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Editing Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's Travel Writing and the Conundrum of Copies

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For Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, living and writing were virtually synonymous. An inveterate letter-writer and journal-keeper, she was among the first American women to document her travels abroad. In December of 1833, Sophia Peabody departed for Cuba; she spent the next eighteen months on a coffee plantation, where her older sister Mary was a governess. In 1853, Sophia Hawthorne left the United States again, this time with her husband, Nathaniel Hawthorne, who assumed the post of United States Consul at Liverpool. During the subsequent seven years, Sophia traveled throughout England and Scotland. She and her daughters, Una and Rose, also journeyed to Portugal, where they resided in the home of long-time friend John Louis O'Sullivan, United States Consul at Lisbon. She then returned to England for a year before traveling through France in advance of an extended stay in Italy. Sophia's record of her travels survives in approximately two-thousand manuscript pages.

This significant contribution to nineteenth-century travel literature has begun to receive the scholarly attention it so richly deserves. Sophia's transcendentalism infuses her observations of foreign, sometimes exotic, landscapes, and her accounts of travel regularly weave drawings with sentences to create visual/verbal representations of nature, architecture, art, and people.[1]

[1] Recent scholarship includes Anna Maria Formichella Elsden, "Watery Angels: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's Artistic Argument in *Notes in England and Italy*" (pp. 129–45); Rodrigo Lazo, "Against the Cuba Guide: The 'Cuba Journal,' *Juanita*, and Travel Writing" (pp. 163–79); and Pamela Lee, "Queen of All I Surveyed: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's 'Cuba Journal' and the Imperial Gaze" (pp. 180–98), all in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, ed. Monika M. Elbert, Julie E. Hall, and Katherine Rodier (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006). See also Diane Scholl, "Fallen Angels: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's *Cuba Journal* as Pièce de Résistance," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review*, 35 (2009): 23–45, and Julie E. Hall, "Coming to Authorship: Sophia Hawthorne and Her *Notes in England and Italy*," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers*, 19 (2002): 137–51. Historical and personal background to the *Cuba Journal* may be found in Chapter 6, "Queen of All I Survey," in Patricia Dunlavy Valenti's *Sophia Peabody Hawthorne: A Life, Volume I, 1809–1847* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004). Italian scholar Daniela Ciani-Forza's work-in-progress considers the *Cuba Journal* as an example of "soglie" or "thresholds" between North American and literature of other countries in the Western Hemisphere.

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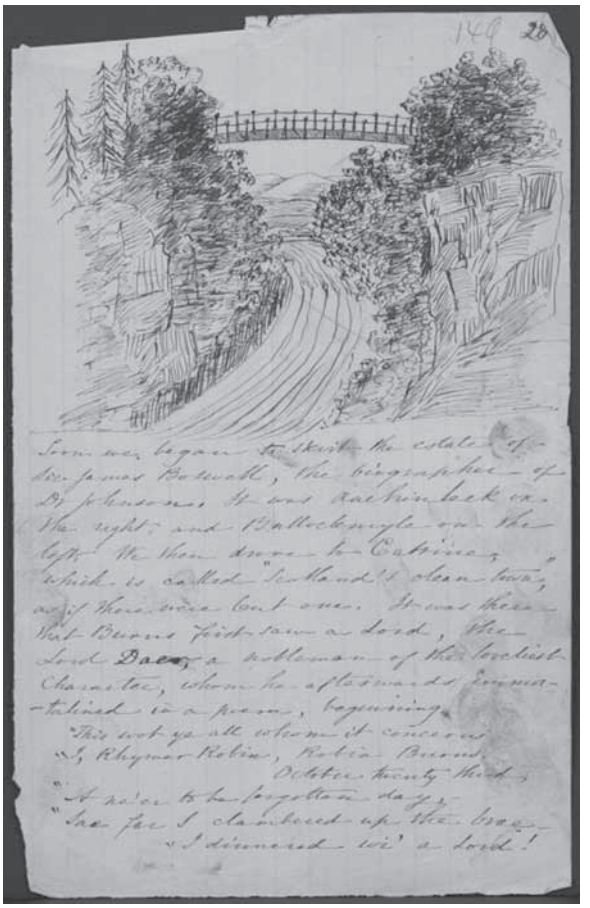


