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Lacy Marschalk *University of Alabama in Huntsville*, lsm0015@uah.edu

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Teaching Eliza Fay's Original Letters from India (1817) through Classroom Editing

Abstract

Travel writing is an ever-growing area of interest in eighteenth-century studies, but it can be difficult to teach. Students often find the writing dry and unrelatable, and faculty who have had little experience with travel writing in their own educations may not know which texts would prove useful to their courses. In this article, I discuss the travel narrative with which I've found the most pedagogical success, Eliza Fay's Original Letters from India (1817). Fay's initial journey to India includes a range of captivating adventures, including encounters with Marie Antoinette in Paris, bandits in Egypt, and Hyder Ali in Calicut, where she was imprisoned for fifteen grueling weeks. Original Letters' publication history (including editions by Walter Kelly Firminger in 1908 and E. M. Forster in 1925) is also complex and speaks to larger issues in the editing and promoting of women's writing, so the text makes an interesting case study for those interested in everything from postcolonial studies to book history. In this article, I discuss the editorial treatment of Fay's work and ways in which to situate Original Letters within British travel writing history as well as in-class exercises and a collaborative editing project that have larger implications for travel literature and women's writing in general.

Keywords

Eliza Fay, travel writing, pedagogy, India, E. M. Forster

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Travel writing is an ever-growing area of interest in eighteenth-century studies, but it can be difficult to teach. Students often find the writing dry and unrelatable, the descriptions and characterizations outdated or uncomfortable to discuss. Faculty who have had little experience with travel writing in their own educations may not know which texts—or excerpts—would prove useful to their courses, or they may not know how to approach or consider travel writing as an independent literary genre rather than as cultural or historical context for the fiction, poetry, or drama they teach. Affordable edited volumes of travel literature, particularly by women writers, are also rare, so faculty who choose to teach travel writing often rely on facsimiles of the original publications, which lack the annotations and contextual apparatus often necessary for teaching these works. However, when we continually sideline travel writing in favor of novels, poetry, and plays, we ignore the historical popularity of the genre and deny our students a nuanced understanding of long eighteenth-century literary culture and reading practices. For faculty teaching eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British literature, real value can be found in incorporating travel writing into our courses as a distinct literary genre with its own complicated history and traditions.

The travel text with which I have found the most success in my own teaching is Original Letters from India (1817), Eliza Fay's account of her overland journey to India in 1779, her two years in Calcutta, and her sea voyage back to England in 1782, along with abstracts of her subsequent trips to India. Original Letters stands apart from other travel narratives of this period in that it has received highly favorable reviews from both academic and non-academic critics, has been praised for its witty and original—though unconventional—style, and an affordable modern edition is available from New York Review Books. References to Fay in scholarship have also increased over the last few decades, so faculty interested in teaching Fay have a wealth of materials to help them learn more about the book and author, her historical context, and her place in literary history. While much of this research mentions Fay in passing, using her letters to support historical accounts or to better understand colonial India, 2 several scholars have examined Original Letters in greater depth,³ and Fay herself has biographies in Jane Robinson's Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers and the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

However, despite this critical attention, Fay's account is still largely unknown within eighteenth-century studies. At conferences where I have presented on Fay, I am always peppered with questions by interested scholars who have never encountered her, and I rarely meet anyone who has read her, much less who is teaching her. I attribute this lack of familiarity in part to the fact that, while Fay's narrative is frequently studied by travel scholars, it is rarely taught outside that

narrow field, so it rarely reaches anyone not already working in travel writing or postcolonial studies. This essay is one step toward making *Original Letters in India* more widely known while demonstrating the benefits of teaching it, especially in upper-level and graduate courses, so that future generations of teachers and scholars will know—and can teach—Fay and other women travel writers.

