

A Model of Time Representation in the Nineteenth Century: The Spaces for Written Culture in *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia, in 1827 with letters* by Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, Marchioness of Westminster

Un ejemplo de la representación del tiempo en el siglo XIX: los espacios de la cultura escrita en *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway y Russia, in 1827 with letters* de Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, Marquesa de Westminster

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to rebuild, from a specific case such as the analysis of the *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia, in 1827 with letters* by Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, the way in which a social group belonging to the nineteenth century, the nobility, offered in written form, in our case the formula of the diary with interspersed letters, one of the basic dimensions of its existence as a society: the time, its social organization and the different facets in which that time has been recorded in writing. Thus, by intervening the axis of time, and based on various documentary sources, we will review visits to educational institutions; entertainment and leisure linked to theatre and music; sending and receiving correspondence; the acquisition of books and writing supports and the synchronous time in relation to Genealogy and History reflected on the pages of this diary. All this from the methodological perspective of the studies of Social History of the Written Culture in connection with Gender studies.

Key words: Time. Society. Writing. Woman. Social History of Written Culture.

RESUMEN

Este artículo pretende reconstruir, a partir de un caso específico como es el análisis de *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway y Russia, in 1827 with letters* de Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, la

forma en que un grupo social perteneciente al siglo XIX, la nobleza, ofrece en forma escrita —en nuestro caso la fórmula del diario con cartas intercaladas— una de las dimensiones básicas de su existencia como sociedad: el tiempo, su organización social y las diferentes facetas en las que se ha registrado por escrito ese tiempo. Así, al intervenir el eje del tiempo, y sobre la base de diversas fuentes documentales, revisaremos las visitas a las instituciones educativas; el entretenimiento y el ocio vinculados al teatro y la música; enviar y recibir correspondencia; la adquisición de libros y soportes de escritura y el tiempo sincrónico en relación con la Genealogía y la Historia reflejados en las páginas de este diario. Todo ello desde la perspectiva metodológica de los estudios de Historia Social de la Cultura Escrita en relación con los estudios de Género.

Palabras clave: Tiempo. Sociedad. Escritura. Mujer. Historia Social de la Cultura Escrita

SUMARIO

1.—Introduction. 2.—Concise explanation of the methodology: Sources and historiographical examples on the subject. 3.—The author and the text in her context. 4.—Visits to educational institutions in nineteenth-century Europe. 5.—The written representation of time for music and plays. 6.—Time for post and letters, sending and receiving them. 7.—Libraries, bookstores, memory books and famous poets. 8.—Time related to Genealogy and History. 9.—Time for writing and reading, atmospheric weather and “no time to write more”. 10.—Conclusion. 11.—Bibliography references.

1.—Introduction

Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, who used her Noble Title —Marchioness of Westminster— as author name in her publications, composed in the year 1827 the daily relation that would see the light in the year 1879, object of our study in this article: *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia, in 1827 with letters*. In this way she connected with the literary tradition of travel books, practiced by other contemporary authors belonging to different geographical points of Western Europe. Lady Elizabeth wrote during that stay in the North of Europe her journal, a diary in which she records the details of her itinerary, gives her impressions as a tourist of the places she saw, provides a fascinating account of the many different people she met and the numerous cultural events she attended during that period, from theatre shows to meetings with writers and even visits to private libraries and art collections¹.

In the field of Contemporary History, the first third of the nineteenth century reflects on the different written forms the ways of representing time, insisting on the idea that time and its social organization must be represented to be appropriate, being the written culture one of its basic forms of representation. Our analysis is

1. KITTS, Sally-Ann: “El diario español de Lady Elizabeth Holland: observaciones y experiencias de la cultura española de la primera década del siglo XIX”. En GONZÁLEZ DE LA PEÑA, María del Val: *Mujer y cultura escrita, del mito al siglo XXI*. Gijón, Trea, 2005, pp. 239-251.

projected on a diary with letters, as defined by the author herself in the title of the work. It will intend to reconstruct the way in which a social group, in our case the Nineteenth-century society, through a female voice—that one of Lady Elizabeth—has represented in written form one of the basic dimensions of its existence as a society: the time, its social organization and its various textual supports, with special emphasis on times related to written culture.

I read about Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor for the first time through the travel books written by women who reviewed, to a greater or lesser extent, their visit to the English Cemetery of the city of Málaga (Spain). Somewhat later, a research stay in Chawton Library (U. K.) put me back on the road, accompanied by a greater bibliographic projection, resulting in a lectureborn as a declaration of intent around the study of this character. For the Nineteenth-century nobility, Literature and Bibliophilism assumed a source of interest and entertainment that Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor did not hesitate to miss; along with other artistic aspects, such as drawings and painting, which had been cultivated by her mother previously. For one year, the Marchioness of Westminster wrote a diary in which she summarized the events of her daily becoming. In this same line, many of the letters she wrote to her mother between the years 1822 and 1839, date of Lady Sutherland's death, have also been preserved. This custom of the diary would be extended to the writing of her travel books and even would be inherited by some of her descendants, like her daughter Theodora. As a travel book writer, she is the author of two works, the one we have already mentioned, *Diary of a Tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia in 1827 with letters*², and *Narrative of a Yacht Voyage in the Mediterranean during the years 1840-1841*, which saw the light in 1842.

2.—*Concise explanation of the methodology: sources and historiographical examples on the subject*

The first stage of this path will be to situate the text in its context, which will lead implicitly to gloss the biographical development of the female character, the author, with scarce and scattered data, based mainly on monographic publications from the specialized Library in Chawton, such as the ones by Hervas Huxley, Charles Moxley or Veronica Melnyx. In the same way, we have tried to elucidate the impact of this diary among the literary creations of the time, scrutinizing the editors of the work, Hurst and Blackett, and the pages of the serial publication *The Spectator*, where the majority of criticism around *Diary of a tour*...are condensed. Thirdly, once the author and the text in its context have been placed, a fieldwork has

2. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia, in 1827 with letters*. London, Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1879.

been carried out on the whole of the work, in its edition of 1879, in order to, taking into account the theoretical and methodological parameters of the scientific school of Armando Petrucci —followed by Chartier, Gimeno Blay and Castillo— referred to Written Culture studies, identify analytical groups offered by the same feminine text around the following descriptors: a time for children education, a time for music and songs, a time to send and receive letters, a time for bookshops, libraries and books, a time related to Genealogy and History and, finally, a time to write and read and the absence of time to continue writing. Understanding that Written Culture History “studies the processes of production of the written testimonies, the different forms of use, as well as the devices that have guaranteed their conservation over time”³ and that, in this respect, it is striking the connection between the social representation of time and times of written culture in a given society.

