WOOLF'S
COLLECTED
WRITINGS

NORTH AFRICA AND
THE MIDDLE EAST

2

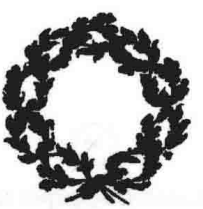
WOMEN'S TRAVEL WRITINGS IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Volume 2

Barbara Hofland, *The Young Pilgrim, or Alfred Campbell's Return to the East and his Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Asia Minor, Arabia Petraea &c* (1826)

EDITED BY

Lois Chaber



PICKERING & CHATTO

Published by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited
21 Bloomsbury Way, London WC1A 2TH

2252 Ridge Road, Brookfield, Vermont 05036-9704, USA

www.pickeringchatto.com

BRITISH LIBRARY CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION DATA
Women's travel writings in North Africa and the Middle East.
Part I. – (Chawton House library series. Women's travel writings)
1. Women – Travel – Africa, North – History – 19th century – Sources. 2. Women – Travel – Middle East – History – 19th century – Sources. 3. Travelers' writings, English – Africa, North. 4. Travelers' writings, English – Middle East. 5. Africa, North – Description and travel. 6. Middle East – Description and travel.
I. Series II. Wilson, Lucy Sarah Atkins, 1801–1863 Fruits of enterprise. III. Tully, Miss Narrative of a ten years' residence at Tripoli in Africa. IV. Hofland, Mrs. (Barbara), 1770–1844 Young pilgrim. V. Thompson, Carl (Carl Edward) editor of compilation. VI. Saggini, Francesca editor of compilation. VII. Chaber, Lois, editor of compilation.
915.6'0415-dc23

ISBN-13: 9781851961399

This publication is printed on acid-free paper that conforms to the American National Standard for the Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials.

Typeset by Pickering & Chatto (Publishers) Limited
Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Berforts Information Press

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WOMEN'S TRAVEL WRITINGS IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

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INTRODUCTION

Barbara Hoole Hofland, née Wreakes (1770–1844), born in Sheffield, was the stoic survivor of serial misfortunes, which, as with many women, were largely responsible for her entry into the literary world. Her father's death when she was three and her mother's remarriage led to adoption by an aunt. Although in 1796 she married a successful businessman, Thomas Hoole, their baby girl and Hoole himself died in quick succession, followed by the collapse of his business; her infant son Frederick (later tragically to die aged thirty-four) was deprived of his patrimony and she of any financial support. She rose to the occasion by publishing a volume of poems by subscription, which aroused widespread sympathy and raised a sum that enabled her to open a girl's boarding school in Harrogate, Yorkshire. Meanwhile, attuned to the realities of the literary marketplace, she had the savvy to turn to novel writing and to connect with two leading publishers, John Harris and Longman, with the former of these publishing her first book, *The History of an Officer's Widow* (1809). The school's financial failure not long after her marriage to the landscape painter Thomas Christopher Hofland (1810) led to their resettling in London, where the artist's career (initially promising), as well as his behaviour, became erratic. Thomas's inadequacies as a provider compounded Hofland's early financial losses, making it necessary for her to keep churning out books as well as pieces for the popular *Annuals* and *Keepsakes* virtually till the day she died, despite a shoulder injury which made it physically painful for her to write.[1]

Given her early circumstances, Hofland was obviously denied the 'cultural power' of a formal, classical education,[2] but she was fortunate to be guided by her well-read aunt, probably studying 'history, poetry and divinity'.[3] An avid reader, Hofland's self-education was life-long, and the range of her reference to literature is exceptional, especially to the British eighteenth century, but also to many other British authors, to some French literature, to translated Continental classics and, of course, to the Bible. Participation in an extensive female network centring on Mary Russell Mitford expanded her awareness of contemporary women authors.[4] Well-versed in the 'modern' subjects of history and geography, Hofland was regularly to do additional research for her books in the British Library.[5]

