

TRAVEL AND TOURING IN ENGLAND BY ELITE QUAKER,
INDUSTRIAL FAMILIES IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY:
THE JOURNEYS OF MARY-ANNE SCHIMMELPENNINCK (NEE
GALTON) OF BIRMINGHAM (1778–1856)

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the place of travel and tourism in the lives of elite, Quaker families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, reflected primarily in the memoirs of the author, Mary-Anne Schimmelpenninck, nee Mary-Anne Galton (1778–1856), whose diverse oeuvre included writings on history, religion and aesthetics. It is, however, her autobiography, left unfinished and posthumously edited for publication by her relative, Christina Hankin, that provides unique insights into the functions travel and touring served in promoting geographical networks in England that maintained and affirmed Quaker identity, contributed to family culture and education and influenced Schimmelpenninck's life and work.

The memoirs were first published in 1858 in a book divided into two parts. The first comprised the unfinished memoirs of her life until the age of twenty, dictated when Schimmelpenninck was in her seventies to her close friend and relative, Christiana Hankin. The second part is Hankin's reconstruction of her life thereafter until her death in 1856 from the fragmentary correspondence, journal fragments and miscellaneous writings left among her papers.

KEYWORDS

Mary-Anne Schimmelpenninck, Quaker travel and tourism, Travel and Dissent, Quaker families, Lunar Society, Birmingham history, Gurney family, Fox family.

INTRODUCTION

Mary-Anne Schimmelpenninck¹ was the eldest child of Birmingham industrialist, Samuel Galton, and his wife, Lucy (nee Barclay), a grand-daughter of the Quaker apologist, David Barclay of Urie in Scotland. The Galton/Barclay union made the Galtons one of the most socially and culturally important families in the Midlands. Samuel Galton had inherited a second-generation fortune made by his father in the manufacture of guns (Smith 1967: 132-34).² Educated at Warrington

Academy, the college founded for non-conformists debarred by law from Oxford and Cambridge,³ he was a keen amateur botanist and scientist, and member of the Lunar Society, the Birmingham literary, scientific and industrial coterie whose members included Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Priestley, James Watt and Josiah Wedgwood (Schofield 1963; Uglow 2002). The family moved from Birmingham where the Galton manufactory remained, to Barr Hall in Staffordshire, a country house about eight miles away. It became one of the Society's monthly meeting places (Uglow 2002: 313). Throughout her childhood Schimmelpenninck witnessed the comings and goings of the 'Lunatics', as her butler called them (Burr 2000), and sat in on their free thinking exchanges.

Though brought up as a Quaker, she had a lifelong interest in other denominations that made her flirt with Methodism and Catholicism at different times. In 1818, after prolonged spiritual agonising that never left her, she became a member of the Moravian Brethren in Bristol where she moved after her marriage. Travel and tourism⁴ occupied an important part of her life and memoirs,⁵ and her accounts of them reveal insights into Quaker social networks, Galton family culture and education, as well as their impact on Schimmelpenninck's psychological and spiritual development.

TRAVEL AND THE NON-CONFORMIST NETWORK

Schimmelpenninck grew up on a rising curve in Quaker history that was part of the growth of non-conformists as a whole. The total of dissenters had more than doubled from 150,000 in 1660 to 400,000 in 1800 (Bebb 1935: 45). Quakers numbered 20,000 according to one estimate (Rowntree 1859, in Thompson 1972: 163-65). Quakerism, once a rural faith for the economically disadvantaged, had moved into cities where the more entrepreneurial Friends improved their social status. Though the lifting of parliamentary laws excluding non-Anglicans from political and educational participation was still several decades away, their growing success in business, technology and science gave them an increasing voice in public life. Dissenters had formed their own educational academies at Warrington, Northampton and Daventry, and opened up informal channels of intellectual and cultural influence that amounted to an 'alternative' network with links to government and establishment institutions. Tom Paulin has described how the network operated in the case of William Hazlitt's father, a Unitarian minister in Wem, Shropshire:

In the 1770s and 1780s...Dissenting ministers provided a network of social communication through which politically significant information was transmitted between governing circles and groups of Dissenting merchants: from Rockingham's cabinet through Lindsey to Turner and on to Wakefield merchants; from Hazlitt in an Irish village through Price to Shelburne, the Prime Minister. (Paulin 1998: 110)

Joseph Priestley, an ex-Warrington teacher, renowned for his religious and scientific writings (Crowther 1962: 175-270), and a close family friend of the Galtons, was an example of this network. He was employed by Lord Shelburne as his librarian and tutor to his son. Matthew Boulton, the non-conformist industrial

innovator and entrepreneur, drew some of his design ideas from Shelburne's library, as well supplying him with products from his Soho emporium in Birmingham (Schofield 1963: 87).

The connectedness of successful non-conformist families was hardly, therefore, the solidarity of the oppressed as it might have been a century before, but the mobilization of an ambitious, quasi-diasporic intelligentsia, infiltrating official channels of influence and kicking down the doors of exclusion through their achievements in industry and science, as well as their championing of good causes, including anti-slavery activism and pro-poor education. In a study of the influence of non-conformists on British university development, Noel Annan characterised the cultural advances made by Quakers and the Clapham sect at this time as follows:

...Philanthropy linked the Clapham families with the Quaker families; the Gurneys, Frys, Gaskells, Hoares, Hodgkins, Foxes, Buxtons and Barclays had intermarried in the eighteenth century. As the Quakers became prosperous and began to play a larger part in the affairs of the world; as they turned from small traders into bankers and brewers; and as they began to own country houses and mixed with evangelical philanthropists or enlightened businessmen, many of them felt oppressed by the narrow bounds of the Society of Friends... (Annan 1999: 14–15)

This was the social context in which the Galton family were prospering and their daughter grew up. Travel between families was an important means of promoting and maintaining non-conformist networks, and it was the female members of their large families, particularly the young ones, who helped make the bridge-heads of association to dispersed Quaker outposts. Their role as travelling emissaries stemmed from a paradox—that though the Friends believed in the education of women, daughters in some great families were not sent away to school like their brothers, but taught at home by mothers and governesses and later set up schools for the local poor in schoolrooms within their palatial homes. The informal schedules of female instruction allowed time for making and receiving visits to and from cousins, aunts, uncles and grandparents. Travel was not just a change from the disciplined, daily routines of Quaker life, but indirect training in social skills that augmented the explicit teaching agendas of Quaker education. Spells away from home that could last months gave Quaker daughters a social facility that brothers were less likely to acquire in the confines of boarding schools or academies, which they might leave to go straight into commerce or a profession.

Schimmelpenninck's childhood and youth exemplified the networking functions of travel and tourism. Until she left home to get married in 1806 she and her family exchanged regular visits with uncles, aunts, cousins and family friends: the Gurneys in Norfolk; the Foxes in Cornwall; her Barclay grandparents in Scotland; and her paternal grandfather in Duddeston in the Midlands (MAS 1858: *passim*). The family were also on staying terms with non-Quaker families, notably the Catholic Beringtons in Oscott only a few miles away from Birmingham and Barr (MAS 1858: 207–208).

THE GURNEYS AT EARLHAM

Schimmelpenninck's earliest visits were to the Gurneys of Earlham, described as 'the leading Quaker family of England' by Augustus Hare, the editor of their family papers who had made his name as a guide-book writer to the aristocracy (Barnes 1985: 181-85 and *passim*). The Gurneys were linked through marriage with the Barclays, and there were similarities in the making of the Galton and Gurney fortunes. Both had established businesses in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland. Both had moved south to develop them in England, the Gurneys in banking, and the Galtons in gun making. Both dynasties blossomed in the 1780s. And both consolidated their upward mobility by leasing grand country houses from old established county families. In Norfolk the Gurneys leased Earlham in 1786 from the Bacons for a term that eventually exceeded 100 years (Hare 1895, I: 1); the Galtons leased Barr Hall in Staffordshire from the Scott family in 1788 on a 21 year lease (MAS 1858: 16). The family comprised Samuel Gurney, his wife Catherine Bell Gurney (a Barclay before her marriage) and seven daughters, including Elizabeth ('Betsy') Gurney, later to become Elizabeth Fry, and five sons (Hare 1895: *passim*; Anderson 1980: 141-270).

