Chapter 12

Gothic Travels

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Ever since early reviewers of Ann Radcliffe suggested that her descriptions appeared 'to be drawn from personal examination' (Anon. in Rogers 1994: 5), the writing and experience of travel has been an important critical context for Gothic fiction in the Romantic and pre-Romantic periods. Published travelogues are frequently noted as a resource for novelists, providing descriptive set pieces through which to convey settings that are politically and ideologically, as well as geographically, distant and distinct from the contemporary British present (Chard 1986: xix; Davison 2009: 93; Norton 1999: 73). At the same time, travel has been recognised as a characteristic feature of a certain kind of Gothic narrative, in which novelists re-present (accurately or otherwise) the experience of contemporary travel (Moers 1976: 127–8; Bohls and Duncan 2005: xxi; Dekker 2005: 71). Implicit in these connections is a more significant relationship between Gothic and travel-writing: one that enables the interpolation of scenic detail or recognisable experiences, but simultaneously reveals this process to be a more profound feature of the Gothic's place in a contemporary cultural imagination. During the eighteenth century and Romantic period, Gothic novels and travelogues co-existed within a wider print culture. Publishers of Gothic fiction were often also publishers of printed tours, while, by the same token, readers of Gothic fiction were frequently readers of travel narratives. By producing porous texts that incorporated and re-imagined material from contemporary travelogues, Gothic novelists asserted the adjacency of their work within this marketplace; they appealed to the 'discriminating readers' of a 'high status' genre (Watt 1999: 112–3) that was itself a 'quintessential enlightenment production' (Davison 2009: 93). What this means is that travel-writing could locate the Gothic culturally, and not only geographically. The history of this process is a key strand in the Gothic's development.

This chapter surveys the way in which two predominant forms of pre-Romantic and Romantic travel-writing – that is, the literatures of the Grand Tour and Picturesque domestic tourism – responded to the Gothic. It then considers how Gothic novelists incorporated and revised such strategies in the Romantic period, using Ann Radcliffe as an exemplary case study. The chapter concludes with later eighteenth-century and Romantic-period travel-writing that conceived of an experience of travel in which Gothic materials and atmosphere constituted a robust and significant component, following reconceptualisations of travel in the wake of the revolutionary decade of the 1790s. This history begins, in the eighteenth century, with the Grand Tour.

The Grand Tour was, at least ostensibly, an educational voyage across Europe, through which members of the British patrician elite acquired education and acculturation. Its itinerary usually involved a voyage south, culminating in an Italy imaginatively appropriated by the Tour as a kind of cultural 'museum' (Chaney 1998: xi).[1] A paramount example of this approach is offered by Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* (1705), a text that provided to be extremely influential among later travellers and writers.[2] Addison's Italy is archival and textual: a 'great School of Music and Painting', exhibiting 'vast collections of all kinds of antiquities' and pre-inscribed with the prepared collections of classical literature that Addison carries with him, just as later travellers would subsequently carry his *Remarks* (Addison 1705: 'Preface' n.p.). Though the practice of travelling to, and writing about, the Mediterranean could encompass a broad range of approaches and discourses (see Chard 1999), it was a 'classical framework' that defined the Grand Tour for much of the eighteenth century (Sweet 2012: 5–7).

Maintaining this approach meant viewing and recording the Tour's materials and experiences in a highly selective way. Classical remains were to be praised for their capacity to inform and inspire. Addison's Rome, for example, offers 'so spacious a Field of Antiquities, that it is almost impossible to survey them without taking new Hints and raising different reflections' (Addison 1705: 177). Later travellers continued to respond in similar ways, even as some struggled to maintain the appropriate posture of serenely distanced objectivity. Tobias Smollett's *Travels Through France and Italy* (1766), though famously recording his disappointments with the economics of Continental travel,[3] are keen to respond to the Tour's characteristic sites and sights. Smollett's Rome, like Addison's, is anticipated as 'classical ground': an assemblage of

'wonderful edifices, statues, and pictures … so often admired in prints and descriptions' (Smollett 1766: II.2).

This classical focus means that, though travellers' representations of the landscapes and customs of continental Europe may seem like an ideal resource for those novels that would eventually take them as their settings, the reality is not so simple. Elements of the Gothic – or what would eventually become associated with the Gothic imagination – are present (see Demata 2006: 4–5) but their recognition by travellers is carefully and strategically mediated. In contrast to the later preoccupations of the Gothic novel, recognition of medieval materials on the Tour is conspicuously absent (Sweet 2012: 236) and travellers developed rhetorical conventions for managing the medieval or 'Gothic' elements they did encounter. These included the markers of Catholicism (see Buzard 2002: 40), whose influence, for Addison, is politically pervasive and pernicious, leaving 'a country half unpeopled' through superstition that 'shuts up in cloisters such an incredible multitude' who 'lie as a dead weight on their fellow subjects' (Addison 1705: 183). This language is already invested with a Gothic character, associating incarceration with the sinister presence of inert, 'dead' bodies. Little anxiety is generated here, however, as the traveller's superior education and experience serve to distance him from such markers. Indeed, presented in this way, the effects of Catholicism are less suggestive of malign agency than of political and economic weakness. Addison accordingly looks past such content, situating it as little more than a faint screen between him and his actual objects. At Rome, for example, supposed Catholic 'antiquities' are 'so embroiled with fable and legend' (Addison 1705: 176) that they pale in comparison with the older materials Addison has come to see.

