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Trains of Reflections: Languages of the Mind in Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters written in Sweden, Norway and Denmark

Rosanna Wood¹

Reaching the cascade, or rather cataract, the roaring of which had a long time announced its vicinity, my soul was hurried by the falls into a new train of reflections. The impetuous dashing of the rebounding torrent from the dark cavities which mocked the exploring eye, produced an equal activity in my mind: my thoughts darted from earth to heaven, and I asked myself why I was chained to life and its misery? Still the tumultuous emotions this sublime object excited, were pleasurable; and, viewing it, my soul rose, with renewed dignity, above its cares –grasping at immortality – it seemed as impossible to stop the current of my thoughts, as of the always varying, still the same, torrent before me – I stretched out my hand to eternity, bounding over the dark speck of life to come. (Wollstonecraft 89)

Kelly writes of Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters written in Sweden, Norway and Denmark that "It was published by Johnson in January 1796 and purports to be a travel book" (177). Indeed, it is, as the striking passage above shows, far more than any simple tourist guide to Scandinavia. Made up of twenty-five letters, this narrative of the journey made over the course of the summer of 1795 through a part of the world previously little portrayed for English audiences, "tells us more about the mind of the traveler-subject, charting her path through a 'heterogeneous modernity,' (Clifford 3)

¹ Rosanna's interest in nineteenth-century literature began with the discovery of Frances Hodgson Burnett, in a Victorian attic bedroom on the south east coast of England. Twenty years later, she recently completed an MA in Nineteenth Century Literature and Culture at the University of York, with research interests in Victorian Psychology, Memory, and Women's writing. She is currently reading, writing, and teaching in Valencia, Spain.

than about the three countries she visits" (Favret 209). Consequently, in documenting both her geographical and, in Myers' terms, "metaphorical" journey, Wollstonecraft unavoidably and yet with delicate mastery, absorbs the heterogeneity of her surrounding influences and of her own fluctuating emotional state, into the "desultory" (Wollstonecraft, *Advertisement*) style of her writing. Kelly writes, 'Accordingly, *Letters* includes lyrical description, apostrophe, self-reflection, political disquisition, deictic expressions, anecdotes, autobiographical allusions, literary quotations, maxims and typographical devices of expressivity (178).

The blending of autobiographical forms which plunge the reader into the moment of experience, with the professional distance of an edited literary work, results in a collection of letters whose eloquent descriptions are ever imbued with a deep sense of the personal (Holmes *ix*). Our narrator, the "female philosopher" (Kelly 178), reveals the sensibility of her nature in a way that the narrator of the polemic *Vindications*, restricted by political agenda, could not:

When a warm heart has received strong impressions, they are not to be effaced. Emotions become sentiments; and the imagination renders even transient sensations permanent, by fondly retracing them. I cannot, without a thrill of delight recollect views I have seen, which are not to be forgotten, -nor looks I have felt in every nerve which I shall never more meet. (Wollstonecraft 39)

It is this investment of the self into the text that interests me. For the author of *The Vindications of the Rights of Woman* to put herself in the position of such extraordinary vulnerability as to undertake to travel to Norway, Sweden and Denmark with her one year old daughter, (accompanied otherwise only by Fanny's nurse, Marguerite) on an ambitious business enquiry, is although remarkable, also somehow congruous; yet for her to make this endeavour on behalf of the man whose "rejection of her" (Brekke & Mee xiii) had driven her to an overdose of laudanum only two weeks previously, reveals a profoundly loyal nature under considerable strain. Similarly, for evidence of Wollstonecraft's continued suffering during the aftermath of her attempted suicide to permeate her letters home to Imlay, is unsurprising; but for Wollstonecraft as a writer to allow indelible traces of this personal fragility to be published in the final travel book, was, at the time, a commitment to perhaps ruinous self-exposure.

