‘Out of Place’: Solitude and Social Isolation in Early Modern Travel Writings

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates expressions of solitude and isolation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English travel autobiography, diary, memoir, and letter. Historians have primarily considered the notion of privacy as a spatial experience, but largely overlooked solitude, particularly as an internalised concept and imagined space. Within the humanities, themes of solitude have been considered primarily by literary scholars, who have focused on representations of solitude in literature. Scholarship on travel writing has been largely concerned with the objective elements of travels, focusing on information with regard to the material culture. This thesis aims to consider the value of such writing through the lens of solitary expressions, which provide key insights into subjective experiences and core emotional values.

Drawing on the history of emotions and Rosenwein's theory of 'emotional community', this thesis explores solitude as an emotional state and investigates the kinds of emotions associated with its expression, giving particular attention to the expression of tears. It explores the ways early modern travellers drew from these communities to express and interpret their own experiences of solitude. Conversely, it analyses how expressions of solitude were key for finding solidarity and belonging within emotional communities. This study also draws from cultural history to investigate the ways writers made sense of their experiences and constructed the world around them through their narrative voices. Using these frameworks, this dissertation highlights the importance of narrative voice and subjectivity.

This thesis examines a series of eight case studies, exploring connections between solitude and social intimacy, solitude and emotional communities, solitude and virtue, and solitude in relation to home. These cases were selected for the range of narrative forms and modes of travel undertaken, as well as the insights they provide into solitude as a gendered experience and as an emotional expression. The first chapter explores the significance of religious beliefs for solitary expression in the lives of two spiritual sailors, Richard Norwood and John Newton. How did spiritual values shape experiences of solitude and travel? What emotions were connected with notions of solitude, and what can this tell us about their emotional communities? Chapter Two turns to secular accounts of life at sea by Edward Barlow and Mary Lacy. Here, the thesis explores a continued link between isolation and morality, and asks how differences in gender, social status, and religious values informed expressions of solitude and its related emotions. It turns to the unique expressions of solitude for female travellers Ann Fanshawe and Lady Mary Coke in Chapter Three.

Did women express their experiences of solitude and travel in different ways from the men considered thus far? How did the nature of their emotional and social communities differ, and did they offer new significance for expressions of solitude? Chapter Four turns to the social practice of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour to consider expressions of solitude for Thomas Gray and Lady Mary Coke, giving particular attention to the importance of melancholy and friendship. Chapter Five examines two seventeenth-century royalist exiles, Ann Fanshawe and Robert Bargrave. Here, there is an investigation of royalists as an emotional community and the way that community shaped individual expressions of solitude through motifs of suffering, imprisonment, and cultural alienation. The final chapter of the thesis revisits these case studies, turning to the importance of home in conceptions and experiences of solitude. How did memories of and communications with home inform and shape expressions of solitude? Did the nature of solitude shift upon returning home, and why? Here is a consideration of the significance of emotional communities for expressions of unsettled subjectivity.

This thesis argues that solitude was both a physical space and an imagined construct, and travellers expressed solitude both in company and alone. Solitude was a social experience, intertwined and in constant dialogue with cultural beliefs and societal norms. An emotional space and a psychological construct, it allowed travellers to situate themselves within supportive dispersed communities and find degrees of intimacy in isolation. Rather than favouring individual privacy over collective experience or external physical surroundings over imagined cognitive states of being, the thesis argues that the dialogue between and reference to both elements were integral to expressions of solitude. Within these shifting and fluid dialogues, emotional communities were critical to travellers, allowing them to express and interpret meanings of solitude that were both culturally constructed and uniquely negotiated.

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Introduction

Today, travel has strong associations with solitude and isolation. Those in need of solitude often turn to travel, whether to attain spiritual enlightenment or to find moments of inspiration and self-reflection.[1] For some solitary travellers, loneliness, although painful, is necessary for more lucid perceptions that might be distorted with companionship.[2] Intricately connected to this search for solitude are questions surrounding the impact of technology, which according to some has both taken away both the ability to be alone and increased feelings of isolation.[3] Articles abound advising us how to travel alone and embrace solitude without feeling lonely. Within this advice, there is a recognition that, being in a foreign landscape with no companions, moments of uplifting solitude can easily change into experiences of unwanted isolation. When one looks for connections in alien crowds and unfamiliar cultures, the sense of aloneness often deepens, as one blogger describes.[4] It is only in recent years that social theorists have given more attention to the value of solitude, but negative connotations are never far behind.[5]

[1] Examples include: B. Kull, *Solitude: Seeking Wisdom in Extremes*, Novato CA, New World Library, 2009; S. Tesson, *Consolations of the Forest: Alone in a Cabin in the Middle Taiga*, London, Allen Lane, 2013.

[2] P. Theroux, *The Old Patagonian Express*, New York, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1989, p. 188.

[3] In 2009, William Deresiewicz announced 'the end of solitude'; with the onslaught of endless technologies surrounding us, we have lost the ability to be alone. See 'Thoreau Weeps', *The Chronicle of Higher Education* [website], 2009, http://chronicle.com/ article/The-End-of-Solitude/3708 (accessed 20 April 2014). Others worry that such technology and the endless possibilities it provides for socialisation is making us feel isolated and alone. See S. Marche, 'Is Facebook Making Us Lonely?', *The Atlantic* [website], 2012, http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/05/is-facebook-making-us-lonely/308930 (accessed 25 May 2014). For a discussion of the role of technology in travel, see J. G. Molz, *Travel Connections: Tourism, Technology, and Togetherness in a Mobile World*, London, Routledge, 2012.

[4] A. Davies, 'I Travel to Feel Lonely ... On Purpose', *Refinery*, 29 [website], 2014, http://www.refinery29.com/2014/01/60099/traveling-alone (accessed 2 May 2014).

[5] C. R. Long, 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 2003, p. 22.

Writing a dissertation on experiences of solitude in early modern travel has typically been met with one of two responses. Some question the notion that solitude could exist in a time when there was very little physical privacy or time to be alone. Others have assumed I will be writing about shipwrecks, or hermits, or some such variation on extreme physical solitude not experienced by a majority. On the contrary, this thesis seeks to establish how solitude was experienced in a myriad of shapes, forms, and expressions. In addition, I will explore the notion that 'aloneness is not a necessary condition for solitude'.[6] The concept of being solitary amongst others was firmly in place in the early modern period, and my thesis seeks to investigate how it was expressed and experienced by a range of individuals. This is not to say that physical locality is immaterial to my analysis. On the contrary, conceptions of solitude as an externalised physical place and as a transformative state of mind were critically intertwined in expressions of solitude. Travel was a space that was conducive to these expressions.

When we speak of 'solitude' today, it is often associated with a sought out, positive state of being alone, while isolation is typically associated with negative, unwanted detachment from others. The word '"solitariness" became prevalent between 1570–1700', becoming increasingly fashionable in the seventeenth century.[7] Although complete physical solitude was extremely rare at this time, most associated the term with some degree of physical isolation.[8] The first English dictionary, written by Robert Cawdrey in 1604, has an entry of 'solitarie' defined as 'alone, or without company'.[9] Melancholy was defined as 'a humor of solitarines', demonstrating a key connection between these concepts. Over a century later, in 1755, Samuel Johnson, in his *Dictionary of the English Language*, gave three definitions of 'solitary': 'living alone; not having company'; 'retired; remote from company'; and 'gloomy; dismal'. The association of melancholy with solitude was now integrated into its very definition. Johnson also examined different forms of the word. 'Solitude', for instance, was understood as referring either to a state of being alone or a

[6] Long, 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone', p. 23.

[7] J. Dillon, *Shakespeare and the Solitary Man*, London, Macmillan, 1981, p. xiii.

[8] Dillon, p. xiv, 9. Historically, 'solitude' before the seventeenth century could refer to a place or condition, but rarely as a state of being alone before the seventeenth century. See D. Webb, *Privacy and Solitude in the Middle Ages*, London, Hambledon Continuum, 2007.

[9] R. Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabeticall*..., London, Printed by I. Roberts for Edmund Weaver, 1604, sig. H7^{r}.

location, both of which he refers to as 'lonely'.[10]

This thesis investigates the ways in which solitude was experienced and expressed in a variety of self-narratives. In particular, I am interested in exploring solitude as an emotional state, and looking at the kinds of emotions associated with its expression. I will also investigate solitude as an experience shaped and informed by gender, offering a sustained analysis of masculinity and femininity throughout the thesis. The idea of being solitary or isolated amongst a crowd of strangers or amongst friends is, as we will discuss shortly, often assumed to be a relatively modern phenomenon finding its earliest expression in the early eighteenth century and developing further with industrial capitalism.[11] 'Isolation', unlike solitude, was not a common term in the early modern period. When the word emerged in 1751, initially drawing on the French adjective 'isolé', it came to signify a concept of 'emotional distance from other people'.[12] The term 'privacy', as defined in Johnson's Dictionary, was both 'secrecy' and 'retirement; retreat', suggesting it could be conceived of as both a physical or psychological state of solitude.[13] I use the terms of solitude and isolation somewhat interchangeably, because a clear separation between them is often indiscernible. Primarily, because complete physical solitude was uncommon during this time, solitude will more commonly be explored as some degree of perceived physical solitude combined with expressions of social isolation and detachment from others.

Existing Research

Solitude, as both a source of debilitating isolation and positive strength, has attracted extensive analysis within the field of social sciences, particularly sociology and psychology. Until quite recently, the majority of these studies focused on the former, devoting studies to the negative effects of solitude, particularly as they relate to alienation and social isolation. There are extensive studies

[10] Loneliness, which we might refer to now as an unwanted affliction, was then defined as 'solitude; want of company; disposition to avoid company'. See S. Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*…, vol. 2, London, 1755, sig. Q15.

[11] E. Engelberg, *Solitude and Its Ambiguities in Modernist Fiction*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, p. 56.

[12] C. C. Holmes, '"Sole Author, I": Isolation and the Devotional Self in Early Modern English Literature', PhD thesis, Washington State University, 2013, p. 207.

[13] Johnson, *The Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 2, sig. L23.

on 'the urban condition' and its alienating effects on the individual.[14] More recently, however, there has been a noticeable push to identify the positive value of solitude.[15] One way this has been approached is through analysing historical attitudes across the centuries. For a survey of religious attitudes towards solitude from early Christianity to the eighteenth century, John Barbour offers a wide overview. He aims to demonstrate the persisting link between solitude and spirituality through autobiographical texts, pointing to the positive value of solitude for the enlightenment and the formation of the individual.[16] Anthony Storr, like Barbour, surveys a long history of human thought to demonstrate that solitude is crucial to our well-being, defining the core of solitude as social disengagement rather than physical isolation.[17] These studies give brief and useful overviews of what writers were saying about solitude, but how did early modern individuals actually describe their experiences of solitude on a daily basis? When we approach solitude historically and explore individual expressions in autobiographical texts, it becomes clear that a thematic binary of positive, sought-after solitude versus negative unwanted isolation was not always so easily determined.

Psychologist Christopher Long has described solitude as a 'historically vital phenomenon' that has been largely neglected by social theorists because it is incorrectly assumed to be a non-social experience. Solitude is also, as Evan Davis has pointed out, a seemingly 'ahistorical concept'

[14] See P. C. Ludz, 'Alienation as a Concept in the Social Sciences', *Current Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1973. This scholarship has been informed and influenced by the nineteenth-century works of Simmel and Durkheim, who presented solitude and loneliness as forms of social organisation, developing out of industrialism, capitalism, and the urban life. For further social science studies on solitude, see the following: R. J. Coplan and J. C. Bowker (eds.), *The Handbook of Solitude: Psychological Perspectives on Social Isolation, Social Withdrawal, and Being Alone*, New York, Wiley-Blackwell, 2014; D. Balcom, *The Greatest Escape: Adventures in the History of Solitude*, Lincoln NE, iUniverse, 2004.

[15] Long, 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone', pp. 22–23.

[16] J. Barbour, *The Value of Solitude: The Ethics and Spirituality of Aloneness in Autobiography*, Charlottesville, The University of Virginia Press, 2004.

[17] A. Storr, Solitude: *A Return to Self*, New York, Ballantine Books, 1989. For a more philosophical consideration of solitude, see P. Koch, *Solitude: A Philosophical Encounter*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing, 1994.

that in reality can and should be situated in historical studies.[18] Solitude needs to be more widely recognised as a social experience and interrogated for its connection to relationships and cultural world views. My study will consider the ways in which solitude was culturally determined and processed, whilst also looking at the ways it found unique individual expression and deviated from social expectations and norms. The connection between solitude and emotions also needs further investigation. Linda Wood, in *The Social Construction of Emotions,* identifies loneliness as 'a fundamental or basic emotion' that is rarely viewed as such and continually overlooked.[19] Far from being a non-social emotion, she argues that it may in fact be 'paradoxically more social' than other commonly studied emotions.[20] Urging for studies into the social construction of loneliness in language and narrative and across a variety of groups, she also urges attention be given to other historical terms like 'isolation' and 'solitude'.[21] I will draw on Wood's insights to consider the social value and historical significance of these expressions across a select range of self-narratives.

Within the humanities, literary studies have contributed valuable perspectives on solitude by focusing on major authors and the attitudes they expressed towards solitude in poetry and fiction. Here, rural retirement has been a vastly popular motif, as it was widely discussed in early modern England.[22] For a survey of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century attitudes towards solitude, Janette Dillon's study is invaluable.[23] She focuses on the rise of individualism and the inner world, and the correlating rise in popularity of solitude, during what she considers a transitional period from 1570

[18] E. R. Davis, 'Solitary Scribblers: Print, Authorship and Rhetoric of Solitude in Early Eighteenth-Century England', PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1998.

[19] L. A. Wood, 'Loneliness', in R. Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotions*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, pp. 185–87.

[20] Wood, 'Loneliness', p. 190.

[21] Wood, 'Loneliness', p. 205.

[22] M. S. Røstvig's text is the key source on this topic. As a literary historian, she analyses seventeenth-century poetry with an emphasis on the historical importance of rural retirement and solitude, particularly during the Restoration. See *The Happy Man*: *Studies in the Metamorphoses of a Classical Ideal*, Oslo, Akademisk Forlag, 1954.

[23] Dillon, *Shakespeare and the Solitary Man*.

to 1630. The solitary individual, once viewed as anti-social and dangerous, became an attractive figure, fashionable with literary circles. Her primary focus is on Shakespeare's work,[24] which she suggests was reflective of these historical developments.[25] For a brief analysis of eighteenth-century attitudes to solitude, R. D. Havens offers a useful general overview.[26] He argues that the intellectual climate of the eighteenth century generally led individuals to be dismissive of solitude, fearing loneliness and celebrating conviviality until the age of Romanticism.[27] Edward Engelberg has traced the literary development of solitude from a positive experience to a curse of alienation in modernity from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, which loosely fits in with the analysis of both Dillon and Havens.[28] Through the lens of autobiographical materials, this thesis aims to explore these findings and correlations to articulated experiences of early modern solitude.

Prescribed attitudes and literary trends towards solitude and sociability were not always as consistent or clear-cut upon closer scrutiny. Evan Davis attempted to demonstrate this in his 1998 thesis emphasising the importance of print in shifting ideas on solitude from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries.[29] Looking primarily at literary writers like Daniel Defoe and Alexander Pope, he explores how solitude was historically significant, because it responded to and shaped print

[24] For another study of solitude in Shakespeare, see Kronenfeld, 'Shakespeare's Jaques and the Pastoral Cult of Solitude', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1976.

[25] John Milton, Andrew Marvell and Abraham Cowley have also received scholarly attention for their depictions of solitude. See the following: J. Darcy, *Melancholy and Literary Biography, 1648–1816*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013; M. C. Bradbrook, 'Marvell and the Poetry of Rural Solitude', *Review of English Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 65, 1941; R. V. Young, 'Milton and Solitude', *Ben Jonson Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2014; M. B. Long, 'Contextualizing Eve's and Milton's Solitudes in Book 9 of *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 2003.

[26] R. D. Havens, 'Solitude and the Neoclassicists', *ELH*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 1954.

[27] For another study on the importance of sociability in the eighteenth century, see L. Klein, 'Sociability, Solitude, and Enthusiasm', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1, 1998.

[28] Engelberg, *Solitude and its Ambiguities in Modernist Fiction*. Sayre attempts a similar study on French literature. See *Solitude in Society: A Sociological Study in French Literature*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1978.

[29] Davis, 'Solitary Scribblers'.

culture. With increasing access to print in the eighteenth century, solitary writers became published authors. This allowed for a key expression of solitude that was inherently part of a community, a key point to keep in mind as this study explores the significance of solitude for social and emotional communities. Dillon, Engelberg and Davis have made compelling arguments regarding early modern representations of solitude in literature, drama and poetry, and a more extensive consideration of different types of documents can strengthen our understanding of solitude in the early modern period. I aim to contribute to the discussion by considering expressions of solitary experience in autobiographies. In doing so, I will reflect further on the conceptualisation of solitude, in order to illuminate the complex interplay between physical and psychological understandings of the concept.

With the advent of studies in more recent years concerned with defining and locating the early modern self,[30] historical studies have increasingly focused on the development of privacy,[31] and they have focused on both secular and religious aspects. Interior piety has long been associated with individualism by scholars, including John Stachniewski and Michael Mascuch.[32] The traditional narrative linking Protestantism to the birth of inwardness and the modern individual originated from Max Weber, who argued that Protestantism emphasised an individualism that

[30] For studies on the early modern self, see R. Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, London, Routledge, 1997; S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980; A. K. Nardo, *The Lucid Self in Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, Albany NY, SUNY Press, 1991; P. Coleman, J. Lewis and J. Kowalik (eds.), *Representations of the Self from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000; S. D. Cox, *'The Stranger Within Thee': Concepts of the Self in Late Eighteenth Century Literature*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980.

[31] The work of Jurgen Habermas has been influential to studies of privacy. See *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by T. Burger, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1989. For a comprehensive study of the concept of privacy in primarily French sources, see P. Ariès and G. Duby (eds.), *A History of Private Life*, trans. by A. Goldhammer, 5 vols., Cambridge MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987–1991.

[32] J. Stachniewski, *The Persecutory Imagination: English Puritanism and the Literature of Religious Despair*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991; M. Mascuch, *The Origins of the Individualist Self: Autobiography and Self-Identity in England, 1591–1791*, Oxford, Wiley, 2013.

helped foster the advancement of capitalism.[33] This grand narrative has been challenged in recent years. One of the ways this has been addressed is through an emphasis on the communal aspects of Protestantism. Alec Ryrie, through a detailed engagement with a range of sources, has explored the rich emotional landscape of early modern Protestants, shedding light on communal values and giving attention to the importance of shared worship in daily life.[34] Andrew Cambers emphasises the collective, public nature of reading and prayer in the seventeenth century in an effort to establish the inherent sociability of religion.[35] He undercuts a common historical association of the closet with privacy and urges a wider consideration of other spaces. In recent years, proponents of the 'spatial turn' have put particular emphasis on locations in understanding the development of privacy, and urged scholars to look in new places.[36] Due to the inevitable social nature of spatial modes of privacy, scholars like Cambers, Lynch and Targoff have considered new spaces beyond the early modern household.[37] Mary Thomas Crane shares this scepticism regarding the closet as a place of privacy, pointing to the outdoor space as the ideal space for privacy.[38] These studies raise valuable questions about the nature of privacy as well as its relationship to space. If outdoor spaces offered more freedom for privacy and solitude, as Crane argues, this suggests that such a consideration of such experiences in relation to the varied spaces within travel writing would be a

[33] M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by T. Parsons, London, Routledge, 2013.

[34] A. Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.

[35] A. Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[36] For an introduction to the spatial turn, see B. Kumin and C. Usborne, 'At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the "Spatial Turn"', *History and Theory*, Vol. 52, No. 3, 2013.

[37] Cambers, *Godly Reading*; A. Cambers, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580–1720', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 4, 2007; R. Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001; K. Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

[38] M. T. Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2009.

fruitful endeavour.

These studies focus on privacy as a physical space at the expense of imagined spaces of privacy. Applying the idea of a right to privacy to the seventeenth century is, according to Erica Longfellow, anachronistic.[39] She argues that any brief moments of solitary meditations were still 'regularly and repeatedly considered in light of their effect on and connection to the wider community and should not be conflated with concepts of privacy'.[40] Longfellow's insights into privacy can be fruitfully applied to the study of solitude and how it related to social communities and cultural frameworks. If physical privacy was difficult to attain, we might hypothesise that an inner solitude was even more critical to the development of a sense of self. By applying Longfellow's findings to early modern self-narratives and their varied constructions of interiority, we can attain a wider historical understanding of solitude. These studies of Crane, Cambers, Lynch, Targoff and Longfellow do not discount the importance of a historical approach to questions of solitude, but bring attention to the need for new ways of defining solitary expressions and experiences. Despite clear elements of the communal and sociable in early modern religion, there are still important links between Protestantism and solitude that should extend beyond the question of physical privacy. Rather than restricting notions of privacy to physical spaces, or demarcating religious experiences as private and solitary or communal and sociable, Mary Trull takes a more conceptual and nuanced approach that more successfully portrays the complexities of early modern solitude.[41] She separates privacy into two types, isolated and intimate. The former, she argues, was a solitary prayer of despair, while the latter was a privacy with God that strengthened the communal through an imagined 'invisible' church of persecuted Protestants: 'performance of intimate privacy is essential to creating a godly public'.[42] In other words, by identifying oneself as solitary, but not

[39] E. Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 2, 2006. C. M. Jagodzinski, on the other hand, argues that privacy as a personal right emerged in the seventeenth century with a new history of reading. See *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1999.

[40] Longfellow, 'Public, Private, and the Household', p. 332.

[41] M. Trull, *Performing Privacy and Gender in Early Modern Literature*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

[42] Trull, *Performing Privacy*, p. 24.

isolated, one felt connected to a godly community of believers. In introducing the notion of 'performing privacy', Trull successfully blurs the boundaries between public and private, drawing on a number of case studies to demonstrate the ambiguous nature of privacy. Her discussion is particularly relevant to my study, which will consider distinctions and negotiations between solitude and sociability. She also demonstrates how authors used literary representations of self to construct communities of godly readers and create a space to legitimise their work. This insight can be considered in relation to other kinds of texts and for other kinds of purposes, like making sense of experiences of travel.

Explorations of internalised concepts and expressions of solitude and isolation have also been emphasised in relation to travellers. Caitlin Cornell Holmes, in her 2013 thesis, stretches the focus of solitude beyond the prayer closet to dispersed religious communities abroad as well. Focusing on the term 'isolation' rather than 'privacy', she aims to trace 'a growing conceptual difference between "solitude," better understood as an acceptable devotional and spatial construct, and "isolation," a term reflecting the psychological condition of a believer who is disconnected from his or her spiritual affiliations'.[43] Focusing on seventeenth-century texts, Holmes sets herself against the recent trend to emphasise communal over individual aspects of Protestant devotion. Instead, she insists that Protestants engaged with a distinctly individualised solitude as a mode of worship. In doing so, she is not denying the importance of community for early modern Protestants, but rather demonstrating, through various case studies, the existence of individual agency. Holmes illustrates that solitude and isolation were shaped and negotiated differently by different individuals, depending on context. Isolation took on an increasingly negative connotation, while solitude for many was gradually understood as a persecuted condition of the saved, and a sign of election. This is much like the 'intimate privacy' explored by Trull. The fact that Holmes locates many of her case study examples among exiles and travellers is an important one deserving of more attention and more context for the nature of early modern travel. The studies of Trull and Holmes are valuable for the insights they provide on solitude as an internalised concept employed to interpret and represent experience. By shifting focus, as well as moving beyond a narrow definition of privacy to consider different, but related issues of physical solitude and psychological isolation, both chosen and

[43] Holmes, 'Sole Author, I', p. v. Holmes rejects the existence of a solely spatial construction of privacy in the early modern period, agreeing with Spacks on the notion of privacy as a psychological state. See P. Spacks, *Privacy: Concealing the Eighteenth-Century Self*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 2003.

involuntary, we can consider unexplored themes in overlooked locations.

While scholars investigating the history of privacy in early modern England have made extensive use of diaries, journals, and autobiographies, little consideration has been given to the question of privacy and solitude in self-narratives pertaining to travel.[44] The relationship of solitude to travel has primarily been explored in fictional writing, suggesting an important connection between the two frameworks whilst opening up future enquiry for different kinds of text. In considering the connection, perhaps no work has received more attention than Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.[45] The story of Robinson Crusoe has proved a popular medium for exploring the question of solitude and isolation in the eighteenth century.[46] Defoe is often credited by scholars as introducing a modern concept of solitude in society.[47] Solitude was not, for Crusoe, physical isolation. Watt and several other scholars have argued that Defoe opposed solitary retirement. Rather, his ideal of solitude was one in the world, in contemplation of God.[48] Jason Pearl has

[44] For a discussion of English travel autobiographies, see L. Davis, 'Cultural Encounters and Self Encounters in Early Modern English Travel Autobiographies', *Parergon*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2002. For a comprehensive study of the ways in which travel writing and the novel influenced one another, see P. G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, Lexington KY, University Press of Kentucky, 1983.

[45] D. Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner*, London, Printed for W. Taylor, 1719.

[46] See J. Hopes, 'Real and Imaginary Stories: *Robinson Crusoe* and the *Serious Reflections*', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1996; D. Blewett, 'The Retirement Myth in *Robinson Crusoe*: A Reconsideration', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 1982. For the relationship of solitude to imagination in Crusoe, see P. Spacks, *Imagining a Self: Autobiography and Novel in Eighteenth-Century England*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1976.

[47] Engelberg credited Defoe for introducing the idea of solitude in crowds. See *Solitude and its Ambiguities in Modernist Fiction*. Also see I. Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996; and Sayre, *Solitude in Society*.

[48] Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism*. Also see Hopes, 'Real and Imaginary Stories'; Blewett, 'The Retirement Myth in *Robinson Crusoe*'.

recently considered Defoe's works in the context of utopia, solitude, and geography.[49] Crusoe's utopia, he argues, is defined by its remoteness and disengagement from the rest of the world. This does not mean, however, that his memory of home is lost. On the contrary, as Phillips has pointed out, everything is defined in relation to the known.[50] Novak, emphasising Crusoe's solitude through the lens of Defoe's own exile, similarly highlights the importance of home. Longing for companionship in the story is an 'example of the psychology of those who, amid a mass of foreign beings speaking a strange language, ache for a return to their place of origin'.[51] Although Crusoe removes himself from society, 'society is not removed from him'.[52] These studies on Crusoe point to the significance of travellers' connections to home, the importance of 'imagined communities' for solitary devotion and the relational nature of constructions of solitude.

Interpretations of Crusoe's story also highlight critical links between travel, solitude and morality. Phillips sees the physicality of Crusoe's location, both in term of his solitude and surrounding landscape, as critical to his spiritual transformation.[53] Pearl also notes the importance of solitude for redemption, though he prefers to present it as a separation from the world and its temptations. Crusoe presented his 'wandering inclination' as a sin, because travel promoted an 'unguarded sociability' which left individuals susceptible to corruption.[54] Free of dissolute sailors on board, on his island Crusoe found divine communion. This will be considered further in my study, exploring early modern attitudes to travel and suspicions of the morals of sailors in particular. These interpretations highlight the tensions between travel as sociable and isolating, as well as sinful and redemptive. Through Crusoe's story, these scholars have highlighted the importance of solitude as physical isolation as well as a psychological construct, and the interplay

[49] J. H. Pearl, 'Desert Islands and Urban Solitudes in the Crusoe Trilogy', *Studies in the Novel*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2012.

[50] R. Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure*, London, Routledge, 1997, p. 29.

[51] M. E. Novak, '"The Sum of Humane Misery"?: Defoe's Ambiguity toward Exile', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, Vol. 50, No. 3, 2010, p. 609.

[52] Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, p. 31.

[53] Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, p. 32.

[54] Pearl, 'Desert Islands and Urban Solitudes', p. 128.

between them. The morality of solitude was intimately connected to the morality of travel, pointing to a need to explore this connection further. This centrality of morality also demonstrates the social nature of a solitude defined by moral cultural constructs, a finding which this thesis will investigate.

There is also a body of work that has examined solitude as a gendered experience in early modern England, and I aim to contribute further to these studies. Barbara Taylor has discussed the ways in which solitude was considered dangerous for women.[55] Imagination, she argues, was a key component to expressions of solitude. Women were thought to have particularly corruptible imaginations, and were advised to avoid solitude. For scholars like Tancke, Gowing and Ylivuori, solitude was both more difficult for women to attain and of a different nature to the solitude of men.[56] Women, they have argued, had to deal with a public gaze judging their feminine virtues, so that their experiences of solitude were both more embattled and more community focused. This might also mean that experiences of solitude for women were more significant and valuable when (and if) achieved. According to Christine Owen, for instance, female writers explored the empowering experiences of solitude for women through castaway narratives.[57] She considers the extent to which female wanderers were represented as outcasts of society as well as figures of strong independence, indicating an ambivalence surrounding female relationships to travel.[58] Owen's work points to the value of imaginative representations of solitude, especially for women who were more constrained in their actions than men. There are, however, also accounts of travel by women that can be explored for their perceptions and expressions of solitude. Furthermore, gender is a relational concept, so questions about female experience may be in turn asked in relation

[55] B. Taylor, 'Separations of Soul: Solitude, Biography, History', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 3, 2009.

[56] See U. Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe' in Early Modern England: Writing Women's Identities*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2010; L. Gowing, 'Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex in Seventeenth-Century England', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 2012; S. Ylivuori, 'Rethinking Female Chastity and Gentlewomen's Honour in Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 2016.

[57] See C. M. Owen, *The Female Crusoe: Hybridity, Trade and the Eighteenth-Century Individual*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2010.

[58] Owen, *The Female Crusoe*, p. 105.

to expressions of solitude in male travel accounts.

This thesis also draws upon existing literature on melancholy, sadness and tears within the history of emotions as a context for exploring solitude. The extensive body of literature on early modern melancholy has focused largely on medical theory and literary representations at the expense of lived emotional experiences.[59] Jeremy Schmidt's study is significant in its focus on spiritual beliefs and experiences as a way to interpret religious expressions of melancholy.[60] Douglas Trevor, in *The Poetics of Melancholy,* stresses the importance of inwardness and human agency alongside social forces in understanding experiences of melancholy. Rather than focusing on representations of the condition, he looks to 'the self-understanding of melancholics'.[61]

Erin Sullivan similarly attempts to give more attention to such narrative voices in understanding melancholy as well as a range of other interrelated categories of sadness, offering a more complex and nuanced vision of melancholy than often recognised. The various meanings of sorrow could often prove ambiguous for individuals, which, Sullivan argues, allowed for an active

[59] For overviews of the subject across Europe, see R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art*, New York, Basic Books, 1964; and W. Schleiner, *Melancholy, Genius, and Utopia in the Renaissance*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1991. Other studies that have been influential on this topic include: L. Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580 to 1642*, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1951; and B. G. Lyons, *Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England*, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1971.

[60] J. Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007.

[61] D. Trevor, *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 9. For an examination of melancholy in autobiography, see L. Wetherall-Dickson, 'Melancholy, Medicine, Mad Moon and Marriage: Autobiographical Expressions of Depression', in A. Ingram et al. (eds.), *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century: Before Depression, 1660–1800*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011; K. Hodgkin, *Madness in Seventeenth-Century Autobiography*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

and wilful interpretation of emotion she calls 'emotional improvisation'.[62] These emotions studies are significant for this dissertation in highlighting the importance of narrative voice and subjective experience. I borrow from such findings to consider the ways in which emotions expressed and shaped experiences of solitude. Interrelated to such emotions, the expression of tears in particular has been discussed at length by historian Thomas Dixon in several writings. His most recent publication, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears*, traces the centrality of tears in Britain across six centuries.[63] For seventeenth-century Protestants, Dixon argues, weeping became a more solitary act of grief, whereas by the eighteenth century it was a social, public activity. Bernard Capp has also explored the meaning of tears in early modern England, giving attention to masculinity to highlight instances in which weeping was met with acceptance or disapproval in various contexts.[64] The range of meanings such emotions had across space, gender, and status is critical to this study and the relationship of emotions to solitude.

To my knowledge, no extensive studies have been done on representations of solitude and isolation in autobiographical travel writings.[65] In *Early Modern English Lives*, the theme of isolation in travel journals is considered briefly. Characterised by interplay of the traveller's separations and connections, travel diaries and letters are recognised as offering a unique

[62] E. Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 1.

[63] T. Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015. Also see Dixon, 'History in British Tears', a lecture delivered at the annual conference of the Netherlands Historical Association, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag, 2011, https://emotionsblog.history.qmul.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/History-in-British-Tears.pdf (accessed 4 Aug 2014); Dixon, 'Enthusiasm Delineated: Weeping as a Religious Activity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Litteraria Pragensia*, Vol. 22, No. 43, 2013; Dixon, 'Weeping in Space: Tears, Feelings, and Enthusiasm in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in S. Broomhall (ed.), *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650–1850*, London, Routledge, 2015.

[64] B. Capp, '"Jesus Wept" But Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, Vol. 224, No. 1, 2014.

[65] More attention to this has been given in the context of post-colonialism. For a study of the impact of 'otherness' and alienation, see S. Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992.

opportunity for both author and reader to reflect on self-identity and articulated experiences of isolation. The act of writing is examined as both a space of social isolation and a space for constructing imaginary spaces of intimacy, creating a complex tension between aloneness and sociability. If diaries and autobiographical texts are a key genre for exploring the question of privacy, those of travel offer the most pronounced instances of separation and connection.[66] Cut off from familiar environments and local customs, travellers were in a unique position to articulate experiences of solitude and isolation. This study of Bedford, Kelly and Davis points to the rich source material available in travel autobiography, which lends itself to complex questions surrounding solitude.[67] A consideration of exiles in isolation has been explored by Helen Wilcox in a compilation on early modern autobiography.[68] Considering a handful of case studies of exiles, both abroad and at home, she considers the paradoxical condition of the exile, who often experienced feelings of rejection and exclusion, but also found in this isolation strength and creativity.[69] Wilcox points out that isolation often involved a strong sense of community, as the isolated could imagine themselves as part of a community of the excluded. A consideration of this paradoxical condition of isolation is not confined to exiles, either. Wilcox recognises that exiles often went abroad by choice, and as such, by broadening our consideration to including other travellers as well, we can consider a wider range of experiences of individuals who left home.[70] My thesis aims to further explore these findings of solitude in the lives of travellers and exiles abroad,

[66] For a discussion of the nature of autobiography, see P. Lejeune, 'The Autobiographical Contract', in T. Todorov (ed.), *French Literary Theory Today*, trans. by R. Carter, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982; R. Elbaz, *The Changing Nature of the Self: A Critical Study of the Autobiographic Discourse*, London, Croom Helm, 1988. For an excellent case study, see J. S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998.

[67] R. Bedford, L. Davis, and P. Kelly (eds.), *Early Modern English Lives: Autobiography and Self-Representation*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007.

[68] H. Wilcox, 'Selves in Strange Lands', in R. Bedford, L. Davis, and P. Kelly (eds.), *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2006.

[69] Wilcox, 'Selves in Strange Lands', p. 132.

[70] G. V. D. Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor: From Montaigne to Rousseau*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1992, p. xxvi.

building on the work of Wilcox.

The connection of solitude to travel has been further explored in relation to the lives of the working poor. Patricia Fumerton, in her ground-breaking 2006 study, focuses on the solitary experience of seventeenth-century sailor Edward Barlow.[71] She makes a convincing case for the ways in which his identity of a 'nowhere man' created a deep sense of alienation and lack of meaningful relationships. She draws on Barlow as an example of 'unsettled subjectivity', defined as 'the felt experience of being unfixed, multiple, and displaced on the one hand; and as the inconsistent and intermittent awareness of such an unsettled experience on the other'.[72] For Fumerton, this category of unsettledness, though marked by physical mobility, did not require it, as it became interiorised. She locates this unsettledness, however, firmly within the category of the working poor and within a secular framework. I will utilise her notion of 'unsettled subjectivities' in my dissertation, applying it across a wider range of case studies and contexts. In particular, I am interested in examining how this concept extended to spiritual self-narratives, as well as how it might be applied across the different genders and social classes. In addition, her description of unsettledness as a 'felt experience' raises questions about how a methodology of emotion might be utilised to further examine this concept.

One of the questions remaining unanswered by studies tending to focus on norms and ideals of solitude is that of how individuals perceived, understood, and articulated their experiences of solitude. This thesis addresses this gap in scholarship and aims to contribute to a better historical understanding of early modern solitude. Whereas the social sciences place the two concepts of solitude and isolation in opposition,[73] my study seeks to explore the ties between them and offer a more nuanced and complex picture steeped in real historical expressions of daily life. It is my contention that travel autobiographies, diaries, letters, and memoirs of the early modern period reveal travel to be intricately linked to such expressions of solitude and moments of isolation. Themes of solitude can be identified in looking over a wide range of different travel contexts and

[71] P. Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006.

[72] Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 58.

[73] Long has highlighted the ways social science studies have focused on harmful isolation and more recently, positive impacts of solitude. See 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone'.

personas, and this gives rise to numerous questions. In what circumstances did travellers express experiences of solitude and isolation, and how were they articulated? How could a traveller express aloneness while surrounded by others? How did conceptions of home shape expressions of solitude? How were solitary emotions experienced and expressed in gendered ways? I will consider how these various themes converge and diverge when we consider questions of religion, social status, and gender. How did Protestantism shape expressions of solitude? Did higher and lower social status individuals experience solitude in different ways? This thesis will consider solitude as a gendered expression, exploring the ways in which cultural values of masculinity and femininity informed, shaped, and challenged individual experiences. Was there an assumption that men and women would express solitude differently, and do self-narratives validate such assumptions? Within the framework of travel and self-narrative, this dissertation aims to highlight and explore the varieties of solitude found across different contexts, finding unique expression as religious solitude, solitude at sea, solitude on the Grand Tour, solitude in exile, and solitude in relation to home.

Sources and Methodology

The sources this thesis draws upon can be classified as autobiographical or self-narratives. Lejeune defined the genre of autobiography as a chronologically ordered and retrospective prose narrative, with the central theme of the development of the author's personality.[74] This definition, however, excludes many documents from consideration. Therefore, I am approaching the genre with a much looser definition, articulated by Amelang, that considers autobiography as 'any literary form incorporating the first-person expression of personal experience'.[75] I am looking at texts in which an author writes about his or her experiences abroad. My sources can also be classified as travel writings, which consist 'of predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator', but not all texts fit this definition.[76] Travel writing borrows

[74] Lejeune, 'The Autobiographical Contract', p. 193.

[75] Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus*, p. 14.

[76] T. Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 3. Similar issues arise in claiming the truth of autobiography, since it is inevitably a narrative arrangement of reality. See Elbaz, *The Changing Nature of the Self*, p. 12. J. Borm argues travel writing is not a genre at all, but fictional and non-fictional texts that have travel as the main theme. See 'Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology', in G. Hooper and T. Youngs (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2004.

freely from other genres, including essay, prose fiction, personal diary, log book, journal, letter, and poem, making it heterogeneous and difficult to confine to a strict definition. What is essential to both travel writing and autobiography is 'the centrality of the "I", its gaze and its voice'.[77] My sources all share the presence of a writer who was recording his or her experiences and perceptions of the world.

Autobiography has been recognised as a valuable source for studies on the early modern self.[78] Bedford, Davis and Kelly highlight travel journals and diaries as modes through which 'the self seems to appear most graphically'.[79] This emphasises the importance of a self-identity constituted through its location and interaction with the world. As Janet Varner Gunn has argued, 'the real question of the autobiographical self then becomes where do I belong? Not, who am I'.[80] Therefore, critical to self-understanding are the subject's exchanges and interactions with others. That is, individuality was often 'marked less by how one stood out than by how effectively one fitted in'.[81] This thesis, whilst not focused on issues of selfhood per se, recognises the significance of such insights for expressions of solitude in autobiography. To what extent were values of solitude a means of 'fitting in'? In what instances might such expressions work against prevalent social ideologies? What did solitary experience mean to individuals and their modes of self-expression? Within the broad genres of autobiography and travel writing, my chosen case studies cross a number of sub-genres, including diary, letter, memoir, exile narrative and conversion narrative. While some of my sources were written abroad, in the midst of movement, others were composed retrospectively, and some were a combination of both. Nussbaum has observed that in studies of autobiography, the cohesiveness of the genre is emphasised at the expense of the

[77] L. Polezzi, 'Between Gender and Genre: The Travels of Estella Canziani', in Hooper and Young (eds.), *Perspectives on Travel Writing*.

[78] For the construction of self in autobiography, see for example: Spacks, *Imagining a Self*; Bedford, Davis, and Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives*; Bedford, Davis, and Kelly (eds.), *Early Modern Autobiography*.

[79] Bedford, Davis, and Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives*, p. 53.

[80] J. V. Gunn, *Autobiography: Toward a Poetics of Experience*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982, p. 23.

[81] Bedford, Davis, and Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives*, p. 14.

'fragmentary nature of the texts'.[82] By analysing a range of genres within autobiography, a complex range of experiences, motives, audiences, and questions of identity can be unearthed, and with it diverse modes of solitude.

Self-narratives have been recognised as a key source for exploring the history of emotions. MacDonald urges that 'narrative analysis' provides a 'solid basis for historical psychology. … it allows for the recovery of the ways in which people described themselves and others, built a sense of their own personhood, and made sense out of emotions'.[83] By analysing the way individuals describe their experiences through narrative, we can uncover cultural beliefs and reconstruct inner lives of people in the past. Travel writing as a source for the history of emotions has also been largely overlooked. As Laila El-Sayed has observed in her recent study on emotions in travel writing, 'focus on objective elements has overshadowed travel as a subjective experience and travel writing as a self-narrative, a communicative act, and a social practice'.[84] In a recent study, travel writing was presented as the ideal field for exploring 'the articulation between personal subjective experience of the world and collective emotional and cognitive cultures through which this experience is framed, learnt, and put into meaningful words, images and categories'.[85] Travel offers a rewarding lens through which to consider expressions of emotion. The 'embedded subjective experiences' travel writings offer are rewarding sources for the early modern 'history of ideas, mentalities, emotions and the self'.[86]

This thesis has chosen a case study approach in order to consider a wide range of individual experiences of solitude. Utilising this approach leads to a deeper and more detailed investigation of solitude within the greater historical context. In selecting my case studies, I have included a range

[82] F. A. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, p. 22.

[83] M. MacDonald, 'The Fearefull Estate of Francis Spira: Narrative, Identity, and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1992, p. 61.

[84] L. H. A-R. El-Sayed, 'Discourses on Emotions: Communities, Styles, and Selves in Early Modern Mediterranean Travel Books Three Case Studies', PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 2016, p. 65.

[85] D. Picard, 'Tourism, Awe and Inner Journeys', in D. Picard and M. Robinson (eds.), *Emotion in Motion: Tourism, Affect and Transformation*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012, p. 2.

[86] El-Sayed, 'Discourses on Emotions', p. 63.

of individuals distinct in gender, class, and background, all of whom have interesting and unique insight to offer on the topics of solitude and isolation. My chosen sources allow me to consider Fumerton's concept of 'unsettled subjectivities' in the context of travel and contemporary ideas surrounding solitude. These sources span a variety of narrative contexts and highlight the importance of gendered experiences of solitude as well as a diverse range of emotional expressions. A narrative of tears, for instance, is critical to all the sources I consider, but such expressions can be read differently and carry a variety of distinct meanings and purposes across different genres and contexts.

I will investigate the lives of eight men and women, beginning with the writings of Richard Norwood and John Newton. Norwood (1590–1675) was a teacher and surveyor to the Bermudas, who grew up in a moderately wealthy family that had met with financial troubles. He composed a spiritual diary intended to catalogue his sins and record his conversion as a puritan. Newton (1725–1807) was a sailor, captain of slave ships, and later an Anglican clergyman. Born into a middle-class home, he became a prolific writer, composing an influential spiritual autobiography as well as numerous letters and hymns. In Chapter Two, I turn to the lives of two sailors, Edward Barlow (1642–1706?)[87] and Mary Lacy (1740–1801). Barlow grew up in a poor family in rural England and became an apprentice seaman at the age of seventeen. He left a secular diary of his early life and many experiences at sea. Lacy, also from the lower classes, ran away from home at nineteen dressed as a man. She found a job as a carpenter's servant at sea, and later became an apprentice carpenter and shipwright. She published a secular autobiography of her travels. In Chapter Three, I examine the case studies of Thomas Gray (1716–1771) and Lady Mary Coke (1727–1811). Gray, born into a moderately wealthy mercantile family, was a letter-writer, poet, and scholar. He travelled throughout his life, including a Grand Tour in Europe with his friend Horace Walpole. Coke was an eighteenth-century noblewoman who composed an extensive diary as a series of letters to one of her sisters, and travelled abroad extensively as a widow. Finally, I will also consider the lives and writings of Ann Fanshawe (1625–1680) and Robert Bargrave (1628–1661). Fanshawe grew up in an upper-class family of royalists, and after marrying Richard Fanshawe, became an exile abroad and, after the Restoration, ambassador's wife. She left a memoir of their life and travels together. Bargrave also came from a wealthy family, and began a career as a merchant in

[87] This cites the estimated date of death provided by J. D. Davies. See 'Barlow, Edward (1642–1706?)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com (*ODNB*) (accessed 20 June 2017).

1647. He composed a diary of his four journeys abroad to Europe and the Mediterranean.

Solitude and isolation find expression in these travel texts, revealing themselves as important motifs in understanding the cultural world that surrounded them. As my selected case studies will show, expressions of solitude were highly variable. In each instance, however, they played a significant role in how each individual experienced travel and communicated their experiences in writing, whether to God, friends, or theirself. I have also chosen my case studies to showcase the ways in which individuals could exert agency and manipulate established values in new and unexpected ways. Working within their emotional communities and cultural frameworks, these individuals shaped and improvised expressions of solitude to meet their needs and reflect their own experiences as they travelled far from home. By considering solitude through the lens of these autobiographical travel writings, my study offers an original approach to questions of solitude while giving much deserved attention to many overlooked texts. Travel has been identified as one of the key developments in early modern autobiography. With individuals cut off from their familiar communities and environments, self-reflection, as well as a sense of isolation, emerge as significant forces. Therefore, by looking to these unique and dynamic sources, new insights can be gained into expressions of early modern solitude and the ever-expanding fields of travel writing and autobiography.[88] Although, due to small sample size, my study cannot adequately address change over time, my choice of case studies was informed by an awareness of theories of change. Therefore, my analysis will take account of such differences in historical context in my reflections on individual representations of experience. Through a combination of autobiographical primary source analysis and an appreciation of the wider cultural context, my assessment of these case studies aims to uncover what solitude can tell us about the lives of individuals in the past as well as the cultural values of their society.

My methodology will draw strongly from cultural history. By working from the premise that individuals express themselves within their surrounding world, I will investigate how they perceived and made sense of their own experiences through the framework of their cultural context. Using a qualitative methodology, my aim is to explore individual expressions of experience, 'how

[88] P. Burke, 'Representations of the Self from Petrarch to Descartes', in Porter (ed.), *Rewriting the Self*, p. 22.

they construed the world, invested it with meaning, and infused it with emotion'.[89] Peter Burke, in assessing the varieties of cultural history that have developed over time, points to the travelogue as one of the best source materials for a methodology aimed at uncovering a history of mentalities.[90] He places particular worth on cultural encounters and conflicts as means for discovering how people think and what they think in categories, metaphors, and symbols.

As autobiographical materials often offer deeply expressive language, my study will also take emotional language into account. The history of emotions argues from the premise that inner life is impacted by the external world, so that the ways in which emotions are experienced and expressed are shaped by the society of the time.[91] More specifically, my research will draw from Rosenwein's now well-recognised theory of 'emotional communities', which is particularly pertinent to my thesis. She defines these communities as 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions'.[92] Individuals could belong to multiple emotional communities, and they could be narrow in scope or wider in scale, making the concept flexible to a variety of contexts. Though similar to the study of social communities, the focus of study on emotional communities is on uncovering 'systems of feeling, to establish … the emotions that they value, devalue, or ignore; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore'.[93] The emphasis, then, is on the testimony of individuals as they

[89] R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, New York, Vintage Books, 1985, p. 3.

[90] P. Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1997, p. 97.

[91] B. H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions* [website], Vol. 1, 2010, pp. 19–20, http://www.passionsincontext.de/index.php?id= 557 (accessed 22 May 2014). For a recent history and survey of the field of research, see J. Plamper and K. Tribe, *The History of Emotions*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014. For an introduction to the field, see S. Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, London, Routledge, 2017.

[92] B. H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 2.

[93] Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods', p. 11.

relate to their communities to construct emotional expression. I am interested in the ways expressions of and ideas about solitude related to these emotional communities. How were expressions of solitude and the emotions connected? Did solitude affirm and define a sense of belonging to such communities? Were there instances in which a sense of solitude allowed for or resulted in unexpected, improvised or aberrant emotions? The inherently social and relational nature of emotions makes studying them in the context of solitary expressions particularly interesting.

Rosenwein has made the distinction between attitude and expression in relation to the Stearns's concept of 'emotionology', which according to Rosenwein 'assumes what people think about feeling, they will feel too. This fails to recognize that what people thought about feelings is not the same as how they expressed their feeling'.[94] That is, they focus on the attitudes or standards a society has towards the expression of emotion, rather than how individuals themselves felt or expressed feelings. Rosenwein's distinction is relevant for studies on the history of privacy and solitude, where the majority of work focuses on uncovering early modern representations without considering how experiences themselves within these realms were expressed. When we look to self-narratives, however, we can explore the ways in which individuals, rather than obeying social mandates on emotions with a single outcome, responded to and negotiated existing emotional standards in different ways. As Sullivan argues, through an intersection of 'prescriptive cultural ideals, socially situated communities, and individual lives', forms of 'emotive improvisation' could emerge.[95]

I will also draw on newer emotions research emphasising spaces.[96] For travellers, emotional communities were influenced and shaped by space and place. As Barclay observes, 'emotions are increasingly recognized as an important component of "space" ... location, and the way that people

[94] B.H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 3, 2002, p. 824. Also see P. N. and C. Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4, 1985. For more on developments in the history of emotions, see W. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001; and Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods'.

[95] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p. 49.

[96] This field of research derives largely from H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by D. Nicholson-Smith, London, Wiley, 1991. This was originally published in 1974 in French.

interact with it, plays a significant role in what people feel and how they perform such feeling'.[97] If representations of self are connected to material and cultural contexts, it is through travel writing that this can be most persuasively explored.[98] For this same reason, the history of emotions is a strong and instrumentally valuable approach to the topic. It has been widely recognised that emotional experience is acutely sensitive to location.[99] This study is therefore interested in the interplay between emotions and spaces, and will investigate how emotions may have been expressed differently in different places. Did physical displacement have a significance impact on expressions of solitude and its interrelated emotions? By conducting an analysis of expressions of solitude in travel writings, we can examine the theme in radically different settings, where individuals were displaced from familiar and reappraised norms, customs, and people.

The expression of emotions could highlight solitude and isolation whilst simultaneously emphasising solidarity and communal identity. By looking at subjective experiences as articulated by travellers, my study can shed light on systems of feeling and what was socially valued or feared within those systems. What emotions were associated with being alone? How were such emotions expressed? Did travellers share an emotive language of solitude and isolation? This conceptual framework will enable me, in my study, to discern the language of emotion that was associated with solitude and isolation. In doing so, I will analyse which, if any, emotions were connected with solitude and isolation in the early modern period, and how individuals responded to these contemporary conceptions. Sullivan, in her exploration of Shakespeare's depiction of sadness, stresses the role of community for finding relief.[100] Those who suffered the most grief did so in isolation, estranged from friends and family. Such studies bring to our attention the role emotions

[97] K. Barclay, 'Space and Place', in Broomhall (ed.), *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, p. 62. Also see B. Gammerl, 'Emotional styles – concepts and challenges', *Rethinking History*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2012, doi:10.1080/13642529.2012.681189.

[98] Bedford, Davis, and Kelly, *Early Modern English Lives*, p. 63.

[99] Dixon, 'History in British Tears', p. 3.

[100] E. Sullivan, 'A Disease unto Death: Sadness in the Time of Shakespeare', in E. Carrera (ed.), *Emotions and Health, 1200–1700*, Leiden, Brill, 2013. Also see Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*. For a discussion of emotions and melancholy during the Renaissance, see A. Gowland, 'Melancholy, Passions and Identity in the Renaissance', in B. Cummings and F. Sierhuis (eds.), *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013.

played in experiences of solitude and isolation. I aim to build on this study by looking at expressed experiences of solitude, and the emotional language found within. Emotion has also been recognised as a central component of early modern Protestant life and writings,[101] in studies that draw attention to a connection between solitude and emotion.

How the emotions were expressed in solitude is an important question still open for future consideration. Within the aims of this project, my dissertation does not intend to uncover the experience of solitude itself, but rather how experiences were expressed in travel writings. I am aware that subjectivity is a cultural construct, and expressions of experiences are informed by rhetoric within that culture as well as inherited motifs of the past. In looking at how experiences of solitude were expressed, however, I aim to analyse the ways individuals formulated and shaped their lives within the discourse of their culture. When we incorporate a methodology of emotions into a cultural history that looks not just at what people thought about emotions, but *how* they expressed their emotions, we can gain new insight into early modern solitude and isolation, from the inside out.

Structure of Thesis / Chapter Overviews

I have structured my chapters thematically to highlight important concepts and recurring contexts that defined and informed experiences and expressions of solitude. The broad aim of this thesis is to uncover both how and why the medium of travel lent itself to moments of solitude and isolation, and what these moments actually looked like in the lives of travellers. Within these chapters, I will explore overarching themes of the connection between solitude and social intimacy, solitude and emotional communities, solitude and virtue, and solitude in relation to home. Chapter One will explore the connection between religious beliefs and solitary expression in the lives of two sailors, Richard Norwood and John Newton. How did these men understand and portray their own experiences of solitude? How did spiritual values shape views and understandings of solitude as well as travel? What emotions were connected with notions of solitude, and what did they signify? Through an examination of their religious values as well as modes of spiritual narrative, I will explore the nature and meaning of their solitary expressions, particularly as they related to moments

[101] See, for example, Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*; and A. Ryrie and T. Schwanda (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World*, Basingstoke Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. For an extensive discussion of emotions across religious traditions and centuries, see J. Corrigan (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.

of conversion. This chapter will also investigate the importance of solitude in linking them to emotional and social communities. This could create a tenuous relationship between aloneness and belonging, requiring a negotiation with the expectations of such communities to create unique expressions of isolation.

In Chapter Two, we will explore a continued link between isolation and morality at sea in the accounts of Edward Barlow and Mary Lacy. I will consider the ways in which conceptions of gender and social status both played key roles in how they conceived of their categories of belonging. Entrenched in the social worlds of their respective lives at sea, how was solitude conceived, and what purpose did it serve? How did the nature of solitude for these two sailors differ from those of the previous chapter, and why? Finally, how did more secular views of travel differ from religious ones, and what did this mean for expressions of solitude? By examining the ways in which they engaged with others and expressed their emotions, this chapter aims to uncover the ways these case studies represented and negotiated expressions of solitude.

Chapter Three will turn to the social practice of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour to consider expressions of solitude within a mode and ideology of travel that was defined in its very core purpose to be one of sociability. Was travel, in fact, portrayed as a sociable experience? How were such moments of sociability represented, and how did they compare to or interact with moments of solitude? What influence did letters to loved ones back home play in conceptions of solitude? I will consider in this chapter depictions of early modern friendship as well as melancholy, both of which informed and shaped the expressions of these travellers.

I will turn to the unique expressions of solitude for female travellers in Chapter Four. Did women express their experiences of solitude and travel in different ways from the men considered thus far? How was the relationship between solitude and virtue conceived of in these narratives? Did it shift on account of their gender, and if so why? Similarly, did the connection between solitude and community offer new significance? Through a consideration of cultural standards and expectations of femininity, this chapter aims to uncover the ways women met social expectations whilst also challenging established boundaries in their expressions of solitude.

Seventeenth-century royalist exiles Ann Fanshawe and Robert Bargrave will be the subject of Chapter Five. Here, I will investigate the cultural ideals of the exile community and the way they shaped individual expressions of solitude. What values were important to royalist exiles, and how did they find expression in these texts? What was the nature of solitude and how was it characterised? What was the relationship between notions of isolation and belonging? To answer these questions, I will investigate the importance of concepts of suffering, imprisonment, and cultural alienation, as well as the emotional expressions that instilled their solitudes with meaning.

The last chapter of the thesis turns to the importance of home in conceptions and experiences of solitude. How did memories and communications with home inform and shape expressions of solitude? What emotions were associated with home, and how did they relate to solitude? I will also examine expressions of solitude upon returning home from travels. Did travellers express isolation from their communities at home, and if so, how was this represented? In considering this question, I will compare expressions of solitude at home with those abroad, in order to gain insight into how and why representations of solitude may have differed depending on context. When individuals felt alienated in familiar environments and within familiar networks of marriage and friendship, was this understood as being more transgressive? Just as memories of home impacted solitude abroad, so too did the attitudes and experiences of each traveller's time abroad influence how they met with the familiar upon returning home.

This thesis will explore expressions of solitary experiences, where the historian can interpret what solitude looked like from the perspectives of early modern individuals. In doing so, one uncovers how people actually measured, used, conceived, and placed themselves in solitude and isolation. As Sherman observes in his book on the use of time in early modern writings, 'Authors ... often write most effectively about time when they are not writing about it at all ... simply occupying it, working in it, deploying it, giving it form in narratives'.[102] The same approach may be fruitful for the question of solitude. Scholars like Trull have argued for the widespread Protestant understanding of the private space of lament as a space for attaining intimacy with God,[103] and this thesis seeks to explore to what extent this rhetoric was digested and how it was interpreted within the space of solitude, whether it be seen physical, psychological, or spiritual isolation. I propose that explorations in the 'private' life of individuals will greatly benefit from applying an inter-disciplinary methodology. Integrating cultural history and the history of emotions, I will investigate travel writing in an aim to move beyond categorisations and depictions of solitude to penetrate deeper to the core of expressed experience.

[102] S. Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660–1785*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 2.

[103] Trull, *Performing Privacy*, p. 24.

Chapter 1. Religious Solitude: Richard Norwood and John Newton

Travel had distinct associations with questions of religion and morality in the early modern period. This chapter will consider the religious value of solitude in the experiences related by two travellers, seventeenth-century Puritan Richard Norwood and eighteenth-century Methodist John Newton. These men found the origins of their religious salvation abroad, and this salvation in both cases was closely linked to ideas of solitude. With the potential to expose individuals to vice and immorality, travel presented concerns surrounding what type of company one would find abroad and potential corruptions that awaited the traveller. These concerns were particularly heightened in the seventeenth century during which the fear of conversion to Catholicism was the chief objection to foreign travel.[1] For Puritans, it was appropriate for the godly to be 'settled', rather than wandering from place to place. Within the discourses that governed Puritan travel and colonisation of the New World, permanence and geographical fixity were valued.[2] Puritan clergyman John Cotton, in his 1620 sermon *God's Promise*, warned of the sinfulness of those who could not find stability and continued to experience affliction after moving location.[3] Puritan understandings of isolation were bound up with disorder, and repeated physical removal was seen as isolating at both a geographical and spiritual level. Puritans of the seventeenth century were generally Reformed Protestants who sought change within the Church of England. Though the term 'Puritan' remains contested and difficult to define, Puritans were strongly influenced by experimental Calvinism and

[1] J. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989, p. 8. Travel advice manuals of the time recognised the potential dangers. See, for example, R. Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1967. Also see T. Palmer, *Essay of the Meanes how to make our travailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and honourable*, London, Printed by Humphrey Lownes for Mathew Lownes, 1606.

[2] Holmes, 'Sole Author, I', p. 66. Travel itself was not necessarily problematic to Protestant piety, often presented as divinely sanctioned. See J. P. Conlan, 'Marvelous Passage: English Nautical Piety in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', PhD thesis, University of California Riverside, 1999, p. 27.

[3] J. Cotton, *God's promise to his plantations as it was delivered in a sermon*, London, Printed by William Jones, 1620, pp. 7–11.

its intense focus on spiritual election.[4]

When we turn to the eighteenth century, religious narratives become distinctly global, showcasing 'the extensive connectedness of local revival to revival elsewhere, to a world that transcended the local milieu of parish, denomination, or sect'.[5] Whereas Puritans distrusted continual movement, extensive travel was the norm for individuals active in the Evangelical Revival and critical to its success. It was the merging of religious experience and mobility that promoted rapid growth: 'through transatlantic publishing networks, fraternal correspondence, personal encounters with one another, population migrations and extraordinarily mobile preachers', the evangelical message was spread effectively.[6] Scholars such as Hempton and Ditchfield have stressed that Evangelicalism was 'trans-national and trans-continental', and members were self-aware of being an expanding and connected movement not confined to any particular place.[7]

Regardless of these variable attitudes towards travel and movement, Protestants across the early modern period generally agreed that sociability and experiences 'in the world' had to be carefully managed and guarded. This was particularly true in the context of travel, where vice and immorality were considered to be rampant. Certain kinds of vagrant travellers, such as sailors, were regarded as particularly immoral, as we will see shortly. For religious men at sea, this made life especially dangerous not only physically, but morally as well. It also meant solitude and isolation

[4] There is disagreement, however, as to whether all Puritans were Calvinists. For an overview of the debates concerning the definition of Puritan, see R. J. Pederson, 'Unity in Diversity: English Puritans and the Puritan Reformation, 1603–1689', PhD thesis, Leiden University; 2013.

[5] D. Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative: Spiritual Autobiography in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 71.

[6] D. Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century*, London, Tauris, 2011, pp. 146–47.

[7] G. M. Ditchfield, *The Evangelical Revival*, London, UCL Press, 1998, p. 4; Hempton, The Church in *the* Long Eighteenth Century, pp. 148, 157. Also see J. Walsh, '"Methodism" and the Origins of English-Speaking Evangelicalism', in M. A. Noll, D. W. Bebbington, and G. A. Rawlyk (eds.), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 23; and S. O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints: The Great Awakening and the First Evangelical Network 1735–1755', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4, 1986, p. 816.

became particularly valuable in both finding salvation and keeping the religious values leading to it. This thesis begins with a consideration of religious solitude, because Protestant values were integral to and inseparable from the ways in which individuals understood and expressed solitude in early modern England, impacting and shaping the cultural values of a diverse spectrum of individuals. English Protestants of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries believed acceptable forms of solitude always had to be temporary and within a web of human relationships.[8] This is not a study about physical removal from the world with an intention of permanent solitude and isolation. Rather, this chapter asks: how did Puritans and Methodists express ideas and experiences of solitude whilst in the world? Why were they compelled to do so? What did solitude mean to these individuals, and what did its expression reveal about both individual and collective beliefs? Alternatively, how did these beliefs and values shape individual expressions of solitude? I am interested in exploring the plethora of ways in which the idea found expression amidst others, and the ways it was informed by a reliance on the social constructions surrounding early modern lives. Norwood and Newton are excellent case studies in which to examine such questions. Both men were fixated on solitude and the ways in which it impacted matters of faith. They drew on the ideals of their respective emotional communities and the rhetoric of narrative conventions, illustrating the importance of shared social values in expressions of solitude. Their narratives, however, also convey moments in which social expectations and shared values might be renegotiated in the context of experiences abroad, giving way to individual expressions of solitude. Values of masculinity were also critical to expressions of solitude, and these case studies have also been chosen for the key insights they offer into questions of solitude as a gendered experience. Both Norwood and Newton wrote their works retrospectively and were strongly influenced by literary conventions, but their motives diverged.

Situating Norwood's *Confessions* within the broader framework of Puritan culture in the early seventeenth century is essential to understanding the content of his writing. Born in 1590, Norwood grew up in a family of considerable wealth until it fell into financial misfortune. At fifteen years of age, Norwood became a fishmonger in London, which he cited as the beginning of his

[8] Protestants in the early modern period had a culturally specific ideal of solitude that reiterated a distrust of permanent solitude, which they associated with erroneous ideologies of Catholicism. See, for example, W. Perkins, *A commentarie or exposition, vpon the fiue first chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians: penned by the godly, learned, and iudiciall diuine*, Cambridge, Printed by John Legat, 1604.

desire for sea travel. He broke his contract and after a brief imprisonment, sailed to the Netherlands. After travelling for a couple of years by land and sea, Norwood was employed in 1613 as a surveyor to the Bermudas. He spent four important years here, during which he experienced his religious conversion. Returning to England, he married in 1622 and taught mathematics for several years, until being invited back to Bermuda to be the schoolmaster in 1637. He also viewed himself as a religious exile, however, fleeing England with his family from the Laudian persecution the same year.[9] Norwood began his diary retrospectively in Bermuda in 1639, at the age of forty-nine. He initially set aside the day for 'fasting and praying privately', but in endeavouring to catalogue his sins, he was compelled to record them, fearing he would forget past errors and with them, the mercies of God.[10] Norwood's diary was not published until the twentieth century. It is not certain whether he had an audience for his writing, but it was likely written solely for God and himself.

Newton, born in 1725, was exposed to life at sea from a young age. His mother died when he was six, a moment he marked as the beginning of worldly corruptions. His father married a year later and sent him to a boarding school shortly thereafter. He was 'permitted to mingle with careless and profane children, and soon began to learn their ways'.[11] At eleven years of age, he accompanied his father, a shipmaster, on his expeditions.[12] In 1742, after his father finished sailing and arrived home, Newton met his future wife Mary, then a young girl of less than fourteen. In 1743, he was impressed into the Royal Navy on the *Harwich* man of war and served as a midshipman on a long voyage to the East Indies.[13] Miserable and longing to return home and see Mary again, he made a failed attempt to desert the voyage, and was captured, punished, and reduced to the rank of a

[9] For a historical overview of this development, see P. Marshall, *Reformation England 1480–1642*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012. Kathleen Lynch notes that 'Bermuda was not one of the major destinations for religious exiles' of the time, but nevertheless had 'waves of early settlement, governance, and religious dispensations'. See *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 2.

[10] R. Norwood, *The Journal of Richard Norwood, 1639–1640, Surveyor of Bermuda*, Ann Arbor, Scholars Facsimiles and Reprints, 1945, p. 3.

[11] Newton, J., *An Authentic Narrative*…, Philadelphia, Printed by W. Young, 1795, p. 13.

[12] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 14.

[13] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 26.

common sailor.[14] Shortly thereafter, Newton gained permission to transfer to another ship, bound for Africa. Here, he resolved to stay to find fortune and avoid getting transferred to another man of war.[15] Becoming employed to a slave trader, Newton was mistreated by his master's wife. Eventually, after fifteen months there, after an appeal by letter to his father, he returned home on a trading ship.[16] It was on this ship in 1748 that his first significant turn to religion occurred. Shortly thereafter, Newton became the captain of a slave ship, and made three voyages on two vessels over the next several years. He married in 1750 and after suffering a stroke, retired from sea life. In 1755, he was appointed as a tide surveyor in Liverpool, allowing him to remain settled in England. Newton published his autobiography *An Authentic Narrative* in his first year in the ministry at Olney in 1764, where he preached with great success for almost two decades.[17] This narrative was drawn from letters Newton had previously written to friends, making the writing inherently more social and interpersonal than Norwood's diary. Newton's intention in writing was to 'promote the pleasing work of praise to our adorable Redeemer, or confirm the faith of some or other of his people'.[18]

There are a number of important developments integral to religious expressions of solitude during the early modern period. These provide a critical cultural context for better understanding the meaning behind such expressions. Firstly, this chapter will consider Puritan and Evangelical diaries and the development of the conversion narrative in the early modern period. Bruce Hindmarsh has extensively and convincingly shown how these narratives developed during the early modern period in structure and ideology, shaping both individual and communal identities.[19] If solitude was a rhetorical trope in these writings, was its experience less 'real' or subjective? Could individuals express their own unique experiences of solitude, or were they culturally

[14] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 29.

[15] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 35-37.

[16] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 49-50.

[17] J. Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, ed. by J. Bull, The Banner of Truth Trust, Edinburgh, 2007, p. x.

[18] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 10.

[19] Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*; and Hindmarsh, '"My chains fell off, my heart was free": Early Methodist Conversion Narrative in England', *Church History*, Vol. 68, No. 4, 1999.

determined? I will also address the emergence of Evangelicalism[20] as well as the development of sensibility and sentiment.[21] How did these cultural movements shape and inform expressions of solitude? Lastly, interrelated to these movements were attitudes towards masculinity and the emotions,[22] influencing and shaping the ways in which solitude could find expression. How was solitude expressed via emotional communities, and what kinds of emotions and rhetoric were used, expected, and deemed acceptable? What did the expression of solitude reveal about one's masculinity, or lack thereof? The isolation Norwood and Newton experienced was intended to cause a degree of suffering necessary for salvation. Tears and emotional responsiveness were critical to this transformation, attesting to a measure of piety and assurance of salvation. As the retelling of their lives unfold, however, the significance of this solitude for each of them becomes vastly different, and demonstrates both the deep reliance of solitude on social community for meaning, but also the individual variation that found expression within a larger cultural framework.

[20] For more on this, see H. S. Stout, *The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism*, Grand Rapids MI, Eerdmans, 1991; M. A. G. Haykin and K. J. Stewart, *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities*, Nottingham, Apollos, 2008; M. A. Noll, *The Rise of Evangelicalism: The Age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys*, Downers Grove IL, InterVarsity Press, 2003; D. L. Jeffrey, *English Spirituality in the Age of Wesley*, Vancouver, Regent College Publishing, 2000; J. Garnett and C. Matthew (eds.), *Revival and Religion since 1700: Essays for John Walsh*, London, Hambledon Press, 1993; D. Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008; Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century*; O'Brien, 'A Transatlantic Community of Saints'; B. C. McInelly, *Textual Warfare and the Making of Methodism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014; Ditchfield, *The Evangelical Revival*; M. G. Anderson, *Imagining Methodism in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Enthusiasm, Belief, and the Borders of the Self*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.

[21] See J. Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988; J. Ellison, 'Sensibility', in J. Faflak and J. M. Wright (eds.), *A Handbook of Romanticism Studies*, Chichester, John Wiley and Sons, 2012.

[22] There have been many excellent studies on emotion and masculinity in early modern England, including P. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society: Britain 1660–1800*, Harlow, Longman, 2001; B. Capp, 'Jesus Wept'; M. Cohen, '"Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005.

Seventeenth-Century Puritans: Prayer, Diary and Autobiography

In seventeenth-century England, Protestants esteemed the use of solitude in the right context: they placed a great deal of importance on the value of a temporary retirement for prayer. Private prayer was understood to be less distracting, as well as more sincere and open than praying in front of others, which could lead to pride, hypocrisy, and constraint.[23] Careful to distinguish this from Catholic prayer, prominent Puritan thinker William Perkins emphasised prayer within the confines of society: 'Gods grace may as well be exercised in the familie as in the cloister'.[24] Another important component of private religious solitary reflection was diary-keeping. The act of diary-keeping was a staple of Puritan devotion, first appearing under the reign of Elizabeth in the sixteenth century. A key component of practical divinity, the search for signs of election in daily life, was central to these diaries. Through self-examination, they could provide a means by which to uncover signs of grace. The act of writing 'granted a sort of absolution'.[25] In addition, it helped to organise and solidify one's experiences, which were often re-read in times of despair.[26]

Autobiographies also began to rise in numbers from the 1640s onwards, whereas between 1600 and 1640, published autobiographies were sporadic.[27] Spiritual autobiography was fostered by

[23] Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, pp. 154–56.

[24] W. Perkins, *A reformed Catholike: or, A declaration shewing how neere we may come to the present Church of Rome in sundrie points of religion*…, Cambridge, Printed by John Legat, 1598, p. 168.

[25] P. Heehs, *Writing the Self: Diaries, Memoirs, and the History of the Self*, London, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013, p. 49.

[26] T. Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 1996, pp. 47–48. Also see O. C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

[27] D. Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth Century England: Theology and the Self*, Paris, Mouton, 1971, p. 17. For an investigation of the possible reasons for this, also see P. Delany, *British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969; Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*. Cambers has argued that manuscripts of Puritan diaries were typically written to be read and widely circulated. See 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England', p. 798.

a Puritan emphasis on religious experience.[28] Hindmarsh discusses the importance for Puritans in applying doctrine to experience. Inward and outward experience were to be correlated within the context of a scheme of regeneration that could be carefully traced.[29] William Perkins, one of the leading Puritan writers at the beginning of the century, laid the groundwork for an applied theology of conversion based on the Reformed order of salvation.[30] By the mid-seventeenth century, there was an established pattern for conversion narratives among Puritans, which began with religious impressions in childhood, a fall into worldliness, and a period of self-despair that led to repentance and the forgiveness of sins.[31]

These narratives emphasised the solitary individual's obedience to God, with grace and election being found in relative isolation. This reflected a limited emphasis on the origins of Protestantism on social community and friendship. For both Luther and Calvin, 'friendship plays no discernible constituting or sustaining role in civil or church life', as Heilke has shown.[32] Social relationships, while useful for support and stability, were not identified as 'aids to moral excellence'.[33] These generic conventions, and the theology that informed them, were critical to shaping the ways in which individuals understood and shaped their own experiences of solitude and salvation.