This is not to say the Grand Tour had no influence on the genesis of the Gothic novel. From 1739 to 1741, Horace Walpole took the Tour, and his experiences may have influenced *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) (see Williams 2006), the first Preface to which presents a playfully deferred link to Italy. *Otranto*'s supposed manuscript source, we are told, has existed at one time in the Mediterranean – 'being printed at Naples' in 1529 – but it reaches the reader via 'the library of an ancient Catholic family in the north of England' (Walpole 1998: 5, 8). Its transcriber was an Italian priest, yet its translator is an English gentleman. This displaying of the stages in *Otranto*'s location and transmission keeps its supposed Italian origin resolutely in view whilst playfully highlighting the means by which this origin is deferred.

This is particularly significant in view of the fact that Walpole was an unashamedly unconventional Grand Tourist. His letters, for instance, assert the triviality and inadequacy of the Tour's conventions: 'making catalogues' of sights and sites is 'a vile employment', and Walpole seems to remain highly critical of the literary institution that he refuses to join. His description of Florence flouts the traditional emphasis on the acculturating potential of the Tour's materials, along with Addison's well-known praise: 'I have made no discoveries in ancient or modern arts. Mr Addison travelled through the poets, and not through Italy … He saw places as they were, not as they are' (Walpole 1948: XIII.231). This scepticism towards the Tour's conventional postures extends to its characteristic treatment of 'Gothic' materials. At Bologna, for example, Walpole writes that 'now and then we drop in at a procession, or a High Mass, hear the music, enjoy a strange attire, and hate the foul monkhood' (Walpole 1948: VXIII.102–3). This customary ire for the representatives of Catholicism comes across as exactly that: a convention, its vitriol winkingly out of step with the pleasure of spectatorship and play that precedes it.

Walpole's travels thus sit intriguingly alongside the tradition that they refuse to join. Just as the masks that Walpole wears as the author of *Otranto* both recall and hide his own status as a traveller in Italy, the epistolary record of that tour implies that Grand Tourism itself might be a kind of performance in costume. The first Gothic novel thus looks askance at the travelogues that accompanied it in the eighteenth-century marketplace, as if providing an alternative outlet for content that ought to be suppressed as part of the Tour's performance. Meanwhile, a different form of tourism was developing back in Britain, one in which the Gothic was rapidly moving from the peripheries of travel to the centre of a hugely popular print-culture phenomenon.

Overlapping and partly succeeding Continental travel in the latter part of the eighteenth century was the development of the Picturesque tour. Its chief proponent was William Gilpin, whose series of 'picturesque' *Observations* on different parts of Britain went through multiple editions with various publishers throughout the 1780s and 1790s. Gilpin's Picturesque is a new aesthetic category, supposedly conjoining the Sublime and the Beautiful by privileging roughness and irregularity within a coherent frame, and capable, by definition, of being reproduced (at least imaginatively) as a picture. It emphasises the viewer's control over prospects organised and, if necessary, re-imagined through its extensive aesthetic vocabulary.

Offering an imaginative engagement with the natural landscape to those with more limited means and leisure, the Picturesque was an important precursor to Romanticism.[4] Perhaps its most important role in late eighteenth-century print culture, however, was the way in which it served as an arena for the rediscovery of the Gothic, the remains of Britain's ancient medieval past. Though the 1770s and 1780s can seem something of a fallow period in the development of the Gothic novel and Gothic imagination in Britain (see Miles 2002: 42–3), Picturesque tour books enjoyed an expanding readership during this period and, whereas the medieval ruin was of little interest to the Grand Tourist, it came to occupy a central place in the ideal Picturesque prospect, serving as the frequent subject of illustration in numerous Picturesque travelogues. Gilpin – whose 'eye rests with delight on the shattered arches of a Gothic ruin' (Gilpin 1782: 24) – may have done more to form a taste for the Gothic in early Romantic print culture than any author before him.[5]

Nonetheless, Gilpin's Picturesque Gothic, unlike the fiction that, in the wake of *Otranto*, we have come to designate as 'Gothic', is not an invitation to affective meditation on supernatural manifestations, nor a lugubrious predilection for mysterious secrets. Instead, the Gothic ruin within the Picturesque is defined by its utter lack of political agency: 'where popery prevails' and an abbey 'is still entire', Gilpin contends, it cannot be 'adapted' to picturesque landscape (Gilpin 1786: I.13). Similarly, the border castles in the north of England are only Picturesque because they are now to be found 'adorning the country they once defended'. Such Gothic ruins are not the sites of revenant histories, but rather the markers of an inevitable historical process and the thrust of political progress that it embodies; they 'raise pleasing comparisons of present times with past' (1786: II.86). This depoliticising of the ruin and the curtailment of its affective power is ingrained in the vocabulary of Picturesque description, a process which makes plain the Gothic structure's subjection to the traveller's gaze, rather than the reverse; Gilpin's eye '*rests*' at leisure upon his imagined Gothic arch, relaxed in his freedom from feudal tyranny or religious superstition. When speaking of real ruins Gilpin frequently emphasises their transition from a human structure to a natural feature – 'naturalised to the soil', they may 'be classed among its natural beauties' – with history further elided (Gilpin 1786: I.12). Gilpin observes of Tintern Abbey, for example, that 'Nature has now made it her own' and 'Time has worn off all traces of the rule'. The word 'rule' here ostensibly refers to the regularity of the ruin's form and

line. Its alternative meaning seems present, however, as naturalisation negates the abbey's authority. Ivy, for example, has 'taken possession of many parts of the wall' (Gilpin 1782: 33), an overgrowth that also encodes overthrow. In keeping with this historical and political confidence, the Picturesque attitude to the Gothic is also calmly unaffective. Fictional 'travellers', such as Radcliffe's La Motte in *The Romance of the Forest* (1791), would come to approach ruined abbeys whilst imaginatively conjuring reproval by 'the mysterious accents of the dead' (Radcliffe 1986: 16), but such responses are absent in Gilpin's Picturesque. Here, as Dale Townshend aptly observes, history's ghosts, the stuff of the Gothic fictional aesthetic, are excluded along with history itself (2014a: 2–4).