In this essay I would like to investigate the psychological relation between the Scandinavian landscapes which Wollstonecraft seeks to bring to her reader through her writing, and the suffusion of the self which occurs in the act of her doing so. I am interested in her use of the contemporary language of the mind to describe these complicated relations, in which her perceptions (and corresponding descriptions) of the visions before her are often difficult to distinguish from their impact on her mind.

Wollstonecraft's emotional response to nature in the *Letters* ties in with late eighteenth-century debates on aesthetics, which moved from perceiving aesthetic experience as an "instinctive response to sensory stimuli", to "something requiring mental effort, and as such subject to control and direction" (Price 4). Wollstonecraft writes in *Letter X* that: "Whatever excites emotion has charms for me; though I insist that the cultivation of the mind, by warming, nay almost creating the imagination, produces taste, and an immense variety of sensations and emotions, partaking of the exquisite pleasure inspired by beauty and sublimity" (62).

Wollstonecraft's views here are perhaps rooted in the philosopher Edmund Burke's introductory "Essay On Taste," which precedes his *Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful*, published in 1757²:

Taste, in its most general acceptation, is not a simple idea, but is partly made up of a perception of the primary pleasures of sense, of the secondary pleasures of the imagination, and of the conclusions of the reasoning faculty, concerning the various relations of these, and concerning the human passions, manners and actions. All this is requisite to form Taste, and the ground-work of all these is the same in the human mind... (Burke 23).

Both the *Essay* and the *Enquiry*, however, adopt a pseudo-scientific language of the mind based largely on meticulous philosophical conjecture and subjective opinion. Wollstonecraft, as a "woman of 'mind" (Kelly 21), utilises the hypotheses of others to aid the formation of her personal philosophical theories. Her *Vindications* famously contests Burke's "highly gendered" (Macdonald & Scherf 16) aesthetic categorisations of the awe-inspiring 'masculine' *sublime*, associated with greatness and power, and its opposing, delicate and 'feminine' *beautiful*, which, "associated with weakness",

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² The "Essay on Taste" was an addition inserted into the second edition, published in January 1759.

"inspires love" (Macdonald & Scherf 16). This unequal binary division in concepts of aesthetic appreciation was both reflective and accommodating of the gender relations of the day that Wollstonecraft keenly sought to disrupt. Wollstonecraft "begins her argument, accordingly, by redefining Burke's terms, making them less gendered and more equal" (Macdonald & Scherf 16). She writes: "truth, in morals, has ever appeared to me the essence of the sublime; and, in taste, simplicity the only criterion of the beautiful" (Wollstonecraft 35). Later on, she further modifies the concepts, so that "simplicity" as the beautiful, is "synonymous" to "truth": which is the sublime (Macdonald & Scherf 16).

Despite her passionate hostility to Burke's politics, Wollstonecraft was unwilling to relinquish the sublime. As a mode of response to natural scenery, the sublime was primarily an affective category, while the picturesque emphasised form and composition. Wollstonecraft's travel account *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark* (1796), manipulates the emotional register of the sublime from gentle melancholy to daring transcendence as she pioneers the creation of a female Romantic persona (Bohls 14).

Burke's sublime then, is a curious concept. It is defined in his *Enquiry* as that which causes the experience of feeling terror of pain and/or danger, and yet feeling it from an appropriate distance, or in the right context, so that our terror becomes, in fact, "delightful" (40). According to Burke, our innate instinct for "self-preservation" (51) causes us to be gripped with emotion in the face of danger, yet this only becomes "painful" (51) when pain or danger is imminently to strike; when the idea remains in the abstract, however, we feel something akin to pleasure: "Whatever excites this delight, I call *sublime*" (51).