Inspired by Maria Edgeworth's moral tales for children and Hannah More's *Cheap Repository Tracts* (1795–8), as well as by her own misfortunes, Hofland began to produce domestic stories for children and young people that combined moral and religious didacticism with economic and urban realism, usually featuring a family struggling with difficulties. As well as other juvenile subgenres, she also tried (unsuccessfully) the market for adult fiction. Her career peaked in the early 1820s and waned thereafter, although many of her books were still selling to the end of the century and others possibly influenced major Victorian writers.[6] Her income at its best remained meagre due to the extremely scanty pay meted out to female children's authors.[7] Hofland's most successful and most lauded work was the quasi-autobiographical *Son of a Genius* (1812),[8] in which the artist-father and 'genius' fails his family through improvidence and dissipation, eventually dying from drink, whilst his prudent young son works humbly to support the family and through charity, honesty and a providential 'turn' restores it to prosperity.

Though acutely aware of her own 'untravell'd eye',[9] Hofland joined the bandwagon of children's authors redacting travel literature, which had taken off in about 1800, as part of her search for a potentially more lucrative genre,[10] beginning with *The Young Northern Traveller* (1813), about a teenage boy travelling through northern Europe with his uncle. There were no travelogues proper again till the two books of 1825–6, *Alfred Campbell* and *The Young Pilgrim*,[11] followed by *The Young Cadet; or, Henry Delamere's Voyage to India* (1828); however, Hofland produced a number of books falling within that inclusive understanding of 'travel writing' discussed in the General Introduction (vol. 1, pp. xi–xii): two textbook-style geography primers, *The Panorama of Europe, or a New Game of Geography* (1813) and *Africa Described* (1828); two adventure tales, *The Stolen Boy* (1830) – in American 'Indian' territory – and *The Young Crusoe* – shipwrecked on an island off the coast of India (1829); a number of historical novels with exotic settings such as *Iwanowna, or the Maid of Moscow* (1813) and *The Captives in India* (1834) and a final book, *Emily's Reward: or, the Holiday Trip to Paris* (1844), combining domestic and travel elements with some allusions to her Eastern travelogues.

Hofland was not a first-class writer, as her biographer Dennis Butt concedes, but her works engage with major concerns of the period spanning the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth,[12] and her contemporaries acknowledged their great popularity. Her 'literary fame' extended to Europe, into whose languages many of her works had been translated.[13] During her forty-year writing career she produced over seventy books plus numerous short stories and essays, selling over 163,000 books in Britain and about 127,000 in the United States – without counting post-mortem and European sales.[14]

Hofland's popularity – at least with parents and critics – was primarily based on the exemplary morality of her tales,[15] but reviewers criticized her dispropor-

tionate amount of careless mistakes; after commenting favourably on her *Tales of the Priory* (1820), the *Monthly Review* declared: 'We must likewise notice several verbal inaccuracies which have escaped the fair author.'[16] Unfortunately, *The Young Pilgrim* is riddled with misleading 'inaccuracies', which suggest hasty transcription from her sources; place names (as endnotes make clear) particularly suffer, though some mistakes reflect her lack of a classical education (see notes to p. 154, l. 12; p. 126, l. 21). This frequent inexactness and an often erratic style can be attributed to her prolific and rapid book production, necessitated by her precarious finances.[17]

Nevertheless, the celebrity her success with *Son of a Genius* brought led to close friendships not only with Mitford but also 'the Great Architect' John Soane, the prominent editor Samuel Carter Hall and his literary wife Anna and the Edgeworths – Richard Lovell and Maria.[18] Through Maria Edgeworth she also gained social contacts with the rich and the powerful, which she cannily exploited to further her own career and that of her unworldly son. Edgeworth introduced her to the wealthy socialites Thomas Hope (1769–1831), British connoisseur and author, and his wife Louisa of the powerful Irish Beresfords; Hofland's access to other Beresfords through Louisa's second marriage to her cousin, Viscount William Carr Beresford (1768–1854), directly influenced the text of *The Young Pilgrim*: her flattering dedication to the son of Rev. Gilbert Beresford, rector of St Andrews, Holborn (pp. 3–5) was probably aimed at securing a position for her son Frederick – four years later appointed curate at St Andrews![19] Moreover, Hofland's boasted access (p. 8) to the *privately* printed and distributed *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria ...* by Captains Charles Leonard Irby and James Mangles – a major source for both *The Young Pilgrim* and its predecessor – can only plausibly be explained by her acquaintance with Louisa's second husband, whose younger brother had led a naval expedition of 1814 in which Mangles was first lieutenant on the flagship;[20] significantly, she ignores co-author Irby in her prefaces.