Schimmelpenninck made her first recorded visit to the Gurneys in the 1790s when she was about eighteen and won the admiration of Betsy who described her as 'one of the most interesting and bewitching people I ever saw, and I never remember any person attracting me so strongly' (Anderson 1980: 238). But it was with her elder sister, Catherine, that Schimmelpenninck developed the closest relationship, one that was to last over fifty years. She was two years older than her Galton cousin but had in 1792 been thrust into the role of surrogate mother for her sisters and brothers at the age of 16 when her mother, Catherine Bell, died.

The Gurney girls were hardly model Quakers in childhood. Boisterous and mischievous, they made up games, one of which depended on blocking off coaches bearing visitors to Earlham by forming a human chain across their path. They also developed private codes for subverting what they were taught. Louisa Gurney, younger than Catherine and Betsy, used the word 'Dis'—shorthand for 'Disgusting'—in the journal she and her sisters were encouraged to keep,⁶ to mock Quaker practices she resented, especially the enforced silences in the Meeting House in Goat Lane, Norwich (Hare 1895: 46-47; Whitney 1937: 15-17). Schimmelpenninck became an ethical comrade-in-arms for Christine in her attempts to regulate her sisters and order their religious welfare. Dangers to orthodox Christian belief loomed large among the Gurneys at the time of the French Revolution. The family had become friends with Dr. Enfield, a free-thinking schoolmaster in a school attended by some of the Gurney children. Through shared readings and book exchanges the Gurneys came to know the works of Rousseau, Voltaire and Paine. Norwich was at that time known as the 'Athens of England' for the number of its free thinkers and its reception of revolutionary news from Paris that seemed to hail the coming of a Utopia

founded on reason (Anderson 1980: 234–37). Schimmelpenninck witnessed the same euphoria among members of the Lunar Society (MAS 1858: 216–26).

Neither Schimmelpenninck nor Catherine were quite sure of their own Christian beliefs in the early days of their acquaintance. Schimmelpenninck recounts how they would both walk the floor of the picture gallery at Earlham, looking at portraits from the thirteenth century, and ask themselves what purpose each person had served during their lives on earth, and what their own spiritual futures were to be (Hankin 1858: 294–96). However, both grew stronger in their Christian commitment, and Schimmelpenninck became something of a role model for the Gurney girls, as Elizabeth Fry's daughter testified in an edited memoir of her mother:

Being a highly educated person, of great mental power, and accustomed to exercise her abilities in the use of her reason...she acquired considerable influence over them. As the light of revelation opened upon her understanding, and her heart became influenced by it, they shared in her advance, and profited by her experience. (Corder 1853: 10)

Just before she died in 1850 Catherine wrote to her friend, affirming her debt: 'I never had a friend more influential and valuable than yourself. You were one of the principal instruments in bringing me to a knowledge of the Gospel' (Hankin 1858: 294).

As well as the Gurneys at Earlham, Schimmelpenninck formed close attachments with two other Gurney cousins, Priscilla and Christiana, daughters of her aunt, Lady Watson, the sister of her uncle, David Barclay. The father of the two girls had been Edmund Gurney, her aunt's first husband, but he had died in 1788. By the time Schimmelpenninck began visiting her, she had married a third husband, Sir William Watson, a noted scientist whose father had been George III's physician. The family lived in grand style with a social calendar that took them to London for the winter, in summer to their house, Seagrove, in Dawlish, and in spring and autumn to lodgings in the Crescent at Bath (MAS 1858: 191). Though nominally Quakers, they were easy-going in enjoying the tastes and social diversions of fashionable life without much reflection about their fit with notions of Quaker piety and self-denial.

But their children, Priscilla and Christiana, took their faith more seriously which endeared them to the young Schimmelpenninck, who developed what might today seem a sentimental 'crush' on both. She described her secret joy in receiving a letter from Christiana one morning during a family breakfast at Barr which she did not trust herself to open until she could drink in its contents alone in the garden. One of Christiana's visits to Barr lasted nine months. When she left, Schimmelpenninck was distraught, calling her departure a 'heart-breaking sorrow', and then, searching for a more passionate expression for the emotion she felt, changed it to one of 'imagination-breaking sorrow', declaring that on some issues Christiana's influence had been almost as great as her mother's (MAS 1858: 205).

If her admiration for Christiana was strong, that for Priscilla was almost divine:

My cousin Priscilla was one of those persons whom no one, having once seen, could ever forget... She combined the expression of holiness and purity with that of the greatest delicacy of perception and intelligent flexibility both of mind and heart. Her stature was small, but perfect in symmetry; her features were chiselled with exquisite delicacy; her countenance announced the deep peace and sensibility which arise from a finely perceptive intellect combined with placid and serene affections. She had what is called a helmeted eyelid, and a beautiful and serenely arched eyebrow, which contributed to the devout and tranquil expression, whilst her dark intelligent eyes, her well developed eyebone, and beautifully formed nose, indicated at once strength and acuteness of intelligence, and great delicacy of taste... (MAS 1858: 226-27)

This ethereal figure was the very model of young Quaker womanhood in dress. Schimmelpenninck remembered every detail of what she wore on her first visit—her ‘coarse stuff gown’ which, thought Schimmelpenninck, contrasted with the ‘exquisite beauty and delicacy of her hands and arms’, her ‘snow-white handkerchief’, her grey shawl, and her dark-brown hair divided in a Gothic arch over her ‘fair forehead’. Her impact was such that:

...it was a common observation with those who cursorily saw her, that she wanted but wings to be an angel. Such was my cousin (whose) visit to us was made under peculiar circumstances. (MAS 1858: 227)

The ‘peculiar circumstances’ were the extraordinary nature of her conversion from Anglicanism to that of Plain Friend, the most rigorous form of Quaker commitment. In doing so she had renounced marriage, despite having received a proposal from an unnamed suitor who had inherited a grand estate. Because of Priscilla’s ascetic commitment, her parents felt that their home would be unsuitable for her vocational needs and looked for a less worldly situation. Their solution was to send her to a place that was to become famous as a crucible of the Industrial Revolution—Ironbridge in Shropshire. There she was boarded with the family of Richard Reynolds, the philanthropic Quaker who became director of the great Coalbrookdale Iron Company when his father-in-law, Abraham Darby, died in 1763 (Raistrick 1967: 136-40, 143-46; Rathbone 1852: 19). Schimmelpenninck left a vivid description of the eremitic comforts the Reynolds family had created for her. She had her own sitting-room, bedroom, an adjoining room for her maid Joan, a stable for her horse ‘Serena’ and an open carriage in which she would drive about making visits to the poor, and enjoying the country. Reynolds also landscaped a garden retreat, with a walk through a thick grove above the dramatic gorges of the river Severn. It had an open summer-house, with substantial rooms, behind one of which was a library with writing materials, and, ‘everything suitable for contemplation or solitary employment...’ (MAS 1858: 230-33). In this hermitage for one Priscilla stayed, according to Schimmelpenninck,⁷ for 20 years, writing and performing charitable works, including antislavery activism. Almost the last letter, written during his final illness, was to her (Rathbone 1852: 181).

Through her visits to Ironbridge Schimmelpenninck got to know the religious and secular features of the area. She visited the Quaker village of Madeley,⁸ a mile from Reynold's house, where Rev. William Fletcher was the 'devout' and 'pious' pastor for the partners in the Coalbrookdale Company and their families, who were said to be among the strictest of the Religious Society of Friends. She also left a brief but vivid account of the iron works itself:

...where the roaring of the blast furnaces, the long beds of glowing coke, the jets of flame and showers of sparks, and the stalwart forms of the various forgemen, mingled with the woods, the rocks, and caverns, or reflected in the broad waters of the Severn, gave it a peculiarity of appearance which I have never seen elsewhere. (MAS 1858: 231)

Schimmelpenninck may also have known of Reynold's development of factory outings for workers at Coalbrookdale. A man with an intense love of nature and picturesque scenery himself, Reynolds organised an annual day out to the Wrekin, a local beauty spot, where he and his workers picnicked and admired the views, while he read extracts from Thomson's *Seasons* or Addison, while the children played games (Rathbone 1852: 39-41).