As important as it was in drawing attention to Gothic materials in pre-Romantic print culture, then, the Picturesque Gothic is aesthetically, historically and imaginatively framed: part of a careful system of 'limits and elisions, inclusions and exclusions' (Townshend 2014a: 2). Of course, such framing was defined by its exclusions as well as its inclusions and, under certain circumstances, the Gothic could re-enter or revoke the order of Picturesque aesthetics (see Charlesworth 1994). This could occur in the experience of Picturesque travellers, who, like Grand Tourists, had to negotiate stumbling blocks presented by the contemporary political and economic situation of those landscapes they sought to view as aesthetic tableaux. Of chief concern was the ownership and management of the landscape itself, which was being fundamentally changed by processes of agricultural enclosure, funding physical improvements that presented the estate itself as an artwork: its 'capabilities' often realised in the style of premier landscape architect of the period, Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. This threatened to commodify the estate, removing it from stable traditions of local stewardship into a new nexus of investment, sale and absentee ownership. At the same time, rural populations were disconnected from their place as tenants, deprived of smallholdings by enclosure and their habitations hidden or removed from prospect views that now isolated the exceptional status of the landowner. The anxiety generated by such processes could easily take on a 'Gothic' character. Oliver Goldsmith's 'The Deserted Village' (1770), for example, speaks of the 'mould'ring walls' and 'ruined grounds' that are the work of a suggestively disembodied 'tyrant's head' and 'spoiler's hand' (Goldsmith 1770: 9). There are echoes here of Walpole's *Otranto*, published six years earlier, but Goldsmith's imagined ruins also resonate with the developing literature of Picturesque tourism, for which such objects

were to encode steady political progress rather than rapid and disruptive contemporary change.[6] As such, these concerns can reintroduce an anxiety about the Gothic ruin into Picturesque travelogues that seek ostensibly to exclude it.

In particular, Gilpin is frequently concerned by the association of Gothic remains and modern improvements. The 'mixture of old buildings and new' evidenced in the alteration and modern inhabiting of ancient medieval piles, for example, is likened to 'uniting living bodies to dead' (Gilpin 1804: 51). This metaphor reveals what is at stake for the Picturesque when the ruin is mistreated: a process of political reanimation and revenant history, couched in a disturbingly Gothic language. Specific examples evoke similar concerns. At Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, for example, Gilpin is dismayed to find the ruins being brought within the compass of the wider landscaped park of Studley Royal. The 'present proprietor' is represented as a sinisterly encroaching usurper of the Abbey's remains: 'long had he wished to draw them within the circle of his improvements … at length … the legal possession of this beautiful scene was yielded to him; and his busy hands were let loose upon it' (Gilpin 1786: 179) – a recurrent metaphor that recalls Goldsmith's 'tyrant's hand'. This process disrupts the chronology that the ruin embodies and becomes itself a kind of primitive political despotism, as Gilpin writes that only 'a goth may deform' in this way (Gilpin 1786: 189).

Associated with improvement's uneasy annexation of the Gothic ruin is another, more disturbing, 'intrusion' into the Picturesque landscape. This is the presence of improvement's victims, the rural vagrants the apparitions of which undermine the traveller's idealisation of the landscape. There are moments in Gilpin when such presences break uneasily into the foreground of the text and its images. One such instance occurs at Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire. In order to produce a properly Picturesque view of the abbey – emblematised as a deserted, naturalised site – Gilpin has to exclude and repress the presence of a local semi-vagrant population, whose 'shabby houses' encompass the structure and whose 'little huts' are raised among the ruins'. Upon leaving the abbey, however, Gilpin is met by these dwellers, 'soliciting alms … under the pretence of carrying us to some part of the ruins' (Gilpin 1782: 35). This moment serves to pull Tintern out of the Picturesque frame and into a contemporary political and economic landscape, rupturing the two-dimensionality of the ruined, Picturesque cathedral with the pulses of a quasi-Gothic fictional aesthetic. Its impoverished populace are an indictment of that landscape's present management, and their inactivity must be separated

from Gilpin's own 'contemplative leisure' and the vicarious 'ownership' that it performs (Copley 1994: 57). Gilpin's response, then, is to associate the vagrant population themselves with the 'Gothic' history of the site that they threaten to re-animate, noting that it is as if 'a place, once devoted to indolence, could never again become the seat of industry' (Gilpin 1782: 35). Th ough counter-intuitive, this move functions strategically. Imaginatively associated, through an anti-Catholic coupling of monastic life with degrees of luxury and indolence, with Tintern's monks and not with the leisure of the modern traveller, these vagrants cease to be a symptom of the contemporary landscape and become instead part of the medieval Catholic or 'Gothic' history that the Picturesque is equipped to frame and contain.[7] The effect is similar to the criticism of 'Gothic' deformation at Fountains. As in the writing of Grand Tourism, recognition of the medieval Gothic as 'Gothic' in a more modern, fictional sense is a means of downplaying its presence in the travelled – and written – landscape.