Hofland's choices when redacting travel books reflect her hybrid ideological position. Butts has emphasized her affiliation with the previous age – both in her Augustan style and in her conservative values. Apparently influenced by Samuel Johnson, whom she calls 'the father of a new style in language',[21] her prose abounds in highly formal, balanced sentences and generalized abstractions in parallel series, and she regularly strives to 'elevate' her style – as in her conversion of 'but this was what we wanted, in order to get something to eat'[22] to 'but this request they would not comply with, as they were now extremely hungry, and desirous of procuring refreshment' (p. 112) – though her prejudices often produce such crudities as 'the solemn and stupid Mussulman' (p. 35). Hofland's frequent pomposity was criticized by contemporary reviewers: 'the language is so inflated that children will scarcely understand it', and probably contributed to her later decline in popularity.[23]

Butts attributes 'moderately liberal Anglican values' to Hofland, and the *Literary Gazette* claimed her religion was 'without sourness, bigotry, or enthusiasm'[24] – demonstrated in her sympathetic (if patronizing) treatment of Catholic and Greek Orthodox monks in *The Young Pilgrim*; however, this latter derives from a typically Orientalist *in*tolerance of Islam – her 'sense of brotherhood in Christian society, *in a land of enemies*' (p. 80; emphasis mine; see vol. 1, General Introduction, p. xxviii). Stephen Behrendt makes a case for positive Evangelical elements in Hofland's religion (unlike the harsh Calvinism of Mary Martha Sherwood) – her focus on industry, humility, self-sacrifice,[25] but Evangelicism is also manifest in the Biblical fundamentalism and the outrage over Ottoman possession of the Holy Lands prominent in the two Eastern travelogues.[26] The economically marginalized Hofland's identification with British church and state in her travel writing exemplifies the compensatory patriotism of many British women, who earned thereby 'a real if precarious place in the public sphere', according to Linda Colley.[27]

However, Romantic and progressive elements also infuse Hofland's writing. Foremost is her love of 'Nature', compared to Wordsworth's by her contemporary biographer Thomas Ramsay. Hofland's essays showcase her talent for first-hand natural description, but even in the second-hand *Young Pilgrim*, landscape is foregrounded whenever possible, and, accordingly, she subscribes wholeheartedly to Romantic aesthetics – the sublime and the picturesque, including the architectural picturesque, applicable to Eastern monuments.[28] Hofland never mentions Wordsworth, Keats or Shelley, but she is strongly attracted to Byron – mentioned twice in *The Young Pilgrim* (pp. 25, 196), enthusiastically quoted in her description of 'Sir John Soane's House' and praised for 'the exquisite poem, called Childe Harold' in *Panorama*.[29] All her young travellers, moreover, despite their conservative opinions, exhibit Romantic sensibility in varying degrees, especially in their strong susceptibility to scenery, art and religious sites. Hofland's keen interest in the Gothic, evinced by her 'Stanzas Addressed to Mrs. Radcliffe' – the 'sublime Enchantress' – and her praise of William Beckford's *Vathek*, shows up in passages throughout her ouevre[30] and is also glimpsed in *The Young Pilgrim*, where she invokes Salvator Rosa to create a scene of 'pale horror' (p. 163–4) amidst scenery 'savage and romantic' (p. 169). Even her critique of 'genius' in her most famous work fits current paradigms of Romanticism that include women novelists' interrogation of the male 'egotistical sublime'.[31]