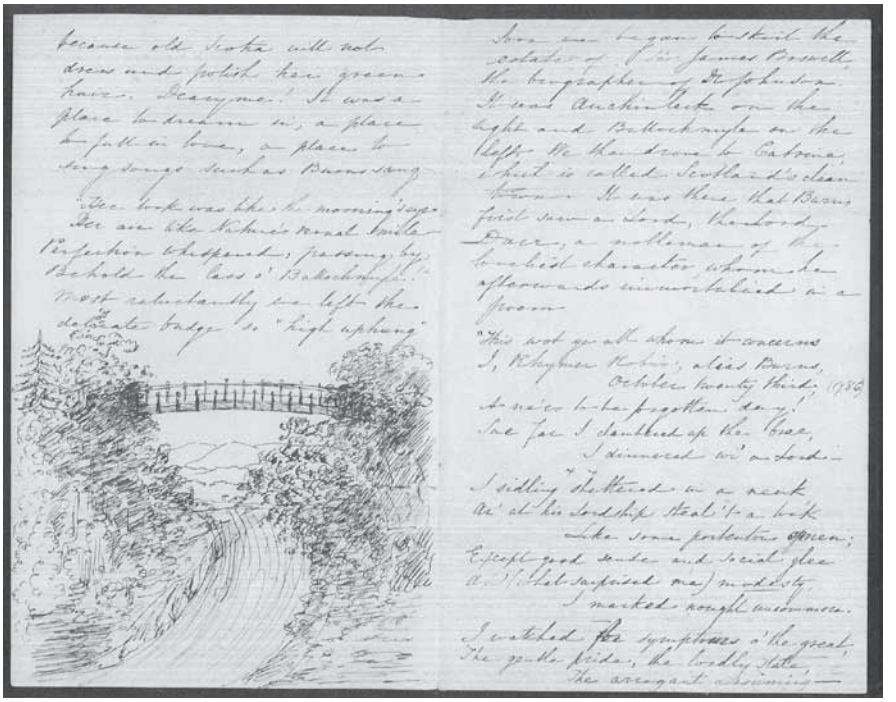
Sophia Hawthorne Collection of Autograph Letters to Her Daughter Una, p. 347. Courtesy of The Morgan Library, 1220.9

Her writing demands publication in definitive, twenty-first century editions,[2] but her manuscripts pose challenges to any editor who must locate, classify, and verify the authenticity of authorship for a small but important fraction of Sophia's writing. These manuscripts are housed in far-flung collections—among them the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library on the east coast; the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley and the Green Library of Stanford University on the west coast. Letters may be catalogued as journals or journals catalogued as letters, for many of Sophia's *journals* do not fit the commonly accepted definition of that term—a record kept for *oneself*. Sophia frequently recorded daily activities in a series of letters to a specific recipient. "Journal-letters" was her accurate term for this hybrid genre which forces the questions: How authentic is Sophia's "voice"? In what ways did she invent a persona and manipulate content to suit a recipient? And many of Sophia's most interesting and provocative extant manuscripts are transcriptions (sometimes in hands that are identifiable, sometimes not). Even more curious, lacunae exist among holographs from which some copies were presumably transcribed. How might an editor assure that Sophia authored what survives only in transcription? And how might one determine if a copy faithfully replicates the original?

Cuba

The *Cuba Journal*, housed at the Berg Collection, survives with writing in the hands of at least four persons. A few pages, constituting the Appendix to Volume I, as well as some postscripts to Sophia's letters, are in Mary Peabody's hand.

[2] Jana L. Argersinger and Cheryl Fish propose a Web-based, hypertextual version of Sophia's *Cuba Journal*; see "Editing Sophia Peabody's Cuba Journal: Travel, Recovery, and Interpretation," *Documentary Editing*, 31 (2010): 68–78.