3.—*The author and the text in her context*

On 4 September 1785, Lady Sutherland married Lord George Leveson-Gower and had four surviving children, including Lady Elizabeth Mary Leveson-Gower (1797-1891), who wed Richard Grosvenor, second Marquis of Westminster. Lady Elizabeth was born on 8 November 1797, in Dunrobin Castle, which her mother had so often recreated in oil paintings, in Sutherland, Scotland. She married on 16 September 1819, at the age of 21, following the parameter of the time and the parallel of her mother, with Richard Grosvenor, in Trentham, Staffordshire, England. She was a large family mother: Elizabeth Lawley, Baroness of Wenlock; Hugh Grosvenor, first Duke of Westminster; Lady Mary Frances Grosvenor; Caroline Amelia Leigh (Grosvenor), Baroness Leigh de Stoneleigh; Lady Octavia Shaw-Stuart and Lady Theodora Guest. Finally she died on 11 November 1891 in Inwood, Somerset, England. Her body was buried in St Mary the Virgin Churchyard, Eccleston, Cheshire, England⁴.

The roots of her inclination towards culture, reading and writing were placed in the home environment itself⁵. Thus it is recorded that the Grosvenor marriage enjoyed a large library that the Marquis increased in the year 1824 with the purchase of a collection of books of Fonthill, together with a number of outstanding pieces of furniture. And in the evenings when the weather was bad, Lady Elizabeth

3. SERNA, Justo and PONS, Anaclot: *La historia cultural. Autores, obras y lugares*. Barcelona, Akal universitaria, 2013; FRITZSCHE, Peter: *Stranded in the Present. Modern Time and the Melancholy of History*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2010.

4. MOSLEY, Charles: *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition*. Wilmington, Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books), 2003, volume 3, pp. 4132-4133.

5. GLENNIE, Paul and THRIFT, Nigel: *Shaping the Day: A History of Timekeeping in England and Wales, 1300-1800*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.

devoted her time to reading and writing letters. Also, the education of her daughters was entrusted to two governesses, along with the piano lessons they received from Mr. Evans, who came to the family home from Shaftesbury twice a week at seven in the evening. When the night fell, the Marquis put the older children in Latin verse exercises, taught them to play chess and read the works of Shakespeare, Gibbon, and Walter Scott's narrative poems. When the boys went to bed, she and her husband began to read novels, action that Lady Elizabeth found extremely pleasant, until they went to bed around eleven o'clock at night⁶.

Regarding the editors of *Diary of a tour*, we can establish that Hurst and Blackett, the publishing house that produced this work in 1879, was a publisher founded in 1852 by Henry Blackett (1825-1871), the grandson of a London shipbuilder, and Daniel William Stow Hurst (1802-1870). Shortly after the formation of their partnership, Hurst and Blackett took over the business of the long established publisher Henry Colburn, for whom Daniel Hurst had worked for some years, and their earliest publications displayed *Successors to Henry Colburn* on the title pages. This was subsequently replaced by the epithet *Publishers since 1812*, probably in reference to the date when Henry Colburn had commenced publishing⁷. Four of Henry Blackett's sons also became publishers⁸. Hurst and Blackett were located on Great Marlborough Street, where Henry Colburn had maintained his premises, and later at Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, London, and had offices in New York and Melbourne. They were taken over by Hutchinson, which later became part of Random House⁹.

On the other hand, *The Spectator* is a weekly British magazine on politics, culture, and current affairs first published in July 1828. Its principal subject areas were, like nowadays, politics and culture. In this last section the work by Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor received the following positive reviews we are going to analyze now. On 18 October 1879, in a considerable extension paragraph initiated with capital letters, the first one of them is offered in this serial publication on the work by Lady Elizabeth. Among its merits (bright record, pleasant letters) is proclaimed with special emphasis that the work concerned proposes to the reader

6. HUXLEY, Gervas: *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors*. London, Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 32, 33 and 56; ROGER, A. Ekirch: *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past*. New York, Norton Company, 2005; SCHIVERBUSH, Wolfgang: *Disenchanted Night: The industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*. University of California Press, 1995.

7. MELNYK, Veronica: *Half Passion and Half Fashion: The Life of Publisher Henry Colburn*. Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Birmingham, 2002.

8. KIRTLEY, Allan et al.: *A History of the Blacketts*. The Blacketts, 2013, pp. 109-110.

9. COHEN, Richard: "Guess Who's on the Backlist, Bookend". *The New York Times*, New York, 28th of June, 1998. <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/98/06/28/bookend/bookend.html> (26th December 2018).

a considerable cast of prominent characters from the past, linked to royalty and noble status:

Now ready, at all the libraries, in 1 vol. 8vo. 15s. The Marchioness of Westminster's *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway, and Russia, in 1827*. "A bright and lively record. So pleasantly are the letters written which Lady Westminster sent home, so full are they of the enthusiasm and good-humor which enabled her to appreciate the sunny, and endure the cloudy, side of her wanderings, that her book is most agreeable; and it has this special merit, that it brings clearly before us a number of the great people of former days, royal and imperial personages, whose intimate acquaintance the traveler's rank enabled her to make". *Athenaeum*. Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, 13 Great Marlborough Street¹⁰.

The same review, with a similar text, appears in the journal on 25 October 1879, in a period of seven days, to refresh obviously the reader its novelty with the benefits already reviewed¹¹. Fifteen days later, on 8 November 1879, the same review about the work by Lady Elizabeth is also shown on pages of *The Spectator*, but this time the review looks like very summarized, and occupying less printing space on the page¹². The following week, dated 15 November 1879, the pages of *The Spectator* record, under the epigraph *Mudie's select Library New and choice books for all readers*, the book by the Marchioness of Westminster among other plays such as: *Letters of Charles Dickens*, *Life of W. E. Gladstone*, by George Barnett Smith. *The life and work of St. Paul*, by Canon Farrar; *Memoir of Mrs. Tait*; *McCarthy's History of Our Own Times*; *Life of Sir James Brooke*, by Spenser St. John; *Our Home in Life in the Rocky mountains*, by Isabella Bird; *Life of C. J. Mathews*, by C. Dickens; *Life in the wild west of Ireland*, by Mrs. Houston; *Adventures in many lands*, by Parker Gilmore; *Mind in the Lower animals*, by Dr. Lindsey¹³. And the same text, already in smaller font format—more than two months had elapsed from the last news to advertise the work—, appears in the same periodic publication on 17 January 1880. Weeks later, specifically on 7 February, 1880, *Diary of a tour...* is reviewed on a text of *The Spectator* among other *New Works by Hurst and Blackett's*:

Conversations with Distinguished persons during the second Empire from 1860 to 1863. By the late Nassau W. Senior. Edited by his daughter, M. C. M. Simpson. 2 vols. 8vo, 30s. *Royal Winds or. By W. Hepworth Dixon*. Vols. III and IV, completing the work, 8vo., 30s. *Lodge's Peerage and Baronetage*, for 1880.