Hofland's progressive treatment of women's issues in her writings – often subverting her apparent sanctionings of conventional gender roles – has been much-remarked in recent years.[32] Nothing in *The Young Pilgrim* compares to her sympathies with oppressed women and eulogies of powerful ones in *Africa Described*, but her proto-feminism emerges through the interstices of her sources: 'The [Bedouin] women have hard work' in *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*,[33] becomes 'But there is nothing pleasing in the contemplation of their women,

who are mere beasts of burden' (p. 193). Although Hofland in her travel-related works regularly 'Orientalizes' the indigenes of non Anglo-Saxon countries,[34] she often gives this a 'progressive' twist by dramatizing discussions in which positive qualities of the 'Other' are at least acknowledged, avoiding (except with Turkish Muslims) the absolute racism of some other armchair writers, such as Isaac Taylor in his 'Scenes' for 'Little Tarry-at-Home Travellers'; the youths' debate over Arab culture is an example (see pp. 191–4), and there are similar passages in *The Stolen Boy* and *Emily's Reward*.

Besides Hofland's fascination with Byron and the period's general obsession with the East (see vol. 1, General Introduction, pp. xvi–xvii), events within Hofland's own circle possibly spurred her to write the Alfred Campbell books in the 1820s: a Byronic travelogue, *Anastasius, or Memoirs of a Greek* (1819), by her friend Thomas Hope, though its narrative would have been too racy for Hofland to use as a source, shared her attitude towards the Ottoman East – 'the ever interesting regions once adorned by the Greeks and now defaced by the Turks', and by emphasizing that information regarding that region 'was so eagerly sought at this moment', may have planted a seed in her mind. Hofland's interest in the Holy Land may also have been quickened by her husband's research for his painting 'Jerusalem at the Time of the Crucifixion', commissioned 1823–4 by Lord de Tabley.[35] However, she attempted too much in *The Young Pilgrim*, her sequel to the well-received *Alfred Campbell*, as an American review of the book in 1828 rightly asserts; though the book provides useful knowledge of 'the antiquities and curiosities of the East; – that portion of the globe ... peculiarly interesting to every Christian', it is less successful than other works by Hofland because:

> [T]oo many incidents and descriptions [are] crowded into the work. Children like particularities, and do not, very advantageously, follow the rapid traveller, or understand his necessarily brief and often technical descriptions of statues, tombs and obelisks ... [or] the hasty mention of the ruins of a hundred cities.[36]

Not outstanding for literary merit, then, *The Young Pilgrim* nevertheless greatly illuminates the extent and ingenious nature of women's agency when redacting travel books for children (see vol. 1, General Introduction, p. xxv).

Hofland's originality in both Eastern travelogues was to impose on her varied sources a 'pilgrimage' frame, though one source for *Alfred Campbell* – William Rae Wilson's *Travels to Egypt and the Holy Land* (1823) – emphasized biblical pilgrimage sites. The millennium-plus tradition of pilgrimage to the Levant had become more of a literary genre than an on-the-ground reality by the early modern period and from its beginning had *always* included miscellaneous information, establishing a precedent for travel books. Initially, the Reformation had led to a Protestant boycott of such pilgrimage, but the contemporary interest in the East and the Evangelical movement motivated British Protestants to include

Jerusalem in their itinerary, resulting in degrees of *implicit* pilgrimage; a continuum existed between works emphasizing the Holy Land (Palestine) and those which included 'pilgrimage' *inter alia*, and whilst *The Young Pilgrim* falls into the latter category, its forerunner *Alfred Campbell* exemplifies the first.[37]