Journal of Private Letters of Travel in England and Scotland, used as Printer's Copy, p. 149/28. Courtesy of The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

Occasional notes in the manuscript, including some pagination, are in the hand of Sophia's daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop. Also in Rose's hand is a copy of Volume I—lightly, but tellingly edited—which was discovered in the 1990s and is now housed at the Green Library. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the *Cuba Journal*'s pages, that is, forty-seven of the sixty-four letters, are in Sophia's hand. But the other seventeen letters now exist only in the hand of the letters' recipient, her mother, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. How accurate and complete these copies are, one cannot know, for the holographs are lost. Claire Badaracco, whose typescript transcription remains the only print version of the *Cuba Journal*, addresses Mrs. Peabody's fidelity, accuracy, and motive in copying Sophia's holographs: "the existence of nearly one-third of the letters in the first volume in Mrs. Peabody's hand complicates the history of the holograph."[3] Indeed it does.

[3] Claire Badaracco, "Introduction," "The Cuba Journal of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1978), p. ix. Badaracco's transcription is prefaced by useful information about provenance, a description of contents, a list of names recorded in the journal, and notes.

Circumstances generate two speculations about these copies: the physical condition of the holographs and the need to conserve; the content of the holographs and the impulse to censor. The *Cuba Journal* letters became immediately popular; as soon as a letter arrived at the Peabody home in Salem, it was circulated among family, friends, and acquaintances before bundles of letters were bound into separate volumes. This circulation of individual letters certainly contributed to their deterioration, earlier letters deteriorating sooner than later letters. That most copies are among the earliest letters of Volume I may indicate Mrs. Peabody's effort to conserve letters which had deteriorated due to handling.[4]

If Mrs. Peabody's copies signify first efforts to conserve the *Cuba Journal*, what accounts for the disappearance of holographs that were the basis for these copies? Perhaps this lacuna is explained by the maternal excision of the record of behavior deemed inappropriate, specifically Sophia's shipboard relationship with fellow-traveler and Boston resident James Burroughs, the brother-in-law of Elizabeth Peabody's landlord and an agent for sugar planters. Evidence of this affair—if that word does not exaggerate the situation—is found in correspondence among Mrs. Peabody, her daughters Elizabeth and Mary, and Dorcas Cleveland (wife of the American Vice-Consul in Cuba, whom the Peabodys had known in Massachusetts). Each woman conveys disapproval of Sophia's familiarity with Burroughs: Sophia had allowed the young man to rest his foot in her lap while she mended his trousers![5] The embarrassment caused by Sophia's behavior may be gauged by Burroughs' erasure from the *Cuba Journal* and, possibly, the disappearance of those letters that referred to him, for only innocuous mention of Burroughs remains among letters in Mrs. Peabody's hand.

Mrs. Peabody's copies may also have served an additional purpose: Perhaps they were the only version of Sophia's *Cuba Journal* that was circulated, for many of Sophia's extant holographs contain much that Mrs. Peabody would have regarded as indecorous if not downright scandalous. For example, Sophia describes in great detail her infatuation and escapades with Fernando de Zayas, who as a Catholic of Spanish descent lacked even the respectability of being a known Protestant New Englander like Burroughs. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop's transcription of Volume I strips almost all references to Fernando, a silence that

[4] The extremely fragile present condition of the *Cuba Journal* renders it unsuited to the increased handling by scholars who wish to examine it at the Berg Collection, NYPL. The *Journal* has, therefore, been prepared for digitalization and eventual online access, a process which has been delayed as a consequence of the current economic recession and other factors.