For instructors interested in teaching courses on race and empire or life writing, the existing scholarship on Original Letters provides an excellent introduction to Fay and the many frameworks in which she might be taught, including connections to other authors with whom she might be paired, such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Elizabeth Hamilton, Phebe Gibbes, Jemima Kindersley, and E. M. Forster, who read Fay while researching A Passage to India. If taught as part of a unit or course on late-eighteenth-century colonial India, Original Letters works well with a variety of texts by women writers of the period, including Kindersley's travel narrative Letters from the Island of Teneriffe, Brazil, the Cape of Good Hope, and the East Indies (1777); Gibbes's epistolary novel Hartly House, Calcutta (1789); Elizabeth Inchbald's plays The Mogul Tale (1784) and Such Things Are (1787); Mariana Starke's sentimental comedy The Sword of Peace (1788) and adapted tragedy The Widow of Malabar (1790); and Hamilton's novel Translations of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah (1796). Because Fay was in Calcutta during the time of Warren Hastings and knew his wife, and because several of these other texts are informed by the Hastings' trial and contemporary Parliamentary debates about India, Edmund Burke's speeches are also useful context to include when discussing Original Letters with students.

While I have taught *Originals Letters* within a similar context and at all levels, from lower-level survey courses to specialized graduate seminars, I now teach it primarily as part of a unit on women's travel writing in an upper-level special topics course focused on representations of place in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British literature. In this unit, we read from seven travel narratives published between 1777 and 1858 (including the entirety of *Original Letters*),⁴ and we examine not only how British attitudes and representations of India shifted over time, but also how the form and conventions of travel writing evolved between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Tracing this history helps students understand why early travel writing is more informational than personal and why it might seem dry by today's standards. More importantly, this history helps students see travel writing as a distinct literary genre with its own rules, and one in which the stakes could be especially high for women writers. Such context is especially important when studying Fay, who waited more than thirty years to publish *Original Letters* at a time when personal, experience-driven travel writing

was becoming more acceptable. The complex publishing history of *Original Letters* also lends itself well to discussions about the editorial treatment of women writers and how we as readers and scholars receive and perceive texts over time. The culmination of these discussions is a collaborative editing project that asks students to research deeply and work intimately with travel writing using their newfound knowledge of genre conventions and editorial practices. In the following sections, I summarize the travel writing history and conventions discussed in my class, introduce the complex publishing history of *Original Letters*, and discuss how I use that history and Fay's editorial treatment to introduce my own editing assignment and related scaffolding exercises, many of which can be adapted to courses at all levels.

Situating Fay within British travel writing history

Because Fay is not well known to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars in general, some biographical information may prove useful. The story of Eliza Fay, as recorded in *Original Letters*, begins in April 1779, when the twenty-three-yearold and her husband, Anthony, began an arduous journey from England to Calcutta. The couple selected the so-called "overland" route to the subcontinent, traveling south through France and Italy, across the Mediterranean to Egypt, and through the desert to Suez, where they boarded a ship bound for Calicut and, eventually, Calcutta. Along the way, they observed Marie Antoinette at the Colisée pleasure garden, saw the pyramids and were pursued by thieves in Egypt, and, upon arriving in Calicut, were captured by Hyder Ali and imprisoned for fifteen grueling weeks. Once the couple finally arrived in Calcutta, Anthony, a barrister, obtained a position with the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and Eliza began circulating in Anglo-Indian society. Shortly thereafter, Anthony had an affair and fathered an illegitimate son. The couple separated, and in August 1781, Anthony returned to England, leaving Eliza to embark on the voyage home alone the following summer.

Despite the pains—physical and emotional—incurred on this first journey, Fay developed a love for India that never waned. During her subsequent trips to Calcutta in 1784, 1796, and 1816, she went alone, each time in pursuit of her own entrepreneurial ambitions. She tried her hand at mantua-making, the cloth trade, and education, but each venture failed, leaving her penniless. At the time of her death in 1816, Fay had begun assembling her letters for publication but had only completed the first of her four journeys. Her Calcutta publisher, upon deciding that the "subsequent parts of her journal" did not "contain any events of a nature sufficiently interesting to claim publication," included only abstracts from her

subsequent journeys and released *Original Letters from India* in order to pay Fay's debts (*Original Letters* [edited by Forster] 272).

Because *Original Letters* was first published, with little fanfare, in Calcutta, its influence over British travel writers of the period was negligible to non-existent. However, the account occupies an interesting place within travel writing history not because of how it influenced contemporary writers or readers but because of what Fay herself had to say about British travel writing culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how her text exhibits the changes occurring within the genre during this period.