In the latter, Hofland uses, besides Wilson, parts of two travel books also used for the sequel: Frederick Henniker's *Notes, during a Visit to Egypt, Nubia ...* (1823)[38] and the aforementioned *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* by Irby and Mangles, and concentrates on the Holy Land and biblical sites in Egypt. Alexander, self-consciously Scottish, is fourteen, just out of school and, his mother recently deceased, he proposes a pilgrimage to rouse his father from depression. They journey via France and the Mediterranean to Egypt, take off from Cairo up the Sinai Peninsula to the Holy Land for a lengthy visit, then south to Lebanon and Syria, departing westward from the Levant. Alfred is an effeminate figure of sensibility and naïve piety, who has to be gently corrected by his more rational, strictly Protestant father. The primary modality is not antiquarianism but biblical topology and 'verification', epitomized by Alfred's exclamation: 'What are pyramids and palaces ... when compared to the actual glories of this humble decayed space'.[39] The 'cursed' Holy Land, desecrated by Turkish occupiers, is bemoaned (see vol. 1, General Introduction, p. xxviii), and when Alfred leaves, gushing tears, his father assures him that the Redeemer also dwells in England, where he is worshipped more in keeping with his 'revealed will'[40] – an assertion of Protestant chauvinism that effectually subverts their 'pilgrimage'. In *The Young Pilgrim*, Alfred, a now-more-mature Cambridge graduate, has gone from dependence to leadership, from sentimental hero to 'Christian manliness', and his short visit to Jerusalem with his friend Clayfield is perfunctorily recounted. The journey is more of a secular aesthetic quest within a vague pilgrimage framework; shortly before leaving the East, the 'pilgrims' declare their satisfaction 'with having accomplished the great object of their journey' – Petra, the spectacular ruins of an ancient sandstone city only recently 'discovered' by the Swiss explorer Johan Ludwig Burkhardt (p. 194; also p. 231; see note to p. 8, l. 3). There has been no spiritual or cultural transformation for these *initially* pious youths, and they rejoice, finally, in their return to 'civilised society' (p. 223) and the 'Blessings of Christianity' (heading, p. 228); as Carole Fabricant claims, travel literature 'promises an escape into otherness but too often results in a return to sameness'.[41]

The real transformation is textual – how Hofland moulds her source texts to the (perceived) requirements of a youthful audience and to her own ideological concerns. Much like Galland's pseudo-translation of *A Thousand and One Nights* (1704–14),[42] *The Young Pilgrim* is a syncretic text, stitched together from multiple sources. The itinerary, to start, is created through selective omission and clever joinings-up, usually supplemented by material from geographical compendiums when the pilgrims reach a new location (see note to p. 31, l. 10–p. 32, l. 2).

Beginning with the fate of the exiled Parguinites on Corfu (pp. 17–23), taken from Lieut.-Col. C. P. De Bosset's *Parga and the Ionian Islands* ... (1821), she then uses parts of *A Journey Over Land to India* (1795) by Donald Campbell[43] for the islands of Zante and Cyprus (pp. 23–4, 26–7), landing in Aleppo, Syria; she subsequently ships her youths to Egypt, linking with Henniker's *Notes* in the Nile Delta (p. 42), following *Notes* up and down the Nile and staying with this text into Jerusalem. Departing Jerusalem for Hebron, the youths join the *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* of Irby and Mangles (p. 103) (whose actual journey began in Egypt) after Hofland has cleverly exploited an attack (real) on Henniker in Jericho (p. 95) and the (fictional) concern of kindly monks (pp. 96–7) to 'explain' the youths' decision to take a route different from Henniker's to the Dead Sea. Following the captains' itinerary, they journey to Petra (arriving p. 153), then back up the Levantine coast and, like the captains, take a brig to Constantinople (p. 194). But while the latter quit Constantinople to pursue antiquities further East, Hofland keeps her youths there, switching back to Henniker (p. 198) and later following him homewards through Eastern Europe till his account ends abruptly in Germany (p. 222), from whence she continues, relying on compendiums, Anglo-Christian propaganda and retrospective reflection till the youths are safe in Protestant Switzerland (p. 226). Other narrative strategies include: splitting a single source-incident into two, as with Henniker's visit to the consul Damiani at Jaffa (see note to p. 92, ll. 1–3); conflating – for example, Henniker's two Cairo sojourns become one (see note to p. 53, ll. 13–14); foregoing geographical realism – that is, the many intermediate steps between major destinations – in favour of brevity and also unifying her patchwork through the youths' periodic recall of earlier scenes (for example, p. 93, ll. 4–5).