These Gothic presences in the writings of Grand and Picturesque tourism are of great importance to the broader development of the Gothic imagination, preceding and accompanying the Gothic novel, as they did, in eighteenth-century and Romantic print-culture. In drawing upon them, novelists could also adapt the strategies that they had developed for situating and mediating the Gothic in the contemporary cultural imagination. This often meant exploring the limitations of such strategies. Peripheral regions could be found in which the performance of the Grand Tour was ambivalently grounded. Meanwhile, the despotic landowners and disturbing vagrants of the Picturesque tour could re-appear in the usurping tyrants and roaming banditti of the Gothic novel. The beginnings of this process can be glimpsed in early Gothic novels, such as Sophia Lee's *The Recess; or, A Tale of Other Times* (1783–5), which provides detailed re-imaginings of sites such as Kenilworth Castle that had been made famous in Gilpin's tour books, problematising the flow of history into the Picturesque as it does so.[8] The 'tangentially Gothic' (Miles 2002: 45) early novels of Charlotte Smith also locate the Gothic within the Picturesque, exploring the ownership and management of partially ruined castles and abbeys in regions such as South Wales and the Lake District that – perhaps knowingly – follow the course of Gilpin's tours. Gothic fiction, we might say, came to traffic in that which the Picturesque frame aimed to exclude.

It is in the novels of Ann Radcliffe, however, that the Gothic most vigorously asserts a relationship to the writings and imaginative

geography of Romantic travel. Radcliffe's use of contemporary travelogues is well documented,[9] yet this part of her creative process was more nuanced than is usually credited. Radcliffe was well acquainted with the works of Gilpin – having his *Cumberland and Westmoreland* to hand when writing of Alpine landscapes in *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) (see Norton 1999: 78) – yet her novels frequently challenge the calm framing and historical aporia of the Picturesque Gothic. Restored to the company of the travelogues that were read alongside them, the specific settings for Radcliffe's novels – from her debut onwards – are also revealed to be highly calculated. It is not simply that these texts opportunistically select popular regions (though this too is to embed the Gothic imagination as part of a broader print culture); they also respond more specifically to anxieties about Grand or Picturesque tourism in these regions and their 'Gothic' potential. Most significantly, the Prologues to two of Radcliffe's novels – *A Sicilian Romance* (1790) and *The Italian* (1797) – frame the Gothic through travel. As such, they are, explicitly and unequivocally, *about* the emergence of the Gothic in the sphere of contemporary travel-writing, a process that they enact through the movement from paratext to narrative, transmuting the landscapes of contemporary tourism into those of the Gothic romance. This nuanced and robust relationship between Gothic and travel-writing is part of what defines Radcliffe as a Romantic novelist, and deserves to be considered as part of the rich cultural 'matrix' that criticism increasingly finds in her work (see Miles 2009). It commences with her debut, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*, in 1789.

Though it may seem out of place in the context of her later career, Radcliffe's decision to set her first novel in Scotland demonstrates an alertness to its contemporary literary marketplace. *Athlin and Dunbayne* draws directly upon a range of Scottish travel-writings published during the 1770s and 1780s[10] as writers attempted to make sense of a national union that had come under increasing political stress (see Colley 1992: 101–32). One of several travelogues that Radcliffe appears to have consulted for *Athlin and Dunbayne* was Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*.[11] Though infamously critical of Scottish landscape and customs, Johnson also seeks to understand Scotland, to make sense of it as it should be made sense of within a broader historical, political and geographical union. The difficulties that he encounters stem largely from the oral nature of source material that cannot provide a firm foundation for his scholarship: though setting out to disprove, empirically, the authenticity of Macpherson's Ossian

poems, the sceptic finds himself on difficult ground. Left adrift in a region that he cannot thus organise, Johnson turns, surprisingly, to conclude that 'the fictions of the Gothick romances were not so remote from credibility as they are now thought' (Johnson 1775: 174). As Townshend observes, Johnson uses the Gothic in this way as a 'lens' through which to define Scotland's difference from the rest of Britain. This is part of a broader concern with Scotland's place in a positive British historiography that incorporates the Gothic within a broader narrative of progress. Because its history cannot be reconciled to the foundational Whig myth of the 'enlightened, freedom loving Goth', Scotland is left open to 'uptake' as an unreconstructed 'place of darkness, violence, superstition and bloodshed' (Townshend 2014b: 228).

Radcliffe's novel speaks to these concerns about Scotland's comprehension and the incorporation of its Gothic history into a narrative of political progress. Its opening describes the hero, Osbert, lost in the highland mountains. He encounters wild scenes, 'rocks piled on rocks, cataracts and vast moors' (Radcliffe 1995: 5). This is a landscape of sublime confusion rather than Picturesque composure, two opposing aesthetic impulses that are only reconciled when Osbert glimpses a valley, framed and shaded by mountains and woods, with 'a few neat cottages' in the distance (Radcliffe 1995: 6). The episode adapts a specific moment in travellers' accounts: the passage into the Highlands at Dunkeld. Gilpin, for example, presents the transition from baffling sublimity to Picturesque order as a 'wild, unshapely desert' begins to 'form itself' into Picturesque 'parts' before revealing the Duke of Atholl's estate, framed within Nature's 'very decisive boundaries' (Gilpin 1789: I.112–3). As Scottish Representative Peers, the Atholls linked lowland and Highland politically as well as geographically within the British union. The order of their estate is therefore significant, as its inclusion of a ruin, the remains of Dunkeld Cathedral, which present 'Gothic' history reconciled through the Picturesque.