John Gurney took his seven daughters to Coalbrookdale in August 1798 and it was on this trip that Betsy (Elizabeth Fry), in the company of Priscilla, was moved along the path to the intense, Quaker commitment that later drove her missionary work (Greenwood 1990: 170-71).

THE FOXES IN CORNWALL

Later Schimmelpenninck visited Cornwall and the Foxes, the pre-eminent Quaker family in the county. Their roots there went back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the foundations of the family's commercial empire began in the mid-eighteenth century with the establishment of a shipping company, based first at Fowey and then Dawlish. They lived in Falmouth and, like the Gurneys, were linked to the Barclays by marriage. Maria Barclay (1788-1858) had married Robert Weare Fox, who became head of the company and extended his business interests into the manufacture of mining machinery. Like Samuel Galton he was a keen experimental scientist, a member of the British Association, and an inventor, among other things, of a navigational aid, the Dipping Needle Reflector, used by Ross in his voyages to the Arctic (Monk 1972: 19-20). Schimmelpenninck's first impression of Bank House was of a laboratory, rather than a domestic residence:

Imagine the back drawing room strewn with reflectors, and magnets, and specimens of iron, and borax, cobalt, copper ore, blow-pipes, patina, etc. Deflagrations, fusions, and detonations, on every side: while we were deeply interested in watching the fusions of the ores, or their assaying: only that now and then I, having a house of my own, had a fellow feeling with Maria, at seeing a certain zebra-wood table splashed with melted lead or silver, and the chased Bury Hill candlestick deluged with acid. (Fox 1972: 20)

Schimmelpenninck's visits to Cornwall between 1824 and 1826 with her husband were recorded in a series of lively letters to an unknown friend. She was thrilled by her impressions of a country 'remarkable' for its piety and self-education:

...the people look so good: Friends' dresses, orthodox bonnets, brown gowns, caps white as drive snow. In the poorest cottages you see not only Bibles and expensive biblical commentaries...but books on geology, astronomy, or mathematics. (Hankin 1858: 92)

Her descriptions of industrial and religious life in Cornwall exemplify two sides of her make-up she was later to attribute to her parents—as techno-scientific observer; and as a Quaker—recently turned Moravian—moved with nostalgia among her own people.

Her account of tin mining, the Weare Fox family business, was written like a paper for the Lunar Society. It began with an overview of the 169 mines in Cornwall, the great ones of Dolcooth and Botallack, and of Huel Abraham, two hundred and forty fathoms deep. But her principal concerns were with the character and conditions of the men who depended on mining for their livelihood, in some cases 1400 of them employed in a single mine. She drew up a list of the occupational dangers they ran from: collapsing stones that might immure; explosions of fire damp; subterranean flooding from hidden springs; accidents from blasting; and 'a hundred other things'. All these, she observed, made religion no half-hearted observance, but an essential support in their lives ('the Cornish man's religion is a religion not of cant, but of spirit and truth'). She was struck by the technical knowledge the miner acquired to survive:

...the miner is paid by the piece, and the same quantity of work is done with a very different degree of labour, according to the rock he has to penetrate. He is thus led to exercise his mind to gain a knowledge, both of mineralogy and mechanics, to form a probable idea of the rocks he will have to encounter, their mode of succeeding each other &c. Hence they become acute, discerning, and well-informed. They generally work in the mine six hours at a time; they put on a flannel dress, in which they work, and when they come up again 'to grass' as they call it, they strip it off, bathe, and put on a clean suit. (Hankin 1858: 94-95)

The account included a description of the Camon Stream Works, where instead of mining for tin, workers directed streams of water to wash deposits of it they called 'Loose tin', which lay on the surface, down the hillside.

Her religious observations were more personal. She marvelled at the vitality of Quakerism in Cornwall. She attended the Friends' Monthly Meeting at Marazion near Penzance, and witnessed how the party of Barclays and Foxes she joined 'seemed half to fill this little meeting House' and how '(their)...neatness and nicety of dress formed a touching contrast to the rusticity of the place' (Hankin 1858: 103). But her feelings were bittersweet... She was moved to be among her relatives declaring, 'I can never look on the face of a Barclay, without feeling that sort of love which we do to a tree or cot, which we remember as part of the

scenery of our childhood' (Hankin 1858: 111). But, as the Meeting continued, through the open door she caught sight of the graves beyond, and was reminded of people she had known who had died and been buried there since her previous visit. When she returned to Falmouth to the Quaker rituals of Fox family life, with its backdrop of children's laughter, communal game playing and seaside expeditions, she remembered her own childhood, and the mother from whom she had become estranged, who had died a decade before.⁹ This visit to Falmouth, then, was one of nostalgic delight and remembered loss. The tug of conflicting emotions made her take to heart the comment of a companion she named as 'E.P.':

Thou must beware of Falmouth; for all who inhales Falmouth air become Friends, if they were not so; and turn zealous Friends, if they were not so... (Hankin 1858: 113)

For thirty years afterwards Schimmelpenninck continued to visit Cornwall, a period during which the Fox children grew up and she came to know Caroline and her sister, Anna Maria, both of whom were precocious in their cultural interests, and later developed eminent, literary connections. Caroline's journals record the sisters' friendship, contact and correspondence with Lamb, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle and Sterling (Harris 1944; Fox 1972). She also provides rare glimpses of Schimmelpenninck in later life that depict her as more outgoing than she appears in her own writings. One such recollection was of a discussion in 1842 between the two of them on the relative merits of Catholicism and Protestantism:

A charming visit from M.A. Schimmelpenninck who looks bright, handsome and active... Mrs Schimmelpenninck would define the principle of Roman Catholicism as Belief, that of Protestantism as Examination, and a just mixture of the two she conceives to be the true article... She talked with a good deal of poetical truth on Quakerism, and she loves the conventual effect of our costumes. (Fox 1882: 167-68)

Five years later Fox described a return visit to the Schimmelpennincks in Bristol, again portraying an expansive figure, far removed from the inhibited teenager seen in her youthful memoirs:

A visit to M.A. Schimmelpenninck: symbolic as ever, and teeming with imaginative Facts. She is a very genial person, so alive to the beauty of all Religious Faith, however widely diverse. She spoke of having suffered from an indiscriminate theological education; it has made it hard for her to connect herself decidedly with any special body, and thus, she thinks, has checked her usefulness. (Fox 1882: 215)

Schimmelpenninck's close relationship with the Foxes continued until her death in 1858 which Caroline Fox entered in her diary, recording her dying words as, 'Oh! I hear such beautiful voices, and the childrens' are the loudest' (Fox 1889: 308).

TOURING AS FAMILY CULTURE

Travel and tourism were not just a means of dynastic bonding; for the Galtons, they were a cultural ritual with educational content. The sights and stays of journeys were parental texts for expanding their children's knowledge of the arts and sciences. On Schimmelpenninck's first holiday in Tenby, aged nine, her family had rented a house near the North Cliff shore where her father organised plant- and shell-collecting expeditions, and delivered mini-lessons in marine biology:

...there was a little bay full of ledges and fragments of rocks, half-covered with seaweed and splashes of salt-water... In these little splashes we placed all the various Sea-anemones, and Murices, Patellae, and other Mollusca which we collected, and we loved to watch and tend them. My father would point out to us the various appliances which were given to the different species. The Pholas, with its delicate thin shell, yet boring through the rock; the Limpet, with its protecting shield; the soft Medusa, with its power of stinging; and the Cuttle-fish, with its contrivance for concealment. All these things sank deeply through my mind into my heart... (MAS 1858: 63)

Though marginalised as an unimportant member of the Lunar Society (Reilly 1997: 198), Galton belonged to the Royal Society and the Linnaean Society, and, like his friend Joseph Priestley, kept his own scientific collections at Barr to which he hurried home each afternoon after mornings at the gun factory. He wrote children's books on birds and quadrupeds (Galton 1786–1789 and 1801),¹⁰ and had boundless curiosity in the physical world that made him seek to turn the Welsh shoreline into an educational adventure park:

...everything around furnished new materials for knowledge and for scientific exploration, all of which we entered into with the greatest zest by my father's help. Well I remember how I used to sit for hours to watch the alternations of the ocean, sometimes as a placid lake, sometimes with its regular thundering billows, or its crested waves rushing on like horses with their manes flying in the wind. (MAS 1858: 63)

Her mother was no less informed in natural history, but inclined more to history and literature. An accomplished linguist who spoke six languages, she read classical literature in Greek and Latin, quoted from canonical French and Italian writers, and knew the history of English literature from its Anglo-Saxon origins. At Tenby while Samuel Galton discoursed on marine life, Lucy Galton drew her daughter's attention to the gothic effects of dark caverns in the cliff, the remains of dismantled fortifications and told stories of Queen Philippa of Hainault and Oliver Cromwell.