Hofland also reconfigures four first-person, male, journal-style sources into a female-gendered omniscient narrative. Bowing to the norms of early nineteenth-century Eastern travel, she makes her protagonists well-off European males, precluding even the limited participation of young women found in Wakefield's travel books.[44] The only female 'character' at all is seemingly quite conventional – the gendered narrator-editor of *The Young Pilgrim*, whose empathetic and judgmental voice replaces for the most part the variously cynical or objective first-person male narrators of her sources, as in the Parguinotes episode, where ejaculations such as 'Alas! he had suffered much' (p. 18) pepper the text. The pious effusions of the characters, the narrator's frequent moralizing and the poetic allusions – all supplementary to Hofland's sources – contribute to the re-gendering, although, contrary to gender stereotypes, Hofland usually substitutes generalities for particulars, thanks to her Augustan tendencies *and* to the 'crowded' agenda of *The Young Pilgrim*: on p. 61, ll. 4–6, for example, all of Henniker's vividly described details of carvings on the Great Pylon[45] are reduced to one lame generalization. Most consciously 'female' of all is her self-construction

in the paratexts of both Alfred Campbell books as dependent and deferential, treading anxiously on male turf: In the Preface to *Alfred Campbell*, having 'intruded' already on Mangles's 'admirable work' she hopes the 'gallant author' will eventually permit her to use his Petra section from which 'she has conscientiously abstained',[46] and she is 'honoured' by his subsequent 'permission' in the Preface to *The Young Pilgrim* (p. 7). She piles on obsequious flattery of Mangles (p. 8), continuing in the text (p. 153), where the tribute to both authors of *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* – 'men whose steps it was an honour to follow' – though ascribed to her travellers, speaks apologetically to Hofland's own 'following' of male (generic) 'footsteps'. Ultimately, however, this gendered façade simply cloaks her transgressive praxis, in which she is all too willing to alter the 'most authentic details'[47] *and* the political opinions of her male-authored sources, silently asserting power over *The Young Pilgrim's* text through her 'editorial agency'.[48]

While following standard protocols for redacting travel books – abridging and bowdlerizing – Hofland's editorial changes also respond specifically to each source. The subtitle of Lieut.-Col. De Bosset's work, *Comprehending a Refutation of the Various Mis-Statements on the Subject* [of the cession of Parga] indicates he had an axe to grind: De Bosset, governor of Parga when it was ceded by Britain to the Ottoman governor of Albania, Ali Pacha, became an advocate for the Parguinotes against the Ottomans and the British officials – who had reneged on their promises – and was removed from command by Thomas Maitland, the Lord High Commissioner; hence, De Bosset presents a rather jaundiced view of Britain's behaviour in this highly contentious affair, eventually discussed in Parliament;[49] Hofland, however, fudges over the compromises of the British government and emphasizes its benevolent 'protection' of the Parguinote refugees (p. 22–3).

In contrast to the whitewashing of the British in the Parga incident, Hofland gives a negative twist to Donald Campbell's portrayal of Muslims in his *Journey Over Land to India*. Campbell frames his narrative as a letter to his son, with the high-minded aim of 'eradicating illiberal prejudices from your mind';[50] decrying European religious bigotry[51] and praising many aspects of Turkish government.[52] But Hofland incorporates Campbell's objectively recounted, interpolated description of the Islamic hajj or pilgrimage,[53] and while retaining the factual details, perverts it through a series of introjections ranging from the egregious to the subtle, beginning with her totally unauthorized opening:

> I have myself ... travelled ... to Mecca, and found it extremely disagreeable, and the whole affair of the pilgrimage a disgusting piece of mummery, which it seems surprising that even such stupid personages (as Mahometans generally are) should be submitted to. (pp. 37–8)

This is a shocking contrast to Campbell: 'as to the pilgrimage to Mecca, however irrational it may appear to us, it is at least recommended by sincerity and zeal, and is doubtless in the eye of an all-seeing Providence meritorious'.[54] Campbell

simply reports that the caravans 'encamp at some miles from Mecca'[55] – end of sentence, whilst Hofland, after noting their 'encampment in the neighbourhood of Mecca', adds the derogatory 'which is a mean, ill-built city' (p. 38). In a more subtle intervention, Hofland (p. 39, l. 4) italicizes the word 'seven' – *not* italicized in Campbell's text,[56] thus emphasizing the (irrational) number of times the pilgrims have to mount and descend the same platform, and then Hofland, but not Campbell, refers back to this repetition, in apparent sarcasm, as 'this performance' (p. 39, l. 5), in order to justify her earlier description of the pilgrimage as absurd 'mummery'. Other changes continue in this vein, turning the hajj into a false pilgrimage, a foil to Alfred's 'true' one.