Most students—and even faculty—are unaware of how travel writing conventions evolved between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so I begin my unit on women travel writers, and on Fay in particular, with some history and context. First, we discuss the late eighteenth-century claim that travel writing was second only to novels in popularity at the time.⁵ If this statement is true, then we do eighteenth-century literary studies a disservice when we ignore travel writing or view it as mere context for other forms of writing. As a class, we spend some time discussing why we think travel writing has been neglected in literature classrooms and scholarship for so long, as well as why it might have been far more popular in the eighteenth century than in our day. Next, we establish the literary standing of travel writing in the eighteenth century; it was a genre to which many critically revered authors, including Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, and Samuel Johnson, contributed, but also one governed by strictly enforced rules, most notably the need to be accurate and objective. 6 Personal, introspective narratives were frowned upon, and critics and readers were eager to find fault or declare something untrue, so, above all, travel writing needed to be "correct:" factually and politically. A negative review or accusations of perfidy could damage an author's career or even personal reputation, which placed women writers in particular in a precarious position. In fact, the sole eighteenth-century text we read in this unit, Kindersley's *Letters*, was publicly attacked by Rev. Henry Hodgson, who published a lengthy tirade against Kindersley's portrayal of the Catholic conversion of enslaved people in Brazil. Hodgson's criticism did not prevent Kindersley from publishing again, but some women—including Fay, as we will soon see—were certainly deterred by the hostile critiques that frequently confronted eighteenth-century women writers.

By century's end, though, a major shift was underway, and travel writing began to split into the two branches we are familiar with today—impersonal, fact-driven travel guides and personal, experience-driven travel narratives.⁷ The split was gradual—and far less tidy than that binary suggests—but by explaining the

evolution of travel writing in this way, and by beginning the travel writing unit with Jemima Kindersley's informative account (1777) and ending with Madeline and Rosalind Wallace-Dunlop's novelistic narrative (1858), students can trace these gradual yet profound changes to the genre, particularly in regard to how authors constructed their narrative personas and centered—or decentered—their own experiences. At the same time, by taking this chronological approach and by reading contemporary reviews, students can see how the status and scrutiny of women writers—and travel writers in general—shifted over time.

Teaching this history is essential to helping students understand Fay and situate her within British travel writing history. Although Fay first traveled to India only a few years after Kindersley's narrative was published, she withheld publication of her Original Letters for more than three decades in part because of the public criticism some women writers received. In the preface to *Original Letters*, Fay claims that when she was younger "she was repeatedly urged by...friends to publish some account of the events that had befallen her" but "could not easily be induced" due to the "'pains and penalties' then, generally, inflicted on female authorships" (28). As demonstrated by Kindersley's case, Fay's fears were not unwarranted, especially when her own narrative contains a harrowing account of imprisonment in India; controversial depictions of several important historical figures, including Hastings; and sympathetic portrayals of people of other religions. Fay's preface, written long after the Kindersley scandal, reveals changing attitudes toward women's travel writing and travel content in general, for she acknowledges that, despite some opposition, "a number of women [now] do honour to their sex as literary characters" and "venture to launch their little barks on the vast ocean through which amusement or instruction is conveyed to a reading public" (28-29; italics mine). Fay's use of the word "or" is notable because it emphasizes that the purpose of travel writing was shifting in the early nineteenth century; instead of providing both amusement and instruction, travel writing could now provide just one or the other and still be viewed favorably. This statement also suggests that the role of the author-narrator had shifted and that women were now developing their "literary characters" rather than minimalizing their own appearances on the page.

By beginning my travel writing unit by explaining the history of British travel writing and the conventions popularized during the eighteenth century—and especially the role popular male writers like Fielding and Smollett played in enforcing those conventions—students can better understand why Fay's text is so different from those that came before her and why she chose to delay publication. As Fay herself says in the preface, she needed to wait until a time in which "[t]he

wit of Fielding [was] no longer held over [women writers] in terrorem, and the delineations of Smollet would apply to them in vain" (29).