Eighteenth-Century Methodism and Sociable Religion

Where Puritans often emphasised the solitary individual, the ideology of Christianity as a sociable religion was more emphatically asserted a century later for the Methodists of Newton's time.

[28] D. Pallotti, '"Out of their owne mouths"? Conversion Narratives and English Radical Religious Practice in the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, pp. 74–76. Available from FU Press (accessed 12 Oct 2014).

[29] Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, p. 15.

[30] W. Perkins, *A Golden Chaine, or The description of theologie containing the order of the causes of saluation and damnation, according to Gods woord*, London, Printed by Edward Alde, 1592.

[31] Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, p. 25.

[32] T. Heilke, 'From Civic Friendship to Communities of Believers: Anabaptist Challenges to Lutheran and Calvinist Discourses', in M. López, D. T. Lochman and L. Hutson (eds.), *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700*, Burlington VT, Ashgate, 2013, p. 226.

[33] Heilke, 'From Civic Friendship to Communities of Believers', p. 226.

‘Christianity’, Wesley preached, ‘is essentially a social religion ... it cannot subsist at all without society, without living and conversing with other men’.[34] The importance of a religious community became far more critical than in the previous century. A supportive community was essential to a growing faith. For Wesley, people did not become holy in isolation, and virtue itself was destroyed if men were isolated in solitude.[35] Assertions that ‘Wesley disliked solitude’, however, need to be qualified.[36] Wesley and other leading Evangelicals continued to repeat the well-established Protestant view that solitude, intermixed with society, was beneficial. Retirement was necessary to restore the soul and converse with God. It must not, however, ‘swallow up all our time’.[37] George Whitefield agreed that solitude and retirement were profitable, but in moderation. When they were carried to ‘an extreme’, solitude ‘rather befriends than prevents temptation’.[38] Therefore, Evangelical Christianity, although known primarily as a sociable religion, in fact ‘demanded private space for individual introspection’.[39]

The social network built up by Methodists around the world during the Evangelical Revival was extensive, and sociability between believers was integral to the success and endurance of its beliefs. Methodists shared their experiences through a vast array of media, including sermons, hymns, and letter writing. Methodism was widely recognised as a ‘sociable’ religion, and scholars

[34] A. C. Outler, *John Wesley’s Sermons: An Anthology*, Nashville TN, Abingdon Press, 2010, p. 327. Whitefield similarly stated, ‘The religion, which this Bible in my hand prescribes, is a social religion’. See *Sermons of George Whitefield*, Peabody MA, Hendrickson Publishers, 2013, p. 273.

[35] Outler, *John Wesley’s Sermons*, p. 329. For further discussion of Wesley’s notion of solitude, see K. M. Watson, *Pursuing Social Holiness: The Band Meeting in Wesley’s Thought and Popular Methodist Practice*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014.

[36] E. Duffy, ‘Wesley and the Counter-Reformation’, in Garnett and Matthew (eds.), *Revival and Religion since 1700*, p. 15.

[37] Outler, *John Wesley’s Sermons*, p. 328.

[38] G. Whitefield, *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield*… volumes 5–6, London, Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, 1772, p. 270.

[39] L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*, London, Hutchinson, 1987, p. 90.

like McInelly and Mack have stressed the importance of intimate relationships for confirming faith among followers.[40] When people joined the Methodist faith, they acknowledged a need not only for new hearts, but a new community.[41] Whereas Calvin had offered little distinction between friends inside or outside a Christian community, Evangelicals also stressed the need for distance from worldly men.[42] This, I would argue, made the importance of intimate relationships with fellow Methodists all the more critical to a believer's success. By imagining themselves as part of a congregation sharing common views of theology and experiences of segregation, feelings of isolation were both highlighted as well as overcome: 'Methodists looked to each other to understand, validate, and explain the feelings on which they built their faith'.[43] Therefore, a sense of worldly isolation was intended to strengthen religious ties in the Evangelical community.[44]

The case studies of Norwood and Newton show the importance of these contemporary religious values of solitude and community, but also complicate these ideals. The Evangelicalism that rose in the mid-eighteenth century had a great deal in common with Puritanism of the previous century.[45] Although Evangelicals emphasised salvation within social Evangelical circles rather than the salvation in isolation of the previous century, there was a great deal of overlap between these distinctions. Evangelicals, despite an extensive social network, continued to find redemption in solitude and value in the benefits of retirement and private prayer. Newton's salvation and discovery of God were intertwined with solitude, and this continued to inform and influence his interactions with social circles back home. Similarly, while the role of friendship in faith was less emphatically emphasised in Norwood's time, it does not follow that friendship was unimportant to

[40] McInelly, *Textual Warfare*; P. Mack, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

[41] Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, p. 270.

[42] C. L. Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 13.

[43] McInelly, *Textual Warfare*, p. 68.

[44] Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 86.

[45] Hindmarsh has argued that the 'immediate antecedents' to eighteenth-century Methodist conversion narratives were 'in the seventeenth century in the Puritan-Nonconformist tradition'. See 'My chains fell off', p. 911.

the spiritual lives of Puritans, as Warne has recently argued.[46] Emotional and moral development was grounded in the conviction that community was essential, even and perhaps especially if one felt that community was absent. Norwood's case reveals to us the ways in which social community could be both simultaneously inescapable and distant. Both Norwood and Newton blur certain expectations of individual solitude and the social community, revealing that whilst they drew heavily from their respective emotional communities, their expressions of solitude were also individual and improvised to better navigate through their own experiences abroad.

Travel and Solitude in Norwood

English mathematician, diver, and surveyor to the Bermudas, Norwood wrote works primarily relating to navigation and mathematics.[47] Whereas Newton left us with a huge amount of material to work with in deciphering his expressions of solitude, Norwood's *Confessions* is the only work we have relating to his personal and spiritual life. His narrative of spiritual development, at least to some extent, followed Perkins' blueprint for a Calvinist conversion narrative. In his narrative recipe, the author began in a state of ignorance and depravity, gradually learning of God's word and realising his or her sins, and undergoing a long process of efforts at reform.[48] The generic conventions of such conversion narratives were critical to the way Norwood composed his own writing. By composing a distinctive Puritan narrative identity that conformed to generic patterns, Norwood attempted to validate his own conversion. The narrative itself was therefore key to the conversion process itself, as it 'presents a version of the conversion that is fashioned after the fact, with the details of this process reshaped in order to confirm the legitimacy of the present status'.[49] The extent to which Norwood's narrative is unique has received varying opinions. While Webster

[46] N. Warne, 'Emotions and the Development of Virtue in Puritan Thought', in Ryrie and Schwanda (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World*, pp. 201–211.

[47] Norwood wrote primarily on works relating to navigation and mathematics, perhaps most notably *The seaman's practice*, London, Printed for Thomas Page and William Mount, 1732.

[48] D. Parry, '"God breaketh not all men's hearts alike": Early Modern Conversion Narratives in Contemporary Perspective', *The Glass*, No. 25, 2013, p. 4. Available from Academia.edu (accessed 15 Aug 2014). Also see Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, p. 38.

[49] J. Van Gent and S. E. Young, 'Introduction: Emotions and Conversion', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2015, p. 464. Available from Academic Search Premier (accessed 12 June 2017).

has argued the diary gives no insight into subjective inner life, other scholars have sought to uncover the unique ways Norwood responded to the world around him.[50] To fully appreciate and understand Norwood's narrative, one cannot ignore the external determinants of his life, nor deny the possibility for individual agency; to do either is to ignore the complexity of his character. What makes Norwood's work different from standard conversion narratives, I argue, is not the presence of travel as a motif, but its religious significance for Norwood's isolation.

Norwood's experiences in travelling impacted his views in significant ways. When he made the decision to travel, his friends, along with God, his parents, and all men, 'were utterly against my going to sea'.[51] He later suggested the reasons for their opposition were due to perception of the seafaring life as 'the worst of all others', full of immorality and drunkenness.[52] Norwood believed that travel destroyed these relationships as well as the piety that might have developed through nurturing them. Travel, then, was immediately equated with both social and spiritual isolation. Aimless curiosity and pleasure, which Norwood admitted to pursuing, were among the many motives for travel being widely reproached. He lamented at one point upon returning to England that he was making progress towards conversion, but travels then stunted this progress: 'going presently to sea amongst those which were strangers to these mysteries I soon grew cold and careless'.[53]

It is evident throughout his *Confessions* that Norwood viewed his travels as a stimulus to sin. As he moved further away from home, his heart was increasingly 'alienated ... from my native

[50] Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy', p. 40. Watkins, for instance, sees Norwood's responses as individual and free from conventional Puritan categories. See *The Puritan Experience*, p. 72. Also see B. Hall, 'To give myself up to a serious examination', p. 169; M. Skura, 'Early Modern Subjectivity and the Place of Psychoanalysis in Cultural Analysis: The Case of Richard Norwood', in P. Brooks and A. Woloch (eds.), *Whose Freud? The Place of Psychoanalysis in Contemporary Culture*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, p. 220.

[51] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 15.

[52] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 31.

[53] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 35.

country, countrymen, and friends, from religion ... and from God'.[54] Travel destroyed his relationships with others. It was his desire to wander that led to disobeying his father, for instance, and this gulf between them only widened as he succumbed to the temptations of Catholicism abroad. When he returned home in 1613, he stayed only eight or nine months. His friendship with fellow teacher John Goodman was seen as evidence of the benefits of being settled during this period: 'he continued my constant friend ... ignorant how to settle myself into any good course of life, the Lord thus brought me into a way and joined me with one that ... had some better experience'.[55] His desire for travels and 'wickedness', however, once again took him back to the Bermudas. Travel was for Norwood much more than just a potentially dangerous or sinful experience. Its significance cannot be overstated; travel was a marker of inescapable isolation and damnation.

Norwood's isolation had both secular and religious dimensions and connotations. His isolation was at the core of his experiences, and was always framed by his contact with others. His emphasis on his secular isolation while travelling was fraught with conflict, ambiguity, and unease. He found in others conflict, misunderstanding, temptation, maliciousness, and disappointment. However interactions were characterised, they were always transient and fleeting. He argued with a Papist, who then left him behind. He travelled with a group of soldiers, but failed to communicate with them due to the difference in language. He found their company tedious due to this lack of understanding, and after several days, Norwood decided to go his own way. A woman tried to seduce him. In a hospital, men tried to kill him. His shipmates conspired against him. When he was sick and needed help, people failed to stand by him.[56] Seldom was anyone framed in a positive light in the midst of his travels. A group of English sailors 'warm his heart', because they represented his opportunity to go home to English and find his elusive sense of settledness.[57]

In 1615, at the age of twenty-five, Norwood found himself in a unique circumstance to experience absolute isolation from society when he became stranded from the main settlement on

[54] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 28.

[55] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 51.

[56] Norwood, *The Journal*, pp. 18–19, 29–30, 37.

[57] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 29.

the island of Bermuda for five days. He described the experience as 'the most tedious and miserable that I ever underwent in all my life ... I seemed as banished from human society and knew not how long it might last. Yet at other times I was apt to retire myself from company, but at this time I thought it one of the greatest punishments in the world ... now I thought I would rather suffer anything than be deprived of human society'.[58] Although Norwood recognised his proclivity for solitude, in a typically Protestant view, he did not want this isolation to be permanent or absolute, but rather, always within the context of returning to society. This solitude caused him so much grief, that he was willing to risk his life in stormy, dangerous weather to avoid facing it any longer, and his life hung 'only by a small twisted string'. Norwood pleaded for God's deliverance and 'renewed my purposes of new obedience', and the Lord delivered him to safety.[59]

His crisis at sea drew on popular generic conventions of the time. The notion of God delivering sailors from danger was a concept so influential, that the majority of seamen's voyages contain an episode of peril overcome with the assistance of God.[60] The suggestion that if one served God, 'one is likely to escape drowning' was commonplace.[61] Though sailors had a reputation for immorality,[62] divine providence played a central role in the narrative voyages of seamen: life and death, sickness and health, were in the hands of God's will. Contemporary tracts like *Navigation Spiritualized* and *The Spiritual Sea-Man* reminded seamen that although they were separated from their families and friends on shore, they were not alone: 'god is at sea, though all thy friends be at land'.[63] Just as God could punish with the winds, so too could He deliver seamen from these same

[58] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 54.

[59] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 55.

[60] C. A. Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men: The Social History of Elizabethan Seamen, 1580–1603*, Westport CT, Greenwood Press, 2002, p. 116.

[61] H. F. Watson, *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama, 1550–1800*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, p. 17. Fury recognises such language is often formulaic, but adds that there is no reason to question the sincerity of religious language. See *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 116.

[62] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 87.

[63] J. Durant, *The spiritual sea-man*…, London, Printed for L. Chapman, at the Crown in Popes-head-alley, 1654, p. 57.

winds, protecting them from fear and danger, conducting them from place to place, and keeping them alive through their travels. Norwood was certainly no stranger to these ideas. Reflecting such cultural notions, he interpreted the storm as an act of God and punishment for man's misdeeds. The experience marked a turning point in Norwood's life. Although not a clear moment of salvation, he asserted: 'Christ began to form in me. I began to affect and love him ... I desired communion and acquaintance of the saints and servants of God'.[64] Therefore, in Norwood's isolation at sea, God delivered him from impending solitude and instilled him with a desire for Christian company. It was another 'eighteen or twenty months' after this 'first sensible change', however, that Norwood would experience what he called 'an undoubted assurance of the remission of my sins and sure reconciliation with God in Christ'.[65]

What is striking about Norwood's episode of shipwrecked isolation is the ways in which it mirrored Norwood's profound spiritual and psychological alienation. It is significant that Norwood experienced God's wrath both in solitude and at sea. His punishment was twofold, stemming from keeping too much distance from other Christian believers and for his wanderings, two sinful aspects of his life that were intricately connected. It is no narrative coincidence that this storm was described immediately following his discussion of failing to settle himself at home. He described his condition back in London as a 'happy' one, even though he was not happy. This, he explained, was because he did not know his own happiness. Norwood, then, understood true happiness to exist in performing that which was considered appropriate to God as understood through the values of his emotional community. He saw travel in opposition to this ideal. His wandering was evidence of a heart bent on wickedness. Rather than questioning the ideals of Puritan culture, he only despaired that his own desires were not aligned as they should be. This was also true of solitude. He was inclined to it more than he felt he should be, and as such it became like travel, an all-encompassing sign of damnation. Solitude was critical to Norwood's early perceptions of religion: 'I understood not well ... thought I must go alone in a way I was not certain of, and should be a wonder to all my acquaintances and should not be able to persevere upon such weak grounds as I had'.[66] He had related piety to 'retiring a man's self to solitariness and prayer ... a dead, irksome, and unsavoury

[64] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 71.

[65] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 81.

[66] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 13.

kind of life ... that I must walk it alone'.[67] Norwood claimed that even before his conversion, he knew that faith for him who felt especially wicked could not survive without a social support group. Not surprisingly then, it was shortly after his conversion that Norwood left the Bermudas and returned home to England, hoping to nurture his new-found faith within a community of believers.

Norwood viewed his urge to travel only in terms of unsettledness; there was no spiritual purpose to his pursuits abroad. Other Puritan travellers found ways to connect with fellow believers in isolation. Holmes, for instance, has shown how travellers like Rowlandson, fearing condemnation in continual relocation abroad, internalised scripture to draw on a Puritan community, regardless of distance.[68] Through an intimate privacy with God, believers could draw on imagined communal support, as Trull has argued. This was distinct from an isolated privacy characterised by despair in solitary contemplation.[69] When Norwood borrowed narrative forms and ideas from scripture and Christian writers, he inevitably drew on this emotional community for support and validation in his quest. His connection to this community and a sense of validation was too distant and uncertain, however, to provide him with reassurance. It was only when he was alienated from the prevailing church that he decided to write, so that his journal could be seen to blossom in the context of resistance and isolation.[70] The very origins of his diary, then, are predicated on his perceived isolation from others.

Newton and His *Authentic Narrative*

Newton's interpretations of his own experiences at sea, though they shared some similarities with Norwood's, were fundamentally different. The various stages of Newton's early life are related in his autobiographical *An Authentic Narrative,* which will be the primary source I will draw from in this chapter. He reiterated throughout this narrative the belief that up until conversion, his experiences at sea were morally corrupting, each journey plunging him into deeper sinfulness. He 'learned to curse and blaspheme'; he was 'exposed to the company and ill example of the common sailors, among whom I ranked .... strides towards a total apostasy from God'; these sailors

[67] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 35.

[68] Holmes, 'Sole Author, I', pp. 61–62.

[69] Trull, *Performing Privacy*, p. 21.

[70] Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography*, p. 11.

‘completed ruin of my principles’; and finally, he became ‘exceedingly vile’ and intent on tempting others into extreme immorality.[71] Newton reiterated all the early modern notions of sinful sailors at sea, testifying to its reality while also transforming himself into an aberrant example of such a stereotype.

Before Newton’s initial conversion in 1748, two streams of solitude can be identified, keeping in mind that he perceived and narrated them, much like Norwood, from a post-conversion perspective. The first was a voluntary physical solitude, driven by a misconception of the true nature of religion. At one point, he endeavoured to ‘renounce society, that I might avoid temptation’.[72] For two years, he attempted to follow this model of asceticism, a model which made him ‘gloomy, stupid, unsociable, and useless’.[73] This mirrored the notions of a young Norwood, who misconceived of true religion as a solitary experience. Newton’s second experience of solitude was depicted as one of involuntary psychological isolation. When Newton attempted to desert his Royal Navy ship, he was caught and whipped publicly. He remembered a heart ‘full of indignation, shame and fear’, and later ‘desire, bitter rage, and black despair’.[74] Such undesirable emotions, as we will later see, suggested sin and a need for salvation. Further punishment for his transgression entailed being ostracised: ‘former companions forbidden even to speak to me. ... no friend to take my part, or to listen to my complaint’.[75] His subsequent time in Africa was marked with continued and worsening isolation, being an ‘outcast’, shunned and despised by all.[76] Victim to the cruelties of his master’s wife, he became a slave, suffering sickness and malnutrition. He became so accustomed to his own solitude, he related that he hid in ‘shame … from sight of strangers’.[77] Again, Newton connected isolation with shame and despair in much the same way Norwood had

[71] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 15, 22, 26, 35.

[72] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 16.

[73] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 16.

[74] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 29-30.

[75] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 30.

[76] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 38.

[77] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 45.

during his travels when he was engulfed in sin.

This unwanted isolation, however, was ultimately good for Newton. Firstly, it protected others from his own corrupting influence: 'I … admire the mercy of the Lord, in banishing me to those distant parts, and almost excluding me from human society ... capable of spreading a taint wherever I went ... I might have been very hurtful to others'.[78] Newton eventually got employment in Africa from a more humane trader and began to feel content. Becoming closer to inhabitants,[79] he retrospectively considered this closeness a dangerous development due to their superstitious and irreligious beliefs. Therefore, a loss of solitude and attainment of intimacy was condemned on the grounds of this intimacy being steeped in sin. Not all companionship and intimacy was a welcome alternative to solitude, it had to be the right kind.[80] Newton's narrative tale of increased isolation at sea pointed to a degree of shame, suffering, and humbling that would show itself to be transformative, eventually delivering him from the vices of those around him.

Solitude and Travel: Newton's Conversion

Unlike Norwood, who recollected a desire to travel against the will of God, Newton went to sea at the will of God and against his own: 'mercy sent me to sea against my own will'.[81] As we will see, this was an important difference that impacted how each of these men viewed travel, solitude, and salvation. Newton's first significant turn towards God, like Norwood's, occurred during a dangerous storm at sea. This motif continued to find popularity in religious conversion narratives.[82] The Methodist conversion narrative, like those of past centuries, followed a general pattern that stressed 'sensible experience, a desire for assurance, a quest for a subsequent blessing of entire

[78] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 38.

[79] Rediker takes this to mean Newton 'probably ... took an African "wife", maybe more than one'. See *The Slave Ship: A Human History*, New York, Viking Press, 2007, p. 161.

[80] See J. Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton, Formerly of St. Mary, Woolnoth, &c with Selections from His Correspondence*, London, R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1835, p. 290. Also see J. Newton, *The Works of the Rev. John Newton*, ed. by R. Cecil, Edinburgh, Printed for Thomas Nelson and Peter Brown, 1836, p. 49.

[81] Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 76.

[82] Walsh, 'Methodism', p. 4.

sanctification, a fear of backsliding and a desire to become a useful instrument of God's grace in the world'.[83]

Newton's initial turn towards God came after the deliverance from a storm in 1748. Events leading up to the incident were marked by irreligious social activity, while Newton's behaviour after the storm, intended to stand in contrast to this and mark a change in him, was characterised by voluntary solitary devotion to God. Following a night of social drinking, delighting in 'mischief', and dancing 'like a madman' in drunken revelry, Newton awoke to a violent sea.[84] In the midst of the storm, Newton recalled being 'little affected'. Uttering the words 'Lord have mercy upon us', however, he was suddenly filled with dread: 'though I dreaded death now, and my heart forebode the worst, if the scriptures ... were indeed true; yet still I was but half convinced, and remained for a space of time in a sullen frame, a mixture of despair and impatience'. Newton began to reflect that 'there never was nor could be such a sinner as myself. ... my sins were too great to be forgiven'.[85] When hope for survival surfaced, Newton wrote: 'I thought I saw the hand of God displayed in our favour; I began to pray'.[86] Though at this stage Newton claimed he lacked true faith, merely wishing rather than believing, it was an all-important turning point in his life.

This stormy episode in Newton's narrative marked a new significance for solitude in his religious development. His many previous promises to God never lasted, perhaps because, in his retrospective view, he had not yet experienced and suffered enough for it to impact him with significance. 'If a mariner is surprised by a storm', Newton reflected, 'and after one night ... brought safe into port; though he may rejoice ... it will not affect him so sensibly as if, after being tempest-tossed for a long season, and experiencing a great number and variety of hair-breadth escapes, he at last gains the desired haven'.[87] The events following this moment, after a brief relapse, were marked

[83] Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century*, p. 157. Also see Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, p. 63; and Hindmarsh, *The Evangelical Conversion Narrative*, pp. 267–68.

[84] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 52-53.

[85] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 57-58.

[86] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 59.

[87] J. Newton, *Cardiphonia or, the utterance of the heart*..., London, Printed for J. Buckland and J. Johnson, 1781, p. 28.

by prayer in solitude. Stressing his lack of religious support, he surrendered to God in 'private devotion'.[88] Contracting malaria for a second time, he sought a retired part of the island, finding 'renewed liberty to pray'. Almost every day, he retired into the woods and fields in 'prayer and praise'.[89] From this point, Newton gradually increased his knowledge of the Christian faith.

In 1749, he became captain of his own ship in the slave trade. In this role, Newton reflected on seafaring life as an ideal context for communion with God: 'I know not any calling that seems more favourable or affords greater advantage to an awakened mind, for promoting the life of God in the soul'.[90] This was especially true as commander; with an abundance of leisure and distance from temptations, he could discover his faith 'almost secluded from society on ship-board, or when on shore amongst the natives'. Even the seascape itself was conducive to faith, observing daily divine providence and 'the wonders of God in the great deep, with the two noblest objects of sight, the expanded heavens, and the expanded ocean'.[91] Though he enjoyed himself 'best retired in my room', this was an enjoyment borne out of necessity. He lamented that there were 'none with me now but mere sailors ... keep my pleasures and my pains to myself'. Newton expressed a desire to talk about his wife, that it may 'ease my mind', but no one on board had the right temper for such conversation.[92] Newton considered himself solitary as a Christian sailor, irregardless of whether or not he chose to withdraw physically from company. Even if he did converse with sailors on board, because they could not converse upon God, he saw himself as a solitary figure.[93] Newton was intent on portraying himself as the religious misfit amidst his travel. With a heavy heart, he was forced to 'assume an air of cheerfulness in company', reiterating common stereotypes of the 'jolly tar'.[94]

[88] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 68.

[89] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 75, 79.

[90] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 85.

[91] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 85-86.

[92] J. Newton, *Letters to a Wife, by the author of Cardiphonia*, London, Printed for J. Johnson, 1793, Vol. 1, pp. 124, 83, 134.

[93] Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 293.

[94] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, pp. 152, 184, 57.

Unable to seek refuge in religious societies and instead having only the company of common sailors onboard, he observed that his progress in matters of faith was severely hindered. Having a religious community supporting one's faith was of immense importance to religious advancement, and Newton expressed this belief on several occasions, in recalling experiences both before and after his conversion. Aboard ship as a young child, he was exposed to the corrupting morals of sailors. Decades later, immediately following a significant turn towards God after deliverance from a storm at sea, he lamented that there was 'no persons on board to whom I could open myself with freedom concerning the state of my soul'.[95] On his third voyage, Newton discovered the 'advantage of Christian converse' when he became inseparable with a captain on board.[96] It is, however, undeniable how important private prayer, retirement, and solitude were, not merely to Newton's conversion, but to an ongoing religious transformation. Phipps notes that Newton's religion on board was characterised by solitariness, whereas this spiritual loneliness was replaced by camaraderie within the Evangelical circles post-travels.[97] This is an accurate characterisation in a general sense, but it was not as clear cut as this. Newton yearned for companionship and conversation amidst his seafaring travels, but also chose and enjoyed isolation. Completing his travels abroad, he also expressed a desire for solitude within the social and relational world of Evangelical circles in England, as we will see in a later chapter.

Like Norwood, Newton was critical of worldly travel, but he also identified travel for spiritual growth. Having undertaken many of his sea travels prior to his religious conversion, he was critical of those who went abroad in vain to find satisfactions lacking at home: 'they languish continually for a change, and rather than continue in the same pursuit, are willing to change for the worse'.[98] Newton was also able, however, to distinguish worldly travel from one that encouraged spiritual development. He could understand travel as leading to his salvation through suffering and through nurturing his newly found spiritual life in isolation. It is apparent, however, that Newton

[95] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 65.

[96] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 94. Although generally 'satisfied' with commanding slave ships, he sometimes prayed for a 'more humane calling' with more frequent Christian converse. See p. 95.

[97] W. E. Phipps, *Amazing Grace in John Newton: Slave-ship Captain, Hymnwriter, and Abolitionist*, Macon GA, Mercer University Press, 2001, p. 67.

[98] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. 188.

was much less inclined to travels than Norwood, even though he had much more positive associations with travelling. Writing from his slave ship to his childhood pastor Dr. Jennings, Newton admitted, 'I still find myself unequal to this fluctuating way of life, where the scene is continually shifting and I am everyday engaged with some new kind of incumbrance'.[99] The hand of God both men felt at sea in their moments of despair and subsequent salvation had striking differences that provide insight into their beliefs and their fears. Whereas the storm Newton experienced was preceded by sinful social activity, Norwood's was preceded by a forced solitude, being shipwrecked at sea. These distinctions are critical to the way these men understood solitude both prior to and after their conversions. After the storm, Newton chose solitude to symbolise his new dedication to God.[100] Norwood's solitude, on the other hand, symbolised his sinfulness, so that after his salvation, he strove to keep company with holy men.[101] As we will see in a later chapter, Norwood placed just as much importance on social intimacy as Newton for his faith, but he failed to fully participate in the community that he called his own.

Religious Solitude and the Emotions

Emotions had particular significance for expressions of religious solitude, making an analysis of them imperative to the discussion of these narratives. Solitude was bound up with emotions in complex ways in the early modern period. Early modern Protestants generally believed that tears could only be fully expressed in private, and public weeping was viewed with reservation. William Hunnis, for example, thought tears best shed secretly in his chamber.[102] Tears were strongly gendered; while women and children were thought to weep readily, grown men were urged to keep their tears private because they were 'shamefully womanish'.[103] Emotions could, however, be

[99] J. Newton, *The Journal of a Slave Trader, 1750–1754, with Newton's Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade*, London, Epworth Press, 1962, p. 84.

[100] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, pp. 68, 75, 79.

[101] Norwood, *The Journal*, pp. 71, 90-91, 98.

[102] W. Hunnis, *Seuen sobs of a sorrowfull soule*…, London, By Henrie Denham, 1583. For Augustine, who strongly influenced early modern Protestant thought, 'solitude was more suited to the business of weeping'. See *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans. by F. J. Sheed, London, Sheed and Ward, 1984, p. 141. For a discussion of Augustine's solitude, see Barbour, *The Value of Solitude*.

[103] Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, p. 192.

highly prized in communal spaces, making the acceptability, or sometimes the need for emotional expressions, largely dependent on context and time. Dixon, in his study on British tears in the eighteenth century, argues that tears are 'intellectual things, that they are embodied, that they are social, and that they are produced in particular places, by particular objects, and with highly variable meanings'.[104] In his newest study, he again reiterates that tears, strongly linked to attachment and separation, are a 'liquid social bond'.[105] Protestants of the seventeenth century reduced the significance of tears in reaction to Catholicism: weeping became more a solitary act of grief than a collective mourning, and 'allowable, but not necessary'.[106] By the mid-eighteenth century, 'sensibility, sentiment and emotion' reached unprecedented heights.[107] Nevertheless, many still cautioned restraint. Mack has noted, for instance, how Wesley encouraged extreme sensibility in women, but cautioned the same for men: instead, he 'tried to walk a fine line between the scientific scepticism of a citizen of the Enlightenment and a fascination with forms of spiritual expression'.[108] Such an example reminds us that in looking at these historical developments, it is important to carefully consider the gendered meanings as well as individual contexts for emotions, both when they were and when they were not expressed.

Puritans and Evangelicals alike valued emotions as a key component of faith. As Ryrie has shown, 'they expected to meet God in them. Emotion was a form of revelation'.[109] From as early as the 1660s, there was a moral reform focused on softening the hardness of men and encouraging softer feelings of piety and compassion.[110] Although a high value was placed upon feeling, this was

[104] Dixon, 'History in British Tears', p. 7. For further studies on the history of tears, see Dixon, 'Enthusiasm Delineated'; Dixon, *Weeping Britannia*; Capp, 'Jesus Wept'.

[105] Dixon, *Weeping Britannia*, p. 8.

[106] Dixon, *Weeping Britannia*, pp. 35–36.

[107] Dixon, *Weeping Britannia*, p. 69.

[108] Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp. 90, 37.

[109] Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, p. 40.

[110] G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 66. Seventeenth-century Puritan leader Richard Baxter expressed shame in his 'dull and careless heart', believing sermons should not be preached 'without tears, or the

not without caution and restriction. Not all emotions were embraced or celebrated equally, and varying degrees of restraint were advocated. The idea of 'salvation through desperation' was central to the works of prominent English Puritans like William Perkins: 'he that would be saued and escape damnation, must see his sinne, be sorrowfull for it, and vtterly despaire of his own strength to attaine saluation'.[111] It is easy to see why dramatic narratives of despair and salvation at sea were utilised when we consider the emotional communities that surrounded them. British diarists in the seventeenth century, as Kotchemidova notes, 'consistently portrayed themselves as doleful'.[112] While suffering continued to be valued in the eighteenth century, there was an increased emphasis on joy. Too much despair was sometimes viewed as evidence of damnation. When a Methodist was near God, love and happiness reigned supreme, whereas anguish and misery were indicative of estrangement.[113]

Having the right kind and the right amount of emotions determined the meaning and use of those emotions. Calvin stressed that in the midst of suffering, one should react to excessive emotions with shame and self-control. This disciplining of the emotions, however, did not equate to an attempt to suppress them. Rather, channelling these emotions only made them 'swifter and deeper'.[114] Puritan preachers like William Fenner believed excessive emotions, if they were good ones, did not require restraint. He proclaimed that if 'affections be fixed on their proper object,

greatest earnestness that possible we can'. See *The Practical Works of the Rev. Richard Baxter*..., vol. 16, London, J. Duncan, 1830, p. 528. For a discussion of the emotions in Baxter, see K. Condie, '"Light Accompanied with Vital Heat": Affection and Intellect in the Thought of Richard Baxter', in Ryrie and Schwanda (eds.), *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World*.

[111] W. Perkins, *A treatise tending vnto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or in the estate of grace and if he be in the first, how he may in time come out of it*…, London, By R. Robinson, for T. Gubbin, and I. Porter, 1590, pp. 46–47.

[112] C. Kotchemidova, 'From Good Cheer to "Drive-By Smiling": A Social History of Cheerfulness', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2005, p. 7.

[113] Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, p. 134.

[114] Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, p. 17.

there is no danger in the excesse'.[115] Evangelicals were also cautious and sometimes critical of excess emotion, despite characterisation of the movement as 'above all a religion of feeling'.[116] Whitefield, despite delivering emotionally-charged sermons, also worried about audiences who would often become fanatical and lose control of their emotions in the early days of the Evangelical Revival.[117] To some critics and observers, this resulted in a dangerous mass hysteria. It was not necessarily emotion in itself that provoked hostility, however, but what these emotions signified.[118]

The question of where emotions were expressed determined the kinds of critique involved. Part of the problem was, as often as these beneficial emotional experiences occurred in a space of intimate privacy with God, emotions considered to be unproductive could easily arise out of that solitude; these included 'anger, melancholy, fear, and (erotic) love'.[119] Where one found melancholy, for instance, one invariably found mention of a solitary disposition in early modern treatises.[120] For the principal seventeenth-century writer on melancholy, Robert Burton, solitude was 'a principal cause of melancholy'. If solitude was a space to contemplate God, Burton conceded, it could be useful. For those who enjoyed company or who voluntarily preferred absence from society, however, emotions such as fear and sorrow would overcome them.[121] Despite these dangers, emotion, particularly the production of tears, was valued as an indicator for religious

[115] W. Fenner, *A Treatise of the Affections*…, London, Printed by R. H. for I. Rothwell, 1642, sig. A2^{v}.

[116] Anderson, *Imagining Methodism*, p. 6.

[117] L. W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism*, Lanham MD, Scarecrow Press, 2002, p. 189. Many critics saw such emotional displays as incurring a loss of reason. See McInelly, *Textual Warfare*, p. 85.

[118] McInelly, *Textual Warfare*, p. 86.

[119] W. Olmsted, *The Imperfect Friend: Emotion and Rhetoric in Sidney, Milton, and Their Contexts*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008.

[120] For Catholic polemicist Anthony Stafford, solitude was melancholy's 'mute mother', and poet William Latham asserted that 'privacie begets melancholie'. See A. Stafford, *Staffords Niobe: or His age of teares A treatise no lesse profitable, and comfortable, then the times damnable*…, London, Printed by Humfrey Lownes, 1611, p. 108; W. Latham, *Phyala lachrymarum*…, London, Printed by R. Young, 1634, sig. B9^{r}.

[121] R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*…, London, N. Hailes, 1824, p. 56.

salvation and spiritual awakening across the early modern period. Clearly, an important link between emotion and religion was already well-established before the eighteenth century, but its significance for religious community in the eighteenth century was distinct from the previous century. Emotions gained much more widespread validation as communal and public experience, as the emotional response of audiences came to evidence 'the power of God operating in the converted Christians'.[122]

This section has highlighted the emotions that were valued as well as discouraged among seventeenth-century Puritans and eighteenth-century Evangelicals, as well as the spaces in which such emotions were deemed acceptable, a question we will return to shortly. Of the many religious feelings connected to these emotional communities, however, the ritual of weeping was an integral component to both.[123] Climactic experiences of salvation and the lives that surrounded them were enshrouded in emotional language for both Norwood and Newton, as well as their contemporaries. Emotions played a critical role in early modern religious conversion narratives. Key to the narratives themselves, they attested to an individual's belonging to a particular emotional community: 'emotions could serve to certify the authenticity, or mark the inauthenticity, of a conversion'.[124] Baseotto has argued that emotions of 'sorrow for one's sinful life, fear of damnation, despair of forgiveness and joy at detecting signs of election' were expected not only to be present, but to develop as 'progressive intensification of emotional states signalling spiritual awakening'.[125] Puritans had 'a distinctive emotionology' that unified them as a community.[126] Turning to our case studies, we will see the ways in which these emotional communities were critical to expression of solitude.

[122] McInelly, *Textual Warfare*, p. 99.

[123] Dixon, 'Weeping in Space', p. 140.

[124] Van Gent and Young, 'Introduction: Emotions in Conversion', p. 463.

[125] P. Baseotto, 'Theology and Interiority: Emotions as Evidence of the Working of Grace in Elizabethan and Stuart Conversion Narratives', in J. Liliequist (ed.), *A History of Emotions, 1200–1800*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2012, pp. 67–68.

[126] Baseotto, p. 66.

Tears in Norwood's *Confessions*

Norwood's tears were a prominent fixture of his spiritual narrative, integrally linked to being alone and being isolated. His tears were significant and far-reaching, as he invoked them not only in his climactic moment of salvation but throughout his narrative. His secular tears were connected to his childhood and occurred in social spaces with public witnesses. His spiritual tears, on the other hand, occurred in isolation as his shame and self-awareness grew. Sometimes invoked as a positive sign of salvation and at other times as unwanted and involuntary isolation, Norwood's tears were nevertheless always connected to his solitude, both prior to and after his religious awakening. He recounted his weeping twice as a child. He first recorded his tears upon being separated from his schoolmaster and his classmates. Though he wished to depart with a façade of cheerfulness, 'grief and dismay began to seize on my heart ... my heart was ready to break and my eyes to gush out abundantly with tears'.[127] Again, he later had to depart another school: 'I departed with a most sorrowful heart, sprinkling the way with tears'.[128] In both instances, he insisted this is 'not without cause', pointing to his isolation from others. He was consequently cut off from any purpose, separated from both the teachings of his schoolmaster and the company of godly society. The loss of companionship, and the accompanying weeping, has a strong narrative connection to Norwood's isolation. His weeping in these instances was not linked to piety, and he did not expressly seek out solitude, though he expressed his sense of separation. His attempt to justify his tears was indicative of ambiguous early modern views of tears as both redemptive and shameful.

As Norwood matured and became more self-aware, we see the ways in which he increasingly drew from his emotional community of fellow Puritans to express and understand his own experiences of solitude. The importance of finding physical privacy in which to weep grew. In recounting stories from his adulthood, there were three more instances of weeping, one before and two after his conversion. In the first instance, Norwood despaired over his circumstances in considering his return to England. He wished to return to sea, but anticipated with dread his friends objecting to this desire, and he also wished to avoid an apprenticeship back home. He decided to go to Rome, but realised he must confess and receive sacrament in order to obtain a letter and receive permission to enter. On his way, Norwood felt immense guilt at the prospect of dissembling, hiding himself from others: 'I could not endure that men should see me ... they gazed more upon me then

[127] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 6.

[128] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 12.

than ever they had wont to do before ... I went and hid myself till night'.[129] Feeling hopeless, he bemoaned his state: 'to dissemble so grossly as I must grieved me exceedingly ... in consideration of my forlorn condition, and no longer able to contain myself I went aside out of the way into the standing corn ... there wept abundantly'.[130] Here, we again see the notion of unrestrained weeping linked to being alone. His decision to flee into a field is representative of a culture in which solitude had a strong connection to outdoors and the countryside.[131] Norwood, so grossly addicted to travel, related his willingness to embrace Catholicism just to avoid being settled. Resolving to go to Rome, his weeping suggested shame in his own sinfulness, and yet despite this feeling he could not curb his own desires.

It was in the throes of communion with God that Norwood recounted his next tearful experience, highlighting the importance of tears in religious conversion. Upon receiving assurance of the remissions of his sins and reconciliation with God, he confessed his many corruptions 'in sighs and groans, presenting the things themselves with many tears'.[132] This was a climax of his narrative, his solitary salvation, and what followed, he recounted, was the happiest hour of his life. His heart was filled with 'joy unspeakable and glorious ... these joys did far surpass all the joy and pleasure that I had had all my life long'.[133] Tears were a critical component to Norwood's conversion. He noted that during this spiritual union with God, he was not only alone, but alone as the Lord has ordered it. The role of solitude in producing tears and salvation was integral, as reflected by the values of his emotional community and thus, appropriately determined by God as well. Sighs and groans were another critical component of repentance in Puritan thought. Perkins noted that it is the Spirit that causes 'sighing and groaning in their hearts for grace and mercie'.[134] This episode presented Norwood's tears as redemptive. His despair was transformed into joy and

[129] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 22.

[130] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 21.

[131] Crane, 'Illicit Privacy and Outdoor Spaces in Early Modern England', p. 15. Also see Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*.

[132] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 81.

[133] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 83.

[134] Perkins, *A commentarie or exposition*, p. 299.

for a brief moment in his life, he attained happiness in a union with God and an assured feeling of salvation.

Norwood's tears were linked to solitude and isolation in both a psychological and physical sense, and had implications for his spiritual life. Early instances of Norwood's crying highlighted his separation and isolation. He was not physically alone, but expressed an acute sense of the gulf between himself and others. His tears, then, were always social and relational. His spiritual weeping, however, occurred most powerfully and significantly in physical solitude, where he could fully indulge in his own sense of isolation from others. In the context of Norwood's prayers for forgiveness, tears took on a critical role. Perkins had instructed: 'in all occasions of deeper griefe for sin, teares will follow: vnles men haue stonie & flinty hearts'.[135] His tears expressed both a secular and religious sense of grief. It was only his spiritual tears, however, that held any redemptive quality. Unlike the tears he shed in the world, spiritual tears were capable of bringing him closer to God. They also signified the possibility for inclusion in an imagined godly community, as Norwood drew on the inspiration of men like Augustine and Perkins. Ultimately, however, any intimate privacy he found regressed back into isolated privacy, betraying a sense of alienation from both society and God that Norwood was never able to fully overcome. His conviction that he was 'much worse' than others realised ensured a continual motif of distance throughout his life.[136]

Travel was connected to Norwood's sense of isolation and sinfulness, and motion was also critical to Norwood's emotional expression. Skura, whose psychoanalytic study offers a close reading of Norwood's use of metaphor and imagery, is the only scholar to consider Norwood's emotions in any detail.[137] She sees them as being intricately bound up with motion, from the significance of 'falling' to the flowing river, which is seen as bound to his own physical being. His narrative, for Skura, is centrally an attempt to restrain his flow, which includes a physical flow of

[135] Perkins, *Two treatises·I. Of the nature and practise of repentance. II. Of the combat of the flesh and spirit*, Cambridge, Printed by John Legat, 1593, p. 63. Perkins instructed Puritans on the importance of tears: he cautioned, however, that tears can arise out of pride and hypocrisy, and are therefore not always linked to repentance. Also see *A Golden Chaine*.

[136] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 7.

[137] Skura, 'Early Modern Subjectivity'.

tears.[138] Making this claim, however, is problematic in light of the fact that tears were an important part of Protestant teaching, playing a crucial role in the demonstration of grief, repentance, and salvation. To understand Norwood's tears correctly, they need to be placed within his historical context. It was clear that Norwood feared the flow of undesirable emotions, whereas productive emotions, including tears, were highly valued. Similarly, motion could be positive, when it was the work of God. For instance, he marvels at a 'heavenly fire' in his heart, that has 'heat and life and motion' carrying him towards faith.[139] Norwood was fearful of sinful motion, and he could not view his travels as anything but sinful. He saw his physical inability to settle as indicative of a spiritual state of turmoil. It was through these travels that he defined himself as isolated, both at home and abroad. This isolation, in turn, was fruitful for the production of tears. These tears were at once solitary and relational, and they betrayed immense grief, which in turn gave the possibility for salvation. It was a hope that was fleeting and uncertain, however, without a key sense of a support community.

The fact that Norwood valued his tears can be further established by observing that he continuously linked feeling in general to righteousness. He repeatedly bemoaned that his own wretchedness prevented him from finding affection for religion. As he moved away from God, his heart hardened and he became incapable of experiencing feelings such as pity and compassion. Key to his experience of conversion was the opening of his heart, so that Christ could form in him: 'My heart was warmed with a lively and moving affection'.[140] It is significant that it was God, through His word, who opened Norwood's heart. He was the passive recipient of this new love for God, confirming a continual sense of a lack of control.[141] Despite his moment of spiritual awakening,

[138] Skura, p. 215.

[139] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 73.

[140] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 71.

[141] The heart, a central symbol of love in the Christian faith, was often 'more passive receptor than active participant in redemption'. It was also, however, capable of 'knowing' things the brain could not. See D. Hillman and C. Mazzio (eds.), *The Body in Parts*: *Fantasies* of *Corporeality* in *Early Modern Europe*, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 272. Norwood speaks of 'feeling' with his heart, but also of the 'thoughts' his heart considers, some of which serve to testify to the moral corruption of man. See *The Journal of Richard Norwood*, pp. 73, 77.

Norwood continued to lament that his heart was not affected enough, due to his own ignorance.[142] This problem of not feeling enough is repeated in Newton and the eighteenth-century Evangelicals, as we will see shortly. Norwood's understanding of his own despair, which drew on contemporary ideas of melancholy and providence,[143] was shaped by his emotional community of fellow Puritans. Despite drawing on norms and values of this community, however, he ultimately felt excluded from it. Responding to his own unique environment and shaping his own character, Norwood demonstrated a degree of emotional improvisation in his conceptions of solitude and isolation.

Tearful Masculinity and Public Space in the Eighteenth Century

The Evangelical movement, to some extent, valued different, or at least a wider variety of emotions to the century preceding it. Tears, however, continued to be prized, and there is no shortage of examples of Methodist men and their tearful conversions.[144] In Phyllis Mack's influential study, *Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism,* she explores the significance of the inner emotional lives of eighteenth-century Methodists.[145] Here, she considers a vast array of sources to examine gender and emotion in the spiritual lives of eighteenth-century men and women. More specifically, she stresses the unique relationship between passivity and agency and the ways emotion enabled and constrained spiritual lives. I am indebted to this work for its emphasis on the emotions and Mack's insights on the tensions between social community and individual impulse.

There was a persistent question among Evangelicals regarding what should be solitary and what should be communal, what should be private versus public.[146] Tears were much more

[142] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 80. This was a fear characteristic of early seventeenth-century Protestants. For a multitude of examples, see Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, pp. 20–26.

[143] His heart was prone to 'cast away all hope and fall into utter despair'. See Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 70. For Norwood's discussion of providence, see pp. 12, 45. Also see A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

[144] See Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 72. Losing strength, collapsing, and so forth, were often part of the experience of weeping in Methodist writings. Also see Dixon, 'Weeping in Space'.

[145] Mack, *Heart Religion*.

[146] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, pp. 76–77.

consistently relegated to a private and solitary space in the seventeenth century, to which Norwood's narrative attested. This shifted in the mid-eighteenth century as voices emerged supporting the right to cry publicly.[147] Christ was increasingly depicted in the mid- to late eighteenth century as the ideal, tearful man of feeling. As Dixon has argued, Christ's tears, most importantly, were social.[148] Similarly, the religious weeping of Evangelicals occurred in shared spaces and cemented social bonds. Rather than recording his passions in his diary, as Puritan preachers did before him, Whitefield enacted these feeling out in the pulpit and believed 'tears and deep attention are an evidence that the Lord God is amongst us'.[149] By moving his preaching to fields he was also making communal a site which had previously, for men like Norwood, been a place sought out for privacy. The visible and public space for experiencing such emotions was critical, because such feelings were understood to spread from heart to heart, affecting entire audiences. It is evident that for many followers, the most intense experiences took place in public where the power of God could be seen through bodily experience.[150] Intense emotions, then, were often emphasised in a public, rather than private, space.[151]

These efforts pointed to a new conception of male tears as a key foundation in social sensibility and brought doubt to the true manliness of those who did not weep, but the case studies demonstrate that even in the life of a single individual, meanings of manhood could shift depending on age, environment, and general context. Metanarratives of the shift from the 'rough-and-ready mid-seventeenth-century man to a refined eighteenth-century man', as Harvey has argued, have

[147] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 96.

[148] Dixon, 'Weeping in Space', p. 146.

[149] Whitefield, *Sermons of George Whitefield*, p. 97. Also see Stout, *The Divine Dramatist*, p. 41; A. A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield: God's Anointed Servant in the Great Revival of the Eighteenth Century*, Wheaton IL, Crossway, 2010, p. 151.

[150] Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions*, p. 61. Mack notes that hymns in particularly served to create a 'sense of communal solidarity, and to generate certain affective states'. See *Heart Religion*, p. 41. For another study on emotions in Evangelicalism, see J. Coffey (ed.), *Heart Religion: Evangelical Piety in England and Ireland, 1690–1850*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016.

[151] Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 94.

been widely adopted in the historiography of early modern masculinity.[152] Key to this concept was the shift from seventeenth-century manhood linked to external acts of honour to eighteenth-century internalised sensibility.[153] More recent studies, however, have rejected such broad hegemonic shifts in favour of a closer interrogation of context, environment, and class status. French and Rothery, for instance, cast doubt on such hegemonic norms, arguing that not only did they impact social practices in a much less linear fashion, but also were likely not governing ideals for all men.[154] Harvey reiterates this point when he argues that politeness was not a dominant code of masculinity in all geographical and social contexts.[155] Tears, as mentioned, had specific meanings for defining masculinity, and the same attention to context and scope needs to be considered. Though men with a higher social status like Norwood and Newton were generally seen as being particularly

[152] K. Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity, circa 1650–1800', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005, p. 305. Following initial advocation by R. W. Connell, he traced hegemonic masculinities of the godly and patriarchal in the mid-seventeenth century to polite masculinity in the mid-eighteenth century. See *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, and Sexual Politics*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1987. Other studies on early modern masculinity include but are not limited to the following: E. Chalus and H. Barker, *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations, and Responsibilities*, New York, Longman, 1997; E. A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage*, New York, Longman, 1999; T. Hitchcock (ed.), *English Masculinities 1660–1800*, London, Longman, 1999; W. Van Reyk, 'Christian Ideals of Manliness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 2009; M. Rothery and H. French (eds.), *Making Men: The Formation of Elite Male Identities in England, c. 1660–1900: A Sourcebook*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012: M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Routledge, 2002; C. Mounsey (ed.), *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early-Modern Culture*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2001; Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*; J. C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008; A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003; T. Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass*, Vol. 12, No. 9, 2014, available from Wiley Online Library (accessed 23 Aug 2016).

[153] Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity', p. 303.

[154] Rothery and French, *Making Men*, p. 144.

[155] Harvey, 'The History of Masculinity', pp. 306–307. Also see Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity and Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 170.

influenced by hegemonic ideals of masculinity and sentiment, they were relatively isolated by both class and faith from the majority of sailors from a lower class background, who often held alternative expectations and ideals, as we will see in the next chapter.

Despite these developments, a degree of scepticism surrounding the notion of public tears continued. There were still many who would continue to identify weeping as distinctly feminine. An excess of emotion was thought to be 'embarrassing and antisocial', and male tears were still morally less suspect if shed in private.[156] By weeping emotionally in public, male converts could undermine their honour and unman themselves in 'full view of their scoffing peers'.[157] Even among like-minded individuals, weeping men might feel shame in crying publicly. It seems that even devout followers felt discomfort in the midst of these tearful congregations. Methodist preacher Cornelius Winter observed that Whitefield hardly ever preached a sermon without weeping: 'His freedom in the use of his passions, often put my pride to the trial. I could hardly bear such unreserved use of tears, and the scope he gave to his feelings'.[158] Despite the Evangelical emphasis on communal feelings, it is clear that many sought privacy for complete expression of their emotions, and it was often in solitude that the point of conversion was identified. Convert and preacher Sampson Staniforth, serving in Ghent as a soldier, 'longed to be alone, that I might pour out my soul before God ... crying ... til he had mercy on me'.[159] Staniforth's private conversion, however, was immediately followed with communal rejoicing, re-emphasising the central role of communal faith. Both elements were important to the emotional community of Evangelicals, and we find in Newton an excellent example of this fact.

Newton's Emotions

Newton took full of advantage of his conversion narrative to transform himself spiritually, utilising

[156] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 96. Also see Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, p. 80; and Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp. 7, 62.

[157] Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind*, p. 154.

[158] W. Jay, *Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Cornelius Winter*, Philadelphia, B. Redman, 1823, p. 22. For another example, see Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 91.

[159] T. Jackson (ed.), *The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, Chiefly Written by Themselves*, vol. 2, London, John Mason, 1837, p. 160.

not only Evangelical notions, but broader ideas of the eighteenth century as well. The religious conversion of men was seen as contributing directly to a conversion of manners. In demonstrating a capacity to feel and show feelings through tears, groans, sighs, and tremblings, he adhered to both Methodism and the cult of sensibility.[160] Dixon makes a case for a closer connection between sensibility and religion, arguing that weeping was largely seen as a Christian activity in the eighteenth century, a point that has been overlooked in previous studies.[161] As such, it is not surprising that male Evangelical conversion narratives focused on bad behaviour such as lust, swearing, and drinking.[162] Newly converted men of feeling, prior to transformation, were presumed unfeeling and full of vice, as was

characteristic of being part of the world. Newton was no exception to these patterns of conversion experience. The very definitions and meanings of what it meant to be manly, in the eyes of Newton, were turned upside down. Remembering the evils of his former life and its meaningless pursuits of leisure, he wrote to John Catlett, his wife's brother: 'I had rather be a worm to crawl upon the ground, than to bear the name of man upon the poor terms of whiling away my life in an insipid round of such insignificant and unmanly trifles'.[163] This comment reflects a redefining of the notion of manliness itself, as reformers sought to align sensibility with manliness. The ideal man had a capacity for sympathy and compassion. Weeping and tears were the 'tokens of sensibility'.[164]

In response to the persistent association of emotions with femininity, there were also efforts to link tears to warriors and feats of courage, extending back to Steele's 1701 story *The Christian Hero*.[165] Newton had certainly proved feats of bravery, and seafaring culture was closely linked to contemporary conceptions of rugged masculinity. He had been a sailor, wherein 'physical and

[160] Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, p. 268.

[161] Dixon, 'Weeping in Space', p. 139.

[162] Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 64.

[163] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, pp. 33–34.

[164] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, pp. 105, 94.

[165] Carter, p. 107.

mental toughness' were central to their cultural outlook.[166] He had also been a slave ship captain, a powerful position which required stern control and harsh discipline. Looking back, he considered experience in such a trade to rob the heart of every gentle and humane disposition, and to harden it, like steel, against all impressions of sensibility.[167] Before his conversion, he was primarily depicted as having the wrong feelings as well as being unfeeling. In the midst of the storm, Newton recalled, he was 'little affected', in comparison to a tearful comrade who was a 'less hardened sinner'. It was Newton's initial lack of emotion, specifically tears, that was indicative of his sinfulness, alienation from God, and false confidence in men.[168] He became the man of sentiment, despite the odds against him, and transformed himself from an old ideal of masculinity to a new one. Newton did not have 'a privileged life by fortune or education'.[169] At heart a layman, his worldly experience in a hostile world no doubt lent favour to his credibility and persuasiveness across a range of social classes and backgrounds. By contrasting an unfeeling, sinful past with a compassionate and feeling present, readers and audiences could view Newton as both 'tough and tender ... courageous and compassionate'.[170]

Newton, despite or perhaps because of his being embedded within the emotional whirlwind of the Evangelical Movement, approached the matter with a great deal of caution.[171] In a letter to Mrs. Wilberforce in 1764, he wrote: 'If ... you examine the frequency of your love to Christ by the warmth of your emotions towards him, you will often be in a sad suspense ... obedience is the best

[166] Rediker, *The Slave Ship*, p. 231.

[167] Newton, *The Journal of a Slave Trader*, p. 103.

[168] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 57.

[169] Jeffrey, *English Spirituality in the Age of Wesley*, p. 35.

[170] J. Piper, *The Roots of Endurance: Invincible Perseverance in the Lives of John Newton, Charles Simeon, and William Wilberforce*, Wheaton IL, Crossway Books, 2002, p. 42.

[171] By the time he became involved in the Evangelical community in the mid-1750s, much of the earlier extreme behaviour no longer characterised the emotional landscape, as the movement grew in size and respectability. See Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 41.

test'.[172] The presence of tears, for Newton, should not be a crucial test of godliness. Feeling correctly, however, was correlated to the health of the soul, so those with no emotions, or the wrong emotions, feared separation from God. If one experienced feelings of joy and an absence of anxiety, God was present. Certainly, suffering as with Puritans was perceived as critical in the transformation from sinner to redeemed. Charles Wesley saw suffering as critical through life in order to progress towards sanctification and avoid egotism.[173] Newton, drawing on his seafaring experience, agreed: 'assurance grows by repeated conflict ... when we have been brought very low and raised again, having given up all hope, and been suddenly snatched from danger ... we begin to learn to trust ... of God'.[174] 'The fundamental character of the sanctified Christian', however, was 'composure and cheerfulness'.[175] Newton praised the powers of love; in a letter to Rev. Francis Okeley in 1759, he wrote that 'love to God, and to man for god's sake, is the essence of religion'.[176] Newton worried that the zeal of many Evangelicals became 'embittered by expressions of anger, abusive speech, or scorn', thereby harming the impact of religious truth.[177] Not surprisingly, the emotions Newton recalled experiencing prior to his conversion included shame, fear, rage, and black despair.

Despite the many critics attacking mindless enthusiasm and excess emotion, one major consequence of the emphasis on religious emotion was a fear of not feeling enough.[178] Like

[172] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, p. 75. Newton also noted that emotional sensations were often more the origin of temperament and disposition than 'properly religious', a common view reflecting an ongoing debate concerning how to determine the authenticity of feelings. For further examples, see Dixon, 'Weeping in Space', p. 144.

[173] Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp. 179–80.

[174] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, pp. 74–75.

[175] Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 35.

[176] Newton, *The Works of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 203.

[177] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, p. 80. In another letter, to a Mrs. Thornton, Newton wrote in 1775: 'anger and scorn are equally unbecoming in those who profess to be followers of the meek and lowly Jesus'. See *Letters of John Newton*, p. 273.

[178] Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 6. Also see *The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, p. 368.

Norwood, Newton linked feeling to piety and criticised his unfeeling heart of sinfulness. Referring to the wickedness of the unconverted, he wrote: 'If my eyes suitably affected my heart, I should weep day and night upon this account; but alas! I am too indifferent. I feel a woeful defect in my zeal for God and compassion for souls'.[179] He warned, however, against excess emotion, particularly in times of grief: 'there is something fascinating in grief; painful as it is, we are prone to indulge it ... moderation ... becomes a Christian'.[180] We find him taking pleasure in tears, feeling a 'serenity and satisfaction'. He also controlled his own grief upon his father's death, admitting 'tears drop upon the page'; he allowed himself to vent his grief, but not 'indulge' it.[181]

Newton displayed his own capacity for emotion, but without the emphatic stress on weeping found in many Methodist narratives. What this indicates is Newton's appreciation for balance, which can also be seen in his conceptions of solitude and sociability. For Newton, solitude without God was unbearable; wherever one was without God, however, one was alone and miserable. His notions of the social and solitary, therefore, rested on the question: is God present? This was a question that had its foundation, however, in his surrounding emotional community. Through his trials and tribulations, his intent and focus was on demonstrating the joys of solitude and company for the truly devout. Emotional communities were key ways in which Norwood and Newton formulated their experiences of solitude within their cultural contexts, but at times their expressions, reflective of unique life experiences, diverged from expectations, presenting unique perspectives on their solitude and isolation.

Conclusion

Both Norwood and Newton harboured deep suspicions towards the benefits of solitude, and yet in the midst of travels, marked crucial turning points towards salvation in this solitude. As travellers, they nurtured piety through isolating themselves from others. The despair of physical isolation, combined with a fear of imminent danger, gave rise to new spiritual beginnings for both men. Norwood and Newton both led remarkable lives that were embedded in their respective religious cultures, informing their views and expressions of solitude and isolation. What these two case studies illustrate are ways in which individuals, while being enmeshed in their cultural contexts and

[179] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, p. 184.

[180] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, pp. 280–81.

[181] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, pp. 6, 72.

ideologies, could nevertheless express their own individuality and deviate both from contemporary ideals as well as the overarching hegemonic narratives that historians place upon complex lives that defy restrictive categories or simplistic stereotypes. Newton's expressions of isolation have been overlooked and swept beneath the widely recognised sociability of Evangelical circles. This isolation, however, sheds further light on the significance of friendships and social intercourse. Puritans of the seventeenth century had no strong notion that intimate, godly relationships brought believers closer to God. It was largely 'individual obedience to divine commands' that bound individuals together, and ultimately, grace and election of God descended upon the solitary individual.[182] This did not mean, however, that men like Norwood did not feel pressure to find communal support to validate their religious experiences. His initial sense of salvation could not sustain itself or develop without Christian support. Similarly, despite the 'sociability' of Evangelicals, Newton reminds us that solitude could play an integral role in the development of religious belief.

Although Norwood felt the despair he was expected to feel within a Puritan conversion narrative, his despair was too much to share communally. Having certain prescribed expectations for social emotions could be immensely distressing and isolating. Similarly, the Evangelical template of the isolated, despairing sinner turned sociable and joyful believer did not always ring true, and left individuals feeling alienated. Not everyone fit neatly into the ideal narrative frameworks laid out for them. For some, emotions were better felt and expressed in isolation. Bradburn, for instance, a travelling Evangelical, felt the nearness of God's presence in private, but lamented losing this amidst people, admitting this 'makes me almost hate all company'.[183] The pressure to feel specific things amid assemblies, in this case, worked directly against the Evangelical cause for love, revealing the tensions and problems of collective and proscribed emotional expectations. Some felt religious emotions more strongly while alone, and despite Evangelical inclinations to downplay the role of solitude, it was clearly an important part of Newton's religious transformation and a crucial factor in his distinctions between the saved and unsaved.

For Newton, solitude was largely a conscious choice, whereas Norwood, despite being

[182] Heilke, 'From Civic Friendship to Communities of Believers', p. 227.

[183] Mack, *Heart Religion*, p. 105.

saved in solitude, expressed a continual sense of involuntary isolation riddled with anguish and despair. Why was solitude so dangerous in Norwood's mind, while being so redemptive for Newton? Firstly, this difference lay in the way each man conceived of his life prior to conversion. Norwood's narrative attests to an ongoing unwanted alienation from friends, believers, and society at large. His transformation at the point of salvation, then, was expected to bring an end to his isolating travels and usher in a new phase of sociability at home. Newton, on the other hand, expressed his early moral disintegration largely through socialising with other, unsavoury types abroad. His transformation, then, was expected to embrace a new voluntary and rewarding solitary devotion distanced from the immoral life surrounding him.

In a sense, both men had the same view that travel was spiritually isolating, but they understood and conceived of this problem and its solutions in vastly different ways. Only Newton was able to achieve to some degree what he set out to accomplish. This, I argue, was due to the fact that he could turn solitude into a lasting meaningful and positive experience, in large part due to his ability to relate that solitude back to the social and communal emotional experience of the Evangelical community. Once he had found God in solitude, solitude ultimately became defined by a presence or absence of that God, regardless of the context surrounding him. Norwood was never able to keep an assurance of God's presence in the first place, because in his eyes, it lacked validation from society. Therefore, the meaning of solitude never transformed, making its ongoing presence a sign of damnation. He could not spiritually connect his solitude to any social community, feeling ostracised and ultimately finding no true affirmation of his faith. Norwood's retrospective reality was far more uncertain, making the recollections of his own isolation much less redemptive in hindsight. His inescapable sense of sinfulness rendered him 'unsettled', his case study illustrating that Fumerton's argument on unsettled subjectivities can be reappropriated in light of spiritual narratives.

Despite differences between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Protestantism, what earlier Puritans like Norwood shared in common with Newton was a negative association of solitude with worldly travel. Both men recognised the corrupting influences of life at sea, but whereas Norwood saw his own isolation stemming from sinful unsettledness, Newton did not see unsettledness itself as sinful, but simply lamented his separation from godly men. Once saved, however, the significance of travel for Evangelicals took on a new religious importance; by this point, however, Newton's personal preference was for stability. Newton could value solitude through his communal sense of belonging, and though he saw the corruptions of travel, ultimately they were understood as

experiences that built his character and tested his faith.[184] Norwood, still uncertain and discontented with his place in life, could not see these same rewards of solitude, and as such they did not reward him but kept him agonising in his state of alienation.[185] As we will see in a later chapter, the social isolation of both men at home also played a critical role in shaping their experiences and retrospective expressions of solitude abroad.

[184] Newton, *An Authentic Narrative*, p. 85. Also see Newton, *The Works of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 141.

[185] Norwood, *The Journal*, pp. 90, 93.

Chapter 2. Sailors and Social Isolation: Edward Barlow and Mary Lacy

In Chapter One, we examined the religious narratives of Norwood and Newton, both of whom expressed a rhetoric of solitude and isolation as a way of exploring questions of morality. Solitude, which took both physical and psychological forms, was a key mode of expression in moments of religious conversion. It was also invoked as a way of claiming virtue amidst the corruptions of travel, especially at sea. Emotions, and particularly tears as embodied expressions of emotions, were an integral way in which this solitude found expression and invoked virtue. In this chapter, we turn to two secular authors, seventeenth-century sailor Edward Barlow and eighteenth-century sailor Mary Lacy, who continued to emphasise isolated morality, but with distinctly different perceptions and motives in place. This chapter builds on the connected themes of virtue and corruption at sea seen in Chapter One, but within different narrative contexts and emotional expressions of solitude.

The narratives of Barlow and Lacy have been chosen because they illuminate key differences in expressions of solitude along lines of social class and gender. They also highlight key differences from the spiritual narratives of the previous chapter, allowing us to examine the meanings and significance of solitude and its connected emotions in more secular narratives. What was the role of morality in their perceptions and expressions of solitude, and how did it differ from more spiritual narratives? How did they address the corruptions of travel while preserving their own reputations? As we saw in Chapter One, Fumerton's concept of unsettled subjectivities had relevance to spiritual narratives, and here we can consider the isolation she highlights among lower class secular narratives.[1] I aim to investigate this unsettledness further through the lens of gendered emotions, particularly through an analysis of the use of emotions at sea, including tears, laughter, and expressions of anger. What can these emotions tell us about Barlow and Lacy's respective social communities and collective ideologies? How did class and gender shape and inform expressions of isolation? We will see in these case studies that emotions were used to serve different social functions, including as an expression of communal belonging, a negotiation of power relations, and a demonstration of isolated morality.

Whilst embedded in inescapable social camaraderie, these sailors forged narratives centred around expressions of isolation. Chivalric images of sailors often obscured accounts of suffering at sea, especially at the height of war, but diaries at sea could demonstrate such gaps 'between

[1] Fumerton, *Unsettled,* p. 58.

perception and "reality"'.[2] These case studies offer candid descriptions of suffering alongside empowerment at sea, which gave rise to remarkable portraits of isolation in a world that was generally only conceived of as highly social. In 1672, Barlow was captured by the Dutch as a prisoner of war. It was during this time that he taught himself to write and began his journal. His diary was composed with an intention to share the sufferings of the seaman with his friends and family, and possibly a much larger readership: 'Keeping us in the Straits two months, and I having a great deal of spare time ... I thought good to describe to my friends and acquaintance and to any which might take the pains to read it over, and here they may understand in part what dangers and troubles poor seamen pass through'.[3] Barlow's journal, like many from the period, was written with an audience in mind, making the performance of private subjectivity a very public and visible experience. Despite this, he made no efforts to publish his writing in his lifetime.[4] The sea journal played an important role in the rise of autobiographical writing in early modern England. Voyage tales were popular in England from the sixteenth century, and stories of adventure were widely published through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[5] Keeping a travel diary at sea was a common conventional practice, as navigators, scientists, ambassadors, and emigrants were encouraged to keep factual accounts of their journeys.[6] It was also a convention for seamen in the

[2] C. McCreery, 'True Blue and Black, Brown and Fair: Prints of British Sailors and Their Women during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2000, pp. 147–48.

[3] E. Barlow, *Barlow's Journal of His Life at Sea in King's Ships, East and West Indiamen & Other Merchantmen from 1659 to 1703*, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1934, p. 228.

[4] M. Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail*, Boston, Beacon Press, 2014, p. 30.

[5] P. A. Carlson, *Literature and Lore of the Sea*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1986, p. 4. A. Hassam identifies the sea journal as an 'important part of the British diary-writing tradition' that blossomed from the mid-to late seventeenth century. See 'Literary Exploration: The Fictive Sea Journals of William Golding, Robert Nye, B. S. Johnson, and Malcolm Lowry', *Ariel*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1988, p. 29.

[6] The Royal Society, for instance, urged for scientific reports to contribute to knowledge at home. See J. Kelly, 'Bordering on Fact in Early Eighteenth-Century Sea Journals', in D. Doll and J. Munns (eds.), *Recording and Reordering: Essays on the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Diary and Journal*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 2006, p. 165.

Stuart period to keep journals, and Barlow followed this same convention.[7]

Whereas Barlow wrote his diary both during his travels and retrospectively, Lacy wrote her autobiography after her travels had concluded. Her narrative, published in 1773, was strongly influenced by warrior ballads, as Diane Dugaw has shown. She explores the nature of these ballads in detail, arguing that the female warrior was a convention by the time of the Restoration, and aimed at a semi-literate lower class.[8] According to Dekker and Pol, however, despite the fact that the tradition was rooted in the lower classes, the cross-dressing warrior woman was more idealised by the elite, who 'showed more nous, comparing the women to legendary heroines'.[9] Lacy's choice of narrative form and her use of emotions and sentiment in her narrative to mark her virtue is suggestive that her writing was aimed at the middle and upper classes. These accounts of female warriors, numerous but often based only in fiction, offered 'examples of the ideal feminine virtue and masculine honor'; that is, how to maintain morality.[10] Lacy's autobiography was written with a clear intention to publish in her lifetime. Though the book was 'never a great success', she received

[7] At some stage, the factual log book account of life at sea converged with literary narrative. Kelly points to Dampier's 1697 *A New Voyage* as an important turning point. See 'Bordering on Fact', p. 158.

[8] D. Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry, 1650–1850*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 15, 20. Also see J. Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness*, London, Pandora Press, 1989; S. Stark, *Female Tars: Women aboard Ship in the Age of Sail*, London, Pimlico, 1996; P. Greenhill, '"Neither a Man nor a Maid": Sexualities and Gendered Meanings in Cross-Dressing Ballads', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 108, No. 428, 1995; C. Craft-Fairchild, 'Cross-Dressing and the Novel: Women Warriors and Domestic Femininity', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1998. For more on cross-dressing in the eighteenth century, see R. M. Dekker and L. C. van de Pol, *The Tradition of Female Cross-Dressing in Early Modern Europe*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1989; U. E. Klein, 'Gender in Its Parts: Eighteenth-Century Female Cross-Dressers, Prosthetic Gender and Sapphic Possibility', PhD thesis, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2013; D. Wahrman, '*Percy*'s Prologue: From Gender Play to Gender Panic in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, No. 159, 1998; D. Cressy, 'Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 1996.

[9] Dekker and Pol, *The Tradition of Female Cross-Dressing*, p. 74.

[10] C. Perry, 'One of the Guise: The Female Warrior's Labor Across the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic', PhD thesis, Wayne State University, 2009, pp. 17–18.

a financial supplement with this publication, which was a likely motivation.[11] In addition, given the isolating experiences Lacy had endured, writing and ordering her life story was arguably therapeutic and rewarding in its own right, investing her past experiences with new meaning.

The experiences of individuals at sea are complex and full of paradox, and these case studies provide the opportunity to further investigate such experiences. Stereotypes of the 'jolly tar' existed alongside the sailor as perpetual 'grumbler', drunken revelry and song intermingled with disease-ridden vessels of death, and visions of overcrowded ships and prison-like confinement intersected with expansive solitary seas. Ships have similarly been viewed as 'places which are absolutely other with respect to all the arrangements that they reflect ... a site of contrast whose existence sets up unsettling juxtapositions'.[12] The nature of early modern life at sea has been widely explored,[13] including an analysis of the general structure of everyday life for the common sailor, which consisted of frequent wars and ongoing grievances over lack of money and sustenance. Notably, Marcus Rediker opened up the social and cultural history of sailors in the 1980s, giving attention to

[11] J. Druett, *She Captains: Heroines and Hellions of the Sea*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 2000, pp. 123–24.

[12] J. Stanley, 'And After the Cross-dressed Cabin Boys and Whaling Wives? Possible Futures for Women's Maritime Historiography', *Journal of Transport History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2002, p. 12.