Osbert's wanderings echo this material – Atholl is a suggestive source for Athlin – but Radcliffe complicates its political resonance. The valley that Osbert stumbles upon is not a correctly governed estate, but rather a territory usurped by the novel's villain. It will eventually be reclaimed in the narrative, but Radcliffe's plot undermines a neat historical and political transition by exposing the degree to which Osbert is motivated by feudal pride and vengeance (see Miles 1995: 77; Chaplin 2007: 96–100). This ambiguity is sustained at the novel's conclusion when its heroine is briefly abducted

to an anonymous abbey ruin, 'the solitary inhabitant of [a] waste' to which the eye 'can discover no limits' whilst its own 'frowning majesty seem[s] to command silence' (Radcliffe 1995: 102). Such a ruin can be neither aesthetically nor politically Picturesque. Situated upon a barren plain, it baffles screening and framing and so resists and returns the gaze that cannot compose it. Its history, too, remains ambiguous. Unlike the real ruin of Dunkeld Cathedral, it forms part of no managed property and eludes the arrangement of lands with which the novel concludes. In leaving this remnant at the conclusion of her novel, Radcliffe demonstrates an understanding of what is at stake in the travelogues that inform it. Scotland becomes an appropriate region in which to locate the Gothic in fiction because it is already an ambiguous subject in contemporary travel-writing.

Radcliffe's next novel locates itself at another periphery in eighteenth-century travel-writing, moving from the fringes of domestic tourism to the edges of the Grand Tour. Like Scotland, the Sicilian setting of *A Sicilian Romance* (1790) had precedents in popular travelogues, but for the most part remained an ambiguous region insofar as it was not always included on the itinerary of the Grand Tour (Black 2003: 48–50). Patrick Brydone's popular *Tour Through Sicily and Malta* (1773), for instance, concedes that its topical region 'has never been considered as any part of the grand tour', and Brydone's text is itself an Addisonian attempt to extend its appeal: classical remains may 'lie buried in oblivion in that celebrated island' and Brydone cheerfully acknowledges 'Virgil' as 'one of our travelling companions' (Brydone 1773: I.3, 1, 35). However, part of the reason for Sicily's relative underexposure to Grand Tourism was its reputation as a remarkably savage, semi-civilised' region (Black 2003: 49). Brydone's eagerness for the island's hidden relics is promptly followed by the report that it harbours 'the most resolute and daring banditti in all of Europe' and 'retain[s] still, both in the wildness of its fields and ferocity of its inhabitants, more of the Gothic barbarity than is to be met with anywhere else' (Brydone 1773: I.2, 43). These banditti haunt forests that are 'of a vast extent, and absolutely impenetrable … conceal[ing] valuable monuments of … ancient magnificence' (Brydone 1773: I.43–4). Unlike a typical Grand Tourist, Brydone cannot simply dismiss such explicitly 'Gothic' obstacles, enmeshed as they are with more 'valuable' materials. The confident distance and learned abstraction that enables such dismissals is also diminished in his text. Banditti, it transpires, are employed by the Sicilian princes who cannot 'extirpate' them from their wild retreats (Brydone 1773: I.68). Brydone is obliged to

accept two such banditti as guides and these 'most daring and most hardened villains' regale him with tales of 'robberies and murders' in such detail that he is 'fully persuaded they themselves were the principle actors' (Brydone 1773: I.68, 92). To travel Sicily, then, is to do so in the company of 'Gothic' figures who regale the traveller with their tales of savage histories. Far from being easily separated and dismissed, Gothic materials and experiences are part of the very fabric and infrastructure of Sicilian travel.

Thus, it is little wonder that Radcliffe chooses Sicily for her first synthesising of Gothic narrative and Grand Tour geography: many elements of her novel are clearly drawn from Brydone, including the incorporation of banditti in the service of corrupt aristocrats (Milbank 1993: 206 n.53). Radcliffe also responds to a more fundamental anxiety in Brydone: the essentially precarious character of attempts to bring Sicily within the fold of a travel format that excludes the Gothic. Like the travel literature that informs it, *A Sicilian Romance* depicts the rapid and arresting confrontation between an eighteenth-century traveller and the Gothic aesthetic. Radcliffe's frame narrator encounters the remains of the Castle Mazzini 'on the northern shore', perhaps soon after crossing over from Calabria. The compositional strategies of the Picturesque are accordingly recruited to fix the ruin as an occasion for detached judgement. It 'stands in the centre of a small bay, and upon a gentle acclivity' framed and screened between seaward slopes and 'an eminence crowned by dark woods' (Radcliffe 1993: 1). This correctly rendered 'picturesque' prospect contrasts 'ancient grandeur' with 'present solitude', ensuring that history is only inertly present as an aesthetic concomitant of the static scene. Objective distancing is collapsed, however, as the traveller is drawn *into* the scene and moved from considering the ruin within the prospect to considering himself or herself[12] within the ruin, realising that 'the present generation' – including the traveller – 'shall alike pass away and be forgotten' (Radcliffe 1993: 1). This affective re-animation is followed by the ruin's reoccupation as the traveller's eyes are 'fixed' upon the 'venerable figure' of 'a friar' who now enters the Picturesque frame (Radcliffe 1993: 1). History seems to flow back into the Gothic ruin, as if one of Gilpin's Picturesque tableaux were to be brought to life. Finally, the friar introduces the manuscript history that completes the prologue's steady and deliberate transition from the field of eighteenth-century tourism into that of Gothic narrative. The managed distinction between these in contemporary travel-writing is collapsed as the latter overwrites the former: Grand and Picturesque Tourism gives way to the Gothic.[13]

At the same time as she narrates the Gothic's emergence within the geography of contemporary travel, Radcliffe also revises existing strategies for keeping the two apart. The manuscript source for her tale gestures towards the bibliographical provenance established for the Gothic of Walpole and successors such as Clara Reeve and Sophia Lee, yet such distancing is also simultaneously collapsed. This Gothic manuscript does not emerge from a library – the subject of collected critical appraisal – but from the landscape it imaginatively transfigures. Through travel, Radcliffe's debut 'Highland Story' and her 'Sicilian Romance' are positioned not as objects of dusty abstraction, but as tales of *places* recognisable within contemporary print culture.