Editing Eliza Fay—Then and now

Studying Fay solely within the context of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travel writing is complicated by the fact that her text has had such a long and fraught publication history, particularly in the early twentieth century. Unlike the other travel narratives my class reads, many of which have no unabridged modern edition, *Original Letters* exists in multiple editions, primarily due to the efforts of two men: the Reverend Walter Kelly Firminger, who published a heavily edited version of the text in Calcutta in 1908; and E. M. Forster, who, upon reading Firminger's edition, became enamored with Fay, sought out the first edition, and resolved to publish a new edition restoring the original language. In 1925, with the financial support of Virginia and Leonard Woolf, Forster released the first edition of *Original Letters* in England, using the sole remaining copy of the 1817 edition (currently held by the British Library) as a copy-text and including his own substantial annotations and a new critical introduction. In the intervening years, Forster's edition has been reprinted more frequently than Firminger's, but both texts have persisted to our own day.

The existence of these dueling versions of Fay's *Original Letters* provides an excellent entry point to the major assignment of the travel writing unit: an anthology editing project. I introduce this assignment after we have covered the first two authors, Kindersley and Maria Graham, but before we begin reading *Original Letters*. I have my students obtain the 2010 New York Review Books edition of *Original Letters*—itself a facsimile of Forster's edition with an additional introduction by Simon Winchester—but before we begin reading this edition, I have the students read a selection of Fay's letters from the 1817 edition. I want them to form their own opinions about the text before encountering Firminger's heavy-handed editing or Forster's effusive praise. The students complete a journal entry recording their initial impressions of the letters.

After they submit their journals, I assign Firminger's and Forster's introductions to the text. Firminger calls *Original Letters* "one of the most rare and certainly the most interesting" of the non-fiction accounts of Calcutta in the time of Warren Hastings (iii), but he asserts that "there is something about Mrs. Fay which fails to charm" (v). He complains that "Mrs. Fay's manner of writing can scarcely be called a 'style,' and that she is none too careful of grammar" (iii), and he accuses her of mis-ordering her words and getting "into trouble with her relative pronouns" (iv). In his own introduction, Forster directly rebuts Firminger's claims,

saying, "Style is always being monopolised by the orderly minded; they will not admit that slap-dash people have equal literary rights, provided they write slap-dash. If Mrs. Fay got her relative pronouns correct she would be a worse writer" (15). Instead of criticizing Fay's writing for being less than technically perfect, Forster praises her powerful, original voice and her ability to bring India to life, arguing that "[e]very word she wrote is personal. Not a single sentence is dead" (13) and "[e]very word tells a story" (16).

After my students read these introductions, I ask them to compare Firminger's and Forster's perspectives with their own initial observations, and then to consider what the introductions reveal about Firminger's and Forster's own values and how those values/worldviews might impact their editing of Fay's text. For Firminger, the historical significance of the text is more important than the voice of the person writing it, while Forster clearly privileges authenticity, originality, and personality, especially as he begins his introduction by calling Fay herself "a work of art" (7). After we have some debate about the strengths and weaknesses of these viewpoints (and others that we glean from these introductions), we look at two passages from the 1908 and 1925 editions side by side (see Table 1), list the differences between these passages, and discuss the effect these changes have on the reader's experience and possible interpretations.

Close reading is an important skill for our students to develop as readers, writers, and thinkers, but it is something that, in my experience, they are rarely asked to do. When we do this exercise together in class, many struggle at first to recall grammar rules and terminology they may not have encountered since high school or first-year writing courses. I purposely shift our focus away from grammar technicalities—which could deter those less confident in their technical knowledge from participating—and toward their experience as readers, which allows a more open conversation about how even small editorial changes in punctuation, capitalization, and word choice can change the mood, spirit, voice, or even interpretation of a work.

When presented side-by-side, my students can easily see how Firminger's editing alters the meaning and appeal of Fay's words. Robbed of its exclamation point, the first passage from Firminger's edition now seemingly attributes the "what a romantic flight" line to Fay rather than to her audience. Similarly, the "land of poesy" line, once so obviously attributed to Fay, has been attributed to the audience instead. The shift from "evince" to "enter," too, changes the passage's tone and perhaps even meaning. Firminger's rendering of these sentences is entirely lacking in the "slap-dash" appeal Forster lauded, and Fay's voice is lost in the process.