10. *THE SPECTATOR*, London, on 18 October, 1879, p. 1329.

11. *THE SPECTATOR*, London, on 25 October, 1879, p. 1360.

12. *THE SPECTATOR*, London, on 8 November, 1879, p. 1424.

13. *THE SPECTATOR*, London, on 15 November, 1879, p. 1459.

Under the Special patronage of Her Majesty. Corrected by the Nobility. 49th edition. 1 vol. with the arms beautifully engraved, 31s 6d, bound¹⁴.

We shall now proceed to glimpse the results of the fieldwork projected on the work itself, where the conglomerate of the textual references referring to different fields of the nineteenth-century written culture, all covered by the axis of the time as representation of a social group, result in the different categories established in the methodological explanation that we are now proposing to unravel¹⁵.

4.—*Visits to educational institutions in nineteenth-century Europe*

Education played a very important role at the gates of Victorian society, much more than it could have done in previous centuries, as evidenced by the decrease in illiteracy to 18% in men and 25% in women between 1870 and 1875. And although this role was relatively important, this does not mean that the education taught was of good quality and complete, because there were significant deficiencies in the social classes¹⁶. It was common during the end of the nineteenth century to train high-class girls in foreign schools, in the continent, or English internship for nobles, because there they received a strict education and focused on perfecting manners, modern languages, and social skills. In the circle of aristocracy and nobility, the firstborn son had his future guaranteed by inheriting the noble title, according to the law, and all the properties, which prevented the dispersion of the family inheritance and their living on income. The minors were studying to reach a position in the church or in the civil administration or to join the army or the law. The most enterprising ones participated in commercial businesses of various kinds, we cannot forget that the Victorian period would be the time of the Industrial Revolution¹⁷.

In this context, Lady Elizabeth dedicates a considerable number of pages on her diary to describe visits to educational institutions belonging to different countries from nineteenth-century Europe. The days of the week in which Lady Elizabeth visits these educational institutions seem to be random, as one can see by the quotes. Nevertheless, she seems to have a fixed hour in the mornings to do this activity, between 10 and 11 o'clock. In this way she visits on 7 August 1827, in Saint Petersburg, while she was staying at the Palace of the Great Duke Michael, the Convent of Saint Catharine, and the Institute for the education of three hundred

14. *THE SPECTATOR*, London, on 7 February, 1880, p. 187.

15. ADAMS, Barbara: *Time and social theory*. Cambridge, 1990.

16. CORTÉS SALINAS, Carmen: *La Inglaterra victoriana*. Madrid, Akal, 1985, p. 36.

17. ZARATIEGUI LABIANO, Jesús María: *Caballeros y empresarios: el hombre de negocios victoriano*. Madrid, Rialp, 1996.

noble dames, founded by the Dowager Empress, where the different classes had different colored-stuff dresses, white aprons with bodies, extremely well made, and long gloves. She adds that they were all extremely well behaved and points out that the *Directeur* and the *Dpérieure* and several subordinate officers went over the place with them, asking the children many questions, and particularly in subtle metaphysics, which they answered very glibly¹⁸.

During the same month and also in the same city Lady Elizabeth visits another two institutions. On 8 August 1827, Wednesday, at 10 o'clock in the morning, she went to *Institute of Dames Nobles*, where they were received by the *Inspecteur des Etudes* and by Madame d'Aglebert, the *Supérieure*, who was the governess to the Emperor Nicholas, and was a *Dame de Portrait*, and belonged to the Order of St. Catharine. She added the following appreciations about the woman: "She was very kind to us...; there are seven hundred and twelve pupils, two hundred of whom are bourgeois, the rest nobles. The education is perfect as to accomplishments, and comprises besides all the usual branches, geometry, metaphysics, drawing music and so on..."¹⁹. Moreover on 31 August, Friday, another similar visit takes place; on this occasion the Marchioness visits *La Maison des Enfants Trouvés*, where she goes at eleven o'clock by appointment, as Prince Serge Galitzin had ordered that the place should be shown to her. There "The poor children are taken in here as soon as they are born, or at any age, provided with nurses, etc... and educated in a useful manner for trades of different kinds. There are both boys and girls, and the establishment is very large"²⁰. On 17 September 1827, Monday, Lady Elizabeth Grosvenor went to the *Ecole des mines*, which was a very large establishment for boys, sons of officers and soldiers, where "some pay for their own education: those who do not are bound to serve the Emperor in the mines for ten years, after leaving the school"²¹.

Somehow she carries out a quite complete tour of the different forms related to the Russian educational system in the first half of the nineteenth century, offering a portrait that extends from the complete female education in instruction of classical subjects, to the pragmatic education linked to commercial transactions, ending with the education related to soldiers' children, which was allowed to be paid in money or in kind with the work of the mines.

The author also offers several notes about the time some children study under the authority of a domestic tutor. This is the case with Countess Wedel's children and Mr. Wolf, the children's tutor. All of them, a daughter of twelve, and her son Hermon, about nine years old, and Marie, a little girl of nine, whom

18. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia, in 1827 with letters*. London, Hurst and Blackett Publishers, 1879, p. 166.

19. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, pp. 181-182.

20. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 211.

21. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 240.

the Countess had adopted, all of them did their lessons in a small summer-house close to the house, where Mr. Wolf taught them²². In connection with the idea of domestic tutors, Lady Elizabeth also reflects on the number of Scottish governesses populating the European continent at that age, highly valued to teach English to children: “There are here quantities of Scotch governesses, who are much prized as being able to teach the children English, which they must talk very prettily; these women come out originally as lady’s maids and talk broad Edinburgh or Aberdeen...”²³.

On the other hand, she refers—in relation to other types of academic institutions—no one is inside the University at Uppsala when it is the time of vacation. So it happens on Saturday, 8 July 1827, when she visits Uppsala University, city described as a clean but melancholic-looking town where “it being the time of the vacation we saw none of the scholars, nor did we see the inside of the University, there being, as we were told, little or nothing remarkable there”²⁴.

5.—*The written representation of time for music and plays*

The popularity of Italian opera (by Bellini, Donizetti, and Rossini) dominated the English musical stage in the nineteenth century, but with Prince Albert came a wider musical appreciation, with German operas by Gluck, von Weber, and Meyerbeer. One of the few popular English-language operas was *The Bohemian Girl* by Michael William Balfe (Irish, 1808-1870), which premiered in 1843; its famous aria *I Dreamt I Dwelt in Marble Halls* would become one of the best-loved Victorian songs²⁵. In this sense, along her precise indications on her *Diary*, Lady Elizabeth establishes a certain time for songs, theatre plays, operas and music, in general. Noble gentlemen she usually goes with sing before leaving the table and after dinner, with and without music. This is the case on Monday, 4 June in Gothenburg:

Before they move, however, the gentlemen frequently sing one or two songs; and at Count Rosen’s, Captain Schulz sang a beautiful little Swedish song, without music, before we left the dinner table. After dinner, a Monsieur de Berg came in, and sang a great deal, quite beautifully, having a very fine voice, and great taste; Captain Schultz, whose voice was almost equally good, also sang frequently (...)

22. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, pp. 63-64.

23. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 203.

24. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 103.

25. SHEA, Victor and WHITLA, William: *Victorian Literature: an anthology*. U. K., John Wiley and sons, 2015, p. 15; ZIMMER, Oliver: *Remaking the rhythms of life: German Communities in the Age of the Nation State*. Oxford, 2013.

After some time we had tea, and the evening passed most pleasantly between singing and talking²⁶.

She lives the same experience on 11 June 1827, in Gothenburg, when Lady Elizabeth goes as a guest to one of the numerous dinners offered in that Swedish city, where “some of the gentlemen sing beautifully; they sang after dinner, with and without music, and we stayed till late, as they made the *soirée* for us”²⁷. The same occurs on Sunday 15 July, in Carlsberg, where “after dinner it was too wet to go out, so we stayed in the house, and looked at albums, prints, etc... Monsieur Hozznier and the other gentlemen sang...”²⁸. On this occasion, the playful and creative activity is supported by the bad atmospheric weather, aspect on which we will comment in a more extensive way later in this work. Also after dinner, the Marchioness of Westminster usually plays the pianoforte, as she registers on her *Diary* On Monday 18 June: “After dinner I read and worked, and played on the pianoforte”²⁹. Although all of these musical activities could also be done after teatime, as it occurs on Saturday 28 July where, after tea, when Princess Galitzin sang some very pretty airs “with a beautiful voice, her husband accompanying her on the pianoforte”³⁰.

As we have been able to see, the social politics of gender dominated music as they did with other arts, including literature in nineteenth-century England, especially in domestic settings. Playing the piano was considered an appropriate feminine virtue. Hostesses would urge their guests to adjourn to the music room, to hear a specially invited pair of musicians perform the songs of Schubert³¹.

When some relevant character belonging to the Royalty invites Lady Elizabeth to attend a theatre play or opera, the time is usually six and they usually finish the activity about half past eleven. They could hear from amateur orchestras composed of some twenty musicians, who played Rossini’s music and Swedish national songs, as it happens on Wednesday, 13 June in Christiania:

We found the concert arranged in a small theatre, the orchestra consisted of about five and twenty, all amateurs, who performed very tolerably; the singing was all by Mr. Berg, except one duet in which he was assisted by some gentleman who was inaudible. There was also a duet of violins. Mr. Berg sang some of Rossini’s music, and ended with some Swedish national airs accompanied by

26. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, pp. 39-40.

27. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 55.

28. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 117.

29. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 71.

30. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 141.

31. SHEA, Victor and WHITLA, William: *Victorian Literature: an anthology*. U. K., John Wiley and sons, 2015, p. 15.

himself on the pianoforte; we returned to Bokestadt about half-past eleven, Count Wedel with us³².

To operas like *Le sacrifice interrompu* de Peter von Winter whose function took place at the Berlin Opera on Wednesday, 10 October 1827: “I dressed over again, and we went to the Opera, where we found Mr. Temple. The Opera was one of Winter’s, *Le Sacrifice Interrompu*, in German. Madeimoiselle Sontag sang, and her beauty and voice were quite equal to what we had expected”³³.

Thus, in the time period of one month, Lady Elizabeth and her companions could enjoy up to three performances of these features, always previous invitation taken by their counterparts from other European courts. On Thursday, 22 October, in Erfurt, when The Grand Duchess invited them to come to the play in a very large box, exactly in front of the stage, at six o’clock in the evening, there Lady Elizabeth refers that “the theatre is pretty and small: the play was *Katan of Heilbron* in German, and most entertaining”³⁴.

In the same way on 27 October, Saturday, at Frankfurt, and again a little before six in the evening, Mr. Coke, of the bank, called for them to take Lady Elizabeth and her group to his box at the Opera, where they saw *La Preciosa*, the music by Weber. Then we know, through the narration of the *Diary*, the play was over by nine, when they “came home and packed up their goods”³⁵.

6.—*Time for post and letters, sending and receiving them*

Within writing practices materializing all these features indicated by Petrucci to define a “writing community”, letters occupy, together with the family books, the first positions, since both written products reflect perfectly this collective conception of writing linked to a group. Armando Petrucci reminds us of the ability that epistolary writing has always had to survive the formats that have sheltered it (from the bone, the wood, the papyrus or the paper) leaving us in his work the hope of “understanding that the letter nowadays has some self-use areas and a specific and irreplaceable functionality”³⁶.

Having into account this doctrine, Belgrave, Lady Elizabeth’s husband, as he is named by his wife on the *Diary*, and other companions in this journey usually have letters of recommendation to merchants, or the Governor, or distinguished

32. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 65.

33. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 265.

34. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 287.

35. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, pp. 291-292.

36. CASTILLO GÓMEZ, Antonio: *Culturas del escrito en el mundo occidental, del Renacimiento a la contemporaneidad*. Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2015, p. 118.

people who encouraged their visit to different places, go shopping and so on. These letters of recommendation act as a safe passage to circulate along different European territories. In Helsingborg, on 3 May 1827, as an example, “Lord Bloomfield (+) had written, asking for one to meet us, but as it was only the day before we came away, our hussar could not possibly arrive in time”³⁷. In the same way on Wednesday 22 August, when shopping in Russia, Lady Elizabeth’s husband called on Monsieur Tschumaya, a Greek merchant, to whom he had a letter from Mr. Bulgakow at Petersburg, and who immediately came down to walk with them, and to go shopping³⁸.

In the city of Falun, on Wednesday, 4 July, the group got up and breakfasted, and they went out about one to call on the Governor of the city, for whom they had a letter³⁹. The same situation is repeated three days later, on 7 July, Saturday, when they arrived at the house of Monsieur Barouins, close to the mine of Danemora, for whom they had a letter of recommendation⁴⁰. And on 23 July, when Belgrave had a letter for a Mr. Alftan, who went with them at nine in the morning to see them on board a little vessel which carried them about half a mile across the sea to the fortress of Sveaborg⁴¹.

As we can see, it is usual to begin the morning using a letter of recommendation that will be very useful to spend the rest of the day, and these letters can be based on former promises arranged during previous stages on their trip, as it occurs on 9 August 1827, Thursday: “Mr. Kennedy came just after breakfast to receive our last words and execute our commissions, and to bring us letters for Moscow (...) just before we set out, I received a letter from Princess Lieven, enclosing another from the Empress-mother to the Governor of Moscow, as she had promised us”⁴². Another example: “On 10 September, in Demuth’s (S. Petersburg). The Empress was the perfection of kindness and good-nature; and gave me *sweets and sugar-comfits*; we had a very pleasant dinner, after which she took leave of us, promising me a letter for the Grand Duchess of Weimar”⁴³.