[5] See Bruce Ronda, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: American Renaissance Woman* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), p. 132n1, and Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters: Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 2005), pp. 272, 282–84.

speaks loudly about this relationship, one that Sophia's daughter, years later, would have refrained from presenting to the public, and Rose's intention to publish the *Cuba Journal* is implied by the very existence of this transcription. Successes with her 1897 book, *Memories of Hawthorne*, composed largely of her parents' correspondence,[6] may have prompted Rose to aim for more good reviews and additional royalties by publishing the *Cuba Journal*. Sophia had been similarly motivated by the money earned from her publication of Nathaniel's journals in the late 1860s, when she, too, had considered publishing the *Cuba Journal*. But her decision against it is recorded thus: "I read my Cuba letters to see if they would do to print but I think not—there is so much about people in them."[7]

This was not the first time Sophia rejected the idea of publishing the *Cuba Journal*. As early as 1834, her eldest sister—the other Elizabeth Palmer Peabody—was preparing the Cuba letters for publication in the *American Monthly*. Sophia claimed to resent her sister's showing the *Cuba Journal* to "congregations," for at least fourteen individuals or groups of friends and acquaintances read these letters in 1834 alone.[8] Sophia deemed that the "great many little bursts & enthusiasms & opinions & notions" rendered it unsuitable for publication, and she lamented its circulation "as if it were a published book. . . . [F]or it seems exactly as if I were in print—as if every body had got the key to my private cabinet."[9] These demurrals did not, however, prompt her to remove the *Cuba Journal* from circulation at any point in her life.

Thus did the mores of the nineteenth century affect three generations of women—Sophia's mother, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody; Sophia herself; and Sophia's daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop—when each considered circulating or publishing the *Cuba Journal*. What they would suppress or delete is exactly what fascinates the twenty-first century reader who thrives upon the journal's penetrating, whimsical, sometimes irreverent focus upon people. Opening her "private cabinet," Sophia positioned herself among those nineteenth-century travel writers whose purpose was, according to Mary Suzanne Schriber, "self-

[6] Rose Hawthorne Lathrop published *Memories of Hawthorne* after she left her husband and began work providing palliative care for terminal cancer patients. *Memories* became a source of revenue for that charitable endeavor. See Patricia Dunlavy Valenti, *To Myself A Stranger: A Biography of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), pp. 136, 171.

[7] Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, Dresden Journal, June 26, 1869, n.p. MS in one volume, Sophia Peabody Hawthorne Papers, Berg Collection, NYPL.

[8] For a list of these readers, see Claire Badaracco, "The Night-blooming Cereus: A Letter from the 'Cuba Journal' 1833–35 of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, with a Check List of Her Autograph Materials in American Institutions," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 81 (1987): 57–59.

[9] *Cuba Journal*, MS, 3: 90, Berg Collection, NYPL.

revelation."[10] And clearly, Sophia's revealed "self" was constructed in conjunction with the recipient of that revelation; hence, flouting of propriety for her mother's benefit suggests an edginess to her persona as a writer, another dimension to the *Cuba Journal* that hooks a contemporary reader. The circumstances and condition of the *Cuba Journal* manuscript—the holograph letters, the copies, and the lacuna—constitute evidence of dual and conflicting impulses: on the one hand, to conserve writing and make it public; on the other, to suppress writing and keep it private. Information that the copyist would have preferred to expunge may therefore supply evidence of authenticity.

Portugal

Questions generated by the presence of copies and the absence of holographs are multiplied when we examine Sophia's chronicle of her stay in Portugal. E. Haviland Miller's chronology lists a scant record of this journey in only eight of Sophia's letters. That the "Queen of Journalizers," as her husband so rightly called her, kept no daily record of her experiences in Lisbon and Madeira seems curious.[11] Her sister Elizabeth's repeated inquiries about a "Lisbon Journal" provoked Sophia's emphatic denials, a tone undoubtedly prompted by fear that Elizabeth would circulate these letters as she had those from Cuba. Indeed, Sophia did "protest too much," for housed at Stanford University among Rose Hawthorne Lathrop's papers are two chapters totaling 112 pages, catalogued as Rose's editing of "Sophia A Hawthorne's *Madeira Journal*."

Like the *Cuba Journal*, this transcript copies a series of journal-letters, some with running dates within a letter; the recipient is Nathaniel Hawthorne, making this a particularly valuable discovery since relatively few of Sophia's letters to her husband survive, he having consigned her "maiden letters" to flames immediately before they sailed for England.[12] These chapters are numbered

[10] Mary Suzanne Schriber in *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), p. 65, identifies a "tripartite division" of purpose in travel journals: "writing as self-construction, writing as self-destruction, and writing as self-revelation."