Her parents also visited urban destinations where commerce and industry were the lessons of the hour. A business trip to Liverpool with her father produced impressions and reflections that permanently affected her understanding of the city and her parents. She was initially dazzled by the scale and grandeur of the port itself with its standing lines of tall masts and the exotic diversity of the goods arriving and being unloaded, especially those from West Indies. She and her

family fought their way through crowded streets, where, she commented, ‘everything bore the aspect of energy, business, and successful traffic...’ From the outside the houses of successful merchants looked like palaces and, inside these impressions were not dispelled. But a dismaying factor behind the Babylonian ostentation gradually became clear to her—evidences of slavery:

I was amazed to see the sumptuous drawing-rooms, rich with satin and silk, in houses where there was no library, and at the large assemblage of gaily-dressed and jewelled visitors, many of whom seemed to think that books were as much a superfluity as the great Pascal esteemed brooms and towels. But what surprised me most in the aspect of Liverpool was the multitude of black servants, almost all of whom had originally been slaves; this deeply moved my compassion, and when I saw the table laden with West India produce, in its various forms of fruit and sweetmeats, and saw the black servants looking on at the produce of a land, their native home, which they had left for us, and of which they might not partake, my heart often ached. (MAS 1858: 290)

The visit confirmed in her a resolution never to taste anything made with sugar, or to use other West Indian commodities.

The other revelation in Liverpool was not about the place, but her view of her mother and father as teachers. All through the journey her father kept up a running commentary on everything he regarded of interest—the scenery, the varied effects of light, atmosphere, and colouring, the beauty of the trees, architecture and the mechanics of locomotion:

...the results of different systems of cultivation in the country through which we passed, the plans of road-making, and their respective merits;...he always observed the rate of driving, and the comparative speed of horses in summer and winter, as well as at different hours of the day. (MAS 1858: 293)

This blitz of practical information was one that had annoyed her in the past, particularly when interrupting the livelier tales of her mother; or when the enjoyment of beautiful scenery had been broken by his determined counting of foot-falls of horses or the intervals between mile-stones. Yet, the Liverpool journey made her reflect much later on the virtues of both—the romantic idealism of her mother, and her father’s empirical habits. She imagined the differences between them as a binary contrast: if her mother told stories of ‘calamities bravely borne, self-sacrifices nobly achieved’, her father focused, instead, on the, ‘ingenuity of intellectual resource by which they might be mitigated or averted, the presence of mind, or science, or ingenious evasion, by which they light be turned aside’. Recognising this truth about her parents she regarded as a kind of new maturity and one that was a highpoint of the visit:

My visit to Liverpool contributed an entirely new element to my individuality, as well as a new development of my organisation of form and colour... The most pleasing part of my Liverpool journey was the aspect in which it placed my father... How much reason I have since had to be thankful to (him) for many little details of information which he was...the means of my picking up. It is true my mind seemed more elevated and expanded, as it delighted itself in the beauty of my dear mother’s

conversation; yet, on the other hand, the accurate knowledge imparted by my father, if it did not equally awake the heart yet furnished the intelligence with stores for the practical utilities of life. Knowledge is the treasury from which we are enabled to supply our own wants and those of others; but knowledge can never be available unless it be definite and accurate. How I have ever increasingly felt the importance and value of this habit of accuracy in my father! (MAS 1858: 292-94)¹¹

Family culture acquired through travel included notions of personal behaviour, including the etiquette of being a good guest. In 1798 Schimmelpenninck made the first of several visits to Mrs Barbauld at Hampstead, an author she had admired from childhood and was to collaborate with on an educational pamphlet that was never published (McCarthy 2005: 495). It was one of several literary friendships she was to form among a dissenting group of 'blue stocking' female writers that included Hannah More, Mrs Hamilton and Maria Edgeworth. To prepare her for the month-long visit her mother wrote her a letter on the niceties of writing 'thank-you' letters that reached her while she was travelling down to London:

Be sure not to defer writing a letter of acknowledgments to Mrs. Barbauld. If there be a difficulty in writing it, remember how much that difficulty will be increased by delay. Do not let these acknowledgments be contained in a note, nor let the coldness of the manner undo the effect of the thanks you mean to express. Write a letter, therefore, and not a note, and write a sheet full. A note of thanks, whatever the words may be, can express only this — 'I have obtained from you all the advantages I hoped; I have acquitted myself according to the rules of etiquette; and so now I have done with you'. Write a letter, therefore, upon different subjects, and so expressed that she may perceive your heart, as well as your head, to have been interested by her attentions; and that you not only think, but that you feel, justly. (Hankin 1858: 7-8)

If this was admirable counsel there were other times when her mother's advice was more questionable in its effects. On a later trip to Bath Schimmelpenninck received a letter en route which had a profound effect on her behaviour for years to come. It began with cautionary advice, worthy of a Jane Austen mother, on dealing with men during the predatory rounds of Bath party life:

...I hope that, if a great many young gentlemen resort to the house in the Crescent, you will learn how to behave upon such occasions; not to do too much or too little; not to lay aside established forms, or to practise the starched prude. If young men are present, talk to them as much as you please, but always sit in the circle with the ladies. (Hankin 1858: 10-11)

It then moved to broader rules of conversation and self-disclosure that were not just for Bath, but for her 'whole journey through the world':

Above all things, enter into no investigations with anybody; no abstruse speculations, no referring to principles in common conversation, unless your opinion be asked; and then give it clearly once; but make no effort to maintain or enforce it, unless some wise and older person lead the way to an argument; and then put an end to it as soon as you can with a jest. Say, 'I must beg to be excused from going on, lest you should be convinced by my reasons, which I see you don't like to adopt': or say, 'I am afraid of going on, lest I should be convinced by yours, and so

give up the triumph to my adversary'. Talk about matters of fact. Surely there are follies enough in the world to supply conversation, without referring to reason upon every occasion. Expatiate upon the weather, upon the journey, upon the fashions, upon the faces of people you see; in short, upon all you see or hear, *but say very little about what you think, and take care to think as little as you can help...* (Hankin 1858: 11, italics added)

In later life Schimmelpenninck bitterly regretted her mother's counsel of reticence and her attempt to follow it. It had, she thought, made her inhibited, insensitive to others and unsympathetic in the social distance she kept in some company.¹²

THE NEW FASHION FOR UK TOURISM

A significant part of the Galtons' touring had no higher purpose. It was modish hedonism—their enjoyment of a new kind of recreational fashion for family touring. The second half of the eighteenth century saw the decline of the Grand Tour, which had been a male-only quest for classical and renaissance culture in continental Europe, and the development of a less gendered tourism that was focused, not mainly on abroad, but on the pleasures of one's own country. This 'discovery of Britain' (Moir 1952) was stimulated by the growth of antiquarian researches, disseminated in journals like the 'Gentleman's Magazine' and in county histories (Evans 1956), which had grown for more than a century, and continued to do so. It was also due to developing aesthetic ideologies of the Picturesque (Hussey 1926; Andrews 1989) and Sublime (Monk 1935; Nicholson 1963) which fostered popular interest in landscape on a scale unknown in the past. It was also due to political contingency—the fact that for much of the period from 1789 to 1815 the continent, and the seas that linked Britain to it, was a Napoleonic war zone. Tourism was therefore diverted into safer places at home, stimulating new tastes for England's landscape, history and heritage, as well as opening up Ireland, Wales and particularly Scotland to tourists for the first time (Seaton 1998: 13).