This blending of Gothic and travel-writing entrenches the Gothic within the early Romantic literary marketplace and, unsurprisingly, defines Radcliffe's own 1790s success. After all, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) is, at its core, a sequence of European journeys. Its heroine proceeds from discursive, companionate and scenic travel in France and Switzerland, through the withdrawn interiority of a distorted metropolitan 'Grand' tourism controlled by the villain, Montoni, to isolation and enclosure within Udolpho itself, a site that actively resists the discourses of contemporary tourism: 'As she gazed, the light died away on its walls … the whole edifice was invested with the solemn duskiness of evening … till its clustering towers were alone seen, rising over the tops of the woods' (Radcliffe 1998a: 227). Slipping out of vision, the totality of the Gothic structure eludes Picturesque framing within a landscape that it absolutely dominates. Here, it is Udolpho, and not the onlooker, that is 'sovereign of the scene'. Like the anonymous abbey of Radcliffe's debut, it returns the 'traveller's' 'gaze' in 'frown[ing]defiance' (Radcliffe 1998a: 227). On one level, then, the narrative of *Udolpho* presents a transition from the recognisable landscapes and experiences of contemporary travel to a version of that geography within which the Gothic predominates, where 'travellers' are isolated and uncertain figures rather than confident determinants. This process follows Radcliffe's earlier novels, but it is also informed by developments in the writing of travel itself.

Of particular interest, here, is the work of Hester Piozzi, with whom Radcliffe was personally acquainted and whose European *Observations and Reflections* (1789) was a source for *Udolpho*.[14] Piozzi's is a deliberately 'revisionary' work (McCarthy 1985: 155), the first prose account of the Grand Tour by a woman[15] and occasioned by an avowed refusal on the writer's behalf to 'throw' her 'thoughts into' the 'private letters' usual for women's travel-writing (Piozzi 1789:

I.vi).[16] Piozzi's is not the confident inventory that 'count[s] churches, pictures, palaces' with 'no impression made' (Piozzi 1789: I.67); her gender made her a peculiar participant in a tradition centred on masculine education whilst her journey was as much social exile as conventional continental tour.[17] As such, her subjectivity is ambiguous, a 'fragmented self' that, in contrast to the overmastering gaze of the typical male traveller, is aware of a slippage between spectator and spectacle (see D'Ezio 2010: 82; Bennett 2014: 14–15).

Whilst the travel-writers discussed so far frequently use the discourses of contemporary travel to elide the Gothic, Piozzi turns instead to a Gothic language when exploring the limitations of the Grand Tour format and its assumptions. This process involves direct allusions to Gothic motifs;[18] a particularly unprepossessing inn is 'a haunted hall where Sir Bertrand or Sir Rowland might feel proud of their courage' (Piozzi 1789: I.377). Elsewhere, her musings on 'Gothic and Grecian manners' disrupt the latter's customary primacy as a feature of the Tour's landscapes. Piozzi writes instead of an architectural chronology in which 'to the [Grecian] gay portico succeeded the [Gothic] sullen drawbridge' and 'the lively corridor' was replaced by 'a secret passage and winding staircase' (Piozzi 1789: I.126). The tropes of Gothic fiction are drawn upon once more as the Gothic succeeds and persists in a geography that it renders appropriately ambiguous. There is also a more generally 'Gothic' ambience in parts of Piozzi's tour, reshaping archival perusal and acculturation as a more uncanny experience. At Rome, for example, whilst 'every hour and day digs up dead worthies … the unwholesome weather must surely send many of the living ones to their ancestors' (Piozzi 1789: I. 431). Addison's inexhaustible archive becomes hubristic and horrifying, a re-animation of dead bodies, their place potentially taken by the very travellers who seek to appraise them. At Pompeii, meanwhile, Piozzi decries a traveller collecting souvenirs from the human remains, observing that 'we, who today are spectators, may become spectacles to travellers of a succeeding century' (Piozzi 1789: II.35). The same regions that affirm the traveller's exceptional subjectivity can utterly efface it; in Piozzi, privileged distance perpetually brushes up against precarious embodiment.

As she concludes her journey, Piozzi wryly describes it as a 'sepulchral tour' (Piozzi 1789: II.357). This phrase not only neatly summarises an account that is so conscious of the Gothic aesthetic throughout, but also speaks to the condition of the Grand Tourism that she presents. This is not Addison's vigorous museum, but a frequently morbid landscape that challenges the traveller's organising

strategies and privileged position. This makes Piozzi important as an intertext for Radcliffe, whose presentation of 'travel' in the 1790s is also focussed upon isolated and anxious journeyings across Gothic versions of familiar landscapes, themselves made 'sepulchral' by real or imagined bodies presenting anxious points of identification for their protagonists. Just as significant, however, is the shift that Piozzi marks within travel-writing itself, exchanging the confident distances of the classical eighteenth-century Grand Tour for the embedded, even fragmented, subjectivity of modern, Romantic travel (D'Ezio 2010: 81). In this respect, perhaps Radcliffe's greatest debt to Piozzi is in her prologue to *The Italian*, where a conventional masculine traveller is shocked by the counter-gaze of an assassin seeking sanctuary in a Neapolitan church, the 'uncommon ferocity' of 'his eye' countering and co-opting the visual authority that ostensibly defines the traveller (Radcliffe 1998b: 2; see also Saglia 1996; Perkins 2006). Radcliffe sets her prologue in 1764, the year of the publication of *The Castle of Otranto*. In rewriting the genesis of the Gothic narrative in Italy, Radcliffe also consigns an earlier model of Grand Tourism to history, replacing it – as in her novels – with a less detached and complacent experience of travel across a landscape invested with the Gothic.