[11] Sophia reported Nathaniel's appellation in a letter to her sister Elizabeth on July 25, [1838], MS, Berg Collection, NYPL. E. Haviland Miller's "A Calendar of the Letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne," *Studies in the American Renaissance 1986*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986), p. 247, lists only the following letters from Portugal: four to her sisters (two apiece to Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Mann); three to her son, Julian; one to her husband, Nathaniel.

[12] Nathaniel Hawthorne *The American Notebooks*. Volume 8 of *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne,* ed. Claude M. Simpson (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1973), p. 552.

XV and XVI and constitute pages 659 through 721 and 722 through 771. Chapter XV begins with Rose's own words: "In Portugal. The following letters were written from Portugal, to which my mother, sister & I went for a visit to the O'Sullivans, while my father remained at the Consulate in Liverpool. I concluded not to let the foreign scene break in upon the English one; waiting till that had passed."[13] Rose evidently considered using this material in *Memories of Hawthorne*: cross-outs on her copy attest to her effort to make the journal less personal and more publishable, just as her headnote testifies to Sophia's authorship of what she copied. No holographs survive from which the journal was copied, and nothing from it was published in *Memories*. One paragraph on pages 323–24 of that book makes brief reference to life in Portugal, but its source is not found in Rose's transcription.

Nor is it found in a nine-page, typewritten transcription which begins mid-sentence and is labeled "Extract: Description of Madeira visit Feb 1856 Written Later." Housed at Washington State University (WSU) and catalogued among "The Letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne," this transcription was produced by WSU faculty member Aretta Stevens who collaborated with Louise Bennett Deming, the wife of Olcott Deming, Sophia's great-grandson, on an edition of Hawthorne materials then in the possession of the Demings. This project ended before its completion upon Louise Deming's death in 1976, when most of the holographs were deposited in the Berg Collection. Aretta Stevens soon thereafter moved to Alaska, taking the transcriptions with her. Upon her death, the transcriptions were returned to WSU. There is, however, no holograph of "Description of Madeira" at the Berg Collection catalogued with Sophia's materials, and this transcription was probably not based upon Sophia's but upon Una's account, for the Berg catalogue lists with Una's manuscripts "incomplete holograph account of her stay in Funchal, Madeira n.d.," a document that is only one leaf. It was a gift of the Demings.

The "Extract" housed at WSU describes the writer's adventure after distracting a young boy assigned to attend her horse, whereupon she "dashed off at such a lightening speed that even [the boy's] swift feet could not overtake me. On that occasion, I had a very hard-mouthed animal . . . who . . . rushed like the wind. . . . [T]hough I had a lingering fear that I should presently find myself on the ground, I really enjoyed it very much, as my horse evidently did." The sentiment of daring and exhilaration recalls Una's remark in a letter to her Aunt Mary about her pleasure riding "on horses that take a good deal of management."

[13] "Sophia A. Hawthorne's Madeira Journal," Courtesy of Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries.

Una particularly liked two Andalusians that were "vicious" and "wicked."[14] Accounts of exhilarating horseback rides might well have been Sophia's—had they appeared in the *Cuba Journal*, which is replete with marvelous descriptions of daily rides through the piñon; but when in Portugal, Sophia remarked that she had not ridden since her days in Cuba, and neither her health, nor her age, nor her station in life would have permitted her to hijack a horse and cavort through the countryside.

While both the "Madeira Journal" and "Extract: Description of Madeira" contain some of the hallmarks of Sophia's best travel writing—vivid word-paintings; detailed descriptions of architecture, landscape, and people; candor that implies the assumption of private discourse but begs for a wide and public audience today—only the "Madeira Journal" should be considered a copy of letters that were authored by Sophia.