But at first there was uncertainty among some of tourism's recruits about what things one should see, and how one should see to them. The journals of John Byng, Lord Torrington, describing his tours in England, Wales and Scotland between 1781 and 1794 provide a candid and fascinating picture of a man who freely confessed himself a *tourist*, not some learned antiquarian or member of the cognoscenti. He loved journeying with his wife or male friends, but was frequently at a loss as to exactly what he should be looking for, and how he should feel about it (Byng 1934–1938: *passim*). Gradually, through guide books and the hearsay of social networking, the rules of fashionable sightseeing became known. They were about culture chasing: encounters with history and national heritage; admiring ecclesiastical architecture and ruins, especially those of monasteries and castles; enjoyment of inland landscapes; and genteel performances at new 'watering places'. The places that offered them were traditional spa towns, historic county towns, rural landscapes and seaside resorts, including Brighton, Buxton, Cambridge, Cheltenham, Lichfield, Matlock, Oxford and Tenby, Tunbridge Wells, Tewkesbury and Bath, which was an annual ritual for many.

The Galtons hardly needed guidebooks. Their general knowledge of history, geography and natural science gave them a cultural wherewithal shared with other great dissenting families who had prospered industrially. Most of the canonical destinations appear in Schimmelpenninck's memoirs, and surviving family letters in the Galton archive of Birmingham Library were written, or read, on the road, in hotels and inns. This is Lucy Galton writing to her youngest son, Howard:

(I) ...expected to have concluded this letter at Lichfield—and to have related there, all the wonders of our journey. To please Mrs Darwin, however, instead of writing we wander'd in to the Close, to see Sachaverell's house. Not a creature was there, to open the door—we open'd a window instead and look'd in. It is a dismal place. The Cathedral is more tempting, and we walk'd through it. Have you ever seen Lichfield Cathedral?—It contains a pathetic Monument which is saying a great deal. I had no idea before, that sympathy could be executed by mere Marble. Tell me what Buildings, and Cathedrals, and Tombs you have seen! (Birmingham Ms. 3101/C/D/10/6/73)

In the same letter her husband had crammed around the edges his own marginal notes on sightseeing:

We lodged at Tewkesbury on Sunday—and on Wednesday at Gloucester. I visited the Prison which is built on Howard's Plan. From Gloucester instead of going to Newport we went to Berkeley Castle where poor Edward 2 was murdered. The Castle is...in a rich level country. It has not the Grandeur of Warwick Castle. (Birmingham Ms. 3101/C/D/10/6/73)

Touring, whether for pleasure or instruction, became a Galton family tradition, a form of generational continuity for a century to come. From the mid-eighteenth century until the late nineteenth, the same British destinations that Schimmelpenninck visited recur in family conversations, memoirs and correspondence. Her mother Lucy reminisced to her daughter about her own girlhood trips to Bath in the 1760s when they visited in the 1780s. Her unpublished letters to her youngest son, John Howard, in the 1800s include many from English resorts; and the recently published memoirs of her niece, Elizabeth Anne Galton, who lived until 1903, indicate that the same tourism rituals survived during her lifetime (Morriet 2003).

Schimmelpenninck described how the passion for tourism within the Galton family led Lucy Galton to invent a 'fantasy travel' game for them. It was played by pretending father and brothers were travelling with their servant on the continent, through Holland, France, Switzerland, Italy and Germany. After tea each day a letter from one of them would be read aloud at Barr, recounting 'the incidents on the road and sights they had seen'. The letter had, of course, been written by Lucy, and her audience had to guess from its style and content whom it was from. The combination of make-believe adventures and the comedy of listening to caricatured versions of father's, brothers' and servant's discursive mannerisms provoked great amusement:

...How earnestly did we long for the tea-bell, and how many conjectures did we form as to whom the letter would be from, and whence it would be written: some of us hoping for the accurate information of a letter from 'Papa', others longing for the lively and witty descriptions of my brother, sometimes in verse, and sometimes in prose; some wishing, and others not quite wishing, for the more erudite and classical epistles of the tutor, and others delighting in the amusement of the man-servant's impressions, in letters to his mother and fellow servants. (MAS 1858: 324-25)

Schimmelpenninck believed the game was the inspiration for Priscilla Wakefield's geographical texts for children, with their conversational formats.¹³ In fact her mother had herself copied the game's basic conceit—of multiple tour narrators giving different versions of the same holiday events—from Anstey's *New Bath Guide*. This comic work in anapaestic verse had been a best seller in 1760, and remained in print until the 1820s. It was hugely influential in making anapaestic verse a generic default mode for poems satirising tourism (Seaton 2015, in press). Lucy Galton's adaptation of the genre as a family game was an original way of reinforcing the middle-class, Quaker tradition of encouraging children to keep journals, one legacy of which was the abundance of autobiographical materials left behind by the Gurneys and Foxes, though not, alas, by Schimmelpenninck.¹⁴

If most Galton touring was reciprocated consumption, it was sometimes an opportunity for small or large acts of Quaker charity. Once, when setting out by coach for Bath with her father, Schimmelpenninck remembered how they overtook a poor woman toiling up the road in the midday heat, carrying one child in her arms, with another following behind. Her father and she immediately got out of the carriage and gave up their seats until the top of the hill had been reached. Larger acts of charity consisted in hosting distant relatives and even strangers for what would today seem insupportable lengths of time. One long-term guest of the Galtons was 'Cousin Sally', who was 'no cousin at all'. The family had first befriended her when her own fell on hard times, and thereafter she annually went on tour to different pseudo-relatives. A woman of 'natural delicacy and refinement, as well as benevolence and knowledge of household economics', she became a family friend, and spent 'several months together' with other Quaker families, despite having no discernible blood or religious connections to them.

A greater instance of charity was that of the couple Schimmelpenninck's aunt and uncle, Sir David and Lady Watson, befriended one rainy night after a theatre visit. They had met them inside and found that the man was a chronic invalid. When the performance was over the couple could not find a cab so the Watsons offered to drive them home in their carriage but found their address was a great distance away, so instead invited them back to their own house. The couple stayed for a year (1858: 107-108). But even this did not approach the twenty year stay their daughter, Priscilla, made later with Richard Reynolds in Ironbridge.

REFLECTIONS, EPIPHANIES, SELF-REVELATIONS

The effect of the nightly self-examinations she was encouraged to engage in as a child with her pious mother made Schimmelpenninck a habitual introvert, reflecting on her own behaviour and that of others in her journals. The novelties of place and people during journeys were a frequent stimulus to introspection, and her recurrent attempts to define her perceptions and, on occasion, draw general truths from them, give her travelogues a density that exceeds that of many others. A characteristic instance is her account of her first and later impressions of the journey to Malvern, which began as ones of spontaneous wonder, but later changed in nature to a different kind of appreciation:

I have been much struck, on seeing the same view in after life, at the difference of impression produced by the various degrees of intelligence with which any object is looked at. As a child I felt the exhilaration of the light and free air, and the vastness of the expanse of the party-coloured landscape, but that was all. *How different did it appear to me when it became a living picture instinct with memories of the past and with historic association!* In addition to the pleasure occasioned by the scene in early years, when the towers of Worcester, Gloucester, and Evesham, the battle-fields of Tewkesbury and Worcester, and the agricultural and saintly labours of St. Theocus [*sic*] now arose upon my view, they told a continued tale, and suggested an unceasing flow of ideas and feelings... (MAS 1858: 59–60, italics added)

This analysis concluded with a general maxim about the mind's response to new experience:

This little incident has taught me a lesson, that in education it is not only necessary to place new objects before the sight, but to furnish the mind rightly to see them. (MAS 1858: 60)

Malvern was to remain a cherished memory. Not long before she died she attempted to re-visit it, but the trip had to be curtailed due to her failing health. It was to be her last important journey.

If the impact of many experiences away from home were ones that could be regulated by rational reflection, and ordered as opportunities for gaining useful or entertaining information, others were more destabilising in their emotional and spiritual force. Schimmelpenninck's memoirs were unusual in their time, and are still remarkable, for their account of revelatory moments that appeared from nowhere as turning points that left permanent traces in her psychological development. These were occasions when the gothic intruded into mundane life; when the sacred suddenly turned profane; and when persons or places she thought she knew came to be seen in different lights. Some of these transformative experiences happened on holiday, and challenge common preconceptions that tourism is trivial in its phenomenological effects. An early instance was the intrusion of gothic effects during the Tenby holiday, already described as a seaside natural history class. Her family had arrived there by night in the dark and when she awoke next morning Schimmelpenninck hardly knew where she was:

...I could not distinguish the sea from the sky, and the ships appeared sailing amongst the clouds... Everything was new, mysterious, and striking to the imagination, and all these impressions were developed by my dear mother, *who had an intense feeling of the sublime, whether in its effulgent brightness, its magnificent gloom, or its awful mysterious terror.* (MAS 1858: 61–62, italics added).