[13] For broad studies of early modern life at sea, see the following: C. A. Le Guin, 'Sea Life in Seventeenth Century England', *American Neptune*, Vol. 27, 1967; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: Anatomy of the Georgian Navy*, London, Collins, 1986; C. Lloyd, *The British Seaman 1200–1860: A Social Survey*, London, Collins, 1968; P. Kemp, *The British Sailor: A Social History of the Lower Deck*, London, Dent, 1970; C. Howell and R. Twomey (eds.), *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, Fredericton, Acadiensis Press, 1991; P. Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen 1650–1775*, London, Methuen, 1998.

the roles of masculinity and class at sea.[14] He also argued for the irreligiousness of sailors[15] and with it, the complete isolation of sailors from popular culture, a view that had systematically been advanced by Peter Burke.[16] Research on the social history of early modern sailors has since shifted focus, exploring in more depth the roles of religion, class, and gender at sea with an emphasis on integrating sea culture with the culture ashore. This trend towards highlighting the interconnectedness of sea and land societies is part of the 'new maritime history'.[17] There has also been a burgeoning of works on women at sea.[18] In the case of female cross-dressing sailors,

[14] M. Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987; and *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, Boston, Beacon Press, 2001. For more on masculinity at sea, see B. Lemire, 'A Question of Trousers: Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress, *c.* 1600–1800', *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2016, available from Taylor and Francis Online (accessed 12 Oct 2016); B. Lemire, '"Men of the World": British Mariners, Consumer Practice, and Material Culture in an Era of Global Trade, *c.* 1660–1800', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2015; K. R. Cook, 'The Fragile Masculinity of Jack Tar: Gender and English-speaking Sailors, 1750–1850', MA thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2005; J. Begiato (Bailey), 'Tears and the Manly Sailor in England, *c.*1760–1860', *Journal for Maritime Research*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2015.

[15] This view has since been vigorously challenged. See, for example: D. Savill, 'Men are Cheaper than Gold: English Sailors and Their Irreligiousness towards Society, 1560–1642', PhD thesis, University of Central Oklahoma, 2015; C. Magra, 'Faith at Sea: Exploring Maritime Religiosity in the Eighteenth Century', *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2007.

[16] P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, New York, Harper and Row, 1978.

[17] V. V. Patarino, Jr, 'The Religious Shipboard Culture of Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Sailors', in C. A. Fury (ed.) *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485–1649*, Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer, 2012. Fury, for instance, has argued against Rediker's emphasis on sailors as outsiders estranged from landed society and culture, instead looking at instances of sailors connected to the larger culture. See *Tides in the Affairs of Men.*

[18] For studies on early modern female sailors, see the following: Druett, *She Captains*; Stark, *Female Tars*; L. Norling and M. S. Creighton (eds.), *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; D. Cordingly, *Heroines and Harlots: Women at Sea in the Great Age of Sail*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001; D. Dugaw, 'Rambling

scholars like Dugaw, Wheelwright, and Stark have focused on female warriors in ballads and popular accounts. They stop short, however, of analysing with any depth the real experiences and expressions of women working at sea.[19]

Expressions of solitude from early modern men and women at sea have been largely overlooked and undervalued in the historiography. This chapter addresses a gap in historical research regarding *how* sailors expressed solitude and isolation in their own writings, and how they could feel isolated not just from communities left behind, but from fellow comrades and superiors at sea, as well. Travel journals and autobiographies can reveal to us both the 'individual and unexpected'.[20] With the growing importance of autobiographical writing in the seventeenth century, however, there is still insufficient research into 'how the English seafaring community fit into this increasing self-awareness'.[21] These expressions of isolation were only possible with ongoing reference to home and the influence of the cultural values they brought with them from shore to ship. Therefore, in exploring the ways sailors relied upon and felt isolated from both of these important contexts, I too am emphasising the interconnectedness of land and sea cultures. Focusing primarily on social interactions at sea, this chapter explores solitude as a physical concept of space and psychological isolation as a way to highlight distance from others and affirm a sense of social collectivism.

Through my case studies, I will demonstrate that sailors expressed an awareness of the immoral reputation they had, and invested in upholding morality through a rhetoric of emotions that conveyed a sense of ongoing social isolation made possible only through their respective social and emotional communities. Note here that Rosenwein has defined emotional communities as 'social

Female Sailors: The Rise and Fall of the Seafaring Heroine', *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1992; L.G. Pauw, *Seafaring Women*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1982. For discussions of the recent historiography on women at sea, see Stanley, 'And After the Cross-dressed Cabin Boys and Whaling Wives?'.

[19] Perry has recognised this shortcoming in existing studies. See 'One of the Guise', p. 5.

[20] P. Woodfine, '"Nothing but dust and the most minute particles": Historians and the Evidence of Journals and Diaries', in Doll and Munns (eds.), *Recording and Reordering*, p. 196.

[21] C. Maginas, '"He that converseth with mariners and sailors": Articulations of English Maritime Identity in Early Modern Voyages and Travels, 1558–1620', Honours thesis, Vanderbilt University, 2012, p. 2.

groups that adhere to the same valuations of emotions and how they should be expressed', adding that 'any social group with common interests and goals should qualify as an emotional community'.[22] Therefore, I use the terms 'social community' and 'emotional community' somewhat interchangeably. Notably, however, individuals could belong to multiple social and emotional communities, which might constitute textual communities as well. I argue that a dominant emotional community might be at odds with a secondary social community with less shared emotional values. This resulted in expressions of isolation that reflected the tensions between immediate physical communities and more abstract, distant, and/or textual ones. Whilst Barlow's emotional and social community was typically that of his fellow sailors, we will see that Lacy's emotional community was more textual and at odds with the physical space she had inhabited with her community of fellow sailors.

Edward Barlow: Overview of Life and Motives for Travel

Barlow's life at sea is detailed in his remarkable journal, which details both his early life growing up and his journeys around the world. He wrote between 1659 and 1703, as he travelled from Europe to the East Indies to the New World. This period of travel was aligned with England's 'Commercial Revolution'. During this time, Rediker notes, trade grew rapidly and large numbers of seamen were 'mobilized in the shipping industry in order to move the commodities of the world, and in navies in order to protect those profitable movements'.[23] Barlow served aboard merchant as well as naval warships throughout his career, including as a sailor fighting through the second Anglo-Dutch War of 1664–67. Between 1675 and 1682, while serving on several merchantmen to the Mediterranean and Jamaica, Barlow became a chief-mate. He married Mary Symonds in 1678 in the port town of Deal at the age of thirty-six; he also mentions in his will two surviving children.[24] Although his journal ends in 1703, there is evidence that he continued to travel, as he finally achieved a lifetime goal of becoming captain in 1705.[25]

[22] J. Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, Vol. 49. No. 2, 2010, p. 253.

[23] Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic,* p. 32.

[24] R. A. Houlebrooke, *The English Family 1450–1700*, London, Longman, 1984, p. 105.

[25] For a more detailed timeline of his life, see Davies, 'Barlow, Edward (1642–1706?)'.

Born in 1642, Barlow was one of six children who grew up in an impoverished family of struggling farmers in Prestwich, a small town in rural northern England. He was apprenticed as a tradesman in the bleaching trade at the young age of thirteen following the wishes of his father, agreeing for 'fear of my father turning me out of doors'.[26] Disliking the work, however, Barlow had a desire to move further away from home, driven by an urge to see 'some strange things' and 'to travel from one place to another' as well as to seek 'fortune abroad'.[27] His desire to wander, he admitted, meant he could not be content, 'my mind being given to see places more remote I could not settle myself to stay at my master's'.[28] He soon deserted his work and migrated to London. Here, he found work from his uncle as a tapster apprentice, which he equally disliked. Barlow's departure from home as a teen and migration to and apprenticeship in a large town were, as Ben-Amos observes, part of the typical 'broad outlines of patterns of childhood and youth in early modern period'.[29] By the late seventeenth century, employment was increasingly difficult to obtain outside the central commercial hub of London. Barlow was to become 'typical of a large class of migrant seamen who formed a unique community along the Thames lodging there in the intervals between employment'.[30]

Driven by a desire to see new places, Barlow's motive was in part the kind of 'tickling humour' condemned in travel advice manuals.[31] He not only wanted to travel, but to keep moving,

[26] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 16.

[27] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 17, 21.

[28] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 19.

[29] L. L. Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 1, 62.

[30] J. D. Davies, *Gentlemen and Tarpaulins: The Officers and Men of the Restoration Navy*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991, pp. 68–69.

[31] W. Davison, P. Sidney, and R. Devereux, *Profitable instructions*…, London, Printed for Benjamin Fisher, 1633, p. 78. Curiosity in the seventeenth century was still an extremely contentious impulse. See, for example, J. Hall, *Quo vadis? A iust censure of travell as it is commonly vndertaken by the gentlemen of our nation*, London, 1617.

not wishing to live on shore but rather to travel on vessels from one place to the next.[32] Although he retrospectively expressed continual regret in his chosen calling, Barlow's disdain and bewilderment towards his neighbours, and those who did not share his wandering spirit and curiosity towards the world, was apparent: 'I thought I had as good go see what I could, knowing that it could not be much worse wheresoever I came ... I should be out of the ill-will of some of our neighbours. Some of them would not venture a day's journey'.[33] No matter what cheer and fortune could be promised to them, 'they would rather stay at home and eat a brown crust and drink a little whey'.[34] He was not only a misfit in his small town, however, but seemingly in the big city as well, as he was approached by a stranger in London who suspected Barlow was 'out of place'.[35] His uncle eventually agreed to help him go to sea, finding work as an apprentice at seventeen. Full of 'excitement' at the sight of ships and 'joy' at the news of embarking on his first voyage, he anticipated with joy what would, retrospectively, become his lifelong source of grief.[36]

Barlow: Collective Identity at Sea

The nature of social relationships at sea forms an important context for examining the solitary experiences of Barlow and Lacy. As Lloyd Davis observed in his study on early modern travel narratives, there was less social space to escape one's companions whilst travelling, and as such 'necessity breeds new social relationships'.[37] Barlow and Lacy, who came from lower social classes than Norwood and Newton, likely had even less privacy and opportunity for physical solitude amidst their travels.[38] For sailors in particular, there were social bonds arising from the conditions

[32] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 27.

[33] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 21.

[34] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 21.

[35] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 27.

[36] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 26–27, 29–30.

[37] Davis, 'Cultural Encounters', p. 160.

[38] This would have been particularly challenging for Lacy: 'The living space on any ship crossing the Atlantic was cramped ... the lack of privacy made it especially difficult for disguised female sailors to work on ship'. See Perry, 'One of the Guise', pp. 45–46.

of work, resulting in a 'collectivism of necessity'.[39] Teamwork was necessary to sail a ship successfully, as sailors worked together, prayed together, lived and died together, and depended on one another for livelihood, safety, and support. This mutual dependence reinforced a unique 'subculture, work culture, and worldview'.[40] While not completely isolated from landed society, the nature of their work rendered rituals of sociability at sea crucial. Barlow clearly expressed pride in group loyalty through his continual assertions of collective bravery at the expense of suffering. He saw himself as part of a community of suffering sailors, contrasted to the 'happy' back in England: 'we were suffering all manner of misery and extremities and only to keep them safe at home'.[41] No one is 'so abused on all sides as we poor seamen', Barlow complained, and those at home 'grudge to give to the poor lame or old seaman, that hath lost his limbs and suffered ... only for their good.[42] A critical component of this group identity was their shared experience of poverty. In contrast to those 'who lived at home at ease and wanted nothing', sailors were poor men 'spending our dearest blood for our King and country's honour'.[43]

Despite such strong expressed alliances with seamen as a whole, however, in reality Barlow was much less intimate with his peers than his narrative often suggests. Certainly, he participated in the many social rituals at sea, where sociability in such tight quarters would have been unavoidable. Work and sociability were intertwined in the early modern period, and for sailors this predominantly involved drinking.[44] Barlow reported drinking with his comrades on several occasions. He drank with his shipfellows on shore and, on occasion, they socialised with locals on shore and foreign ships as well.[45] Alcohol was incorporated into the rituals of the seafaring

[39] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p. 111.

[40] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 124.

[41] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 61.

[42] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 128, 165.

[43] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 119.

[44] K. Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 99.

[45] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 52, 69, 172, 256, 481.

community, 'celebrating and reinforcing camaraderie and community identity'.[46] As a critical experience of fraternal bonding, Shepard has pointed to drinking rituals as just one means by which some men challenged early modern notions of manhood, which preached ideals of moderation and civility to an implicit elite:[47] 'the excessive consumption of alcohol was often integral to such subversive displays of bravado, and collective drinking was one of the primary lubricants of young men's fraternal bonding and comradeship'.[48] Though drinking served as a social function for forming close relationships, Barlow gave little indication of acquiring such a benefit.[49] As such, I agree with Fumerton's assessment that he 'never formed collective cohesion with co-workers'.[50] The level of solidarity he celebrated did, however, provide an imagined community to find support as well as meaning for his own isolation and suffering.

Barlow and Masculine Tears

Emotions of sadness and anger can be witnessed throughout Barlow's narrative, highlighting conflict and distance from others whilst affirming virtue and a sense of belonging to his seafaring community. In his diary, tears emerge primarily when either separated from home or when seeing the death of family or comrades. The focus in this chapter is on his experiences at sea. While the usefulness of tears in a religious context was to bring sinners to redemption, the acceptability of certain emotions in more secular contexts in the seventeenth century, particularly in the masculine and lower-class realm of seafaring, was more questionable. One common theme in sea narratives was loss and death. Often expressed with emotional language, such writings raise questions about whether tears were a permissible response to death for the early modern male sailor. The association of sailors with death, and the sea with the grave, was a common one, and naval broadside ballads repeated this motif.[51] In voyage narratives from the mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century, 'men

[46] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 90.

[47] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 9.

[48] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 100–101.

[49] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p. 192.

[50] Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. xx. This is at odds with Delany's assertion that Barlow had a 'strong sense of working solidarity with his mates'. See *British Autobiography*, p. 41.

[51] For numerous examples, see C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, Vol. 33, London, Printed for the Navy Records Society, 1908, p. 41. Defoe said of seamen: 'they ... trade in the very confines of Death, and are

lost overboard are mentioned casually and frequently'.[52] The expectation of death at any moment, however, did not necessarily quell its emotional impact. Mourning in the seventeenth century found increased acceptance: as Capp has shown, 'tears of grief were acceptable, within moderation, across the social spectrum', but what constituted the appropriate degree of moderation was unclear.[53] For one anonymous contemporary writer, sailors did not cry in the face of death: 'there were no tears shed … for those distil but rarely from the eyes of sailors'.[54] Pepys, however, recorded that upon the death of a beloved commander, 'a dozen able, lusty, proper men come to the couch-side with tears in their eyes'.[55] Departures caused by the death that surrounded him were similarly a source of continual grief for Barlow. Through perilous journeys on the sea, he lamented, storms were frequent and 'every wave would make a grave for us'.[56]

Barlow's tears at sea were a key way he located a sense of solidarity with his fellow sailors. Vincent-Buffault argues that 'tears shed in company sealed a kind of social pact'.[57] Experienced as an activity of social bonding, the performance of tears and rituals of mourning were critical to Barlow's creation of a social community.[58] Losing a crew member, Barlow records that all on board

always posted within shot, as I may say, of the Grave'. See *An Essay upon Projects*, London, Printed by R. R. for Tho. Cockerill, 1697, p. 124.

[52] Watson, *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama*, p. 13.

[53] Capp, 'Jesus Wept', p. 107. For further discussion on tears of mourning, see M. E. Lange, *Telling Tears in the English Renaissance*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1996, p. 129; W. S. Howard, '"Mine own breaking": Resistance, Gender, and Temporality in Seventeenth-Century English Elegies and Jonson's "Eupheme"', in J. C. Vaught (ed.), *Grief and Gender 700–1700*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 221–22.

[54] Watson, *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama*, p. 41.

[55] S. Pepys, *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys*…, vol. 1, London, Henry Colburn, 1825, p. 418.

[56] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 60.

[57] A. Vincent-Buffault, *The History of Tears: Sensibility and Sentimentality in France*, trans. by Teresa Bridgeman, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1991, p. 68.

[58] For a discussion of ritual weeping, see G. L. Ebersole, 'The Function of Ritual Weeping Revisited: Affective Expression and Moral Discourse', *History of Religions*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 2000; A. Michael and C. Wulf (eds.), *Emotions in Rituals and Performances*, London, Routledge, 2012.

felt great sorrow and 'departed with tears'.[59] In another instance of stormy weather at sea, nothing was heard but 'woeful cries' of all who feared never seeing their loved ones again. Barlow praised God, who delivered them 'from all our cries and tears'.[60] Tears, expressed as collective grief, strengthened his notion of a community of suffering sailors, thereby alleviating rather than worsening his isolation. His emphasis on death was also a way to emphasise the masculine bravery of sailors: 'playing a man depended on courage'.[61] He did not express any evident shame in his tears or fears that they would emasculate him. These tears did, however, emerge in particular contexts that inform their meaning, resting alongside his masculine bravado, passion, and justifiable anger. When we turn to Barlow's associations with peers and commanders at sea, we see the importance of anger as well as grief, both of which were understood as collective experiences for the sailor, used to combat an ongoing sense of isolation and affirm his social identity within his emotional community of sailors.

Interpersonal Conflict: Isolation and Anger at Sea

With his peers at sea, there is evidence that Barlow, despite finding his strength in the rallying cry of the collective sailor's voice, felt a degree of isolation from his peers. The kind of social bond sailors shared, Shepard argues, was one of comradeship rather than friendship. Based on 'shared activity' rather than 'reciprocal disclosure and mutual trust', comradeship was based on a group identity and 'transient and temporary loyalties'.[62] This kind of alliance, I argue, left room for a great deal of distrust and psychological separation that is evident in Barlow's narrative. He expressed a low regard for his shipmates on several occasions, whether it concerned immorality or poor work ethic. On his first voyage, he was concerned about theft on board a ship with strangers, 'not knowing the condition of seamen'.[63] His uncle's concerns that sending Barlow out to sea would expose him to 'drunken fellows' and 'ill vices' was ultimately revealed to be a legitimate fear

[59] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 46.

[60] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 196–97.

[61] A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, London, Routledge, 2012, p. 91.

[62] In contrast, Shepard goes on to say that intimacy established between friends was based upon 'an individual's intellectual and emotional affinity to another individual'. See *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 95.

[63] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 32.

according to Barlow, although he did not place himself amidst this corruption.[64] In another instance, whilst claiming affection for comrades, he also distanced himself from excesses associated with sailors. Distancing himself from drunkenness, Barlow drank with fellow sailors 'more for the love of my company than for the drink'.[65] He further distanced himself from the perceived immorality of sailors when he commented on the abundance of brothels: 'in most places where any ships come, that trade never failing till it hath confounded both body and soul into Hell, for go where you will, you shall sooner find where you may learn vice than virtue'.[66] Although this was likely a criticism of the trading perpetuated by landsmen, the negative connotation still serves to further distance Barlow from other sailors.

He also criticised the fearfulness of crew, being the only brave man on board willing to speak up for the rights of seamen. When his master wanted to board him in a leaky ship, Barlow responded: 'I speaking for all our good, and a little more than the rest of our men did ... they were fearful and durst not well speak, so that I got myself most anger about it'.[67] Barlow spoke for all the sailors, but he was also superior to them in his courage to stand up for himself and on behalf of them, thereby both aligning himself with them and setting himself apart. Many years later and with much experience behind him, when he found himself in a position of command, he found himself just as angry with the uselessness of sailors. Barlow defended beatings and the need to strike sailors against his own will on the grounds that 'many seamen are of that lazy, idle temper ... when they do anything it is with a grumbling unwilling mind, so that they must be forced and drove to it'. Such a temperament, Barlow complained, caused 'vexation to those men that overlook them' who were 'forced to strike them against their will'.[68] According to Barlow, he was not well liked, testified by accusations that these beatings contributed to a man's death: 'some of those men that swore against me ... had little love to me'. Barlow could not rally any support for his own innocence, as evidenced by his appeal to God alone. Taking 'God to witness … in my very soul and conscience … what I

[64] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 28.

[65] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 32.

[66] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 164.

[67] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 267.

[68] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 452.

did to him could be no real cause or means of his death'.[69] These instances contribute to a picture of his social isolation at sea.

Ultimately, Barlow was invested in reporting conflict and hardship as a sailor. As such, he had more explicit and ongoing complaints about his commanders on board than his comrades. Accusations of incompetent commanders were frequent among seamen, and as Fury argues, often resulted in a collapse of morale among crew and a breakdown of order.[70] Commanders could be ignorant and insolent, and friction often arose when rights were seen as being transgressed.[71] One of the 'worst features of the Stuart naval administration' was the practice of choosing gentlemen as captains over experienced seamen, which gave rise to great discontent among sailors like Barlow.[72] Seamen often actively excluded and ostracised captains on board.[73] Generally, however, although commanders were often socially isolated, seamen were willing to obey their orders to maintain order and cooperation in the best interest of everyone on board. Ultimately, experiences were highly variable, and while many captains were despised, ties between captain and crew could also be 'close, even affectionate'.[74]

A constant source of frustration and anger for Barlow, his commanders were seen as incompetent as well as immoral. He complained on numerous occasions of inexperienced captains.

[69] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 452.

[70] C. A. Fury, 'The Work of G. V. Scammell', in C. A. Fury (ed.), *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485–1649*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2012, p. 38. Also see N. Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660–1700*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p. 165; N. A. M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649–1815*, London, Allen Lane, 2004, p. 124.

[71] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 46.

[72] The Pepysian reforms improved this practice and sailors saw considerable improvement generally as the Stuart reign came to an end. See Kemp, *The British Sailor*, p. 40.

[73] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p. 155.

[74] Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*, p. 55.

In one instance, the commander was unskilled, resulting in shipwreck.[75] Commanders often had no experience, but 'found friends to assist' in getting a ship.[76] Barlow saves the bulk of his criticism, however, for the character of the unskilled commanders. He characterised captains as irrational, emotionally vindictive, and cowardly in battle. Captain John Smith, for instance, showed 'but very small respect or kindness to any of his men … proud and conceited'. In a crisis facing sickness and death, he displayed 'cross humours and temper', was 'proud and scornful', and unjustly blamed others.[77] He 'abused' Barlow, 'although I did what I could to please him'.[78] The commander was generally 'fearful' and selfish, 'caring for nobody but himself'.[79] Another captain was 'an ill tempered man and abominably proud and unreasonable in his dealings ... always quarelling and abusing me'.[80] They were also duplicitous: they 'swagger and curse … huffing about when nobody is near them', but when facing enemy, 'their debauchery and action and conscience fly in their face and they are more like "henns before the kiat" than men'.[81] It is worth noting that Barlow characterised swearing here as a kind of false bravado, but also suggested it connoted bravery in contrasting it to cowardice. By doing so, he suggested sailors alone held the genuine qualities of masculine bravery. They were also more truly Christian. The immoral character of the commander was set against godly virtue: 'no man values his word ... or matters what he doth or saith, so that he can but gain and defraud his neighbour. All commanders and masters are grown up with pride and oppression and tyranny ... not acting like Christians'.[82]

Seamen, Barlow wrote, 'must not be heard to speak for that which is in his right', for fear of

[75] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 501–502.

[76] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 530. Also see p. 539.

[77] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 355–57.

[78] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 357.

[79] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 387, 398.

[80] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 539.

[81] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 548.

[82] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 553.

being beaten, and purser and captain taking all the gains.[83] Barlow, however, did stand up for himself, and in doing so saw himself fighting collectively against the widespread immorality witnessed at sea. He made a distinction between his own just anger and the unjust anger of his commanders. Barlow's response to such behaviour, however, was far from subdued or indicative of subordination. Equally emotional, he retaliated both physically and verbally against abuse. In one instance, a captain 'fell out in a rage' with Barlow, 'offering to cut me over the head'. Barlow 'took a hold of him … that he could not strike me, being something stronger than he was'. According to Barlow, the captain falsely claimed, 'I went to strike him'.[84] In another incident, Barlow's captain unfairly blamed him for the poor state of the sails, and he 'returned some of his words … knowing myself unreasonably abused, and in all other of the ship's company hearing and seeing, made him so mad'. He was punished for 'speaking too much to his face … what I thought of him'. Again, he concluded that this captain had a 'malicious temper'.[85] These incidents testify to his morality by juxtaposing his bravery and virtue against the various immoralities of captains and commanders. Critical to Barlow's portrayal of his isolated morality is his willingness to speak for justice in front of his peers and superiors. On another occasion, Barlow made an agreement with his commander to pilot a ship part of the way. The commander then went 'back on his word', and Barlow in turn 'had some words' and 'stood up for my own right'.[86] These instances testified both to his loyalty to other sailors and the honour of his word in public, which complemented and validated the narrative voice of his journal.

Barlow's social status is critical to understanding his imagined collective belonging. He emphasised his hard work and suffering in order to represent himself as honest and virtuous. Poorer classes confronted associations of poverty with dishonesty, which they sought to combat through an

[83] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 54. Also see p. 162.

[84] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 357-8.

[85] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 544.

[86] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 534.

emphasis on 'their labour as the basis for their autonomy'.[87] In one instance, Barlow began a court case against his commander: 'refusing our wages. ... we all consented to try the law. ... putting our cause into Doctor Commons Court, we overthrew them and recovered all our wages, only an angel apiece that it cost us in law'.[88] This was one way in which sailors responded to ill-treatment: 'sailors who thought they had been treated brutally or unfairly brought actions against officers for damages'.[89] A successful recourse of the law, however, often 'required property and money as well as patience'.[90] This is evident in another instance when Barlow related: 'I made bold to petition the Company to see what recompense I could get concerning the abuse and wrong done to me by Captain Smith ... told me I must take the law if I could ... if I had the money to have spent in law, I might have recovered some right'.[91] A model of masculinity based on self-restraint in order to achieve justice was largely unavailable to men like Barlow. For seafarers, who were predominantly from lower class backgrounds, 'manliness was expressed in the skills of seamanship, combined with the stoic endurance necessary during inevitable trials, plus loyalty to crewmates'.[92] Through the lens of the poor sailor, Barlow could express his worth and honour. His class status was integral to his communal identity as a sailor, and thus his ability to overcome isolation. Norwood and Newton, by contrast, did not identify with the lowly sailors, rather finding themselves isolated from the seafaring culture and locating their support networks back home in their respective religious and emotional communities.

Barlow's anger together with his tears stood as forms of protest against an unjust political

[87] A. Shepard, 'Honesty, Worth and Gender in Early Modern England, 1560–1640', in H. French and J. Barry (eds.), *Identity and Agency in England, 1500–1800*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, pp. 93–94.

[88] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 90.

[89] Earle, Sailors: English Merchant Seamen, pp. 148–49.

[90] S. D. Amussen, '"The Part of a Christian Man": The Cultural Politics of Manhood in Early Modern England', in S. D. Amussen and M. A. Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1995, p. 227.

[91] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 365.

[92] Lemire, 'Men of the World', p. 291.

and social world. Several scholars have highlighted conflicting attitudes towards anger in the early modern period. Enenkel and Traninger have argued that while its primary function was 'the defence of an individual's social position', it was also 'seen as a self-destructive force'.[93] Sukič similarly points out that while anger was a sign of heroism, authority, and power, it was also condemned as an unnatural passion, making it capable of serving both virtue and vice.[94] She highlights the importance of social hierarchy in determining the value of anger: the notion that one might uphold virtue, defend honour and maintain justice was largely a claim for the social elite. Barlow, however, claimed this for himself, drawing on the anger of his emotional community but reappropriating it to claim a sense of moral superiority set against the immoral anger of his superiors. By the late seventeenth century, as Foyster notes, anger had shifted from being an emotion associated with women to a 'specifically male issue or concern'.[95] Through physical violence, men could 'settle disputes and establish status'. Although there was a great deal of prescriptive literature urging for self-control, this advice was aimed at gentlemen.[96] For the lower classes in particular, the

[93] K. A. E. Enenkel and A. Traninger, 'Introduction: Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period', in K. A. E. Enenkel and A. Traninger (eds.), *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period*, Leiden, Brill, 2015, p. 4.

[94] C. Sukič, '"A true sign of a readie wit": Anger as an Art of Excess in Early Modern Dramatic and Moral Literature', Measure and Excess, *XVII–XVIII*, 71, 2014, https://1718.revues.org/393#quotation (accessed 20 June 2017).

[95] Foyster, 'Boys Will be Boys? Manhood and Aggression, 1660–1800', in Hitchcock (ed.), *English Masculinities*, p. 152. Also see L. A. Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004.; J. G. Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England*, Carbondale IL, Southern Illinois University Press, 2000; Enenkel and Traninger, *Discourses of Anger*. For a survey of anger in the medieval period, see B. H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1998.

[96] Foyster, 'Boys Will be Boys?', pp. 151, 162. There were different ways of acting like a man in seventeenth century England, and context is critical to understanding these differences. Violence, for instance, 'enacted in certain spaces, locales and geographies was perceived differently, reflecting social norms, gender and class ideologies'. See S. Broomhall, 'Introduction: Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe', in S. Broomhall and S. Finn (eds.), *Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, London, Routledge, 2015, p. 6.

association of anger with 'traditional stories of male bravado and courage' persisted and offered an alternative idea of social relations.[97] Such differences demonstrate that several discourses on the emotion of anger coexisted and conflicted with one another in any given period, and the categories of class and gender relevant to such discourses were 'dynamic and constantly shifting', as Steenbergh has argued.[98] Barlow produced his tears as well as his anger as a wilful and active agent, to testify to the corruptions of his time. His anger served to create order, claim justice, and 'to bring individuals and communities together around productive identities'.[99] His emotional community at sea made Barlow an effective participant within his group of fellow sailors. This emotional rhetoric, however, whilst asserting belonging to a community, also served an alternate purpose to demonstrate and lay claim to an isolated morality.

Solitary Winds and Solitary Places

Barlow's conflict with others was one mode through which he expressed feelings of isolation. He also defined and expressed isolation through the landscape of his travels. In particular, Barlow's isolation at sea finds further support in his characterisation of the wind, which he repeatedly called a sailor's 'best friend'.[100] Fumerton emphasised this point when discussing his alienation, arguing that Barlow perceived of the wind as being better than human friends.[101] The wind, although sometimes fair, was often deceptive and destructive however, ultimately looking more like Barlow's false friends, 'their words being wind which passeth away without any hold to be taken of them'.[102] On one occasion, he observed a 'fair and prosperous gale of wind, hoping it would

[97] Amussen has argued that violence, existing in tension with normative ideas of manhood, was 'the easiest way to claim independence, especially for those whose position in society was not entirely independent'. See 'The Part of a Christian Man', p. 222.

[98] K. Steenbergh, 'Emotions and Gender: The Case of Anger in Early Modern English Revenge Tragedies', in J. Liliequist (ed.), *A History of Emotions 1200–1800*, p. 121.

[99] Broomhall, 'Introduction: Violence and Emotions', p. 14.

[100] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 196, 243, 267, 278.

[101] Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 77.

[102] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 351.

continue with us and be our friend'.[103] Just moments later, however, he feared bad weather: 'winds increasing ... nothing presently was heard but woeful cries; and everyone thinking there to end his days ... never after to behold or see again his native land, his parents, wife or "childraine"'. In another instance, Barlow referred to the wind as 'fierce and blowing so dreadful'.[104] The wind did him as much harm as good, and granted him few favours or constancy. While Barlow's characterisation of the wind as a 'friend' certainly illustrated a lack of connection to men, he kept his communal voice by characterising the wind as 'our friend'; that is, the suffering sailor.

Barlow at times expressed solitude as a physical space and a visual concept influenced by the landscape surrounding him. This is especially apparent in his language, as he characterised travel at sea as continually marked by a fear of separation, losing one another, and having ships left all alone: 'by bad weather we lost one another ... separated'.[105] In another instance, attacked by French ships, his ship was abandoned: 'all the rest of the fleet sailing away and leaving her all alone ... aground and nobody to help her'. In the midst of storms, 'we lost the company of the other ship' and again, 'being all alone, having lost all our company'.[106] Despite the many crew on board, he described his ship so often as 'all alone and no company',[107] that the ship began to look like a personification of himself and his own sense of separation and alienation from others. When his lone ship sailed from land, it saw 'no ships ... being all alone and in the depth of winter'.[108] It was often during storms that Barlow expressed such isolation, with 'nights so dark that we could not see one another, and blowing so hard that we could not hear one another speak, being close to one another'.[109] He expressed solitude as a physical experience, even among his comrades. The solitary landscape, I would argue, mirrored his own inner state, reaffirming and continually reminding him

[103] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 196.

[104] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 196, 442.

[105] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 72.

[106] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 120, 348, 449. Also see pp. 131, 367.

[107] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 267.

[108] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 367.

[109] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 60.

of his own loneliness.

Life at sea, juxtaposed to life at home, allowed Barlow to formulate his identity within a communal group of like-minded sufferers. In this sense, his isolation involved a strong sense of mutual company with a community of suffering seamen.[110] Experiencing hardship and deprivation, seamen 'became bound in a brotherhood of peril'.[111] One of the conflicting characters of seamen, Fumerton argued, was their communal lives and alienated identities.[112] If this is the case, what kinds of social ties do we find amongst seamen amidst their travels? According to Fury, the support networks seamen found at home were typically part of a seafaring community, as well: 'neighbors, friends, and relatives were associated with seafaring, and crewmates were neighbors and friends'.[113] In Barlow's case, his lack of true friends at home would then suggest the same at sea, and is further evidence that he could not find the same solidarity at sea that most sailors shared. Barlow's narrative also illustrates that 'home' and 'sea' are inseparable. Crews of seamen could be alienated from landed society, but this did not equate to a separation from its culture. Rather, it was with continual, even obsessive reference to home that Barlow formulated his own identity, which we will explore with reference to his relationships to friends and family in England in a later chapter. It became a source of tremendous grief for Barlow that, intertwined in communities on both sea and land, he still found himself continually alone, lacking support and true friendship.

The Solitude of Providence

Barlow's sense of righteousness, set against corrupt commanders, found further articulation as he aligned God with his cause and against his captain: 'I must sit down with only patience, praying to God in good time to revenge my cause, for might did overcome right'.[114] Ultimately, Barlow's conflicts at sea served to attest to the unfair treatment and suffering of sailors, and to proclaim himself the isolated hero of his narrative, set apart from the others through his exemplary bravery

[110] Wilcox, 'Selves in Strange Lands', p. 140.

[111] C. N. Robinson, *The British Tar in Fact and Fiction: The Poetry, Pathos, and Humour of the Sailor's Life*, London, Harper, 1909, pp. 42–43.

[112] Fumerton, *Unsettled*, pp. 92, 95.

[113] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 232.

[114] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 365.

and virtue. Although his suffering is secular in focus, its purpose is ultimately seen as divine. As Magra demonstrated in his study on religion at sea in the eighteenth century, although sailors certainly could be irreligious, many retained 'a providential worldview' and an awareness that 'certain aspects associated with different maritime cultures were sinful'.[115] This is supported when we see that themes on the corruptions of travel, immorality of seamen, and divine providence continue to find expression.

Once Barlow chose his life at sea, it was the will and providence of God that he remained in his miserable calling. 'My own offenses ... cause or mean why God ... did lay such fatherly crosses and chastisements upon me'.[116] Though his initial decision was understood to be a poor choice, enduring the consequences was his punishment: 'it is good to bear our afflictions with what patience we can. ... my desire was, from my youth, to see strange counties and fashions, and I must, with hunger and cold, pay for it'.[117] He resolved not 'to go home any more until it should please God to send me will into England again'.[118] Whereas for Norwood, his own misery was the result of failing to follow God's will, Barlow understood his ongoing misery as the result of obeying the will of Providence: 'patience still to wait upon the mercies of the Lord whensoever it should please him to better direct and amend my fortunes, and bless me with success ... my hopes were frustrate, and most commonly I met with one mischance or cross or something which was a stop or hindrance to my increase and proceedings, and I did verily think it was the will of the Lord to order it so'.[119] We also see frequent reference to God's providence as Barlow faced the natural elements at sea, a common literary trope as discussed in the previous chapter. The wind, deemed both friend and foe, was frequently inseparable from the presence of God: 'it pleased the Lord to cease those stormy winds, and still the raging seas ... God is all sufficient in storms and fears for to deliver us from all our cries and tears'.[120] In such moments of isolation, Barlow credited 'God's help' for

[115] Magra, 'Faith at Sea', p. 97.

[116] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 285.

[117] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 162–63.

[118] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 76.

[119] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 263.

[120] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 197.

deliverance.[121]

If the wind was ultimately controlled by God, one might then ask: did Barlow view God as a true friend? On numerous occasions, God 'preserved and delivered me from many perils and dangers' and Barlow observed God's 'wonders in the deep'.[122] At other times, bad winds signified that a 'blast of God's displeasure had come upon us', the purpose of which was to 'show us His Terrors to put us in mind of our lives and conversations, and to remember we are but dust'.[123] In another instance, God showed 'His Terrors to put us in mind of our lives and conversations'.[124] These moments of repentance, however, are overwhelmed by a larger portrait of the injustices of poor seamen. Though Barlow writes, 'we may all repent ... a warning of God's anger', he immediately points the finger of corruption and immorality at 'all commanders and masters'.[125] Rather than perceiving his suffering as an opportunity to communicate with God, he simply saw it as part of God's providential punishment. Occasionally, he concedes that he can only blame his own choices for his sufferings, which were 'the cause and reason of my own sins and vanities, which I did impute to my own offenses'.[126] The narrative as a whole, however, rallies for his undeserved and unjust life of suffering. Barlow's dissatisfaction with God's providence is implicit, but his grief and anger are more expressly directed at those intent on persecuting him and his fellow comrades: commanders at sea and false friends at home. Ultimately, Barlow's expressions of his relationships at sea testify to an ongoing sense of isolation.

Mary Lacy: Overview of Life and Motives for Sea Travel

Lacy was born in 1740 in Wickham, Kent, the eldest of three children. Growing up in a very poor

[121] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 62. Steve Mentz sees in Barlow's encounter with the storm a critical division of self, as he appealed to the authority of both divine Providence and maritime praxis. See '"Making the green one red": Dynamic Ecologies in *Macbeth*, Edward Barlow's *Journal*, and *Robinson Crusoe*', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2013, p. 75.

[122] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 246, 303. For further examples, see: pp. 248, 258, 340.

[123] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 442–43.

[124] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 410.

[125] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 553.

[126] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 285.

family, she was sent to a charity school to learn to read and write. At twelve years old, she entered domestic service.[127] In 1759, Lacy ran away from home disguised as a man, adopting the alias of William Chandler. She secured a job as a servant to a carpenter on board the *Sandwich*.[128] This was during the seven years' war with France, when the English navy was desperate for men to serve.[129] Lacy suffered a severe attack of rheumatism the following year and was sent to hospital, missing the next ship's sailing. After recovering, Lacy boarded the *Royal Sovereign* as a 'supernumerary man'.[130] After spending nearly nineteen months on board, she received a letter from her master inviting her to be his apprentice at Chatham Yard. Lacy declined the offer, fearing 'many persons at that place who were acquainted with me'.[131] Instead, she secured a seven-year apprenticeship to a carpenter on the *Royal William*.[132] By 1763 she was working at the royal dockyard in Portsmouth. Lacy initially continued to spend a great deal of time on board however, until her master acquired residence on shore.[133] In 1765, her master went to sea, after which Lacy worked under a few different masters. She continued to be given jobs on board like that of boatswain.[134] Though her

[127] Service 'involved a loss of freedom: of movement, of choice of friends, of free time'. See B. Hill, *Servants: English Domestics in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996, p. 110. Also see B. Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics*, London, Routledge, 2013, p. 142. There was an assumption in early modern England that poor women put into service at a young age would save their money to marry in their mid to late twenties. See M. R. Hunt, 'The Sapphic Strain: English Lesbians in the Long Eighteenth Century', in J. M. Bennett and A. M. Froide (eds.), *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250–1800*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, p. 281.

[128] In the mid-eighteenth century, six to ten percent of a whole shipload of people on average were servants. See Rodger, *The Wooden World*, p. 13. Perry writes that this ship would have 'contained only a few women, most of whom were the wives of officers'. See 'One of the Guise', p. 31.

[129] Stark, *Female Tars*, p. 131.

[130] M. Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright* (1773), London, National Maritime Museum, 2008, p. 61.

[131] Lacy, *The History*, p. 71.

[132] Lacy, *The History*, p. 77.

[133] Lacy, *The History*, p. 81.

[134] Lacy, *The History*, p. 126. The boatswain 'acted as foreman over the crew and was responsible for the upkeep of the rigging ... offices such as boatswain, gunner or second mate were within the range of any

travelling career only lasted a brief four years, she continued to work on deck for another seven. She became a shipwright in 1770, but when her rheumatism returned she moved to London and acquired a pension. In 1773, *The History of the Female Shipwright* was published and nothing is known of her life after this point.

Like Barlow, Lacy described herself as 'very unsettled in my mind, and unable to fix myself in any place', but her declared motivations were distinctly different.[135] The reason for her cross-dressing adventure, she wrote, was primarily to escape her sweetheart: 'this young man did not perceive that I loved him so much ... I did not tell any of my friends of it ... I afterwards felt the bad effects of concealing this warm affection ... my mind became continually disturbed and uneasy'.[136] What is remarkable about this passage is the emphasis she placed on her chosen isolation. She chose not to share her feelings or her problems with anyone, not even her closest friends. Her penance at sea, as we will soon see, was a forced isolation in which she had no choice but to keep her true identity, and the challenges it caused, a secret. Reasons for cross-dressing, as Dekker and Pol have noted, were numerous in the early modern period, including but not limited to 'following family or lovers; defence of the fatherland; and poverty: the romantic, patriotic, and economic motives'.[137] By Lacy's own indirect admission, there were many other factors that contributed to her departure. She admitted that 'being of a roving disposition, I never liked to be within doors; and if I could get out ... I thought myself happy; for if I staid within doors, I was idle, and studying what mischief I should do'.[138] Although she connected her unsettledness directly to feeling rejected by

competent sailor but further promotion was more difficult'. See Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen*, p. 43.

[135] Lacy, *The History*, p. 18.

[136] Lacy, *The History*, p. 18.

[137] Dekker and Pol, *The Tradition of Female Cross-Dressing*, p. 27.

[138] Lacy, *The History*, p. 16. Stark had argued that Lacy's motivation for running away was not due to her 'lovelorn state' at all, but rather because she 'resented restrictions of life as nursemaid and liked idea of male identity'. See *Female Tars*, p. 125. Biographers and newspaper writers commonly portrayed women cross-dressing for romantic reasons, marking it 'both heterosexual and temporary'. See F. Easton, 'Gender's Two Bodies: Women Warriors, Female Husbands and Plebeian Life', *Past and Present*, No. 180, 2003, p. 133. Fairchild, however, notes that these warrior women were still seen as sympathetic figures, even when the

her lover, then, she also recognised her unsettledness as part of her character. Emphasis on her masculine qualities as a young girl suggests the possession of a 'female masculinity' long before she decided to dress as a man.[139]

Lacy: Solitary Departure from Home

Lacy's departure from home highlighted both the difficulties as well as the opportunities women faced in their travels. Historical studies[140] suggest many women in the early modern period made the journey to London. Such migration offered an escape from unemployment in the countryside and the restrictiveness of village life, in which single women were under close surveillance and suspicion.[141] Women in the process of migrating, however, were also highly suspect. Travelling on their own without a clear purpose was viewed as dishonourable, and such women were condemned for not being either at home under parental supervision or in service under a master's control. Hill, focusing on the lives of single women, emphasises how difficult it was for single women to migrate to London, both for practical economic reasons as well as ideological ones. Although dressing as a man could have served several advantages, one was the freedom to travel freely without the

motives were more aligned to bettering one's opportunities and place in the world. See 'Cross-Dressing and the Novel', pp. 173–74.

[139] We see similar sentiments in other cross-dressing tales. Davies, a soldier in the British army, recounts her pleasure being outside doing manual labour: 'I had too much Mercury in me, to like a sedentary life'. See *The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies*..., London, Printed for C. Welch, 1740, p. 2..

[140] I. Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850*, London, Routledge, 1930; P. Clark, 'Migration in England during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries', *Past and Present*, No. 83, 1979. For more recent studies on early modern migration, see L. C. van de Pol, 'The Lure of the Big City: Female Migration to Amsterdam', in M. Huisman, N. Teeuwen, and E. Kloek (eds.), *Women of the Golden Age: An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth-Century Holland, England and Italy*, Hilversum, Verloren, 1994; P. Sharpe (ed.), *Women, Gender and Labour Migration: Historical and Cultural Perspectives*, London, Routledge, 2001; F. Reid and K. Holden (eds.), *Women on the Move: Refugees, Migration and Exile*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010. Also see D. Simonton and A. Montenach (eds.), *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in European Towns, 1640–1830*, New York, Routledge, 2013; Hill, *Women Alone*.

[141] Hill, *Women Alone*, pp. 101, 125–28.

masculine guardianship typically required.[142] For labouring class women, cross-dressing offered the ability to move without harassment.[143] In the eighteenth century, Shaffer has argued that 'the successful imitation of the sexed body of a man—in cases where a woman went to war as a man and was viewed by others as physically masculine' was considered 'an acceptable (albeit indecorous) mode of plebeian female self-fashioning'.[144] Lacy emphasised the advantage of cross-dressing when she wrote: 'a thought came into my head to dress myself in mens apparel, and set off by myself'.[145] Emphasising her solitude, she was not going to sea in search of a man, but to escape one. That in itself marked her decision to leave home as strikingly more independent, a decision that embraced the opportunity to travel and an ideology of new opportunities alone.[146] Alone, of course, did not mean physical isolation, but rather sending herself into a strange new social world where she was psychologically isolated because of her unique position as a woman disguised in a man's world. The notion of solitude affirmed Lacy's bravery as a man but also her chance for a measure of autonomy as a woman. Although she retrospectively offered an apology about her decision to leave home, she very clearly embraced her new-found independence and found a measure of pride in her accomplishments.

Lacy, while proving her 'masculine' bravery, was also careful to highlight her physical vulnerability as a female traveller. When she left home, she recalled feelings of immense fear of attack, despite donning male attire. Lost and alone, not knowing where to spend the night, she slept in a barn 'greatly terrified ... afraid to move; for when the pigs stirred a little, I thought somebody was coming to frighten me; therefore I did not dare open my eyes, lest I should see something frightful'.[147] This vulnerable female antagonist, however, was simultaneously the brave masculine

[142] Dugaw, *Warrior Women and Popular Balladry*, p. 135.

[143] J. Shaffer, 'Cross-Dressing and the Nature of Gender in Mary Robinson's *Walsingham*', in Mounsey (ed.), *Presenting Gender*, p. 139.

[144] Easton, 'Gender's Two Bodies', p. 133.

[145] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 18.

[146] Adolescence offered a degree of freedom, but also economic insecurity. See T. Hitchcock, *English Sexualities 1700–1800*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1997, p. 96.

[147] Lacy, *The History*, p. 21.

heroine. Her inner masculine qualities evidenced in her 'roving disposition' were matched by her external bravado. The next day, she went into town and approached 'some men that belonged to a collier, who gave me some victuals and drink with them'. Just moments later, she approached sailors wanting to go to sea, and was deemed 'a brave boy'.[148] Undeniably, Lacy had at least to some extent a proclivity for solitude. She provided glimpses of her fearless embrace of solitude, though seldom seeing the chance for it. For instance, travelling to Portsmouth on one occasion, she 'luckily' met a ship's carpenter offering to take her there. Informed that she was going the wrong way on her own, when he was detained she left his company, embarking on the journey alone.[149] Always under an authority figure and entwined in various relationships, many years later she still looked forward to finishing her service and finding greater autonomy, longing for a time when 'I should ... be my own master'.[150] Lacy's life was in many respects unconventional. Although she would continue to serve under a master aboard naval ships, and later marry, her adventures at sea and her success in becoming a shipwright were remarkably independent feats, that became possible through the impetus of her cross-dressing identity.

Lacy's Isolation in *The Female Shipwright*: Tears, Anger, and Femininity

Lacy's autobiography reveals a disjunction between the experiences of her life at sea as a man, and the account of her life written retrospectively back in her female identity. We will see in this section that Lacy's emotional community was not with male sailors, but rather with her intended readership. The act of writing retrospectively allowed her to order her experiences at sea through this emotional community, giving her a sense of social belonging that was likely missing during her time as a sailor. By the mid-eighteenth century, emotions took on an increasingly positive association with women as they also became a more public performance through the movements of both Evangelicalism and sensibility. Tears, in the seventeenth century unbecoming, now gave women a 'charming beauty' and indicated not weakness, but 'virtuous and sublime strength', as Vincent-Buffault has observed.[151] At the same time, women were increasingly represented in traditionally masculine roles in early modern warrior ballads, which intentionally turned worlds

[148] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 21–22.

[149] Lacy, *The History*, p. 141.

[150] Lacy, *The History*, p. 157.

[151] Vincent-Buffault, *History of Tears*, p. 51.

upside down and inverted values.[152] Such inversions and binaries are blurred in Lacy's narrative, just as boundaries between genders were becoming more blurred as well. Lacy stands as a nuanced example of a figure who could be both emotional and brave, sensitive but tough, delicately female yet fiercely male. She could adopt tears that accentuated both her femininity and masculinity. Reminiscent of the warrior woman figure Shephard describes, Lacy was 'capable of behaving as a man and feeling as a woman', giving emphasis to both as feats of strength.[153]

Lacy used emotions to lay claim to her virtue and sensibility separate from others. The distinctly feminine tears she expressed are firstly evident in the correlation between physical violence and tears. Lacy cried in the face of actual or threatened physical pain, caused by the discipline of authority figures in her life. At home, as a young, rebellious girl, she cried after beatings received from her mother. Lacy also depicted her mother, although strict, as a 'passionate woman' with a 'tender heart' of compassion.[154] Out at sea, she received beatings from her master which caused her to 'cry for hours together' and to be 'always afraid of him'.[155] Again, upon

[152] There was a redefining of the military hero during this period, as the link between sensibility and courage was emphasised. See P. Carter, 'Tears and the Man', in B. Taylor and S. Knott (eds.), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Multiple scholars have noted that the idealisation of the warrior woman gradually shifted to condemnation by the end of the eighteenth century. See Dugaw, *Warrior Women*, pp. 68–69; D. Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 10. This decline in popularity of the tough warrior woman coincided with increasing disapproval in the 'man of feeling'. See Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, p. 67.

[153] S. Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama*, Brighton, Harvester, 1981, p. 11.

[154] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, pp. 14–16. Despite referencing 'parents', her father is absent in the narrative and we gain no insight into his character. Bennett and Froide argue that single women forged close relationships with family, especially mothers, sister, nieces, which may explain, at least in part, Lacy's focus on her mother. See J. M. Bennett and A. M. Froide, 'A Singular Past', in Bennett and Froide (eds.), *Singlewomen in the European Past*, pp. 23–24.

[155] Lacy, *The History*, p. 34.

learning her master would flog her for forgetting breakfast, she 'was afraid' and 'cried'.[156] It is evident that her tears often derived from fear or pain, which were less acceptable causes for masculine tears. The way she responded to her master's anger, however, was important in reminding readers of her femininity. She wrote that she 'could hardly brook' the beatings from her master and she 'thought it was very hard to be struck by a man'.[157] At another point, she called his rage 'extremely troublesome', adding 'I often wished him dead'.[158]

Lacy's cross-dressing allowed her more freedom and flexibility in her use of emotions, as she drew on both masculine and feminine expectations. Enenkel and Traninger have argued that by the eighteenth century, anger became focused on the 'inner experience of the individual'.[159] Anger also became strongly associated with men during this time.[160] Lacy responded to violence in two distinct ways that highlighted her gender roles. Firstly, as highlighted above, she responded to

[156] Lacy, *The History*, p. 51.

[157] Lacy, *The History*, p. 34.

[158] Lacy, *The History*, p. 51.

[159] Enenkel and Traninger, *Discourses of Anger*, p. 5.

[160] Contemporary seventeenth-century writers, in contrast, believed women more prone to anger than men, due to 'their physiological, intellectual, and moral inferiority'. See Kennedy, *Just Anger*, p. 3. Steenbergh has convincingly shown that while anger was presented as feminine in the seventeenth century, such meanings of gender were 'continually redefined in shifting relations of power' and in relation to specific historical contexts. See 'Emotions and Gender', p. 128. A woman's anger was sometimes seen as an act of resistance or rebellion against authority. Pollock agrees that women's anger could be 'seen as a challenge to male authority', but also explores the ways in which it was possible for 'women in positions of authority' to feel more entitled to expressions of anger. See 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', pp. 578–79. For discussion of women's anger in the medieval period, see K. Gourlay, 'A Pugnacious Pagan Princess: Aggressive Female Anger and Violence in *Fierabras*', in L. R. Perfetti (ed.), *The Representation of Women's Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2005. Gourlay argues that female anger was, according to humoral theory, distinguished from male anger in its tendency to be 'smoldering and long-lasting'. It was also more commonly verbal than physical, likely more prevalent among middle and lower classes, and in literary texts represented as less justifiable than male anger. See pp. 139–41.

violence with sadness, downplaying her inclination to anger or physical confrontation.[161] At the same time, however, Lacy needed to demonstrate her masculinity. She showed herself capable of acting on a feeling of anger when a crew boy slapped her in the face: 'this insult brought a little choler on me, which by repeated affronts almost grew into fury'.[162] Proclaiming her cause just, she engaged in combat and won. This, as she understood it, gained her respect and allowed her to reign 'master over the rest, they being all afraid of me'.[163] By submitting to her master's authority, she perhaps made herself sympathetic to readers, as well as portraying him as over-zealous in his authority.[164] At the same time, she fought an equal who had wronged her, which both avoided the suspicion of others and made her believable in the male role she inhabited. Her emotions allowed her to fulfil the expected roles of each respective gender.

What is perhaps most interesting about Lacy's tears is that although she was shedding them as a woman, others would have witnessed a man crying excessively on board. Dealing with her interpretations of actions as a man, and the significance of the expressions in her narrative as a woman, within a genre that explored inversions of values, any interpretation of Lacy inevitably leads to a complex double vision. In the masculine, macho world of seafaring, were her tears as a man acceptable to those around her? When her master was arrested she visited him and 'could not forbear crying, whereupon he asked what I cried for?'. Visiting again at another jail, she could not

[161] Before the end of the century, conscious anger in diaries was rare, and was labelled as sadness. See C. Z. Stearns, '"Lord help me walk humbly": Anger and Sadness in England and America, 1570–1750', in C. Z. and P. N. Stearns, *Emotion and Social Change: Toward a New Psychohistory*, New York, Holmes and Meier, 1988, p. 42.

[162] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 35.

[163] Lacy, *The History*, p. 37.

[164] There was an emerging view during this time that superiors, rather than having the right to anger and violence, should show mercy to servants below them. See Stearns, 'Lord help me walk humbly', p. 48. Fleetwood, for instance, warned masters not to be over-rigorous in punishments, but rather inflict them with 'deliberation, good intention, and compassion'. See *The Relative Duties of Parents and Children, Husbands and Wives, Masters and Servants*…, London, Printed for E. Bell, 1722, p. 323. Also see S. Biscetti, 'Power, (Im)Politeness and Aggressiveness in Early Modern Master–Servant Relations (1660–1750)', *Journal of Early Modern Studies*, No. 4, 2015. Available from Directory of Open Access Journals (accessed 31 May 2017).

‘refrain from crying the very instant I saw him’, to which her master asked, ‘Why … do you keep crying?’.[165] These examples suggests an element of surprise in her tears on account of her gender. The narrative represents desirable emotions as feminine. As her story unfolds, she increasingly sheds tears of compassion, sympathy, and regret, whether it be for her master or her parents. Women were widely viewed in the eighteenth century as having a special capacity for sympathy, and certainly Lacy demonstrated this virtue to readers through tears.[166] When Lacy’s gender was suspected, her tears became to some sailors proof of her femininity, indicating the precarious relationship of tears to masculinity at sea. Several male sailors who witnessed her crying responded, ‘What think you of your man now?’, suggesting a link between tears and femininity.[167]

The distance and isolation necessary to keep her secret and her standing on board drove her to tears on several occasions. Necessary limitations to her friendship with fellow crew and the struggle to withhold certain emotions from her comrades no doubt contributed to, aside from a constant fear of discovery, a feeling of being alone. Lacy reflected on her troubles: ‘nobody to relate my tale to, of the trouble and sorrow I had brought upon my parents, and the hardship I was like to endure myself; I say these things crowding in upon me at once, worked on my spirits at particular times to such a degree, that they robbed me of all my peace’.[168] Misunderstandings on board were commonplace for Lacy, and often revolved around her relationships with women. After Lacy and fellow servant Sarah Chase pledged to keep each other company exclusively, Chase began to show ‘jealousy and anger’ when Lacy was seen speaking to another girl. Lacy had a desire to ‘vent to these melancholy reflections’, but her ‘expressions of grief were immediately ridiculed as the effects of love’.[169] As a result, she cried all night and others ‘little knew the cause of my troubles’. It was at this point she wrote, ‘I had kept myself close within doors’ on the common to avoid

[165] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 113.

[166] V. Jones, *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity*, London, Routledge, 1990, p. 11.

[167] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 153.

[168] Lacy, *The History*, p. 134.

[169] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 132, 134.

company.[170] Though this would have likely been impossible with her work, she desired to withdraw in isolation to avoid these misunderstandings: 'There was not any place I could go to but I was pointed at some way or other, whether at work or elsewhere; for I was looked upon as a smart fellow among the women'.[171] Lacy also sought such privacy for the expression of her emotions to avoid ridicule from other sailors. When romantic problems were cited as the cause of masculine tears, as in the case of Lacy, men risked being effeminated in their passion for women.[172] She could not reveal the true reason for her tears, making them unavoidably shameful to her male persona and heightening her isolation.

As with my other case studies thus far, Lacy coupled isolation with morality, but emotions, rather than being one way to do this, were the central mode through which she represented and understood her own isolation. Whereas in Barlow's case, crying was expressed as a collective public grief, the origins of Lacy's tears were secret and necessarily solitary. By the mid-eighteenth century, tears were increasingly seen not as unmanly, but human.[173] As Csengei argues, tears were depicted as 'compulsory attributes and signifiers of a feeling heart and unquestionable morality'.[174] Therefore, Lacy had reason to overemphasise the isolation of her tears, as she used them to appeal to a middle- to upper-class demographic. It is significant that Lacy is the only person who weeps, given that in the second half of the century, weeping gained more social function of communication between people. It became not just an expression of personal sorrow, but a 'means of expressing an interactive sympathy for another's plight'.[175] Tears played a prominent role in the search for

[170] Lacy, *The History*, p. 134.

[171] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 136–37.

[172] P. Rackin, 'Historical Difference/Sexual Difference', in J. R. Brink (ed.), *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, Kirksville MO, Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1993, p. 41. Also see L. Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 208.

[173] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p. 38.

[174] I. Csengei, '"I will not weep": Reading through the Tears of Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*', *Modern* Language Review, Vol. 103, No. 4, 2008, p. 952.

[175] Carter, 'Tears and the Man', p. 159.

‘intense emotional exchanges’.[176] In leaving the tears to her alone, Lacy emphasised her isolation and appealed to an emotional community of eighteenth-century readers that valued sensibility. Readers, in turn, were perhaps persuaded of her morality in contrast to the unfeeling, or incorrectly feeling, men at sea.[177]

Laughter at Sea

Lacy’s narrative is the first of my case studies to give any attention to the expression of laughter, which she used both to emphasise isolation as well as assert strength. According to Gatrell, writers in the eighteenth century were fixated on the question of laughter; how, whether, when, and at what one could laugh were all questions up for debate. Loud and unrestrained laughter had long been considered characteristic of the lower classes, and widely condemned.[178] The prospect of women laughing was particularly offensive.[179] In Lacy’s autobiography, whilst tears were produced almost entirely by Lacy alone, laughter sounded frequently and freely from many. The laughter of others is a dominant motif through Lacy’s narrative, and serves both to highlight her distance and isolation from them, as well as to express a sense of belonging at sea. Upon boarding the *Sandwich,* she immediately betrayed her lack of knowledge regarding seafaring. As a result, all the ‘men laughed at me, I was angry with myself, for saying any thing’.[180] This verbal embarrassment was followed

[176] Vincent-Buffault, *History of Tears*, p. 19.

[177] Whilst notions of sensibility impacted all classes of individuals to some degree, a measure of caution is necessary in applying them to everyone equally. See Harvey, *The Little Republic*. Not only did sailors come from lower class backgrounds, but the seafaring culture put emphasis on other values in asserting their masculinity. See Lemire, ‘Men of the World’.

[178] V. Gatrell, *City of Laughter: Sex and Satire in Eighteenth-Century London*, London, Atlantic, 2006, p. 160.

[179] Lord Halifax, for instance, in the late seventeenth century, noted ‘few things ... more offensive’ than the ‘unnatural sound’ of women laughing. It was contrary to good manners, modesty, and virtue, and this was particularly true for noblewomen. See *The Lady’s New Year’s Gift: Or Advice to a Daughter*, 4th edn, London, Printed for M. G. and J. P. and are to be sold by Thomas Chapman, 1692, p. 108. Also see Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 346; V. B. Heltzel, ‘Chesterfield and the Anti-Laughter Tradition’, *Modern Philology*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1928.

[180] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 23.

by physical embarrassment, as she humiliated herself further by falling out of bed, which 'made all the seamen laugh at me'.[181] In another instance falling overboard, her master laughed.[182] This laughter seemed at times especially cruel. When she developed rheumatism, for instance, she showed her master who 'fell a laughing at me'.[183] According to one contemporary writer, this kind of laughter was typical for mobs who 'express their silly joy at silly things ... it is low buffoonery, or silly accidents, that always incite laughter'.[184] Eighteenth-century writers increasingly came to view moderate laughter positively, but urged an avoidance of laughter deriving from ridicule and mockery.[185]

The joke was not always on Lacy, however. In fact, as the narrative progresses, it is increasingly Lacy who does the laughing, becoming an active participant in the humour aboard. Therefore, laughter was used to connote Lacy's transformation from being a foolish outsider to her own self-description: 'I thought that I was a sailor every inch of me'.[186] In this sense, she participated in the emotional community that surrounded her, and this granted her a sense of inclusion and empowerment on board. The Elizabethan proverb 'they laugh, that win' expressed a view of using laughter to establish superiority.[187] Lacy's laughter connotes sheer pleasure at times when she seemed rather gleeful to be successful in her disguise and cunning. Fairchild has highlighted the way laughter could be used as a 'weapon against oppression', and it is certainly possible to see Lacy's laughter in this way.[188]

Unlike the men, however, who often laughed communally, Lacy's laughter is very much a

[181] Lacy, *The History*, p. 26.

[182] Lacy, *The History*, p. 79.

[183] Lacy, *The History*, p. 44.

[184] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 164.

[185] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 169.

[186] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 32.

[187] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 167.

[188] C. Craft-Fairchild, *Masquerade and Gender: Disguise and Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century Fictions by Women*, University Park PA, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993, p. 82.

solitary experience. Typically, her laughter revolved around her deceit. When her master suspected her of having a sweetheart, she wrote: 'I often laughed to myself'. When he accused her of having plans to marry a girl, she 'could not help laughing' and when she received a letter from a woman expressing her affections, she 'laughed heartily'.[189] When she found herself under threat of discovery, she *used* laughter to manipulate the opinions of others and throw off the suspicion: 'I had the presence of mind to laugh it off, as if it was not worth notice'.[190] Her sense of empowerment, however, was dependent on her isolation, making her laughter and tears interrelated. There were clear limitations to her confidence in successful deceit, and faced with mounting accusations just before her secret was exposed, she 'gave full vent to my tears, which were not few'.[191] It is likely that Lacy was aware of the gendered and class implications of laughter, and much like her tears, exploited it to gain favour with a wider readership. Tears and laughter both continually remind readers that Lacy could never find true solidarity at sea, but her cunning and resolve ensured that she maintained her virtues in the face of ridicule and alienation.

Friendship and Isolation

There is evidence that Lacy made many friends throughout her naval career, despite the continual trouble and strife found throughout her narrative. Having much less in common with the majority of her companions than a sailor like Barlow, she had no trouble finding friends and supporters, a testament to her genuine likeability to men and women alike.[192] Boarding the *Sandwich*, Lacy writes that the gunner 'liked me very well ... he was not willing I should be the captain's servant, that being the worst place in the ship ... therefore spoke to ... the carpenter, for me'.[193] He again assisted Lacy when her master threatened a beating: 'the gunner being always a good friend to me, said, I will be bound for William this time that he will do so no more'.[194] She did chores for the

[189] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, pp. 86, 106, 133.

[190] Lacy, *The History*, p. 152.

[191] Lacy, *The History*, p. 153.

[192] Druett, *She Captains*, p. 122.

[193] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 25. Gunners were responsible for maintaining the guns and training sailors in their use. See Earle, *Sailors: English Merchant Seamen*, p. 42.

[194] Lacy, *The History*, p. 51.

boatswain, who 'was very good to me for it; as he gave me a pair of stockings, and several other necessities ... he being ordered away from our ship, I lost a good friend'.[195] In turn, the boatswain 'repeated acts of kindness to me'.[196] Through this kind of generosity on Lacy's part, she 'gained the good will of every body ... my whole endeavour being always employed to please and assist every body as well as I could'.[197] Another boy, when Lacy got rheumatism, 'frequently came down to see me ... he came out of friendship'.[198] Even her master at the time 'took as much care of me as if I had been one of this own, which he evidenced by many instances of his goodness towards me'.[199] Unlike Barlow, she was capable of being on friendly terms with superiors, despite her share of violent and cruel masters.[200]

Forming close relationships in disguise, however, proved challenging. Lacy had to endure physical altercations, engage in dangerous work on deck, cope with a lack of privacy, and navigate an unfamiliar web of social relationships with both men and women.[201] She reflected on these difficulties throughout her narrative. To manage her relationships, she needed to be constantly on alert to ensure she looked and behaved a certain way. This involved concealing clothes that would reveal her sex.[202] She also feared her own female body would be discovered, for instance, in sleeping with fellow servants in close quarters and being examined by doctors.[203] This 'continual fear' and necessity of being 'always upon my guard'[204] restricted her from freely and fully enjoying

[195] Lacy, *The History*, p. 43.

[196] Lacy, *The History*, p. 69.

[197] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 68–69.

[198] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 45–46.

[199] Lacy, *The History*, p. 46.

[200] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 30–31, 84. For examples of her mistreatment, see pp. 35, 42, 52–53.

[201] Perry, 'One of the Guise', pp. 45–46.

[202] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, pp. 29, 32.

[203] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 54, 65, 67, 127.

[204] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 65, 50.

companionship with others. As Dekker and Pol have argued, for cross-dressers the 'stress caused by the fear of discovery must have been constant', and Lacy demonstrates the ways in which the challenges faced were 'not restricted to outward appearances' alone, but demanded a variety of psychological and behavioural adjustments.[205] When it came to other men on board, maintaining this distance meant both participating in and refusing certain behaviours and actions. Lacy reminded readers of the 'suffering I endured from ill treatment under different masters, and the various scenes of immorality and profaneness … amongst sea-faring people', mistreated both by superiors and 'wicked and mischievous' crew boys.[206] When necessary to maintain her honour and masculinity, however, she fought back when physically attacked and drank with masters and comrades alike.[207] Cross-dressing women engaged in these rituals of male bonding and comradeship at sea. Her inner life, however, had a different experience to tell.

Lacy believed she was particularly 'well beloved by the women, if by nobody else' as evidenced by the many women who sought intimacy with her.[208] For lower class women in particular, such bonds of friendship are particularly difficult to trace, but we know such alliances existed and offered practical and ideological benefits for women.[209] It was primarily Lacy's relationships with other women that were described as 'intimate'. She expressed pleasure in maintaining links to the feminine world. When a sailor came on board with a woman, Lacy was 'invited ... to mess with them. I was very glad of the offer ... I should have some tea, as there would be a woman in the company'. Lacy and this woman 'were very intimate, and she was exceeding fond of me; so that we used to play together like young children, insomuch that our messmates

[205] Dekker and Pol, *The Tradition of Female Cross-Dressing*, p. 17.

[206] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, pp. 8–9, 35.

[207] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 36, 74.

[208] Lacy, *The History*, p. 83. For more evidence of Lacy's admirers and supporters, see the following: pp. 30–31, 36, 41–42, 62, 66, 78, 81, 83–84, 86, 91, 95, 106, 108, 116, 152.

[209] P. Anderson, 'The Absent Female Friend: Recent Studies in Early Modern Women's Friendship', *Literature Compass*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2010, p. 231. Available from Wiley Online Library (accessed 31 May 2017).

believed we were too familiar together'.[210] Messing with a boatswain, Lacy 'lived extremely happy', because she 'had time enough to wait upon the women'.[211] Lacy also pursued a courtship with servant Sarah Chase: 'it was agreed … that neither of us should walk out with any other person, without the mutual consent of each other ... we were very intimate together'.[212]

Despite her popularity, Lacy expressed a sense of feeling alone. Lacking knowledge of provisions following her illness, for instance, she lamented: 'if I had had a friend, I could have procured a smart ticket for Chatham ... had nobody to advise or direct me'.[213] In another instance, turned out onto the street by her mistress, Lacy had 'no friend to go to'.[214] Though she reported amicable relationships with many, including an 'intimate friendship' with Edward Turner as well as fellow servant Sarah Chase, Lacy's feelings of isolation were ongoing, and most apparent in her emotions and need to uphold distance from those around her. The same cross-dressing that gave Lacy her independence also ensured countless unique challenges and a measure of inescapable isolation. She emphasised the problem of intimacy with other women on many occasions. On the Common, she 'was acquainted with several young women', leaving her master to think she was 'too familiar with them'. Other servants 'believed my mistress and I were too intimate, and that they wished she was so fond of them ... she was always giving me something'.[215] Due to the inevitability of avoiding rumours of scandal and suggestions of marriage, Lacy despaired, 'I had almost taken a resolution to break off correspondence, not only with Sarah, but even with every one of those with whom I had contracted an acquaintance of that sort ... impossible to free myself from their importunities any other way'.[216] In another instance, she felt compelled to end her relations with Elizabeth Cook, fearing the increasing intimacy might 'bring trouble on me' and expose her

[210] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 62.

[211] Lacy, *The History*, p. 69.

[212] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 130–31.

[213] Lacy, *The History*, p. 67.

[214] Lacy, *The History*, p. 147.

[215] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 86–87.

[216] Lacy, *The History*, p. 158.

secret.[217] I would argue Lacy finds comfort in conversing with these other women, but such relationships ultimately had limitations and reminded her of her inescapable isolation. The sight of another woman invoked the hope of connection and friendship, but could also serve as a reminder of the extent of isolation endured, as Wheelwright has noted.[218] Distance was not always Lacy's true desire, but it was an inevitable necessity.

We see the way in which her secret impeded friendship and intimacy when Lacy was finally able to unburden her secret. Expressing great joy in finding a confidante from her hometown on the Common, Lacy identified her as the 'best friend I had'. This is clearly in large part due to the fact that this woman knew her secret, thereby extinguishing the distance between them. Lacy was 'happy I having met with a person I could freely unbosom myself to'.[219] Her sense of betrayal is apparent when this woman revealed her secret to all. She wrote: 'I ... thought I should have broke my heart', was 'greatly affected' by consuming apprehension and 'reduced very low'.[220] When rumours emerged regarding Lacy's true sex, she prepared to leave, having secured her pension: 'my parting ... one of them was ready to break her heart. This was poor Sarah, whose pitiable case affected me very much'.[221] Leaving had a great emotional impact on Lacy, who was reminded that to keep her intimate relationships, she must avoid that intimacy as well, an impossibly isolating situation. There are tensions in the narrative between wanting to keep her secret and wanting to reveal it, and desiring intimacy with women whilst shunning their vices. Whilst she cries at the necessity of keeping her secret, she likewise cries when it risks being exposed: 'though it made me cry so that I could scarce speak ... telling them I was a woman'.[222]

Lacy's behaviour was often presented in the form of necessity, highlighting not only her ability to fulfil both feminine and masculine gender roles, but her singularity as well. Her fear of

[217] Lacy, *The History*, p. 108.

[218] Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids*, p. 99.

[219] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 158.

[220] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 162–63.

[221] Lacy, *The History*, p. 168.