England and Italy

Sophia's only published travel-journal, *Notes in England and Italy*, inverts the challenges posed by the Cuba or Madeira manuscripts. Holographs exist in abundance to supply evidence of authorship and authenticity. The English portion of *Notes* was composed as a series of letters to Sophia's then thirteen year-old daughter, Una, while Sophia visited various tourist destinations in England and Scotland. The Pierpont Morgan Library houses the original holographs, fifteen letters dated between May 22 and July 7, 1857.[15] The Berg Collection, located only a few blocks away, contains the holograph journals that Sophia used for the Italian portion of *Notes* as well as her holograph transcriptions of the English letters dated between April 10 and July 7, 1857. She used these transcriptions as her printer's copy. Although there is considerable overlap between these holograph originals and their transcriptions, the Berg contains transcriptions not found in the originals at the Morgan. This redundancy of manuscripts requires careful scrutiny for alterations, additions, or deletions if portions are to be edited for publication. Furthermore, the circumstances under which Sophia composed and published *Notes* will also affect efforts toward a new edition.

The journal-letters in England and Scotland replicate some of the purposes and concerns of the *Cuba Journal*. Just as Sophia had earlier hoped that

[14] "Extract: Description of Madeira visit Feb 1856 Written Later," p. 1792, Louise Deming and Aretta Stevens Project Papers: the letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries; Una Hawthorne to Mary Peabody Mann, October 31, 1855, MS, Berg Collection, NYPL.

[15] The Morgan purchased these letters from Sophia's grandson (Julian's son) H. A. Hawthorne in 1947; they are now bound and catalogued as MA 12201. 1–15.

her letters would obliterate her mother's sense of separation from her, so now did Sophia hope that letters would allow her daughter "to have a complete idea of what I am seeing and doing, or I shall not be contented without you." Sophia also knew that she would need to control circulation of her letters, so she urged Una to read them "quietly & alone."[16] This two-part directive suggests both maternal concern for a daughter whose temperament could be mercurial and awareness of Elizabeth's request that Una pass these letters to her.[17] Uncertainty about her audience coupled with the fact that the *daughter* writing from Cuba to the *mother* had now become the *mother* writing in England and Scotland to the *daughter* account for a reticence and formality that gives verbal descriptions textbook dryness. Too infrequent are the touches of whimsy—Sophia's analysis of the relative merits of the English nose; her playful insertion of Scottish dialect—which occasionally remain in the published version.[18] In general, Sophia employs a maternal voice that is part teacher, part moral guardian, resulting in Schriber's impression that Sophia attempts "to conceal, ignore, and destroy the trace of another voice, another self-possibility."[19]

If, however, Sophia's sentences are often pedestrian, her sketches in these letters are not. Sophia's letters to Una rely much more upon visual representation than did her letters to her mother from Cuba. Upon visiting the Lady-Chapel and Chapter House of the Glasgow Cathedral, Sophia writes Una, "My darling, how can I make you see with me these majestic sepulchres for the dead?", in effect answering her own question with several sketches, which regrettably do not find their way into the Putnam edition.[20] Throughout her letters, some drawings, such as those of gargoyles, flowers, or bits of lace, are surrounded by sentences, indicating that her composition of these visual representations preceded verbal descriptions. Other sketches—those of undulating hillsides, for example—sometimes appear like faint watermarks behind sentences. Large, intricate drawings of an arched bridge over a stream or architectural facades may occupy the entirety of one or two leaves. These might easily stand alone as framed sketches. Remarkably, when Sophia transcribed these letters to make her printer's copy, she apparently copied all sentences and sketches, then used a red

[16] Sophia Peabody Hawthorne to Una, May 24, 1857, MS MA 1120, Morgan Library, deleted from *Notes*.

[17] Notwithstanding decades of ostensible resistance to her sister Elizabeth's efforts to circulate her travel journals, Sophia dedicated *Notes* to her.

[18] Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes in England and Italy* (New York: Putnam & Son, 1969), pp. 141, 146. *Notes* is available online at http://www.ibiblio.org/eldritch/nh/mrshnei.html

[19] Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920*, p. 110.