This gothic intimation was later accentuated by a more sensational encounter when Schimmelpenninck and her mother went walking by the sea. This was:

...the sudden appearance from behind a ledge of rock, of a woman, tall and gaunt, in a tattered dress of scarlet, and with two pistols in a belt which she wore round her waist... The woman waived her long arm as she perceived us, and addressing us, said (I will not answer for the words,) ‘The sea is beautiful, the sun is glorious, the earth is glorious; but man upon it is false, false, false’. And then she burst into a wild, hollow laugh, and strode majestically away. (MAS 1858: 65)

Next day they made inquiries about the identity of the ‘imposing eccentric’—who might have been a precursor of John Fowles’s ‘French Lieutenant’s Woman’ or one of Wordsworth’s dislocated, rural outcasts—but with no result:

We learnt that no one knew who this woman was, or whence she came; that for years she was accustomed to wander about Tenby and its vicinity; that her habits were solitary, her destitution apparently extreme; that she never begged, and her carriage and manner were above her present condition... (MAS 1858: 65–66)

These gothic memories of Tenby resonate with what was to be a leitmotif in Schimmelpenninck’s growth brought about by the implicit contradictions in her upbringing by the ‘dear mother’ with an intense feeling for manifestations of the sublime, but whose religious beliefs required her to repudiate many of them. Lucy Galton was both a principled Quaker, devout in her observances and commitment to values of peace, truth and quietness; but she was also a romantic with an imaginative attraction to the extraordinary, the terrible and the dangerous that was a gothic feature of her times. Her problem was to reconcile the two facets of her make-up in teaching her children. She did so by holding to Quaker distinctions between truth and falsity, ‘being’ not ‘seeming’. In literary terms they meant the distinction between fiction and non-fiction. This allowed her to hold her children spellbound with factual stories of sensational disasters and horrors: battles, historic murders, earthquakes, the volcanoes of Herculanium and Pompeii (‘with a whole history of their catastrophe’). But she excluded and proscribed all fictions, particularly the sensation novels that were fashionable at the time, and even the *Arabian Nights* (MAS 1858: 11). Her daughter rightly detected the repressed fascination beneath the fatwa on fiction, and later felt the banning of *Arabian Nights* had been a step too far. A taste for the Gothic never left either Schimmelpenninck or her mother, and became a looked-for element in travel, travellers’ tales and family anecdote.¹⁵ In her letters to her youngest son, John Howard, away at school, Lucy Galton never missed an opportunity to thrill and chill. Writing to him from Brighton when he was only eight, she delighted to tell him of a gentleman’s footman who fell over a cliff near Cottingdean, ‘horse and all’. In another

letter she gave him a horrific report, while staying in Dawlish, of the little boy from Plymouth, whose horse ran away with him while his foot was caught in a stirrup:

...his head was torn off, and his legs were torn off—and his poor Papa and Mama were obliged to leave the place where they lived, as they could never bear to see it more. (Letter from Lucy Galton to John Howard Galton, BCL, Nov. 14, 1804)

Her mother was not the only source of gothic travellers' tales. Schimmelpenninck retold, in her memoirs, Joseph Priestley's story of how Lord Shelburne's son—for whom he was tutor at Bowood House—had fallen ill and told his doctor of a dream he had had in which he witnessed his own funeral in Wycombe Church. When the doctor returned to Bowood a few days later he saw the young man running to meet him, apparently fully recovered, but as he drew near he suddenly vanished. The doctor arrived at the door of Bowood to be told that his patient had died the day before (MAS 1858: 86–89). Schimmelpenninck's account was included many years later in a Victorian anthology on haunted country houses (Ingram 1888: 20–21).

Gothic encounters were not the only destabilising effects of travel and touring. Bath, that apparent repository of quotidian party life, supplied three incidents that, for Schimmelpenninck, were remembered as instances of epiphany and revelation. The context of the first was the trauma of Christmas Day 1787 when her mother was suddenly taken ill with an undisclosed illness. Erasmus Darwin, then her doctor, prescribed absolute peace and rest. A house was rented for her away from Barr in a quiet corner of Birmingham, leaving Schimmelpenninck alone in grief-stricken uncertainty for several months. In the spring of 1788 news came that her mother was much improved and would join her family in Bath. Her daughter's joy was unconfined. 'The prospect of seeing my mother', she wrote, 'seemed like life from the dead'. In fact, she did not see as much of her mother as she had expected, but enough to be reassured about her health. Released from anxiety, she began to enjoy her first impressions of Bath, marvelling at the carnival atmosphere, heightened that year by centenary celebrations of the Glorious Revolution. The Boudainesque kaleidoscope of colour, movement and fashion dazzled her:

...the vast ever shifting throng of gaily dressed company, was to me a scene of enchantment. The beautiful green-house plants or artificial flowers at all the doors of approach to the Pump Room, and the silver balls to attract flies completely dazzled me...not a lady was to be seen without streaming-orange-coloured ribbons, or gentlemen without rosettes of the same in their button-holes. Besides this, balloons were at that time just come into vogue, and everybody wore balloon bonnets with magnificent ostrich feathers; and what appeared to me indescribably beautiful, were the ample muffs and long tippets, and fur linings, of the silken Angora's goat's hair. (MAS 1858: 80)

But the rapture was doused by Quaker concern about being taken in by such displays of pleasure seeking and ostentation, a doubt she attempted to allay by distinguishing between the people involved and the aesthetic effect of the scene:

It is remarkable that while in each individual person ornament in dress appeared to me so contemptible, yet this vast moving assemblage only struck me with enchantment, like a bed of beautiful flowers; *the whole scene became to me a thing—I thought not of the persons composing it... It was as a brilliant picture in which the whole tone of colouring was raised, and glowing with rich and varied tints.* (MAS 1858: 80, italics added)

Delights of the ‘Passing Show’ in Bath were on future occasions dimmed when she visited the Abbey to be overtaken by weightier Quaker reflections on life and death, and perhaps, a touch of indulgence in Gothic melancholy:

How often...as a child, my heart felt the striking contrast between the gay scene below, and the quiet venerable abbey, rising in stillness in the midst and towering far above it!... How strongly did I feel the contrast between the gaiety of the careless throng who entered, and the stillness of the dead, and of the sepulchral monuments around. (MAS 1858: 81)

Her most enduring encounter at Bath was with the Moravian Brotherhood, the sect which she later joined. She had first become aware of ‘the Brethren’ in a previous, gothic encounter on an evening walk near the woods of Lord Dynevor’s Park at Llandilo. On a hillside she saw:

...a simple funeral procession, preceded by some wind instruments, with which voices sweetly blended. The procession was habited in white, and the coffin covered with a white pall, on which were affixed, in large characters, a few Scripture texts. I remember these amongst them: ‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord’. ‘Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints’. (MAS 1858: 61)

As they drew nearer her mother told her that Moravians called dying ‘going home’ and gave thanks, and sang praises, rejoicing in those departing.

The more fateful, second encounter came near the end of a family stay in Bath. Her parents and their party were about to join festivities in the Pump Room, when their daughter was suddenly overcome with revulsion. She withdrew to Hazard’s, a well-known Bath bookshop, to wait for them alone. There among the books she fell into depressive reflections on the value of endless knowledge without settled faith and belief:

I dwelt on my own ignorance, and the deep unhappiness of my soul, till I became regardless of all around; for I was in a state of wretchedness which makes one indifferent to observation; and I wept bitterly. (Hankin 1858: 22)

In her distress she was approached by a stranger, a young woman she later knew as Elizabeth Tucker, a ‘labouress’ in the Moravian church. Through her gentleness of manner, Schimmelpenninck recovered herself, and the two parted with no plans to meet again. Later that week her parents decided, on doctor’s advice that, for her health, Mary-Anne should remain in Bath and move into lodgings to convalesce. On arrival in Green Park Buildings, the address recommended to her family, she was astonished to find that it was a Moravian shelter and Miss Tucker was one of the resident community. Through joint Bible reading they began a relationship that would last until she became a member of the church in 1818. The religion was to transform her life, influence her literary work and ended only with her death and burial in the Moravian Burial Ground in Bristol in 1856.