Taken as a whole, Radcliffe's works complicate the Gothic's separation from and subordination within the imaginative geographies constructed by the travel-writing that was written and read alongside them. Meanwhile, as Piozzi's text indicates, that print culture was simultaneously shifting to include a Gothic language that assisted Romantic writers in reworking eighteenth-century models of travel and the writing thereof, rejecting or revising the coherent imaginative geographies and detached subjectivities it assumed. The advent of new types of traveller and writer contributed to this process, as Piozzi demonstrates, but perhaps the most significant event in the writing of Romantic travel was the progress of the French Revolution and the associated European conflicts in the 1790s and early 1800s. The Gothic novel has often been read as a vicarious substitute for Continental travel in these decades, and this may account in some part for the mode's extraordinary success. Some leisure travel did occur in and around this period, however, and its writers also employed the Gothic as a means of reflecting upon landscapes and experiences that no longer made sense according to the emblematic and archival geographies of Grand Tourism or the becalmed histories of the Picturesque.

One such traveller was Radcliffe herself, who, in 1794, attempted a tour of Europe, but was stopped short by a military checkpoint at the German-Swiss border. In her *Journey Made in the Summer of 1794* (1795), she describes the 'terror' inspired by the 'malignant disposition' of these authorities where the 'imagination suggested […] all the horrors of oppression' (Radcliffe 1795: 277). This language could be that of one of her own heroines, but here it speaks to a modern traveller's vulnerability in a landscape of conflict, where regions and borders are no longer the stable constructs that they have been for decades of Continental tourism and travel-writing, and where the traveller's privileged status is subordinate to the unpredictable 'pretext' of 'military authority' (Radcliffe 1795: 276).

Radcliffe's travelogue does not mask this experience. Rather, her text is alert to the limitations of 'disinterested and abstract' strategies employed by earlier travel-writers and their aesthetics and exposes the failings of established travel formats in a revolutionary context (DeLucia 2014: 137). Conventional Grand Tourism, for example, is rendered immediately problematic when a settled European geography is replaced by the shifting frontiers foregrounded in Radcliffe's very title (Wright 2013: 111). Its urban centres and acculturating archives are also depopulated and emptied out. At the Palace of Poppelsdorf, near Bonn, both furniture and occupants have been removed. One apartment displays a map of the current conflict. Though it cannot fix the surrounding geography, this document reveals 'the course' of the Archduchess Maria Christina's 'thoughts' which are 'those of the sister of the late unfortunate Queen of France' (Radcliffe 1795: 122). The palace is not a repository of materials for objective appraisal by a 'Grand' Continental traveller. Instead, it is a peculiarly haunted space, ghosted by the affective echoes of an anxious interiority.

The aesthetics of the Picturesque are also ambiguously deployed in Radcliffe's *Journey*, which tellingly lacks the accompanying illustrations that might offer scenes to the reader as stable aesthetic tableaux. Instead, distanced framing frequently collapses with proximity to scenes of modern ruination and suffering. At Neuss, Germany, for example, a Picturesque prospect gives way to city walls embedded with 'cannon balls' and sheltering 'gaunt figures' who look back at the traveller with 'hungry rage' (Radcliffe 1795: 96–7) – a grim echo of the beggars that Gilpin dismisses with such vehemence at Tintern. Picturesque aesthetics 'malfunction' in 'wartime Germany' (DeLucia 2014: 140) and so too does its historiography. Whereas Gilpin can

write of Cumbrian ruins 'adorning the country they once defended' (Gilpin 1786: II.86), Radcliffe records an ongoing ruination that wrests the markers of the Gothic away from their aestheticised stasis in more conventional scenic tours; the historical 'occlusions and displacements' (DeLucia 2014: 145) of the Picturesque cannot mediate Gothic horror in a revolutionary landscape.

As her *Journey* proceeds, Radcliffe employs an even more explicitly Gothic language to express her experiences. The result is that a Gothic atmosphere begins to re-enter an otherwise 'surprisingly "ungothic" ' (DeLucia 2014: 135) text in ways that uncannily rework the travelogue format until it echoes one of Radcliffe's own tales. This is most visible in Radcliffe's return voyage up the Rhine, simultaneously a scenic tour past river castles in the manner of Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* and an anxious flight from the advancing conflict. Passing St Goar in the Rhineland, for example, Radcliffe presents a scenic 'coup d'oeil', including fortresses whose 'wild and gloomy structures' give 'ideas of the sullen tyranny of former times' (Radcliffe 1795: 305). However, such structures cannot be so easily aestheticised and historically becalmed, garrisoned as they are in expectation of the coming conflict. Tellingly, whereas Gilpin can describe having 'rested on our oars' (Gilpin 1782: 30) to compose a better view of structures such as Goodrich Castle on the Wye, Radcliffe must press on in a haste that constantly undermines the status of her journey as a scenic tour. Dusseldorf, for example, must be bypassed, as stopping would be 'a sacrifice of too much time to be made, while an army was advancing to the opposite shore' (Radcliffe: 1795: 331). Gothic details continue to accumulate, until this section of Radcliffe's *Journey* reads uncannily like one of her novels. At Boppart, for example, she remarks 'two Capuchins' upon the shore, 'wrapt in the long black drapery of their order … shrouded in cowls that half concealed their faces' (Radcliffe 1795: 310). Shortly afterwards, Radcliffe describes the 'tombs of murdered travellers' near shores whose 'ruins of castles and abandoned fortresses' are renowned for 'banditti' (Radcliffe 1795: 315). Consciousness of the traveller's own vulnerability seems to replace the scenic tableaux of Gilpin's classic river tour with the affective elements they serve to hide, lifting the markers of Gothic mystery and violence out of the aporia of Picturesque history to articulate a more anxious and fragmented travel.