[222] Lacy, *The History*, p. 153.

discovery dictated the nature of her relationships: 'my master imagined I went a courting ... truly very glad I was he thought so; for in that case he could have no mistrust of my sex'.[223] She admitted to becoming 'proficient in the art of courtship' with young women, and 'had plenty of sweethearts'.[224] To maintain her masculinity, and avoid suspicion, it was important to maintain this image of being amorous with women.[225] Lacy attempted to distance herself from a desire for such behaviour, however, through a critique of the morality of others. Disapproval of male conduct extended primarily to foul language and bad manners, including drunkenness and violence.[226] Her condemnations of women focused on sexuality in a way that supported eighteenth-century views of lower-class women as promiscuous.[227] Ashore one night, a maid offered a bed for Lacy either with her or her mistress: 'I thought it was no wonder the young men took such liberties with the other sex'.[228] It was typical for labouring single women in the eighteenth century to share a bed with a succession of other girls, including both servants and mistresses.[229] From Lacy's perspective, therefore, there was nothing immoral about her sleeping habits. All other women, on the other hand, were guilty of licentious sexuality, because they viewed her as a male. Internally, Lacy expressed her femininity through moral disapproval whilst outwardly, she proved her masculinity by engaging

[223] Lacy, *The History*, p. 86.

[224] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 106, 115.

[225] Lacy, *The History*, pp. 99, 154. As Perry notes, flirtation with women was likely 'necessary to throw off suspicion from shipmates'. See 'One of the Guise', p. 49.

[226] She argued that this was the reason for her preference for female company: 'avoid the conversation with men ... this class ... offensive to a delicate ear'. See Lacy, p. 9. Such claims to delicacy were often inserted by printers and editors. See Dugaw, '"Wild Beasts" and "Excellent Friends": Gender, Class and the Female Warrior, 1750–1830', in Howell and Twomey (eds.), *Jack Tar in History*.

[227] Felicity Nussbaum has argued that representations of unlicensed sexuality in lower-class women were common in eighteenth century 'scandalous memoirs'. See *The Autobiographical Subject,* p. 179. C. Breashears has discussed the problematic nature of this category. See 'Scandalous Categories: Classifying the Memoirs of Unconventional Women', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 82, No. 2, 2003.

[228] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 95.

[229] V. Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 52.

in expected behaviours, resulting in an isolation and disconnect indelibly linked to gender ideologies.[230] By distancing herself from other women in her behaviour and dress, as well as men in her sentimentality and delicacy, she persuasively presented herself as the moral solitary heroine.

Just as fraternal social bonds were a critical element of life at sea, female support networks were particularly important, especially for single women. As Hill has shown, cross-dressing, despite the opportunities it provided, also cut women off from their own sex and forced them to deny connection to the feminine world.[231] Despite Lacy's criticisms of women, her narrative reveals a longing for intimacy with them. Having to hide her identity was immensely unsettling, disorienting, and isolating. Those at sea were overwhelmingly comprised of men, so that for single women who had their 'emotional lives ... often strongly centered on women',[232] such isolation was particularly painful and pronounced.[233] Druett has argued that Lacy's relationships with other women were 'probably lesbian and definitely light-hearted', suggesting a lack of substantial emotional connection.[234] Such an observation, however, undervalues the isolating challenges Lacy faced in maintaining the various relationships with her mates. The courage, honour and strength of a man, as well as the virtues of a woman, were all demonstrated and maintained through a commitment to her secret, isolated identity. 'Seeing I had brought this misfortune on myself', Lacy reflected, 'I formed a resolution to go through with it, and suffer the consequences ... if they discovered that I was a woman ... it would be utterly impossible for me to escape'.[235] She aligned her own actions with the will of God, stating that providence allowed her to hide her sex and 'endued me with prudence and discretion to conduct myself'.[236] This conviction was repeated on numerous occasions, suggesting that she enjoyed the protection and favour of providence. When Lacy injured herself jumping over a

[230] Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject*, p. 133.

[231] Hill, *Women Alone*, p. 142.

[232] Bennett and Froide, 'A Singular Past', p. 26.

[233] D. Cordingly, *Heroines and Harlots*, pp. 103–104. For accounts of women on board longing for female companionship, see p. 150. For a consideration of the isolation of captain's wives, see p. 147.

[234] Druett, *She Captains*, p. 93.

[235] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 33.

[236] Lacy, *The History*, p. 8.

cable, a doctor examined her but did not discover her sex: 'I esteemed it a singular mercy God had prevented it at that time'.[237] In another instance, she had to lie with a post-chaise boy: 'it was the will of God I should not be discovered at that time'.[238] Like in the case of Barlow, God's providence dictated isolation at sea, but Lacy ultimately viewed this as a blessing, rather than providential punishment. Her narrative is predicated on understanding and representing herself as a deviant anomaly, and as such Lacy is isolated from collective concerns of others at sea. Implicit in her style and genre of writing is an imagined community of sympathetic readers, who would see the morality she exhibited when no one else could. Her solitary tears to readers invoked sympathy by highlighting the impossibility of sharing her true feelings.[239] Her modesty was evidenced in her ability to maintain distance, so that her moral worth was predicated on isolation. This is suggested by the way she characterised the world of men and woman that surrounded her and the distance she needed to maintain.

Conclusion

As we have seen in this chapter, secular narratives too felt the need to lay claim to a certain morality for travellers that was predicated on inevitable isolation. As we saw in the case of Norwood and Newton, their emotions were both ways of expressing feelings of isolation as well as indicators of salvation and damnation, depending on the types of emotions experienced. These texts provide insight into the ways in which emotional expressions of solitude could be used to overcome isolation and claim morality as common sailors. Both Barlow and Lacy often linked their emotions to isolation as well, but an isolation that was more secular in nature. While their emotions were consistently used as markers of morality, they did not condemn any of their emotions in particular as irreligious, like anger, the way Norwood and Newton had. Furthermore, whilst for Norwood and Newton's conversion narratives, isolation from travellers was expressly desired to maintain and nurture piety, in the case of Barlow and Lacy it was primarily a sense of unwanted alienation that was critical to a portrayal of righteousness. The notion of emotional communities helps to explain this difference in rhetoric. Norwood and Newton drew primarily on a Protestant community as well as codes of sensibility in middle- and upper-class identity for their emotional expression and

[237] Lacy, *The History*, p. 65.

[238] Lacy, *The History*, p. 54.

[239] Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender*, p. 208.

accompanying understandings of masculinity. Barlow and Lacy expressed theirs through emotional communities of the suffering sailor and the poor labourer. They expressed emotions like anger to resist social injustice, and proved their masculinity and femininity through these alternate emotional communities and cultures. Although they were certainly informed by a religious worldview in many instances, it was their own goodness that was ultimately emphasised.

Barlow imagined himself isolated with fellow sailors to justify his solitude. By focusing more on the 'other', whether commanders at sea or landed communities left behind, he could assert himself as the defender of sailors and their rights. Despite an apparent lack of connection with his comrades, by celebrating the idea of communal solitude he gave to his own isolated solitude a degree of meaning and satisfaction. Lacy, in contrast, wanted to be close to others at sea but was unavoidably isolated from them. It was in telling her story that she could place herself within a community, aligning herself directly with a literary tradition and an audience who might sympathise with her suffering, drawing on cultural ideas of the isolated cross-dressing heroine. Whilst the expressed emotions of Norwood and Newton linked them to their respective religious communities, Barlow and Lacy reshaped their emotions to express isolation and belonging with a community of sailors as well as an imagined readership. Through motifs of forced isolation, both Barlow and Lacy attempted to represent themselves as highly moral and sympathetic individuals. They were moral sailors, and this was precisely why they perceived themselves as being isolated. Rather than rejecting sailors altogether, however, they clung to imagined visions of fellow suffering sailors.

For Barlow and Lacy, isolation was not a means for finding God or salvation as with Norwood and Newton, but it was still a means for asserting righteousness and virtue and shared overlapping concerns. Often condemning the character of sailors, they needed to highlight distance and express a sense of isolation to provide a convincing portrait of morality to their readers as well as to themselves. The reasons for an emphasis on morality, however, shifted, resulting in distinct differences from the religious narratives of the last chapter: Barlow and Lacy do not include these themes with an expressly desired intent to separate themselves from the corruption of fellow travellers. How do Barlow and Lacy both define themselves as sailors whilst also presenting themselves in isolation from them? Norwood and Newton had or longed to have (in Norwood's case) a core identity in a religious community back home, separate from what they perceived as the immorality of travelling companions. Barlow and Lacy, however, did not insist on distancing themselves from other sailors. In fact, they both found their only sense of belonging in such an identity. Critical to this belonging were their lower social class identities, which aligned with the majority of other sailors and formed a coherent community. They never questioned the fact that

they were sailors. Rather, their narratives were committed to demonstrating that they were exceptional sailors, as evidenced already through a rhetoric of isolation that asserted morality and distinguished them from others at sea. By this means, they identified themselves within a community of sailors while still expressing alienation from this same community.

Like Norwood, Barlow became alienated through his travels, but he never blamed travel itself, but rather those around him that he perceived as corrupt, whether unjust commanders, lazy sailors, or those at home that continually let him down. His isolation allowed him to create an imagined communal identity in the suffering seaman, as he distanced himself from connections to friends and family in England and embraced this figure of an isolated and displaced sailor. Lacy's life at sea was intensely social and her day to day life found her enmeshed and intertwined in relationships with a vast array of characters. Her very presence at sea was predicated on a need for distance and social separation, as she had to hide her identity as a female. Expressed through her emotions, experiences of isolation were explored to idealise herself as the moral hero. Establishing credibility to audiences, for female writers, was especially critical, and Lacy used her sentimental, isolated heroism to appeal to her own morality. Ultimately, Lacy offered a more redemptive vision of solitude for a couple of reasons. Generally speaking, unlike Barlow, who viewed his life as the inescapably miserable allotment of providence, Lacy wanted to be at sea. She also stopped sailing in her thirties and established her career as a shipwright, unlike Barlow who continued sailing into old age. Finally, Lacy found a great deal of acceptance in her decision to work as a man from family, friends, and even co-workers when her secret was finally revealed. Although her isolation was more inescapable at sea, it was also her cross-dressing and the ensuing isolation that followed which allowed her to pursue her desire to go to sea.

As we saw in the last chapter, a sense of unsettledness could be a pervasive theme in religious narratives. Both religious and secular narratives, however, in different ways and for different reasons, expressed motifs of isolation and though distinct, can be found in continual dialogue with one another. Isolation in all of these case studies was richly varied, yet abided as a key means for establishing morality and honour in a social world often characterised as lacking these qualities. Submerged in their respective social worlds, my two case studies in this chapter expressed themselves as sailors who found their strengths in notions of communal isolation. Primarily through sharing conflict, expressing emotions, and maintaining an absolute insistence on their own piety, they gave readers compelling stories of isolation at sea in the midst of social revelry.

Chapter 3. Sociability, Melancholy and Friendship on the Grand Tour: Thomas Gray and Lady Mary Coke

This chapter aims to contribute to a recent interest in the inner lives and expressions of emotions in early modern travel texts by focusing on solitary and melancholy expressions on the Grand Tour. With a historical association of the Grand Tour with sociability, moments of solitude are overlooked. Using the case studies of Thomas Gray and Lady Mary Coke, I will explore the ways in which expectations of sociability abroad could be isolating, and consider alternate ways of framing sociability. I have chosen these individuals for the perspectives they provide for rethinking modes of sociability on the Grand Tour through a focus on the inner lives of travellers. They raise numerous questions about the nature of early modern solitude and its relationship to travel and sociability. Did Coke and Gray find travel to be a cure for solitude and its associated melancholy, as the treatises of the day argued? Or did travels in fact intensify expressions of loneliness and isolation? How were moments of social engagement and solitary reflection characterised in these texts, and what purpose did they serve? What emotions were expressed in such moments, and why?

These case studies are significant, because they reveal the ways in which sociability could be framed through a rhetoric of solitude, finding expressions of isolation in unexpected places and contributing to a richer understanding of the cultural history of early modern travel. As we saw in the previous chapter, solitude was a prominent motif through which travel writers shared their experiences abroad. At sea, solitude found expression in the midst of inescapable social revelry, and offered a way in which to preserve and uphold morality and values as they were defined by each individual and his or her social framework and emotional community. How do expressions of solitude change when we examine different modes of travel, associated with different aims and a higher social status? Gray and Coke drew on key emotional communities of Grand Tour travellers, but reappropriated modes of sociability abroad. By highlighting a sense of unsettledness abroad, their narratives reveal individual improvisations of emotional expression that found definition in notions of solitude, friendship and melancholy. These narratives also give us a chance to broaden our examination of solitary expression and emotional communities by looking at new modes and frameworks of travel from the previous chapters, as well as continuing to examine the significance of class and gender within these contexts. Given that the Grand Tour was primarily understood as a male activity, this raises important questions for gendered experiences. Did men feel isolated and excluded in the same ways women did in travel accounts? Did they express emotions in similar ways and did they express the same ones?

The kinds of self-narratives Gray and Coke chose to produce are also significant for expressions of solitude within the context of the Grand Tour. Firstly, letters in the eighteenth century were the ideal mode for conveying the emotions and illuminating the personal and private self.[1] Diaries of the time also reveal an increasing emphasis on personal feelings and psychological introspection. Keeping a diary in the eighteenth century was considered 'an important means by which refinement might be cultivated'.[2] Presenting the self as hero or heroine, the author presented 'stories of struggles for refinement' and fashioned the self as a 'cultured person'.[3] Secondly, letters were explicitly communicative and a key mode of friendship. Directed to specific readers, 'letter-writers' reflections were cast into sociable form'.[4] Connections abroad, whilst valued, were often fleeting as well as isolating, and engaging in modes of sociability did not necessary result in long-lasting or ideal friendships. Letters and diaries could be used to re-establish meaningful social bonds, connect to family and friends at home and find comfort in familiar cultural identities. The writings of Gray and Coke, therefore, were efforts to reclaim, celebrate, and reflect upon friendships that were missing. By engaging in these modes of writings, Gray and Coke could both explore emotional expressions of friendship and melancholy whilst simultaneously fulfilling the requirements of sociability and ascribing to the values of their emotional communities.

The Grand Tour consisted of travels through Europe's major cities, particularly those in France and Italy.[5] The phrase 'grand tour' was first used in 1670 in Richard Lassels' *Voyage of*

[1] M. Beard, '"Whither am I wandering?": A Journey into the Self – Mary Wollstonecraft's Travels in Scandinavia', *Literator: Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2004, p. 76. Also see M. Agorni, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: Women, Translation, and Travel Writing, 1739–1797*, Routledge, London, 2014, p. 101.

[2] J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Harper Collins, 1997, pp. 107–108.

[3] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, pp. 109–110.

[4] C. Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 229.

[5] B. Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour: British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, New York, Harper Collins, 2001, p. xi. Studies on the Grand Tour include the following: M. Brennan, *English Civil War Travellers and the Origins of the Western European Grand Tour*, London, Hakluyt Society, 2002; J. Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, London, Routledge, 2011; A.

Italy. The tour had several purposes: it was a means for gathering useful information for one's homeland, training for diplomats, public servants and soldiers, and increasingly an 'ideal finishing school' for a gentleman's education.[6] The Grand Tour is now most commonly associated with the eighteenth century, during which time patterns of travel became standardised and literary conventions were fully established.[7] Previously only available to the wealthiest men of England, the Grand Tour began to attract a larger variety of people in the eighteenth century, including the middle classes and women.[8] The sociability of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour was not merely a consequence, but a central *aim* in travelling to improve one's character. In 1712, Richard Steele summarised the goals of the Grand Tour: 'look into their customs and policies, and observe in what particulars they excel or come short of your own; to unlearn some of the peculiarities in our manners, and wear off such awkward stiffnesses and affectations in our behaviour ... by a more free, general, and mixed conversation'.[9] Individuals were expected to obtain letters of introduction to prominent families and visit as many eminent people as possible.[10] Such social networking also offered a cure to melancholy and accompanying solitude, according to medical treatises of the

Wilton and I. Bignamini (eds.), *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Tate Gallery Publishers, 1996); C. Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography 1600–1830*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999; R. Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690–1820*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012; C. Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, London, Thames Methuen, 1987.

[6] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, p. 15. Intended to complete one's education through contact with ancient cultures, art and politics, the notion of travel specifically for personal fulfilment became common in the seventeenth century, though it was impacted by major religious and political conflicts like the Civil War. See Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 2010.

[7] Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, p. 85.

[8] Agorni, *Translating Italy*, p. 98. Also see M. Morris, *Maiden Voyages: Writings of Women Travelers*, New York, Vintage Books, 1993, p. xv.

[9] R. Steele, *Spectator*, No. 365, London, Printed for S. Buckley and J. Tonson, and sold by A. Baldwin, 1712.

[10] Hibbert, *The Grand Tour*, p. 20.

time.[11] Travel was thought to ease the mind and boost spirits.[12]

The majority of research on the Grand Tour has focused on the 'Italian-based programme of aesthetic refinement and the education in polite sociability received through fashionable French society', and primarily through the experiences of elite men.[13] Sarah Goldsmith, in her 2017 article 'Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour', explores multiple forms of masculine identity on the Grand Tour and brings attention to the overlooked emotional dimension of this eighteenth-century practice of travel.[14] She has also highlighted the central importance of socialising on the Grand Tour, noting that while scholars give this brief attention, they 'remain uneasy in pinpointing its actual importance'.[15] There is a gap in scholarship that considers what such 'sociable' experiences and its emotional expressions on the Grand Tour looked and felt like in travel letters and diaries. The emotional community of Grand Tour travellers valued and upheld modes of eighteenth-century sensibility and polite refinement. New ideals emerged in

[11] See, for example, Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*; and G. Cheyne, *The English Malady; or, A Treatise of Nervous Disease*…, London, Printed for G. Strahan and J. Leake, 1733.

[12] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, pp. 145–46. Despite this, numerous melancholy travellers were presented in the later eighteenth century in writings of men like Fielding, Smollett, and Sharp. Batten has argued that such melancholy served 'a clear literary function: it makes the traveler seem the kind of person whose descriptions should be trusted'. See *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978, p. 74.

[13] S. Goldsmith, 'Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2017, p. 3.

[14] Goldsmith, 'Dogs, Servants and Masculinities', p. 4. For another study of masculinity on the Grand Tour, see M. Cohen, 'The Grand Tour: Constructing the English Gentleman in Eighteenth-Century France', *History of Education*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 1992. Also see Cohen, 'The Grand Tour. Language, National Identity and Masculinity', *Changing English*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2001. Available from Academic Search Premier (accessed 31 May 2017).

[15] Goldsmith, 'The Social Challenge: Northern and Central European Societies on the Eighteenth-Century Aristocratic Grand Tour', in R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven, and S. Goldsmith (eds.), *Beyond the Grand Tour, Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, London, Routledge, 2017, p. 66.

which sensibility and emotional responsiveness amidst travels were highly valued.[16] As Goldsmith has shown, however, this was not the only emotional community these travellers drew upon. Seventeenth-century texts conceptualised travel as a dangerous journey that tested courage, brought hardship, and produced a 'hardy masculinity' that toughened men. This was true for women as well as men: Zagrodnik has shown how female travellers adopted attributes of courage and resilience to express empowerment.[17] Goldsmith argues that this framework continued to inform travel writers in the eighteenth century within new social ideals of sensibility, and this chapter will explore such a claim.[18]

Sensibility in the eighteenth century was closely intertwined with expressions of solitude. Despite the social emphasis of sympathy and sensibility, moral feelings were presented as 'private' ones experienced alone. The hero or heroine of eighteenth-century novels is 'defined partly by his or her isolation and difference from his or her fellows'.[19] The isolation they articulate framed the relationship of author to private reader, who became 'the exceptional connoisseur of commendable sympathies ... set apart from the anti-social vices or insensitivities which the novels were able to represent'.[20] This tension between sociability and solitude is similarly highlighted in the case studies of this chapter, suggesting the widespread influence of these ideals. This becomes evident when we turn to letters and diaries of Gray and Coke, who drew on such contemporary notions to better understand themselves and the world around them. They expressed isolation abroad and turned to correspondents in England to share their melancholy, and in doing so, found alternate modes of sociability. The notion of solitude for Coke and Gray was pivotal to understanding their place in the social world around them. Solitude was critical to sociability itself as individuals shared their isolation with one another, finding more intimacy 'alone' than through the social expectations

[16] Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*, pp. 35–36.

[17] K. V. Zagrodnik, 'Voyages of the Unknown, Voyages of the Self: Women in Early-Eighteenth Century Travel Writing', PhD thesis, Auburn University, 1998, p. 24.

[18] Goldsmith, 'Dogs, Servants and Masculinities', p. 4.

[19] B. M. Benedict, *Framing Feeling: Sentiment and Style in English Prose Fiction, 1745–1800*, New York, AMS Press, 1994, p. 6.

[20] Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*, pp. 13–14.

of the Grand Tour.

Gray: An Introduction

In considering the case studies of this chapter, Thomas Gray offers the more typical example of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour. His letters, however, offer insight into the ways individuals could shape their own experiences within standardised social expectations, creating new meanings of sociability abroad. Although Gray is perhaps most famously remembered for his poetry,[21] the letter was critical to his expressions of emotion and intimacy. It is unclear whether Gray may have had a larger audience in mind when he wrote his correspondence.[22] He left behind hundreds of letters to his closest friends and family, many heavily edited by Mason and Walpole, who rewrote passages and removed entire sections.[23] Fortunately, however, we also have letters in their original form that avoided such heavy editing, including Gray's letters to Wharton.[24] Of the one hundred and thirty

[21] When scholars have studied Gray's letters, it is often to shed light on his much more widely studied poetry, with a few notable exceptions. For Gray's travel correspondence, see, T. Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal of His Visit to the Lake District in 1769, with a Life, Commentary and Historical Background*, ed. by W. G. Roberts, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2001; T. Gray, *Grand Tour Revisited: Thomas Gray's Journey to France and Italy from 1739 to 1741 with a Commentary Following the Same Route,* ed. by W. G. Roberts, Penrith, Northern Academic Press, 2010; W. Ruddick, 'Thomas Gray's Travel Writing', in W. B. Hutchings and W. Ruddick (eds.), *Thomas Gray: Contemporary Essays*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1993. For a discussion of his letters, see W. H. Epstein, 'Assumed Identities: Gray's Correspondence and the "Intelligence Communities" of Eighteenth-Century Studies', *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1991; and W. R. Wolfe, 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter Writer', PhD thesis, University of Virginia, 1973.

[22] W. H. Irving writes that on the question of whether Gray's letters were written with the larger public view, 'we are forced to be non-committal'. See *The Providence of Wit in the English Letter Writers*, Durham NC, Duke University Press, 1955, pp. 243–44.

[23] G. E. Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1999, p. 116. For a complete discussion of the history of the editing of these letters, see *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. by P. Toynbee and L. Whibley, 3 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1935.

[24] Irving, *The Providence of Wit*, p. 233.

letters Mason printed, about half of these are available in original manuscript.[25] This means, of course, that some letters must be read with a degree of caution, but nevertheless there is 'enough originality and integrity of style to give them the smell of authenticity'.[26]

Gray was born in 1716 to a well-established and moderately wealthy mercantile family in Cornhill, London.[27] The sole child of twelve to survive infancy, there is limited information available on his upbringing. His father Philip physically abused his wife, Gray's mother Dorothy, and at eight years of age Gray was sent to attend Eton College, living under the guardianship of his uncle in Windsor, who was an assistant master.[28] It was here he formed close friendships with Horace Walpole, Richard West, and Thomas Ashton. This sociable grouping was known as the 'Quadruple Alliance'. Cecil argues that at this age, Gray found little satisfaction in solitary pleasures, instead craving intellectual conversation as well as love.[29] In 1734, however, Gray separated from these companions, except Ashton, and matriculated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, studying for a bachelor of laws. He disliked the people there, as well as the curriculum, and found relief in writing to his absent friends, particularly Walpole. He studied here until Walpole invited him to come along on his Grand Tour in 1739.

Gray welcomed the opportunity both to see Europe with his friend and defer his career in law. Over the course of just over two years, Gray and Walpole travelled through France, Switzerland, and Italy, spending extended periods of time in Paris, Rheims, Rome and Florence. In Reggio on the way to Florence in May 1741, however, a quarrel occurred, and the two men parted; Gray returned home estranged from Walpole.[30] A few months later, his friend Richard West died, a

[25] Gray, *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. by Toynbee and Whibley, p. xiv.

[26] Wolfe, 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter Writer', p. 18.

[27] R. L. Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, p. 75.

[28] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, pp. 78–79, 90.

[29] D. Cecil, *Two Quiet Lives*, London, Chiswick Press, 1948, p. 85.

[30] A lot of speculation has surrounded exactly what caused this separation. Scholars point generally to their clash of personalities and interests. See, for instance, D. C. Tovey, *Gray and His Friends: Letters and Relics in the Great Part hitherto Unpublished*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1890, p. 9. Also see R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Thomas Gray: A Biography*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1955, p. 47. In 1773,

tragedy that deeply affected Gray. He then returned to Cambridge, where he based himself for the remainder of his life, largely living 'the retired life of an independent gentleman'.[31] Each summer Gray would visit Stoke Poges near Windsor, where his uncle and aunt Rogers had moved, and his mother and sister retired to as well in 1742.[32] After his mother died, Gray began to tour England every summer in the 1750s, and made regular visits to his friends Mason and Wharton. He took many trips to the north of England during the last two decades of his life, and into Scotland in 1765, sightseeing as well as visiting friends and family.[33] In 1770, he toured southwestern England with his friend Norton Nicholls, and they were planning a trip to Switzerland in 1771. Gray, however, faced increasingly declining health, and passed away that year from what is now believed a failure of the kidneys. Throughout his life, travels, whether great or small, were an important fixture in his life.

Lady Mary Coke: An Introduction

Travel was also critical to the life and narrative of our second case study, Lady Mary Coke. It offered a welcome and frequent escape from home and attested to her love of social life, but also her inability to infiltrate the social circles around her or establish any meaningful relationships. Born in 1727, Coke was the daughter of John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll, a Scottish nobleman and senior commander in the British Army, and his second wife Jane, maid of honour to Queen Anne and Caroline, princess of Wales. She married Edward, Viscount Coke in 1747 at the age of

Walpole blamed himself in a letter to Mason: 'the fault was mine. I was too young, too fond of my own diversions ... with the dignity of his spirit and the obstinate carelessness of mine, the breach must have grown wider till we became incompatible'. See Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 258. The two friends reconciled in 1745, though this appeared to have been more for the sake of civility than sincere affection. Upon seeing him again, Gray was 'abash'd at his confidence' and left 'indifferently pleased'. See Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton, 14 November 1745', in *The Letters of Thomas Gray, Including the Correspondence of Gray and Mason*, ed. by D. C. Tovey, London, George Bell and Sons, 1900–12, vol. 1, p. 124.

[31] J. Steele, 'Thomas Gray and the Season for Triumph', in J. Downey and B. Jones (eds.), *Fearful Joy: Papers from the Thomas Gray Bicentenary Conference at Carleton University*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974, p. 201.

[32] J. D. Baird, 'Gray, Thomas (1716–1771)', *ODNB* (accessed 6 June 2017).

[33] Baird, 'Gray, Thomas'.

20.[34] Their marriage was an unhappy one, and Edward died in 1753, leaving twenty-six year old Coke to embark upon 'an independent social life marked by gossip, travel, devotion to royalty, and self-imposed misadventure'.[35] Never remarrying, she engaged in an intense emotional flirtation with the Duke of York, who was twelve years younger than her. When he died in 1767 Coke retreated into solitude at Notting Hill for some time.[36] She lived into her eighties, passing away in 1811 at Morton House, Chiswick, Middlesex. In fact, however, Coke suffered solitude and isolation throughout her life that was both involuntary and self-inflicted. The various details of her life come to us primarily in the form of a diary written over the course of her life to her sister Anne. She wrote her diary almost daily as a series of letters to her sisters, and dispatched them occasionally.[37] Never intended for publication, it was later edited and published in 1874 by her great great great nephew James Archibald Home.[38]

[34] M. Coke, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, ed. by J. A. Home, Bath, Kingsmead Bookshops, 1970, vol. 1, p. xiii.

[35] J. Rubenstein, 'Coke, Lady Mary (1727–1811)', *ODNB* (accessed 6 June 2017).

[36] Rubenstein, 'Coke'.

[37] Mary was the youngest of four grown sisters. Her letters were primarily addressed to her sister Anne, the second eldest of her three sisters. Anne was active in the same social circles as Walpole and admired as a 'great beauty'. Walpole described Coke and her other two sisters as the 'three furies' and 'hags of high rank', sparing Anne from criticism. See J. D. Gross, *The Life of Anne Damer: Portrait of a Regency Artist*, Lanham, Lexington Books, 2013, p. 34. This gives us some indication that she had an excellent reputation within social circles to which Mary perhaps aspired. Once Anne and her husband had both died, she stopped writing altogether. She also wrote many letters to her oldest sister, Lady Greenwich, but very little survives to her third sister Elizabeth (Lady Betty Mackenzie). Early modern studies have largely overlooked sibling relations, but this is slowly gaining recognition. Miller and Yavneh point to the 'reciprocity, affection, competition, and alliance-building' between sisters, relationships which could be 'enabling and empowering'. See *Sibling Relations and Gender in the Early Modern World: Sisters, Brothers and Others*, Burlington VT, Ashgate, 2006, pp. 1–2. The study of sibling relations has potential significance for experiences of solitude, as the nature of such relationships, as in Coke's case, could both offer companionship and cause isolation.

[38] There is very little information available on this figure and his intentions in publishing Coke's journals.

Contemporary texts portrayed Coke in an unflattering light. Perhaps no one discussed her in her own time more than Horace Walpole, who was for some time her friend as well as harsh critic of her character. Writing to Horace Mann in 1773, he noted her 'thousand virtues and good qualities. She is noble, generous, high-spirited, undauntable; is most friendly, sincere, affectionate, and above any mean action'.[39] He also perceived her to have 'a rage for great personages, and for being one of them herself; and with these pretensions, and profound gravity, has made herself ridiculous at home'.[40] She was portrayed as both 'happy and respected' as well as 'miserable' and 'mad'.[41] Half a century later, Lady Louisa Stuart wrote a memoir intended for Caroline Lucy, granddaughter of Coke's sister Lady Greenwich. Published posthumously, Stuart aimed to give an account of her great-grandfather and his family, and included a lengthy portrait of Coke.[42] She called her 'so invincibly wrong-headed' with 'pride, self-conceit, prejudice, obstinacy, and violence of temper' but 'sincere, honorable, good-natured where passion did not interfere'.[43] Writing for family and friends, she likely wished to distance herself from Coke's reputation as an absurd figure and thus avoid being implicated.[44]

These portraits, though not entirely negative, have contributed to a general perception of Coke as a crazy eccentric of her time. In a survey of diaries, early twentieth-century writer

[39] H. Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole to Thomas Mann 1760–1785*, vol. 2, London, Richard Bentley, 1843, p. 254.

[40] Walpole, *Letters to Mann*, p. 258.

[41] Walpole, *Letters to Mann*, pp. 258, 262.

[42] For more of Stuart, see J. Rubenstein, 'Women's Biography as a Family Affair: Lady Louisa Stuart's "Biographical Anecdotes" of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu', *Prose Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1986.

[43] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, pp. lvii–lviii.

[44] Karl Miller supports this notion when he notes that Stuart was 'abused by siblings, eaten by brothers and sisters, charged by the family with resembling her grandmother, the tainted Lady Mary'. See *Authors*, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1989, p. 50. Stuart was largely content being anonymous and avoiding any kind of publicity, so that Mary's continual bids for attention and celebrity were disagreeable to her. Also see D. G. Barnes, 'Tenderness, Tittle-tattle and Truth in Mother–Daughter Letters: Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Mary Wortley Montagu Stuart, Countess of Bute, and Lady Louisa Stuart', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 2015.

Ponsonby believed her attempt to combine letter with diary unsuccessful, and called it 'very silly', 'very dull', and only of family interest.[45] Modern scholars Brian Dolan and Stephen Bending have attempted to place Coke in a more sympathetic light by considering her life and cultural context with more care. Dolan has done this through a consideration of the challenges of travel for women of her time, and Bending through a consideration of her solitary life, concluding: 'we cannot dismiss the anguish, terror, loneliness as mere eccentricity'.[46] This bid to take Coke's life more seriously is supported in this chapter, which aims to further explore the emotional challenges she faced in her social life and travels.

Gendered Travel: Suffering and Masculinity

Travel was a distinctly masculine enterprise that was linked to notions of suffering and hardship in the early modern period. Even in the late sixteenth century, influential works like Turler's *The Traveiler of Jerome Turler* were emphasising the pains of travel in an attempt to highlight the experience of travel as virtuous for men.[47] A century later, travel writer and priest Richard Lassels, in his influential 1670 *Voyage of Italy,* argued that travelling taught 'wholesome hardship; to lye in beds that are none of his acquaintance; to speak to men he never saw before ... to endure any horse and weather'.[48] Such writings advanced the enduring hardship and isolation as vital for character growth. By exposure to a variety of humours and manners, men could form their own convictions

[45] A. Ponsonby, *English Diaries: A Review of English Diaries from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century with an Introduction on Diary Writing*, Ann Arbor MI, Gryphon Books, 1971.

[46] S. Bending, '"Miserable reflections on the sorrows of my life": Letters, Loneliness, and Gardening in the 1760s', *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, 2006, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2006, p. 38. A number of other scholars have referred to Coke's rich and diverse source material in passing, covering a range of eighteenth century subjects including music, architecture, gardens, animals, and politics. See, for example: W. Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?', *Early Music*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 1997; A. Vickery, 'Open House Georgian Style', *History Today*, Vol. 59, No. 11, 2009; H. Greig, '"All Together and All Distinct": Public Sociability and Social Exclusivity in London's Pleasure Gardens, *ca.* 1740–1800', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2012; I. H. Tague, *Animal Companions: Pets and Social Change in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015; E. Chalus, 'Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 2000.

[47] J. Turler, *The Traveiler of Jerome Turler*, London, William How for Abraham Veale, 1575.

[48] R. Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*..., Paris, John Starkey, 1670, sig. 5iiij^{r}.

and reform pre-existing vices. Alongside a suspicion of travel as corrupting, then, was a belief that it encouraged virtue. Being thrust into the unfamiliar and stripped of one's support network at home, men endured suffering and became tough, acquiring masculinity. Travel was coded as a 'heroic labour' that confirmed the honourable aspirations of the gentleman. Travel was 'daring to lance out into the maine, to see the wonders of the deep', whereas 'means and vulgar spirits' who were still at 'dead anchor' lacked this masculine heroism.[49] Hughes has observed that physical bravery, courage, chivalry and martial prowess gained renewed importance as manly qualities, carefully balanced with the need to maintain self-control.[50]

Such seventeenth-century ideals presented the masculine traveller as a stoic, emotionless figure. Lassels noted that at home, country gentlemen wet their handkerchiefs upon travelling to London.[51] Any difficulties faced abroad were to be preferred to frequent weeping and being 'soft'; the traveller was contrasted to overly emotional men at home. With the influence of mid-eighteenth-century sentimentality, however, the emotions became a critical component of travel writing. Responsiveness to, rather than mastery over, foreign lands becomes a new travel ideal best expressed by Laurence Sterne.[52] These developments provided increased opportunities for women to travel and record their experiences. Motives for, as well as reception on, the Grand Tour for men and women often diverged. Women were often drawn to certain spots that were more ideal to them for socialisation, like Spa and Aix in France.[53] Italy, for men like Gray, offered a culture steeped in antiquities and classical learning that was less accessible to English women lacking a classical education. Italy had a reputation for enlightened women, however, offering an ideal space where learned women could flourish and attain new opportunities not available back home.[54] These

[49] J. Howell, *Instructions for Foreign Travel*, London, Printed by T. B. for Humphrey Mosley, 1642, p. 13.

[50] Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, pp. 90–91.

[51] Lassels, *Voyage of Italy*.

[52] K. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1994, p. 87.

[53] R. Bates, 'The Petit Tour to Spa', in Sweet, Verhoeven, and Goldsmith (eds.), *Beyond the Grand Tour*, p. 138.

[54] P. Findlen, 'Introduction', in P. Findlen, W. W. Roworth, and C. M. Sama (eds.), *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2009, p. 6.

developments also opened new discussions and concerns over the potentially emasculating influence of travel, especially in France and Italy. As we have seen in our case studies of Newton and Barlow, expressions of emotion were present in travel writing well before the eighteenth century. Alongside an emphasis on laborious adventures and masculine bravery, these travel narratives expressed emotions and tearful experiences. The significance of such emotions for eighteenth-century travel, however, was reinterpreted with respect to these new cultural developments.

Early Modern Friendship, Sensibility, and Letters

The nature and significance of early modern friendship and sociability in England provides insight into the social as well as solitary experiences of travellers abroad. Friendship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had many meanings, which included 'kinship ties, sentimental relationships, economic ties, occupational connections, intellectual and spiritual attachments, sociable networks, and political alliances'.[55] Keith Thomas has explored the different kinds of friendships in the early modern period, determining that in all cases, friendship was an alliance. Friends were valued for being useful and a 'means to a further end: security, subsistence, education, protection, or advancement'.[56] The term 'friendship' also applied to 'networks of credit and patronage', and with risks of debt and obligation, such relationships were approached with caution.[57] Although notions around alliance and reciprocity continued through the eighteenth century, the rhetoric on friendship shifted. Dominated by new ideas centred around politeness and sensibility, Johnson argues, property and benefits were 'pushed to the sidelines' in favour of sentiment and feeling.[58]

In the mid-eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson defined a friend as 'someone with whom to compare minds and cherish private virtues', while James Boswell defined a friend as 'one who

[55] N. Tadmor, *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-century England: Household, Kinship, and Patronage*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 167.

[56] Thomas, *The Ends of Life*, pp. 191–92.

[57] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 123.

[58] L. Johnson, '"The Commerce of Kindness": Friendship in Early Modern England', PhD thesis, Washington University in St. Louis, 1998, p. 273.

supports you and comforts you while others do not'.[59] Marriage and friendship as markers of the natural state of man as a sociable, rather than solitary, creature, was a common motif in tracts warning against the dangers of solitude.[60] Notions of friendship and sociability were closely tied to concepts of politeness in the early eighteenth century, and sentimentality in the latter half of the century. Phillip Carter identifies three essential principles relating to politeness: propriety or decorum, manners, and generosity.[61] Refinement and pleasing conversation became critical markers of friendship.[62] Emphasis was placed on good character, which included an expectation of certain values. The reciprocal support of kindness and civility were essential to elite social networks.[63] Pollock has characterised kindness as a complex concept involving 'affection, courtesy, sympathy, attention, offers of assistance, conferral of favours, and acts of humanity or thoughtfulness'.[64] The notion of reciprocity was commonplace in the early modern world, and failing to provide it could damage close relationships and provoke feelings of hostility and anger.[65] Vickery similarly highlights the importance of reciprocity and visitations to sustaining polite friendships.[66] It was not only customary for a refined society, but for a virtuous one as well. It was a Christian duty to offer sympathy and assistance to those in need, particularly those suffering melancholy and low spirits.[67]

[59] Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*…, London, Henry Baldwin, 1791, p. 289.

[60] Examples include: J. Milton, *Tetrachordon: Expositions upon the foure chief places in scripture, which treat of mariage, or nullities in marriage*…, London, 1645; F. Bacon, *The Essays, or, Counsels, civil & moral, of Sir Francis Bacon*, London, Printed by J. Redmayne for Thomas Palmer, 1663.

[61] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 21.

[62] Johnson, 'The Commerce of Kindness', p. 272.

[63] L. A. Pollock, 'The Practice of Kindness in Early Modern Elite Society', *Past and Present*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2011, p. 131.

[64] Pollock, 'The Practice of Kindness', pp. 124, 141.

[65] Pollock, 'The Practice of Kindness', p. 145.

[66] A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998, pp. 205, 209.

[67] A. Ingram, 'Introduction: Depression before Depression', in Ingram et al. (eds.), *Melancholy Experience*, p. 14. This particular element of politeness began to take on increasingly importance in the latter half of the

Despite such prescriptions for friendship, ideals often fell short in reality, and disappointment surrounding personal relationships was frequently expressed in archival texts of this period.[68]

Concepts of friendship in the early modern period were different for men and women. Literature abounded on how to successfully cultivate male friendship, which was critical to conferring 'honour and reputation'.[69] Intimacies between men were vital to concepts of virtue and the ethics of friendships.[70] Prior to the eighteenth century, many male writers subscribed to a traditional view that male friendship was superior to female friendship, and love between men was also of a higher order than male–female correspondence.[71] Eighteenth-century developments had important implications for women. The associations of friendship changed from 'masculine, political, and consequential to being feminine, private, and ineffective'.[72] Men were encouraged to have conversation with women, who were considered to have a special affinity to politeness.[73]

century, as sensibility replaced politeness as the key concept for social exchange. See Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, pp. 28–29; and A. C. Kranzman, '"Pictures...of a Good Subject": Friendship, The Commonwealth, and the Care of the Self in Early Modern Literature and Culture', PhD thesis, Michigan State University, 2015, p. 11.

[68] Pollock, 'The Practice of Kindness', p. 146.

[69] Trevor, *The Poetics of Melancholy*, p. 1.

[70] S. Patterson, 'Pleasure's Likeness: The Politics of Homosexual Friendship in Early Modern England', PhD thesis, Temple University, 1997, p. 38.

[71] F. Harris, *Transformations of Love: The Friendship of John Evelyn and Margaret Godolphin*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 75. For Montaigne, women were incapable of friendship. See 'Of Friendship', in *The Essayes of Montaigne*, trans. by J. Florio, ed. by B. A. Cerf and D. S. Klopper, New York, The Modern Library, 1933, p. 147. Jeremy Taylor reiterated these views, but added that men were ideal friends in times of trouble, but women could be equal in times of joy and ease. See J. Taylor, *The Measures and Offices of Friendship*, 1662, ed. by T. D. Priest, New York, Scholars Facsimile and Reprints, 1984, p. 97.

[72] P. Anderson, *Friendship's Shadows: Women's Friendship and the Politics of Betrayal in England, 1640–1705*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2012, p. 2.

[73] For critics of politeness, 'men's closer integration with female company ... encouraged "effeminacy", not improved standards of manliness'. See Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 2.

Being valued for their sensibility, McIntosh notes, 'it is not hard to see a connection between politeness as a cultural ideal and the new vitality of women's ideas, performances, and values in the second half of the century'.[74]

Friendships between women took on new significance in the eighteenth century. Despite this new emphasis on female friendships in the eighteenth century, Herbert argues that historians have overlooked these relationships.[75] In the first full length study devoted to the subject, she stresses the importance of female friendship amidst travels in particular: 'women were tightly implicated in the process of forming and maintaining friendships and familial connections abroad as well as at home'.[76] A key way of nurturing and maintaining such relationships at a distance was through letters, 'an invaluable resource for understanding female alliances'.[77] Such correspondence helped women mitigate loneliness and isolation faced abroad. Correspondence was tied to constructions of idealised femininity, which included critical displays of emotion to establish strong bonds with other women.[78] Prescriptive texts emphasised loyalty and constancy in maintaining female friendships.[79] Allison Johnson charts the efforts of women to engage in and revise the rhetoric of public and civic modes of friendship in the early modern period through an emphasis on virtue above all else.[80] As Wahl has further argued, for women seeking a degree of autonomy outside

[74] C. McIntosh, *The Evolution of English Prose, 1700–1800: Style, Politeness, and Print Culture*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 196.

[75] A. E. Herbert, *Female Alliances: Gender, Identity, and Friendship in Early Modern Britain*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014, p. 1.

[76] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p. 3.

[77] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p. 23.

[78] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p. 196.

[79] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p. 47.

[80] A. Johnson, '"Virtue's friends": The Politics of Friendship in Early Modern English Women's Writing', PhD thesis, University of Miami, 2010, p. 20.

marriage and family, affective homosocial bonds offered an alternative support network.[81]

Letters were, more than any other form of writing, a sociable experience. They were viewed in the eighteenth century as a social exchange that ensured a harmonious and stable society.[82] Letters participated in collective social life and communal practice; in addition, they were often read by multiple people, and read aloud.[83] They were particularly valuable to travellers. Since the epistolary condition was primarily a 'dialectic between physical presence and physical absence',[84] letters could create a fantasy dialogue that offered a great deal of comfort and joy through imagining one another's presence.[85] Removed from familiar social networks, epistolary friendships played a special communicative role for travellers, who found themselves physically separated from friends and family. Widely referred to as 'conversation between absent friends', letters brought absent friends closer and allowed travellers to link themselves to the familiar and to their homes.[86] Whyman has emphasised the importance of letters in 'linking fragmented families' and maintaining cohesion midst continual motion, economic turmoil, and internal division. They also eased anxiety by providing news relating to safety, illness and death.[87] Aside from finding comfort in familiar and shared experiences, letters could also offer relief from pressures of social civilities as well as

[81] E. S. Wahl, *Invisible Relations: Representations of Female Intimacy in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 96.

[82] S. Whyman, '"Paper Visits": The Post-Restoration Letter as Seen through the Verney Family Archive', in R. Earle (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600–1945*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999, p. 19.

[83] R. Earle, 'Introduction', in Earle (ed.), *Epistolary Selves*, p. 7. Tobias Heinrich has stressed the way such letters both shaped individuality as well as defined a sense of community. See 'Communicative Identity in the Eighteenth Century; Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim's Epistolary Network and the Cult of Friendship', *European Journal of Life Writing*, Vol. 3, 2014, p. 109.

[84] G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity, Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700*, Newark DE, University of Delaware Press, 2005, p. 28.

[85] R. Perry, *Women, Letters, and the Novel*, New York, AMS Press, 1980, p. 101.

[86] Brant, *Eighteenth-Century Letters and British Culture*, p. 235.

[87] Whyman, 'Paper Visits', pp. 20–21.

providing a space through which to invoke emotional expression, as Schneider has observed.[88] We will see in our case studies that such moments provided relief from the social demands and pitfalls of the Grand Tour, as well as being an alternative way to secure relationships and a sense of connectedness. Through separation and distance, letters could encourage a strong sense of intimacy.

Gray's Travels: Solitude and Sociability

Eighteenth-century travel was considered a courageous and sociable endeavour, which had significant implications for Gray's expressions of solitude. Bill Roberts, who highlights Gray's timid and solitary nature, expresses surprise at the extent of his movements, given that he was 'temperamentally ill-equipped for the privations of eighteenth century travel'.[89] As Ruddick emphasises, however, Gray travelled widely and off the standard tourist map, demonstrating a certain bravery and sense of adventure.[90] Gray's correspondence reveals an urge to travel and a preference for more unspoilt and out of the way places. Roberts expresses equal surprise at Gray's sociability during his travels.[91] In Paris, he visited operas and plays as he had in London, and exchanged visits with local aristocracy and fellow English visitors. In Rheims, Gray visited many local residents, revealing 'the surprisingly sociable nature of his stay'.[92] Gray's socialising, Roberts argues, was 'different from what we might expect from the standard assumption about his quiet and retiring nature'.[93] Cecil also draws attention to Gray's social affairs abroad, arguing that Gray quickly realized he was not suited for the social life he found himself immersed in.[94]

To understand Gray's alleged unusual behaviour, we need to consider what attitudes Gray expressed towards the sociable nature of his travels in his correspondence. Did the Grand Tour offer

[88] Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity*, pp. 55–56.

[89] Gray, *Grand Tour Revisited*, ed. Roberts, p. 9.

[90] Ruddick, 'Thomas Gray's Travel Writing', p. 133. W. G. Roberts concurs with this assessment in Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, pp. 65–66.

[91] Gray, *Grand Tour Revisited*, ed. Roberts, p. 14.

[92] Gray, *Grand Tour Revisited*, ed. Roberts, p. 17.

[93] Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, p. 14.

[94] Cecil, *Two Quiet Lives*, p. 118.

new, perhaps more appealing kinds of sociability, and is this why Gray was drawn to it? Were there certain aspects of the Grand Tour Gray found unappealing, and if so how did they relate to his notions of solitude? What did sociability, as well as solitude, mean to him? Was his socialising entirely voluntary, or did he feel pressure to join in Walpole's activities? It was, after all, a trip funded by Walpole, who to a large extent controlled their movements and activities. Perhaps most telling towards answering these questions are the moments Gray chooses not to socialise, or rather chooses an alternative. Gray wrote to West from Paris in 1739: 'Mr. Walpole is gone out to supper at Lord Conway's, and here I remain alone, though invited too'.[95] Ketton-Cremer, in his 1955 biography of Gray, is quick to point out that staying at home alone was not indicative of neglect or social malaise.[96] What did such a decision indicate? I would certainly argue that, in light of his other letters, it attested to a preference for imagined companionship with West over other forms of sociability, a preference that intensified through his travels. Gray quickly expressed an exhaustion with social life abroad. Paris itself, he commented, 'savours too much of art; all is forced, all is constrained about you'.[97] When the world danced, Gray affirmed, 'I sat in a corner regaling myself'.[98] He was particularly wearied by the throngs of Englishmen in Paris: 'We had at first arrival an inundation of visits pouring in upon us, for all the English are acquainted, and herd much together and it is no easy matter to disengage oneself from them, so that one sees but little of the French themselves'.[99] Amidst Gray's involvement in social affairs abroad, he expressed a sense of isolation and lack of intimacy. Even travelling with Walpole to Lyons, Gray described the journey as a 'solitary' one, despite having the company of his friend. This perhaps suggests the extent to which Gray felt at odds with Walpole. As Mack remarks, 'Gray and Walpole each felt the burden of the other's sole companionship weighing somewhat too heavily on their minds'.[100] They had

[95] T. Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 12 April 1739', in *The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton (1734–1771)*, ed. by P. Toynbee, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915, vol. 1, pp. 201–202.

[96] Ketton-Cremer, *Thomas Gray: A Biography*, p. 31.

[97] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, *c*. 15 and 22 May 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 219.

[98] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 20 and 21 May 1740', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 302.

[99] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Ashton, 21 April 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 212.

[100] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 231.

travelled together through France, Switzerland, and Italy over the course of two years, and eventually mounting tensions and differences resulted in the two going their separate ways at Reggio in May 1741. After his physical separation from Walpole, Mack argues Gray lost interest in the world and simply wanted to return to England.[101]

Significantly, however, he revisited the monastery of Grande Chartreuse on his way home not to disappear from the world, but to share his solitary expressions. He signed their guest book: 'if fortune forbids me, in spite of my wish, to enjoy this enviable dwelling and the sacred rule of silence, sucking me back violently into the midst of waves, then at least grant, Father, that I may pass the untroubled hours of old age in some secluded corner; and bear me off unharmed from the tumult of the crowd and the cares of men'.[102] Here, Gray's expressions are reminiscent of 'contemptus mundi', contempt of the world, an influential theme through both classical antiquity and Christianity. Morse argues that Burton, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, developed this topos further in the early modern period by presenting himself as a recluse who, 'wholly at odds with the world', became 'the spokesman for a diverse apolitical sense of malaise and, by his vast learning, gave it intellectual respectability and substance'.[103] Gray drew on this general connection between melancholy and intellectual status that remained influential in the eighteenth century as a sign of refinement.[104] Gray, notably, did not wish privately for an imagined retreat. Instead, he shared his fantasies of solitude, both within his epistolary social world and with a community of monks who would understand his desire for retirement and weariness of the world. This was not the act of someone completely disengaged from the world. Rather, what Gray needed was a very specific kind of social intimacy predicated on a notion of solitude. Separated from the crowd within an imagined community of quiet and reflection, sociability could take on its ideal form through a motif of shared solitude and reclusiveness from the world.

[101] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 265.

[102] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, pp. 266–67.

[103] D. Morse, *England's Time of Crisis: From Shakespeare to Milton: A Cultural History*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1989, pp. 78–79.

[104] A. Ingram, 'Introduction: Depression before Depression', p. 20.

Travel as Shared Solitude

Gray, as we have seen, could feel just as alone and solitary in Walpole's company as confined to his own space. Similarly, returning to Cambridge in 1742, he lamented, 'how cruelly alone I must be in the midst of that crowd!'.[105] Having returned there to take a degree in civil law according to his mother's wishes, Gray feigned interest in a subject he disliked and 'thought himself too poor' for the profession.[106] Therefore, it was likely a combination of a sense of social inferiority as a merchant's son, coupled with different scholarly interests from those around him, that left Gray feeling isolated. Roberts proclaims that Gray's isolation was his defining feature, characterising him as 'totally alone', adding that it was only during his travels with Walpole that he 'lived a shared life'.[107] This is perhaps true if we consider 'shared' strictly in a physical sense. Gray was never 'totally alone', however, because his most meaningful social world existed within his letter exchanges. Solitude, then, was not merely a question of physical separation. In physical retirement, Gray often expressed a stronger sense of connection to others.

Solitude by definition cannot exist without reference to the social, and Gray's letters reveal not just an interest in his friends, but the world at large. Reference to gossip about important figures and political movements demonstrate that Gray continued to engage with the world, even if he felt isolated from that world.[108] Gray's letters stand as evidence that he was 'not unsociable', and he had the ability to adapt himself to different correspondents.[109] Cecil similarly characterises Gray's tendencies to solitude as social and befitting to his cultural climate: 'he contrasts his own inactive existence with that of his fellows, his eye is on them, his interest is to see how his life relates to theirs'.[110] If writing was a sociable experience, which it most certainly was, Gray was solitary,

[105] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to John Chute/Horace Mann, July 1742', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 1, p. 114.

[106] L. Stephen, 'Brief Introduction: Thomas Gray', *Delphi Complete Works of Thomas Gray (Illustrated)*, [n.p.], Delphi Classics, 2015, p. 3. Available from Googlebooks (accessed 27 April 2017).

[107] Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, p. 20.

[108] Wolfe, 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter-Writer', pp. 126–28.

[109] Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, p. 22.

[110] D. Cecil, 'The Poetry of Thomas Gray', in J. L. Clifford (ed.), *Eighteenth Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1959, p. 56.

sometimes physically alone, but always within a social world. Was Gray's isolation unwanted? In some instances, Gray chose to be alone and was arguably more content this way.[111] Roberts himself admits Gray was uneasy with both strangers and social superiors; surely this led to a desire and choice for periods of seclusion and controlled sociability with a select audience. This solitude was uplifting, providing a chance to overcome isolation through letters, through which Gray found a measure of intimacy. Writing to Walpole in 1747, Gray defended a life of 'philosophy', arguing that it was not one of retreat, but rather involved in observations of the world: 'they did not then run away from society for fear of its temptations: they passed their days in the midst of it: conversation was their business'.[112] Gray framed his own scholarly interests and proclivity to letters as a specific kind of sociability best suited for him. A sense of connection with others, for Gray, was largely achieved in solitude.

The appeal of his travels was not the sociability found in social events, but rather through the relation of his discoveries in history, in art, and of increasing importance, in the solitude of nature. Hints of this inclination are evident in very early letters. Visiting his uncle in 1736, for instance, he records enjoying 'a forest ... all my own; at least as good as so, for I spy no human thing in it but myself; it is a little chaos of mountains and precipices'.[113] Gray expressed a preference for quiet country over busy cities during his Grand Tour travels, as well. In Rheims, for instance, he stayed for three months, and although he expected it to be 'very dull' and lacking in tourist sites, he enjoyed 'the delights of small town provincial life'.[114] Appreciating scenes of nature, he looked forward to leaving the city of Lyons for the countryside, which was 'beautiful beyond expression; it is surrounded with mountains'.[115] The mountain of the Chartreuse, he told his

[111] For a discussion of isolation as empowerment in Gray's poetry, see S. Kaul, 'A Solitary Fly: Thomas Gray and the Constructions of Poetical Authority', PhD thesis, Cornell University, 1986. Also see his *Thomas Gray and Literary Authority: A Study in Ideology and Poetics*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992.

[112] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole, January 1747', *The Correspondence*, ed. by Toynbee, vol. 2, p. 63.

[113] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole, August 1736', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 93.

[114] Gray, *Grand Tour Revisited*, ed. Roberts, p. 17.

[115] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 242.

mother, was 'one of the most solemn, the most romantic, and the most astonishing scenes I ever beheld'.[116] In Genoa, he fell 'in love with the Mediterranean sea'.[117] From Turin, he told West that the scenes of nature had 'astonished' him 'beyond expression', adding that they could convert an atheist to belief. He easily imagined himself a retired monk at the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse.[118] Gray's apparent love of scenery intensified as he grew older.[119] In his praise of such landscapes, Gray was likely influenced by an eighteenth-century idealisation of the countryside, the notion that a rural setting was unspoilt and retained a certain moral superiority to city life.[120]

Gray expressed during his travels an ongoing awareness of isolation amidst the social opportunities of the Grand Tour. With this heightened alienation, however, came a deeper relief from both social pressures *and* from a sense of isolation. Ruddick observes that Gray's travel letters provide insight into a pervading sense of isolation coupled with persistent melancholy. Cecil has argued that through Gray's travels, solitude was transformed into an uplifting experience: 'the outer world was far from being the only world for Gray. Equally vivid was the world of his solitary imaginative life. And this had been enriched a thousand-fold by his years abroad'.[121] These remarks seem to put forward conflicting notions: did Gray's travels leave him feeling unwanted isolation, or did he enjoy his solitude? Both points have credence and they are not mutually exclusive, his joy and melancholy being as inseparable as his solitude from society. His solitary experiences gained

[116] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Dorothy Gray, 1739', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 1, p. 38.

[117] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 263.

[118] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 259–60.

[119] C. S. Northup, 'Addison and Gray as Travellers', in C. S. Northup, M. W. Sampson, W. Strunk Jr, and F. Thilly (eds.), *Studies in Language and Literature in Celebration of the Seventieth Birthday of James Morgan Hart*, New York, H. Holt, 1910, p. 431.

[120] See Røstvig, *The Happy Man*; A. Harvey, 'The Roman Ideal of Rural Retirement in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century England', *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 288, No. 1682, 2006.; J. Duncan, 'The Rural Ideal in Eighteenth-Century Fiction', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1968. For the link between rural retirement and Protestantism, see M. Edson, '"A Closet or a Secret Field": Horace, Protestant Devotion and British Retirement Poetry', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2012.

[121] Cecil, *Two Quiet Lives*, p. 129.

significance and meaning through a shared isolation in letters to Richard West. For meaningful and reliable social connection, Gray needed West's imagined company. Gray found in nature the presence of a physically absent West: 'lofty Tibur and the delightful woods of Aesula have heard his name, and ... it is his name that the crags ... have re-echoed'.[122] Attesting to Gray's love for West, the solitude of nature both heightened his melancholy and connected him to his friend; we will return to this in a later chapter.

Sociable Travel: A Cure for Melancholy?

As previously highlighted, there was a correlation in early modern thought between melancholy and travel. Walpole's idea to travel may have been suggested by his father, to alleviate 'depression and uncharacteristic lack of spirits' after his mother died.[123] This was not at all unusual in a time when travel was frequently understood as a remedy against low spirits. This was, perhaps, a perceived benefit for Gray too, among many potential allurements.[124] Gray asserted the well-known belief, 'to be employed is to be happy'.[125] Writing to West in 1739, he urged: 'arouse ye from your megrims and your melancholies, and (for exercise is good for you) throw away your night-cap, call for your jack-boots, and set out with me, last Saturday evening, for Versailles'.[126] Here, Gray repeated a common early modern belief that activity cures melancholy, and travel was one such recommended activity. He similarly told his friend Ashton that to avoid future illness, he must not 'give so much in to a sedentary life'.[127] Sympathetic to West's experience, he writes, 'I know how great an obstacle ill spirits are to resolution'. In Florence the following year, he advised West to engage in more of the social circles, to 'keep up some sort of intercourse and conversation' to carry on his

[122] W. Hutchings, 'Conversations with a Shadow: Thomas Gray's Latin Poems to Richard West', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 92, No. 1, 1995, p. 127.

[123] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 216.

[124] There are many reasons Gray could have been eager to go travelling, including a chance to spend time with Walpole, the offer of financial support, escape from the monotony of his life, or simply due to his own attraction to travel.

[125] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard Hurd, 25 August 1757', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 1, pp. 346–47.

[126] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1739', *The Correspondence*, ed. by Toynbee, vol. 1, p. 217.

[127] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Ashton, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 238.

study and be useful in the world, a fate 'disagreeable', but 'unavoidable'. He also told West that such social engagements could offer pleasure and entertainment, even though West perceived neither.[128]

Gray's own melancholy, however, was neither despairing nor isolated, on the contrary proving enabling and rewarding to his key friendships. Tovey argues that Gray did not take the same degree of pleasure in fashionable melancholy as did some of his contemporaries; on the contrary, 'he never associates such despondency with his better self'.[129] He did not, however, consistently condemn his own melancholy, either. Praising low spirits as 'true and faithful companions', he wrote to West, 'most commonly we sit alone together, and are the prettiest insipid company in the world'.[130] Again, writing to West just before his death, Gray said: 'white melancholy ... though it seldom laughs or dances, nor ever amounts to what one calls joy or pleasure, yet is a good easy sort of state'.[131] This reflected a contemporary distinction in melancholy between 'momentary, felt affective occurrences' and habitual states. Burton, for instance, separated a melancholy 'disposition' from 'habit', the former of which he regarded as 'everyday subjective and behavioral manifestations'.[132] The severity of Gray's condition, as Lawlor describes, was 'a form of self-indulgence, a freeing oneself from social obligations in order to engage in creative (or possibly entirely unproductive) use of the imagination'.[133] Key to this experience was Gray's

[128] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1740', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 320–21.

[129] Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*, p. ix.

[130] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 22 August 1737', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 154.

[131] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 27 May 1742', *The Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 42. Gray contrasted this to 'another sort, black indeed, which I have now and then felt ... shuts its eyes to the most possible hopes, and every thing that is pleasurable'. Also see C. Tracy, 'Melancholy Marked Him for Her Own', in Downey and Jones (eds.), *Fearful Joy*, p. 42.

[132] J. Radden, *The Nature of Melancholy: From Aristotle to Kristeva*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 29.

[133] C. Lawlor, 'Fashionable Melancholy', in Ingram et al. (eds.), *Melancholy Experience in Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century*, p. 35.

pleasure in a melancholy that commemorated and defined moments of intimacy.[134]

Gray valued the closely related sensibility which stemmed from melancholic suffering and urged a compassion for the suffering of others.[135] When Walpole expressed melancholy, Gray requested, 'as soon as melancholy reflection shall give you any intermission, let me hear of your welfare'.[136] He believed he possessed 'a sensibility for what others feel, and indulgence for their faults or weaknesses', a value prized in the eighteenth century and a sentiment Coke would go on to echo, as we will see. In Rheims, he wrote to Ashton, 'I am not so ignorant of pain myself as to be able to hear another's sufferings, without any sensibility to them'.[137] To John Chute, he praised shared perceptions of their faults. In fact, he argued, it made them better friends: 'I can readily pardon sickness, and age, and vexation, for all the depredations they make within and without, when I think they make us better friends, and better men, which I am persuaded is often the case'. Those who do not suffer such afflictions cannot feel any compassion for their friends, unable to understand it themselves.[138] Gray was much more critical of melancholy in others, despite reaping the perceived rewards of shared suffering. Sharing his concerns about West with another correspondent, Ashton, he wrote: 'unless you rouse him, and preach to him, what a sin it is to have the vapours, and the dismals, will neglect himself ... administer to him some of that cordial spirit of chearfulness, that you used to have the receipt of'.[139]

In his letters, this framework of sensibility presented an opportunity to express and discover intimacy. Hutchings, who looks at Gray's Latin poems to West, finds his greatest expressions of intimacy, and this was integrally linked to melancholy and tears.[140] In a celebrated stanza composed

[134] Haggerty, *Men in Love*, p. 119.

[135] R. H. Lonsdale, *The Poetry of Thomas Gray: Versions of Self*, London, Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 117.

[136] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole, *c*. 22 August 1737', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 156.

[137] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Ashton, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 237.

[138] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to John Chute, 12 October 1746', *The Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 145–46.

[139] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Ashton, 1739', *The Correspondence*, pp. 223–24.

[140] Hutchings, 'Conversations with a Shadow', p. 126.

just prior to his Grand Tour departure, Gray wrote: 'O fount of tears, that draw their sacred sources from the tender mind; four times happy is he who has felt you, holy Nymph, gushing forth from the depths of his heart'.[141] Here, Gray took deep pleasure in grief and his tears, which relieved his sorrow. These tears, however, also celebrated the intimate friendship Gray shared with West, and it was only through this shared communication that such grief could be transformed. Such melancholy disappeared in his imagined company, suggesting it was very much linked to solitude. Sociability in this case was only a consistent cure for Gray's melancholy, because such a melancholy was shared by West. A melancholy, arising in solitude and isolation (whether alone or in undesirable company), was prized for connecting him to his friends and, ultimately, placing him within a meaningful social context. Tovey has argued that Gray's melancholy was not a product of his culture, but 'individual and innate'.[142] There is no reason to make these mutually exclusive forces, however. Certainly, Gray's melancholy could be innate and sincere whilst still being significantly shaped and informed by the society around him. Gray shaped and improvised the significance of his own melancholy, however, within a distinct mode of sociability and friendship that valued the intimacy of solitude.

How did travels impact Gray's tendency to melancholy? His attitude towards the benefit of travel was ambiguous at times. Another letter to Ashton from Paris revealed that Gray perceived little use in his own travels, in fact perceiving their negative influence. 'Exceedingly unsettled and irresolute', Gray feared the impact of travel upon their characters: 'we don't know our own minds for two moments together, profess an utter aversion for all manner of fatigue, grumble, are ill natured and try to bring ourselves to a state of perfect apathy ... I think the greatest evil could have happen'd to us, is our liberty, for we are not at all capable to determine our own actions'.[143] Whereas Ashton was using his leisure to focus his mind on 'some weighty truth', Gray perceived no fruits from their 'laborious peregrination, as our thoughts are rambling about, and changeing

[141] G. E. Haggerty, 'O lachrymarum fons: Tears, Poetry, and Desire in Gray', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1996, p. 87.

[142] Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*, p. viii.

[143] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Ashton, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 213. Wolfe suggests this passage reflects Gray's dissatisfaction with Walpole's itinerary, and suggests 'we' is really referring to Walpole. See 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter-Writer', p. 46.

situation oftener than our bodies'.[144] Gray suggested too much travel was disrupting sustained intellectual effort. That was in effect, however, one of the alleged benefits of travel, as distraction from obsessive scholarly melancholy. Gray himself believed activity could overcome melancholy, particularly as he imagined Richard West joining him in his adventures. Whilst encouraging West that 'our inclinations are more than we imagine in our own power; reason and resolution determine them',[145] the reality was typically very different for himself. He felt unable to fix his mind to enjoy the benefits of travel, just as when alone and inactive, Gray 'did nothing', principles having 'no influence on my practice'.[146] It is likely Gray felt the frustrations of being subject to Walpole's decision-making processes and movements, which were misaligned with Gray's interests and inclinations as they travelled. Gray expresses a clear awareness of his own feelings of displacement, evidencing his own unsettled subjectivity as it emerged within the social expectations of the Grand Tour.

Though criticising their own perpetual movements, Gray clearly felt a compulsion for this continued movement and change. Writing from Cambridge in 1735, prior to his travels in Europe, Gray complained to Walpole: 'every thing is so tediously regular, so samish, that I expire for want of a little variety'.[147] Writing to West from Cambridge the same year, he again lamented: 'when you have seen one of my days, you have seen a whole year of my life; they go round and round like the blind horse in the mill, only he has the satisfaction of fancying he makes a progress, and gets some ground'.[148] Eventually, however, the novelty of travel and new places wore off, and this sense of sameness crept back in. To West, Gray lamented: 'When I first came abroad, every thing struck me, and I wrote its history; but now I am grown so used to be surprised, that I don't perceive any flutter in myself when I meet with any novelties; curiosity and astonishment wear off'.[149] Although he disliked routine and stagnation, he also attached himself to such a way of life. Writing to Walpole,

[144] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Ashton, 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 222.

[145] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1740', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 322.

[146] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard Hurd, 25 August 1757', *The Letters*, vol. 1. p. 347.

[147] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole, 12 January 1735', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 20.

[148] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, *c*. 20 December 1735', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 52.

[149] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1740', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 283.

Gray said a few years later: 'I have a sort of reluctance to leave this place, unamiable as it may seem; 'tis true Cambridge is very ugly, she is very dirty, & very dull; but I'm like a cabbage, where I'm stuck, I love to grow'.[150]

In Florence, around the time he separated from Walpole, Gray reflected on how his travels had changed him. In a letter to West from Florence in 1741, he wrote that he had been altered in the following ways: 'two years of age, reasonable quantity of dullness, a great deal of silence, and something that rather resembled, that is, thinking; a confused notion of many strange and fine things that have swum before my eyes for some time, a want of love for general society, indeed an inability to it. On the good side you may add a sensibility for what others feel, and indulgence for their faults and weaknesses, a love of truth, and detestation of every thing else'. He noted that it was experience, not reason or reflection, which imprinted these changes into his heart.[151] A perception of dullness and silence do not indicate that Gray had embraced the social world he was embedded in. Roberts uses this letter to conclude Gray's Grand Tour travels affected his life for the worse. Uprooted from his routine life, the period had a life-changing effect, instilling in him a 'settled inbred melancholy' he could never escape. Taking on the deaths of Richard West and his father shortly after Gray returned home, Roberts writes: 'Gray retreated into himself. For the rest of his life he sought for a way of life that avoided emotional involvement and response ... he returned to Cambridge and lived, apart from occasional visits and short travels, an uneventful existence'.[152]

To characterise Gray's Grand Tour as the catalyst to miserable isolation is, I argue, misleading. There are several problems with this interpretation. The first relates to the perception of change in his character. One may question whether Gray's 'misanthropy', melancholy, and withdrawal from emotional attachments were novel developments in Gray's character that sprang up after these travels. Secondly, his letters testify not to a man plunging into isolated despair, but rather to the value of social intimacy he discovered and shared from a distance with West. Even after losing West, the natural beauty he discovered in Europe, and the joy he expressed in sharing this beauty via correspondence, continued for the rest of his life in his more affordable travel stints closer to home. To simply view the rest of Gray's life as uniformly solitary and melancholy both

[150] Gray. 'Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole, 20 March 1738', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 183.

[151] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, 1741', *The Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 4–5.

[152] Gray, *Grand Tour Revisited*, ed. Roberts, pp. 139–40.

simplifies his life as well as underestimates the significance travel afforded him for moments of solitude and shared isolation.

Travels of Lady Mary Coke: Summary and Motives

Coke, over the course of her life, was an enthusiastic traveller. She made numerous trips over to Europe, but their significance and meaning in relation to her solitude and isolation, as we will see, changed over time. Typically travelling with a servant, Coke travelled primarily to Germany, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, often with the goal of being introduced to foreign courts. Her first recorded trip abroad began in 1763 to Hanover and to Brussels the following year. In 1767, she travelled for three months in various cities of France and Germany before returning home. In 1769, Coke departed to Europe again, this time for an extended period of six months in France, with the greatest amount of time based in Aix. After returning home for six months, she departed again in October 1770, basing herself in Vienna for six months. She revisited Vienna again, staying both from September 1771 until May 1772 and again from August to October 1773. She spent the next six months in Italy before returning home to Notting Hill. After 1774, her trips abroad slowed down considerably; her unpublished diary mentioned a trip to Paris in 1775, and to Brussels in 1781. In later life, she restricted the majority of her travels to within England, taking many trips to various seaside towns.

It was during her time of solitude at Notting Hill in 1767 that Coke commented on the melancholy writings of Mr. Gray: 'study of nature, it carries him abroad, which he finds good for his health, and the contemplation of ... nature has dissipated a part of his melancholy, and made him ... a happier man. I listen with great attention to the means that have produced a degree of happiness to those who have long lost sight of it'.[153] Coke, it seems, was influenced by Gray's own travel experiences, which may have shaped the ways in which she would present her own experiences abroad. Two years later, she went in search of an opportunity to escape her melancholy. Her travels from 1769 to 1771 were significant, as she wrote: 'my journey abroad this year is not like my others; everything at that time pleased and amused me. I have no hopes of that now, but I think a clear sky and perpetual sunshine may dissipate some of those gloomy hours ... another motive; I want to try the effect of new scenes. I shall have no objects that can call to my mind the

[153] Coke, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol. 2, p. 292.

sorrows of my life'.[154]

She was travelling, then, to improve her spirits, escape old memories, and have a break from the English court. She wanted to go into the world, but London offered unpleasant memories: 'I meet with something every where that puts me in mind of what I have lost'.[155] Travelling was her solution to avoiding solitude as well as melancholy. Importantly, however, the focus on change related to her external surroundings, not to herself. She was insistent that her conduct would remain a constant in foreign countries, as at home: civil and virtuous.[156] This reflected eighteenth-century medical theory, which 'looked for the cause of illness not inwards, but outwards to external features or elements of environment needed to control for good health'.[157] In Georgian England, 'social etiquette told people to be cheery', and in doing so, it 'could convey notions of psychosomatic calmness, freedom from passionate turmoil, closeness to God, humanistic appreciation, civic virtue, sociability and self-control ... and a specific value for health'.[158] When melancholy threatened, activities like travel and spa were the best therapies for the social elite. Coke's aims and hopes reflected typical medical views of the time, but the outcome was less favourable, as her travels furthered a sense of melancholy, rather than freeing her from it.