Sometimes, Lady Elizabeth herself or her husband become carriers of traveler’s with whom they have shared stages on the trip, as it occurs on 29 May 1827, Tuesday, when Belgrave went to find Mr. Chapman, a merchant, for whom he had a letter from his brother, who was a passenger on the Hamburg steamboat with them⁴⁴.

37. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 26.

38. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 196.

39. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 92.

40. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 97.

41. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 134.

42. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 184.

43. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 238.

44. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 24.

On the other hand, the Penny post altered human relations. Family and friends could, at last, easily keep in touch with distant relatives, but cheap postage also provided new opportunities for blackmailers and other issues⁴⁵. According to Lady Elizabeth's narration, post arrives twice a day, one after breakfast and the other one after tea time. Meanwhile letters of recommendation are received at any time of the day and are able to travel besides its owners, there is another type of correspondence arriving at certain hours of the day. Formal invitation letters, as an example, could be received by Lady Elizabeth after teatime, as it occurs on 2 August, when she receives a letter from Madame de Lieven, appointing them to pass next Sunday at Pauloffsky, with the Dowager-Empress⁴⁶.

Finally we can find notes inviting them to dinner that can be received at any time of the day referring to an event for the next day. As an example, on 8 October, Monday, during the stay at Berlin, the Duke of Cumberland came to meet them, and brought the group a very kind note from the Duchess, in answer to one that Lady Elizabeth had sent her, inviting them to dine with them the following day⁴⁷. Or on Thursday, 11 October, in Tegel, when: "Soon after Mr. Temple was gone, we received a note from Baron Humboldt, inviting us to a dinner at twelve o'clock next day at his brother's at Tegel, to meet the King and Royal family, and announcing that he would call himself at ten in the evening upon us; and accordingly he came"⁴⁸.

7.—Libraries, bookstores, memory books and famous poets

Britain's reign of Queen Victoria saw unprecedented changes in the social structure of the "first industrial nation." Among the great landowner who formed the traditional ruling elite and the complex gradation of wage workers in the countryside and in the cities, the middle classes grew to thicken the central part of the social pyramid⁴⁹. The new printing methods and the disappearance of the taxes on the printed paper, like the stamp duty, lowered the costs of the printing press and, therefore, the prices of books and newspapers in general, thus boosting their consumption. On the other hand, the disappearance of illiteracy had a double effect, widened the consumer group of these printed products and, in turn, the

45. GOLDEN, Catherine: *Posting it: the Victorian Revolution in Letter Writing*. USA, University Press of Florida, 2009, p. 179.

46. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, pp. 156-157.

47. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 257.

48. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 266; SHERMAN, Stuart: *Telling Time: clocks, diaries and English diurnal form, 1660-1785*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press books, 1997.

49. WALTON, John K.: "La clase media en la Gran Bretaña victoriana: identidad, poder y cultura, 1837-1901". *Historia contemporánea*, 23 (2001) 423-444.

increase of this population, which demanded to have access to written information, enabled the reduction of costs, not being any more a luxury product for wealthy classes. The number of newspapers published at different prices, related to the various social groups⁵⁰, increased. It has been estimated that at least ten thousand different newspapers and magazines were published (at least for a few issues) during this Period. Women's magazines early in the century had been largely for the upper classes, featuring Paris fashions, intellectual pastimes, and court news. But some of these newspapers were in some occasions expensive; women often had no chance to see them; men read the paper at their office or club. The novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, as an example, shared a subscription with several neighbors; they bought one copy between them and passed it around⁵¹.

Almost all of the libraries existing in Europe and America at the beginning of the nineteenth century responded to the model of *Library of the Prince*, symbol of power and mode of social and cultural ostentation, and at the same time, libraries for studies and erudition⁵². Taking into account this social and cultural context, we still find that time for buying books, visiting libraries or famous poets, like Goethe, on the pages of *Diary*, is concentrated in the morning. In this way, in Limbye, on Monday 28 May 1827, the group led by Lady Elizabeth stopped half-way to see the University Library, and a collection of curious old things which had been found in the Tumuli (...) "(before the use of iron, and the consequent improvements in metal)", Lady Elizabeth explains⁵³.

And the main characters along the narration of *Diary of a tour*, in the context of these cultural visits, project their bibliophile knowledge. Not in vain the Westminster marriage, as seen in a previous section, had internalized the activities of reading and writing in the family and domestic environment. In Skokloster, a seat of Count de Brâhès, on Monday 9 July, Lady Elizabeth and Belgrave saw "several other apartments were occupied by a great quantity of books of all languages, which if arranged would make a fine library"⁵⁴. And in Stockholm, on Monday 16 July, they expressed their desire to visit the Museum of Antiques and the Royal Library, where there were some very curious treasures; among others, Lady Elizabeth points out an enormous Bible "said to have been executed in one night, with the assistance of the Devil"⁵⁵.

50. CORTÉS SALINAS, Carmen: *La Inglaterra victoriana*. Madrid, Akal, 1985, p. 38.

51. MITCHELL, Sally: *Daily life in Victorian England*. London, Greenwood Press, 1996, p. 237.

52. PETRUCCI, Armando: *Alfabetismo, escritura y sociedad*. Barcelona, Gedisa, 1999, p. 284; MARTÍNEZ MOCTEZUMA, Lucía: *La infancia y la cultura escrita*. Argentina, Siglo XXI Editores, 2001, p. 207.

53. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 20.

54. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 105.

55. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 123.

At Drottingholm Palace, on the outskirts of Stockholm, home of the Royal Family, in the morning of July 17th, Tuesday, the couple is received by Count and Countess Charles of Lowenholm, the Governor of the Castle. There “it is also a pretty library, and a small gallery of antique busts” (...) “There is in the drawing-room a book-case, containing, among other books, *Le Cabinet des Fées*”⁵⁶.

When the members of the group accompanying Lady Elizabeth on the journey need to buy pocket-books, maps, books, writing materials among other things, they also use morning time to do this type of activity. So they did it on Monday 6 August when “Belgrave and I went out soon after breakfast on a shopping tour, to buy books, maps, etc...and to see the Convent and Church of Alexander Neffsky”⁵⁷. And at the end of the same week in Saint Petersburg: “After we had arranged our beds, we went into the shop for the gold and silver embroideries on leather for which Torjok is celebrated. We bought fourteen large sashes and thirteen small ones, a pocket-book, and a good many shoes...”⁵⁸. Or on Monday 15 October, at Berlin, when they went to the booksellers and bought some books and got through some more packing⁵⁹. Sometimes these materials are a bit more special and the narrator feels herself bound to record it on the *Diary*, like the pocket-book she buys in San Petersburg on Tuesday 18 September 1827, “a purple leather souvenir pocket-book”⁶⁰.