TOURING, SOCIAL COMPARISON
AND THE MORAL ECONOMY OF HOUSES

One of the effects of visiting and staying with other people is awareness of differences in their life spaces and lifestyles. Homes, in anthropological terms, enunciate contrasts between the territories of 'self' and 'other'. Schimmelpenninck's trips away made her reflect often on the hermeneutics of domesticity—the architecture, interior design and furnishings of houses, and the social life within them. She interpreted them on a sliding scale of Bunyanesque allegory. At one end were high scores for their conformity to Quaker ideals of simplicity, truth and considered conduct; at the other were black marks for appearances of indulgence, ostentation and 'unwatchfulness'. The scale was applied to the main houses in her memoirs (Barr, Falmouth, Earlham, Liverpool), and its effects can be exemplified in the contrasts she made between two of those she knew best—her grandfather's idyllic, but doomed, estate at Duddeston in Birmingham; and Seagrove House, one of the houses of the Watsons, her uncle and aunt.

Duddeston was a country house with thirteenth-century origins inherited by Schimmelpenninck's grandfather, Samuel Galton the elder, from his brother. There he lived in Arcadian retirement, removed from the working life of an arms dealer, among his animals, greenhouse plants and a five acre lake (Beale 1895: 145). The 'greatest and the sweetest visits of her childhood', Schimmelpenninck claimed, were taken there, where her grandfather took her walking and showed her bees in their glass hives, and where the willows suddenly broke to the sound of birds' wings erupting from the waters of the lake:

Water-fowl, of all descriptions, rose from their coverts, and hurried towards us: the heavy Muscovy ducks, sheldrakes. Burrow ducks from the Severn, sea-gulls, Canada and Cape and tall Peruvian geese, and the little moor-hen and teal, half-sailing, half-flying, with six majestic swans, all drew near to be fed. How well do I remember my grandfather then saying to me, 'Thou canst not do much good, and canst feed but a very few animals; yet how pleasant it is to do even that! God, the Father of all, opens His hand, and all His creatures on the face of the wide earth are filled with good. How blessed is He!' (MAS 1858: 9)

At Duddeston the elder Samuel Galton was able to secure a tranquillity that had eluded him in his business life on occasions, when angry workmen had broken his windows or chanted in protest at his efforts to engineer wage reductions (Smith 1967: 135–36). But Schimmelpenninck's memories were of a peace that contrasted, she thought, with the 'intellectuality, the brilliance, and the constant mental stimulus of Barr':

I can hardly say how delightful to me was the quiet, the spirit of love and order and peace which characterised his household... All the servants at Dudson,¹⁶ from the butler down to the humblest labourer in the garden, seemed to partake of the influence of the heads of the household. All the habits, all the pursuits and conversation, were tintured by kindness and usefulness; and the spirit of quietude and love... (MAS 1858: 47)

On her grandfather's death Duddeston passed to her father, and on his death in 1832 to Tertius, her brother. By then the development of industrial Birmingham had made inroads into its Arcadian isolation and Duddeston was soon lost and buried, and is today a spectral survival, known only as a district name in walking distance of New Street Station.

Seagrove House in Dawlish was the seaside home of the Watsons, where for the summer of 1788 Schimmelpenninck was put into the custody of her well-meaning socialite aunt and uncle, following her mother's illness. For three months she watched and judged Lady Watson, who spent every morning in bed, as she presided over the welfare and entertainment of a crowded house in which there were few fixed routines. Instead there were the temptations of endless pleasures. She missed the daily instruction, moral conversation and nightly self-examination she had become used to at Barr with her mother, and contrasted it with Lady Watson's cheerful advocacy of pragmatic cynicism in relations with people when she was asked about how to behave towards others:

... 'We live amongst fools; we have to make use of them, to act upon them for their own good and our own; and if they are only to be caught with gold, why we must gild our nets, if we mean to catch them'... For everything, or for every custom in my mother's house, she always gave to her children's 'Why?' a 'Because', emanating from a clear principle; in the case of my aunt, a 'Because' always emerged in some effect to be produced. In the one case, we heard of motives springing from some lofty moral sentiment; in the other, of consequences terminating in some outward effect; the one elevated, the other amused. (MAS 1858: 110-11)

The amusements at Seagrove were prodigal and diverse, particularly the reading on offer to all. Schimmelpenninck described a 'mingled chaos' in which scientific works and the best classical authors rubbed shoulders with a 'pestilential literature' of French memoirs, plays and novels, and where all the novels of Fielding and Smollett 'desecrated the library shelves'. She did not, she claimed, read many of them, yet rated the 'amusement without end they offered' as a source of 'dreamy and baseless visions', which left no 'fixed information', and opened up a void of 'unwatchfulness' (MAS 1858: 124-25).

If the printed word was a corrupting temptation, there were comparable dangers in the moral compass of conversation at the Watsons compared to that at Barr and Duddeston:

I can hardly describe how different was the tone of language at my home and at my aunt Watson's. My mother's praise was, 'It is noble', 'It does not seem, but is';—my father's, 'It is useful'; my grandfather's, 'It is wise'. On the other hand, my aunt Watson's word of praise was, 'It is brilliant';... All the expressions of praise at home were based on a substance; all those at my aunt's on fashion. The one had respect to integrity of material; the other mainly to its skill in manufacture. The conversation at Barr and Dudson was constantly on subjects of intellect, or subjects of utility; on the discrimination of right and wrong; it was always based on principle of some sort; but at my aunt Watson's, it often, indeed, involved objects of benevolence, but

turned chiefly on manners or sentiment, on novels, on admirers, and distresses arising from those entanglements of sentiment or etiquette which Harriette Byron and Evelina so delighted in. (MAS 1858: 117-18)

Yet despite these moralistic reservations she recognised that the pleasures on offer at Seagrove were well meant, and probably no different from those elsewhere. But this did not sway her striking and melodramatic verdict that the diversions of Seagrove were, 'gin palaces of the mind', which laid up for her, she claimed, 'years of misery and wandering from the right road':

When at Seagrove I was like a fly which, entangled in the pot of honey the allurements of which he cannot resist, yet he feels his feet clogged so that he can no longer walk in his way; his wings entangled, that he can no longer soar; his spiracles oppressed, that he can no longer breathe the fresh air... (MAS 1858: 131)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Travel and Touring were important elements in the lives of Mary-Anne Schimmelpenninck, the Galtons and other Quaker families in the long nineteenth century, particularly the early decades. This paper has sketched out some of the dimensions of their visits and suggested the functions and effects they served collectively, personally and religiously. One of the main effects was social. The relations between the Barclays, Galtons, Foxes and Gurneys in the Midlands, London, Cornwall and Norfolk established a network that affirmed and maintained their collective identity when Quakers were gaining in social importance through their industrial success and increasing public visibility.

In addition to its collective significance, touring became a part of the culture of individual families that mixed pleasure with instruction. It provided educational opportunities for imparting to children a bilateral curriculum of traditional and progressive subjects—the humanities on the one hand; science and technology on the other. Instruction came to be taught not just at home and in the schoolroom, but as rational amusement on away days and holidays. These practices in elite industrial families shed possible light on a problem posed in recent historical discourse concerning the Industrial Revolution, namely how scientific knowledge, normally seen as part of a seventeenth-century 'scientific revolution', was transmitted and applied in industrial practice as part of a hypothesised 'Industrial Enlightenment' in the following century (Jones 2008: *passim*). The answer may be that some knowledge transfer was accomplished within communities of industrialist fathers who became self-taught, experimental scientists, and passed on their knowledge and enthusiasm as a legacy to their children in the home and on holiday.

How comparable were the touring experiences of the Galtons to those of other Quaker and dissenting families? Answering the question with any degree of certainty would require systematic, prosopographic comparisons in which bigger, matched samples of the travel behaviour of more families were studied, drawn from a wider range of source materials than this analysis of one person's memoirs.

However, two autobiographical accounts of elite, dissenting life in Birmingham, a generation after Schimmelpenninck, offer suggestive insights into the resemblances and contrasts between travel and touring in succeeding periods.