As we will see in the next chapter, Coke was continually disappointed with her relationships in England, and was in part driven abroad by the hope of more favourable company there. This can be inferred both in the ways she chose her destinations, and why she returned, or did not return, to them. For example, in trying to decide upon her itinerary, she was dissuaded from Montaban: 'there is not the least society, and tho' I don't like much company, 'tis melancholy being alone, which is one reason why I propose being next winter abroad. Here one must live in a croud or by oneself'.

[154] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 147.

[155] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 222.

[156] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 213.

[157] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 144.

[158] R. Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, London, Penguin, 1990, pp. 256–57; H. Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2013, p. 85. Also see J. Addison, 'Chearfulness Preferable to Mirth', in *Maxims, Observations, and Reflections, Moral, Political, and Divine*, London, Printed for E. Curll, 1719–20, p. 101.

Coke was advised to visit Aix in Provence, because both the place and the society were agreeable.[159] Health spas were as much about a change of company as a change of air, and were an important site for female sociability, as Herbert and Bates have illustrated.[160] It was a change of people as well, and that was ultimately what determined where she visited. She regretted her decision to visit Aix when she discovered Lady Orford was there, bemoaning it 'too late to alter my plan'.[161] She could not consider Nice, because of its proximity to a Monaco where the Duke of York passed away, a reminder she wished to avoid.[162] Preparing to leave for Avignon, she looked forward to the company there, where she anticipated greater politeness towards the English.[163] As Dolan observes, she 'chose places to visit based on society over climate'.[164] This new beginning abroad was clearly for Coke much more than a change of landscape.

Therefore, there was a strong link between Coke's travels and questions of sociability. To many others, Coke's desires for travel were insulting to her friendships back home. Walpole, taking offence to her continued absence from England, suggested she was 'indifferent' to seeing those left behind in London. He also insisted that she had friends that 'grieve' her absences.[165] Coke responded that 'the sight of my friends will ever be a real happiness', but that was her only reason for her return to England. The country itself offered only unhappiness that 'will ever renew all the unfortunate circumstances of my life'.[166] In reality, however, society there made her miserable, and it was only from afar that she could entertain the notion that she had any friends. For a time, she preferred the way of life in Vienna and the society she found there. Writing to her sister, she repeated that it was the misfortunes experienced in her own country that allowed her to 'leave it

[159] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 63–64.

[160] On spas and sociability, see Herbert, *Female Alliances*, pp. 117–41; and Bates, 'The Petit Tour to Spa'.

[161] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 184.

[162] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 184.

[163] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 216–17.

[164] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 149.

[165] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 2–3, 29–30.

[166] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 91.

with less regret than perhaps others wou'd'.[167] The preference for foreign countries and companies carried with it the 'risk of looking unpatriotic' as well as the 'implication that England was unhealthy'.[168] In the case of Coke, this was worsened by her obvious adoration of France, which was 'stigmatized as the national enemy' in the many wars of the eighteenth century.[169]

Sociability and Solitude Abroad: France and Vienna

Coke appeared to share the goals of the Grand Tour concerning sociability and refinement. This in itself could be problematic, however, as these goals were aimed at gentlemen, whereas there were no clear instructions regarding the benefits of foreign travel for women. There was, however, an emerging notion that women went to the continent to develop their education and learn from other women abroad.[170] As we will see, Coke's ideal expectations for the types of women she might spend time and cultivate friendships with often fell short in reality. Eager to establish connections with powerful and influential members of royalty and the elite, Coke likely faced greater challenges in meeting such individuals on account of her questionable status and motivation as a single female traveller, a point which we will return to in the following chapter.

In 1769, Coke embarked on a trip to France. Stopping first in Aix, Coke complained that the women there 'are not fond of foreigners; they are all very civil to me when I meet them, but no more then seven has even so much as visited me'.[171] Though she told her sister 'the society I am in is agreeable', she also bemoaned that her 'luck is not better in France then in England'.[172] In Avignon, the society was 'preferable', because they were 'excessively polite to all foreigners and particularly the English'. Coke was particularly enchanted with Madame de Rochechouart. Her 'politeness is the most easy and agreeable that ever I mett with ... 'tis rather the kindness of a friend,

[167] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 320.

[168] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 154.

[169] Agorni, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century*, p. 19.

[170] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 22

[171] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 196.

[172] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 205, 202.

then the civility generally shewn to Foreigners'.[173] At once driven by a desire for sociability and disappointed by it, these remarks are indicative of the conflicting experience Coke had with others abroad.

This time in France foreshadows the difficulties that were to come when Coke travelled to Vienna on consecutive occasions, beginning the following year. Having befriended Empress Maria Theresa on her first trip there, Coke was eager to return and spend more time with her. Vienna was an increasingly popular destination from the 1750s onwards, in part due to 'the Viennese nobility's extraordinary open sociability' and its reputation for 'sophisticated, cosmopolitan and elegant aristocratic society'.[174] The civility of Vienna court life greatly impressed her. Princess d'Esterhazy came to visit her, 'a particular civility, as nobody here makes the first visit to foreigners'.[175] People in Vienna visited unasked, and Coke found the attention here that was lacking in London. When she was not able to go out, people came to her, so she always had company.[176] The Empress spoke to her, a favour she bestowed upon very few. The goodness received from Madame d'Harrach was greater than ever expected in a foreign country. She was special and it was here she was receiving the appropriate recognition as such, highlighting her singularity. Unlike in England, she reflected, this country did not neglect people who grew old.[177] Similarly, 'the sick and unhappy always have friends', unlike in England.[178] Such remarks evidence her expectations of sociability abroad.

Coke mourned the loss of connections when she left the various people with whom she had established connections. Parting from Princess Kinsky, for instance, Coke lamented: 'adieus are terrible … I was hurt at quitting her'.[179] Similarly of Madame de Rochechouart she remarked, 'I

[173] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 216–18.

[174] Goldsmith, 'The Social Challenge', pp. 69–70.

[175] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 319.

[176] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 31.

[177] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 333.

[178] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 28–29.

[179] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 395.

never part with her without regret'.[180] The fleeting and transitory nature of relationships abroad was mourned often. Arriving at the court of Hanau, for instance, she met Princess Emily and 'consider'd whether I had not reason to lament I had made this acquaintance, since ... I may never have the pleasure of seeing her again'.[181] The briefness of such 'friendships' also allowed an idealisation that, when extended in time, always came crashing down upon her. Grieved to depart Vienna, she reflected, not coincidentally, on an English man who had been abroad for two years, commenting: 'I don't think I shall ever have the courage to be absent so long'.[182] In her early travels, Coke had expressed surprise at Lady Yarmouth's decision to settle in Germany, a country 'so different to England'. She looked forward to returning home: 'I can't think of any more journeys this year but that which is to carry me back to England'.[183] She had continued to travel to Europe since then, however, and rather than longing for home, she continually longed to be absent from it.

Coke was home for three months, and then departed back to Vienna. At times, she expressed a sense of being overwhelmed by the social affairs abroad. Upon arrival, she found the degree of company 'disagreeable … I have lately lived very much out of the world … seeing there is a necessity to be every day in company is a real distress'.[184] Similarly, in Berlin, she 'lived more in company then suited my inclination'.[185] She complained of the 'necessity of accepting these civilities', and wished to be back in Vienna 'where I am at liberty to live as I please'.[186] In Aix, she delighted in a balance of social and solitary options, and was pleased that she could always find company, but also had the option to pass an evening by herself.[187] Although she insisted repeatedly that the world held no pleasure for her, she admitted that at the court of Vienna, social events like

[180] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 232.

[181] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 101.

[182] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 395, 399.

[183] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. 6.

[184] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 316.

[185] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 232.

[186] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, p. 197.

[187] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 173.

the ball were appealing.[188] She reflected on an 'advantage' of travel in encouraging her to socialise rather than isolating herself from others: 'I wish to pass every evening in my own room, but among other advantages that I have found from travelling ... that of being obliged to do many things that are not agreeable. Indolence is too apt to gain upon one when one has no object, no views to influence the actions ... every thing that checks the disposition, is not to be neglected'.[189] This quote suggests Coke saw travelling as healthy for her, even when it forced her into disagreeable social situations. She resolved to 'be as much as I can in company, to avoid that disposition to melancholy'.[190]

Despite finding pleasure in society abroad, her satisfaction did not last long. Although she travelled in part to escape a melancholy solitude, a sense of isolation remained. She herself had insisted that no one chooses solitude, yet we find her clinging to it on many occasions, and the inability of others to respect this choice troubled her. She found herself vexed with Lady Orford, who 'plagues' her with invitations and 'distresses' her with civilities. Coke greeted all her gestures with 'great coldness', and found her conversation disagreeable.[191] Though often managing to avoid her company, at times Coke, to avoid giving offense, was obliged 'to see her oftener then I otherwise shou'd'.[192] Lady Orford, previously Margaret Rolle, was known for her eccentricity and extramarital affairs. In a 1752 letter, Horace Walpole criticised Coke's behaviour in her conflict with her husband. He then made reference to Lady Orford, his sister in law: 'my wife shall neither run to Italy after lovers and books'.[193] Despite the tense relationship Coke and Walpole had, she was likely influenced by his perceptions of others, and he inferred a clear similarly between the two women. In fact, the characterisation left of Lady Orford as 'a woman of very singular character and considered half mad' is remarkably similar to perceptions of many, Walpole included, towards

[188] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 1.

[189] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 477–78.

[190] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 14.

[191] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 170, 194.

[192] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 184.

[193] H. Walpole, *The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford: Including Numerous Letters Now First Published from the Original Manuscripts*, vol. 2, London, R. Bentley, 1840, p. 419.

Coke herself.[194] Understandably, Coke wished to distance herself from someone of such questionable character in order to preserve her own and perhaps avoid further rumours surrounding her own reasons for her travels. Her avoidance of company highlights the fact that despite travelling for new social opportunities, she wished to choose her interactions carefully, and was particular about the kind of company she would keep. This concern reflected prescriptive literature on women's friendship, which urged a very careful selection of friends.[195]

Disappointment and Disaster in Vienna

Despite changes of scenery, Coke soon lamented, 'vexations follow me every where: I can nowhere be at peace'.[196] Unfortunately, her disappointment with others, which we will explore further in the following chapter, would continue through her travels. Coke's second visit to Vienna deteriorated quickly, and her brief moments of optimistic resolve were shattered. Her journey to Calais foreshadowed further troubles to come, having her belongings searched and being rudely treated. She concluded, 'I found the preparations of this journey so troublesome ... I shall soon be contented to stay at home'.[197] Later, she repeated this sentiment, but resolved to travel closer to England and restrict her distances.[198] Arriving in Vienna, she found no company at all, calling it 'the dullest place I ever knew; I have not a single house to go to'.[199] For nearly two months, she was prevented from seeing the Empress. She observed that 'either Vienna or I am changed, for it appears to be very different'. It is soon evident that she understood the change to have occurred 'in the court and in a great many people'. Eventually seeing the Empress, Coke lamented that the Empress 'neither said she was sorry I went, or that she wish'd me to return'.[200] Getting involved in court intrigue during her final visit in 1773, she had alienated herself and the friendship had dissolved, leaving

[194] Seymour, A. C. H., *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntington*, vol. 1, London, W. E. Painter, 1839, p. 477.

[195] Herbert, *Female Alliances*, p. 46.

[196] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 201.

[197] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 448.

[198] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 241.

[199] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 233.

[200] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 246, 248, 250.

Coke, once again, feeling alone and isolated. Suddenly, she found herself 'more alone then is good for my spirits'.[201] No longer offering the degree of sociability she expected, Vienna was transformed into a miserable city. Coke's experience illustrates Goldsmith's point that failure to successfully judge social behaviour abroad 'could result in severe castigation' and 'the connections and reputations established on the Grand Tour could have long-lasting ramifications'.[202]

Coke received further disappointment in Vienna when she discovered her various servants had been stealing from her. She complained, 'think what it is to be in a foreign country so distant from my own, with but one servant who I can trust'. With a severely melancholy mind, it became 'the most disagreeable' place she had ever been.[203] Isolated and betrayed in moments of trust and optimism, Coke began to fear for her life, convinced her servants were plotting murder against her. She conceived it dangerous to be alone: 'having proofs of the roguery of two of my Servants, I thought it dangerous to lie in any lonely House'. Travelling in company, Coke wrote, would be 'a great comfort to me' in order to travel 'without fear of having my throat cut upon the road' and free from 'fears and trembling'.[204] Her paranoia was heightened with the conviction that all the injustices and difficulties met with were now the result of a scheming Empress, who was bribing people across Europe to treat her badly.[205] She wished to be home in England, but feared the dangers of travelling alone, lamenting: 'I have not one friend, and my great Persecuteress has a thousand ways of tormenting me'.[206] Those who had professed the greatest friendship now rejected her, according to Coke, through no fault of her own. She observed that 'very little friendship seems to subsist' among women there, who lacked affection for one another.[207] It seemed the melancholy and unfortunate did not always have friends in Vienna, as she had once thought. Previously arguing that there was less friendship in England than in other places, she met with disappointment abroad,

[201] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 232.

[202] Goldsmith, 'The Social Challenge', p. 74.

[203] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 255, 257.

[204] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 267, 278, 297.

[205] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 311, 359.

[206] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 281.

[207] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 312–13, 320.

as well.[208]

A lack of friendship and sense of isolation followed Coke wherever she went. Although travel did at points appear to be a cure for her troubles, the sensation was fleeting, and ultimately, she would never find peace from the 'bouts of nervous disorder and melancholy that she would continue to suffer and lament'.[209] In fact, her travels ultimately confirmed for her an expansive isolation and lack of friends, no matter where she might turn. Coke had a tumultuous connection to her own solitude, which was in one moment sought as a pillar of virtue and in the next bemoaned as an unwanted state brought on by the cruelty of others. These two visions of solitude were not mutually exclusive, and her narrative is valuable, because it offers a glimpse into the complexities of solitary expressions. It also reveals the ways in which expectations of Grand Tour sociability could cause feelings of isolation and rejection, particularly for women. Coke revelled in sociability abroad, but only on her own terms and according to her own preferences. When she could not control the type or degree of sociability available to her, she became melancholy and longed for her solitude. As we will see in the following chapter, the reception she received from others also faced particular challenges due to her status travelling as a single woman.

Conclusion

Expectations of elite sociability and friendship abroad were not always suited to travellers, nor did they always offer a remedy for melancholy. Lady Mary Coke and Thomas Gray had to find alternate means for overcoming melancholy and isolation in their respective social worlds. Letters were a means through which to preserve and cultivate familiar friendships in otherwise uncertain, unappealing or even hostile social environments. Both Gray and Coke drew on contemporary ideals of friendship and sentiment. Gray found a great sense of intimacy in his communications with Richard West. His visions of his own melancholy found much more acceptability within his cultural context, rendering his experiences of friendship much more positive and meaningful. Lady Mary Coke, however, whilst drawing on such notions to frame her narrative and her identity as a solitary sufferer, was not able to secure a sense of intimacy with others. The contours of her life fit much less neatly into an acceptable paradigm, and this influenced her ability to make friends and secure allies. Whilst it is likely this was to some degree related to her unique personality and

[208] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 171.

[209] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 143.

idiosyncrasies, it is impossible to completely separate the ways her character was perceived from the gendered expectations of the time that surrounded her, shaping the way people interpreted her behaviour and lifestyle.

Friendship and sociability has been a critical theme in all our case studies, and we are reminded that individuals did not always adhere to the social narratives that historians have placed around their lives. Norwood placed a premium spiritual importance on friendship and community, even though leading Puritan thinkers had no such emphasis. Though he viewed his solitude as evidence of damnation, he could not establish any intimate relationships, leaving him in hopeless despair. Newton valued the friendships within his Evangelical community, which also validated the value of his experiences of solitude. Without this solitude, his emotional community would not have held the same degree of significance. Barlow and Lacy were similarly entwined in inescapable social rituals of seafaring life, yet they felt out of place and adopted a rhetoric of isolation to invest their lives with meaning and validity. Experiences of the Grand Tour, like life at sea, were necessarily and inescapably social experiences. For sailors, the importance of sociability largely stemmed from physical limitations and lack of personal space, as well as the shared way of life that bonded fellow crew, in contrast to a world left behind. The Grand Tour experience, however, expected travellers to refine and improve themselves through the various social networks available to them. There was no doubt a great deal of artifice to such passing connections, and travellers like Coke and Gray could be left with a desire to express feelings of alienation and find intimate connections somewhere else, whether it was with a friend back home or an imagined community of readers. Despite the early modern emphasis on the social benefits of travel, the subjects of my case studies expressed a strong sense of isolation amidst their travels. This is not to say that they did not partake in various social circles and networks abroad, but they understood their sociability through a strong sense of isolation.

Gray and Coke imagined themselves belonging to emotional communities that valued sensibility and melancholy, and expressed the appropriate emotions associated with such communal identities. For Gray, this was a shared isolation that he enjoyed in his letters addressed to fellow solitary friend Richard West. This relationship offered Gray the most rewarding form of social engagement, highlighting just how valuable communication to friends from a distance could be. The notion of solitude was the key component of his sociability. Coke shared her isolation with her sister, but she did not express the same sense of solidarity, because she perceived her isolation and suffering to be hers alone. Nevertheless, expression of these convictions allowed her to fashion a rhetoric of secular morality and singular virtue. This in turn allowed her to understand herself as

destined to be alone, as she wavered between viewing her own isolation as chosen or inflicted. Her travels, as we will see in the next chapter, were a way to escape social misfortunes at home, but she failed to find the friendship abroad that she hoped for, making her travels even more socially isolating. Solitary experiences of travel could be empowering for women like Coke, but only through a careful navigation of the limits of power and expressions available to them. Coke, however, had much greater expectations, motivated to establish new social connections abroad. Gray, on the other hand, wanted to spend time with his too often absent friend Horace Walpole. Primarily drawn to the prospect of travelling with him, his desire for sociability was within a much more familiar realm of an already known companion.[210] In both cases, however, their hopes were dashed, as they neither made nor kept the friendships they had expected in going abroad.

[210] Thomas Gray's letters to Walpole preceding their trip together reveal that Gray longed to spend more time with him and was frustrated by their separation at different universities. For more discussion of their friendship, see Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*; and Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*.

Chapter 4. Women and Solitude: Lady Ann Fanshawe and Lady Mary Coke

In the previous chapter, I considered the ways in which solitude was expressed within the sociable conventions of the Grand Tour. Highlighting the challenges Coke faced within a masculine realm, this raises further questions about female travellers as a whole and how they expressed and depicted their own experiences of solitude. How did expectations of feminine behaviour impact conceptions of solitude? What did expressions of solitude offer women in particular? This chapter will consider the case studies of Lady Ann Fanshawe and Lady Mary Coke, who demonstrate the ways in which perceived experiences of travel could be both empowering and destructive through expressions of solitude. These women have been chosen because they demonstrate the complex relationship women could have with solitude. They also highlight the ways solitude might be experienced and interpreted differently for different kinds of women. Fanshawe and Coke allow us to investigate solitude as it related to marriage and widowhood. What social and emotional communities did different women identify with when they left home? Did they signify their emotions as explicitly female, and how did this impact and shape notions of solitude? How were solitude and isolation represented and expressed in the realm of travel? This chapter will explore these key questions by considering the unique set of challenges and opportunities travel posed for these two women. Neither of them wrote with an intent to publish. Fanshawe's memoir, written in 1676 and not published until 1829, was addressed to her only surviving son.[1] It was written retrospectively, long after the English Civil War and just a few years before her death. Her aim in writing was to share the achievements and moral virtues of her family line, presenting an idealised vision of her late husband. Her work was devoted to the years of her marriage, and the memoir abruptly ended shortly after the recollection of her husband's death. As outlined in the previous chapter, the details of Coke's life come primarily from her journal, sent regularly as letters to her sister Anne.

There were many facets to conceptions and representations of solitude, and this chapter aims to interrogate the ways women found unique expressions of this within the realm of travel. Historians have recognised that in the early modern period, both solitude and travel were largely

[1] Many women 'wrote for their children, sometimes specifically for their daughters, offering both religious and practical advice'. See P. M. Crawford and L. Gowing (eds.), *Women's Worlds in Seventeenth-Century England*, London, Routledge, 2000, p. 8.

masculine domains.[2] Solitude could be a means of protecting virtue and avoiding worldly corruptions for early modern women, and in the context of religious devotion, writers 'agreed that women should have solitary moments alone for prayer, reading, and meditation'.[3] Generally, however, women were considered naturally disinclined to solitude, best fulfilling their roles within the social networks of domestic life.[4] Travel too had long been conceived as gendered. Abbeele notes that historically, though there is nothing inherently masculine about travel, 'women are either left at home or sought after as objects abroad'.[5] When women travelled alone in the seventeenth century, it was often a result of exile, and themes of agency and power were explored through this

[2] For discussions of female travel in the early modern period, see: Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*; Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*; Owen, *The Female Crusoe*; E. A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716–1818*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995; L. Hamalian, *Ladies on The Loose: Women Travellers of the 18th and 19th centuries*, New York, Dodd Mead, 1981; C. Palmer, '"I Will Tell Nothing That I did Not See": Britishwomen's Travel Writing, Art and the Science of Connoisseurship, 1776–1860', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 3, 2015, p. 251.; M. McAllister, 'Woman on the Journey: Eighteenth-Century British Women's Travel in Fact and Fiction', PhD thesis, Princeton University, 1988. For an anthology, see J. Robinson, *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994. For discussions of gendered solitude, see Taylor, 'Separations of Soul'; and Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe'*.

[3] Warnicke, 'Private and Public: The Boundaries of Women's Lives in Early Stuart England', in Brink (ed.) *Privileging Gender in Early Modern England*, p. 139. Physical withdrawal was not required to attain solitude: 'private moments .... do not absolutely require being physically out of sight, for people can "internalize" a set of barriers' (p. 128).

[4] At a local level, middling women travelled frequently to buy and sell commodities; the mobility of women in this context was widespread. Such movement could be dangerous, however, so 'whenever possible women rode or walked together in groups, transforming routine journeys into companionable social occasions'. See A. J. Flather, 'Space, Place, and Gender: The Sexual and Spatial Division of Labor in the Early Modern Household', *History and Theory*, Vol. 52, No. 3, 2013, pp. 354–55.

[5] Abbeele, *Travel as Metaphor*, p. xxvi.

new topos.[6] By the eighteenth century, representations of travel were shifting and women gained more opportunities for sociability and further education by going abroad, as highlighted in the previous chapter. The lines for such traditionally gendered activities were increasingly blurred. Despite new opportunities, women still faced potential hostility and social isolation if they did not carefully manage their representations of character alongside motives for travel, which determined the perceived virtue and propriety of their lives.

The consideration of female experiences of travel has increased in recent years. Brian Dolan has explored the various travel writings of Georgian women and the means through which travel was used largely to escape from isolating or undesirable circumstances at home.[7] The notion of women travelling, particularly alone, was still viewed with great suspicion.[8] Since travel, particularly unescorted, was considered inappropriate for ladies, women travel writers had to tread carefully, or as Siegel writes, strike 'a fine balance in which they strained the conventions of femininity, but did not break them'.[9] Therefore, women could feel isolated and excluded from others. At the same time, however, spatial changes offered opportunities for the power and position of such women to shift in varied economic and cultural contexts. Molnar has argued that 'the farther female speakers move from the domestic realm and the more drastic the restructuring of space, the greater the potential for an increased sense of agency'. Women's texts, she argues, became through the early modern period 'more and more aware of how to negotiate the politics of space'.[10]

[6] Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*, p. 29. While the typical English gentleman expected his wife to manage the household, the degree of responsibility when husbands were absent varied. See A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500–1800*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995, pp. 173, 179.

[7] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 7. Also see K. Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*.

[8] Women who recounted travelling 'alone' typically meant not that they were alone, but that no gentlemen of equal rank travelled with them. See McAllister, 'Women on the Journey', p. 6.

[9] K. Siegel (ed.), *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing*, New York, Peter Lang, 2004, p. 2. For an exploration of the ways theme and structure in women's travel writing in the eighteenth century differed from men's, see McAllister, 'Women on the Journey'.

[10] M. E. Molnar, 'A World within Herself: Mapping Space, Bodies and Texts in Early Modern Women's Writing', PhD thesis, Lehigh University, 2012, pp. 5–7.

I will argue that while Fanshawe and Coke could find opportunity in isolation, it was a complex scenario often laced with danger, despair and condemnation. While they may have physically moved away from home, they did not escape or abandon their identities and the values of femininity. Key to expressing acceptable modes of female solitude in these cases was an interweaving of domestic values with new cultural opportunities abroad. 'Female travelers in particular', Crabtree has argued, attempted to 'replicate the familiar world they had left behind. They "domesticated" their spaces'.[11] Schwartz reiterates this point: By highlighting a continuity between home and abroad, travel, and expressions of solitude contained therein, could create vast opportunities for reconstituting established values in acceptable ways that were both familiar and new. By drawing on conventional expectations of female behaviour alongside contact with foreign ideas, people and place, there were opportunities to engage in new forms of behaviour and identity. In moving beyond domestic settings, we can gain a greater appreciation for the complexities of early modern solitude. By looking at travel writings, the selected case studies show us the many facets of such solitude, both chosen and involuntary, empowering and isolating.

According to the 1612 treatise *A Godly Form of Householde Government,* 'The dutie of the Husband is to travel abroade, to seeke living: and the Wives dutie is to keepe the house ... the dutie of the Husband is to be entermedling: and of the wife, to be solitary and withdrawne'.[12] A number of scholars have shown, however, that this particular mode of domestic solitude for women was problematic. Tancke has argued that 'although solitariness was generally considered essential for the individual's spiritual well-being ... it was also perceived as threatening, precisely because it implied a withdrawal from outside control. This double-sidedness is particularly virulent in the case of women'.[13] We have seen in previous case studies that solitude could threaten virtue, and this was considered especially true for women. Masculine solitude, Tancke has argued, was associated with absolute self-rule in the early modern period. While men could constitute self-hood at the exclusion of others, women could not opt out of their communities: 'their states of solitariness and inwardness

[11] S. Crabtree, 'Navigating Mobility: Gender, Class, and Space at Sea, 1760–1810', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 2014, p. 93.

[12] J. Dod and R. Cleaver, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government: For the Ordering of Private Families*, London, 1612, cited in Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 76–77.

[13] Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe'*, p. 168.

are therefore always implicated in relations to others and hence, in the broadest sense of the term, to the public (or semi-public) sphere'.[14] Gowing too argues that 'the collectivity of the early modern self was particularly intense for women, who were so readily redefined by marriage'.[15] Similarly, Ylivuori has pointed out that whilst public exposure could be 'perilous for women' and a threat to virtue,[16] so too could solitude, leaving women to forge a solitude that was inherently more enmeshed in community. Women, for these scholars, needed to emphasise the social world around them to a greater extent to demonstrate virtue. This chapter will explore how such a position was defined outside a domestic setting as these women travelled.

Travel gave rise to new emotional communities for Fanshawe and Coke. Though women might be considered as constituting an emotional community in so far as they were more inclined to express and value certain emotions deemed appropriately feminine, Perfetti points out that such internalised stereotypes still allowed for degrees of reappropriation or resistance. A key way this was done, I argue, is through an association with other alternate social frameworks. Looking at the emotions of women as an entire community is only one way of understanding their expressions when we consider the vast variety of different social classes and contexts that impacted the form and meaning of such expressions. While both Fanshawe and Coke used their emotions to claim a modesty and virtue that was explicitly feminine, they did so in different ways, and drew heavily on alternative emotional communities that were largely associated with men. Fanshawe drew on an emotional community of royalist exiles and, after the Restoration, on those loyal to the Crown. Coke, as highlighted in the previous chapter, borrowed from emotional ideals of the refined Grand Tour traveller. It was in the negotiation between such respective emotional communities that women expressed a sense of both solitude and solidarity.

Travel and solitude, in the right circumstances, were virtuous and character-building experiences, as highlighted in the previous chapter. Whilst men enjoyed a measure of automatic credibility, however, women had to continually strive to prove theirs. Morality as female travellers, though attainable, required careful representation in a time when publishing itself was also the

[14] Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe'*, pp. 171–73.

[15] Gowing, 'Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex', pp. 818–19.

[16] Ylivuori, 'Rethinking Female Chastity', p. 86.

domain of men.[17] There were various strategies women adopted for 'negotiating authority and deflecting criticism', including claims to modesty and humility.[18] Choice of genre was another critical factor in self-representation. Rose and Seelig, for example, have both stressed Fanshawe's emphasis on family history as a means of finding acceptability for her story.[19] Similarly, letters in the eighteenth century were widely considered an appropriate feminine form. Travel writing was closely connected to such genres that were associated with the private sphere, which 'allowed women entry into the travel genre'.[20] Although the subjects of these two case studies did not intend to publish their works, that did not render them strictly private documents. As Mendelson points out, whether written for posterity or limited to family members, there was still an audience in mind.[21] Through an analysis of the narratives these women left behind, we find support for the claim of a recent study by Poska, Couchman, and McIver, that has urged 'female agency and subordination ... are not mutually exclusive states'.[22] These case studies demonstrate the ways in which the subjects were intertwined and in continual dialogue with one another to re-appropriate solitude in new and acceptable ways.

While claiming solitude may have proved particularly challenging for women, it does not

[17] N. H. Keeble (ed.), *The Cultural Identity of Seventeenth-Century Woman: A Reader*, London, Routledge, 1994, pp. 264–65. Also see M. Dowd and J. Eckerle (eds.), *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007; D. Cook and A. Culley (eds.), *Women's Life Writing, 1700–1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012; P. Crawford, 'Women's Published Writings 1600–1700', in M. Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, London, Methuen, 1984.

[18] Cook and Culley (eds.), *Women's Life Writing*, p. 4.

[19] M. B. Rose, *Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002, p. 57; S. C. Seelig, *Autobiography and Gender in Early Modern Literature: Reading Women's Lives, 1600–1680*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 90.

[20] C. B. Saunders, *Women, Travel Writing, and Truth*, London, Routledge, 2014, p. 3.

[21] S. Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs', in Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500–1800*, p. 314.

[22] A. M. Poska, J. Couchman and K. A. McIver (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, London, Routledge, 2016, p. 23.

follow that women could and did not express feelings of being alone, isolated, and solitary, in some cases even because of this greater inability to 'opt out' of their communities. Taking Barbara Taylor's definition of solitude as not mere physical separation, but 'a fantasy scenario, an imaginary staging of self that is far too complex, too psychically dense, to be captured by any simple opposition between absence and presence',[23] we find women just as fixated on questions of solitude. In the case studies that follow, for women to express and portray a solitude that was acceptable in their early modern worlds, representations had to be radically re-appropriated. Concepts of solitude were utilised for these women in different ways to make sense of their own experiences and invest them with new meanings, whilst also presenting to readers ideal forms of femininity.

Lady Ann Fanshawe's Memoir: An Introduction

Fanshawe's narrative is significant in the ways it sheds light on female expressions of solitude, explicitly framed as separation and aloneness from and with her husband. This framework is used to uphold ideal values of femininity whilst also creating new opportunities to re-image the uses and meanings of solitude for women. As such, her narrative of solitary travels created new opportunities for agency and improvisation by adapting familiar and conventional expectations. Fanshawe was born in 1625 to elite parents Sir John Harrison and his wife Margaret. She was educated at home by her mother. After her death, her father was taken prisoner by Parliament in 1642 and his entire estate sequestrated. Fanshawe travelled to Oxford with her sister to join him the following year. In 1644, she married her second cousin Richard at the age of nineteen.

Her husband Richard was sent on various diplomatic missions for King Charles II. Fanshawe shared the story of her many travelling adventures in the years of the second Civil War and the Interregnum. In 1646, they travelled to France, after which Fanshawe returned home alone, her husband joining her the following year. In 1648, they travelled together to Paris and then Ireland, where they remained until their departure to Spain the following year. Fanshawe returned to London again in 1651, while her husband was in Scotland with Charles II and then imprisoned following the Battle of Worcester. After his release, they spent a few years together in England before her husband was permitted to go abroad. Departing for France in 1658, Fanshawe followed the next year. In 1660, they returned home with King Charles II, but in 1662 they travelled to

[23] Taylor, 'Separations of Soul', p. 644.

Portugal where her husband was sent as an ambassador, returning home the following year. In 1664, they travelled with her husband's embassy to Spain.[24] Her ongoing travels can be separated between those she spent in exile before 1660 and those spent as a diplomat's wife in Portugal and Spain after the Restoration. Within this framework of ongoing travels, Fanshawe also shares the subplot of her experiences as a mother who endured fourteen pregnancies, giving birth, miscarrying, and losing children in various locations in Europe and at home. Her husband died in 1666, when their son was ten months old, and she survived him by fifteen years.[25] The remainder of her life, until her death in 1680, was spent in England unsuccessfully trying to recover debts from the royal treasury. Writing to her son, Fanshawe constructed a vision of her virtuous Richard, a pious Protestant and loyal subject to King Charles.[26] To honour his family, she urged her son in her memoir to carry on this fierce loyalty: 'you should not omit your duty to your king and country, nor be lesse in your industry to exceed, at least not shame, the excellent memory of your ancestors'.[27]

In the analysis that follows, I will argue that Fanshawe adopted a royalist ideology of solitary suffering amidst her travels. She always understood her experiences in relation to her husband, however, making her expressions of solitude distinctly female. There are different registers of solitude in Fanshawe's text. In this chapter, I will primarily consider her solitude defined as separation from her husband. She also expressed a solitude with her husband as they faced exile together; I will consider this in more detail in the next chapter. The distinction between a solitude away from and a solitude with her husband is often blurred, however, because ultimately any solitude Fanshawe endured was for and with her husband. If they were separated physically, they continued to be united in spirit. Her expressions of solitude served two purposes: to highlight her love for and obedience to her husband, and to testify to the moral righteousness of the royalist cause. Her love for her husband and her political allegiances, likewise, were strongly intertwined. As McShane notes, political relationships were widely conceptualised in terms of companionate

[24] P. Davidson, 'Fanshawe, Ann, Lady Fanshawe (1625–1680)', *ODNB* (accessed 6 June 2017).

[25] A. Fanshawe, in *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, ed. by C. D. Loftus, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979, p. xiv.

[26] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 102. Lineage was an important factor in establishing honour for the elite. See Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination*, pp. 127-8.

[27] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 108.

marriage.[28] Subjection was aligned with political freedom, motivated by reciprocal love and the bonds of loyalty.[29] An important consequence of Fanshawe's expressions of solitude was the demonstration of her own independent freedom, resolve, and cunning. She endured solitude to service her union, but in doing so her expressions of obedience were undercut by these very acts, and undeniable pleasure in her solitary achievements crept through the pages of the story of her life.

Fanshawe's Travels as an Exile: Separation and Reunion

Fanshawe's early travels as an exile are primarily presented as a series of separations and reunions with Richard, attempting to make sense of her travels and adventures through the love she had for her husband. Given she was travelling with her husband in her ever-present view, she had a strong awareness of her own solitude when it occurred. Fanshawe travelled both on her own and with her husband, and often with at least one of her children. Her solitude complemented the social union of her marriage through a shared royalist vision. This vision involved isolated suffering, and as a wife, it was particularly important to demonstrate how solitude assisted her husband and the shared purpose of their exile. Fanshawe referred to herself and her husband as 'marchant adventurers'.[30] The reality of a seventeenth-century woman embarking on such adventures, though not unheard of, was not the experience for most women. Many of Fanshawe's actions might be considered typical for an upper-class woman during this time.[31] During the Civil War period, for instance, Rose notes that women 'defended their estates against the enemy and appeared before the court and the parliament in an effort to raise money or get their husbands out of prison'.[32] 'Domesticks',

[28] A. McShane, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4, 2009, p. 874.

[29] McShane, 'Subjects and Objects', pp. 871–72.

[30] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 112.

[31] S. Findley and E. Hobby, 'Seventeenth-Century Women's Autobiography', in F. Barker et al. (eds.), *1642: Literature and Power in the Seventeenth Century, Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature*, Colchester, University of Essex, 1981, p. 24.

[32] G. Rippl, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Autobiographical Writing as Transgression of Social and Generic Boundaries', in M. Ghosh-Schellhorn (ed.), *Women Writing Against Borders and Categories*, Münster, LIT, 2000, pp. 20–21. Also see Rose, *Gender and Heroism*, 2002.

Fanshawe wrote, 'I ever governed them and myself by his commands'.[33] Amidst the social chaos, women like Fanshawe made 'creative use of disorder' by expanding previously more limiting domestic roles.[34] Far from being a stationary defender of her husband's home, however, Fanshawe was travelling extensively and crafting inventive schemes. Finding herself in all kinds of extraordinary circumstances, like dodging bullets from the Dutch at sea, it is likely she saw and experienced more than the average woman of her time.[35]

Many of Fanshawe's actions were questionable for a seventeenth-century woman. Cross-dressing, for instance, was seen during her time as 'insubordinate self-assertiveness'.[36] In 1649, Fanshawe and her husband were at sea headed for Spain. Locked up in a cabin and 'all in teares', she was urged to let no one see a woman on board, lest Turks see it as a merchant ship rather than a man-of-war. She decided on her own initiative to take a cabin boy's clothes: 'putting them on and flinging away my night's clothes, I crept up softly and stood upon the deck by my husband's side as free from sickness and fear as, I confess, from discretion; but it was the effect of that passion which I could never master ... looking upon me he blessed himself and snatched me up in his armes, saying, "Good God, that love can make this change!"; and though he seemingly chid me, he would laugh at it as often as he remembered that voyage'.[37] Fanshawe's apologetic act was forgivable, because a self-assertive act was done in the name of love and desire for union.

Fanshawe used her own ingenuity for the advantage of her husband, and consequently herself, seamlessly combining independent action with deference. Although her behaviour was always occasioned by the needs of her husband as well as her King, such men were often presented in spaces of impotence, as Keeble has argued, whilst Fanshawe acts, all alone, with 'courage and

[33] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 103.

[34] Rose, *Gender and Heroism*, p. 76.

[35] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 120–21.

[36] Keeble, *The Cultural Identity*, p. 243.

[37] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 128.

resourcefulness'.[38] The narrative supports such a view in further instances. In 1651, when her husband was imprisoned following the battle of Worcester, she visited him daily at Whitehall until she was able to obtain his release on the grounds of ill-health: 'I failed not constantly to goe, when the clock struck 4 in the morning, with a dark lanterne in my hand, all alone and on foot'.[39] Embracing these dangerous nightly trips and strategising for his freedom, Fanshawe showed remarkable bravery and ingenuity.[40] In another instance, when Richard departed for France in 1658 to join Charles II, she devised an 'invention' to follow him there the next year, obtaining a pass by impersonating a citizen's wife and forging her name.[41] Her unorthodox experiences, in spite of and because of her orthodox constructions of character, found acceptability in writing.[42]

While it is absolutely true that Fanshawe made her decisions with a constant emphasis on her marriage and serving her husband's interests, her actions conveyed the necessity of ingenuity in moments of isolation. Alone one night in Cornwall in 1645, while her husband was in Launceston, Fanshawe boastfully related that she 'deffended, with the few servants I had, the house' from thieves until help came from town and her husband sent a guard to protect her.[43] Although such experiences were often marked with despair, they also conveyed a tone of pride and satisfaction. Travelling back to England from France without her husband in 1645, Fanshawe emphasised that 'this was the first time that I had taken any journey without your father, and the first manage of business hee ever put into my hand, in which I thank God I had good success'.[44] It was travel that

[38] N. H. Keeble, 'Obedient Subjects? The Loyal Self in Some Later Seventeenth-Century Royalist Women's Memoirs', in G. M. MacLean (ed.), *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Pres, 1995, p. 210.

[39] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 134–35.

[40] L. A. Pollock, 'Rethinking Patriarchy and the Family in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1998, p. 5.

[41] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 138.

[42] Findley and Hobby, 'Seventeenth-Century Women's Autobiography', p. 25.

[43] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 117.

[44] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 119.

allowed her the chance to demonstrate her courage and even 'masculine aggressiveness'.[45] When Cork revolted in 1649, Richard was in Kinsale, and she wrote to him before fleeing the city, acting quickly and courageously. Pregnant and with a broken wrist, at three in the morning, 'by the light of a tapour and in that pain I was in, I went into the market place with onely a man and maid'. Passing through the turmoil, she obtained a pass due to her husband's reputation and honour, and travelled to meet her husband, joyfully reunited.[46] Fanshawe fashioned herself as a loyal wife as well as a travelling heroine. The stories of her own solitary adventures, exhibiting initiative, cunning, and bravery, did not necessarily appear to be subversive, because they were all framed through a separation and reunion narrative with her husband, making him pivotal to her sense of empowerment.[47]

Fanshawe's solitude as separation from Richard was strikingly more despairing when she was *not* travelling or abroad, but at home stationary, inactive, and unable to act resourcefully to bring about reunification, a point we will return to in a later chapter. When her husband departed on his first journey to Bristol in 1645, for instance, Fanshawe was pregnant with her first son. She described the experience: 'first time we had parted a day since wee maried ... the sence of leaving me with a dying child, which did dye 2 days after, in a garrison town, extream weake and very poor ... for my own part it cost me so dear that I was 10 weeks before I could goe alone'. She could recover 'former strength' only through the letters Richard wrote to 'fortify' her and the company and conversation of family and friends.[48] Without her husband to share her solitude with, such solitude in the context of Fanshawe's narrative would have ceased to have any significance. Keeble notes that when women 'come out of their houses, so they come out of their housewifely roles ... the audacity of travel physically is matched by an imaginative, political, and intellectual audacity'.[49]

[45] B. Glaser, *The Creation of the Self in Autobiographical Forms of Writing in Seventeenth-Century England: Subjectivity and Self-fashioning in Memoirs, Diaries, and Letters*, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 2001, pp. 97–98.

[46] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 123–24.

[47] Keeble describes her testimonies of loyalty and obedience as 'politically and culturally disobedient'. See 'Obedient Subjects?', p. 206.

[48] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 114.

[49] Keeble, 'Obedient Subjects?', pp. 213–14.

Fanshawe, however, never 'came out' of this role. Rather, she emphasised the continuity of her values at home and those abroad. In both contexts, she was more than anything else an obedient wife. What this obedience entailed in the realm of travel, however, was transformative to the process of power and initiative. She utilised opportunities for independent thought without creating conflict or defying contemporary values, because her solitary feats of bravery were performed for her husband.[50]

Fanshawe: Ideals of Femininity and Marriage

Though Fanshawe's narrative was primarily the story of her marriage and adventures with her husband, the details of her upbringing as a young girl were critical to her self-fashioning, and reveal a great deal about contemporary notions of femininity. Her mother provided her with an education typical for an elite woman of her time, including needlework, languages, music, and dancing.[51] She also enjoyed more physically active activities, including riding, skipping, running. Much like Lacy a century later, she emphasised early 'masculine' tendencies.[52] When her mother died, Fanshawe 'flung away' her childishness, and at her father's command took charge of the house and family, following the example her mother left. In sharing her ability to accept sombre responsibility at such a young age, Fanshawe highlighted early instances of obedience. Even as a young girl, she recalls, when her father was taken prisoner and she had to travel to Oxford, she and her sister were 'like fishes out of the water'; the only 'part' they knew 'how to act' was obedient.[53] This early obedience would later shift from pious daughter to that of devoted wife. Fanshawe was the 'Protestant vision of the perfect wife'.[54] Her ideals reflected and embraced contemporary virtues of obedience to the

[50] L. A. Pollock, '"Teach her to live under obedience": The Making of Women in the Upper Ranks of Early Modern England', *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1989, p. 247.

[51] Pollock, 'Teach her to live under obedience', p. 238.

[52] Pollock has argued that women during the civil war period showcased the 'competence and efficiency of women in a man's world'. See 'Teach her to live under obedience', p. 242.

[53] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 111.

[54] Rose, *Gender and Heroism*, p. 65. Fanshawe's presentation of herself as a wife, as well as the dynamics of her marriage, have been widely viewed as orthodox. See Rippl, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Autobiographical Writing', p. 23; Findley and Hobby, 'Seventeenth-Century Women's Autobiography', p. 23.

husband, and their mutual love guided and unified the narrative.[55] She wrote, 'we never had but one mind throughout our lives, our soules were wrapped up in each other, our aims and designs one, our loves one, and our resentments one ... what ever was reall happiness, God gave it me in him'.[56]

Fanshawe's characterisation of her husband was intricately bound up with her own identity. While some scholars have admired their marriage as presented in Fanshawe's memoirs,[57] others are less sympathetic to such interpretations. Findley and Hobby argue she 'immerses herself into her husband'.[58] Rippl concurs that Fanshawe cancels out her own individuality, allowing her to write about herself.[59] Whilst these statements are true to some degree, they underemphasise how critical Richard is for her independent expression. On the one hand, by insisting on his love for her, she could elevate her own degree of importance without explicitly focusing on or announcing her own merits. His happy moments were with her alone: 'his most delight was to goe only with me in a coach some miles'. She presents herself as his most intimate companion and the keeper of his secrets. Reserved in nature, he never revealed 'the thought of his heart' to others 'but to myself only ... he never discovered his trouble to me but went from me with perfect cheerfulness and content'.[60] Although Richard Fanshawe was the subject of her narrative, her love for him also came into focus frequently, making her writing as much an autobiography of herself as a biography of her husband.

It was through a rhetoric of marriage and love that Fanshawe located the opportunity and justification for independent action. By continually focusing on the needs of her husband, she enjoyed much more freedom for unregulated behaviour. Her commitment to her husband and family line was integrally linked to her own sense of honour: 'women's honour resided in the fulfilment of

[55] D. A. Stauffer, *English Biography before 1700*, New York, Russell and Russell, 1964, pp. 211–12.

[56] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 103.

[57] C. F. Otten, *English Women's Voices, 1540–1700*, Miami, Florida International University Press, 1992, p. 131. Also see Stauffer, *English Biography*, p. 210; and Eckerlie, *Romancing the Self in Early Modern Englishwomen's Life Writing*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2013, pp. 80, 98.

[58] Findley and Hobby, 'Seventeenth-Century Women's Autobiography', pp. 13, 23.

[59] Rippl, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Autobiographical Writing', p. 23.

[60] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 102.

a wife's household duties ... not solely defined by her marital status but also by her labours'.[61] Both personal virtue and noble lineage were also important to honour in this period, as Cust has argued, and writers combined these together with varied emphasis to situate themselves within their social contexts.[62] Even after the death of her husband, Fanshawe was invested in demonstrating the virtue and loyalty of Royalists through her own family line, as scholars like Sara Murphy and Anthony Fletcher have shown.[63] It was in upholding the political legacy of lineage that she claimed her political power and with it, her virtuous suffering.[64] Fanshawe's narrative re-conceptualised this honour within the framework of her life experiences and the context of the Civil War. The acts she performed to reunite herself with her husband were also those that defined her as loyal to the Crown and, paradoxically, also those which distinguished her as a solitary individual. The assertions of many modern critics, therefore, overlook certain nuances and complexities of the text. She is not merely self-effacing,[65] as she asserts herself not through words, but through her remarkable achievements. Her resolved subjection and subordination to her husband was paradoxically the 'weakness' that allowed Fanshawe to claim her strength. Her case study is demonstrative of the complexity of family relationships in the seventeenth century. Viewing her marriage as either empowering or oppressive creates an all too simplistic response to a complex past.

Fanshawe: Emotions and Tearful Expressions

Fanshawe's narrative expresses moments of despair alongside memories of intense joy. When apart, she and her husband Richard kept in touch with one another through letters, a key mode of communication. Receiving such correspondence brought to Fanshawe 'unexpressable joys'. In

[61] G. Walker, 'Expanding the Boundaries of Female Honour in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal* Historical Society, Vol. 6, 1996, p. 238. Foyster emphasises that there were also 'non-sexual components to a woman's honour'. See *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 6.

[62] R. P. Cust, 'Honor, Rhetoric and Political Culture: The Earl of Huntingdon and his Enemies', in Amussen and Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England*, pp. 89–90, 94.

[63] S. Murphy, 'Revised Lives: Lineage and Dislocation in Seventeenth-Century English Autobiography', PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2014; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination*, pp. 127–28.

[64] Murphy, 'Revised Lives'.

[65] Delany, *British Autobiography*, p. 161. Rose notes a 'violence and self-destructiveness' implicit in her 'unambivalent identification with male superiority'. See *Gender and Heroism*, p. 67.

times of distress, his letters were full of 'so much love and reason that my heart melts to this day when I think of it'. The joy of receiving a letter was often followed by the joy of reuniting. She recorded both her own joy and that of her husband, continually emphasising their united feelings. Upon one such occasion, 'he with all expressions of joy received me in his arms'.[66] Even the mere promise or possibility of reuniting with Richard transformed the nature of her journeys. Sending for her in Ireland, she travelled up with her family, 'very cheerfully towards my North Starr'.[67] Typically, however, the happiness of such moments of togetherness was emphasised through tales of the dangerous and despairing solitude that preceded them. Whereas together they experienced 'mutual joy', voyages in the absence of Richard were characterised as 'hasardous' and full of 'discomfort'. Often travelling back to England to raise funds, Fanshawe bemoaned that although it was necessary, 'nothing was so grievous to us both as parting'.[68]

Fanshawe's tears could serve to evidence both her virtue and with it, her subordinate status. To think of her late husband, she wrote, 'makes my eyes gush out with tears, and cuts me to the soul'.[69] This pain was intermingled with pleasure, however, as she resolved to 'express the joys' of their life together. Affectionate and virtuous, her tears also suggested she was lacking in masculine wisdom and reason. Crying twice for her King, she was told to 'cease weeping' and to remember everything is in the hands of Providence.[70] Weeping was also portrayed as a childish act when Fanshawe overstepped her boundaries with her husband, enquiring into his private business affairs. Richard refused to give into her pleading: 'I ... said I could not belive he loved me if he refused to tell me all he knew, but he answered nothing, but stopped my mouth with kisses, so we went to bed. I cryed'. Still upset the following night, her husband explained: 'when you asked me of my busines, it was wholy out of my power to satisfy thee. For my life and fortune shall be thine, and every thought of my heart ... but my honour is my own, which I can not preserve if I communicate the Prince's affaires'. Fanshawe reflected, 'so great was his reason and goodness, that upon

[66] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 114, 121, 115.

[67] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 122.

[68] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 122–23.

[69] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 103.

[70] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 120, 134.

consideration it made my folly appeare to me so vile'.[71] It was in reference to her husband that she could recognise and affirm her own weaknesses.

These instances highlight the ways in which Fanshawe used such emotions to her advantage to emphasise her husband's strength and maintain her humility. In the seventeenth century, Lange notes, the presence of tears in women's writing itself rarely appeared. Associated with less admirable aspects of feminine experience, women avoided the issue of weeping and reiterating negative stereotypes.[72] Fanshawe, however, uses tears to her advantage. Weeping in this narrative was shown as an expressly feminine experience, serving both to demonstrate the love she had for her husband and to affirm her inferior status as his wife. In this way, Fanshawe, while entering into masculine realms of action and travel, and adopting masculine virtues of bravery, also wept privately to reaffirm her soft, feminine nature.[73] Drawing on the belief that women were 'tender passionate impatient spirits, easily cast into anger, or jealousie, or discontent; and of weak understandings',[74] she maintained her modesty by reasserting this view of women and reaffirming her wifely submission. According to contemporary views of femininity, women lacked reason and showed a weakness of will and inability to exercise self-control, seen in Fanshawe's child-like curiosity and arguably manipulative weeping.[75]

We saw in Chapter Two the ways in which Lacy shed her tears to highlight her moral superiority within a highly social, relational world, and Fanshawe similarly used her tears to

[71] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp.115–16. This anecdote demonstrated both the importance of a gentleman's honour as well as the power relations operating within Richard and Ann's marriage. See Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination*, p. 126.

[72] Lange, *Telling Tears*, p. 3.

[73] Emotions were not necessarily feminine, but in contrasting her tears, for instance, to the strong stoic men around her, this is implicit.

[74] Richard Baxter, *A Christian directory*…, London, Printed by Robert White for Nevill Simmons, 1673, p. 480. According to the Galenic theory of the humoral body, because the female constitution was cool and moist, 'contemporaries viewed women as less able, by their very nature, to govern their emotions'. See Capp, 'Jesus Wept', p. 77.

[75] Keeble, *The Cultural Identity,* p. 71; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England*, pp. 69-71.

demonstrate her virtue. In her text, she does so through ideal female attributes of modesty and subordination to her husband. By learning to subdue such womanly passions, she exhibited remarkable virtue and a capacity for reform. Men like Richard and King Charles, on the other hand, were level-headed and exhibited more self-control. We see this in another instance: after escaping shipwreck, Fanshawe wrote, 'We praised God; I wept, your father lifting then up his hands admired so great a salvation. Then we often kissed each other, as if yet we feared death, sighed, and complained of the cruelty of the rebells that forced us to wander'.[76] This quote both highlights Fanshawe's tears as feminine and reinforces their mutual affection and suffering. Such perceptions of her own faults, however, were at odds with her accomplishments. Though she criticises her own lack of reason, through the actions of her life and her time at court, she presented a woman with extensive reasoning powers and capabilities.

Fanshawe's tales of heroic solitary adventure are at first glance expressed with despair, but intermingled into this narrative of separation and suffering she reveals pleasure in her accomplishments that served broader aims of union and companionship. Through her devotion she presented herself as a courageous solitary traveller; her solitude, however, could only be experienced and expressed with an emphasis on companionship and love for her husband. As Keeble has so beautifully pinpointed, Fanshawe the narrator and Fanshawe the subject were at odds with one another.[77] The person she claimed to be and the person she described through the story of her life in many ways seem disconnected, yet in reappropriating concepts of obedience and loyalty during the Civil War Fanshawe brought seemingly opposing ideals into coexisting harmony. This chapter has explored just one facet of Fanshawe's solitude, that which was defined as separation from her husband. In the next chapter, I will turn to her expressions of solitude with Richard abroad, and in Chapter Six I will consider the ways in which her expressions of solitude at home, both before and after widowhood, became both more explicit and more despairing.

Coke: The Isolation of Marriage and Widowhood

Coke's experiences of travel abroad are significant, because they reveal the ways in which solitude for women could meet with disapproval and scandal from others when it was not carefully managed. In the demonstration of virtue and femininity, Coke's narrative, like Fanshawe's, reveals

[76] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 131.

[77] Keeble, 'Obedient Subjects?', p. 210.

certain discrepancies between representation and reality. The nature of her travels, though distinctly different from Fanshawe's, also drew on a framework of solitude to make sense of her experiences abroad and invest her character with virtue. Although, in Coke's mind, her solitude indicated her virtue, it also resulted in negative and unwanted experiences of isolation. In light of her travels discussed in the previous chapter, it is important to understand her early experiences at home, because it is within the context of these that travel allured her with the promise of better relationships and a better life abroad.

Coke's early marriage to her husband was an unhappy and short lived one. According to Stuart's memoir, Coke, though agreeing to Edward's marriage proposal, was unhappy with the match and very quickly expressed her dissatisfaction through 'a coyness approaching to aversion' and 'ineffable disdain'.[78] Increasingly distraught, she frequently wept as well as showcasing a 'silent picture of despair'.[79] After marrying, Viscount Coke grew tired of her behaviour and took her to Holkham, where she lived in isolation for almost a year. Retreating to the citadel of her apartment, she refused to consummate her marriage. She secluded herself, feigned illness, and suspected threats of assassination and poison upon her life.[80] Following this period of isolation, she filed suit for divorce, citing cruel usage, and the proceedings at court were widely publicised. Archival letters confirm the abuse of Lord Viscount Coke. Sister Elizabeth, for instance, remarked: 'as I left Lord Coke and Lady Mary together ... he took that opertanity to abuse her in such a

[78] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. lix–lx. Female pleading, abject weakness, and sorrowing submission were common behaviours for women about to marry. See Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, pp. 49, 52. One gets the impression, however, that Mary took this behaviour to an extreme.

[79] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. lx. Archival evidence suggests Viscount Coke wrote to Mary trying to salvage their relationship, as Mary wrote to Lady Suffolk in 1748: 'I had a letter last night from Lord Coke ... he intreated me both for his sake and my own not to fling away both our happiness ... he then says let us not think of what is past, look forward and try at least not to be miserable be assured I love you'. See 'Mary Coke to Lady Suffolk, June 20 1748', British Library Add. MS 22629, fol. 145.

[80] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. lxvi–lxvii. Her ODNB entry reads: 'He took his revenge by leaving her in solitary splendour on the wedding night and thereafter virtually imprisoning her. She responded by denying conjugal relations and plunging their two families into litigation'. See Rubenstein, 'Coke, Lady Mary'.

manner that notwithstanding all you know, I believe will surprise you'.[81] Comments on her behaviour during the trial, however, suggest she was perceived to be impassioned and volatile at best, despite the abuses of her husband. Sister Elizabeth's husband, Scottish politician James Stuart-Mackenzie, observed 'Lady B. says, she fell into a rage and talks so loud, she was afraid they might have been overheard ... I beleive, I shall wash my hands of the affair; for I can be of no farther assistance to her; and it is torment and vexation to myself beyond what I can express to see things go on as they do'.[82]

Marriage for eighteenth-century elite women was a very important decision and for most women, there was no going back.[83] Those who married recklessly often endured a lifetime of misery, and there is no shortage of evidence suggesting many endured severe marital misfortunes. Violence and cruelty in marriage were widely recorded, and Edward was known to have an unsavoury reputation, quickly revealing his gaming and drinking habits.[84] No matter how unpleasant a marriage was, women faced pressure to endure and submit to their husbands.[85] Divorce was both an expensive and a rare occurrence, and even informal separations carried a great deal of social stigma and prohibition.[86] Allegedly, defending her course of action, Coke complained: 'Never was any human creature treated as I have been ... my usage was most barbarous'.[87] Such rhetoric, although sounding 'extreme or even crazed', was common during matrimonial

[81] 'Lady Elizabeth Campbell to Lady Suffolk, June 15 1748', British Library Add. MS 22629, fol. 143.

[82] 'James Stuart Mackenzie to Lady Suffolk', British Library Add. MS 22629, fol. 177.

[83] Matchmaking amongst the elite was not a simple decision between two lovers, but rather a complex 'process of negotiation' involving family and friends. See Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 45.

[84] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. lxi.

[85] I. H. Tague, 'Love, Honor, and Obedience: Fashionable Women and the Discourse of Marriage in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 1, 2001, p. 97.

[86] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 73. Also see L. Stone, *Road to Divorce: England 1530–1987*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990.

[87] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. lxx.

breakdowns.[88] Failing to cite specific examples or serious instances of physical abuse, she had no legitimate grounds for a divorce. Finally securing a separation in 1750 at the agreement of Edward, he died three years later. Coke, at twenty-six years of age, 'emerged from a very dull retirement ... into the perfect freedom of an independent widow'.[89] Although she spent this new period of freedom travelling extensively, she faced constant feelings of alienation, and ultimately retreated back into the isolation she had been 'freed' from.

Coke remained a widow until her death, and this was significant to her expressions of isolation. Whereas men remarried quite often, there were many restrictions on widows remarrying, and the practice was strongly discouraged.[90] Nevertheless, aristocratic widows could more easily be remarried, but Coke had no interest in this after the separation and death of her husband. She did, however, express a desire for love brought on by her later infatuation with the Duke of York, which brought ridicule, gossip, and scandal with it. Coke bemoaned in her journal that 'falling in love in ones old age is a melancholy affair and must subject one to the redicule of the whole world'.[91] To avoid melancholy, she suggested one must deny emotional attachments and embrace social isolation. Although advice to withdraw from society[92] was impractical for most, many widows did

[88] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 81.

[89] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. lxxii.

[90] S. Cavallo and L. Warner (eds.), *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Harlow, Longman, 1999, p. 11. Although dictated by tradition, these 'unheaded' widows were commonly portrayed negatively in popular literature. In particular, the theme of insatiable sexuality was a common one. See B. J. Todd, 'The Virtuous Widow in Protestant England', in Cavallo and Warner (eds.), *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, pp. 66–67. When women did remarry, gendered stereotypes alleged they chose younger men, driven by lust. In reality, economic reasons were more likely. See E. Foyster, 'Marrying the Experienced Widow in Early Modern England: The Male Perspective', in Cavallo and Warner (eds.), *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, p. 110.

[91] Coke, 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1775', National Archives of Scotland, NRAS859, vol. 485.

[92] Vives, in the early sixteenth century, argued widows must remain faithful and obedient to their late husbands through withdrawal from society: 'chastity seeks solitude'. See *The Education of a Christian*

feel a sense of isolation from friends. The trope of affliction was commonly exploited as 'a sign of god's promise', suffering serving as an indicator of salvation.[93] For Coke, keeping her virtues intact *was* largely a matter of isolating herself from the world, but it was certainly not to honour her late husband. Rather, it was to avoid false friendship and a corrupt society. Her suffering, though not explicitly religious, was presented as a sign of virtue and morality.

Lady Mary Coke: Friendship at Home

Coke's narrative was defined by an awareness of a lack of true friendship and kindness. Well before she began to travel extensively in the 1760s, she had spent her time in England bemoaning the cruelty of others. Her early experience of marriage put an indelible mark on the remainder of her life. In 1748, the year after her marriage, she expressed a sense of betrayal by the world, including her sisters who were meant to be her faithful supporters. To her sister Elizabeth (Betty Mackenzie), Coke wrote: 'your letter afflicted me greatly by giving me to understand that you was not that warm friend, which I once thought you ... after being alone a twelve month in this place, and during the greatest part of that time, suffering under all the misery and hardships that could be inflicted on the greatest criminal, that I have the mortification to find, that my friends (or at least those who call themselves so) shou'd have attempted nothing in my favour'.[94] As Davidoff has shown, sisters were very involved in each other's marriages, and a moral code called for siblings to support one another with duty, loyalty, and affection.[95]

Finding no evidence of friendship in her sister's letters, Coke bemoaned a lack of support. She remarked: 'I shou'd be very happy had all my relations the same regard for me that I have for

Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual, ed. and trans. by C. Fantazzi, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007, p. 320.

[93] Todd, 'The Virtuous Widow', pp. 71, 80.

[94] Coke, 'Mary Coke to Lady Elizabeth Campbell, July 16 1748', British Library Add. MS 22629, fol. 153.

[95] L. Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 133–35. Emily New stresses age as an important part of sibling identity. Mary, being the youngest, could have expected protection from her sisters. See 'Family Favouritism and Sibling Rivalry in Early Modern England', MA thesis, University of Warwick, 2010.

them'.[96] Her sisters, Coke complained, afflicted her and added to her distress: 'the unkindness of friends is infinitely more terrible, then all the injurious usage that can be inflicted on one by enemies'.[97] This disappointment in her family extended to society in general, as Coke complained: 'there is so much ingratitude, and so little friendship among the generality of people'.[98] In an undated letter likely from the late 1740s or early 50s, Coke wrote: 'tho' I hope there is some prospect of my seeing better days, yet my afflictions has so greatly impair'd my health and spirit ... I am startled at the apprehensions of having more difficulties to encounter ... I will do my duty by summoning all the fortitude I am mistress of to inable me to support myself'.[99] She was convinced as well as terrified in her early twenties that her life would never improve and perhaps even get worse. These were not words of resignation, as Coke voiced a degree of hope and determined to summon her own courage. This hope was, however, was already one marked in isolation, turning only to her own will and resourcefulness for relief.

Coke's disappointment in the world around her was again repeated with the death of the Duke of York in 1767. Though much later in her life, after she had been travelling for a few years, she linked this loss to her early experiences of marriage. The Duke of York was her love interest, and she believed the love was reciprocal, even though he was significantly younger than her. She reported in her journal that she had found the acquaintance 'very improper for both' and desired it to end, but he refused, and she grew increasingly attached to him. He returned from overseas with

[96] Coke, 'Mary Coke to Lady Suffolk, 10 December 1748', British Library MS 22629, fols 156–157. Lady Suffolk urged Mary to 'quiet your mind' and 'remove those suspicions'. See 'Lady Suffolk to Mary Coke', British Library Add. MS 22629, fol. 152. In another letter, she continued: 'take comfort my dear child be assured you have friends ... to add pain to your misery can never be the intention of any that correspond with you'. See British Library Add. MS 22629, fols 154–155. There is evidence that Lady Mary came around, at least to her sister Lady Dalkeith; a few months later, she wrote: '[you] have left me no room to accuse you of neglect or ingratitude'. See 'Mary Coke to Lady Dalkeith, 31 Oct 1748', National Records of Scotland NRAS859, Box 198, Bundle 2, Letter 31.

[97] Coke, 'Mary Coke to Lady Suffolk, 12 July 1748', British Library Add. MS. 22629, fol. 93.

[98] Coke, 'Mary Coke to Lady Suffolk 12 July 1748', British Library Add. MS 22629, fols 149–150.

[99] Coke, 'Mary Coke to Lady Suffolk', British Library Add. MS 22629. fol. 147.

the same sentiments and 'flattering intentions' for her.[100] His death, however, solidified her conviction that she was 'not born to be happy, and the same ill-fortune that attended me early in life pursues me still'.[101] According to Louisa, she reportedly displayed excessive amounts of grief at his death, weeping beside his funeral coffin.[102] This incident provoked ridicule and scorn from others for a few potential reasons, including his questionable reputation, their age difference, and his apparent denial of the affair.[103] Coke became increasingly convinced after his death that he had intended to marry her, which only worsened the ridicule.[104]

These experiences solidified her conviction that friends were false and family unfaithful. This pattern was established very early on and remained a constant in Coke's writing. One of her most common complaints was a lack of visits. The failure of friends to visit her in times of need was considered unkind, uncivil, unsympathetic, and evidence of false friendship. Lady Betty 'treated me unkindly ... I have ever shew'd her the greatest friendship'. Coke was always 'extremely civil' to the Duchess of Hamilton, and unfairly in return, she was 'extremely false to me'.[105] When Miss Pelham told Coke she did not have time to visit, Coke reflected: 'had fortune

[100] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 146–47.

[101] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 136–37.

[102] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. xcii.

[103] Prince Edward had a reputation for surrounding himself with pretty women, in particular courtesans, and many rumours surrounded his various sexual intrigues. See S. Tillyard, *A Royal Affair: George III and His Troublesome Siblings*, London, Vintage, 2007, pp. 69–70. There was also the age gap—Montagu's view that 'no man ever was in love with a woman of forty' is indicative of attitudes of her time. See *The Works of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Wortley Montagu: Including Her Correspondence, Poems, and Essays*, volume 4, London, Printed for R. Phillips, 1803, pp. 99–100. Finally, the Duke of York allegedly made fun of Lady Mary's interest, according to his mother. See Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol.1, p. xciv.

[104] Whether this was true, and exactly what the nature of their relationship was, is unknown. Lady Charlotte Bury in her journal relates an anecdote in which Coke, speaking to her mother in law, called herself 'the Duchess of York'. See *The Diary of a Lady-in-Waiting*, London, J. Lane, 1908, p. 2. Note, however, that Lady Mary Coke and Bury's mother, Duchess of Hamilton, were seemingly not on good terms. See Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 239.

[105] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 194–95.

smiled instead of frown'd, I shou'd not have wanted company. Friends wou'd have follow'd the sunshine of prosperity, tho' they shun the clouds of adversity'.[106] Here, she touches on a large component of kindness that involved sympathy and compassion. She consistently linked her isolation to her misfortune, insisting that 'people imagines ill fortune contageous, by the care they take to shun the unhappy'.[107]

Many of Coke's complaints were not unreasonable when we consider that elite society had certain expectations, obligations, and entitlements regarding notions of friendship, reciprocity, and visitations. Ideals of friendship revolved around virtues of civility, kindness, sympathy, and sincerity, evident throughout her journals. As discussed earlier, kindness during this period involved 'the reaching out of one individual to another in distress'.[108] Reflecting on the case of Lady Bolingbroke, Coke wrote that she 'repents her bad conduct, and is very miserable ... her family give great proof of their friendship in treating her with such kindness … I am really glad ... that friendship exists, tho' I don't meet with it'.[109] Though she could observe the existence of true friendship, she could not find it for herself, perhaps exacerbating her isolation even more. Coke was continually disappointed as people around her failed to meet her standards of friendship.

Morality, Sensibility, and Emotions in Lady Mary Coke

In organising the narrative of her life, Coke drew on contemporary ideals of sensibility and created a clear vision of herself of a solitary and virtuous sufferer, a vision which served as a means for understanding her own isolation and loneliness. Coke's journal was both a social and isolated activity, both 'an attempt to create social contact and a reminder of its absence'.[110] It was perhaps some comfort for her isolation to be able to tell someone just how isolated she was. The period of

[106] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 167.

[107] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 181.

[108] Pollock, 'The Practice of Kindness', p. 126.

[109] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 164. She referred here to Bolingbroke's unhappy marriage. Contemporaries reported that her husband was notoriously unfaithful and treated her terribly, and Lady Mary was no doubt drawing parallels with her own experiences of marriage and her family's alleged failure to provide support. See V. Surtees, 'Beauclerk, Lady Diana (1734–1808)', *ODNB* (accessed 6 June 2017).

[110] Bending, 'Miserable reflections', p. 42.

the 1740s to the 1770s was commonly considered the 'age of sensibility' that saw an increasing stress on feeling and sympathy, contrasted to a deceitful and unfeeling world.[111] Sensibility in the mid-eighteenth century was considered most natural to women, who suffered for their feelings.[112] Coke called upon sentiment and sensibility to justify both her melancholy and her isolation, whether chosen or inflicted.[113] Those of great sensitivity considered themselves morally superior to others. 'Great sensibility', Coke observed, 'is always proof of a good heart, and a good heart always engages my affections'.[114] She was too sincere to conform to the artificial conventions of 'the world', which was 'more unfeeling then any ever was'.[115] She valued tears as expressions of sensibility and sincerity. The abilities for women to feel spontaneous emotion, sympathise, and communicate through tears were 'marks of moral authority'.[116] Dominating the literature of sensibility, the motive of 'virtue in distress' was a central theme in narratives about and by women.[117]

Setting herself against the world, Coke recorded shedding her own tears often. When loved ones passed away, she mourned where others exhibited insensitivity. Upon news of a friend's death, for instance, 'tears came into my eyes'. While Coke mourned, others 'are very happy in so soon recovering the loss of their friends'.[118] Understood as a sign of both affliction and affection, Lady Mary valued the loyalty expressed in the act of weeping. When her housekeeper burst into tears, she

[111] Agorni, *Translating Italy*, p. 12.

[112] Yallop, *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England*, p. 119.

[113] Melancholy, although dangerous, was closely connected to sensibility, and therefore simultaneously evidenced a refined character and enjoyed currency as a fashionable condition. See Ingram and Sim, 'Introduction: Depression before Depression', p. 19.

[114] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 200.

[115] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 382.

[116] Gatrell, *City of Laughter*, p. 437.

[117] Agorni, *Translating Italy*, p. 17.

[118] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. 185.

expressed pleasure and the act 'gain'd my heart'.[119] When Coke was not highlighting her own virtuous tears, she was observing them exchanged between others, which further emphasised her own loneliness. When the Great Duchess 'cry'd excessively' in leaving the Empress, Coke commented, 'amiable she must be to have all her family adore her'.[120] On another occasion, she wrote 'Princess of Orange ... cry'd during the whole time of the supper ... tears run down her face ... first time she had seen her family since she left them ... they all seem to have a particular affection for her, I thought it so natural she shou'd be grieved to part with them, that I cou'd not help feeling her distress'.[121]

Coke, while expressing her emotions without reserve, often tried to conceal them in public. At one social engagement, she 'determined to keep from crying',[122] but she often wrote that she could not help but cry. At church, during a sermon on patience in suffering, she hoped her hat 'conceal'd what it was not in my power to suppress'.[123] Shedding tears in private met with widespread approval in the eighteenth century, but for women, crying in public could also lend a 'charming beauty' and demonstrate virtue.[124] Though sensibility valued spontaneous emotional response, however, it is important to remember that reason and control remained critical, and debilitating emotion was considered harmful.[125] In portraying her tears in this manner, Coke struck an ideal balance of 'spontaneity' and self-control in her expressions of emotion, critical to her self-presentation. When friends advised her to be active in society, she responded that she could not 'keep my affections disengaged' or 'be constantly chearful when I met with disappoints and

[119] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 406.