[20] Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes*, p. 81.

pencil to cross out anything not to be published. Why she would re-copy only to cross out is unknown. Although her decision to eliminate personal information in sentences is understandable, her decision to eliminate sketches is unfortunate. And any effort to verify that she did indeed copy everything exactly for the printer's copy, that no verbal gem was omitted in publication, would require painstaking analysis of numerous pages that are housed in separate collections. The Italian portion of *Notes* was drawn from Sophia's several journals—not journal-letters—kept in Rome and Florence between February 14 and October 20, 1858. Although this journal almost entirely lacks Sophia's characteristic and distinguishing feature—her wonderful sketches—the assumed private nature of her entries permits a more independent voice, that of an intensely observant, thoughtful, sentient, and original person who comfortably ignores conventional boundaries and thereby produces a more compelling, complex text.[21] Sophia's astute, philosophical commentary on the visual arts marks her real achievement in this Italian portion of *Notes*. Enthralled *by* art, she is not in thrall *to* anyone else's appraisal of it. Nowhere is Sophia's commentary more textured and independent than in her response to sacred art. Regarding Ghirlandaio's frescoes, she writes, "Must we not go back to this adornment again, since it arose from the demand of the soul, and the soul demands it still? What were colors made for, if not to use in the worship of God, and the culture of the spirit? Are we more devout for bare walls? Are we less spiritually-minded. . . ?"[22] Sophia's appreciation for Ghirlandaio encapsulates her transcendental theory of art—that the material and the sensual abet communion with the spiritual, a philosophy that countered contemporary Protestant suspicions that sacred art was the equivalent of idolatry for Roman Catholics.

Although Sophia composed the English and Italian portions of *Notes* under very different circumstances which produced notably different results, editing both portions occurred during the last two years of her life, when extreme poverty forced her to move to Dresden, where she spent her days copying her "travel journals" to earn money from their publication. Working under great duress, Sophia's editing lacks a guiding principle that might have made her published letters or journals more engaging, coherent, and comprehensible to the general reader. For example, while a reader may infer who Papa or J—— (her son, Julian) is, Sophia does nothing to introduce Ada Shepherd (their governess who

[21] Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920,* p. 123, also observes something else, "a different version of self . . . the energetic and responsive artist." "[W]riting about art and gallery visits," Schriber says, "Sophia . . . breaks out of the straitjacket"; ibid., p. 118.

[22] Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes,* p. 416.

arrived from Antioch College) or Mr. Powers (Hiram Powers, the American expatriot artist) and his circle. Occasionally, she provides a definition; "smalto," for example, is "a kind of hard enamel, artificially composed."[23] But this awareness of an audience by defining or introducing information becomes conspicuous through its inconsistency or complete absence. At times Sophia fails even to exercise any authority over her text by adjusting the sequence of events; the June 27 entry confusingly precedes the one for June 19. And the published edition concludes with a postscript: "My journal was suddenly interrupted by illness—even in the midst of a sentence, and was never resumed; which will account for the abruptness of the close."[24] This personal disclosure clarifies nothing and presumes the reader's forbearance. Regrettably, *Notes*, Sophia's one publication, lacks polish, and more regrettable still, the English portion entirely omits the distinguishing wealth of drawings which make for fascinating verbal/visual representation of travel.

Conclusions

Sophia's travel writing merits the scholarly attention that will result in print or electronic publication. As one of the first American women to document travel to Cuba, England, Scotland, Portugal, and Italy, she recorded her observations with a fine eye for detail and an incisive appreciation for people, places, art, and architecture. Precisely those "great many little bursts & enthusiasms & opinions & notions" that deterred her from publishing the *Cuba Journal* impel contemporary readers to circulate her writing as widely as possible. Not only the content but the method of her travel writing attracts the reader. Sophia had the capacity to paint pictures with words and to wed verbal descriptions with sketches, in many ways creating a medium of verbal/visual communication consummately suited to transcendental observations of the correspondences between natural and spiritual realities. Any contemporary publication of her work must reproduce Sophia's sketches as well as her words, ideally positioning them as she did in or behind her sentences, thus presenting to the reader the true richness and texture of her record of travel.

[23] Ibid., p. 386.

[24] Ibid., p. 549.