With the appropriately titled *Notes* of the learned but cocksure Baronet Henniker, Hofland has much work to do, censoring his flippant, irreverent remarks on nation, religion, sex and women, not just for the juvenile audience but in line with her strongest beliefs. She erases 'unpatriotic' remarks, ranging from squibs such as terming the Sultan's palace 'quite as shabby as St. James'[57] to Henniker's penetrating criticism of Britain's part, alongside France, in the infamous 'rape of the Nile':[58] 'these buildings that have hitherto withstood the attacks of *Barbarians*, will not resist the speculation of civilised cupidity, virtuosi, and antiquarians'.[59] Though Henniker is no atheist, he mocks any kind of fundamentalism; on p. 54, l. 18, for example, Hofland inevitably omits his sarcastic comment: 'it will be of great moment to ascertain whether Adam was a right or left-handed man',[60] and although, like him, Hofland dismisses the superstitions of the Mount Sinai Orthodox monks, she is indulgent where he is insulting. Hofland's feminism (as well as the genre's taboos) asserts itself in altering risqué passages; on the Isle of Elephantine she sanitizes Henniker's leering description of the 'sable nymphs'[61] but lauds their freedom from veiling and their attractiveness (pp. 63–4). However, she is happy to retain Henniker's Turko-phobic passages, particularly in Constantinople, where he ridicules the various rituals attendant on the official reception of an ambassador,[62] and she even extends this racism with invented material (see pp. 213, 215). Given Hofland's informal education, moreover, it is no surprise that in both Henniker's travelogue and that of Irby and Mangles she omits Greek and Roman quotations and curtails most discussions of ancient authorities as well as most references to the influential precursor travel writings of Constantin Volney, Henry Maundrell[63] and others.

More commensurate with Hofland's own proclivities, the serious, systematic and pious Irby and Mangles are not only classical antiquarians like Henniker, but also biblical scholars, amateur scientists and, like most travellers, connoisseurs of the picturesque and the sublime. Their approach to the Bible, however, is not fundamentalist; more interested in establishing the good book as a historical record than as a repository of miracles, they invoke the mustard seed parable, for instance, to differentiate species of mustard plant,[64] and they have no truck with the super-

natural 'curse' on the Dead Sea, a significant theme in both Hofland's narratives (see note to p. 109, l. 13). Most of Irby and Mangles's detailed topological survey of the Dead Sea environs,[65] Hofland omits, zeroing in on the crux – whether it is true that 'no living thing could fly over the lake' (p. 187, l. 13) – and she only grudgingly acknowledges the contradictory evidence whilst adlibbing about the Sea's 'character' of 'death and desolation' (p. 187, ll. 16–18, 19–20). She does, however, happily promote the captains' agenda of 'temporalizing' the Arab lands, crucial to the Orientalist myth of the timeless, stagnant East.[66]

Lack of a male scientific education combined with her love of nature determine Hofland's alterations of Irby's and Mangles's many passages of 'typical landscape' – that is, scientific topography *and* aesthetic description – a travel book convention.[67] The description of the view from the 'encampment' on p. 137 is characteristic: the captains certainly enthuse over the landscape – the natural details are theirs as is 'a most magnificent view'[68] – but this is intermixed with numerous mensural and geographical facts (such as 'S. W. three hours'),[69] all omitted by Hofland (despite her insistence in her Preface that *The Young Pilgrim* is a geography textbook) in order to 'purify' this view, to which *she* ascribes a 'wild romantic character' (p. 137, ll. 9–10) and turns their 'wide crevices'[70] into 'wild crevices' (l. 12). Hofland also frequently interrupts the (nominally) objective narrative recording of *Travels in Egypt and Nubia* with affective characterization (mostly in free indirect style); the youths' jubilation at reaching Petra, for example, is injected into a passage of straight geo-archaeological description from *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*.[71] These dollops of emotion are presumably intended to make the travelogue more of a 'story' and the characters ones with whom young people can identify.