[120] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 315.

[121] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 199.

[122] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 142.

[123] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 290.

[124] Vincent-Buffault, *A History of Tears*, pp. 50–51.

[125] H. Oesterheld, 'Re-Writing the Woman of Feeling: Sarah Scott, Ann Radcliffe, Mary Wollstonecraft, and the Eighteenth-Century Novel of Sensibility', PhD thesis, University of California, Irvine, 2001, pp. 1–2.

vexations'.[126] The sincerity of emotions was critical to eighteenth-century values: 'the sincerity of the person writing is increasingly invoked as a touchstone of moral value and of the worth of the literature itself'.[127] This was particularly important for women, who were believed to be more vulnerable to distrust and censure. By upholding the moral ideal of sincerity, women writers upheld 'feminine purity' as well.[128]

Widowed women were thought to be particularly vulnerable to the disease of melancholy in the eighteenth century. Women in general were much more likely to be victims of it, because 'kind nature has given them a finer and more delicate constitution of body'.[129] Widows were thought to be particularly susceptible to melancholy.[130] The wealthy and the idle were also said to be more vulnerable, it being the 'disease of over-refined society'.[131] Coke, arguably, was all of these things, making her especially susceptible to the malady. She grouped herself with fellow sufferers and championed a certain heroism in suffering. The most unfortunate in life, she asserted, usually had the most merit. As a fellow sufferer, 'nobody feels more for the unfortunate'.[132] In the eighteenth

[126] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 134–35. She expressed an envy of those who could bear misfortune with cheerfulness. See p. 72.

[127] K. Sinanan and T. Milnes (eds.), *Romanticism, Sincerity and Authenticity*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 14.

[128] S. B. Rosenbaum, *Professing Sincerity: Modern Lyric Poetry, Commercial Culture and the Crisis in Reading*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2007, p. 20.

[129] T. Sydenham, *The Works of Thomas Sydenham, M.D. on Acute and Chronic Diseases...*, vol. 2, London, Printed for G. G. J. and J. Robinson, W. Otridge, S. Hayes, and E. Newbery, 1788, p. 116.

[130] E. Hobby, '"As Melancholy as a Sick Parrot": Depressed(?) Women at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century', *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2011, p. 31.

[131] G. Rippl, 'Mourning and Melancholia in England and its Transatlantic Colonies: Examples of Seventeenth-Century Female Appropriations', in M. Middeke and C. Wald (eds.), *Literature of Melancholia: Early Modern to Postmodern*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 68.

[132] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 206, 164, 424. In her memoir, Lady Louisa Stuart observed that Lady Mary 'love[d] a grievance', because being a heroic sufferer brought self-satisfaction. See *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, p. lxi.

century, tender-heartedness towards suffering and the unfortunate had become 'a barometer of sensibility'.[133] She presented many instances of her compassion to those in need, insisting she wished to give all the comfort she was able to the afflicted. Just how much comfort was that? While she insisted 'I always convey'd to them how much I felt their distress', she was insecure in her ability to actually help others.[134] Visiting a melancholy Ly Better, she 'hopes' she was useful to her in her visit. As she admitted, however, 'I am no heroine when I see distress', and could hardly bear to see the emotional distress of others.[135] In fact, she described herself as 'unfit company for anybody in distress ... I shou'd make you worse'.[136] Her own emotional distresses meant that while she could sympathise with others, she could not connect with them in any meaningful way. She understood this only through a lens of solitary, superior morality. This is a key point of difference from Gray, who felt a great sense of intimacy in sharing his solitude and melancholy with others who felt the same. She was often unwilling to share her own tears or melancholy, even with those closest to her, indicating a further degree of isolation in a time when friendship was represented as a refuge for shedding and sharing tears.[137] This was likely due to Coke's conviction that family and friends shunned her misfortune.

Tears could not be shared with a world that was corrupt and unfeeling, and by presenting them as solitary, tears evidenced sentimentality and set them above all others. By creating this distance and insisting on the need for isolation, Coke insisted on her own virtue apart from society. Whilst for Fanshawe in the seventeenth century, tears signified feminine weakness, they now claimed a moral superiority much like they had for Lacy. In each of these cases, however, they ultimately testified to the virtue of these women. Acceptable forms of solitude for women were especially reliant on convincing demonstrations of such virtue. Critical to this success was connecting their solitary emotions to their emotional communities, as dictated by current ideals of femininity. While Coke clung to her notion of virtuous solitude, to many of her contemporaries, this

[133] Porter, *English Society in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 305.

[134] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 159.

[135] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 365, 131.

[136] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 275.

[137] Vincent-Buffault, *A History of Tears*, p. 24.

isolation was not indicative of virtue, but rather the 'madness' to which Walpole had referred. It was soon after her return to England in September 1767 that she received the news of the Duke of York's death and retreated to the solitude of Notting Hill.[138] Princess Amelia, the Duke's aunt, urged her to 'come into the world again', because the isolation 'wd make people talk'.[139] Though Coke viewed her own solitude as virtuous, due to the rumours that surrounded her and the unconventional life she led, her isolation likely only worsened her reputation and disrepute.

Female Courage Abroad

As highlighted in the previous chapter, travel had a distinct association with masculine bravery, and Coke wished to similarly represent herself as a heroic and courageous traveller. Visiting Germany in 1763, she remarked on the difficulty of its roads: 'tho' I have no fears, I have a great dislike to dirt, nastiness and distresses, all which are innumerable'. Shortly thereafter, facing rough waves at sea, she was landed and obliged to walk several miles to Calais: 'forced to walk all that way ... cut so many holes in my shoes and stockings that my poor feet suffer'd ... notwithstanding my courage ... not able to bear the pain'.[140] This early passage bears witness to the fascinating position of an eighteenth-century female traveller. She boasted of a traditionally masculine heroism while also emphasising her delicate, feminine body. In 1767, Coke returned to Europe, visiting Brussels, France, and Germany. Having trouble finding accommodation in Liège, she encountered some villainous individuals: 'one of the men pursued me, and took hold of my arm to force me back ... I had need of all my courage ... bid the man let me go'.[141] In another instance, enduring wild weather and dirty roads, her coach broke down. Walking on alone with one of her maids, they were 'follow'd by ill fortune in every step ... walking in a dark night without anybody to assist me, in a strange country ... I never lost my courage'. The coach broke down a second time, and in this instance Coke lost all her servants and was 'quite alone'.[142]

Courage was a key motif of Coke's travels, and courage alone became more and more

[138] For more on this period at Notting Hill, see Bending, 'Miserable reflections'.

[139] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 143.

[140] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 7.

[141] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 59.

[142] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 168.

significant as she encountered a hostile world. She emphasised through her diary her ability to travel alone. Recounting her journey by coach through Brussels, she gave an account of a French officer who 'could not bear the thought of my eating ... by myself (which, thought I, wou'd be eat with much more comfort without you) but ... I said I was much obliged to him for his politeness'.[143] The French, she reflected, were 'amazed, when you can be in company, that you even chuse to be alone'.[144] Coke continually wished to highlight her solitude as a marker of her fortitude and virtue shown in contrast to the cruelty of others.[145] Although the acceptability of courage in women would be increasingly criticised by the later eighteenth century,[146] Coke was more interested in presenting her courage as exceptional than acceptable. She was the only heroic traveller, just as she was the only solitary sufferer. In her journey towards Vienna, she highlighted her courage, refinement and her singularity. The postillion scolded her for travelling after dark in unsafe areas, but Coke retorted that travellers must be accustomed to hardship.[147] Through her travels, she again highlighted her exceptional bravery and singularity.

The Isolation of Female Travel

Coke's early experiences of marriage, widowhood and friendship were critical for establishing the nature of her experiences and state of mind abroad. Though she alienated many with her personality and temper both at home and overseas, her gender made the extent of her isolation during her travels particularly pronounced. As previously mentioned, the increasing numbers of elite women travellers in the eighteenth century blurred many of the traditional gender stereotypes. Spending her time in the country house alone, Coke read large volumes of travels, likely imagining the joys of

[143] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 297.

[144] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 183.

[145] Mary's courage was supported in a letter from John Campbell to her brother-in-law: she had 'fortitude ... in time of danger' and 'sense and spirit ... I have never observed in woman ... when the winds blew high, she was not afraid'. See Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 59, 84.

[146] The acceptableness of courage in women was debated by the late eighteenth century. For further discussion, see C. D. Williams, 'Women Behaving Well: Early Modern Images of Female Courage', in Mounsey (ed.), *Presenting Gender*.

[147] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 267, 293, 298.

escaping England and finding different company to bring her joy.[148] Instead, she met with a deeper isolation that confirmed her estrangement from others, both at home and abroad. Her travels were significant in shaping her expressions of solitude and melancholy. Her experiences abroad became increasingly miserable, but much like her solitude, she was continually drawn back.

Coke's motives for travel stirred up a degree of controversy. Travel abroad for reasons of health was widely accepted in the eighteenth century,[149] but other apparent motives made her journeys questionable for a solitary female traveller. Her travels were not without criticism, both from people back in England and those abroad. Horace Walpole, who shared a tenuous friendship with Coke, viewed her motives as petty and foolish. He suggested she was running away from problems, to her own detriment: 'there was no end of having one's heart jolted about from one country to another ... a heart black and blue is horrible ... yr ladyship does not look the better for it; tho' you have endeavoured to conceal its bruises by embroidering it all over with spread eagles'.[150] He also suggested she harboured personal resentments: 'Do not leave them because somebody or other has offended you'.[151] Aside from these personal problems, Walpole also observed Coke was enamoured with meeting kings and queens, dazzled with the powerful royal courts of Europe.[152] Though partly in jest, his letters arguably reveal a lack of understanding of other possible motives of female travel. Women spoke ill of Coke's travelling, as well. Ly Litchfield, for instance, said ''tis abominable in Lady Mary to leave her friends so often'.[153]

Despite facing endless criticisms, Coke did not hold back from expressing her own judgements regarding other female travellers, illustrating that a woman's circumstances were important for assessing her virtues. When Madame Grovestin began sparking controversy travelling without her husband and family, Coke remarked: 'It seems a strange exploit for a lady who has a

[148] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 159.

[149] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 151.

[150] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 3.

[151] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 29–30.

[152] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, pp. 369–71.

[153] The Duchess of Norfolk repeated similar sentiments, writing that her departure from England again was a sentence against those who loved her See Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 256, 271, 286.

husband and five children', and added that it will certainly be a subject of gossip.[154] She added that she 'wou'd do better to stay at home'.[155] In criticising other female travellers, she was championing contemporary moral values while also distancing herself from such women, justifying her own travels as a widow and an exceptionally moral heroine. Coke's comments on female morality reveal a discrepancy between who she claimed to be and the person revealed through the actions of her life, much in a way observable in Lady Fanshawe. This is demonstrated, for instance, in her comments on love and manners. For instance, she was critical of a love affair of an older woman with a younger man, though herself guilty of it: 'Duchess of Bedford ... I never believed it, is it possible that a Lady turn'd sixty can think a young man of six or seven and twenty in love with her? ... while she keeps her sense she cannot think so redicuously'.[156] Though this could indicate regret in her past choices, she continued to esteem her past love affair. She also exclaimed 'I always think it is unlucky not to marry young', though it was certainly not 'lucky' for her.[157] She criticised a deterioration of modesty in contemporary women, who had 'no notion of controling their passions'. Such women included those who divorced and took up with other men.[158] Yet, these were the very accusations to which she herself was vulnerable, with a fiery disposition and less than traditional life on display.

It was not only criticism at home that Coke endured in relation to her travels. Although she hoped new scenery and new company would improve her health, she met with suspicion surrounding her travels when she arrived in France in 1770. Everyone wished to know the reason for her travels: 'They would not believe I came here for my health, they were curious to the last degree to find out what had brought me here ... puzzles to know how to answer'. Coke determined to say nothing regarding her purpose of travel. One of her friends had told them her unhappiness

[154] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 4, p. 475.

[155] Similarly, with regard to Lady Barrymore, who intended to travel to Europe with her marriage at an end, Coke commented: 'I asked her what she intended doing with her children ... appears to me a little mad'. See 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1775', National Archives of Scotland NRAS859, vol. 485.

[156] Coke, 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1775', NRAS859, vol. 485.

[157] Coke, 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1779', NRAS859, vol. 489.

[158] Coke, 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1778', NRAS859, vol. 488.

related to an attachment for a person who married another, which Coke denied.[159] Instead of finding peace of mind, she met with rumours and gossip, as people wondered 'the reason for an independently wealthy, forty-three-year-old woman deciding to travel abroad, "alone"'.[160] She was distressed with the suspicion surrounding her travels, concluding, 'I don't think my journey has had the effect that I hoped an intire change of scene might have brought about'.[161]

Her travels were a bitter disappointment, and her optimistic expectations for a new social life abroad in fact had the opposite effect of isolating her even more. Travelling 'alone', this isolation only ushered in further isolation. Three years later in Florence, Coke still expressed a desire to travel alone when she complained to sister Dalkeith: ''tis a terrible country to travel in for a Lady unless they take the precaution of having a gentleman with them which you know is not my method'.[162] When we consider her experience in emphasising a solitary narrative voice, Coke found a degree of authority, but was also vulnerable, inviting questions of morals that persisted even a century after her death. Whereas men like Newton and Gray felt isolated during their travels, Coke faced not only alienation but direct disapproval and disdain from others as a female traveller. Despite this, she continued her visits to Europe into the 1780s, despite being worried about more persecutions: 'I should like to make a little tour but not knowing whether my persecution is at an end I don't care to go to any great distance from England'.[163] Such negative experiences abroad did not extinguish her enthusiasm and hunger for travel, however, to which her later unpublished journals testify.

Conclusion

Women expressed feelings of solitude and isolation in varied ways. As in the male case studies considered, morality and virtue were central to conceptions and representations of solitude. Female

[159] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol 3, p. 199.

[160] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 83.

[161] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, pp. 201–202.

[162] Coke, 'Lady Mary Coke to Lady Greenwich, Dec 1773', National Archives of Scotland Box 196, Bundle 1, Letter 36.

[163] Coke, 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1777', National Archives of Scotland NRAS859, vol. 487.

expressions of solitude, however, rested to an even greater extent on their relationships with the social world around them. Male writers might demonstrate piety simply by keeping distance from the immorality that surrounded them. Women, however, considered naturally disinclined to solitude, had to prove their morality in solitude by emphasising not only distance, but also dependence on others. For Fanshawe, this consisted of locating her own worth in the goodness of her husband. Her movements were structured around the memory of her husband and their relationship, highlighted through contrasting moments of separation and togetherness. Why did Fanshawe emphasise her moments of aloneness? By doing so, she could emphasise the significance and value of her marriage and companionship, and fashion her actions around her husband. Solitude and isolation had redemptive qualities, as long as they were contingent in some way on the masculine realm. At the same time, however, they transcended this very realm in the actions and emotions their narratives expressed.

The reader can detect inconsistencies between the words these women wrote and the lives they led, as they carefully balanced and reconciled notions of solitude and adventure with feminine virtue and morality. Coke certainly also gained a degree of freedom in solitude when she became a widow and embraced the ability to travel for leisure. Her isolation and the freedom it gave, however, imprisoned her in a life of loneliness and alienation. These case studies have demonstrated that solitude could be an empowering tool for women, but it was very rarely just that, as empowerment had to be negotiated in relation to the limitations of female behaviour and agency. Compromises were necessary to ensure virtues were secure, and the meaning and significance of solitude for women was rich and varied. Coke experienced a great deal of isolation in her travels. Her travelling alone was often met with unpleasant gossip, rather than the pleasant new social life abroad that was hoped for.[164] Fanshawe encountered her own unique difficulties as well, but her travels placed less emphasis on pleasure and independence, and more on her husband, duty, and the masculine realm. Here, a key difference emerges between solitary experiences of married women as opposed to single widows. Fanshawe expressed her solitude successfully by portraying herself as the ideal wife, enduring solitude only so far as it assisted her husband. Coke's travels as a widow, however, suggested an enjoyment of her solitude, in turn provoking the suspicion of others and her own sense of unwanted isolation.

[164] Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 83.

Coke justified and celebrated her isolation from others as a claim to virtue, but she struggled to find any sense of belonging or peace in this isolation. In contrast to Fanshawe, she arguably had more resources to live her life as she wished as an eighteenth-century wealthy widow, and made fewer compromises to fit in with the masculine realm that she entered. She also, however, endured more rejection and suspicion, as well as unhappiness and discontent in her own experiences of solitude. These findings support the notion that solitude for women was more widely accepted when it was dependent on and fashioned closely around a social community, which highlighted a continuity with traditional cultural values of femininity. Travel offered the opportunity to re-conceptualise these categories and successfully maintain virtue in new ways, but there were clear limitations to this. Moving beyond the home to the realm of travel, we see the many facets of solitude and isolation that early modern women both enjoyed and endured, challenging whilst simultaneously reaffirming the values of their time.

Chapter 5. The Solitude of Royalist Exiles: Lady Ann Fanshawe and Robert Bargrave

The aim of this chapter is to explore the nature and expressions of solitude and isolation in the lives of two seventeenth-century royalist exiles, Robert Bargrave and Ann Fanshawe. More specifically, I will inquire into the ways they conceived of their lives abroad through a rhetoric of both solitary and communal suffering, ideals that were critical to their emotional community of royalist exiles. Fanshawe's memoir, as I discussed in Chapter Three, was addressed to her son. Not published until 1829, her intention was primarily to share with him the life and accomplishments of her late husband, diplomat Richard Fanshawe. Bargrave's diary, similarly, was written for private recollection, to make sense of his own experiences, and for the curiosity of family and friends.[1] His 'diary' was likely compiled retrospectively from notes he made during his travels.[2] The manuscript of Bargrave's travels was not published in full until 1999.[3]

The support network of exile communities was critical to travels abroad, and integrally connected to this network were the expressions of solitude which defined these communities. Between 1640 and 1659, hundreds of English royalists went into exile in Europe.[4] This exile was not the result of any single moment in time, but rather an ongoing movement throughout this period. Many royalists did not 'feel at home' in their homeland with the onslaught of the Civil War.[5] Royalist John Reresby wrote in 1654, 'The posture of affairs so changed the face of home,

[1] R. Bargrave, *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave: Levant Merchant (1647–1656)*, ed. M. G. Brennan, London, Hakluyt Society, 1999, p. 39.

[2] M. Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant: Robert Bargrave (1628–61)', *Music and Letters*, Vol. 53, No. 2, 1972, p. 145.

[3] It was passed between various family members and from the mid-eighteenth century was held at Bodleian Library, where it remains today. Brennan, editor of this published edition, suggests the likely possibility that another separate manuscript once existed, as fragments of Bargrave's first journey were published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the mid-nineteenth century. See *The Travel Diary of Robert Bargrave*, p. 47.

[4] G. Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p. 4.

[5] Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant', p. 144.

that to live there appeared worse than banishment; which caused most of our youth to travel'.[6] Abroad, royalist exiles shared an emotional space with like-minded sufferers, though dispersed far and wide. This communal support intermingled with expressions of cultural alienation and solitary suffering, each supporting and strengthening the other.

This chapter contributes to studies in the cultural history of royalists by examining the writings of individual exiles. Though scholars of the English Civil Wars have traditionally focused more on parliamentarians, over the past two decades an increasing body of work has emerged on royalists.[7] Within this emerging historiography, however, comparatively little research has been done on the experiences of the royalist exile since Paul Hardacre's 1953 publication.[8] A 2010

[6] J. Reresby, *The Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby*…, London, Printed for E. Jeffery and J. Rodwell, 1813, p. 1.

[7] See, for example: J. de Groot, *Royalist Identities*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; R. Wilcher, *The Writings of Royalism 1628–1660*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001; J. McElligott and D. L. Smith (eds.), *Royalists and Royalism during the English Civil Wars*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007; J. McElligott and D. L. Smith (eds.), *Royalists and Royalism during the Interregnum*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2010; L. Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641–1660*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989; A. Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2003; R. A. Anselment, *Royalist Resolve: Patient Fortitude in the English Civil War*, Newark DE, University of Delaware Press, 1988; J. McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2007; D. L. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640–1649*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994; R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642–1646*, 2nd ed., London, Routledge, 2003; D. Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England, 1649–1660*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960.

[8] P. H. Hardacre, 'The Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution, 1642–1660', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 1953. Notable exceptions include: P. Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and Its Aftermath, 1640–1690*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010; C. D'Addario, *Exile and Journey in Seventeenth-Century Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007; M. G. Brennan, 'The Exile of Two Kentish Royalists During the English Civil War', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 120, 2000; M. R. F. Williams, 'The Devotional Landscape of the Royalist Exile, 1649–1660', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 2014; Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile*. Work on the experiences of women in exile has largely focused on the life of Margaret Cavendish. See: A. Battigelli, *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind*, Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky, 2015; E. L. E. Rees, *Margaret Cavendish: Gender,*

collaboration has aimed to 're-vivify exilic experiences of the mid-century, affording new insights into the pressure that bore down on—and opportunities that presented themselves to—supporters of the Stuart monarchy'.[9] Philip Major highlights a thematic tension in the chapter of each contributor to a volume on seventeenth-century 'literatures of exile' between 'fluidity and stability': that is, between the exposure exiles faced to new cultures and ideas, and the attempt to hold on to the familiar through books, company, and previously known patterns of life.[10] This tension, I will argue, was critical to expressions of solitude and isolation, which both highlighted the experience of being alone in unfamiliar new cultures, but also reaffirmed the familiar, both through a community of fellow English exiles abroad and through communication with and reference to loved ones left behind. Williams in a 2014 study looks at the challenges royalist exiles faced in their religious devotion. Pointing to the importance of correspondence between royalists across physical divides, he observes that 'articulating common principles ... within the community helped to reduce the apparent discontinuities brought about by exile'. He further adds that there remained a 'dissonance' between 'overtures of unity' and 'strains of survival'.[11] This chapter aims to demonstrate the ways in which suffering and isolation could in fact strengthen a sense of unity, so that the seeming 'tension' and 'dissonance' between solitary suffering and communal support was transformed into a mutual dependence and intertwining of these concepts that was critical to the identity and experience of the royalist exile.

The exile experience is generally conceived of as an emotional journey. Facing separation,

Genre, Exile, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003; S. Wiseman, 'Margaret Cavendish among the Prophets: Performance Ideologies and Gender in and after the English Civil War', *Women's Writing*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1999. Also see: A. Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1984; C. Jackson, 'Unbridled Spirits, Women of the English Revolution: 1640–1660', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1999; A. Plowden, *Women All on Fire: The Women of the English Civil War*, Stroud, Sutton, 1998.

[9] Major, 'Introduction', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, p. 10.

[10] Major, 'Introduction', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile* p. 10.

[11] Williams, 'The Devotional Landscape of the Royalist Exile', pp. 919, 925.

banishment and displacement, 'its emotional expression is loss, usually manifested as sorrow'.[12] A clear link is consistently recognised between displacement and grief. Hardacre observes, 'The history of an exile is almost by definition a melancholy one. The thought of banishment from home ... carries with it suggestions of suffering, material and intellectual poverty, frustration, and paralyzing unhappiness'.[13] In particular, history of emotions scholar Thorley has recognised that 'between 1640 and 1660 emotion seems to have undergone a minor explosion of usage'.[14] This development suggests that a further consideration of emotion expression in royalist writings would be fruitful. De Groot has considered the importance of King Charles, who modelled the virtues of shared compassion and tearful expressions. After his death, royalists turned to 'gestures of grief' and 'tropes of sadness' to express communal inclusion.[15] Tears were a way to demonstrate virtue and express commitment to a political vision. They also affirmed unity with fellow royalists, so that highlighting the despair of solitary tears was a means to overcome that despair through a shared emotion that paradoxically defined itself as isolated. Wilcox reminds us that feelings of separation and isolation were not necessarily private or individual, and in the case of royalist exiles, the idea of a community of the excluded sufferers was critical.[16] Research in the history of emotions has demonstrated the innately and necessarily social nature of emotions. Weeping, for instance, is 'a social activity ... tears are strongly associated with attachment and separation'.[17] The expression of emotion connected individuals, and in the case of Bargrave and Fanshawe, we will see the ways in which it affirmed the virtues of solitary suffering and consequently, a sense of communal

[12] R. Edwards, 'Exile, Self, and Society', in M. I. Lagos-Pope (ed.), *Exile in Literature*, Lehigh PA, Bucknell University Press, 1988, p. 15.

[13] Hardacre, 'The Royalists in Exile', p. 353. Also see Edwards, 'Exile, Self and Society', p. 15; G. G. Kroeker, 'Introduction', in T. G. Fehler et al. (eds.), *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe: Strategies of Exile*, London, Pickering & Chatto, 2014, p. 2.

[14] D. Thorley, 'Towards a History of Emotion, 1562–1660', *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2013, p. 12.

[15] De Groot, *Royalist Identities*, p. 171.

[16] Wilcox, 'Selves in Strange Lands', p. 140.

[17] Dixon, *Weeping Britannia*, p. 8.

belonging.

The 'emotional community' of royalist exiles, I argue, shaped the way solitude was expressed and understood in the cultural worlds these individuals inhabited. Resisting normative cultural ideals, these individuals could improvise notions of solitude and rework emotional scripts to make sense of their experiences in exile whilst navigating the cultural expectations surrounding them. Therefore, the space in which we are considering these case studies is also critical to the emotions expressed. How were emotions shaped and influenced by the environments inhabited by royalist exiles? In examining these concepts of solitude, I will also consider gendered experiences of exile in the seventeenth century. Shepard has pointed to a dearth of scholarship on masculinity during the period between 1642 and 1660, 'despite being an area ripe for research ... only just beginning to explore … concepts of manhood … the lead here has primarily been taken by literary scholars rather than historians, and, as a result, such work has focused particularly on the representation of gender stereotypes in political debate rather than men's wartime experiences'.[18] How did royalist exiles interpret masculinity, and how did female exiles adopt or reinterpret such concepts in relation to their own experiences? How did gender impact and inform expressions of solitude in relation to expressed emotions? By looking at narratives articulating lived experiences, I aim to explore how expressions of solitude were linked to notions of gender for royalist exiles.

Royalists highly valued both solitude and companionship, and to understand the coexistence of these ideals, it is critical to recognise that seventeenth-century solitude rarely involved being completely alone.[19] Scholars have recognised the significance of solitude to royalists as a political vision, focusing primarily on prison literature and the cavalier poetry of rural retirement. Reichardt, analysing prison poetry and song, determines that 'solitary musings are treated with suspicion' and poets speak only as 'we' rather than 'I', eliminating the solitary ego.[20] This focus on the communal 'we', however, was expressed with a rhetoric of shared solitude and suffering. As Anselment notes,

[18] A. Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 2, 2005, p. 286. Also see K. Worley, 'Reason Sways Them: Masculinity and Political Authority in the English Civil War', PhD thesis, Brown University, 2008.

[19] Dillon, *Shakespeare and the Solitary Man*, p. xiv.

[20] D. Reichardt, '"At my grates no Althea": Prison Poetry and the Consolations of Sack in the Interregnum', *Parergon*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2003, p. 147.

despite the fact that prisoners in the seventeenth century endured crowded spaces rather than physical solitude, 'each asserts his identity amidst isolation and suffering' that reaffirmed a sense of membership among royalists.[21] Writings celebrating royalist retirement[22] put a similar emphasis on solitude, which was characterised as 'a space for political vision' and 'an occasion for political planning'.[23] Loxley too has emphasised that the rhetoric of retirement was expressed within a strategy of continued engagement.[24] These studies raise questions for further exploration. Was solitude an important motif for other forms of royalist writings, like autobiography? If notions of solitude were expressed in the company of other royalists, whether prisoners or friends, how did these individuals define and express solitude? How did being an exile abroad shape and inform these expressions of solitude, and what can this tell us about the experiences of royalists abroad? What was the relationship between notions of isolation and belonging to a dispersed community?

To explore the narratives of Robert Bargrave and Ann Fanshawe within these conceptual frameworks, this chapter considers the various ways in which exile abroad could be formulated and expressed as solitary travail, imprisonment, and cultural alienation. I will then turn to the importance of emotions in conveying these forms of solitude. What kinds of emotions were utilised in these narratives, and what can they tell us about the nature of solitude? The notion of masculine suffering amidst travels highlighted in the previous chapters was re-appropriated in the context of the seventeenth-century English Civil War, as many went into exile and endured hardship in the name of loyalty to the king. The suffering of fellow exiles was critical to the way royalists conceived of their own solitude and retirement. It was through an emotive rhetoric of suffering and isolation, I argue, that Fanshawe and Bargrave located and defined a sense of communal happiness. Expressions of solitude were juxtaposed with a supportive network of royalist exiles to demonstrate an isolated suffering that qualified them within an ideological community of exiles, and

[21] Anselment, *Royalist Resolve*, pp. 15–16.

[22] For more on this paradigm of retirement, see: T. F. Healy and J. Sawday (eds.), *Literature and the English Civil War*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990; J. Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 1997; Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*; E. Miner, *The Cavalier Mode from Jonson to Cotton*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1971.

[23] Olmsted, *The Imperfect Friend*, pp. 179–80.

[24] Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, pp. 210–11.

subsequently invested their causes and their identities with virtue and righteousness.

Robert Bargrave: Introduction

In 1628, Bargrave was born into a wealthy Kentish family. Son of the Anglican dean of Canterbury, his family were prominent in both royal and ecclesiastical service. In 1642, Bargrave was admitted pensioner of Clare College, and in 1643 matriculated from Corpus Christi, Oxford.[25] Several members of the Bargrave family came under attack during the Kentish Rebellions of the 1640s, included his father Isaac, who died shortly after being released from imprisonment.[26] Coinciding with these rebellions and civil unrest, Bargrave welcomed the opportunity to go abroad. He began travelling in a career as a merchant in the Levant Company.[27] After the death of Charles I, Bargrave was dislocated from any family royalties or wealth, losing his prominent position back home. Like many other royalist exiles, he became reliant on like-minded allies for assistance amidst his travels. Bargrave's diary records four separate journeys. The first is a sea voyage from England to Constantinople (1647–52) with the entourage of the new ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Sir Thomas Bendish, also recording his experiences as a merchant in Turkey.[28] The second account shares his overland journey back to England (1652–53), his third account records his travels in Spain and Italy (1654–56), and his fourth account documents his journey from Venice back to Margate, England (1656). In the midst of these journeys, in 1653, Bargrave married Elizabeth Turner of Canterbury. They had four children together, two of whom survived into adulthood.[29] The expression of solitude as separation from his wife became important when he married after his second trip, and I will explore this motif through his third and fourth journeys in the next chapter. Following his recorded travels, he was employed as personal secretary to Heneage Finch, Earl of Winchilsea, in 1656 and then appointed clerk of the castle court at Dover. He became secretary at Constantinople by the Levant Company, a position of 'considerable influence'.[30] Bargrave departed

[25] P. Davidson, 'Fanshawe, Ann, Lady Fanshawe (1625–1680)', *ODNB* (accessed 6 June 2017).

[26] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 11.

[27] Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant', p. 144.

[28] M. G. Brennan, 'Bargrave, Robert (1628–1661)', *ODNB* (accessed 6 June 2017).

[29] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 6.

[30] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 3.

for Constantinople with his wife in 1660, but contracted a fever and died en route in 1661, living just long enough to witness the restoration of the Stuarts.[31]

Bargrave was one of many fleeing from the Civil War in England, and his identity as a royalist exile was important both in forging connections abroad and in defining a sense of isolated suffering. He presented himself as 'dispossessed royalist gentry', exiled and forced to earn a living overseas.[32] He was imprisoned and isolated from his loved ones, enduring physical and psychological discomforts. At the same time, however, he clearly revelled in imitating the style of Grand Tour narratives, sightseeing and noting down the various points of interest. He also composed masques and enjoyed connecting with a variety of people abroad. Michael Brennan sees the concept of exile and escape as critical to the formation of the emerging tradition of recreational travel, 'a key, but still significantly underestimated, element in ... travel and exploration'.[33] Although Bargrave was as much an exile and merchant as tourist, his experiences can also be placed with other overland travellers of the seventeenth-century Grand Tour.[34] Fleeing from the Civil War, he was initiated into a new world of business and political intrigue, excited to both learn about international commerce and acquire experiences of the 'Grand Tour'. As such, he combined roles of merchant, tourist, and exile.

While the origins of the Grand Tour can be traced to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the genre of the Grand Tour narrative was still developing during Bargrave's time, conventions not becoming standardised until the late seventeenth century.[35] France and Italy were the most popular destinations, but Bargrave's travels as a merchant took him to more unusual destinations, setting his

[31] Brennan, 'The Exile of Two Kentish Royalists', p. 97.

[32] Brennan, 'The Exile of Two Kentish Royalists', p. 87.

[33] Brennan, *English Civil War Travellers*, p. 7.

[34] Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 219.

[35] M. G. Brennan (ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville, 1649–1654, William Hammond, 1655–1658 and Banaster Maynard, 1660–1663*, London, Hakluyt Society, 2004. Also see E. Chaney and T. Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe*, London, Tauris, 2013.

travel narrative apart from others.[36] His work is primarily a factual, dry, and impersonal writing typical of the seventeenth-century travel narrative. Woven within this overall picture, however, are brief moments of impassioned, personal, and unique perspective and language that in fact make his work more subjective than many travel diaries of his time.[37] Bargrave's journal is invaluable for its recordings of commercial and diplomatic affairs, depictions of social encounters with fellow exiled royalists as well as relatives, and early notions surrounding the Grand Tour. He also interspersed his own poetry, musical scorings, and personal reflections on his various cultural encounters abroad. For the purposes of my study, his diary reveals the importance of social networks abroad and the ways his identity as an exiled royalist allowed the development of a network that was communal, but also defined by its solitude. He strongly identified with the suffering of the exiled royalist. I am interested here in how his solitude was expressed, and how images of the exiled royalist as solitary traveller and as part of a collective social network were interrelated.

Solitary Seas and Masculine Suffering

Bargrave's travel narrative, which begins with his departure from England to Constantinople by sea in 1647, was from the onset marked by an immediate presence of others and an expressed communal suffering that signified both a shared physical space and shared ideology. Upon leaving on his first journey, he noted the company of many among him. 'Of young potentiary merchants', he wrote, 'there were with my self seaven, of whom the chief was mr Christopher Worsnam (my intimat camerade)'.[38] Immediately cast into a dangerous storm together, 'we stood some howres Combat with the violent Tempest but the wind turning at last directly against us, forc'd us to retreat'. They survived through the ordeal, 'praise be to God'. Alongside this communal fight for survival, however, Bargrave voiced his own inner experience set apart from the others: 'I found myselfe in a strange world ... I tossd and tumbled ... all wett and dabled, sick, hungry, without sleep, and in a confusion of Torments; hapy only in my unexperience, which made me thinke t'was allways thus at Seae; neither did I apprehend any great danger, in such an Extasie were all my

[36] Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant', p. 143. Stoye writes, for instance, that Spain had few visitors and was not part of the usual Grand Tour itineraries. See *English Travellers Abroad*, pp. 30, 328.

[37] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 42.

[38] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 54.

senses'.[39] Although Bargrave expressed relief in turning back and spending a month ashore, recalling a desire for the opportunity to 'recount our adventures to our friends', he quickly armed himself for 'new encounters' and 'began anew my Love-Pilgrimage'.[40]

These passages on Bargrave's first voyage introduce us to several concepts that will recur throughout his diary. Firstly, the merging together of concepts of solitary and communal, which depended on one another for expression. Secondly, the intertwining of suffering and joy. Bargrave suffered a severe storm alongside his crew, and although 'desirous' to return to shore, ultimately he joyfully endured the threat of future suffering when he embarked to sea again, presenting both his bravery and virtue as a royalist supporter, but also his genuine desire to travel as a tourist. Intertwined with an early vision of suffering at sea were feasts and 'jovialities' on board; they did not lack 'many handsom divertisments of musick and dancing'.[41] Bargrave enjoyed 'great jolity' at sea 'such as very few have mett with ... spent in mirth and feasting'.[42] As a trainee merchant, he was also enthusiastic to learn the basics of seamanship. Though it offered great opportunities, life at sea, as with travels overland, was also fraught with troubles and physical dangers, which Bargrave would continue to highlight throughout his narrative.

As we have noted in previous case studies, travel upon the sea was full of hardship and loss. On his third journey through Spain and Italy, Bargrave and fellow crew departed for Venice: 'having been blest throughout our whole past voyage with most favourable winds, and not deserving the continuance of so great enjoyments, we were receivd into the Gulfe with a fierce contrary Gaile, which for five whole dayes rather encreasd then abated to us ... our mariners allmost tired out with continuall labour, cold and wet'. When a messenger ran in to warn them of a rock

[39] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 54–55.

[40] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 55. Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 55. The term 'love-pilgrimage' reflects the nature of Bargrave's journey not just as a mariner, but as a grand tourist as well. For more on the development of pilgrimage during this time, see G. Tiffany, *Love's Pilgrimage: The Holy Journey in English Renaissance Literature,* Newark, University of Delaware Press, 2006.

[41] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 57.

[42] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 68.

ahead, they were 'heighten[ed] ... to Despaire'. Amidst this 'sad relation', Bargrave relates, they were as before 'by the providence of God ... preserv'd'.[43] Overland travel could be just as difficult; travelling through Spain, for instance, Bargrave complained of sleeping on 'a lowsy bed of hay, in a rude hole without a door', eating terrible food, navigating dangerous terrain, and finding little pleasure in the 'wretchedly barren' landscape. He followed up his list of complaints, however, by insisting on his own willingness to endure hardship and suffering, retaining a sense of blessings and praising God: 'My long and hazardous journey being ended, and I restord in health to my acquaintances and employment: I were indeed a bad Christian if I should not, in all Humilitie and Relligious Gratitude, retein a serious sence of so great blessings'.[44] Joy was never far away from suffering, promised by God's favour to the royalist cause. Again, Bargrave related: 'the Joy I had, to find my affaires in a good posture, and my endeavours favourd with Success, soon wip'd out the memories of my hard and painfull Journey'.[45] As Truman argues, the notion of 'heroic suffering' had heightened significance through the Civil War as royalists drew on the martyrdom on Charles I to claim their virtue.[46] By insisting upon this suffering and the ensuing loss of social order brought on by 'the enormous atrocity of regicide', royalists could point to signs of the divine wrath, placing God on their side.[47] Moments of danger highlighted God's direct preservation of Bargrave, and the suffering he endured demonstrated the morality of the royalist cause.

Such instances of suffering were closely tied to expressions of solitude. Confinement and isolation, as we will soon see, were themes taken up in royalist prison writings. Notions of solitude and isolation, however, were by no means limited to prisons. The ship could also serve as a kind of prison, and travellers, unable to choose their sea companions, often felt isolated. Travelling from the shores of Turkey to Italy, Bargrave and his crew were quarantined for 43 days. Sea voyagers were

[43] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 235.

[44] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 222–24.

[45] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 222.

[46] J. Truman, '"Lives there who loves his pain?": Suffering and Subjectivity in Early Modern England', PhD thesis, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001, p. 35.

[47] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, pp. 116–17.

often quarantined aboard if they came from areas suspected of the plague.[48] Bargrave complained, 'we were all severely examind ... punishd us with suffring the extremitie of :43: dayes Contumacia, so strictly banishd the converse of all, that not a Boat must touch our Shipp ... during which tedious sufferance I had no acceptable divertisements but my own privat studies ... at length our penance expir'd, and our full Lent of Solitude at Seae, brake out into a glad Carnevale on Shoar'.[49] 'Our solitude', of course, indicates the social and relational aspects of solitude in the seventeenth century. The suffering of solitude is immediately followed by joy in communal celebration and freedom on shore. This celebration 'seemd so much the more delightfull, by how much our Restreint had been more hard and tedious'. The suffering, then, was critical to the joy that followed, just as communal suffering was key to defining expressions of solitude.

By emphasising the suffering and endurance of his journeys, Bargrave highlighted not only God's favour for the royalist cause, but also his proven masculinity, closely tied to seventeenth-century notions of arduous travels. Bargrave provided further evidence of his own masculinity through his reason and self-control, exemplified through his loyalty to an unjust master, which we will discuss shortly. The ideal early modern man was 'rational, and exhibited self-control',[50] and a lack of reason put 'manhood at risk'.[51] As we have seen in previous chapters, social status was also important in defining and evaluating manhood, as 'it indirectly spoke to his honesty, his trustworthiness, and his general social and moral credibility'.[52] Bargrave's status was characteristic of many royalists, who could depend on high social standing for good reputations. He represented himself as a gentleman exercising self-control and reason, and this attention to building character was important both for ideals of the Grand Tour traveller and the royalist exile. By withstanding the vices found abroad, he proved his own virtue, which in turn proved him a true royalist. He drew on familiar tropes of travel as a threat to virtue, but re-conceptualised them within his particular

[48] Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 450.

[49] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 236.

[50] Worley, 'Reason Sways Them', p. 12.

[51] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 31.

[52] Worley, 'Reason Sways Them', p. 26.

communal identity.[53] Solitary suffering was intricately linked to the royalist communal identity, and for this reason it was critical to Bargrave's expressions of solitude.

Solitary Travels and Social Networks

Bargrave was almost always travelling with company, making his moments of expressed physical solitude immediately striking. In 1647, early on his first journey to Constantinople, Bargrave recounted arriving in Livorno, Italy: 'we soon had prattick and went to Shoare; but having no acquaintance there of mine own, his Lordship very kindly ordred me handsom accommodation ... out of my ambition for the language, as to see my cousins mr John Bargrave, and Mr John Raymnd then at Sienna, I put my Viaticum in my purse; and all alone adventurd thither'.[54] He continued, 'the land so peace-full and plentifull, that though I was a perfect stranger, all alone, and no language to serve me, yet I suffred not the lest inconvenience'.[55] Bargrave's expectation in his solitude was suffering, which he endured only with the expectation of companionship to follow. As a literary device, such language emphasised his bravery and willingness to face the unknown. Travelling from Siena to Florence, his cousins and fellow royalists guided him through the architecture and antiquities of the city.[56] After various other sightseeing stopovers, Bargrave arrived in Constantinople in October 1647 after approximately five months travelling.[57] In his second journey, passing through Holland he related: 'I found my sweet Cousin mrs Berbary Palmer, and divers other deare frends; whose sight and converse (after so many years absence from my Relations) was a Joy, strayning if not exceeding my Expression'.[58] Here, Bargrave tempered his joy in reuniting with a reminder of his suffering in solitary absence. Solitude serves the purpose of reminding readers of his virtue and individual feats of strength as well as his love for his fellow exiled community.

Travellers, although rarely physically alone, often depicted themselves as solitary, and for

[53] Bargrave draws on the familiar threat of Catholicism, for instance: 'one of friars tried to tempt him to their religion'. See *Travel Diary*, p. 59.

[54] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 60.

[55] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 62.

[56] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 63.

[57] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 74.

[58] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 167.

Bargrave such expressions were integral to instilling value into his social community. In reality, English gentlemen travelling in Europe in the seventeenth century 'nearly always travelled in company, an elementary precaution'.[59] They travelled with servants and fellow gentlemen met either casually or by arrangement. In addition, families often accompanied exiles to Europe.[60] On his second journey, Bargrave left Constantinople with James Modyford, Richard Nevett, and two servants.[61] Bargrave recorded his separation from them when they decided to take an alternate travel route, leaving him alone: 'Mr Nevett, unwilling to abandon mee to all the Care and trouble, returnd to find me, and so lost himself; thus wandring up and doune, in the darke, all alone, til a fire directed him to a Caravan of travellers'.[62] Eventually all reunited, they quickly lost their way again, suffering 'hunger and cold, together with our tiredness and vexation'.[63] Notably, as in the earlier instance of solitary travels in Italy, the end goal was reuniting. The joviality of companionship was never far behind the desolation of solitude, each invaluable to one another. Generally, Bargrave revelled in social occasions, and his friends and family were a great source of comfort and joy.[64] When Bargrave valued the pleasure of solitude, presence of society and expression of community were always alongside it, making solitude an imagined state of being that linked him more closely to his emotional community of royalist exiles.

Bargrave's network of fellow English exiles and travellers was significant to a sense of belonging and identification. Arriving in the French capital in the mid-1640s, he assumed a connection with other exiled Englishmen, who 'helped him with accommodation, connections, and ... news back home'.[65] He also had access to Charles II's exiled entourage as well as former

[59] Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 34.

[60] Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile*, p. 20.

[61] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 125.

[62] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 135.

[63] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 135–36.

[64] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 167.

[65] Brennan, 'The Exile of Two Kentish Royalists', p. 86.

supporters of Charles I.[66] The royal family in Heidelberg, for instance, honouring the memory of his father, gave Bargrave a warm welcome. Royalist exiles exchanged letters that reveal a network of close friends. Affectionate and compassionate, these writings recognised the consolation to be found in fellow sufferers amidst times of grief, as Major has observed.[67] It was in these moments of shared grief and isolation that intimate friendships developed. Although no known letters exist in the case of Bargrave, it is evident from his diary that he found this same degree of comfort in sharing his experience with other exiles, as well as ordering his experience in writing to perhaps share with family and friends. Whether actual or imagined communities, these were 'one of the greatest consolations of exile'.[68] With compatriots relying on one another for mutual assistance as they continually crossed paths, English exiles had a strong sense of unity.[69] Bargrave's expressions of his solitary travels strengthened such feelings of support, as the community of royalist exiles gave Bargrave a sense of social belonging as well as informing and shaping the emotions he upheld and celebrated.

Isolation in Interpersonal Conflict

Whilst Bargrave emphasised the value of his solitude and suffering within the framework of a community of exiles, not all company was valued in the same way. Some individuals along Bargrave's travels, rather than sharing his solitary suffering, caused this suffering. Bargrave's tenuous relationship with James Modyford became a focal point in the recounting of his first two journeys. Employed by Modyford under some kind of apprenticeship, the precise nature of their arrangement is unclear.[70] Ben-Amos has noted that in relationships between master and apprentice, 'a lack of clear boundaries between the contractual and the moral aspects of the arrangement of

[66] Brennan, 'The Exile of Two Kentish Royalists', p. 94. For a discussion of the significance of the Grand Tour for Charles II, see D. R. Evans, 'Charles II's "Grand Tour": Restoration Panegyric and the Rhetoric of Travel Literature', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 72, No. 1, 1993.

[67] Major, *Writings of Exile*, p. 81.

[68] J. Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile: Romantic and Victorian Writers in Italy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 23.

[69] Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 452.

[70] Possibly 'articled' to him: Brennan cites a lack of documents detailing Bargrave's terms of employment. See Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 21.

service could lead to many expectations, but at the same time to frustrations and disappointments'.[71] Bargrave's conflict with Modyford likely had a further class dimension, as his gentle origins and social network existed in tension with Modyford's commercial, mercantile background. Forced into 'closer contact through the hardships of travel',[72] Bargrave had an increasingly troubling relationship with him, whom he viewed as both unfair and insincere. Forever loyal and just, Bargrave complained of 'the unreasonable taskes impsd upon me by an unsatisfyd master; who because I was willing to do the utmost that I could, expected yet more from me'.

Bargrave emphasised the cruelty of Modyford's behaviour, but also his own loyalty and self-control despite such treatment. Modyford did not allow Bargrave 'moderat recreation as suffic'd to refresh my mind or to keep my body healthfull, but taunting allways at me for what I had left undone'. He also 'debarred' Bargrave from 'the Society of those men whom I knew the most ingenious of our Nation', and disliked him spending time on music, his primary passion. Bargrave criticised Modyford's 'feigned professions of affection' which were in reality mere discouragements and discontent.[73] Despite his complaints about Modyford, Bargrave 'waded through all with a continued faithfullness to him', perhaps making his diary a crucial outlet for his frustrations. He even masterminded Modyford's escape when Turkish officials came to arrest him: 'I directed my master a privat way to escape'.[74] As a result of this act of loyalty, Bargrave was taken instead and jailed; I will discuss this experience shortly. Their conflict continued in Bargrave's second journey back to England. Enjoying royal entertainment with an unidentified man, Modyford 'observeing him to discourse with me, and others to shewe me respect, reproached

[71] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, p. 171.

[72] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 24–25.

[73] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 87–88.

[74] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 105. Brennan provides the motives for Modyford's arrest: 'Sir Henry Hide, who was actively scheming ... to usurp Sir Thomas Bendish's own position as ambassador … was apprehended in August 1650 and placed under arrest on board a ship bound for England. Some of his allies concocted a desperate scheme to force the English merchants to release him, which apparently included, as an act of pure revenge for his intervention with the Grand Vizier, the seizing of Modyford and putting him privately to death'. See *Travel Diary*, p. 23.

me after we came home, of impudence'.[75] Bargrave was 'struck' and 'swallows' in the moment 'in consideration of his distemper and our relation'. Here, he again emphasised his capacity for reason and self-control by keeping passions in check in accordance with seventeenth-century notions of masculinity.[76]

This relationship was detrimental to Bargrave's sociability abroad. Whereas in the case of some master–servant relationships, emotional support and intimate friendship developed,[77] in Bargrave's case the relationship pushed him into an unwelcome isolation and subservience. Conflict yet again flared up when, having been promised liberty, he went to have dinner with a friend 'without license'. His master, in response, 'lockd me out of my Chamber ... telling me (though he had not any busyness for me, and two servants more to wayt upon him) he lookd I should allways attend him home; and at home: where my only emploiment was, to stand at a Distance from him, to look on him, and silently heare his egregious and endless abuses of mee'.[78] Soon after this incident, Bargrave was enjoying the fellowship of friends, and upon returning home they had 'an irreconcileable Jangle, because I tarried not to lead him home in case he had been distemperd'.[79] Modyford seemingly wanted Bargrave present at all times to serve his needs, but Bargrave, desirous of the many social opportunities around him, would not comply. This company of 'dull avaritious humours' also prevented Bargrave from visiting sights like the city of Leyden, standing in direct contrast to his cousins who encouraged his sightseeing experiences.[80] This conflict highlights the degree of importance Bargrave attached to his social networks. It also showcases the way in which Bargrave used others in his narrative to highlight his own isolated virtue. This virtue was never truly isolated, however, because it represented the struggles and sufferings of a fellow community of royalists.

[75] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 154.

[76] Worley, 'Reason Sways Them', p. 89. Also see Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*; and Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity'.

[77] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, pp. 173–74.

[78] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 154.

[79] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 154.

[80] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 167.

The Solitude of Imprisonment

Bargrave endured imprisonment while abroad, and emphasised the roles of solitude and suffering to celebrate friendship and support his fellow royalists. Taken by Turkish officials in the place of his employer Modyford, whom Bargrave protected from being put to death, he described his harrowing experience: 'I was thrust into a privat hole, where I found my frend Mr Dawes; fast in the Stocks ... here was I layd to accompany my frend: with whom I passd through many ensuing troubles: none of our frends yet knew where or in what condition we were ... nor was any acquaintance admittted to us, nor, we permitted to write our condition to our frends'.[81] Spending 'the torture of some houres', Bargrave was informed by another Englishman of his fate: 'to be chain'd forthwith to the botome of the boat; to lie in Chains every night'. Pleading with the Turks, they avoided this fate. Bargrave's friend Mr Dawes was becoming ill and Bargrave accommodated him with 'all the services' possible.[82] An official demanded Bargrave write a false document and Bargrave, facing a threat of hanging, responded: 'I had better be hangd for being true to my frends, then a Traitour to them; nor would I write so false a thing'. These instances reminded readers that Bargrave was a true and loyal friend to fellow Royalists.

Bargrave's experience in prison expresses the importance of enduring solitary suffering for a communal purpose. Then, sent to the French consul, Bargrave and Dawes were given 'iron chaines, fastnd from one to the other ... afforded scarse any thing but water to our thirst, course bread to our hunger, and the earth for our bedds ... we were not permitted even to the retiring house, without our armd attendance, neither suffred to go unchaind, or chaind apart; but one to see the others behaviour'. After the failed efforts of their frends to release them, they were moved to the castle: 'there threw us into a dismall, darke, and noisome dungeon ... thus we continued about 18 howres, not permitted the light of a Candle, nor the comfort of converse with any nor to heare the noise of me'.[83] Eventually, they were granted a candle and some books, unchained, and again through the efforts of their friends, given additional liberty: 'like creatures long confind to the Darke, we entertaind the welcome light with an exceeding Joy: and our honest frends (though through many daungers) did sometimes visit us; either by coming by night or in disguise; which helpd to unweary

[81] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 105–106.

[82] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 107.

[83] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 108–109.

the time, during the remainder of about a months imprisonment'.[84] Finally, 'our frends here grew so sensible of our sufferings ... forcibly they took Monsieur Mazarat, the chiefest merchant among the French, and brought him prisoner on board the English Shipps'. After various negotiations, they were free: 'we amongst our frends; our flags of Defyance were soon turnd into Ensignes of Joy ... speaking our wellcome to our frends, and theyr Gladness for our liberty'.[85] In Bargrave's view, this experience demonstrated his loyalty and virtue to the royalist community. This same community was equally loyal to him, facing dangers in order to assist with his release. This was further proof of his own virtue as well, that they would risk their lives for his freedom. Bargrave's expressions of solitude were intended to relate directly to the emotional community he identified with, and deem him worthy of belonging to that community.

A key component to the construction of prison experiences in royalist writings were notions of solitude. English politician and royalist Giles Strangways, writing from prison, composed a poem entitled 'Upon a private and retyred life'. Retirement was ideal, because 'if I lye buskinge in the sunne, tis ten to one, but I shalbe undone'. With this knowledge, he could 'sit and smile' on his sufferings.[86] English pamphleteer and author Richard Lovelace celebrated his imprisonment, viewing his jail as a 'private closet'. In his solitude, he was an 'anchorite', not a prisoner. The prison and its solitude was celebrated as a space of virtue.[87] Jerome de Groot has considered the significance of prisons for royalists in the 1640s and 50s. He identifies the prison as a 'locus both conceptually and physically for writers to engage with the questions of loyalty and of their own politically inflected identity'. Prisons were often depicted as filthy and irreligious, but prisoners often constructed themselves as 'devout, pious, or dutiful'.[88] Bargrave used the notion of solitude as a vehicle through which to express his loyalty and virtue, thereby making it a critical concept. He was jailed alongside his friend whilst still bemoaning his isolation and loss of companionship. The

[84] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 109.

[85] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 111.

[86] Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, p. 284.

[87] R. Lovelace, *The Liberty of the Imprisoned Royalist*, London, 1647, p. 1.

[88] J. De Groot, 'Prison Writing, Writing Prison during the 1640s and 1650s', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 72, No. 2, 2009, p. 194.

enforced nature of such physical company in fact frustrated and furthered Bargrave's sense of isolation. Perhaps rendered less valuable because the company was not chosen freely, he used the presence of his friend to further bemoan his solitary suffering. This in turn, however, enhanced the communal vision, as they suffered together and upheld a larger vision of royalist loyalty. This instance reminds us that expressions of solitude were not solely dependent on a physical state. In reality, prisoners rarely faced extreme degrees of solitude that would come to dominate prison life after the eighteenth century.[89]

While prison motifs explored notions of solitude, such themes were situated within intensely communal and social visions. Solitary musings were not expressed in isolation from communities. Solitude alone was 'treated with suspicion, as akin to Puritan introspection...poets in prison speak not as "I" but as "we"'.[90] Eliminating the solitary ego in favour of civic dialogue, the experience of prison was a communal activity. Reichhardt views cavalier prison poetry as largely breaking with earlier traditions of melancholy and solitary reflection, focusing on a celebration of common misfortune.[91] As a prisoner, Bargrave in his isolation emphasised and celebrated the value of friendship and loyalty, both for its significance for solitude as well as his eventual freedom. The notions of suffering and loyalty had a frequent resonance in royalist writings, finding expression in this experience of imprisonment. The royalist exile, locked up for political and religious beliefs, demonstrated 'the righteousness of his cause', which 'marked him as a fellow exile; a fellow sufferer'.[92] Loyalty in suffering helped the exile endure and eventually overcome his fate.[93]The

[89] R. A. Anselment, '"Stone Walls" and "I'ron Bars": Richard Lovelace and the Conventions of Seventeenth-Century Prison Literature', *Renaissance and Reformation*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 1993, p. 16. De Groot also writes, 'Prisons became far more crowded in the Civil War years'. See 'Prison Writing', p. 195.

[90] Reichardt, 'At my grates no Althea', pp. 147–48.

[91] Reichardt, 'At my grates no Althea', p. 139–40. Also see his 'The Constitution of Narrative Identity in Seventeenth-Century Prison Writing', in Bedford, Davis, and Kelly (eds.), *Early Modern Autobiography*.

[92] M. Keblusek, 'A Tortoise in the Shell: Royalist and Anglican Experience of Exile in the 1650s', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, pp. 86–87.

[93] Thompson, *The Art of Suffering and the Impact of Anti-Providential Thought*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003, p. 12. Themes of suffering and separation from friends were common in royalist prison writings. The 'true relation' of John Lilburne's suffering, for instance, alleges that he was 'laid in yrons, and his freinds denyed

Royalist community of sufferers could accept affliction patiently with inner peace, because they shared a righteous cause and an unwavering faith in God.[94] Whilst prison in the seventeenth century was characterised as a 'private realm of impotence' contrary to ideals of manliness,[95] for royalists it could become 'a space for political vision'.[96]

It is impossible to know just how isolated Bargrave felt, but he was possibly dramatising his imprisonment to maximise his depiction of suffering, since this was a dominant convention in royalist exile writings. Literary motifs of imprisonment and its accompanying themes invoked a sense of belonging to this group, identity asserted through isolation and suffering.[97] Bargrave did not overtly celebrate his solitary condition, but he emphasised and endured it to establish and identify himself within a community of royalist exiles. Having lost his father shortly after his father's own imprisonment, the experience was likely marred with embittered feelings of loss, but perhaps also a sense of pride in a loyalism that continued through the family line. This made the negotiation between the solitary and communal condition key to his expression, and to remove either conceptual framework would alter the rhetoric beyond recognition.[98] The same can be said for the experience of exile itself, both solitary and communal, 'an acutely personal experience and one shared by a group'.[99] The solitude of imprisonment was a key motif for Bargrave that allowed him to connect to the larger royalist exile community, give meaning to his narrative and his experiences, and provide a sense of belonging.

accesse to him'. See *A true relation of the materiall passages of Lieut. Col. Iohn Lilburnes sufferings*, London, 1646, p. 4.

[94] Anselment, '"Stone Walls" and "I'ron Bars"', pp. 20–21.

[95] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, p. 86.

[96] Olmsted, *The Imperfect Friend*, p. 179. Also see De Groot, *Royalist Identities*, p. 45.

[97] Anselment, '"Stone Walls" and "I'ron Bars"', pp. 15–16.

[98] D'Addario has observed that 'studies of Royalist texts suffer from insisting on either/or propositions'. See *Exile and Journey*, p. 59.

[99] Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile*, p. 5.

Seventeenth-Century Civil War and Royalist Exile Travellers

Experiences of exile, just like the characteristics of royalists themselves, were highly variable. This depended on several factors, including geography, laws and customs, attitudes of authorities, religious views, and economic opportunities in a new territory.[100] The word 'exile', while denoting banishment from a place by an act of force, 'also expresses a sense of "leaping out" towards something or somewhere, implying a matter of will'.[101] Although exile in a strict sense refers to banishment from one's homeland, very few exiles to Europe between 1640 and 1660 were formally banished. Many chose to leave voluntarily due to the unfavourable situation in England, despite not facing any imminent danger.[102] Nevertheless, 'increasing numbers of Englishmen' considered themselves to be exiles.[103]

Many exile experiences were grim and rife with both mental suffering and physical hardship. For royalists who followed the Stuarts into exile, this period was marked by distress and anxiety, as exiles faced immense poverty, misery and isolation.[104] The fact that many exiles returned home before the wars concluded is a testament to how difficult exile may have proven for some.[105] Anglican John Bramhall described the struggles of royalist exiles, 'whose minds are more intent on what they should eat to morrow, then what they should write, being chased as Vagabonds into the mercilesse world to beg relief of strangers'. He contrasted these with 'the meanest creatures' at home, secure from trouble, with books and friends to assist them.[106] Bargrave, although finding comfort in the royalist exile community, travelled off the standard tourist map, and

[100] Kroeker, 'Introduction', in Fehler et al. (eds.), *Religious Diaspora in Early Modern Europe*, p. 2.

[101] N. Israel, *Outlandish: Writing Between Exile and Diaspora*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000, p. 1.

[102] Major, 'Introduction', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, p. 3.

[103] E. Chaney, 'Richard Lassels and the Establishment of the Grand Tour: Catholic Cosmopolitans and Royalists in Exile, 1630–1660', PhD thesis, Warburg Institute, University of London, 1982, p. 43.

[104] K. D. Gelder and J. P. Vander Motton, 'A Broken Broker in Antwerp: William Aylesbury and the Duke of Buckingham's Goods, 1648–1650', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, p. 65.

[105] Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile*, pp. 108–109.

[106] J. Bramhall, *A just vindication of the Church of England*..., London, Printed for John Crook, 1654.

as Stoye observes, was often surrounded by 'unfamiliar landscape; strange institutions and unexpected vistas and the babble of foreign speech crowded upon him'.[107] For royalists, a separation from the English language would have 'highlighted their marginal status as a community of English political exiles', and served as a continual reminders of one's 'foreignness' and distance from English culture.[108] Although Bargrave's narrative is one of constant sociability with those around him, there is a sense of isolation in his interpersonal relationships as well as separation from his wife, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Alongside narratives of despair and suffering were those that portrayed the enjoyments of a cultural tourist more than a banished exile. Educational travel on the continent was, by the end of the 1630s, a convention for upper class gentlemen.[109] Whilst critics of travel warned against corruptions abroad, sociability took on new meaning amidst the Civil War, as many considered travel as an escape of corrupting influences at home. Scholars like Stoye and Raylor have cautioned against viewing all English experience of the continent during this period through the lens of the royalist exile, instead emphasising the continuity of the Grand Tour. Others have argued that most seventeenth-century tourism was motivated by political crisis. Chaney and Monga both agree that the reasons 'ordinary travellers' left England between 1640 and 1660 'cannot be separated from the Civil War and its aftermath'.[110] In Bargrave's case, the rhetoric of the Grand Tour and that of the royalist in political exile were not mutually exclusive, but could blend together seamlessly into a single narrative. We see this both in Bargrave's activities and in his self-presentation. He meets with his cousins to tour Italy, for instance, while also enduring imprisonment as an exile. His conceptions of masculinity and suffering both aligned him with royalist ideals whilst also situating his writing within commonplace ideals on travel and the Grand Tour. In many cases being an exile

[107] Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, p. 183.

[108] D'Addario, *Exile and Journey*, pp. 62–63.

[109] T. Raylor, 'Exiles, Expatriates, and Travellers: Towards a Cultural and Intellectual History of the English Abroad, 1640–1660', in Major (ed.), *Literatures of Exile*, p. 23.

[110] Chaney, 'Richard Lassels and the Establishment of the Grand Tour', p. 60. Also see L. Monga, '"Doom'd to Wander": Exile, Memoirs, and Early Modern Travel Narrative', *Annali d'Italianistica*, Vol. 20, 2002.

intersected with being a tourist, with elements of pleasure and pain intermingling.[111] Due both to the growth and accessibility of travel to Europe and the worsening situation at home, going abroad could be 'convenient educational self-exile'.[112]

Such interweaving of different influences points to the potential for positive and rewarding experiences in exile. Contemporary writers of the seventeenth century acknowledged the isolation of the exile experience, but often with a message of hope.[113] Joseph Hall encouraged exiles to 'be of good chear; we know that flowers removed, grow greater; and some plants which were but unthriving, and unwholsome in their own soyl, have grown both safe and flourishing in other Climates'.[114] Recent scholarship has considered the creative energies and positive impact displacement could have on the exile experience.[115] Writing and reading became particularly important for the successful retreat of many exiles, serving as 'a means of information, confirmation, recreation and comfort'.[116] For most exiles, displacement from one's home had both a positive and negative impact, productive as well as full of despair. How did being both a tourist and being an exile inform expressions of solitude? By embracing both identities, solitude became especially critical to these narratives, providing evidence of courage, loyalty, and virtue. Conceptualised through the intertwining of opposing concepts of aloneness and company, joy and misery, royalist exiles attempted to understand their experiences, as well as justify their beliefs and actions to themselves and to their readers. In considering Bargrave's relationships abroad, we have

[111] Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile*, p. 5. Under the reign of Charles I, formal banishment often included elements of a Grand Tour, as the king would commission these exiles to purchase pieces of art, combining 'disgrace' with 'cultural gains' (p. 12). Royalist exile John Reresby noted that the Puritan revolution made the Grand Tour a desirable option. See *The Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby*, p. 1.

[112] Brennan, *English Civil War Travellers*, p. 10.

[113] See, for example, J. Hall, *The balm of Gilead, or, Comforts for the distressed*…, London, Printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1650.

[114] Hall, *The balm of Gilead*, pp. 231-232.

[115] Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile*, p. 90. Also see Raylor, 'Exiles, Expatriates, and Travellers'; and Wilcox, 'Selves in Strange Lands'.

[116] Keblusek, 'A Tortoise in the Shell', p. 84. Also see Hardacre, 'The Royalists in Exile', p. 361.

gained a more complete picture of his exile experience. It was through his social interactions that Bargrave could express his solitude within the context of the royalist exile community. This was done by highlighting both the suffering he endured as well as the loyalty he showed to others, demonstrating the appropriate values to qualify him within his emotional community of royalist exiles.

Ann Fanshawe: Royalism, Gender and Civil War

Pious suffering and loyalty, as we explored in Bargrave's text, were critical to Fanshawe's narrative as well, acting as key defining elements in her solitude and her communal royalist identity. As we saw in the previous chapter, Fanshawe travelled extensively in exile with her husband Richard, documenting her experiences in a memoir addressed to her son. It was through her relationship with Richard, and her devotion to him, that she aligned her narrative to values of both the royalist exile and the ideal wife. By continually proving her loyalty and devotion to her husband, she also proved her loyalty to her King and the royalist cause. Suffering was expressed both in separation from her husband and in exile with her husband. Journeying to Bristol with her husband in 1645, she lamented that unbeknownst to her at the time, the worst of her misfortunes were still to come: 'Little though[t] I to leap into that sea that would tosse me untill it had racked me'.[117] On a voyage to England without her husband in 1646, Fanshawe recounted being shipwrecked: 'extreamly sick and bigg with child, I was sett a shore almost dead in the Iland of Silley … I was so cold I knew not what to doe … we were destitute of clothes … we thought every meal our last'.[118] Such tales of destructive storms and shipwreck conveyed the suffering and material deprivation of unsettled royalists like Fanshawe.[119] In each of these cases, she told tales of danger and deliverance, demonstrating the power and mercy of God and consequently, the virtue and righteousness of the royalist cause as well. Her narrative of events was shaped to demonstrate divine favour for her cause, making her writing inherently and overtly political.

Fanshawe's narrative engages in key royalist ideologies through an emphasis on loyalty to both Charles I and Charles II. John Loftis contends that Lady Fanshawe largely ignored the ideological conflicts of the Civil Wars, expressing a royalist conviction most clearly in her

[117] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 115.

[118] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 118.

[119] Keeble, 'Obedient Subjects?', p. 203.

reverence for Charles I.[120] However, Fanshawe also emphasised her loyalty to Charles II. Upon his ascension to power in 1660, she wrote that 'the hearts of all men in this kingdom moved at his will', granting to him the appearance of a deity. She expressed her ongoing commitment to him and refused to criticise any of his actions. When he failed to keep a promise that her husband would become a Secretary of State, for instance, Fanshawe concluded a man in his administration forced the King to break his word.[121] It was not only through her devotion to these men, however, that Fanshawe devoted herself to the royalist cause. Rather, the ideology runs through the themes of her narrative, in particular the theme of suffering and loyalty according to God's providence. This literary framework was highly prevalent in seventeenth-century texts, structuring and informing narratives into cohesive plots. Royalist memoirs offered a common theme of 'constancy in adversity and steadfast allegiance', as well as 'unswerving obedience of subjects'.[122] We saw in the previous chapter the ways in which these virtues found expression through her relationship with her husband, but they also had broader implications for the royalist exile community.

Suffering was understood as a communal fate integral to the royalist cause. Emphasising a longing to return home, Fanshawe lamented travelling as strangers far from home and hoped to 'return happily to our own country'.[123] Together with her husband, she 'complained of the cruelty of the rebells that forced us to wander. Then we again comforted ourselves in the submitting to God's will for his laws and our country, and remembered the lott and present sufferring of our king'.[124] Women's diaries and memoirs, using a providential framework, displayed 'the urge to impose some comprehensible order upon the fortuitous incidents that made up their lives'.[125] Fanshawe wrote: 'we appeared upon the stage to act what part God desined us ... we upon so righteous a cause cheerfully resolved to suffer what that would drive us to, which afflictions were

[120] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. xvi.

[121] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 140–42.

[122] Keeble, 'Obedient Subjects?', pp. 201–202.

[123] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 128.

[124] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 131.

[125] Mendelson, 'Stuart Women's Diaries', p. 186.

neither few not small'.[126] She endured suffering abroad much like Bargrave, but it was intertwined with the dynamic of the presence and absence of her husband.

Fanshawe also invoked the royalist trope of imprisonment to align herself with fellow royalists. As discussed in the previous chapter, she endured the imprisonment of both her father and later in life, her husband. She suffered for them and through separation from them. Not having heard from her husband, she wrote: 'it is unexpressible what affliction I was in. I neither eat nor slept, but trembled at every motion I heard, expecting the fatal news which at last came in their newsbook, which mentioned your father a prisonner'.[127] Like Bargrave, she emphasised the solitary suffering of imprisonment, but from the vantage point of a woman not confined in prison, but visiting 'all alone' as a loyal and obedient wife, and subsequently, a loyal royalist subject as well. Fanshawe obtained 'a certificate from a pysitian' to show her husband was ill 'as he commanded me', and obtained his release to travel to Bath for his health.[128]

The Civil War of the 1640s and 50s gave many writers an opportunity to reflect upon their experiences. During the Interregnum, two hundred women wrote and published works in a time when writing was largely a male-dominated sphere.[129] Although Fanshawe embraced her public and political activity and conceived bold and courageous strategies, she did so without any conflict to her female identity. Rather, 'the war simply lends wider meaning to her role as a faithful, obedient, and loving wife'.[130] Her expressions of solitude in exile, like Bargrave's, linked her to the royalist community. By exploring shared values through motifs of suffering, imprisonment, and cultural isolation, solitude became a shared and valued experience. Her expressions, however, were dependent on and inseparable from her husband, rendering her sense of inclusion within such a community ultimately more vulnerable. As we will see in the final chapter, when she returns home, the communal strength of solitary expression quickly became despairing isolation upon the death of

[126] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 113.

[127] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 134.

[128] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 135.

[129] Rippl, 'Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen's Autobiographical Writing', p. 21.

[130] Rose, *Gender and Heroism*, pp. 68–69.

her husband, changing the meaning and nature of her solitude.

Fanshawe: Friendship and Sociability

In this section, I consider Fanshawe's experiences of sociability in Spain and Portugal, following the Restoration when she was a diplomat's wife. Although no longer an exile, she expressed the same values of loyalty and honour within a new connected emotional community which celebrated service to the Crown. To highlight this loyalty, she continued to fashion herself as an ideal wife as well as a faithful and loyal friend. Fanshawe valued friendships with those she deemed virtuous, and emphasised to her son that this was the only company one should keep: 'I ever was ambitious to keep the best company, which I have done ... all the days of my life'.[131] She was adamant that her son be just as vigilant: 'ever keep the best qualifyed persons company, out of whom you will find advantage, and reserve some hours daily to examine yourself ... if you embark yourself in perpetuall conversation or recreation, you will certainly shiprack your mind and fortune'.[132] Virtuous friendships were celebrated. Sir Thomas Fanshawe, for instance, was remembered fondly for being 'very kind to us by assisting us in our wants ... remain obliged for his kindness and esteeme he hath for us'.[133] Fanshawe emphasised the support of a network of family and friends both at home and abroad. Taking leave of friends on their journey to Portugal for instance, 'We found my Lord Herbert at home. He entertained us with great civility and kindness'. Accompanied by 'my cousin Edgecombe and all his family, and with much company of the town', they 'would shew their kindnesse untill the last'.[134] She stressed appreciation through her narrative for those that treated them with civility and kindness. They received warm welcomes at their departure and arrival points, with many visits: 'our house was full of kindred and friends taking leave of us ... the company that came thither was very great, as was like wise that which accompanied us out of town'.[135] These instances highlight the importance of a support network for constructions of a loyalist community abroad.