Like Piozzi, then, Radcliffe uses the Gothic strategically in her travelogue. Whereas earlier forms of Grand and Picturesque Tourism worked to restrain the affective potential of Gothic sites and materials,

these now serve to express the vulnerability of such conventional travel formats within the shifting geographies and histories of the early Romantic period. In doing so, they dovetail with evolutions in Radcliffe's own Gothic fictions as they assert a stronger connection to the field of travel-writing and the imaginative culture it helped define.

Piozzi's 'sepulchral tour' and Radcliffe's Gothic Rhine are a long way from Addison's Italy or Gilpin's Wye. They present an experience of 'Gothic Travel' that becomes more prevalent in the Romantic period as texts replace the calm appraisal and serene objectivity of their predecessors with a more subjective, embodied and fragmented experience for which the Gothic imagination is an important resource. Soon works such as Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812–18) would rewrite the Grand Tour as a stage for its hero's gloomy exile, famously invoking Radcliffe herself as a Gothic muse. Less famous European travellers would also be inspired by the success of the Gothic novel to reconsider the medieval materials and histories that had been carefully elided in the accounts of earlier travellers (see Sweet 2012: 236–66). Meanwhile, domestic travel-writers would increasingly be drawn to Gilpin's ruins by the very Gothic histories and supernatural imaginings he had tried to excise from them (see Townshend 2014a: 12). Such developments speak to the centrality of the Gothic within a print culture in which Gothic novels and travelogues cohabited more closely than ever before. The Gothic would now go on to become an integral part of the Romantic imagination, and it would do so, to a great extent, as part of the writing and experience of travel.

Notes

1. For a comprehensive guide to the itineraries of the Grand Tour see Black 2003; for a more concise survey of the 'framework of expectations and assumptions' that structured the literary tour, see Buzard 2002: 38–42.
2. On the popularity and influence of Addison's *Remarks* and the classical vision of the Mediterranean they presented, see Buzard 2002: 40; Bohls and Duncan, 2005: 5; and Sweet 2012: 5.
3. This led to Smollett being satirised as 'SMELFUNGUS' in Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), where his 'spleen and jaundice' are said to leave the objects that he encounters 'discolored and distorted' (Sterne 1986: 51–2). Such criticism is itself a testament to the perceived inadequacy of travellers who could not enjoy the Tour in the correct way and reflect this in their texts; see Chard 1999: 22–6.

4. For a detailed history of the practice and cultural contexts for Picturesque travel and aesthetics see Andrews 1989.
5. For more on the Picturesque and the development of a taste for Gothic see Buzard 2002 and Townshend 2014a.
6. For an account of the power structures implicit in the development of the prospect view in landscape see Labbe 1998; for a history of rural dispossession in eighteenth-century art see Barrel 1983 and Bermingham 1986; for a thorough discussion of the politics of the Picturesque see Fulford 1996 and Daniels and Watkins 1994.
7. Similar means are adopted elsewhere in Gilpin where rural inhabitants can, like the landscape itself, be Picturesquely re-imagined, a process that converts them into pictorial figures and thereby erases their real presence, but may nonetheless seem ideologically ambivalent. See Copley 1994: 56–7.
8. On the significance of Lee's broader reworking of Gothic history in this early historical and Gothic novel see Wallace 2013: 25–66 and Dent (forthcoming).
9. For an overview of Radcliffe's reading in contemporary travel and its relationship to her creative process, see Norton 1999: 73–8.
10. Examples include Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* 1769 (1761), Samuel Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) and Gilpin's own *Observations [on] the High-Lands of Scotland* (1789).
11. On Radcliffe's use of Johnson see Milbank 1995.
12. Interestingly, Radcliffe leaves the gendering of her traveller-narrator ambiguous. *A Sicilian Romance* was first published anonymously by 'the authoress of *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne*', yet contemporary readers may still have presumed a male traveller, particularly given the narrator's apparently unaccompanied and independent status. The novel as a whole maintains an interesting opposition between the attitudes and experiences of male and female travellers. See Millbank 1993: xvi–xviii.
13. On Radcliffe's use of travel as a frame for *A Sicilian Romance* see also Bennett 2014; for a more in-depth discussion of contemporary aesthetics and visual strategies in the novel see Milbank 2014.
14. Various critics have made a case for Radcliffe's use of Piozzi's travelogue and the connection is maintained in the most recent biographies of both authors. See Norton 1999: 74–5; D'Ezio 2010: 198 n.81.
15. On Piozzi's place as an innovator in women's travel-writing see McCarthy 1985: 147, and D'Ezio 2010: 69.
16. For an overview of women's travel-writing in the eighteenth century and Romantic period, see Bohls 1995. Other useful introductions to the topic include Bassnet 2002 and Siegel 2004.
17. On the biographical context for Piozzi's tour see McCarthy 1985: 148–77 and D'Ezio 2010: 67–89.
18. Piozzi was herself a keen reader of Gothic works, including Radcliffe's. See McCarthy 1985: 65–7; D'Ezio 2010: 129.

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