Aftermath

Young Pilgrim was reprinted twice in England up to 1830 by Hofland's publisher John Harris, once in the US in 1828 and was also selected as one of thirty texts republished by Arthur Hall, Virtue and Company as 'The Hofland Library' of the late 1850s.[72] But most significant was the publication, by financially savvy A. K. Newman in 1841, of a substantially revised version in two formats, one with the same twelve engravings and another, apparently cheaper, with only an illustrated frontispiece.[73]

Hofland regularly revised her travel books in line with the latest political and artistic currents, presumably to make them more marketable. A 'New Edition' of *The Young Northern Traveller* (n.d.), was sentimentally inflected by making the protagonist an invalid *restored* by travelling, converted from an epistolary format to omniscience and passages altered to reflect 'the great political changes ... since the last [Napoleonic] war'.[74] In the 1827 *Young Cadet* Hofland's protagonist

participates in the first Anglo-Burmese War (1824–6) but in her 'New Edition' of 1836, the no-longer-newsworthy war is replaced by an expanded section on Elora – a picturesque Indian ruin – based on the recent *Scenes and Characteristics of Hindostan* (1835) by Emma Roberts. Similarly motivated, Hofland revised both *Alfred Campbell* and *The Young Pilgrim* in order to support the gunboat diplomacy of the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston – Britain's 1840 defence of the Ottoman Empire (with Russia, Prussia and Austria) against Muhammed Ali's imperialistic attempt to subsume it, substantiating Reinhold Schiffer's contention that the treatment of the Turkish 'Other' shifted in response to changing political circumstances.[75] In *Alfred Campbell*, revised a few months earlier than *The Young Pilgrim*, in late 1840, she highlighted this campaign ('now the scene of British valour') in a new Preface and, in the midst of the Allies' siege of Acre, added a written-to-the-moment appendix, a shorter version of the 'Additional Account of Syria' to come in the 1841 *Young Pilgrim*. Hofland, anxious even in old age to mould the views of young people about British policies, explains that a 'material alteration' has been necessary because 'British youth ... are generally inquisitive as to the politics of the day, when war is concerned', but these events are ultimately important, Hofland insists, because of 'that Book' (the Bible) – an evangelical perspective intensified in the revised *Young Pilgrim*.

In the more hybrid 1841 edition of *Young Pilgrim*, replete with chronological and tonal contradictions, the youths take off to explore other parts of Greater Syria before sailing to Constantinople so that Hofland can portray *earlier* events relevant to the recent Levantine skirmish (ended late November 1840) – the conquest of parts of Ottoman Syria by Muhammed Ali's son Ibrahim in the 1830s (pp. 181–2). The Constantinople section is updated to acknowledge Sultan Mahmud II's reforms, but Henniker's satire of Ottoman court rituals (from 1819) is unaltered, as is the Parguinote section (early 1820s) despite Greek independence in 1832; the Egyptian section is *partly* revised to include archaeological discoveries in 1836 by Alexander, Lord Lindsay (1812–80), and her portrayal of Muhammed Ali is even more ambiguous than in 1826 – praising his reforms whilst condemning his imperial ambitions. Descriptions of Constantinople are more positive, due to Hofland's reading of the Turko-phillic *City of the Sultan* (1837) by Julia Pardoe (1804–62)[76] as well as to Britain's current alliance with Turkey. The appendix, 'An Additional Account of Syria, and of the Expedition to the East Lately Undertaken from England, And Its Consequences' (pp. 221–39) recounts Greater Syria's history – lamenting the Crusaders' loss of the Holy Lands – and ends by urging 'young readers' to pray that the recent British victory will 'hasten the time when all the nations on earth shall be gathered into one fold under one shepherd' (pp. 238–9) – a millenarian call for an Anglo-Christian reconquest of the very lands Britain has been defending.

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