Excerpts from 1908 edition of Original Letters from India by Eliza Fay, edited by Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger	Excerpts from 1925 edition of Original Letters from India by Eliza Fay, edited by E. M. Forster & restored from the 1817 first edition
What a romantic flight. Methinks I hear you exclaim 'But this is the land of poesy.' Surely I may be permitted to enter a little of its spirit. (31-32)	What a romantic flight! methinks I hear you exclaim; but consider, this is the land of Poesy, surely, I may be permitted to evince a little of its spirit. (64)
My dear parents, my sisters cried I, will never see me more! Should they learn my fate what agonies will they not endure! But never can they realise the terrible realities that I may be doomed to undergo? Happily, for sure, my fears outwent the truth. The party so dreaded turned off in pursuit of some other prey, or perhaps intimidated by our formidable appearance, left us unmolested. (62)	My dear Parents, my sisters, cried I, will never see me more!—should they learn my fate what agonies will they not endure!—but never can they conceive half the terrible realities, that I may be doomed to undergo! Happily, for once, my fears outwent the truth; the party so dreaded, turned off in pursuit of some other prey, or perhaps intimidated by our formidable appearance, left us unmolested. (98)

Table 1: Side-by-Side Comparison of Editorial Changes to Fay's *Original Letters from India*

Firminger's version is full of these impersonal, presumptuous changes, which constantly "destroy"—in one of my student's words—both the mood and meaning of the text. Sometimes, as my students noticed, even his grammatical and mechanical changes are wrong, such as in the first line of passage two, in which he deletes the comma after "sisters." In this passage, in which Fay's party is being pursued by a band of nomads just days after another European party was massacred, Firminger made several key changes, including removing Fay's dashes. While seemingly a small change, my students felt these dashes helped to convey Fay's anxiousness and the rapidity of her thoughts in this moment of potential danger. Perhaps even more strangely, Firminger has converted the third exclamation point, after the word "undergo," to a question mark, and in that same sentence, he has changed Fay's verb "conceive" to "realise." My students interpreted Firminger's "realise" to mean that her audience will never know, in the most basic understanding of that word, what Fay will endure, and argued that on the other hand Fay's "conceive" suggests her family cannot even *imagine* what it is like to live through this experience. In the next sentence, we find another odd change, for while Fay professes that for once her fears were worse than what

really occurred, Firminger changes this phrase to *for sure*. My students noted that Fay's "for once" suggests that when she has fears they often come true. Having just read Firminger's introduction and analyzed what it tells us of his values and worldview—and particularly his views on women—they concluded that he perhaps found "for once" to be too arrogant or pessimistic, and therefore not in keeping with the idea of womanhood he wishes to promote.

Firminger and Forster were both editing Fay well after the shift toward the personal occurred in travel writing, but by paying such close attention to how even the smallest changes to punctuation or word choice affect the tone, voice, and personality of writing, my students begin to notice the subtle shifts in language and grammar over time that make the travel writing in our unit more personal and "amusing," to use Fay's term. At the same time, these scaffolding exercises reveal to them the many ways editors (or critics, teachers, scholars) can influence—for better or worse—our perceptions of authors, texts, or even whole literary genres. They begin to see the enormous power editors can have, even when editing previously published works, as well as the ethical responsibilities of the position.

It is crucial for these lessons to start to take root before they embark on their own editing projects. For this assignment, students are asked to create an anthology of women's travel writing—including at least four of the seven texts from our unit that is suitable for use in a college classroom. Since place is at the center of our course topic, they are encouraged to focus their anthologies on some specific aspect of place, such as representations of a particular city, monument, landscape, or space within the home. They work in teams of four and must decide as a group which four (or more) writers to include and what guidelines they will use for selecting excerpts. I provide PDFs of the first editions of the other six texts, so they are not limited to the excerpts I selected, as that in itself is an editorial decision. Once they have settled on a concept and authors/excerpts to include, they submit their Anthology Proposal, which includes a summary of their intended anthology and its goals, a justification for the inclusion of their selected authors/excerpts, a market analysis in which they demonstrate that a similar anthology for academic readers does not already exist, and a group contract, in which they define individual duties and group deadlines.

Once I have offered feedback and "green lit" their proposals, they begin the real work of transcribing their chosen excerpts, determining where footnotes or other annotations are warranted, researching and annotating their excerpts, and tracking similarities, differences, and other connections they see between their excerpts and travel writing in general over time. The group writes a brief introduction to

the anthology as a whole, and each co-editor writes a more detailed introduction to their individual author(s) and excerpt(s), in which they must discuss and defend their editorial choices. The entire project is formatted into an e-book, complete with cover, table of contents, and other paratextual elements, including bibliographies. When the projects are complete, we have a "book release party," and the teams present their projects to the rest of the class.

