 2000), states that the first publication of her letters appears to have had a limited impact on members of the Sierra Leone Company. The second identical version printed in 1794 with different pagination, and a third printed in 1795, was noticed by *The Monthly*

Review and *The British Critc*, but with "no comment on her denunciation of the Company." In 1802, another edition misleadingly called "the Second Edition" appeared but the final letter to Thorton was removed and the title page only included her initials. Furthermore, Fyfe asserts "nor do the reports of the parliamentary debates of 1799 and 1802 in which Sierra Leone was brought up suggest that any of the company's opponents in Parliament were aware of the book and the damaging evidence it contained—certainly none of them quoted from it" (166). However, the second version of her letters, Robert Thorpe –who attacks the Sierra Leone Trade Company in seven pamphlets written in 1807 — references at least once to her letters, but he assumes they were written by a male probably due to the presence of her initials only (166-77). Although there appears to be a lack of evidence supporting the widespread acceptance and readership of her letters, I suggest that Falconbridge's letters still show evidence that they address a male audience.

13. Coleman, "Sierra Leone, Slavery and Sexual Politics," 4.

14. Elizabeth Heckendorn Cook, "The Eighteenth-Century Epistolary Body and the Public ," *Epistolary Bodies: Gender and Genre in the Eighteenth-Century Republic of Letters* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996): 7.

15. Paul de Man, "Autobiography as De-Facement" *MLN* 94.5 (1979): 919-930. Narratives told in letter format complicate assumptions that these texts are direct historical accounts of women's travel experiences. Letters were naturally embedded with elements of fiction and embellishment. In "The Eighteenth-Century Epistolary Body," Cook claims "the letter as such carried two

contradictory sets of connotations in this period. On the one hand, it was considered the most direct, sincere, and transparent form of written communication. . . but the letter was simultaneously recognized as the most playful and potentially deceptive forms, as a stage for rhetorical trickery"(16). Conversely, quoted in Donna Landry, "Love Me, Love My Turkey Book: Letters and Turkish Travelogues in Early Modern England," edited by Amanda Gilroy and W.M. Verhoeven. In *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture*, 51-73. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000, Janet Altman describes how the letter is always an act of "mapping one's coordinates—temporal, spatial, emotional, intellectual—in order to tell someone else where one is located at a particular time and how far one has traveled since the last writing." The mapping suggests that letters should contain truth that can be measured. One can tell where the letter came from, how far it travelled, and when it was composed. However, this mapping, as Cook reminds us, can be full of deception due to the following elements common to the letter: spatial separation between writer and addressee; time lags between event and recording and between message transmission and message reception; and blank spaces and lacunae in the manuscript.

16. Cook, "The Eighteenth-Century Epistolary Body," 127.

17. Karen Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition.* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994): 18.

18. Although Falconbridge, Fay and Montagu continued to travel after separation with their husbands, only Montagu published any other letters and both Falconbridge and Montagu remarried. In addition, Montagu and Falconbridge

both had children but Anna Maria did not give birth to her son until she remarried to Isaac DuBois. Moreover, in *Women, Letters and the Novel*, Perry discusses specifically the influence that marriage would have had on Montagu's interpretations of the women in the convents of Vienna. She contends that, "only in a society which believed that women ought to be married, could Lady Mary feel this kind of pity" (New York: AMS Press, 1980), 42. Perry sees the narrating voice and Montagu's own position as a married woman as one and the same. I have reservations as to making a direct correlation between the voice in Montagu's letters and Montagu as the travelling woman, but Perry rightly recognizes elements of Montagu's status as a wife that are reflected through the commentary of the narrating subject.

19. Coleman, "Sierra Leone, Slavery and Sexual Politics," 17.

20. Katrina O'Loughlin,"'Our Floating Prison:' Anna Falconbridge and Travel to the River Sierra Leone," *The Journal of African Travel Writing* (1998): 41.

21. Coleman, like O'Loughlin, observes that the persona in Falconbridge's narrative seems to suggest through her connection between her position as a wife and that of the Sierra Leone slaves "that anti-slavery enthusiasts were often the greatest slaves when it came to their own domestic relations." "Sierra Leone, Slavery, and Sexual Politics," 7.

22. Although not applied to Falconbridge's text, Macpherson recognizes "the subjectivity of the fictional female traveler necessarily alters. . . and the space she occupies or travels through—is infused with gendered meaning." "Women's Travel Writing and the Politics of Location: Somewhere In-Between" in *Gender,*

Genre, and Identity of Women's Travel Writing, edited by Kristi Siegel. (New York: Peter Lang, 2004),197. Anna Maria uses her position as woman and, more specifically, wife to make sense of her experiences as she travels.

23. Kristi Siegel, "Intersections: Women's Travel and Theory," in *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing,* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004): 3.

24. Amanda Gilroy and WM Verhoven, *Epistolary Histories: Letters, Fiction, Culture,* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000):15.