Eleven in the morning is the time arranged by the hereditary Grand Duchess to pay Goethe, the poet, a visit on 22 October, Monday, in Weimar. This time of visit had been written by the poet on a note:

Accordingly Belgrave and I walked there after breakfast, and found him in a comfortable home; he was very amiable and agreeable; talked in French rather with difficulty, but pleasantly, and on literary subjects; he seemed quite alive to everything, and sent messages to my brother Francis, who had paid him a visit last year. He has a fine head, with great expression, and does not give one the idea of being seventy-eight years old⁶¹.

8.—*Time related to Genealogy and History*

According to Armando Petrucci’s doctrine, we have to attend to times of writing, stages enclosing their function and social diffusion. The first one is time

56. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 126.

57. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 165.

58. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 186.

59. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 274.

60. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 243.

61. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 284.

of acquisition, that one related to graphic competence attending to social conditions and functions attributed to written culture at each stage: literacy policies, speeches on reading and writing and the meaning of both practices in different periods and for different social classes. Then there is time for production, manufacturing written products, certain uses aimed at passing on certain ideologies. And finally time for the reception, with the prominence acquired by readers, promoted to foreground with the aesthetics reception, by the 1970s, with authors such as Jauss and Iser⁶². In that sense we can distinguish with Augusto Roa Bastos between author's time and reader's time⁶³. In this sense, it can be established that Lady Elizabeth began a double process of writing; on the one hand she elaborated her original diary in 1827, which is presented in epistolary form, like a succession of letters. Her diary become confident, refuge and her liberation, while at the same time she visited different European countries; and later, in the year 1879, she undertakes a reprocessing of the text with the intention of publishing a narrative. It is true that she carried out some tasks of self-censoring, modifying data, adding new information and eliminating uninteresting or inadequate parts. This is the spirit and context that guides all the historical and genealogical references flooding pages and footnotes on the first edition of her *Diary of a tour*. All of them are a later additive⁶⁴. In this sense we have to take into account that people of the nineteenth century were fascinated by time because they were conscious of being its victims. It is the time of all sentimental stays against the quickening pace of time's erosion. An awareness of time as history inspired the intellectual discoveries of the period, in geology, evolution, biblical criticism, archaeology, anthropology... In this context, wherever one looks, in almost every area of intellectual life, one encounters a preoccupation with ancestry and descent, with tracing the genealogy of the present in the past, and with discovering or creating links to a formative history⁶⁵.

In this sense, we will have to remind that since Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor wrote *Diary of a tour in Sweden...* until the book was published (1827-1879) a long time has passed, fifty two years. Therefore she feels a need to explain, with all kind of details, the genealogy of all these characters who appear, alive or dead, on the pages of her *Diary*. She defines her own husband in terms of nobility, explaining

62. GONZÁLEZ SÁNCHEZ, Carlos A.: *Homo viator, homo scribens, Cultura gráfica, información y gobierno en la expansión atlántica (ss. XV-XVII)*. Barcelona, Marcial Pons Historia, 2007, p. 26.

63. GIMENO BLAY, Francisco: *De las Ciencias Auxiliares a la Historia de la Cultura Escrita*. Valencia, Seminari Internacional d'Estudis sobre la Cultura Escrita Universitat de València, 1999, p. 26.

64. MANDINGORRA LLAVATA, Mari Luz: *Conservar las escrituras privadas, configurar las identidades, Seminari Internacional d'Estudis sobre la Cultura escrita*. Valencia, Seminari Internacional d'Estudis sobre la Cultura Escrita Universitat de València, 2000, p. 13.

65. GILMOUR, Robin: *The Victorian period. The intellectual and cultural Context of English Literature (1830-1890)*. London, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013, p. 25.

his actual and past condition due to heritage; she also does the same with her mother and brother, her closest familiar surroundings: “On Saturday, 19 March “Belgrave* My husband, Richard, afterwards second Marquis of Westminster, but who was then Viscount Belgrave, in the lifetime of his father, Earl Grosvenor”⁶⁶; “On Saturday, 13 October. Exhibition of the Manufacturers of Berlin. ...there were some beautiful *gros d’étés*, of which the Duchess ordered a pink gown for me, and blue for Mamma*... (...) My mother, the Duchess-Countess of Sutherland”⁶⁷.

In other cases, she tries to elaborate a little biography about the person mentioned in the text, indicating their family relationships besides their professional occupations:

On Tuesday, 22 March. We ordered dinner for half-past five, and Belgrave went out to find a Monsieur Stächer, who had been recommended, poor man, as being useful, by Mr. W. Wynn* (...) Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry W. Williams-Wynn, a younger brother of the late Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, Bart., M. P., and of the Right Hon. C. W. Williams-Wynn, M. P. He was British Minister at Copenhagen from 1824 to 1852. He died in 1856⁶⁸.

It is also frequent to contemplate Lady Elizabeth giving concise lessons about History, especially related to Heraldry, as the one concerning the Danish Order of the Elephant, its origin, similitude and festivity:

On Tuesday, 29 May (The Palace of Frederiksborg, Copenhagen). The shields of the Knights of the Order of the Elephant* are hung up in this chapel (...) This chief royal Danish Order dates from Christian I, A. D. 1458, though some writers claim for it a still higher antiquity. Originally religious, it is now secular, like our own Order of the Garter. It is under a presidency of a chapter of the Royal Order, established at Copenhagen in 1808. The annual festival of the Order of the Elephant is January 1st⁶⁹.

On a separate issue, in order to understand some historical references used by Lady Elizabeth concerning several marriages related to the same referred character, we have to remind that, before the eighteenth century it was thought that a woman was a much more sexual being and more able to enjoy sex than man. To the extension of this idea contributed, without any doubt, the history of original sin, which determined the cliché about woman as a practically asexual being⁷⁰. In the nineteenth-century England, medicine and other related disciplines made female

66. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 1.

67. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 269.

68. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 5.

69. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 23.

70. SCHWANITZ, Dietrich: *La cultura, todo lo que hay que saber*. Madrid, Taurus, 2018.

body be an almost obsessive object of analysis to justify her role in patriarchal society. These studies sought to demonstrate that women were intellectually inferior to men as a result of their reproductive specialization. It was precisely the same argument social Darwinism used to confront feminist demands for access to higher education and greater participation in the public sphere. Psychiatrists emphasized that continued intellectual effort had fatal consequences on adolescent minds, not to mention the impact on their reproductive system⁷¹. In particular, psychoanalysis seemed to liberate the sexuality dimension and moral and social burdens that nineteenth-century culture had imposed⁷².