[131] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 110.

[132] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 102.

[133] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 107.

[134] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 143–44.

[135] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 153.

Fanshawe was gifted in socialising with the foreign courts. She recorded that the Queen of Spain passed on to her a 'very high esteeme' and 'delight' in her conversation.[136] Archival evidence strengthens these claims that her character was highly esteemed. In a letter from Queen Mariana of Austria to her husband, she entreats him to instate Fanshawe to be 'the woman of my bedchamber', acknowledging 'her much vertue, and particular qualifications which I am informed are found in her person'.[137] In another letter, her departure is met with sadness: 'I shall ever hold you in particular esteem'.[138] Santaliestra has highlighted the extent to which scholars have underestimated Fanshawe's role in diplomatic affairs. The level of activity women like Fanshawe had in courtly affairs depended on 'wit, ingenuity and social skills', combined with the trust shared with their husbands.[139] In Fanshawe's case, she 'wove around her a dense web of female sociability', increasing social bonds with powerful women in order to help Richard achieve his diplomatic missions.[140] Although she presented herself as a discreet and loyal wife obeying her husband's orders, she in fact counselled and advised independently in her own networks of sociability.[141] Her strength, Santaliestra writes, 'preserved the embassy's dignity' in the absence of a rapidly ageing and unwell Richard.[142] Fanshawe gave her husband advice on matters of the Court. In one letter, she wrote: 'be cheerful, make much of thyself, be not surprised either with their want of their former kindness, which is always a loose garment put on over statesmen's clothes, nor be too thoughtful, but do the best that in thee lies for God's glory, for thy country's good and thy own honour and

[136] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 174.

[137] Valence House Museum, NR90/60.

[138] Valence House Museum, NR90/644.

[139] L. O. Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe, Ambassadress of England at the Court of Madrid (1664–1666)', in G. Sluga and C. James (eds.), *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, London, Routledge, 2016, p. 69.

[140] Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe', pp. 72, 80.

[141] Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe', p. 81.

[142] Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe', p. 79.

profit, and then submit cheerfully to God's decrees'.[143]

Despite her achievements, Fanshawe expressed a frustration with court etiquette abroad. Observing that they were visited by many 'persons of the court', she also noted that such visits were 'more formall than pleasant'.[144] Fanshawe, although adept in courtly conversation, apparently failed to observe certain etiquette of social visits, like offering afternoon snacks to guests.[145] The hollowness of such arbitrary social meetings resulted perhaps in a sense of isolation abroad. At the dining room, she and her children ate 'at a table alone all the way without any company'.[146] Her lodgings in Madrid were so small, that while her husband was being visited by men often, she complained, 'I could not suffer the ladys to visit me (though they much desired it), because I was so straitoned in my lodgings that in no sort were they convenient to receive persons of that quality'.[147] Interestingly, she wrote that it was they who desired the social interaction, perhaps to reinforce to readers her good character. Again, when her children were sick, this small-pox prevented social gathering, as she was forced to refuse offers to visit her.[148] This sense of isolation was not presented as particularly displeasing to her, but it was exacerbated because it extended to keeping a distance from her familiar and loving husband, as well. Even when together, Fanshawe notes a frequent isolation from Richard's activities and affairs. Though she exhibited her initiative and importance in the social circles of courtly life, she at times felt restricted, particularly when in Spain, where she was entangled in the rituals of foreign courtly etiquette. Such isolation, however, was echoed at home as well. In court, she remembered, 'I never journyed but either before him, or when he was gone, nor ever saw him but at church, for it was not in those days the fashion for honest women, except they have business, to visit a man's court'.[149] This comment upheld Fanshawe's ideal image

[143] *The Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote, Esq., Conington Castle*, London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1899, p. 228.

[144] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 147.

[145] Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe', p. 73.

[146] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 160.

[147] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 163.

[148] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 169.

[149] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 116.

of femininity, but also strikes the reader with a distressed tone of frustration.

Despite her many empowering experiences of solitude, Fanshawe's views were coloured by her widowhood and the passage of time, and unlike Bargrave, she did not express a strong sense of personal support after the loss of her husband. Heading home in 1666 with her five children and the body of her dead husband, Fanshawe complained: 'much less found I that compassion I expected upon the vew of my self ... to add to my afflictions, neither person sent to conduct me, either pass, or ship, or mony, to cary me 1000 miles, but some few letters of complement from the chief Ministers, bidding God helpe me, as they do to beggers; and they might have added, they had nothing for me, with great truth'.[150] She was particularly spiteful towards commissioner Lord Shaftesbury, who she believed was 'oppressing' her, trying to take her money, prevent her return home, and attempting 'to destroy the whole stock of honesty and innocence'.[151] Feeling isolated and abandoned by those she expected help from, the social world around her became untrustworthy and her support community unreliable. She believed, Loftus observes, that both Richard and herself 'had been treated ungenerously and even unjustly, and in the privacy of her Memoirs she expressed resentment'.[152] Whereas Bargrave never doubted his community of supporters, Fanshawe expressed an isolated vulnerability and questioned the loyalty of friendship after her husband's death, revealing a fundamental difference in the way she understood her solitude. Therefore, although her expressions of suffering and isolation, as with Bargrave, aligned her with fellow royalists, Fanshawe's expressions betrayed a much stronger sense of loneliness, alienation and abandonment. Ultimately, however, her faith was upheld through placing her trust in God, celebrating loyalty to the Crown, and finding her voice in the memory of her virtuous husband. We will return to her experiences of widowhood in the next chapter.

Emotional Communities in Exile

Having considered the values and experiences of Robert Bargrave and Ann Fanshawe, I will now explore the emotions associated with the rhetoric of the royalist exile community. In particular, tears were critical to genuine royalist expressions of suffering. King Charles I provided an

[150] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 189.

[151] Glaser writes that Lady Fanshawe's 'criticism of several high officials in the King's service' was likely unjust on her part. See *The Creation of the Self*, p. 95.

[152] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. xvii.

exemplary model, highlighted in his spiritual autobiography *Eikon Basilike.*[153] He led a secluded life, and his martyrdom was 'a tearful suffering for which witnesses should shed tears of compassion'.[154] Through weeping, bonds of compassion that united the monarchy were restored and royalists could look forward to its future restoration. Those who did not shed tears broke 'a divine social covenant'.[155] Through his kingship, Charles had stressed an 'affection to the public' over private interest. In addition, his construction of virtue was intended to be shared among his followers, united together in common conscience.[156] Therefore, both emotional affect and morality were intensely public experiences, and after his death, virtuous suffering and its expression through tears bound together his supporters. This stirring up of the passions, as Gheeraert-Graffeuille argues, was also effective in persuading readers to the righteousness of the royalist cause.[157] Upon Charles' death, royalists embraced 'gestures of grief' and 'tropes of sadness', urging one another to 'melt into showers, weep ourselves away'.[158] There was also a sense that language could not adequately express this grief, which made expressed gestures of tears, sighs, and groans particularly important.[159] Sullivan has demonstrated how in the seventeenth century, devotional Protestant writers typically aligned their 'sadness with the holy, and saving, sorrow of the elect'. Similarly, she argued that sadness could also serve 'as form of protest, mobilized in response to an unjust political

[153] J. Shawe, *Eikon basilike, or, The princes royal being the sum of a sermon preached in the minister of York on the Lords-Day morning…,* Printed by John Macock for Nathaniel Brooks, 1650.

[154] J. Staines, 'Compassion in the Public Sphere of Milton and King Charles', in G. K. Paster, K. Rowe, and M. Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotions*, Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, 2004, p. 105.

[155] Staines, 'Compassion in the Public Sphere', p. 105.

[156] K. Sharpe, 'Private Conscience and Public Duty in the Writings of Charles I', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1997, pp. 643, 646.

[157] C. Gheeraert-Graffeuille, 'The Tragedy of Regicide in Interregnum and Restoration Histories of the English Civil Wars', *Études Épistémè*, Vol. 20, 2011, https://episteme.revues.org/430?lang=en (accessed 24 May 2017).

[158] De Groot, *Royalist Identities*, p. 171.

[159] Gheeraert-Graffeuille, 'The Tragedy of Regicide'.

or social order'.[160] Royalists like Bargrave and Fanshawe, adopting a rhetoric of tears and suffering, reappropriated these cultural constructions within their emotional communities. Protestant writers stressed the 'mutuality of godly sorrow and irresistable joy', and royalists did the same by aligning their political visions with inner piety.[161] Therefore, the adoption of tears was significant for the emotional community of royalist exiles, as it demonstrated the virtue and justice of their cause and unified dispersed individuals under a shared emotional language.

Bargrave invoked such tears in his narrative to align himself with this emotional community, whilst also emphasising the reasonableness of such tears. As a merchant sailor, he witnessed loss of crew on a regular basis. Composing a poem to Bendyshe for the loss of his son, Bargrave asked: 'Can such newes arrive the ears of any, and produce no tears? ... no, they cannot chuse but crie theyr moisture out, and wish to die ... though your eyes do shed a flood of teares, and your harts dropp blood'.[162] He composed this elegie to impart his grief. Bargrave concluded that any man with sense had no choice but to weep. This was a response both unavoidable and noble, despite being 'untame'. By aligning reason to passions, crying was framed as both a manly and a human response. Having argued for the inevitability of crying, he then noted that tears were pointless, because they could not alter God's decree. Being 'ordeined on high ... tis pious courage to submit'. Do not grieve, Bargrave urges, because he has gone to a 'world of bliss'. Therefore, he urges, 'be cheerful'.[163] Bargrave could both weep with unrestrained passion and humbly accept divine ordinance with reason and composure.[164]

In this elegy, Bargrave was at the same time reacting to the news of the execution of King Charles I with his tears, as well as reflections on the appropriateness of weeping. Elegies, as emotional as they were, were concerned with sustaining the ideal of masculinity by emphasising an ultimate aim of loyalty. With the frequency of tears in the text, however, the language of eulogies

[160] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p. 4.

[161] Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*, p. 146.

[162] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 79.

[163] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 79–80.

[164] Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*, pp. 62–63.

struggled 'to avoid the charge of being thought weak and effeminate in their grief'.[165] Some writers used women as a literary device to avoid this association. As Lacey points out, infusing 'hysterical grief or swooning horror' into a female could provoke sympathy, while also protecting ideals of masculinity.[166] Female writers too presented tears and prayers as 'appropriate female responses' to the crisis. As we saw in the previous chapter, Fanshawe too used her tears both to demonstrate loyalty and reiterate female weakness. Her emotions at times serve to remind readers of her innate inferiority as a woman. In this sense, her tears were portrayed negatively as a way to retain her modesty and align herself with gendered cultural stereotypes.

The space in which tears were shed, along with the cause and intent for these tears, determined how Fanshawe's tears were interpreted and invested with different cultural meanings. Whilst her tears could highlight her feminine weakness and irrationality, as we saw when she had a disagreement with her husband, they could also stand as a testament to her suffering and loyalty to her husband and the Crown. Ross has shown how women's tears could encompass 'an act of faith and constancy to the ongoing political cause'.[167] Fanshawe made a careful distinction between her different kinds of tears in order to both protect her female modesty, but also claim inclusion in the communal political vision of royalist suffering. She also, however, expressed grief over an inability to express emotions. Suggesting that it was not acceptable in public courtly life, she grieved that to maintain her honour, she could not show her grief. The necessity of hiding certain emotions was 'an unavoidable rule of courtly life and diplomacy'.[168] This may further shed light on a sense of isolation during her time in Spain, where the boundaries for her behaviour became more rigid in terms of self-expression.

Whilst at home lamenting the absence of her husband abroad, Fanshawe wrote to him: 'I am

[165] Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*, p. 98. For royalists, elegies could in fact be 'a means of effecting fundamental military aim'. See Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, p. 193.

[166] Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr*, p. 98.

[167] S. Ross, 'Tears, Bezoars and Blazing Comets: Gender and Politics in Hester Pulter's Civil War Lyrics', *Literature Compass*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2005, p. 6. Available from Wiley Online Library (accessed 20 June 2017).

[168] Santaliestra, 'Lady Anne Fanshawe', p. 79.

infinitely troubled that I have not yet heard from thee ... how many fears and hopes I have daily and what disorder of mind I am often in, and the more because I must not in point of honour show it but to God that sees my heart, and I hope hears my perpetual prayers for thy health and prosperity'.[169] To maintain honour, her negative feelings of despair, fear and loneliness were hidden. She does, nevertheless, share these feelings with her husband. The act of writing may have given her the opportunity to verbalise a wider range of feelings not possible in her day to day life. This was true for Bargrave as well, who expressed his most intense emotions in the elegies and poems interspersed through his narrative. Fanshawe's emotions were expressed to remind readers of her femininity as well as inferiority and dependence on her husband, and in turn, to demonstrate her virtue and morality. It was not, as with Bargrave, essential to highlight her solidarity and companionship with networks of royalists abroad. Fanshawe's focus was on her husband, who encapsulated this network. Through loyalty and obedience to him, she placed herself within this virtuous community of exiles.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the uses and significance of emotional communities of exiles for Bargrave and Fanshawe. Their case studies illustrate the importance of a conceptual framework of solitude for notions of virtue and loyalty within the royalist communities they called home. To qualify and situate themselves within their social networks, they had to demonstrate an endurance of solitary suffering, a suffering at once isolated and communal. Travel and exile were the landscapes through which they shared their experiences of solitude, enduring separation from loved ones, physical hardships at sea and on land, and social isolation within strange new cultures. These expressions of isolation were forever informed by the emotional communities that instilled meaning upon this isolation, investing it with goodness, morality, and evidence of God's favour to the royalist cause. While Fanshawe focused this community within the memory of her husband and her family line, Bargrave found his support in friendships and social networks dispersed across Europe. Although rarely physically alone, the conceptual notion of being isolated is what allowed exiles like Bargrave and Fanshawe to overcome this very isolation and express solidarity. They improvised emotional expressions of solitude to make sense of their experiences as exiles and connect themselves to the larger exile community of royalists. Unlike Bargrave, Fanshawe's expressions of solitude were more ambiguous, as a sense of empowerment was intermingled with bitter memories

[169] *The Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote*, p. 235.

of abandonment and loss. Although she was clearly empowered in her own solitude and strengthened in her memories of suffering shared with her husband, her isolation became less social and more disconnected when Richard died, as we will see in the following chapter. She could regain a great deal of her strength, however, through reliance on his memory, her family, and providential favour.

Exilic communities could offer a variety of comforts that both eased suffering and also insisted upon it. On the one hand, by belonging to a community of fellow compatriots, a sense of dislocation and alienation could be overcome. With new networks of communication and support, exiles could attempt to re-establish elements of their former lives, or integrate into their new cultures. On the other hand, the notion of suffering was central to the intimate friendships royalists enjoyed with one another. Exiles must endure misery, and in doing so, they emerged with strong convictions and personal piety.[170] The royalist exile, in his or her suffering, could also be productive and successful in formulating and importing new ideas. Sorrow and grief were useful forces in fostering growth, prosperity, and future happiness. This ideology was important both for a sense of community as well as for isolation. Royalists were urged to retreat and turn inward to pray and contemplate, but they found reassurance in their isolated suffering by looking outside themselves to fellow persecuted exiles.

Both Bargrave and Fanshawe highlighted the suffering that their travels entailed both through physical hardship and psychological isolation. In the next chapter, I will explore how this isolation could be expressed through a separation and longing for loved ones at home. As we have seen, this was a critical framework for Fanshawe, as her most frequent expressions of isolation were predicated on the presence or absence of her husband. Within this motif, we have additional registers of solitude either not found or not possible in Bargrave, including her most intense expressions of solitude at home and stationary, as well as her expressions of isolation abroad with her husband. Notions of companionship and solitude were both critical to royalist literary expression. However mutually exclusive they might at first glance appear, these concepts complemented one another for royalist exiles like Fanshawe and Bargrave,[171] though in distinctly different ways. As we saw in our chapter on women, Fanshawe's narrative and conception of her

[170] Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, p. 276.

[171] Major, *Writings of Exile*, p. 137.

solitude, influenced by the need to assert feminine virtue, was predicated on her husband. Bargrave's expressions of solitude, on the other hand, were aligned to royalists in a more abstract sense. By emphasising solitary suffering, however, they both highlighted their own virtues and the justness of their communal cause.

Chapter 6. Separation and Return: Expressions of Home

By considering expressions of solitude at home, we can gain insight into the connection of emotional communities to specific contexts and spaces, and accompanying degrees of unsettledness. Emotional communities, as we have seen throughout these chapters, could be imagined or conceptual ones that travellers consistently upheld, regardless of where they went or who they spent their time with. Was a sense of solitude and unsettledness, then, impacted by context and location? How were emotional and social communities influenced by these changes in movement and social context, and what can this tell us about the nature of solitude? I will also consider how different genres of writing considered impacted connections to home and a sense of solitude. Did these varied modes of writing influence the ways in which solitude was expressed and experienced in different locations? This chapter aims to consider how travellers expressed and understood their own feelings and attitudes towards home, whether upon departure, separation, or return. I aim to focus not just on spousal relationships, but on those relationships travellers expressed as particularly important to them, which notably included parents and friends as well. The awareness of distance from home and its familiar places and people was critical to all the travellers we have considered. Solitude was understood and expressed with continual reference to those who were left behind.

This chapter will consider my eight case studies and ask: how did conceptions of home shape and impact expressions of solitude? Did distance alienate, or strengthen connections to those left behind? How did connections to home shape experiences of solitude and relationships while abroad, and similarly, how did travel abroad impact relationships upon returning home? Did such expressions of solitude continue or change when reuniting with those family and friends? This chapter aims to analyse travellers' relationships to home and loved ones left behind, and the emotional expressions found in each of their narratives. I will explore the ways in which connections to friends, family, and spouses informed both positive and negative experiences of isolation. Whilst some celebrated the return to familiar relationships as well as forging new social alliances, others mourned an enduring sense of alienation and status as an outsider. Closely connected to these questions, this chapter will also consider emotional expressions related to home. What feelings did travellers express when remembering home and when returning home? Were these emotions distinct from those expressed amidst travels, and what can this reveal about the nature of isolation? Begiato, in her 2015 study 'Tears and the Manly Sailor in England, *c.* 1760–1860', considers images of the sailor's farewell and return. She argues that the focus on women's

emotional responses to separation, reunion and loss also instilled men with value and honour.[1] By focusing on these moments of departure and return, the sailor was presented as 'being both a tender husband and father and a fighting man able to perform his duty to the nation'.[2] How did men and women record their own experiences of such moments? By looking at self-narratives, we can explore 'the ways that people told and lived the stories of their lives ... to reconstruct the inner lives of people in the past'.[3]

There has been an increased interest in sailors' lives on shore, but their subjective inner experiences and emotional expressions remain largely unexamined. Cheryl Fury's study on the social history of Elizabethan seamen devoted a chapter to considering life on shore, giving particular attention to the experiences of the women life behind: 'Geographic mobility intensified the woman's loneliness during periods of separation and lessened access to the vital assistance of accommodating kin and friends, so integral a part of the early modern support system ... the vast majority of wives who opted to stay ashore felt the loss of their mates in terms of companionship and support'.[4] Ann Christensen has raised further questions concerning the relationship between these women and their husbands in the early modern period. She argues that this issue, which 'gained particular urgency and currency in England when expanding and intensifying commerce required more men to travel', featured most prominently in domestic drama of the period.[5] Marriage sermons and travel manuals, whilst being full of advice on how individuals might conduct themselves abroad, failed to give attention to 'the ports and households that launched them'.[6]

[1] Begatio, 'Tears and the Manly Sailor', p. 123.

[2] Begatio, 'Tears and the Manly Sailor', p. 127.

[3] MacDonald, 'The Fearefull Estate of Francis Spira', p. 61.

[4] Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, pp. 212–13. For further studies on the experiences of sailor's wives, see: M. Lincoln, *Naval Wives and Mistresses, 1750–1815*, London, National Maritime Museum Publishing, 2007; and M. A. Riebe, 'Public Perception of Sailor's Wives in Eighteenth-Century England', PhD thesis, Kansas City, University of Missouri, 2011.

[5] A. Christensen, *Separation Scenes: Domestic Drama in Early Modern England*, Lincoln NE, University of Nebraska Press, pp. 1–2.

[6] Christensen, *Separation Scenes*, p. 19.

Christensen shows the ways in which marriage could be negatively impacted by separation, particularly by looking at how women coped with absence of husbands. She ends her study by glancing at John Donne to suggest 'his experiences of separation and longing ... were, in fact, common to the era'.[7]

These insights point to a fruitful direction for study that has hitherto been neglected in scholarship: while there has been rise of interest in women left behind, I am interested in further exploring the ways both male and female travellers were impacted by this absence from home. Were they as disconnected from memories and thoughts of home as the advice literature of the period suggested? By looking at the self-narratives of travellers, we can gain a sense of how they positioned themselves in relation to home. Travel writings offer valuable insights into the emotional worlds of early modern England. Picard and Robinson note that travel is 'a field par excellence for the study of the articulation between personal subjective experience of the world and collective emotional and cognitive cultures through which this experience is framed, learnt, and put into meaningful words, images and categories'.[8] A recent symposium, 'Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe', has drawn attention to the importance of emotions for experiences of exile and displacement, seeking to uncover how exiles experienced 'dislocation from families and friends and the disintegration of communities'.[9] This dislocation and separation from home impacted the emotional worlds of exiles and travellers alike.

References to home impacted travels abroad in significant ways. Robinson correctly points out that 'to understand the emotional universe of the tourist ... we need to take into account the interplay not only between tourists and objects/nature, but also between tourists and the cultures and

[7] Christensen, *Separation Scenes*, p. 218.

[8] Picard, 'Tourism, Awe and Inner Journeys', p. 2.

[9] S. Broomhall, 'Emotions Left Behind: Other Narratives of Early Modern Migration', *Histories of Emotion* [website], 2016, https://historiesofemotion.com/2016/06/24/emotions-left-behind-other- narratives-of-early-modern- migration/ (accessed 4 April 2017). This blog stems from her essay, 'Channelled Affections: Pressure and Persuasion in Letters to Huguenot Refugees in England, 1569–1570', in G. Tarantino and C. Zika (eds.), *Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile and Emotions in Early Modern Europe*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming.

societies they temporarily inhabit'.[10] I would add, however, that one also needs to consider the world left behind, as the traveller's emotional encounters abroad and the cultural ideals that shaped such emotions, were inevitably influenced and informed by attitudes from and towards home. Home served to confirm and promote 'identity and perspective to familiar and unfamiliar'.[11] In travel narratives, focus on an unknown space was defined in terms of another familiar space, so that foreign landscapes became 'vehicles for reflecting on and redefining home'.[12] Sarah Crabtree's fascinating 2014 study on sea travel has shown that some travellers clung 'ever more tightly to what they deemed "appropriate" spatial orientation and social interaction', so that the systems and structures of life in England were in fact reasserted and upheld, rather than modified or forgotten.[13] Schwartz similarly argues that 'rather than leaving their homes behind, these travellers transported their domestic and imperative values wherever they went'.[14]

Travellers who found themselves in strange new environments might seek out alliances with fellow travellers for material and psychological comfort. At the same time, however, they were never cut off from their communities back home, bringing with them culturally familiar values and norms which served as continual reference points for understanding new cultures abroad. In addition, many travellers continually sought relief in familiar relationships to overcome cultural isolation. While many strengthened connections with those left behind and felt isolated abroad, for others travel led to a stronger sense of alienation from those at home. This chapter will examine my case studies in the order met with through the previous chapters. In structuring them this way, I aim to highlight the ways in which a connection and return to home shaped and influenced solitude and expressions of emotional community according to the specific themes explored through this thesis, offering further insight into what these findings add to previous discussions. Regardless of whether distance from home and the return to home were celebrated or lamented, communication with loved

[10] M. Robinson, 'The Emotional Tourist', in Picard and Robinson (eds.), *Emotion in Motion*, p. 29.

[11] Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, p. 151.

[12] Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, p. 13.

[13] Crabtree, 'Navigating Mobility', pp. 91–93.

[14] R. Schwartz, 'Men and Women in Motion: Mobility and Fixity in Eighteenth-Century British Literature', PhD thesis, Washington University in St. Louis, 2002, p. 9.

ones and the memories of home allowed travellers to express their isolation within as well as against particular social milieus, thereby both highlighting and defining their solitude but also simultaneously overcoming it by situating it within a shared cultural framework.

Norwood: Religious Isolation in the Puritan Community

In Chapter One, we explored Norwood's notions of travel as sinful and isolating, drawing on his Puritan emotional community to express his despair. He distinguished between moments of secular and religious isolation, the former being a means of preserving virtue and the latter an indicator of his own sinfulness. Travel, according to Norwood, had estranged him from a sense of religious community, corrupting his faith and harming his relationships with family and friends in England. He shared an ongoing expectation after his conversion that once he became settled, the sinfulness of these travels would end, and as a result his isolation from the religious community would cease. Therefore, this analysis builds on Chapter One by investigating whether his social expectations upon returning home met with success, and how this impacted his ongoing expressions of solitude and isolation.

After spending four years in the Bermudas and experiencing a religious conversion, Norwood returned home to England hoping to build relationships with the religious community that had been impossible while travelling overseas and living abroad. Norwood moved back to England in 1617, but despite attempting to squash his wanderlust, still felt 'unsettled'. The reason for this, he observed, was as follows: 'I had not entered into any familiar acquaintance with any truly fearing god'.[15] He began to experience extreme fits of despair, and these increased at an alarming rate as, according to Norwood, Satan manipulated his mind and took on a corporeal presence. This impacted both his external and internal worlds: 'sometimes he seemed to lean on my back or arms or shoulders ... handling my heart ... sometimes pressing, sometimes creeping to and fro, sometimes ready to take my breath, sometimes lifting up the bed'.[16] In the midst of his perceived struggles with the devil, Norwood expressed a longing for Christian company.

A desire for Christian companionship was considered a sign of salvation, but after his

[15] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 90.

[16] Norwood, p. 93. For a discussion of visions of the Devil in Protestant writings, see A. Ryrie, 'Hearing God's Voice in the English and Scottish Reformations', *Reformation*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2012. Delany offers a psychoanalytic interpretation of Norwood's nightmares. See *British Autobiography*, pp. 57-62.

conversion, Norwood failed to gain the intimacy he had anticipated with other believers. He chastised himself for not socialising with other Christians: 'I purposed ... to gain some Christian acquaintance if I could possibly, for before that time I began to conceive that this had been a great neglect in me, and I earnestly desired, my heart even thirsted ... to have some near communion and familiarity with some that were the children of God ... but I found no opportunity, chiefly as I suppose by reason of my retiredness'.[17] It is not clear, however, that Norwood particularly wanted company, citing his own disposition to be alone. Rather, he saw it as a necessary requirement of his faith and a way to escape temptation.[18] He reasoned as follows: 'If I were intimate and acquainted with such, Satan should not be so intimate and busy with me'.[19] The idea that one was more vulnerable to Satan's temptations in solitude was a common one in early modern England.[20] Norwood feared condemnation within the Puritan community, evidenced when he visited two Christian men in his community. He did not disclose his torments and struggles to them, writing: 'the fearful blasphemies and annoyances of Satan I did but lightly touch upon, concealing my greatest grievances and fears, supposing that if I should lay open all I should be rejected of Christians as a reprobate, a man forsaken of God and given over unto Satan'.[21]

Although Norwood protected himself from being deemed a reprobate by maintaining distance, he also saw this isolation itself as evidence of damnation. Seventeenth-century English Puritans shared a common belief that most souls would be damned, which resulted in widespread

[17] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 98.

[18] He mentions his preference for a temporary solitude while shipwrecked. On the other hand, he also speaks of the unappealing solitude of Christianity, clearly demonstrating that his preference for solitude or company shifted depending on place, time, and circumstance. Watkin's claim that Norwood is a 'sociable man' seems to overlook the intricacies of Norwood's attitudes and behaviour. See *The Puritan Experience*, p. 78.

[19] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 98.

[20] For example, see J. Gaule, *Practique theories: or, Votiue speculations vpon Abrahams entertainment of the three angels Sarah, and Hagars contention*…, Printed by Thomas Harper, London, 1630.

[21] Norwood, *The Journal*, p. 101.

fear of reprobation.[22] As we saw in Chapter One, Puritans valued emotions of despair and sorrow for the spiritual lessons they provided. Fear of hell in particular was seen as an effective way to win souls.[23] Barry Hall has argued that Norwood's self-imposed solitude from believers back in England was borne out of his experiences in Bermuda, and was used as 'a means of setting strict spiritual boundaries wherein the possibility of reprobation becomes impossible'.[24] In doing so, however, he contributed to his own ongoing unsettled subjectivity and isolation from his own emotional community. The fear of reprobation was certainly not uncommon, so that one may ask why it would concern Norwood so much as to isolate himself from his spiritual community. And furthermore, did his isolation from the Puritan community not threaten the very righteousness he was trying to hold onto? Although within the framework of Puritan ideology, Norwood's solitary suffering was conventional, the nature and extent of his isolation went beyond communal expectations.

While abroad, Norwood could justify his isolation by pointing to the corruptions of travel, and he could draw on an imagined dispersed community of the persecuted. In England, on the other hand, he had no valid excuse for being outside any community of believers, except, perhaps, an ongoing corrupting influence of travel that left him displaced.[25] Though, to some extent, spiritual isolation and its related emotions increasingly came to function as literary devices to develop a better sense of community, Norwood's work largely preceded this development.[26] Whereas

[22] J. Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: the Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1990, p. 544.

[23] Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, p. 34. Also see A. Scott and C. Kosso (eds.), *Fear and Its Representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance Vol. 6, Turnhout, Brepols, 2002.

[24] Hall, 'To give myself up to a serious examination', pp. 199–200. Reprobation, as Hall understands it, was the state of damnation.

[25] Stachniewski sees Norwood's isolation as characteristic of the passive and destructive nature of Calvinism. See *The Persecutory Imagination*. In doing so, however, he largely overlooks the positive associations of despair, self-doubt, and social isolation, experiences 'puritans tended to welcome as signs of grace'. See R. Langford and R. West (eds.), *Marginal Voices, Marginal Forms: Diaries in European Literature and History*, Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1999, p. 32.

[26] Scholars have traced the development of the conversion narrative into an admission requirement of gathered churches. For more on this, see Pallotti, '"Out of their owne mouths"?'; and Hindmarsh, *The*

published conversion narratives had been accepted into a community of believers, Norwood did not share this status of belonging, allowing him both more freedom in his expression and rendering his sense of isolation much stronger.[27] In the absence of many published conversion tracts in his lifetime, he was not able to turn to other texts to contextualise his feelings. Of the many despairing and melancholy Puritan cases that are documented, numerous were also treated for their melancholy, received pastoral care, and became members of a godly community. Norwood was independent from an established religious sect, and as Hall points out, he did not receive reliable pastoral support and guidance. His search for spiritual contentment 'was undertaken in almost absolute isolation'.[28] The community was crucial in defining who suffered melancholy and sadness, and Norwood's emotions were not acknowledged or expressed to any community. As such, he failed to find sufficient relief or validation for his grief.

There were aspects of Norwood's later life that he understood as connoting settledness. He reconciled with his father, married, and had four children.[29] Although he wrote from abroad, that alone did not define him as unsettled. Rather, because it was in the context of exile rather than wanderlust, he perceived himself not as a wayward wanderer as before, but instead as a persecuted Christian. As Norwood himself recognised, however, he still kept a distance from his godly community, and the narrative itself betrays a sense of unsettledness that although defined more in the past, comes through as turmoil in the present as well. Ultimately, Norwood's isolation, despite

Evangelical Conversion Narrative. Also see Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy'; Parry, 'God breaketh not all men's hearts alike'; Hall, 'To give myself up to a serious examination'.

[27] Moments of isolation in published travel diaries of the seventeenth century, as Bedford, Davis, and Kelly observe, were 'rarely included or emphasized in the texts', whereas distance and alienation were much more dominant motifs in unpublished works. See *Early Modern English Lives*, pp. 65, 81. Experiences of isolation as told in early modern accounts of shipwrecks and castaways were more objective in nature, focusing on the external unfoldings of the journey. This reflected travel writing in the seventeenth century, which tended to offer minimal personal views or emotions of travellers. For a discussion of the shift in style over the early modern period, see Youngs, *Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*.

[28] Hall, 'To give myself up to a serious examination', p. 182.

[29] A. M. Hamilton, 'Bermuda Beacon, Part 1 – Richard Norwood', *The Bermuda Beacon*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1986, pp. 24–27, http://homepages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~norwood/id50.htm (accessed 20 Oct 2014).

being caused by his unsettled travels, worsened when he returned home and had more opportunities to become part of a community. Although no longer travelling, Norwood's inescapable sinfulness travelled with him anywhere he was, in his mind sealing his fate as an outcast from all forms of society, both secular and religious. His isolation found its deepest expressions of despair in alienation from a godly community, which threatened an ultimate isolation from God and the promise of salvation. Norwood is a compelling example of the ways in which connections and ideals associated with home could inform and define expressions of solitude abroad, as well as the ways solitude could shift to despairing isolation upon returning home. This analysis adds to the findings in Chapter One by demonstrating, through an analysis of his isolation at home, that solitude was strongly shaped and informed by an individual's emotional community. Norwood, though sharing in the ideals of the Puritan community, lacked a sense of truly belonging to it. As a result, his experiences of solitude abroad were understood through his increasingly despairing periods of isolation at home. This resulted in a subjectivity that was defined through the very unsettledness he wished to overcome, making his isolation an inescapable mode of experience and self-expression.

Intimacy in Distance: Newton's *Letters to a Wife*

The ways in which solitude was understood and characterised in relation to communities back home become even more apparent when we turn to the writings of Newton. Intimately intertwined with his wife Betty, his travels and the distance involved did not hinder or alienate this relationship, but rather, in his view, improved it. We have a very limited amount of source material for Newton's writings prior to his conversion in 1748. It is clear, however, that his experiences of solitude were centred exclusively around his longing for his cousin and soon-to-be wife Mary, whom Newton often referred to by her nickname 'Polly'.[30] Writing to her at sea in 1744, he stated: 'I'm just now come from performing a Watch of four hours, which I have spent with great satisfaction, by the force of supposing myself in your Company; which together with the prospect of a prosperous return at a proper Time, is my principal Entertainment, and I beleive will be thro' the whole of the Voyage'.[31] Newton was able to enjoy his solitude through her memory and the imagining of her presence. Absence only made her presence stronger after they married in 1750. Newton began his *Letters to a Wife* in 1755 during his career in the slave trade. The stated intention for this writing

[30] Phipps, *Amazing Grace in John Newton*, p. 7.

[31] John Newton Letters, Jan 24 1744/45, Lambeth Palace Library MS 2935, fols 1–2.

was ‘to alleviate pains of absence’. According to Newton, it was originally intended to be a ‘posthumous legacy to friends and public’, but it was published in his lifetime. Aware of the potential accusations of egotism, Newton defended his choice to assist readers by sharing his story of the ‘happiness and pains of marriage’.[32] His wife’s imagined company continued to provide him with a degree of satisfaction that encouraged a chosen solitude at sea through the 1750s, finding less isolation alone with her than amidst comrades and crew at sea. Newton’s love for his wife encouraged his desire for isolation from others while travelling: ‘I am likely to perform the whole journey alone; but I want no company’.[33] Newton pities ‘those who must fly to company and noise, to fill up their vacant hours ... . I, when I am most retired and solitary ... have more pleasure than they can conceive of in their gayest moments’.[34] In the retirement of correspondence, Newton avoided ‘unworthy pursuits’. He viewed his wife as ‘God’s instrument to save him from errors and evils’.[35]

Newton’s relationship with his wife challenges us to reassess the nature of solitude and isolation. Despite the seeming isolating influence Polly had on Newton, he saw her as a kind of salvation from this very isolation: ‘you ... rousd me from a dull insensible melancholy I had contracted, and push’d me into the world. Had it not been for you, I had till this time remain’d heavy, sour, and unsociable’.[36] Newton’s notion of sociability was integrally connected to her, regardless of distance, and he most fully overcame his isolation both with her and in solitude, not in the company of fellow sailors. Deeming no one on board suitable for conversation, he ‘studiously avoided all company, and chose a retired walk, where I could vent my thoughts aloud, without fear of being overheard’.[37] Separation, for Newton, strengthened the relationship he had with his wife,

[32] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, pp. x–xi.

[33] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. 4.

[34] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

[35] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. 82.

[36] John Newton Letters, Jan 24 1744/45, Lambeth Palace Library MS 2935, fols 1–2.

[37] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. 170. His desire for audible declarations would later find comfort in an Evangelical emphasis on voice. See Hempton, *The Church in the Long Eighteenth Century*, p. 165.

giving 'tenderness, and delicacy, and thereby, a permanency to our affection'.[38] Distance also revealed the value of their relationship: 'I find an overpayment for all I suffer during the tedious interval of absence, and perhaps had I never been forcd to leave you, I might not have so fully valued your company'. As his letters progressed through the 1750s, Mary gradually shared an increased space in Newton's mind with imaginings of God and a religious community at home.[39] Both his wife and his God became inseparable and integral to one another and inspired him to seek out solitude abroad in order to find true companionship distinct from the false social corruptions of the world.

Newton: Solitude and Sociability at Home

Upon returning home in the mid-1750s, Newton became embedded in religious communities over the next several decades. As his religious beliefs developed, he became increasingly influenced by the Methodist emphasis on the sociable nature of religion. Against critics, he claimed 'true religion has nothing in it of the unsociable or gloomy'.[40] This emotional community, therefore, was critical to the way Newton understood the significance of both solitude and social community. He nevertheless continued to prize solitary reflection. As we have seen, it was crucial to his moments of salvation, as well as to his earliest years as an aspiring Christian travelling on the slave ships. He wrote that during his last years at sea, he felt 'a certain fervour of spirit ... at a distance from the public means, without the help of a Christian friend'.[41] When it came to a temporary retirement, Newton enjoyed having the option to choose solitude. Invited to take over a church back in London, he expressed concern that the busy world in London was disagreeable, indicating a preference for

[38] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. viii.

[39] Newton's focus on his wife was not without some concern: 'I wish to limit my passion within those bounds which God has appointed'. See Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. 224. This mirrored Evangelical attitudes to marriage which expressed a range of reservations and warnings. See H. D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, London, Epworth Press, 1989; and Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp. 97, 118. Newton, however, concluded that as long as idolatry was avoided, those that marry were 'better off than the solitary folks', because no greater friendship could be found. See Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, p. 331.

[40] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 1, p. 36.

[41] Newton, *The Works of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 81.

nature.[42] In a state of retirement, 'wisdom power goodness and presence, are more easily perceptible'.[43]

Newton's return home to England was accompanied by a desire to be settled, rather than a desire for movement and change. When Wesley invited him to become a Methodist preacher, he declined 'because he didn't want to travel continually down highways' and endure more separation from his wife.[44] Feelings of loneliness and isolation were common amongst travellers.[45] Newton, having already lived out a life in continual motion, understandably desired some physical and social stability. 'Much company, and frequent changes', he tells his wife, 'do not well suit me. Friends smile, and favour me ... I feel a degree of dearth, in the midst of plenty'.[46] After his youthful travels, he needed a 'quiet harbor ... he wanted a rest from travel and to make an end of struggle'.[47] His desire to be settled was eventually granted when he was ordained into the Church of England in Olney in 1764, where he resided for the next sixteen years. He discovered the value of spiritual friendships for his faith, although this remained a complex issue through the remainder of his life.

Despite celebrations of religious community, on occasion Newton expressed feelings of ostracism and isolation. Writing to William Bull, he lamented that although he loved many, he had almost no one in his neighbourhood he felt an intimate connection with. He expressed dissatisfaction with many fellow Christians, describing himself as a 'speckled bird ... somehow

[42] Phipps, *Amazing Grace in John Newton*. Though it was not his aesthetic preference, Newton could appreciate city life for its opportunities for involvement in church activities. See Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, pp. 196–97.

[43] John Newton Letters, 1 April 1788, Lambeth Palace Library MS 3096, fol. 26. Also see Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, p. 374.

[44] Phipps, *Amazing Grace in John Newton*, p. 79. Wesley was insistent that preachers be in constant motion in order to sustain their spiritual energy. See Mack, *Heart Religion*, pp. 88–89.

[45] Preachers typically travelled alone around circuits of many miles. For a discussion of the many examples of solitude and isolation experiences, see Mack, *Heart Religion*; and McInelly, *Textual Warfare*.

[46] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 2, p. 87.

[47] A. E. Thein, 'The Religion of John Newton', *Philological Quarterly*, Vol. 21, 1942, p. 162.

disqualified for claiming a full brotherhood with any party'.[48] When he settled in London after his time in Olney, he initially mourned the change: 'I went to church in vain looked about for my dear Olney friends indeed I felt a sincere grief at being unable to see them I wept all church time ... I cannot help sometime (repining) at having no one to speak too'.[49] Whilst letters provide evidence of the importance of spiritual conversation for early Methodists, they also reveal fundamental experiences of isolation among Evangelicals who, though belonging to a large religious support network, felt alone.

Ultimately, Newton celebrated the joys of sociability and solitude, and in his correspondence presented the superiority of both as a believer.[50] With God in one's heart, one could be 'happy if shut up in one of the cells of Newgate', but without God, no company would be sufficient.[51] Disorder was internal, and 'so far as our hearts are right, all places and circumstances ... are nearly equal'.[52] His suggestion here was that for religious men, virtue was unaffected by external environments. Alone, as Newton saw it, it was much more difficult to bear the burden of unbelief, and as an unbeliever, solitude was miserable. Newton wrote to his brother-in-law in 1763: 'You do pretty well among your friends; but how do you like being alone? ... that happy secret ... could enable you to pass a rainy day pleasantly without assistance of business, company, or

[48] This feeling likely stemmed from a sense of not quite fitting neatly into the category of Calvinist, Dissenter, or Methodist. See Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, pp. 304–305. Newton, though he felt a duty as well as a desire for public worship, struggled to find a place of public worship that fit with his own convictions: 'I know not whether I had not better sometimes stay at home than be present where the glorious gospel is depreciated daily by those appointed (and paid) to preach'. See Newton Papers, Lambeth Palace Library MS 3970, fol. 116. He complained that 'they neither preach agreeable to the gospel or to experience'. See Lambeth Palace Library MS 3970, fol. 137.

[49] Newton Papers, Lambeth Palace Library MS 2935, fol. 243.

[50] Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, pp. 197–98. Between the years of seafaring and his pastorate at Olney, Newton was a Surveyor of Tides in Liverpool, during which time he became active in evangelical circles and was influenced by the work of George Whitefield. See Piper, *The Roots of Endurance*, p. 51.

[51] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, pp. 79, 189–90.

[52] Newton, *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, p. 197.

amusement'.[53]

Newton did not express joy in solitude until after his turn towards God in the storm. This is not to say, however, that he always found joy in solitude following his conversion. In England, worldly company, much like at sea, was similarly undesirable.[54] Even 'in the company of friends', however, he felt a sense of solitude, because his wife was absent: 'I have no one, to whom I can unbosom myself, or if I had a thousand friends, they would signify little, without you. I am ashamed, and grieved, to think how irksome I find it to be here alone'.[55] Newton was ashamed to feel unhappy in solitude and in company post-conversion, not conceiving this to be an appropriate or acceptable emotion in the presence of God. Certainly, Newton placed high value on having a religious support network. Often, however, it was the idea rather than the reality of such a community that edified him: 'in constant enjoyment of the most valuable privileges and means of grace, both in ordinances and in conversation, when I am deprived of these advantages I long and mourn for them, but I find them neither so engaging nor so edifying when present as when at a distance'.[56] Much like we saw in the case of his wife, there was a recurrent pattern in which distance and separation improved relationships and spiritual growth. This is better understood when one considers the importance of travel for Newton's spiritual discovery and development. Travel and motion, as well as the associated solitude and isolation, were key in locating and appreciating God's presence, which in turn transformed the nature of these experiences. His early travels and endured separation were empowering moral forces. He recognised that the idea of Christian sociability was much better than the reality, at times finding Christian company more rewarding from a distance. This suggests Newton experienced a disconnect between the emotional ideals and the realities of the Methodist community. Despite these challenges, however, for the most part Newton's return to England resulted in a consistent degree of settledness. His belonging to the Evangelical community provided his solitude, both past and present, with meaning as he traced its ongoing contributions to the fruitful progression of his own spiritual development.

[53] Newton, *Letters of John Newton*, p. 36.

[54] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 2, pp. 1–2.

[55] Newton, *Letters to a Wife*, vol. 2, pp. 67–69, 72–73.

[56] Newton Papers, Lambeth Palace Library MS 3970, fol. 102.

Barlow: Emotional Partings from Home

As we have seen, travellers like Norwood and Newton held emotional communities at home in high regard, relying on them to make sense of their own experiences of solitude. When solitude could not be validated by these communities, it disintegrated into despairing isolation. In other cases, however, travellers identified more with transient communities abroad, highlighting isolation from home to lay claim to belonging elsewhere, as in the case of Barlow. His understanding of solitude was expressed through a continual reference to home, dependent on the social world around him as well as the one left behind. It was when he departed or returned to his home that he commonly expressed emotional responses. Departing his father's house at the beginning of his journey from home, he wrote: '(he) bid me have a care of myself ... and so prayed God to bless me. And I came away with tears in my eyes'.[57] Thirty-four years later, Barlow revisited his home to see his mother after twenty years had passed: 'I found my mother and brother, being very glad to see me, but at first did not know me ... I took leave of all acquaintance and bade farewell to my dear and loving mother with many tears in our eyes'.[58] There is a sadness expressed here for the inevitably of separation itself, but also the impact of that separation. The more Barlow was away, the more he became a stranger to loved ones.

Barlow continually highlighted the pains of separating from loved ones. He also wept upon parting from his new wife back to sea, after describing the joy of this union: 'being willing to make one merry and joyful night of it, not knowing when I should have another ... one of the best days' work as to my future happiness in this world, for I had met with a good wife'.[59] Departing to sea, he lamented: 'a fair wind coming, and all ships preparing to sail, and then being to part with my wife, I could not without tears, but part we must'.[60] Here, he contrasted the happiness of his union at home with the pains of travel abroad. During a three-month stay back in London, parting from his family and friends, he was 'possessed with great grief, shedding more tears than I had done in seven years before'. He cried, 'not knowing whether I should behold the faces of them again, being to be separated many hundred miles from them ... England not being my abode, but many other strange

[57] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 21.

[58] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 412–13.

[59] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 309.

[60] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 310.

countries ... my grief was like them that cry in their dreams, for they cannot tell what nor when'.[61] Writing with hindsight, Barlow's own interpretation of his past emotions was necessarily impacted by the events that followed.

Separation from loved ones was a key narrative within sea travel literature through the early modern period. Seamen endured prolonged separations from friends and family, and the association of sailors with this theme is evidenced in the many broadside ballads and songs of departure.[62] As our case studies have shown us, the acceptability of men crying in such instances was largely dependent on social class, ethnic background, and age.[63] Tearful farewells and emotional partings, however, were 'common among ordinary people'.[64] Fumerton has argued that Barlow was generally 'not given to intense introspection or emotion',[65] yet in many instances he expressed and reflected upon his emotions, driven by his connection to home. Sailors of the Georgian period have been expressly identified as tear-shedding men of feeling, personifying a manliness representative of a new culture of sensibility,[66] but little investigation exists into the emotional lives of seventeenth-century sailors. Barlow's case reminds us that sailors in his time might also shed tears, and express a range of emotions to assert a group identity and communal belonging.[67]

[61] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 177–78.

[62] Rediker, *Between The Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, p. 159. For further discussion of such songs, see Robinson, *The British Tar in Fact and Fiction*; and Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads*, p. lix.

[63] Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion*, p. 3.

[64] Capp, 'Jesus Wept' p. 91.

[65] Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 71.

[66] Begatio, 'Tears and the Manly Sailor'. Also see Riebe, 'Public Perception of Sailor's Wives in Eighteenth-Century England'; and Hubbard, 'Sailors and the Early Modern British Empire: Labor, Nation, and Identity at Sea', *History Compass*, Vol. 14, No. 8, 2016. Available from Wiley Online Library (accessed 2 Sept 2015).

[67] Although less common than female tears, we find examples of male tears in seventeenth-century ballads and journals. See Rodger, *Command of the Ocean*, p. 62.

Returning Home: Isolation and False Friends

Whilst moments of departure were often characterised with grief and accompanying tears, Barlow's emotions upon returning home shifted, focusing on his conflict, anger, and disappointment with others. His most frequent expressions of isolation were arguably those experienced during his brief visits home. One of Barlow's most common complaints involved dealings with his 'friends' in England. As we have seen, friendships in the early modern period were based on ideas of reciprocal alliances. Barlow's desire for friendship was closely connected to his need for financial assistance and social connections in high places.[68] His 'friends' failed to assist him on countless occasions. Sending his wages to a friend in London for safe-keeping, he hoped 'when I came home I might find a penny to help me when perhaps all the friends I have would say me nay'.[69] In emphasising his lack of true friends, Barlow was emphasising his solitude. In the seventeenth century, it was a 'miserable solitude to want true friends'.[70] Though he complained of a lack of assistance, the likely reality was that he had very little to give in return, thereby making the prospect of his friendship undesirable in a world that upheld the virtues of reciprocity.[71]

Upon returning home in 1669, Barlow bought a suit to wear and headed to the country to see his friends and family, intent on testing their loyalties. He was disgusted by the attention and warm welcome received: 'everyone that knew me desired to be in my company ... when they saw I wanted nothing ... had I come down into the country ill-clothed and without money and in need or want, I believe I should have found as few friends at my coming into it as I had when I went out of it'.[72] With their loyalties, according to Barlow, dependent on wealth and success, he expressed his moral

[68] L. Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest: Debating the Foundations of Justice in Early Modern England', *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 8, No. 1/2, 2004, p. 47.

[69] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 130.

[70] Francis Bacon, 'Of Friendship', in *The Essays*.

[71] For more on this, see Johnson, 'Friendship, Coercion, and Interest'. Friendship between men in the early modern period could be regarded with a degree of suspicion by some, because it meant loaning money and carried risks of debt and obligation. See Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p. 96.

[72] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 175–76.

indignation.[73] The little money he had, on the other hand, was earned through hard work and suffering, making it honourable. He bought suits 'too high for my calling to wear', but endured 'bitter storm and hungry belly' and many dangers to get money to buy them.[74] Barlow repeatedly pointed to his own generosity to prove his moral worth. Sending tokens to neighbours and family, some 'scarce return me thanks', but Barlow insisted he 'gave them more for good will than for recompense' and celebrated his clear conscience.[75] Though good will might be an acceptable return within the expected reciprocities in friendship, Barlow expressed ongoing frustration at a lack of monetary favours. When he visited his parents again in 1677, he resolved to go down in 'very good equipage ... rather to credit than to put them to disgrace, I went down very handsomely, with money in my pocket'.[76] Barlow, therefore, recognised wealth as an indicator of honour, but seemingly condemned others who did the same. For any men who lacked good friends as he did, he advised to stay away from his calling, as even with skills and experience it was impossible to advance or improve one's lot without assistance.[77]

Despite relationships and reunions with his parents and his wife, Barlow painted a picture of severe estrangement from home.[78] Looking through the narrative in full, it becomes clear that, while not content being alone, he was not happy with the company of others, because they continually

[73] Rediker has argued that the increasing importance of money to life disturbed Barlow, who saw it as a cause for immorality. See *Outlaws of the Atlantic*, p. 41.

[74] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 174–75.

[75] Barlow, *Journal*, pp. 178, 252.

[76] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 285.

[77] Barlow, *Journal*, p. 128. A. G. Course suggests that it was less Barlow's lack of friends that prevented him from moving up, and more his troublesome personality: See *A Seventeenth-Century Mariner*, London, F. Muller, 1965, p. 236. Barlow, however, did not overestimate the importance of connections. When it came to maritime life, typically only men with influence and connections could quickly rise through the ranks to become master of a ship. See Davis, *Rise of the English Shipping Industry*, p. 117. Also see Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, p. 160.

[78] Seamen who married and started a family were typically more connected to the land population than single seamen, who were in the majority. See Fury, *Tides in the Affairs of Men*, p. 205.

failed to meet his expectations. What is perhaps most intriguing about Barlow's tears, then, was his recorded grief in separating from people he professed to disdain. Fumerton argues that this is 'less about people and more about lacking enduring connectedness'.[79] It was in the context of the misery of life at sea and the lack of friends associated with it that separation from home was mourned. A. G. Course points to the lack of detail regarding his personal relationships, particularly his wife and family, to argue that Barlow's story is ultimately one 'of his life at sea'.[80] However, he misses a crucial point: Barlow's life at home and life at sea cannot be separated. Barlow's understanding of his career and identity as a seaman was dependent on and integrally bound up with memories of and references to his life on land, without which the entire narrative would look radically different. The sea voyage provided a space of solitude that allowed diarists like Barlow, removed from home and daily routine, to reflect on and influence perceptions of the life left behind.[81] Whether he was departing from family, fair-weather friends, or society at large, his sadness and grief were dependent upon distance. He validated and emphasised his despair by referencing and separating himself from those at home. Through his connection to home, Barlow formulated and integrated himself into an imagined persecuted group of seamen distinct from that home, allowing him to share his solitude with fellow sailors. At odds with the family, friends and acquaintances he spent time with on his trips back to England, his emotional community of poor sailors provided a sense of belonging whilst simultaneously fuelling his ongoing expressions of isolation and unsettled subjectivity.

Mary Lacy: Returning Home, Restoring Identity

For solitude to find expression, it needed to be situated within a framework of shared cultural values and linked to a community, whether more tangible or abstract in nature. Whilst Norwood and Newton turned to their religious communities in England to give their experiences of solitude and isolation meaning, Barlow constructed a sense of communal belonging with his fellow sailors. His community at home, however, remained essential for defining the ideals they shared, formulated in opposition to those settled in England. Lacy similarly identified herself as a sailor, but because she was such an anomaly on board due to her gender and disguise, she drew on a variety of other

[79] Fumerton, *Unsettled*, p. 79.

[80] Course, *A Seventeenth-Century Mariner*, p. 176.

[81] Hassam, 'Literary Exploration', p. 30.

cultural ideals to formulate her expressions of solitude. Borrowing from values of sensibility and a tradition of female warrior ballads, she constructed a narrative of her life as an isolated and virtuous heroine to an imagined sympathetic readership.

When Lacy left home, she did not say goodbye to her parents, and recalled giving no thought to the 'sorrow and anxiety' she caused them.[82] In retrospect, however, her regret and sadness over her departure evoked tears of guilt and grief. Lacy wrote to her parents two months after departing from home, in July 1759: 'make yourselves as easy as you can, for I have got a very good master'.[83] Six weeks later, her mother responded: 'I have been at death's door almost with grief for you. Your cloaths, after your departure, were found in a hedge, which occasioned me to think you were murdered; therefore I have had no rest day or night ... as you have writ to me now, I shall make myself as easy as I can'.[84] Upon reading this, Lacy 'could not help crying, to think what trouble and sorrow I had brought'.[85] Connected to home yet necessarily removed from her previous identity, it was in these moments particularly that she communicated her own sense of aloneness and detachment with the reader. It is significant that these moments of connection were followed closely by expressions of intense isolation, perhaps reminding her of the self-inflicted alienation from others she had to face at sea. There was no sharing of tears with those at sea, because she could not share the cause of them. This made her letters with her mother particularly important for expressing and overcoming her feelings of isolation.

Lacy used these letters to further highlight her own morality and isolated virtue. The following year, she wrote again: 'I am very sorry that I ran away from you ... should be very glad to see you'.[86] Her parents responded in May 1761: 'to reflect on your present situation, and the hardships you must needs go through ... make my heart ready to burst'.[87] The content of Lacy's

[82] Lacy, *The History of the Female Shipwright*, p. 19.

[83] Lacy, *The History*, p. 38.

[84] Lacy, *The History*, p. 40.

[85] Lacy, *The History*, p. 41.

[86] Lacy, *The History*, p. 56.

[87] Lacy, *The History*, p. 63.

letters are composed: her emotions are not directly shared with her parents, but expressed only to the reader, in relation to her parents and their expressions of grief. The purpose of including these letters is to cement her virtuous character. Lacy's regret is emphasised, and with it her virtue demonstrated, as she urged readers not to 'grieve and distress their parents by rash and disobedient behaviour'.[88] She reiterated her sincere regret: 'I condemned myself for the sorrow brought upon my parents, by running away'.[89] Through reading her parents' letters, Lacy is further established as a sympathetic figure.

While abroad, she did not express a clear desire to return home and be reunited with loved ones. The emotional impact of returning home, however, was distinct. Resolved to visit her parents at twenty-seven, eight years after her original departure, she was recognised in town by a woman. Her expression of surprise and joy, Lacy related, 'forced a flood of tears from me'.[90] Considering the unceasing guilt she expressed every time she thought of her parents and home, this moment, full of acceptance and welcome, was represented as one of great relief. Then continuing on to see her mother, Lacy recalled, she 'ran to embrace me with all the … affection of a tender mother'. Despite such warm welcomes, however, Lacy left after only nine days. Her second departure was reminiscent of her first one: the same boy who drove her to flee in the first instance desired to see her upon her return. Lacy, not wishing to see him, again left abruptly and with her parents in tears.[91]

After years at sea, Lacy seemingly grew weary of the endless turmoil and immense lack of privacy on board. Early in the narrative, she desired to be on board, as it was 'more agreeable ... than elsewhere'.[92] Soon, however, Lacy reflected that the 'frequent … fighting between my master and mistress made my life very uncomfortable', commenting that she would 'do any thing for a quiet life'.[93] From 1763, she worked as a shipwright's apprentice at the Portsmouth dockyard for

[88] Lacy, *The History*, p. 39.

[89] Lacy, *The History*, p. 64.

[90] Lacy, *The History*, p. 138.

[91] Lacy, *The History*, p. 139.

[92] Lacy, *The History*, p. 34.

[93] Lacy, *The History*, p. 143.

seven years. Lacy resided on the common and 'live as retired as I could'.[94] Lacy's narrative concludes in a return to female identity and marriage, as the majority of female warrior ballads did.[95] Her return home, however, was distinctly separate from her past and the familiar friends and family she once knew. It is significant that Lacy did not choose to return to her female identity, but was instead betrayed and in turn forced to do so. When it was revealed, Lacy received a marriage proposal from a Mr. Slade, stating: 'I had repeatedly declared that I would remain single, yet … there subsisted a real and mutual affection … and ... Providence was engaged in bringing about our union'.[96] Stark has suggested that Lacy's marriage may have been a fictional invention of the editor, and this has influenced subsequent scholars to view her flirtations with women as evidence of lesbianism.[97] However, there is evidence that Lacy did marry and had several children.[98] She successfully applied for a disability pension in 1772, but little else is known of the details of her remaining years up until her death in 1801. Her expressions of solitude were integral to her identity

[94] Lacy, *The History*, p. 160.

[95] Hill, *Women Alone*, pp. 136–37.

[96] Lacy, *The History*, p. 169.

[97] This ignores the fact that same-sex flirtation was yet another pattern of convention in memoirs of cross-dressing soldiers and sailors. See E. Donoghue, *Passions Between Women: British Lesbian Culture, 1668–1801*, London, Scarlet Press, 1993, p. 91. Though the two conventions of homosexual flirtation and marriage perhaps rest uncomfortably side by side, they seemingly both appealed in different ways to readers.

[98] Unable to find a certificate of marriage, Stark introduced this idea of Lacy's 'possibly' fictional marriage, but admits records are incomplete for this period. Other scholars have repeated her suggestion that there was no marriage. See the following: Stark, *Female Tars*; Druett, *She Captains*; Cordingly, *Heroines and Harlots*; P. Guillery, 'The Further Adventures of Mary Lacy: "Seaman", Shipwright, Builder', *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 49, 2000. The disagreement appears to arise from a mix up between the identity of two women named Mary Slade, one of whom married and the other a spinster who lived with her sister Elizabeth. Olwen Jonklaas has done extensive research to separate the identity of these two women. She has unearthed convincing archival evidence for Lacy's marriage, including a newspaper article dated 1773: 'A few days ago the wife of Mr. Slade, Shipwright at Deptford, was delivered of a daughter ... the same person who is not improperly stiled the Female Shipwright. ... she assumed the name of William Chandler'. See 'News', *General Evening Post*, London, Jul. 31, 1773 – Aug. 3, 1773. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection. Available from: Gale Newsvault (accessed 17 Aug 2016).

and experiences at sea, but once she returned home such expressions were, her narrative suggests, no longer needed. Her return home ushered in a return to her true self and an end to her isolation abroad, highlighting the companionship she found in marriage. With the disappearance of solitude, Lacy asserted her new socially acceptable identity, finding settledness back at home as a newly married woman.

Shared Isolation: Gray's Letters to West

In Chapter Three, we explored expectations of sociability on the Grand Tour, and I argued that Thomas Gray found an alternate mode of intimacy in letters home to his friend Richard West. It was Gray's solitude, framed by the distance of his travels, that allowed him to develop a shared intimacy with West. After reaffirming the importance of his travel correspondence, I will build on this analysis by considering how his expressions of solitude shifted upon returning home. By considering this change, we can establish the importance of travel letters as a source of shared solitude that was critical to Gray's sociability, and subsisted for the remainder of his life. At the heart of Gray's melancholy, Hagstrum argues, was friendship.[99] Within this melancholy, however, solitude gave rise to social intimacy. Like Newton, Gray also found a great sense of intimacy in travelling and separation, particularly in his correspondence with his friend back home, Richard West.

What is overlooked in studies on Gray's solitude and loneliness is the intimacy he enjoyed in this solitude and the connections that prospered in his 'sunken spirits'.[100] Gray imagined West's presence with him on countless occasions abroad. From Rome, Gray wrote in 1740: 'I am at home now, and going to the window to tell you it is the most beautiful of Italian nights ... there is a moon!

[99] J. Hagstrum, 'Gray's Sensibility', in Downey and Jones (eds.), *Fearful Joy*, p. 17. For a discussion of melancholy in Gray's poetry, see M. Raymond, 'Marked by Melancholy: The Character of the Pensive Text in Gray and Keats', PhD thesis, New York University, 2005.

[100] Tovey, *Gray and His Friends*, p. x. Snyder writes that 'even in these personal relations he seems to have had forced upon him a certain detachment and solitariness'. See 'The Epistolary Melancholy of Thomas Gray', p. 131. Cecil writes that Gray's friendships 'generally came to grief' because 'friendships of the solitary seldom are productive of happiness'. See 'The Poetry of Thomas Gray', pp. 48–49. Reading against much of the existing scholarship surrounding Gray's solitude, Wolfe emphasises his connections: 'Who in the eighteenth century had more enduring and less tumultuous friendships than Gray?'. See 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter-Writer', p. 8.

there are stars for you! Do not you hear the fountain? Do not you smell the orange flowers?'.[101] The immense joy Gray found in West's imagined presence also revealed a profound sense of isolation. From Turin, he wrote to West: 'I saw you too every now and then at a distance among the trees ... you seemed to call to me from the other side of the precipice'.[102] Through a linguistic denial of physical distance, he both expressed an intimacy with West but also revealed his own loneliness. In fact, these elements were intertwined: it was because of his solitude and isolation that Gray could express closeness to West.[103] He felt assured that 'as mutual wants are the ties of general society, so are mutual weaknesses of private friendships'.[104] Solitude was a language for human connection, and for Gray often signalled a presence of, rather than a lack of, intimacy. His chosen emotional community of friends was founded on intellectual and philosophical interests, but it was a shared experience of solitude and melancholy that was particularly valuable to attaining social intimacy.

The majority of Gray's most rewarding social interaction was experienced via correspondence. This was the mode through which he strove to overcome a sense of psychological isolation and 'mediate his depression'.[105] When Gray was melancholy, he turned to correspondence: 'I have nothing but my own thoughts to feed upon, and you know they are of the gloomy cast. write

[101] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West 1740', *The Correspondence*, ed. by Toynbee, vol. 1, p. 306.

[102] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West 1739', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 260.

[103] See Ketton-Cremer, *Thomas Gray: A Biography*, p. 26. R. Bentman has convincingly argued that Gray's letters to West reveal an 'increasing intensity' in their relationship. See 'Thomas Gray and the Poetry of Hopeless Love', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1992, pp. 208–209. Wolfe disagrees, arguing that his letters from abroad 'are not ... more intimate; and some have the sound of duty letters'. See 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter-Writer', p. 49.

[104] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West 1740', *The Correspondence*, ed. by Toynbee, vol. 1, p. 320. West shared Gray's melancholy and a tendency to solitude and isolation. See, for instance, 'Richard West to Thomas Gray', *The Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 312.

[105] Snyder, 'The Epistolary Melancholy of Thomas Gray', p. 131. For an analysis of Gray's epistolary style, see B. Redford, *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1986. He identifies five qualities in Gray's letters, including 'a tendency to philosophical disengagement combined with an affirmation of intellectual and social community' (p. 99).

to me then for sweet Saint Charity'.[106] He also expressly insisted that in high spirits, people do not write: 'Dean Swift says, one never should write to one's friends but in high health and spirits ... if I were to wait for them, I never should write at all'.[107] Gray arguably felt more freedom or ease in expressing his emotions via correspondence.[108] When he faced the prospect of meeting Edward Bedingfield[109] for instance, Gray warned him via letter: 'I shall by no means promise that you will like your new acquaintance, when you see him out of print'.[110] This concern continued after they met a year later, but it was not due to his social reserve, but rather a lack of it: 'I have too numberless excuses to make for the very free & unceremonious reception I then gave you, & the many liberties I took with you in the first conversation we ever had. ... I then regarded you as a Person I had long known, & one, to whom I might speak my mind, without danger of offending you'.[111] Such examples reaffirm solitude as a space Gray found *enabling* for social interaction and the sense of intimacy that developed through letters.

Gray's Return Home: Loss and Isolation

When Richard West died in 1742 at the young age of twenty-five, Gray was devastated, and quickly withdrew into a distinct form of isolation set apart from the kind that he shared abroad with West,

[106] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton 17 August 1757', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 1, pp. 345–46.

[107] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to William Mason, 27 January 1767', *The Letters*, vol. 3, p. 132.

[108] See G. Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letters and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500–1700*, Newark DE, University of Delaware Press, 2005, p. 111.

[109] Beddington was an admirer of Gray's poetry who 'visited his rooms at Cambridge during his absence and left a volume of Italian verse and a letter full of compliments' in the mid-1750s. See Ketton-Cremer, *Thomas Gray: A Biography*, p. 123.

[110] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Edward Bedingfield, 25 December 1755', University of Oxford, 2016. Available from Electronic Enlightenment Scholarly Edition of Correspondence (accessed 27 June 2017).

[111] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Edward Bedingfield, 12 February 1757', Electronic Enlightenment. Conversation in the eighteenth century, like letter writing, was an art form and expected to be carefully crafted and mediated. For more on early modern letter writing, see Earle, *Epistolary Selves*; Schneider, *The Culture of Epistolarity*; Whyman, *The Pen and the People*.

suggested by the fact that he wrote almost no letters for three years.[112] In 1735, he had told West he had 'a front row in the front box of my little heart, and I believe you are not in danger of being crowded there'.[113] The solitude he shared with West through letters was lost. Gray bemoaned in his 'Sonnet [on the Death of Mr Richard West]', 'my lonely anguish melts no heart but mine'.[114] He lamented, 'I fruitless mourn to him that cannot hear, and weep the more because I weep in vain'.[115] He continued, however, to imagine West's presence: 'if, by chance, you should look down from your lofty seat ... look back on these tears, also, which stricken with love, I pour out in memory of you'.[116] Key to this expression of isolation was a combination of physical solitude in the loss of West and the sociability experienced through his memory and their imagined dialogue together. In 1746, Gray referred to himself as 'a Solitary of six years standing',[117] suggesting that he became a solitary around the time of West's death.

Gray's periods of low spirits and inactivity, however, were intermingled with frequent stints of travel until the time of his death. His 'uneventful existence' was bemoaned in the mid-1750s: 'I am at Stoke, hearing, seeing, doing, absolutely nothing ... heavy, lifeless, without form and void … only troubled with this depression of mind'.[118] Contrary to becoming a complete recluse, however, he spent over forty percent of his time away from Cambridge after settling there in 1742.[119] He

[112] Most scholars agree that Gray's social isolation worsened after his return home and the death of Richard West. See Snyder, 'The Epistolary Melancholy of Thomas Gray', pp. 131–33. Wolfe frames this period of solitude in a more positive light, arguing he was not 'disabled by grief', instead enjoying 'remarkable productivity'. See 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter-Writer', p. 64.

[113] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Richard West, *c*. 20 December 1735', *The Correspondence*, ed. by Toynbee, vol. 1, pp. 52–53.

[114] T. Gray, in *The Works of Thomas Gray*, ed. J. Mitford, London, William Pickering, 1836, vol. 1, p. 90.

[115] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 308.

[116] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 308.

[117] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton, 11 December 1746', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 1, p. 149.

[118] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to William Mason, 23 July 1756', *The Letters*, vol. 1, pp. 300–303.

[119] Wolfe, 'Thomas Gray: The Poet as a Letter-Writer', p. 94.

travelled and visited friends around the country regularly up until his death. Gray never married,[120] and his letters reflect a fear of losing more of the few friends he had left at home.[121] He would go on to cherish his remaining friendships and share his travels as a means of nurturing intimacy, most notably through the 1750s and 60s with his friend Thomas Wharton.[122] In a letter to Wharton from Stoke in 1758, Gray wrote: 'I never saw in so small a spot so much variety, & so many natural advantages, nor ever hardly wish'd more for your company to partake of them'.[123] They had planned to travel through the Lakes District together in 1769 when Wharton became ill.[124] Gray kept a continuous account of his trip for Wharton and longed for the company of his friend. As he took in 'the most delicious view, that my eyes ever beheld', he 'never wish'd more for you'.[125]

Though Gray's experiences of solitude, as we have seen, encouraged intimacy, they also had the potential to become increasingly lonely and isolating. I distinguish between solitude and isolation here, where the former was the result of the redeeming intimate solitude he had shared

[120] Many scholars have argued the Gray was homosexual. Although there is no evidence that he was sexually active with any men, disagreement exists regarding how to distinguish homosocial from homosexual relationships. As one example, Roberts argues that 'the pieces of evidence are insubstantial ... homosocial certainly but not physically homosexual in any sense that we now recognize'. See *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, pp. 21–22. For other original interpretations of this question, see Bentman, 'Thomas Gray and the Poetry of "Hopeless Love"'; and Haggerty, *Men in Love*. For a discussion of homosexuality in the eighteenth century, see Hitchcock, *English Sexualities.* Also see G. S. Rousseau, 'The Pursuit of Homosexuality in the Eighteenth Century: "Utterly Confused Category" and/or Rich Repository?', in R. P. Maccubbin (ed.), *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

[121] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to William Mason, 8 October 1763', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 3, pp. 68–69. When Wharton married, Gray lost one of his closest remaining friends at the university. See Ketton-Cremer, *Thomas Gray: A Biography*, pp. 84–85.

[122] Wharton was a pensioner to Pembroke in 1734. He came from an illustrious family of citizens, including his father who had been mayor of Durham. See Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, p. 212.

[123] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Doctor Thomas Wharton: Wednesday, 9 August 1758', Electronic Enlightenment.

[124] Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, p. 28.

[125] Gray, *Thomas Gray's Journal*, ed. Roberts, p. 45.

with West, whilst his isolation was despairing and did not have a sense of shared social value. This is best evidenced in his relationship with Swiss writer Charles de Bonstetten. In 1770, Gray wrote to him: 'I did not conceive till now (I own) what it was to lose you nor felt the solitude and insipidity of my own condition, before I possess'd the happiness of your friendship'.[126] His relationship with Bonstetten, and his ensuing absence, made solitude an unbearable prospect for Gray: 'here I am again to pass my solitary evenings, which hung much lighter on my hands, before I knew him'.[127] Even Gray's travels became tainted by his absence: 'I am returned ... from the little journey I made into Suffolk ... the thought that you might have been with me there, has embittered all my hours: your letter has made me so happy, as happy as so gloomy, so solitary a being as I am, is capable of being made'.[128] His separation from Bonstetten transformed the experience of solitude in a strikingly different way that it had with West and Wharton. Rather than being a space in which he could share like-minded thoughts of isolation, it offered no joy at all, even during travels. This was, perhaps, due to the more physical nature of the relationship and a lack of shared sensibilities. Scholars like Mack and Redford have characterised the relationship of Gray and Bonstetten as one of infatuation and obsessive emotion for Gray, that distracted him from his scholarly interests.[129] This consuming passion overwhelmed the common intellectual interests they shared, and lacked the stable foundations of friendship he had cultivated with West. Ultimately, this relationship resulted not in a solitude of shared intimacy, but in despairing isolation.