These projects are always the highlight of the semester. Students enjoy having a research-based assignment that isn't just writing an essay, and they get to know our texts far more intimately because they work with them at the micro-level. They also have to think critically and strategically when selecting a focus for their anthology, deciding how to make the anthology appeal to their target audience, and choosing which authors and excerpts will best meet their project's goals. In the process, they learn to think more critically about the forms of the texts they consume, about the ways women writers in particular have been edited over time, and about how the viewpoints or values of editors can shift how readers perceive authors. They begin to understand that in literature—as in any discipline everything they learn or have access to is a value judgement: this text is perceived as "better" because the right people reviewed or edited it; this genre is less worthy (or less likely to be taught) because it has fewer modern editions or hasn't been discussed as frequently in scholarship. These are lessons that can be taught, but they tend to have more impact when the students themselves are placed in the position of making these value judgements and are asked to defend their choices.

This editing assignment can be used when teaching fiction, poetry, or any other literary genre; however, I find the most benefit when using it with travel writing because it requires students to work with a genre with which they are less familiar and that has been edited far more rarely, so they are forced to make their own decisions rather than to rely primarily on editions already in print. Using Fay as a starting point for discussions about book history and editing is also useful because her case demonstrates so clearly the importance of having a prominent advocate, like Forster, as well as how detrimental heavy-handed editing and disparaging introductions could be to one's legacy. For faculty interested in incorporating travel writing into their courses but unsure of where to start, Fay's Original Letters is a captivating, accessible entry point into eighteenth- and nineteenthcentury travelogues, and its highly varied content works well within a variety of frameworks and can be used with students of all skill levels. With the publication of the New York Review Books edition, it is possible for anyone interesting in teaching travel writing to become more familiar with this text, introduce it to students, and understand why Forster called Fay "a work of art" (7).

Notes

- ¹ For non-academic perspectives on Fay's style, see Johnson, Francis Robinson, and Woodward. ² See, for example, Bowyer 122–131; Colley 177, 181, 184; Jeffreys 75; Maclean 416; Nechtman 8–30; and Wilson 240.
- ³ Felicity Nussbaum has examined the feminization of the Orient in *Original Letters* alongside the travel writing of Elizabeth Marsh and Jemima Kindersley, Kathleen Collins Beyer has explored Forster's profound interest in Fay, and Nina Gupta-Casale has examined everything from Fay's descriptions of food to her mercantile and entrepreneurial endeavors on her later trips to India. More recently, E. S. Purgina has analyzed Fay's colonial discourse alongside that of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Maryam Wasif Khan has examined the relationship between Forster's *A Passage to India* and its "archive" of feminist Orientalist works, including Fay's account and Phebe Gibbes's and Elizabeth Hamilton's India fiction. Several dissertations have also devoted considerable space to *Original Letters*. See, for example, "Fictions of Empire: British Women's Travel Narratives in India, 1779-1854," in which Denise K. Comer examines Fay's relationship to the sentimental; as well as Madere, "Creating Indian and British Selves: Life-Writing and Colonial Relations, 1794-1826"; and Marschalk, "When the Wandering Traveler Speaks: The Narrative Poetics of Early Anglo-Indian Women's Travel Writing."
- ⁴ Along with Fay's Original Letters, we read excerpts from Kindersley, Maria Graham's Journal of a Residence in India (1812), Anne Katherine Elwood's Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea, to India (1830); Marianne Postans' Cutch (1839), Fanny Parks' Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque (1850), and Madeline and Rosalind Wallace-Dunlop's The Timely Retreat (1858).
- ⁵ See "Preface by the Editor," 3, for example.
- ⁶ For more on the literary importance of travel writing in the eighteenth century and the form and conventions of the genre, see Batten, especially 25.
- ⁷ See Batten, especially 29-30.
- ⁸ While I have students obtain the New York Review Books edition of *Original Letters* for our coverage of Fay, for the other writers included in this unit, I use excerpts from the first editions, facsimiles of which can be downloaded from Google Books or, in the case of Kindersley, *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*.

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