According to this exhibition line, Lady Elizabeth also shows herself worried about explaining her readers the different marriages related to feminine characters evoked on her pages: “On Sunday, the fifth of August, 1827. Palace of Tsarskoe-Selo (...) when old Princess Volkonsky, whom I remembered perfectly in England with the Grand Duchess Catharine*, came in... (...) Sister of the Emperor Alexander; her first husband was the Prince of Holstein-Oldenberg; she married secondly, in 1816, the late King of Wurtemberg”⁷³.

And on this other example:

On Saturday, the 16th September (...) The Empress continued to talk, and said a great many kind things about my eldest brother, Gower, and gave me messages for her family at Berlin, the Duchess of Cumberland*, etc... (...). The princess Federica Caroline Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz; she married, as her third husband, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, and eventually King of Hanover, who died in 1851. Her first husband was Prince Louis of Prussia; her second the prince of Solms⁷⁴.

In other occasions, and, as a product derived from the deep knowledge related to the patriarchal concept of the English society, she explains the professional activity of men belonging to the government of their nations. Minister Plenipotentiary, Her Britannic Majesty’s consul, Minister for Foreign Affairs are some of the professional activities highlighted by Lady Elizabeth on the pages of her book. Let’s examine the following examples:

On Tuesday, 29th May. Helsinborg (...) Lord Bloomfield (+) had written, asking for one to meet us, but as it was only the day before we came away, our

71. RODRÍGUEZ PASTOR, Cristina: “Vivir del aire. Ausencia y presencia del cuerpo femenino en la cultura victoriana”. En ARRIAGA, Mercedes *et al.*: *Sin carne: representaciones y simulacros del cuerpo femenino. Tecnología, Comunicación y Poder*. Sevilla, Arcibel editores, 2006, p. 273.

72. DE MARTINO, Giulio and BRUZZESE, Marina: *Las filósofas, las mujeres protagonistas en la historia del pensamiento*. Madrid, Cátedra, 1994, p. 359.

73. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 160.

74. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 235.

hussar could not possibly arrive in time. Benjamin, first Lord Bloomfield, G. C. B., etc..., then Minister-Plenipotentiary at the Court of Sweden. He died in 1846⁷⁵.

On Tuesday, 29th May. Helsinborg (...) In the afternoon we had a visit from Mr. Turing (++) , who was very civil, and very kindly lent Belgrave some money, of which he found he had not enough to get on to Gottenburg. The late Sir J. H. Turing, Bart., many years Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Rotterdam. He died in 1860⁷⁶.

On Saturday, the 28th July (...) and at about eight we set out with Mr. and Mrs. Disbrowe in their carriage (a landau) to call first on Count and Countess Nesselrode*, who lives out in the country... (...) Count Nesselrode was for many years the Minister for Foreign Affairs at the Court of St. Petersburg⁷⁷.

Finally she pays attention to the explanation concerning different characters belonging to the European Royalty. Lady Elizabeth had close relations with Queen Victoria in her own country and therefore, no wonder she kept these contacts with a European nobility and royalty that came to be summed up in a few genealogical branches, royalty who had played a leading role and had been witness to the creation of old Europe, to whom she, Marchioness of Westminster, felt truly very close. Among these royal characters she distinguishes between those ones belonging to the past centuries, like Eric VII, King of Sweden in the thirteenth century⁷⁸; St. Eric, who was one of the earliest Kings of Sweden and died in 1161⁷⁹ or Eric XIV:

On Monday, 25th June. Dronthiem. On account of the Crown-Princess* having a second son, the Viceroy was obliged (luckily) to change his ball into a great dinner for the gentlemen only. Née Princesse Josephine de Leuchtenberg; this second son was Prince Francis, who died young⁸⁰ (...) There is a monument of the family of Stures who were massacred by Eric XIV (+), (...) King of Sweden in 1560-1568⁸¹.

And the ones related to the nineteenth century, the period in which she wrote her diary and was working on it in order to publish it. The situations evoking these historical annotations around royal characters belonging to that moment are usually personalized invitations to palaces and royal residences: "On Thursday, 13th September (...) we saw the Empress' youngest child, the Little Grand Duchess Olga*, walking in the garden (...) Born in 1822, and married in 1846 to Prince

75. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER. *Diary of a tour*, p. 26.

76. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER. *Diary of a tour*, p. 26.

77. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 140.

78. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 100.

79. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 109.

80. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 83.

81. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 83.

Karl, then heir-apparent to the King of Wurtemberg, and now King”⁸². Or this situation at Rosendahl Palace:

On Wednesday, 18th July. A royal family at Home (...) At five o’clock we went to Rosendahl, a little place of the King’s, to dine, after being presented. It was all very pleasant, and we were charmed with the King himself*, who has better manners than anybody I ever saw... (...) This King was Charles XIV, (Bernardotte), the ablest of Napoleon’s marshals. He was elected Crown Prince in 1810, and succeeded to the Kingdom in 1818, on his predecessor’s death⁸³.

As well as military parades and feasts which Lady Elizabeth, Richard Belgrave—her husband— and her other companions enjoyed from a privileged location:

30 May. Copenhagen (...) We saw Her Majesty the Queen* coming home in a very small Green caliche drawn by six very pretty little black horses, very slow, with very big action, a very fat coachman (...) The Queen of Denmark. Her Majesty was Princess Sophia of Hesse-Cassel; she was the wife of Frederick VI, whose reign lasted from 1808 to 1839⁸⁴.

9.—*Time for writing and reading, atmospheric weather and “no time to write more”*

At this point we will try to assume how some works take over the graphic culture of their time, or at least some of its elements, to make writing the very matter of aesthetic creation⁸⁵. Researchers such as Armando Petrucci and others related understood that the use of writing and the distribution of writing skills in a given society offer us vital clues to understand how that society and its power structures worked. According to this perspective, the use of writing reveals lines of failure and society divisions, for example, those separating elites formed by clergymen and bureaucrats from a mass of peasants living on the margins of literacy, or, in more recent times, those separating men and women⁸⁶. The spread and the development of print media, affordable and known product by almost all social strata, contributed to mitigate these breakups in the nineteenth century. In 1850, around 560 newspapers were in circulation in England, of which only 9 were

82. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 232.

83. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 120.

84. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 28.

85. CHARTIER, Roger: *Inscribir y borrar. Cultura escrita y literatura (siglos XI-XVIII)*. Buenos Aires, Katz, 2006.

86. LIONS, Martyn and MARQUILHAS, Rita: *Un mundo de escrituras. Aportes a la historia de la cultura escrita*. Buenos Aires, Ediciones Ampersand, 2018, p. 12.

daily newspapers. The biggest shot was *The Times*, followed by *The Morning Post* and *The Daily Telegraph*, whose price was a penny, affordable to the wider public⁸⁷.