Looking back in 1741, Gray expressed a degree of regret in his travels after returning home to England, professing to Chute that 'traveling does not produce its right effect'.[130] Arriving back in London, he told Chute: 'Either I, or it are extremely odd ... I am as an Alien in my native land, yea! I am as an owl among the small birds'.[131] Despite this, he continued to exalt the benefits of travel,

[126] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Charles Victor de Bonstetten, 12 April 1770', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 3, p. 271.

[127] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Norton Nicholls, 4 April 1770', *The Letters*, vol. 3, p. 269.

[128] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Charles Victor de Bonstetten, 9 May 1770', *The Letters*, vol. 3, p. 282.

[129] Mack, *Thomas Gray: A Life*, pp. 35, 251, 637; Redford, *The Converse of the Pen*, p. 109.

[130] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to John Chute, 7 September 1741', *The Letters*, vol. 1, p. 90.

[131] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to John Chute, 7 September 1741', *The Letters*, vol. 1, p. 92.

which because increasingly valuable to him.[132] In 1770, he told Mason, 'I am very well at present, the usual effect of my summer expeditions'.[133] When Walpole became severely ill, Gray determined that 'it is owing to a little indolence and want of motion between the fits ... man is a creature made to be jumbled, and no matter whether he goes on his head or heels, move or be moved he must ... I owe my late and present ease to the little expeditions I always make in summer'.[134] Earlier that year, he wrote to Wharton, saying: 'I do think of seeing Wales this summer, having never found my spirits lower than at present, and feeling that motion and change of the scene is absolutely necessary to me'.[135] From these exchanges, it is clear that Gray saw travel and motion as maintaining his health, both in a physical and a psychological sense. His sharing of these travels, within a framework of longing for companionship, gave Gray a measure of hope and an imagined intimacy that resulted in rewarding solitary travels. Without this, Gray could not live: 'travel I must, or cease to exist'.[136] This discussion of Gray's experiences at home highlights the importance of travel and letter exchange in his expressions of solitude. Though he never enjoyed the same degree of shared solitude he had with West on his Grand Tour, he sought to maintain intimacy at home with his remaining friends through an invaluable sharing of travels and solitary ideals that reflected the values of his emotional community and sustained his connection to those friends.

Coke: Melancholy and Isolation at Home

Coke travelled in and out of England many times through her life, and in examining her diaries and letters it becomes clear that she most closely associated her isolation with home. As we have seen, though she turned to travel as a social cure, it failed to provide relief from perceived rejection and persecution. She removed herself from society at large, all the while longing to be part of social

[132] In this later period of his life, travel became more distinctly positive for Gray, likely because he was later in control of his own movements and social encounters, which was not often the case during his Grand Tour. See R. F. Gleckner, *Gray Agonistes: Thomas Gray and Masculine Friendship*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997, p. 77.

[133] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to William Mason, 7 September 1770', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 3, p. 292.

[134] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Horace Walpole, 17 September 1770', *The Correspondence*, ed. by Toynbee, vol. 2, pp. 294–95.

[135] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton, 18 April 1770', *The Letters*, ed. by Tovey, vol. 3, p. 280.

[136] Gray, 'Thomas Gray to Thomas Wharton, 24 May 1771', *The Letters*, Vol. 3, p. 320.

affairs, solitude and isolation simultaneously unwanted and sought. She suffered a great deal of melancholy throughout her life, and it often centred on the separation from or loss of others.[137] When Coke found herself in low spirits, she passed her time 'alone', isolating herself from others and refusing to go to social events. Reading was an 'amusement' and her books 'companions'; they also served as comforting diversions from melancholy thoughts.[138] Although it was typical for Coke to withdraw upon hearing the news of death, it was the Duke of York's passing away in 1767 that ushered in a long period of solitude and isolation at home, at her country house in Notting Hill. At this stage in her life, she had already made several trips to Europe, beginning in 1763. She had enjoyed gardening abroad, and now put a great deal of time into her garden at Notting Hill.[139] This space offered employment to avoid the pitfalls of idleness, but it became a place for her own isolation as well. As Bending has noted, it was marked by 'the life of a woman uneasy with the loneliness of seclusion', 'resentful that visits from London were few', and a solitude accompanied by misery and loneliness.[140]

Although 'not well enough to go out', Coke recognised that in this solitude and isolation and 'without air and exercise ... one cannot be well'. Being alone was 'melancholy, and unfit for one in dejection of spirits'.[141] Coke clearly expressed her view on solitude: 'I am persuaded retirement is never the effect of choice; it may indeed be the best ... for those who are disgusted with the world ... but I fancy it is never accompanied with happiness'.[142] In an early unpublished letter to her sister Lady Dalkeith, she wrote: 'the objection I had to your going into the country ... was the want of company, a very material one in my opinion to one whose spirits are depress'd and weaken'd by too

[137] Coke, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 138–39, 185, 217.

[138] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 85, 88. For further reflections on idleness, reading and melancholy, see the following: *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 51, 138; vol. 2, pp. 96, 141, 149, 172, 332, 379.

[139] For more on gardening during this time, see P. Borsay, *A History of Leisure: The British Experience since 1500*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 168.

[140] Bending, 'Miserable reflections', p. 31.

[141] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 85–87, 225.

[142] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, p. 332.

much reflection on melancholy subjects. Solitude is only fit for those who are happy'.[143] Despite such convictions, however, Coke affirmed that she was 'best alone', 'unfit for company', and her melancholy spirits 'required retirement'.[144]

Coke's views on her own solitude and melancholy were closely tied to eighteenth-century polite sensibility. At the heart of sensibility was conversation, which aimed to please others.[145] Politeness insisted on the need for, and virtues of, social artifice and social agreeableness. The criteria for a conversational norm of politeness included 'ease, freedom, liveliness, and perhaps most important, reciprocity'.[146] Coke wished to fashion herself within the norms of this polite and civil society of the elite.[147] In moments of melancholy, she could not, in her view, reach an acceptable standard of civility to be present at social gatherings.[148] Those around her frequently advised Coke both to think less of melancholy things and embrace company in times of affliction. Horace Walpole, for instance, insisted she come into town 'thinking it very bad for me to be alone'.[149] Such advice reflected a common attitude in the period that melancholy was overcome

[143] 'Lady Mary Coke to Lady Dalkeith', National Archives of Scotland NRAS 859, Box 198, Bundle 1, Letter 2.

[144] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 218, 153, 214.

[145] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 212. Also see Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994; L. Brace, 'Improving the Inside: Gender, Property and the 18th-Century Self', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2010.

[146] L. E. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 4, 2002, pp. 874–75.

[147] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 3, p. 484. For other examples, see *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 67, 246; vol. 3, p. 371; vol. 4, pp. 136, 187.

[148] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 139, 216, 223. Brewer writes that the 'requirement that polite people shape their feelings according to their effect on others created profound anxiety about their identity'. See *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 112.

[149] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 182–83, 222, 158, 196, 148.

through the help of others, not through the dangers of social isolation.[150] Coke, however, especially after the death of the Duke of York, 'cou'd not bear the thoughts of going to town'.[151] Retreat was in her mind the only viable option. This behaviour itself, however, was problematic to codes of politeness. Unless shared and shown to others, politeness and refinement had little value.[152] This was, perhaps, one purpose and advantage to writing and sharing a diary: started in 1766, it served as a platform from which to assert the moral virtues of her solitude to her sister as well as herself, in a private and uncontested space.

As time passed, her conviction that nothing could cure her melancholy intensified, as did her expressions of commitment to a solitary life. Though agreeing solitude worsened melancholy, she viewed herself as an exceptional case in the intensity and permanence of her misery: 'I have indured such hardships and misery, as I believe few besides myself have ever suffer'd'.[153] As Coke grew older, her life continued in much the same way, spending most of her time in her home, complaining of both lonely isolation and disagreeable company. Her early hopes regarding the sociability of travels were largely destroyed due to her isolating experiences abroad, as we saw in Chapters Three and Four. After a brief trip to Brussels in 1781, Coke's trips were confined to England. There was some indication in her journals, however, that she became more resigned to, and occasionally at peace with, her solitude. Although she continued to complain of her melancholy time at home alone without visitors, we also see rare moments of contentment in choosing solitude. Heading to Southampton in 1788 to improve her health near the sea, she wrote: 'I got down to the sea and found a charming seat upon part of a rock ... I did not see a human being all the time I was there ... I shall return to this agreeable solitude every day'. The next day, she returned: 'The solitude was a profound as ever and the silence more so there were no birds in the rocks or any sea gulls

[150] See, for example, Baxter, *A Christian directory*. Also see Lawlor, 'Fashionable Melancholy', p. 35; and Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

[151] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 143–45, 173, 315–16.

[152] Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, p. 107.

[153] Coke, 'Mary Coke to Lady Suffolk 12 July 1748', British Library Add. MS. 22629, fol. 93.

upon the sea'.[154] While in London and abroad, Coke always expected company; here she could find solitude as a positive experience where it was resolutely chosen and *meant* to be solitary.

Corrupt Urban Sociability and Virtuous Solitude

When considering Coke's expressions of solitude, it must be noted that the renunciation of urban social circles in favour of quiet retirement was not a notion unique to her by any means. This literary trend reflected a period in which the pleasures of fashionable society endured intense criticism. Gentry women typically enjoyed abundant free time to pursue both domestic recreation and leisure activities outside the home.[155] There was also, however, an association of such a lifestyle with moral corruption. Satirical attacks of the time focused on the immorality of female visiting, which drew women from their duties and encouraged gossip and scandal.[156] Critics often charged social entertainments as 'shallow, pernicious, encouraging false values and sexual immorality'.[157] Many female writers began to express a preference for rural seclusion and cultivated a desire for quiet retreat, often 'after reciting the excitements of a dizzy social round'.[158]

Was Coke merely imitating a literary trope? Solitude, for many of her contemporaries, was not just a means of escape, but improvement as well, and this is where she diverged from more typical expressions. Many women advocated a withdrawal from society in order to contribute to

[154] Coke, 'Letters from Lady Mary Coke to the Countess of Strafford 1788', National Archives of Scotland NRAS859, vol. 498.

[155] B. Heller, 'Leisure and the Use of Domestic Space in Georgian London', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 3, 2010, p. 643. Also see N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, London, Europa, 1982; Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*; G. Russell, *Woman, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007; Chalus, 'Elite Women'.

[156] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 209.

[157] C. Wiskin, 'Urban Businesswomen in Eighteenth-Century England', in R. Sweet and P. Lane (eds.), *Women and Urban Life in Eighteenth-Century England: On the Town*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003, p. 88. Conduct and advice books warned of the dangers of women venturing into the world. See, for example, T. Gisborne, *An enquiry into the duties of the female sex*, London, Printed for T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, 1797.

[158] Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 283.

it.[159] Coke did not present her retreat in terms of moral contribution towards society, but rather simply as a way to defend her own virtue against corruption. Furthermore, she truly seemed tortured in her solitude. She distanced herself from the unnecessary 'finery and magnificence' of her previous worldly existence, condemning such luxuries in favour of simplicity.[160] She could never fully abandon such a lifestyle, however, wanting the best of both worlds but being happy in neither. Although Coke clearly desired, or at least needed, solitude in times of melancholy, she was miffed when her friends did not visit her.[161] Being alone, she contended, increased her 'dejection of spirits', because miserable reflections in solitude offered no chance to grow better.[162] Even when she did have company, however, she clung to her miserable solitude. Once guests arrived, she often wished them gone, demonstrating that Coke was attached to the very solitude she loathed.

Coke stands as an extraordinary example of the complexities and inconsistencies of human nature and desire. Eighteenth-century English essayist and Anglican priest Vicesimus Knox asserted that the majority of people considered solitude 'synonymous with misery'.[163] Although this implied the majority chose company to avoid misery, it was not always so simple. Riddled with contradictions, Coke both embraced and lamented her own solitude. She believed solitude a misery, but perhaps a better misery than interacting with society. Although she recognised that being alone was melancholy, she was making a virtuous and necessary choice, as 'the world was not to be supported'.[164] In 1768, several months after the death of the Duke of York and her withdrawal to Notting Hill, she considered that while others prepared to attend a masquerade, she worked in her garden, not desiring to bother going: 'What a strange alteration has one year made in me! I hardly know myself; everything is now a trouble that once was a pleasure'.[165] This statement attests to just how central social engagements were to one's identity. Feeling cut off from others, she hardly knew

[159] Owen, *The Female Crusoe*, p. 102.

[160] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 246.

[161] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, pp. 221–23, 225; vol. 2, pp. 149, 295, 234.

[162] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, pp. 157, 160.

[163] V. Knox, *Essays, Moral and Literary*, Oxford, J. Decker, 1800, vol. 1, p. 243.

[164] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, p. 170.

[165] Coke, *Letters and Journals*, p. 382.

herself, but she continued to analyse herself the only way she could: in relation to the society she had turned away from.

Fanshawe's Travels: Separation and Childbirth

As we have seen, separation from loved ones left behind was a common theme within exile narratives. In particular, the suffering endured and patience required were integral to representations of virtue and morality within the royalist community. Separation from families could often last for years, sometimes punctuated by occasional reunions, and this unhappiness was often coupled with 'an intense homesickness for England'.[166] Such anxiety, Keeble notes, was often worse for female exiles, as they faced an additional hardship added on to the royalist theme of suffering: 'enforced separation from the husband'.[167] Emphasising the pain of separation, Fanshawe wrote in a letter in 1666 to her husband from Madrid: 'I ... wish thee with me a thousand times ... I perpetually pray that he will bless, preserve and keep thee, and send us a happy meeting'. When she did not hear from Richard for some time, she became distraught: 'I am infinitely troubled that I have not yet heard from thee ... how many fears and hopes I have daily and what disorder of mind I am often in ... send thee to me safe back'.[168] Letters between spouses were particularly important in revealing expressions of solitude during such absences.[169]

As previously demonstrated, however, amidst travels Fanshawe's solitude was despairing, but also full of hope and relish as she acted to bring about reunification. In comparison, I argue that it was in Fanshawe's experiences of childbearing and reproduction that we can uncover her greatest expressions of solitary despair. Fanshawe was pregnant and residing in London while Richard was in Scotland in 1650. He wrote to her, encouraging patience while he was away and warning of infrequent correspondence under difficult circumstances. She recorded her reaction to this news: 'God knows how great a surprise this was to me, being great with child, and two children with me, not in the best condition to maintain them, and in dayly fear of your father's life'. Alone and without

[166] Smith, *The Cavaliers in Exile*, p. 107.

[167] Keeble, 'Obedient Subjects?', p. 205.

[168] *The Manuscripts of J. M. Heathcote*, pp. 234–35.

[169] A. MacFarlane, *Marriage and Love in England: Modes of Reproduction, 1300–1840*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, p. 193.

means to reunite with her husband, she recorded the support of visiting friends and family at home. With a heavy heart, she spent her time in the company of God and loved ones: 'I was seldom without the best company in the town, and some times my father would stay a week, for all had compassion for my condition'.[170] Her isolation and despair, however, persisted as she spent several months largely confined to the home. I argue that this was not solely due to the absence of her husband, but rather to the added loss of a sense of agency to assist him.

Throughout Fanshawe's memoir, she is almost continually pregnant, giving birth, or miscarrying. Married for twenty-three years, she recorded having fourteen children, and miscarrying a further six during that time.[171] This facet of her life, however, was not highly unusual. Elite women of her time could have a child as often as every eighteen months, or even once a year if she sent her child out to nurse.[172] More unusual were the circumstances in which Fanshawe found herself in labour. Continually travelling, she gave birth wherever necessary, sometimes far from home and in exile, likely with less of an intimate support network close by. These moments were not, however, periods of physical isolation. Childbirth was a social occasion, and a ceremony that was exclusively for women.[173] The lying-in period incurred frequent social visits, making it 'distinguished as much by sociability as by seclusion'.[174] For most women, however, the husband was partially present in the event of childbirth, and many were involved in the pregnancy, childbirth, and raising of their babies.[175] Fanshawe was often separated from her husband during

[170] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 133.

[171] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 106.

[172] S. Read, *Maids, Wives, Widows: Exploring Early Modern Women's Lives 1540–1714*, Havertown, Pen and Sword, 2015, p. xvii. Also see P. Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity in Seventeenth-Century England', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, London, Routledge, 2013, pp. 14–16.

[173] A. Wilson, 'The Ceremony of Childbirth and Its Interpretation', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers*, p. 70.

[174] L. Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003, p. 172. Also see Gowing, 'Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex', p. 818.

[175] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England*, p. 184. Urged by moralists to be caring and sympathetic to their wives during pregnancy, husbands were expected to support the emotional needs of their

and after childbirth, as she observed full lying-in periods which meant lengthy separations while Richard travelled.[176] This was a distinct kind of solitude that intensified Fanshawe's feelings of isolation. In previous instances, despite professed moments of sadness and despair, there was a clear expression of pride and self-satisfaction as well, as she engaged with and outsmarted the world around her.

During her pregnancies, when her movements and capabilities were restricted, the despair of solitude was most strongly expressed. It was not a solitude that she could *use*, but instead one that forced her into a passive role. This point further reinforces the value of travelling in Fanshawe's narrative. Rather than diminishing or harming her claim to morality, travel allowed her to assert it through skilful participation in the world. This in turn demonstrated an active and loyal dedication to her husband, and consequently, her King and the royalist cause as well. Fanshawe's sense of helplessness was worsened by the continual loss of children whom she was powerless to save.[177] Many early modern women feared childbirth and the pain involved.[178] It was not only fears of bodily distress that threatened, but susceptibility to 'mental foreboding' and 'bouts of melancholy'.[179] Too much grief and sadness could be dangerous for one's health.[180] When

wives. Although typically not present for the ceremony, 'husbands were expected to be, and frequently were, near at hand at the birth of their children'. See L. A. Pollock, 'Embarking on a Rough Passage: The Experience of Pregnancy in Early-Modern Society', in V. Fildes (ed.), *Women as Mothers*, p. 53.

[176] Read, *Maids, Wives, Widows*, p. 105.

[177] Lady Fanshawe dwells on the loss of her nine or ten-year-old daughter Ann, writing that Richard and herself 'wished to have gone into the grave with her'. See *The Memoirs*, p. 136. Such emotions were common seventeenth-century parental responses to death. See Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity'; and Fletcher, *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England*.

[178] See Crawford, 'The Construction and Experience of Maternity', pp. 2, 21. Also see Sharon Howard, 'Imagining the Pain and Peril of Seventeenth-century Childbirth: Travail and Deliverance in the Making of an Early Modern World', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 2003, p. 369.

[179] Pollock, 'Embarking on a Rough Passage', p. 47.

[180] See O. Weisser, 'Grieved and Disordered: Gender and Emotion in Early Modern Patient Narratives', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2, 2013, p. 249.

Fanshawe's father died, her intense grief caused her severe illness for several months.[181] She believed that her grief over her son Richard directly resulted in the death of another child by miscarriage.[182] Her feminine emotions, therefore, could be dangerous, making her husband and his company a safe haven and the ultimate goal of her solitary suffering.

Looking to her husband, I would argue, allowed Fanshawe to create meaning for herself through the opportunity of travel. She characterised her pregnancies as follows: 'my dear husband had six sons and eight daughters borne and christned, and I miscarryed of 6 more'.[183] In this statement, Rose finds evidence that Fanshawe cannot locate meaning separate from her relationship with her husband.[184] Though this is certainly true to some degree, there are alternative ways of framing this. Firstly, by claiming her miscarriages, she claimed an explicitly feminine suffering and virtue at once separate but also inseparable from her husband. Secondly, by bringing her husband into her maternal experiences, Fanshawe perhaps sought to regain a sense of purpose and agency. When we look to her expressions of solitude during pregnancy, we find an enforced passivity that renders this solitude as despairing isolation. It was in the connection to and expected reunion with her husband that Fanshawe could transform such passive isolation into purposeful solitude.

Fanshawe: Death of Husband and Isolation in Widowhood

Fanshawe travelled home to England after the death of her husband, making her return a distinctly solemn affair marked by solitude and loss. Her solitude existed for him, even after his death. Travelling alone with her children, she dedicated herself to getting Richard's body back to England. She endured an even crueller world than before, serving as a reminder of a solitude now permanent, pervasive, and without the liberating qualities it once produced. Calling herself the 'most distressed wretch upon earth', she mourned: 'See me with my soule divided, my glory and my guide taken from me, and in him all my comfort in this life'.[185] Feeling both 'shame' and 'confusion', Lady

[181] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 191.

[182] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 139.

[183] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 106.

[184] Rose argues that Lady Ann, in her devotion to idealizing male superiority, all but ignores experiences that are uniquely female: namely, her body and its capacity to conceive. See *Gender and Heroism*, p. 70.

[185] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 185.

Fanshawe bemoaned to God that she could not support herself alone, sinking under the weight of her loss and left with five children, no friends or assistance, and far from home without any means to return. Previous glimpses of solitary joy were overwhelmed with despair, because they no longer served an aim of reunion.

She was, however, still proud to accomplish solitary feats for him, in much the same way that her memoir was a solitary dedication to a union that lived on in her memory. Despite her immense emotional trauma, Fanshawe emphasised that she continued to uphold her loyalty and virtue as both a wife and a loyal English subject.[186] Managing to travel out of Spain to France, it was a 'most sad journey', moving with her children and the body of her husband. She desired to leave 'as privately as I could', refusing an offer of company from Lord Sandwich. She was visited by numerous nobility and gentry, as well as overseas relations, giving their condolences.[187] Despite these offers of friendship, as we saw in the last chapter, Fanshawe became increasingly embittered, despairing at the lack of true compassion she had expected.[188] In her state of despair, she considered retirement from the world: 'sometimes I thought to quit the world, as a sacrifice to your father's memory, and to shut myself up in a house for ever from all people; but upon the consideration of my children ... I resolved to suffer, as long as it pleased God, the storms and blows of fortune'.[189] Fanshawe persevered with that same initiative and strength of previous years, bringing her family home to England.

I argue that her husband's death did not squash Fanshawe's resolve to courage and heroism, as she continued to honour her King, travel for the good of her family, and find strength in her solitary state. In this new kind of solitary state, Fanshawe invoked the memory of her husband, her relationship with God, and of course, wrote her memoir to her son as a way of communicating her joy and suffering to her late husband and her remaining family. The memoir ends abruptly after her

[186] Refusing a financial offer from the Queen of Spain that required conversion to Catholicism, Ann wrote that she 'could not quit the faith' in which she had been 'born and bred'. See Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 186.

[187] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 188.

[188] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 189.

[189] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, p. 190.

husband's death, and we are left with an incomplete picture of how she lived the rest of her life. Rose has argued that Fanshawe's role as the heroic wife in a masculine sphere of action collapsed with the end of the revolution, and increasingly becomes 'an inhibited, repressed story'.[190]Archival letters at the Valence House Museum in Dagenham, however, indicate that Fanshawe continued her life as an active widow. She was still managing financial affairs and attempting to secure various sums of money. She was also travelling to see her surviving children into the mid-1670s before her death in 1680.[191] I would surmise from this evidence that the same independent resolve and wisdom seen in her memoirs continued through until the end of her life. When we look to Fanshawe's experiences at home, it becomes clear that her solitude and her travels were critical to one another. Without the agency or ability to act towards providing for her husband's needs and reuniting with him, the significance of her solitude altered and became a negative kind of isolation. In widowhood, Fanshawe's memoir was perhaps a way to recapture this meaning by honouring the memory of her husband and in a sense, striving to reunite with him once again. As in the case of her solitude abroad, she infused her solitude at home with meaning by focusing on the life of her husband through her memoir and the honour and virtue of her family line, retrospectively locating her settled subjectivity as a reward for the many trials of her life as a royalist exile.

Bargrave: Royalist Retirement and Emotional Separation

The context of solitude at home was critical for many royalists in the 1650s, who idealised a retreat into the countryside. By living quietly and disconnecting themselves from political turmoil, they intended both to avoid any cooperation that compromised principles, as well an insurrection that could interfere with the return of Charles II.[192] Withdrawing into this private world meant secluding oneself with a surrounding of close friends for support and communication. Strength to endure adversity was drawn from the inner peace and piety of this retired state, as well as from God, family

[190] Rose, *Gender and Heroism*, pp. 69–70.

[191] Valence House Museum NR90/677, 10 July 1676.

[192] Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, p. 259. Loxley has recently challenged what he views as overemphasis of this trope. See *Royalism and Poetry*, pp. 210–11.

and friends. 'Cavalier' poets fostered the notion that retirement encouraged virtue and piety.[193] The demonstration of masculinity was critical to both royalists and the opposing party of Parliamentarians, as it signified political authority. Opponents, therefore, attacked royalists by emphasising the association of retirement from public life with effeminacy.[194] Similarly, exiles abroad, though entering a public, masculine sphere of travel, were accused of retreating and associating with the femininity of royal courts.[195] Royalists themselves, however, emphasised a retirement that was active and engaged with the world. Although there was a clear rhetoric of retirement in royalist writings, it was in fact contained within a strategy of continued engagement.[196]

What is the relationship of this ideal to exiles like Bargrave, who fled to Europe? Although the literary phenomenon of pastoral retreat reflected the actual practice of royalist gentry who remained in England and retired to country estates in the 1650s, there were ideological connections to royalist exiles abroad, as well. Although seemingly entering a public space of sociability and masculine pursuits, exile itself could be viewed as a kind of retirement and retreat from danger. Travel narratives served to remind readers that danger and suffering were very much part of the exile experience. One's identity as an exile, whether at home or abroad, shared common characteristics. Exiles in both instances expressed a sense of isolation and embraced a rhetoric of suffering, loyalty, and endurance, whether withdrawn in the country, imprisoned, or just facing the

[193] Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, pp. 285–88. Rather than creating a sense of alienation from the self, as in classical and medieval thought, exile became in the Christian tradition a possible means of salvation. See Edwards, 'Exile, Self and Society', p. 16.

[194] C. Coussens, '"Virtue's Commonwealth": Gendering the Royalist Cultural Rebellion in the English Interregnum (1649–1660)', Çankaya Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, *Journal of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 6, 2006, p. 21.

[195] Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity'. Coussens expands on this point: 'The prominence of women within the royal courts … encouraged the king's opponents to ridicule the royalists' lack of masculine vigour'. See 'Virtue's Commonwealth', p. 20.

[196] Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry*, p. 232. Finding its roots in the tradition of Stoic humanism, contemplation was thought to improve the self, and therefore improve one's actions. See Anselment, *Royalist Resolve*, p. 16.

hardships of travels 'alone'. By emphasising friendship with other royalists, Bargrave emphasised both the importance of community but also his sense of isolation from those outside it, who were neither royalists nor exiles, and from his homeland. Fanshawe also expressed her clear preference for country living and retirement, demonstrating a generic convention and common ideal among royalists.[197] Just as travellers were expressing more of a 'home' abroad, and more happiness in suffering, so too the notion emerged that by escaping a society of corruption and embracing an isolated solitude, one in fact both secured the virtuous self and found true company in fellow exiles and in God.

Bargrave, like Fanshawe, expressed grief and longing for his spouse during their separation. Whilst the beginning of Bargrave's travels were marked by a feeling of elation and excitement, his second departure from home after marriage had a strikingly different expression. In 1653, after returning home from Constantinople, Bargrave married Elizabeth Turner. Shortly thereafter, he embarked on further travels to Spain and Italy, leaving her, as well as his first child of two months, behind.[198] His second departure from home, unlike his first, was represented as 'unpleasing banishment from my dear relations; rather from the necessity of my fate, then the bias of my affections ... sensible of a sad change of my state, from land to sea, from friends to strangers, and from sweet health to the perpetual torment of sea sickness'.[199] Bargrave composed an autobiographical poem to his wife recounting his previous travels and his new life with her. Here, his past was recounted as full of suffering but his present and future were full of hope and promise. He presented his initial departure from England as an oracle of the Gods, who insisted that only by severing ties from home could he and his wife be joined together. He gave his 'sad adieu to country, parents, friends, and to the view of Faire Robina; such a sad farewell ... when sighs and tears were spent ... in the hated ship poor exil I banishd from bliss, embark'd in miserie ... the envious gaile stole from my watry eyes the hapy shore'. Travelling from 'hills of hope to valleys of despaire', he endured 'six monthes torment on the seas, sad without comfort, and sick without ease'.[200] Although Bargrave spoke of his fate as divinely ordained, he also wrote that he had 'abandoned my beloved

[197] Fanshawe, *The Memoirs*, pp. 156, 136.

[198] Tilmouth, 'Music on the Travels of an English Merchant', p. 155.

[199] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 175–76.

[200] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 213–14.

home', revealing to the reader that it was still, in fact, a choice. By framing his absence from home as divine will, however, it gave his journey a sense of purpose and thus arguably made separation from loved ones easier to bear.

Bargrave's emphasis on cultural isolation and alienation was more strongly expressed in retrospect, just as his references to home became more frequent and poignant, in particular with the endured separation from his wife. Bargrave related several aspects of his travels that highlighted his solitary suffering. He landed on shore, writing, 'now all alone I was constreind to dwell in a strange land, under an infedel, finding, for parents, strangers; and in lieu of friends, the faithless Turke, and treacherous Jew'.[201] He also recalled Modyford's betrayal and his experience in prison: 'from being free betray'd to slaverie: and that to one, who did forsooth pretend to be much less my master then my frend ... to secure him from harme; I did my selfe endure the worst of wrongs ... cast m'into a horrid dungeon; as darke as death, as silent as the grave, as solitarie as a desert cave'.[202] Through this poetic recounting of his travels, Bargrave repeatedly gave mention to solitude: 'all alone' instead of with loved ones, enduring psychological isolation amidst his travels and physical isolation when he was sent to prison. Everything he faced abroad without her stood in opposition to that at home with her, just as everything shifted from misery to joy. By emphasising his willingness to endure his fate and suffering, he united their marriage in a shared purpose. Though Bargrave suffered separation from his wife, portrayals of his suffering abroad as a royalist were not as dependent on her, unlike in the case of Fanshawe and her husband, who were ideologically inseparable. In both cases, however, they emphasised their spouses and their political visions as complementary. Royalists, Purkiss has argued, presented 'love and politics as compatible and even inseparable, undoing the Parliamentarian opposition between public business and intrusive private affection'.[203]

Within the motif of solitude and suffering in Bargrave's writings, he drew on influences of emotional and erotic expression popular with cavalier poets. Bargrave's rhetoric was not only sensory and passionate, but also invoked a sense of yielding and powerlessness. Seventeenth-century moralists advised spouses to discipline desire and emotion within marriage. The husband

[201] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 214.

[202] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, pp. 214-15.

[203] Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, p. 78.

was expected to rule his wife, and this included moderating her less rational and more emotional extremes.[204] Cavalier poets, however, often challenged these boundaries of permissible sexual and emotional practice.[205] Bargrave described his wife as 'queen regent over all my passions, my malice, and my love; my hope, my feare; my joy, my grief, my longing and despaire'.[206] His feelings depended on hers, so 'if shee were pleased, I gathred from her eye sweet hope' and 'if she fround all other passions in despaire were dround'.[207] This intertwining of emotions is reminiscent of Fanshawe's narrative, but the evidence and insistence on this inseparability is much less evident, because Bargrave's wife is largely absent from his travel narrative as a whole. Through the emotional longing for his wife, however, Bargrave emphasised his endurance of solitary suffering and his devotion to home and family, both of which had important implications for his political loyalties. In the early seventeenth century, there was an increasing emphasis on the importance of companionship in marriage.[208] Although dedication to families signified political honesty, it was a fine line between virtue and excess: 'undue devotion to wife and family was a cause for concern at points of crisis'.[209] By commonly associating love and parting with battle and death, however,

[204] J. Scodel, 'The Pleasures of Restraint: The Mean of Coyness in Cavalier Poetry', *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1996, p. 240.

[205] Scodel, 'The Pleasures of Restraint', p. 239.

[206] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 210.

[207] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 210. Overbury similarly wrote that a husband's 'calamaties and troubles she shares alike'. See *The Miscellaneous Works in Verse and Prose of Sir Thomas Overbury, with Memoirs of his Life*, London, Printed for W. Owen, 1756, p. 110.

[208] L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977, p. 325. One of the central advantages of marriage, espoused many, was true friendship. Also see MacFarlane, *Marriage and Love in England*; and Sommerville, *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early-Modern Society*, London, Arnold, 1995. It has been argued that the ideal of companionate interpersonal relations, including marriage, was particularly strong among dissenters. See G. Campbell and T. N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 339.

[209] Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity'. Also see J. R. Gillis, *For Better, for Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 14, 74.

public and private devotions and allegiances could become inseparable.[210] By expressing loyalty and passion to his wife, Bargrave aligned himself with his emotional community of royalists.

Whereas joy and grief were intertwined while separated, upon returning home he expressed only happiness. There was 'not a teare' any longer, but only 'dropps of joy, and whisperings of love'. He understood his separation from Robina and all the joys attached to and associated with her as necessary when he concluded: 'By being severd, I am Joind'.[211] The same God that decreed his separation from loved ones restored him home, and his 'longing desires' to see relations were granted in 'happy Rencounter'.[212] Just as joining could not be accomplished without separation, communal and solitary expressions of suffering and joy were intertwined and mutually beneficial, two extremes that depended on one another for fruition. Jane Stabler, considering Romantic and Victorian writers, identifies a sense of exile as 'shared, even glorious, isolation' and 'populous solitude'.[213] In looking at Bargrave's diary as well as the writings of other royalist exiles, it becomes clear that the interplay between solitary isolation and communal identification was critical to emotional expressions of the exile experience. This was common to all the case studies considered, but women faced greater challenges in integrating their expressions of solitude within a community, because they had to carefully frame these expressions within the bounds of acceptable femininity.

Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate that emotional communities were critical to imparting a sense of settledness to travellers, whether their physical bodies were in motion abroad or at rest. Location and physical context, however, influenced the extent to which the subjects of these case studies might express solitude and isolation, as well as the ways in which these experiences were characterised. A degree of isolation and unsettledness was often expressed when the physical communities our subjects came into significant contact with were at odds with the emotions and ideals they continued to value. This was particularly true at home, where expectations of settledness

[210] Miner, *The Cavalier Mode*, p. 246.

[211] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 217.

[212] Bargrave, *Travel Diary*, p. 255.

[213] Stabler, *The Artistry of Exile*, p. 22.

were particularly pronounced, and especially when such emotional communities continued to be connected to the experience of travel itself. In contrast, where our subjects could reappropriate their emotional communities or adopt new ones upon returning to the social dynamics found at home, they generally expressed a greater degree of settledness. Such expressions were also impacted to some extent by the genre of self-narrative. In the case of narratives written entirely in retrospect, like Fanshawe's memoirs or Lacy's autobiography, the focus was on ordering and making sense of past experiences. As a result, a stronger sense of settledness from home can be traced, and the solitude they may have felt abroad was strongly reinterpreted in the context of their lives back in England. Letters and diaries, on the other hand, did not necessarily share the same expectations of ordered personal development over time. They could, however, offer a stronger sense of connection to home while abroad because they provided a sense of shared experiences from a distance, and when addressed to particular individuals, these forms of writing often allowed a sense of intimacy to blossom. As a result, many of these individuals expressed a desire, even if intermittent, to keep travelling.

Despite reuniting with friends and family, these subjects often expressed a sense of heightened alienation and unsettledness typically expected in the unfamiliar landscapes abroad. This demonstrates that solitude was not a state of physical aloneness for these travellers, but a state of mind and a sense of being connected or disconnected from others. Nevertheless, the social context upon returning home influenced the way individuals chose to interpret a sense of solitude and isolation. While some grappled with the spiritual significance of social isolation, others embraced isolation as a marker of piety. For Richard Norwood and John Newton, it was isolation from their respective spiritual communities at home that caused the greatest amount of grief and despair. While abroad, isolation could connote piety, but at home amongst fellow Christians they both expressed moments of unwanted isolation. Travel would continue to serve as a constant frame of reference that informed and defined these relationships. The idea of home signified a shared social and emotional community in which these men could integrate themselves with like-minded believers, making moments of isolation particularly troubling. Barlow, unlike Norwood and Newton, associated home with false friendship and betrayal. The alienation he felt abroad was even more strongly identified when he returned home, surrounded by individuals who represented the antithesis of his own emotional values. His resentment towards home helped him form his identity and belonging with the seafaring community, which was by definition unsettled.

Wherever these individuals found themselves, their emotional communities were critical to solitary expressions, regardless of space or distance. Solitude became a negative concept when it

severed one from the ties desired, but it many cases, it opened up positive opportunities for social ties to grow and develop. It was also representations of home and those left behind that invoked the strongest emotional expressions, ranging from sadness to despair to joy to anger. All the subjects of the case studies considered in this chapter viewed travel as an isolating experience embedded with solitary suffering. It was *how* they chose to interpret such experiences, and why, that gave rise to diverging attitudes to loved ones in England and periods of separation. The ways in which the travellers we have considered framed experiences of solitude in relation to home were to a large degree determined by the meaning and significance they invested in travel itself. Connections to home from afar were valued in each of these narratives, but those who saw travel as destructive to their social ties ultimately experienced an isolation from home that, whether desired or not, was expressed repeatedly. For individuals like Norwood and Barlow, a sense of social belonging became increasingly transient and uncertain. For these men, travel was an experience damaging to relationships back home, and this was largely due to a certain hostility they held towards experiences of sea travel itself.

What is perhaps a more surprising finding in this chapter is that the majority of the case study subjects considered found their travels beneficial to developing and nurturing relationships with valuable individuals from a distance. The isolation of travel, whilst detrimental in some cases, was used to strengthen relationships in others. Travel could be understood as a solitary experience which enabled the cultivation and strengthening of social relationships in England through memory and correspondence, as in the case of John Newton and Thomas Gray. Newton and Gray both found the greatest companionship in writing letters in solitude to their closest friends left behind. It was through distance and absence that intimacy and connections were sought, found and maintained. Newton found physical solitude key to connecting with his absent wife, and overcoming a psychological isolation endured in the presence of sailors. Gray welcomed solitude during travels as a chance to connect with a fellow solitary friend and share this isolation together. Bargrave and Fanshawe embraced conceptions of solitude and suffering to make sense of isolation in exile and find strength and meaning in their respective spouses and the larger royalist community.

Returning home was typically associated with expectations of a return to valued social and emotional communities and intimate friendships, but home could also be a lonely and isolating place. In many cases, coming home was an isolating experience because of the social expectations involved. These travellers met with varying degrees of disappointment, despair, loneliness, and anger, rather than the degree of comfort, intimacy, or familiarity anticipated. For some, this was directly related to their travels and its negative connotations and alienating affects. While some

reserved their strongest criticisms for their own conduct, other sought to understand and explain their isolation through the moral failings of those around them. Regardless of the reason, this chapter has explored the variety of ways travellers experienced and met with isolation at home and the importance of emotional communities for defining a sense of settledness. These studies reaffirm the complex nature of solitude and the ways in which travel shaped and influenced experiences upon returning to England. They also remind readers that isolation could be most painful and unsettling where it was not necessarily expected: in a settled home.

Conclusion

All the facets of solitude explored in this thesis reveal its cultural significance in the expression of a diverse sample of travellers, and the unique ways these individuals related their own solitude to the world which they inhabited. Through my case studies, I have shown the ways in which solitude was a deeply social experience, intertwined and in constant dialogue with cultural beliefs and societal norms. These individuals shared expressions of solitude that were both culturally constructed and uniquely negotiated. Deeply personal yet continuously engaged with the society surrounding them, individuals exhibited agency to shape and respond to notions of solitude as they intersected with lived experiences. Such findings are particularly valuable for cultural and emotions history, as they provide a new framework through which to penetrate and reconstruct the inner lives of people from the past. This thesis has investigated solitude and isolation as emotional expressions, analysing the ways in which travellers drew on their emotional communities to understand and negotiate their own experiences through self-narratives. I have also sought to reassess the value of such narratives in uncovering moments of subjective experience through the connection between travel and the emotions.

My study has aimed to move beyond representations to penetrate historical expressions of subjective experience, analysing how solitude impacted, shaped, and interacted with individual lives. These voices from the past reveal richer and more nuanced understandings and expressions of solitude than often recognised. This dissertation has built on the work of scholars like Trull, Holmes, and Benedict, who have unearthed much of the complexity and nuance that generic representations and simplistic treatments of solitude have overlooked at the expense of lived, expressed experiences. Furthermore, their interest in solitude as an imagined space and an internalised concept has highlighted the complexities of solitude and inspired this study to approach the topic in a new light, moving beyond notions that early modern solitude is a non-existent or ahistorical category. Rather, this study has demonstrated the merit and relevance of solitude within historical studies.

This dissertation has revealed important findings on the meaning and significance of solitude in the early modern period. Solitude was a physical and imaginary space that allowed travellers to situate themselves within supportive dispersed communities and find degrees of intimacy in isolation. Out of these chapters, we traced four important overarching themes relating to expressions of solitude. Firstly, my case studies revealed the ways in which solitude and isolation gave rise to expressions of intimacy and companionship. Solitude was inherently social, and for

some not only maintained but improved intimacy. Whether with loved ones at a distance or with fellow travellers abroad, these individuals sought to maintain and nurture connections through a framework of solitude.[1] Secondly, alongside improving specific relationships, the expression and rhetoric of solitude also allowed travellers to identify with core emotional communities, allowing them to situate their own unique experiences within a shared system of values with like-minded sufferers and allies. When successful, solitude and isolation could be viewed as positive and essential experiences. A third key concept was the idea of solitude as an indicator of virtue. My case studies consistently connected virtue with solitude across variations in class, gender, religious affiliation, and time period. Drawing on ideals of isolated morality was a particularly viable way for travellers to frame new cultural surroundings and social encounters. Lastly, these chapters followed the ongoing importance of memories of and attitudes towards home for travellers and their expressions of solitude. All of these points illustrate the ways in which solitude was never a truly isolated experience, but instead existed in continual dialogue with people and landscapes surrounding these travellers, as well as inherited social and cultural values. The degree to which solitary expressions were shaped by and diverged from social communities varied, resulting in a wide range of experiences that illustrate complex and often contradictory expressions of early modern solitude.

In Chapter One, we explored the ways Richard Norwood and John Newton expressed moments of solitude whilst engaged with their religious communities. For these two men, travellers were generally immoral characters, which necessarily transformed solitude and isolation into markers of morality. Nevertheless, it was not always positively welcomed. As I argued, the ability to retrospectively celebrate this solitude as virtuous was dependent on relating it to the context of a social and religious support network in England. Here, a key difference emerged between these men, which reflected both their respective cultural contexts as well as the unique lives they led. The ways in which they perceived and met with isolation were deeply informed by the societies that surrounded them. At the same time, they negotiated with the expectations of their emotional communities to create unique expressions of isolation. Each case study is a critical example of the way individual narrative voices can challenge generalisations of the period and reveal the complex nature of solitude.

[1] Long has recognised the connection of intimacy and solitude. Drawing on both the Romantic Period and modern times for examples, he writes: 'Though solitude usually denotes aloneness, many people experience feelings of intimacy while in solitude'. See 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone', p. 27.

In contrast to these case studies, in Chapter Two we saw solitude represented and understood as a distinctly unwanted suffering. This shift was attributed to the emotional communities that defined their core identities, shaped by social status and gender ideology. Edward Barlow and Mary Lacy understood themselves as sailors rather than as displaced religious individuals abroad. In order to assert and maintain morality, they too needed to emphasise their social isolation from immoral sailors, but instead presented themselves above all as virtuous sailors. These narratives utilised a wider range of emotional expression, including not only tears but also anger and laughter, which were highlighted to claim a sense of empowerment and justice. Barlow, however, aligned himself primarily with an emotional community of sailors that emphasised feats of ideal masculinity and suffering at sea. Lacy, an anomaly at sea, sought to redefine the ideal sailor by drawing on a textual community of readers that valued eighteenth-century ideals of sensibility.

In Chapter Four, we examined eighteenth-century travellers Thomas Gray and Lady Mary Coke, who embarked upon Grand Tours with expectations of sociability, but were both disillusioned. The isolation and melancholy each of them met with, however, was shared with someone at home, enabling a sense of connection. Gray embraced correspondence as an alternate and preferable mode of sociability, finding friendship in letters rather than the forms of sociability offered on the Grand Tour. Coke's letters to her sister allowed her to fashion herself as the ideal suffering heroine, and thereby instil her own isolation with a measure of purpose. Through sharing isolation with a sympathetic audience, Coke and Gray overcame this isolation but also returned to it and clung to it throughout their lives, as it offered both a sense of virtue and refinement and opportunities for social intimacy.

In Chapter Four, we explored the ways in which virtue was more difficult for women to lay claim to when they associated themselves with the domains of travel and print, which were traditionally masculine realms. In addition, women were viewed as disinclined to solitude. In the texts of Lady Ann Fanshawe and Lady Mary Coke, we found the need for a greater emphasis on community and expressed reliance upon the world around them. This rested side by side, however, with expressions of unwanted isolation as well as empowered solitude, making these female accounts particularly convoluted and contradictory. They also offer us new ways of understanding and moving beyond dichotomous separations of subordination and agency, home and abroad, and solitude and community. Ultimately, Fanshawe presented herself as ideal wife first and traveller second, embarking on the latter only to assist her husband and their united cause as royalists. Lady Mary Coke, on the other hand, sought to fashion herself as an independent traveller, and as such challenged the boundaries of ideal femininity. Ultimately, she faced more hostility and isolation abroad due to her questionable motives and character.

In Chapter Five, the notion of isolation as critical to social community became even more pronounced when we looked at the case of two seventeenth-century royalist exiles, Ann Fanshawe and Robert Bargrave. By emphasising isolation and suffering, these exiles could situate themselves within an emotional community of fellow exiles, renewing their moral resolve and overcoming feelings of aloneness. Whilst Bargrave placed himself within a more abstract royalist community of supporters, Fanshawe located such communal ideals in her husband Richard, maintaining her claim to virtue through a celebration of him. Standing as evidence of their virtue, solitary suffering was a concept that united exiles together in spirit, thereby making solitude and companionship inseparable ideals. They demonstrated these ideals through concepts of imprisonment and suffering abroad. Ultimately, Fanshawe's emotional community was more vulnerable to collapse, because it was at its core defined by her service to her husband. When she lost agency to assist him, it was in his memory that she redefined her own strength.

In the final chapter, we explored the ways in which separation from and return to home could impact expressions of solitude. While for some, travel damaged relationships and led to a further sense of isolation, other travellers developed and improved their relationships from a distance through frequent communication. Key to these variable experiences were the emotional communities travellers drew upon to understand their experiences of solitude. When travellers defined their own emotional communities at odds with those they encountered upon returning to England, a degree of isolation and unsettledness was often ongoing. Returning home was typically associated with expectations of a return of familiar social communities and intimate friendships. Social studies today have revealed that experiences of solitude abroad are more positive, because they are typically chosen, in comparison to solitude at home.[2] The alignment of home with assumptions of sociability had repercussions for the early modern period, as well. Due to such social expectations, travellers like Norwood, Barlow and Coke met with more isolation than expected or desired upon returning to England. Whilst some celebrated a reunion with loved ones and invested their solitary experiences abroad with value through emotional communities at home, others mourned a heightened sense of solitude and alienation that was worsened by the expectation of returning to familiar social support networks.

The connection between solitude, isolation and travel is not as modern as one might presume. As my thesis has demonstrated, early modern travellers felt and expressed solitude and

[2] Long, 'Solitude: An Exploration of Benefits of Being Alone', p. 30.

isolation abroad in rich and complex narratives. While travel was deemed a sociable activity and a cure for solitude and melancholy in early modern tracts and treatises, our case studies demonstrated that the reality of such a prescription, along with the nature and boundaries of sociability, could diverge from this ideal dramatically. Removed from familiar spaces of social and physical comforts, travel could induce expressions of solitude and isolation. Just as travel was not necessarily conducive to feelings of sociability, these expressions were not always negative or unwanted experiences either. Notions of the solitary and social, along with the harms and benefits contained therein, were often intertwined and convoluted rather than being experienced as separate entities.

The fascinating individuals I have considered through this study reveal the complexity, scope, and nature of early modern solitude. In each instance, the connection of physical solitude to psychological isolation has been stressed, to fully appreciate and better understand how expressions of solitude had many facets. My case studies have revealed that it is the connection and conflict between these categories, sometimes ambiguous and riddled in paradox, that are worthwhile spaces to study, as they reveal a great deal about the impact of solitude on individual lives and the culture in which they resided. Solitude was defined as a key concept of particular communities, and there was no solitude that could exist without reference to others. The inner state of these travellers expressed through autobiographical texts impacted the physical spaces that surrounded them, just as the external surroundings and accompanying cultural norms influenced expressions of solitude and isolation, intimacy and belonging. This thesis has demonstrated that solitude was not bound by place, but moved with travellers, and was informed and shaped by the different environments they moved through. The expression of solitary experience brought together seemingly conflicting cultural desires, emotions and values, and drew on them to varying degrees. Out of this process of negotiation, individuals reappropriated cultural norms and found their voices of solitude, which were uniquely theirs but also distinctly connected them to one or more cultural and emotional communities.

The Nature of Solitude

Whether physically alone or in company, however, the core of articulated solitude was social engagement. In the early modern period, solitude could mean temporary physical removal from others, but thoughts of absent friends and families often occupied the mind. This could result in enhanced intimacy or painful loneliness, but often, both coexisted side by side. Solitude could also find expression in the presence of others through a feeling of distance and aloneness. The subjects of the case studies I have looked at through this dissertation in many instances experienced both of these modes of isolation, making a consideration of both physical and psychological isolation key to

my study. Travellers expressed experiences of solitude and isolation in a range of different circumstances, and they held an equally diverse range of meanings. Whether directed towards fellow travellers, foreigners, or those at home, it required a sense of physical or emotional distance to find expression, but did not preclude physical or emotional closeness.

Within a framework of social engagement, solitude took on a variety of forms, emerged in a variety of circumstances, and found expression in several distinct ways. Perhaps the most obvious way was the solitude resulting from physical separation. Norwood expressed this as a child separated from school friends, as a sinner fleeing to solitary fields, and as a traveller seeking God in the midst of a shipwreck. John Newton sought time alone writing to his wife or in prayer. Lady Mary Coke spent time alone in her garden at Notting Hill, thinking relentlessly on the social affairs of others. The departure from home was perhaps one of the most common and easily identifiable forms of solitary expression found in travel writings. This was by no means the only circumstance in which travellers expressed solitude. It was, however, indicative of the ongoing importance of home, the reference to which was inescapable for these travellers.

Physical solitude, however, was not required for individuals to characterise themselves as ‘alone’ and ‘solitary’. There were other interconnected modes through which the authors of these narratives expressed such a sense of isolation. Firstly, they highlighted the distance between themselves and others, through a critique of behaviour and morals. Secondly, solitude and isolation found expression and meaning through sharing it with allied individuals or communities. In both instances, a range of emotions, including grief, anger, and joy, were key ways of communicating isolation and connecting to their emotional communities. Moments of physical solitude were often fleeting and certainly temporary. Most of their lives were spent in the company of others. For some, particularly those of lower social standing like Edward Barlow and Mary Lacy, enjoying any physical privacy would have been an impossibility. This did not mean that the idea of physical separation was not imagined and expressed. It does, however, suggest an inability to completely separate exterior physical and inner cognitive spaces of solitude. It also points to the importance of investigating expressions of solitude when travellers were surrounded by people. Exploring expressions of solitude cannot be done without looking at the worlds these individuals inhabited, and the unique way individuals, with their own beliefs and experiences, interacted with their surroundings.

Emotional Communities

Individuals used their expressions of solitude to situate themselves within a shared ideological

support network and emotional community. For seventeenth-century Puritans like Norwood, for example, solitude was sought out as a place to search for God, and the appropriate emotional expressions of despair, tears, and groans were critical to the perceived chance for salvation. Expressions of solitude were expressions of belonging, or attempting to belong, to the emotional community of Puritans. This was particularly important amidst the instability and corruptions of travel. Such emotional communities were critical to forging meaningful narratives from their experiences, as was further demonstrated through John Newton's case. Though finding redemption in solitude, this solitude was only given meaning through the social circles of Evangelicalism which encouraged him to preach and share his message. He found his solidarity and support in the extensive religious networks of the mid-eighteenth century rather than in isolated spaces, but his solitude instilled these social relationships and the emotional community of Evangelicals with greater significance, and vice versa.

The secular accounts of life at sea were more invested in demonstrating a belonging to communities at sea. Barlow drew on notions of solitude to identify himself within an emotional community of persecuted sailors. He engaged in social bonding rituals and behaviours at sea that demonstrated the appropriate values and emotions of his shared community. These highlighted a sense of isolation from communities on land which further cemented his social belonging. Lacy laid claim to masculinity to demonstrate her belonging at sea, but as a woman aligned herself in her narrative to her imagined readership, using her emotions to highlight her femininity and distance herself from fellow comrades. For royalist exiles Bargrave and Fanshawe, solitude was a key way to convey the suffering and righteousness of their cause, thereby asserting their sense of belonging to the emotional community of royalists. They inherited a rhetoric of solitary suffering and expressions of tears, typical of exiled royalists of the time, as a way to affirm and confirm their loyalty to this community. Gray and Coke defined and understood their solitudes only by situating themselves within a cultural framework of eighteenth-century sensibility. Valuing a secular isolation and sensitive melancholy, they expressed these ideals in letters to sympathetic and intimate audiences back home.

The precise nature of solitude and its accompanying emotions was influenced by each individual's valued cultural ideals and the communities with which they identified. Travel texts drew on a range of emotions including joy, anger, and despair, and accompanying bodily expressions like tears and laughter. Certain emotions were expected in solitude, and they varied depending on one's emotional community. For seventeenth-century Puritans, if solitude led to despair and fear, and accompanying tears, sighs and groans, this could give rise to intimacy with

God and salvation. For eighteenth-century Methodists, both tears of despair and happiness were expected, and they were expected in public and social spaces of churches and congregations. The motivation for one's solitude was a key determinant as to whether such emotions were understood as desirable and positive or undesirable and destructive. Portraits of isolated suffering, however bleak at first glance, also connected individuals to imagined communities that gave their lives purpose. Certain emotional practices and performances aligned individuals to a common cause and connected individuals to support networks that valued the virtues of solitude.

Emotions could be used to emphasise different forms of solitude, as well as express social bonding. Physical solitude abroad could offer redemptive moments marked with joy, or isolating moments marked by despair. Norwood despaired to be shipwrecked at sea, but also rejoiced to find communion with God in solitude. Newton sought physical isolation on board in order to feel less alone. In the presence of others, certain emotions could express social intimacy as well as distance and disconnection. Barlow, for instance, cried in unison with other sailors at the loss of fellow comrades, expressing a collective grief. Though deriving from physical separation and loss, the emotional expression of such grief transformed into a measure of inclusion that alleviated, rather than expounded, his isolation. Fanshawe cried for her husband repeatedly, demonstrating her loyalty and dependence to him and their unshakeable bond of intimacy, but also the physical solitude she endured in his absence. The expression of emotion could also be used to highlight an inner solitude within spaces of physical closeness, particularly in the eighteenth century as public displays of emotion became more acceptable. Mary Lacy, for instance, used her tears and her laughter to highlight the isolation she felt from the male sailors that surrounded her at sea. When a certain emotion was deemed inappropriate, the absence of this emotion could similarly suggest isolation and with it, moral superiority. This fashioning of herself borrowed from both eighteenth-century ideals of sensibility as well as stereotypes of the common sailor. Lacy, much like Newton, highlighted her own sensibility and melancholy in contrast to the crude temperaments of fellow sailors.

The emotions expressed in relation to travel and solitude, both conceptually tied to physical places, are significant, because they point to the importance of space. Specific emotions were generated and expressed in particular places, making where they occurred revealing for cultural values of the time. When weeping, for instance, Norwood expressly sought out physical solitude. Similarly, when expressing feelings of guilt, he attempted to 'hide' from others along his travels. The landscapes themselves could provoke expressions of solitude, as well, influencing a sense of being 'alone'. We saw this, for instance, in the language of Barlow at sea, who continually spoke of

lonely ships and separations. Newton praised his life at sea as the perfect place for spiritual development. To some extent, travellers shared an emotive language of solitude. Travel was associated with the bravery of the solitary traveller, but it also brought cultural isolation and separation from home and loved ones. This complex displacement abroad inspired expressions of solitude, but the nature of them varied between individuals, who often aligned themselves more strongly with the other emotional communities we have explored.

Problems could arise in the lives of individuals when they did not feel as their communities prescribed that they should, which could worsen the sense of isolation, rather than contributing to a shared isolation. Newton, for instance, often expressed concern that he generally did not feel enough as his faith required. Norwood had an expectation of joy in intimacy amidst his Puritan community, but instead he felt ill and continued to despair. Such instances show us that solitary expressions as found across this diverse range of individuals shared some common cultural attributes, but they were also highly personalised. Emotional expressions, particularly through the use of tears, were key ways travellers signalled their isolation from others *and* their intimacy with others, and often it was a combination of both that contributed to unique expressions of solitude. Aligning myself with scholars like Barbara Taylor and Erin Sullivan[3] against the complete denial of individual agency, through these case studies I demonstrate the importance of individual agency and cultural constructs, together offering an understanding of solitude that holds onto the nuance and complexity inherent in both its experiences and its representations. The way that my case studies have demonstrated personal agency and emotional improvisation warrants further exploration within the history of emotions. How were socially constructed emotions also manipulated and changed based on individual circumstances? Travellers in particular were removed to a certain degree from the stability of familiar environments. This had a twofold effect. Whilst they certainly brought values with them as they travelled and referred back to ideals of home continuously, they also had more opportunities to shape ideals of solitude according to the constantly changing world they encountered. This also allowed for the 'emotional improvisation' Sullivan has explored and a certain freedom of expression. Such a removal of the familiar could be isolating and alienating for travellers. The expression of solitude was a way to recognise and lament this perceived isolation while also laying claim to community that could validate such isolation whilst simultaneously

[3] Taylor, 'Separations of Soul'; Sullivan, *Beyond Melancholy*.

overcoming it.

Interpersonal Conflicts Abroad and the Morality of Solitude

Solitude found expression in conflict with others abroad. Travellers had little control over their social environment whilst travelling, leading to opportunities for conflict, misunderstanding, and alienation amidst others. The subjects of the case studies I have considered in this thesis expressed a sense of isolation in the company of others. Norwood had numerous negative encounters with all kinds of travellers and foreigners, indicative of the distrust he had towards travel itself. Newton as commander avoided the company of common irreligious sailors, whilst Barlow shared his many conflicts with the commanders above him. Lacy expressed her isolation in being a woman at sea in disguise, facing ongoing conflict and misunderstanding from both genders. Fanshawe and Bargrave both shared their felt persecution by foreign powers, and Coke bemoaned a sense of exclusion from the elite foreign courts she coveted. Gray expressed a sense of dissatisfaction with the social affairs of the Grand Tour. Expressions of isolation were a means to emphasise cultural difference and realign oneself with the familiarity of home. Therefore, whilst expressions of solitude enhanced a sense of social belonging, they also indicated a degree of isolation abroad.

Such conflicts served to highlight the virtues of these travellers, and typically found expression in a narrative of superior (and solitary) morality or unwanted isolation, and often both. Norwood, for instance, expressed psychological isolation through his conflict with others during his travels, and his inability to communicate with his fellow Puritans in England. Here, a despairing psychological isolation emerged that interacted with, complemented, and ultimately worsened his bouts of physical isolation. For Newton, though he longed for Christian companionship, solitude was a necessity amidst the morally corrupt company at sea. In the narratives of Robert Bargrave and Ann Fanshawe, solitude provided evidence of their morality and thus their true place within the community of royalist exiles. When they shared their interpersonal conflicts with others abroad, they validated their own virtue by investing the narrative with evidence of their suffering. The importance of morality is perhaps the most understated in Gray's letters. Largely unrecognised directly, it is nevertheless a guiding force in his preference for, and suffering of, solitude. His moments of psychological isolation from the world were signalled on many occasions as a sense of intellectual and emotional superiority to others. Those who did not suffer this sense of solitude were devoid of a key and defining moral sensibility. Similarly, Coke defined her own virtue by her solitude and isolation, which struck a tenuous balance between wanted and unwanted.

As we have seen throughout this thesis, solitude had strong connections to morality in the

early modern period. In the realm of travel, solitude was uniquely defensive, embraced as a means of preserving morality from a range of corrupting and unfamiliar worldly forces. To preserve and demonstrate their own morality as travellers, the subjects of my case studies either distanced themselves from other travellers to define themselves within an alternative social group, or presented themselves as exceptional travellers with superior virtues. In either case, solitude was a central way in which these individuals organised their lives and created meaningful narratives to make sense of their own experiences. Just as spaces of physical solitude could feel inhabited and offer a relief from loneliness, so too could social interactions amidst others induce expressions of isolation.

Variables of Solitary Expression: Gender, Religion and Social Status

The expression and experience of solitude was shaped by cultural expectations of gender. As previously shown, the link between travel and solitary suffering in the early modern period was intertwined with notions of masculinity. Hardship abroad was thought to toughen up men, and this continued into the eighteenth century alongside new social ideals of sensibility. Though solitary travel was seen as a masculine endeavour, female writers could re-appropriate the concept within acceptable, and even admirable, life stories. They needed, however, to convincingly portray their own virtues within already overstepped boundaries of travel and print culture. This resulted in a higher degree of inconsistency between thoughts and actions than witnessed in their male counterparts. Ideals espoused in rhetoric and the life stories revealed within ran at odds with one another in an attempt to understand and represent their travels as virtuous.

Key to female expressions of solitude were the types of emotional and social communities they drew upon for such expressions, and the extent to which they highlighted dependence on these communities. Lacy, for instance, appealed to feminine values of sensibility to exhibit a morality presented in contrast to her fellow sailors. In this scenario, then, solitude became appropriate as it related to maintaining virtue. Lacy, however, re-appropriated the concept in a new world that few women could inhabit. Her inner virtues demonstrated a feminine sensibility that did not belong in the male seafaring world, lending acceptability to her exterior masculine behaviour and action which attested to her capabilities of succeeding in such a world. Lady Ann Fanshawe, a century earlier, adopted a similar tactic, showcasing solitary bravery and agency within a feminine rhetoric that would have tempered concerns regarding her morality, whether her own or that of her intended audience. She accomplished this by expressing her obedience and devotion to her husband, including and especially when such obedience was outside the perimeters of typical wifely duties. Lady Mary Coke similarly highlighted her isolation to demonstrate her virtue, which in turn

allowed her to justify and even exalt her lack of connection to others. Isolation was virtue, because society was immoral. In all three of these examples, they presented solitude as unchosen and unwanted, but at the same time desired as far as it was necessary to maintain virtues amidst corruption. The appearance of a desire for solitude exceeding this framework could become problematic. Failure to stay within such acceptable boundaries could impact the lives of women beyond their writing. This point became particularly lucid when we considered Coke. Whilst Fanshawe travelled to assist her husband and Lacy travelled in disguise, Coke expected respect and inclusion on account of her own inner virtues, regardless of circumstance. Instead, she faced isolating rumours abroad regarding her motivations for travel.

Solitude was empowering and enabling for these women when it adhered carefully to cultural expectations of femininity. By expounding an ultimate purpose of maintaining feminine morality, these women in turn transcended gendered expectations. Solitude, then, was found to be more difficult for women to experience and represent, as scholars like Gowing, Tancke, and Ylivuori have previously argued.[4] It could also be a more empowering and enabling experience, but this was contingent on a number of factors. Travel, though a traditionally male domain, was in fact an ideal setting for women to justify solitude, precisely because it had pronounced moral dangers. For this reason, the connection between solitude and virtue, though present to some degree in all my case studies, was especially essential for women to make not only an underlying presence, but the primary focus. In terms of readership, this was most effective when either a justifiable reason for travel or apologetic penance for travels was presented. Regardless of the different ways each of these travellers understood and represented their virtues, they were integral to expressions of solitude. This is indicative of the importance of the cultural world surrounding them and the inability to truly be alone, as concepts of solitude and morality were driven by communal expectations and cultural norms. The nature of this morality as it pertained to solitude, however, varied, changing with the contours of each unique set of life experiences. To express solitary emotions that were not only virtuous but also acceptable, these female narrators had to more concretely link them to the social world around them. In doing so, however, they demonstrated a degree of agency in creating modes of solitude that were both acceptable and enabling.

After gender, social status and religion were important variables shaping the nature and

[4] Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe'*; Gowing, 'Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex'; Ylivuori, 'Rethinking Female Chastity'.

significance of solitude and emotional expression. There were notable differences in expressions of solitude along the lines of social status and religious beliefs, particularly in the expression of emotions. Barlow, for instance, viewed his experiences of isolation largely in terms of his poor economic status. His isolation from others was primarily an alienation from those wealthier than himself. His conflict with others found expression through justifiable anger, which he presented as morally righteous. This in turn shaped his expressions of solitude and allowed him to negotiate power relations through his narrative. Certain emotions, like anger, were less justifiable or appropriate to wealthier and intensely devout men like Newton and Norwood. These men focused almost exclusively on solitary tears, which were desirable for men seeking intimacy with God. When they gave attention to emotions like anger and pride, it was to highlight a negative solitude without God and the undesirable emotions that emerged in such a state of sin. Tears were equally important for the higher-class sensibilities of Gray and Coke, who expressed both solitude and intimacy through melancholy and grief. Religious differences in expressions of solitude were determined in part by the religious commitments of individuals. For men like Norwood and Newton, spiritual progress was the explicit concern of their narratives, and adhering to the appropriate forms of solitude and valued emotions was critical to their religious transformations. Other case study subjects adhered to conventional forms of piety. While they drew on religious values to shape themselves as virtuous, the emotional communities that shaped their expressions of solitude were not explicitly religious in nature.

Gender, class and religious belief all shaped expressions of solitude with varying degrees of importance to each individual as they aligned themselves with particular emotional communities in voicing their solitary experiences. My findings point to the value of considering a range of texts and authors to fully appreciate the nature of solitary expressions. The conclusions derived from these differences are by no means absolute, given the small sample size, but they are consistent with certain cultural trends and values of the early modern period identified in existing scholarship highlighted in the introduction. Even more significantly, they illustrate the ways individuals negotiated with different expressions of solitude as they borrowed to various degrees from their respective social frameworks and emotional communities.

Solitude Abroad and at Home

Without a continual reference to ideas of ‘home’, the ways travellers experienced and expressed their solitudes would be unrecognisable from the forms they have taken in each of my case studies. In most cases, these travellers somehow understood their travels as causing solitude, whether for the better or the worse. When travellers returned home, the ways in which they settled into their lives,

or remained unsettled, were critical to how they understood their isolation abroad. Similarly, the ways they experienced solitude abroad shaped views of home. Solitude found perhaps the strongest expression where it was considered unexpected or misplaced. While Norwood understood travel to be an isolating experience, for instance, his discovery that this isolation remained with him after his travels plunged him into the deepest despair. Barlow also emphasised his isolation from home above all else, but this proudly defined him as a sailor and an unsettled traveller, definitions from which Norwood was desperate to escape. Lacy's solitude was the direct result of her travels, which forced her to isolate herself as a woman in disguise, moral hero, and solitary sufferer. Her narrative suggests she integrated easily back into society, returning to her identity as a female, thus escaping isolation. Fanshawe's return home coincided with the death of her husband, but her solitude continued to be defined and shaped by his memory. Newton, in the comfort of a support network and God's abounding presence, could seek out a solitude that was useful and virtuous. Gray and Coke both travelled back to England with a sense of melancholy and solitude not cured by the Grand Tour, and they both retreated somewhat from social life, nurturing their solitary lives.

The nature and expression of solitude shifted with the social worlds travellers found themselves in as they moved abroad and returned home. Many found separation conducive to nurturing intimacy, making solitary expressions abroad expressions of connection and belonging as well. Solitude could strengthen and improve relationships with others and encourage feelings of intimacy and belonging not only to social communities, but to particular individuals as well. Whilst for men like Gray and Newton, such intimacy was grounded in concrete relationships with loved ones, in other cases it was largely imagined and abstract. Coke, although suffering unwanted isolation throughout her life, found her most meaningful connections in sharing her solitude with her sister. It was this solitude that allowed her to connect herself to an imagined community of virtuous solitary sufferers that upheld the values and ideals of eighteenth-century friendship and sensibility. Her sister was critical in so far as she provided a reason for Coke to share and organise solitude as a defining theme in her life. It was in the act of writing out this isolation that she could instil it with some meaning, understanding herself as a solitary hero. Mary Lacy's solitude was similar to Coke's in so far as her writing allowed her to place her solitude with a generalised public of like-minded sympathisers, aligning herself with eighteenth-century values of sensibility as well as literary traditions of the female warrior. Returning home, when expressions of solitude continued, the reasons and justification for them often altered. Solitude could still be associated with physical withdrawal, but support communities were much closer at hand. Solitude as a means to virtue, though still relevant, took on different significance at home where individuals had more

access to like-minded communities. This meant a sense of solitude at home as isolation from others could be particularly unsettling when it persisted even amidst friends, family and support networks.

Solitude, Self Expression and Agency

The type of narrative form was significant to the ways solitude was both expressed and experienced. Diaries, autobiographies and memoirs could allow individuals to overcome a sense of isolation by investing it with meaning and thereby make sense of their place in the world. Though solitude could be shared through imagined but largely absent communities, as in the case of individuals like Lacy and Coke, expressions of solitude could take on a further degree of intimacy when they were shared with particular loved ones. Letters were a particularly useful way to connect to familiar friends and family left behind. Newton, as captain of a slave ship, had time to spend alone, and yet it was in these moments he felt least alone conversing with his absent wife. Among his comrades, by contrast, Newton expressed alienation and isolation. Similarly, Gray found enhanced intimacy in sharing his perceived isolation with his fellow solitary friend Richard West. Through writing to his absent friend, the lonely solitude he felt abroad, even when surrounded by others, was transformed into a shared solitude that was positive and uplifting in nature. For such men, spaces of physical retirement offered the greatest opportunities for social intimacy. The nature and meaning of solitary expression could also be fundamentally shaped by the intended audience and expectations of a text. Evan R. Davis emphasises the way print altered the experience of solitude as it became conspicuously public and 'the solitary writer can reach a mass audience with unprecedented speed and thoroughness'.[5] Knowing that one's writing would be read by someone undoubtedly changed the face of solitude and made it fundamentally rewarding as a shared experience. Alternately, an individual like Norwood who, although engaging in shared cultural ideals with other religious thinkers, was not intending to share his solitude in any concrete way with anyone except God, and suffered from increasing degrees of unwanted isolation.

Within these travel writings and their expressions of solitude, each individual carefully and selectively crafted a narrative with a specific literary intention. Contrary to the ideas that life-writing offers unadulterated truth, invention and imagination were integral components to the telling of each traveller's story. This does not render such writings devoid of historical truth, nor does it deny all access to people's lived experiences. It is valuable to reflect upon the views and

[5] Davis, 'Solitary Scribblers', p. 18.

experiences of early modern lives as expressed in these writings. In particular, by considering expressions of emotion, we have gained new insights into subjective experiences. The ways these travellers imagined themselves within the context of their social worlds have revealed a great deal about both individual and shared cultural values. This thesis has demonstrated that expressions of solitude were complex processes of negotiation, as individuals drew from various emotional communities not only to understand their own experiences of solitude within a set of shared values, but also to mould and shape personalised visions of these solitudes. These case studies reveal the extent of agency individuals could exercise within their social and emotional communities to make sense of experiences of travel. Through various forms of solitude, a sense of communal belonging could find expression, which in turn gave rise to opportunities for the reshaping and reinterpreting of cultural norms and shared emotions.

This thesis has sought to shed light on expressions of solitude as they were experienced in the world, and to stress the complex intertwining of self and society, religion, and the characteristics of solitude that were, like travel itself, both engaging social experiences but also isolating and alienating ones. Ultimately, it was the cultural worlds and communities these travellers imagined themselves within that allowed solitude to find unique and historically valuable personal expression as both a rewarding and a harmful experience. Solitude was not always defined as simply wanted or unwanted, chosen or not chosen. By looking at the voices of people experiencing and recording their isolation, a fuller picture of solitude emerges, and either/or binary categories become increasingly murky when we take into account the complexities and inconsistencies of human experience and self understanding. My findings emerge out of these complexities and paradoxes within expressed experiences of solitude, and reaffirm its significance and value for future historical studies.

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