25. John [Lieutenant] Matthews, "*A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone on the Coast of Africa: Containing an Account of the Trade and Productions of the Country and of the Civil and Religious Customs and Manners of the People, in Series of Letters to a Friend in England*," edited by B. White (London: J. Sewell, 1788, 1791).

26. Anna Maria Falconbridge, "Preface," *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Sierra Leone During the Years 1791-1792-1793,* edited by Christopher Fyfe (Cambridge: Liverpool University Press, 2000): 10.

27. Falconbridge, "Preface," 10.

28. Siegel, "Intersections," acknowledges "given that travel—and particularly unescorted travel—was deemed inappropriate for a lady, women often employed a narrative stance that could be described as the decorum of indecorum, a fine balance in which the strained the conventions of femininity, but did not break them. Most early travel writing began with an apology (eg, for writing in the first person, for engaging in such inappropriate activity, for bothering the reader with

their trivial endeavors, and so forth) that, again, affirmed their status as ladies and also served to reassure readers they would not be competing with men" (3).

29. Although hundreds of women traveled during the eighteenth century, not all of them wrote about their experiences and even fewer had their letters published. In addition to Falconbridge, the following two female travel writers left their homes in Europe and journeyed to foreign lands accompanying their husbands: Eliza Fay (*Original Letters from India* 1779-1782 but not published until 1817) and Lady Mary Montagu (*Turkish Embassy Letters*, 1716-17 published posthumously in 1763). Similar to Falconbridge, these two women wrote letters home to England while traveling through the exotic lands of India and Turkey, respectively.

30. Smith and Watson in *Reading Autobiography*: *A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* edited by Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) apply the term "intertexts" to the additional artifacts (poems, interviews, letters, citations etc) that life writers may include as texts within their text to help support their point (138).

31. These last two men are listed as "Representatives for the Inhabitants of Free Town." Falconbridge, *Narrative*, 148-150.

32. Mackenzie-Grieve, *The Great Accomplishment* argues, that the persona in Falconbridge's text portrays "a woman of decided opinions, tolerant but not weak-minded; she never was afraid to express herself forcibly upon subjects and people within her experience, but she kept her reporting factual, and that is why it is valuable" (21).

33. Rose Gillian, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993): 8.

34. Susan Clair Imbarrato, "Declaring the Self in the Social Sphere: Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Elizabeth House Trist," in *Declarations of Independency in Eighteenth-Century American Autobiography* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998).

35. In "Declaring the Self," Imbarrato suggests that Jefferson may have been Trist's primary audience for her *Travel Diary*, and if so, "her modesty might suggest that he plays the role of the confidant" (80).

36. Merrim, *Early Modern Women's Writing*, 173.

37. Imbarrato, "Traveling Women," 8.

38. Victoria Agnew, "Dissecting the Cannibal: Comparing the Function of the Autopsy Principle in the Diaries and Narratives of Captain Cook's Second Voyage," edited by Rachel Langford and Russell West in *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), 50-60, discusses how utilization of the autoptic principle (the claim to truth based on the assertion: I was there I saw it with my own eyes), is a common convention among travel narratives written by men. Female travel writers, consequently, were less likely to use this convention due to the extreme authorial authority it invokes. More commonly, women apologize after making claims that would assert authority over what they saw.

39. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in*

Northern New England 1650-1750 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 215-17.

40. Ulrich, *Good Wives,* 7.

41. Ibid, 108.

42. Ibid, 93.

43. Susan Clair Imbarrato, "Ordinary Travel: Tavern Life and Female Accommodation in Early America and the New Republic" *Women's Studies* 28 (1998): 29-57.

44. See Ulrich, *Good Wives,* for expectations of conduct regarding male and female boundaries. She states, "A respectable woman did not undress before her male servants, nor did she lie under the covers with a man not her husband, but she might sleep in the same room with either. She did not sing and drink with strangers in the tavern, though out of common hospitality she would certainly smoke at her own hearth or doorstep with any of her husband's friends" (95).

45. See Imbarrato, "Ordinary Travel," 29-57, for more information regarding the common travel arrangements available to women in early America.

46. Roy Harvey Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," *American Literature* 19.1 (1947): 20.

47. Lisa Logan, "Mary Rowlandson's Captivity and the 'Place' of the Woman Subject," *Early American Literature* 28 (1993): 262-63, analyzes the captivity narrative of Mary White Rowlandson and the supposed rumors that Rowlandson had been forced to marry a native.

48. Ibid, 51.

49. Ibid, 7.

50. Annette Kolodny, "Introduction to *The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist*: *Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84,* by Elizabeth House Trist," in *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives*, edited by William L. Andrews (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

51. Kolodny, "Introduction to *The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist*," 197. I imply that this suggests further the strong possibility that Trist's travel writing was a semi-public document intended for Thomas Jefferson. Furthermore, as a traveling woman Trist would not have been provided the same freedom to write, reaching her husband in the name of marital devotion gave her a legitimate reason to travel and once she no longer had this acceptable medium, she had to turn back to epistolary correspondence with Thomas Jefferson.

52. O'Loughlin, "Our Floating Prison," 48.

VITA

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