On the pages of *Diary of a tour in Sweden...* time for reading newspapers takes place in the evening, the time of the day in which the individual can have a global view about political, economic, culture and social events happened during the full day. This activity can be developed, according to our time axis linked to written culture practices, until 23.00 at night. This is the case on Tuesday, 28 August, when they “heard in the evening from the Hamburg newspaper of Mr. Canning’s death having taken place at Chiswick on the 8th”⁸⁸ or in Bellevue, on Saturday 14 July, when they stayed some time before they came home in a pouring rain, there found the English mail just arrived, and regaled themselves with tea, bread and butter, and the newspaper till eleven o’clock⁸⁹.

Sometimes, the time for writing letters is conditioned by the time when the post for England leaves, usually every day in the evening:

Saturday, 26th May Hamburg (...) We had a good long sleep, which was very refreshing, and immediately after breakfast set to writing our letters, as the post for England was going that evening. I afterwards wrote all this journal, for which I had plenty of time, as in the afternoon it began to rain (...) passed at home⁹⁰.

Also on the journal entry belonging to Friday, 13 July 1827, Lady Elizabeth refers that “As it was still raining we did not go out in the morning, but finished our letters for the post, which was to go that evening”⁹¹. In other occasions post for England was going before in the afternoon, about three o’clock: “Tuesday, 31st July. We wrote letters in the morning for the courier, who was to set out at three”⁹².

As we have been able to verify through this last quotation, atmospheric weather also affects time for writing and reading, as we can contemplate in the following entries of the journal. Thunderstorms, rain pouring in torrents, or even stormy, rainy and windy days make our characters stay the remain of the day at home, thereby increasing time spent in reading and writing to make contact with their relatives and friends; as it occurs in “A very stormy, rainy, windy day. We stayed in our room all the morning, writing letters and reading”⁹³ and on Sunday 29 July, where “It rained in torrents when we came out, so we came straight home,

87. CORTÉS SALINAS, Carmen: *La Inglaterra victoriana*. Madrid, Akal, 1985, p. 38.

88. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 208.

89. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 116.

90. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 14.

91. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 113.

92. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 150.

93. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 108.

and wrote till four, when we walked out and went to the Kasan Church”⁹⁴. The inclement weather is often used as an excuse by the author to staff narration with poetic features: “Wednesday, 30th May (...) Belgrave was very busy writing and settling matters all the morning, and I wrote letters, and am now writing this with the help of a great thunderstorm, which is growling (...) the rain also pouring in torrents like a water-spout”⁹⁵. We would have to remind in this sense that a public scientific office like the British Meteorological Department in particular exposed the sharp split between popular interest in forecasting and the distaste of many men of science for utilitarian goals in Science, at that time. The development of meteorology as a model of collective science, partly in response to the disorderly world of popular weather prophecy⁹⁶.

Activities such as writing letters or even writing the own journal are usually performed before breakfast: “Tuesday 19 June. Wrote letters. After breakfast, received a visit...”⁹⁷; or in the evening, it means, at the beginning or at the end of the day, in order not to break other activities like visiting castles, libraries, cities or going shopping: “Monday, 28th May. Limbye. We came home exhausted and hungry at a little before seven, dined at half-past seven, passed the evening in paying our bills, writing this journal, etc...”⁹⁸. Nevertheless, as we have analyzed, when weather emerges as a conditioning factor, writing or reading can be developed at any time of the day.

On the other hand, writing can also even be considered as an amusing activity to kill time: “Wednesday, 20 June. I amused myself with writing letters and drawing in the morning...”⁹⁹. Although sometimes it can be identified with the amusement of telling:

Wednesday, 22 August, Nisnei Novogorod, on the Volga, three hundred and sixty miles from Moscow, and near the confines of Siberia, Tartary, Persia, etc... (...) This is certainly a fine and imposing date to begin with, and though I did not expect to write again before returning to St. Petersburg, I cannot let a few moments pass by this morning without giving myself the amusement of telling you some more of our history, which has been perfectly prosperous¹⁰⁰.

In other cases writing can become an exhausting activity, taking into account the short time available for the protagonists of this story when the good weather

94. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 147.

95. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 26.

96. ANDERSON, Katharine: *Predicting the weather. Victorians and the Science of Meteorology*. London, The University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. 10.

97. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 71.

98. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 81.

99. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 72.

100. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 198.

multiplies visits and events outdoors. Specially transit days between one city and another are presented as unpropitious to generate a time to write down the essence of time lived: “This morning, however, it is quite fine again; but I have no time to write more, as it is our last day, and we shall be out the whole of it...”¹⁰¹; “Tuesday August the seventh. (...) I came home with Belgrave, and wrote letters till near twelve, when I went to bed dreadfully tired (...) I want so much to write, and have so little time that it is quite terrible”¹⁰².

10.—Conclusion

In the chronological context of the Contemporary Age, we have tried to reflect on the different written forms of depicting time through a privileged conductor thread: *Diary of a tour in Sweden, Norway and Russia with letters* by Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, Marchioness of Westminster. The pages of her diary encompass numerous references to the fact that time and its social organization must be represented to be appropriate. And, in our case, written culture, in the form of a diary with letters, elaborated by an English noble woman, has been the basic way of its representation. From a specific case, the thorough and detailed analysis of the work concerned has sought to rebuild the way in which English nobility, a woman in this case, has represented under written formulas—the various entries on her diary—one of the basic dimensions of her existence such as social group: the time, its social organization and the various spaces of time related to written culture referring to education, amusement, mailing, communicating, writing practices, interest in Genealogy or Heraldry and, even, the relationship between lifetime organization and atmospheric weather; or the correlation between timescales of the daytime and the execution of certain cultural activities.

The traveling incursions to visit cultural institutions, for example, show us, readers belonging to another age, the educational panorama of old Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, offering a detailed report about cultural objectives surrounding members of this social group. Other activities in which English nobility was recognized as a social group, reading and writing, for example, began to be conditioned by various factors related to social development, undermining their possibilities as a relevant and exclusive social group: incoming and outgoing post in England, printed editions of newspapers or even the own inclement weather, the forecast of which this society was becoming more and more interested in. Writing as a vehicle propitiating the action, is the case of the letters of recommendation, and is also part of the temporal parameters typical of this social

101. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 120.

102. MARCHIONESS OF WESTMINSTER: *Diary of a tour*, p. 168.

group. They knew and were aware of being a victim of time, and not avoiding its inexorable *Tempus fugit*. A double time of writing and re-writing represented at the process of work production, as already noted, with 52 years in between, the desire and the need to seize the past and revive it by praising and commenting those who are not, trying to sketch these incipient genealogical exercises... All this through the pen of a British woman, noble, well-mannered, who was able to see in reading and writing processes a means of evasion, and was lucky and courageous to express her views and publish them, participating actively in a publishing market almost entirely based on a patriarchal society.

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