The first are the memoirs of Schimmelpenninck's niece, Elizabeth Anne Galton, daughter of her brother, Tertius, who converted to Anglicanism (Moilliet 1987). They strikingly resemble those of her aunt in the centrality of family touring and in the itineraries taken. Journeys included networking visits to the same families (the Gurneys, Foxes and Barclays) and pleasure visits to the same places (e.g. Tenby, Malvern, Bath and Matlock etc.), and Tertius Galton, like his father before him, used touring for instructing his children. But Elizabeth Anne evokes a much worldlier, English county lifestyle, a round of elite visiting, hunt balls, name-dropping and, in her father's case, occasional trips to London to present loyal messages to the royal family on public occasions. The family retreated from industrialising Birmingham and took up residence in the new, gentrifying, safe haven of Leamington Spa where local networks of friends and relatives developed:

There were usually about twenty families of relations within fourteen miles of Leamington—many of whom constantly dropped in for lunch. At one time there were as many five different families of Whelers in Leamington, and at the Hunt Ball we usually got up a set of lancers comprised of Whelers and Wises! (Moilliet 2003: 206)

The letters of Catherine Hutton (Beale 1891 and 1895) provide other evidence of the continuities and discontinuities of travel and touring among Birmingham dissenters. She was the daughter of William Hutton, a self-made, Unitarian publisher and Birmingham's first historian, who was a neighbour and friend of Samuel Galton. His daughter was an intellectual dynamo who wrote novels, non-fiction, revised her father's Birmingham history, collected autographs and costume, and once described Quakers as 'the most orderly religionists in this island' (Beale 1895: 119). Her memoirs document a huge appetite for travel and touring, including journeys to the Galton destinations (e.g. Malvern, Buxton, Scarborough, Brighton and Cheltenham). They end with her triumphal summary, at the age of eighty-seven, of her peripatetic addictions:

I have walked much, and danced whenever I had an opportunity. I have ridden much on side-saddle, and a pillion behind a servant. I have ridden into Cumberland, Yorkshire, and the extremity of N and S Wales. I have ridden for 6 months on a handsome donkey—that is daily not during the whole time—and I have ridden in every sort of vehicle, except a wagon, a cart and an omnibus... I have been in 39 counties of England and Wales, twenty six times at London, twenty-one at watering places on the coasts, and five inland... I never was one moment unemployed when it was possible to be doing something. (Beale 1891: 215)

This litany of pleasure on the hoof conspicuously lacks the religious trajectories of Schimmelpenninck's memoirs. For Catherine Hutton and Elizabeth Anne Galton the journeys after religious emancipation were taken less as religious identity and affirmation, and more as status displays and upper middle-class hedonism, that

further assimilated them into English establishment mores, sometimes after adoption of Anglicanism. This defection may have been a small but significant reason for the decline in Quaker numbers between 1800 and 1859 from 20,000 to 15,000 (J.S. Rowntree 1859, in Thompson 1972: 163).

In summary, Schimmelpenninck's memoirs provide a fascinating perspective on the place of travel and touring in elite Quaker life styles at a transitional period in the Friends' history. In addition to its historical significance, Schimmelpenninck's writing is, at its best, original in its self-analysis, its character sketches and in the vivid cameos it provides of the subjective experience of travel and tourism before the age of railways. Her interest in travel and travel writing, including her taste for the gothic and sublime, remained and affected her literary output in ways that she had later, partly, to camouflage in works of history, aesthetics and Moravian polemics (Seaton 2011, 2017).

NOTES

1. Until her marriage in 1806, when she left Birmingham aged 28, to marry Lambert Schimmelpenninck of Bristol, she was known by her maiden name, Mary-Anne Galton. It is, however, as Schimmelpenninck that she became known as a writer, and it is this name by which she will be designated in this article, despite the fact that for most of the period covered in her memoirs it is an anachronism.

2. Samuel Galton had begun life as a Unitarian but became a Quaker when he married Lucy Barclay. The anomaly of a Quaker who was a gun maker was one that he had to defend when summoned by the Birmingham Quakers and threatened with expulsion in 1795. He did so in a published paper in which he argued: that he had inherited a business that had been in his family for 70 years and had had no part in founding; that his business did not mean 'approbation of offensive war'; that the manufacture of arms did not just feed aggression but could be used to support 'civil power', 'prevention of war' and 'preservation of peace'; that devout men in the past had worked in roles that directly or indirectly contributed to the conduct of war. And he added that he might later consider divesting himself of the business, but only in his own time, and not because of admitting any guilt. The matter seems to have been dropped and he continued to practice as a Quaker without further interrogation (Galton 1795).

3. In William Turner's history of Warrington Academy, published in the *Monthly Magazine* between 1813 and 1815, Galton's entry was given as 1765 and he was described as: 'A merchant in Birmingham; a most respectable member of the Society of Friends, and a supporter of every public spirited and literary undertaking; particularly the most active patron and director of the Lancastrian School in Birmingham' (Turner 1957).

4. Travel and Tourism have been defined in many ways. For the purposes of this paper travel denotes movement between places, while tourism will, following a current academic definition, be taken to mean, 'a trip away from one's home and normal place of work involving an overnight stay of not less than one night and not more than a year'. Tourism comprises *three* kinds of trip: one made purely for the purposes of leisure and pleasure; one made for business/occupational purposes; and one made to visit and/or stay with friends and relatives. Examples of all three can be found in Schimmelpenninck's journals.

5. The two parts were originally published in 1858 as two separate books each with its own pagination, though bound in one volume, under the general title of, 'Life of Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck' with Christiana Hankin's name as editor. In later editions they were still published as two parts bound in one, but were continuously paginated as one, under Hankin's name and with the same title. Throughout this paper they will be cited as **two volumes** to

make clear what quoted elements are Schimmelpenninck's own version of her autobiography and what is Hankin's reconstruction. The abbreviated citations are as follows: MAS = The Autobiography, Part 1; Hankin = The Autobiography, Part 2.

6. Ten of the eleven Gurney children kept journals (Whitney 1937: 18).

7. There is a question about the accuracy of Schimmelpenninck's account. Reynolds's grand-daughter, in her memoir and edited collection of his letters, made no mention of Priscilla's stay or the domestic quarters he had created for her, though there is much on his purchase and development of the village of Madeley nearby. The only letter to Priscilla included, written in May 1816, when he was terminally ill and only four months before his death, included an ambiguous comment that may suggest there had been a falling out when Priscilla left. Reynolds, by then a widower, spoke of avoiding feelings of 'apprehended desertion, depression and weakness', that may have referred to her leaving, or been a general expression of isolation in chronic illness (Rathbone 1852: 252-53).

8. In 1782 Madeley contained 440 houses and 560 families. By 1793 it had 754 houses and 851 families. Reynolds had built houses for 'the old and distressed' and leased small plots of land to each person at cheap rates (Rathbone 1852: 44).

9. The reasons for this estrangement are not definitively known but are discussed at length, with their consequences, in Seaton 2017.

10. A scholarly account of Galton's children's books can be found in Allen 2014.

11. Daughters of other members of the Lunar circle received paternal commentaries on their travels. Maria Edgeworth described how her father, '(in) passing through different parts of the country...delighted in showing us, everything curious and interesting in art and nature. Travelling he used to say, was from time to time necessary, to change the course of ideas, and to prevent the growth of local prejudices' (Edgeworth 1844: 393). Anne Boulton was a constant travelling companion with her father, Matthew Boulton, who instructed and educated her in many subjects (Mason 2005: *passim*).

12. The impact of her mother's intense disciplines of self-examination and self-criticism, later rejected by her younger son, Howard, are discussed in Seaton 2017, II.

13. Priscilla Wakefield was a member of the Aiken-Barbauld circle whose work included a series of dramatised geography books for children in the form of imagined tours where the goal was the acquisition of facts about each place.

14. The loss or destruction of most of the materials known to have been written by Schimmelpenninck are discussed in Seaton 2017.

15. This preoccupation with gothic travel was not confined to the long nineteenth century. Anthropological and psychological approaches to modern tourism conceptualise one of its essential motivations as a quest for the 'Other' in encounters with cultures, people and spaces (see Seaton 2009: 75-88).

16. Dudson was a common abbreviation for Duddeston.

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