The sublime is to be found throughout Wollstonecraft's *Letters*, sometimes drawing itself closer to Burke's description, and sometimes to Wollstonecraft's redefinition. The scene which immediately comes to mind when thinking of Burke's sense of the word, is that in *Letter V*, when Wollstonecraft and the party she is travelling with must "scale some of the most mountainous cliffs of Sweden" (Wollstonecraft 31):

Entering amongst the cliffs, we were sheltered from the wind; warm sun-beams began to play, streams to flow, and groves of pines diversified the rocks. Sometimes they

became suddenly bare and sublime. Once, in particular, after mounting the most terrific precipice, we had to pass through a tremendous defile, where the closing chasm seemed to threaten us with instant destruction, when turning quickly, verdant meadows and a beautiful lake relieved and charmed my eyes (31-32).

Another key element to Burke's sublime is "astonishment" (Burke 57): this is "the passion caused by the great and sublime in nature... that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror" (57). Wollstonecraft's sudden brush with "instant destruction" would indeed have been both astonishing and horrifying, and yet the source of the sublime is instantly removed, and replaced with the beautiful. Positioned in such contrast the two concepts are oppositional as in Burke's account, yet Wollstonecraft, appropriating the terms for her own narrative, refuses to instil either with any kind of gendered associations.

Burke's definition places astonishment as "the sublime in its highest degree" (57), while "the inferior effects are admiration, reverence and respect" (57). These effects too are felt in the above passage. All of nature's elements are powerful, active and capricious forces, working to guide and shape the surrounding atmosphere of the travellers, who must be helped or hindered as nature may please. It is through this sense of physical, fate-like dominance over Wollstonecraft, nature's ability (and mind) to at one moment offer certain death and the next all divine beauty, that it makes its impressions on the psyche.

Let us look to another passage from *Letter V*, in which Wollstonecraft, gazing up at the "noon of night" (34) northern Swedish sky, describes for us the ease with which one can become not only "enamoured of the moon" (34), in such a place, but quite moved by nature's overwhelming ascendancy, manifested as it throughout the scene:

But it is not the queen of night alone who reigns here in all her splendor, though the sun, loitering just below the horizon, decks her with a golden tinge from his car, illuminating the cliffs that hide him; the heavens also, of a clear softened blue, throw her forward, and the evening star appears a lesser moon to the naked eye. The huge shadows of the rocks, fringed with furs, concentrating the views, without darkening them, excited that tender melancholy which, sublimating the imagination, exalts, rather than depresses the mind (34).

Wollstonecraft submits to the sublimity of nature with heartfelt reverence. It is almost a divine presence for her. In this passage we may suddenly see how simplicity, beauty, truth and the sublime can be all brought together into one focused, synonymous presence in nature. The result is a 'sublimating' of the imagination, and in this beautiful, poetic, psychological bowing-down to the natural world, we are blessed in exaltation.

In his Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman, William Godwin discusses his wife's "inexpressible delight in the beauties of nature, and in the splendid reveries of the imagination" (18), in relation to her own very personal form of religion. He connects her fervent appreciation of the natural world with "the growth of her own moral taste" (18). He writes: "But nature itself, she thought, would be no better than a vast blank, if the mind of an observer did not supply it with an animating soul" (18).

For Wollstonecraft, then, this is a reciprocal relationship. Nature is but an empty vessel without (wo)man to lend it its brilliance. What does this mean? Up until now, nature has been the sublime, the beautiful: the truth. It is an active, dominating power, radiating light and warmth, driving winds, streams, concentrating views, exciting and exalting the mind; yet now, it seems, that the active force comes not from without, but from within our own minds. This is an empowering if radical view from a personal, spiritual and religious perspective, for it puts divinity in our own hands, and with active choice. However, communion with nature is essential to reaching this exalted state of mind.

In her *Hints*, or notes for the proposed "Second Part" of the *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* Wollstonecraft writes that "the passions speak most eloquently, when they are not shackled by reason" (409, *Vindications*). She further expands this thought in another note:

Mr Kant has observed, that the understanding is sublime, the imagination beautiful – yet it is evident, that poets, and men who undoubtedly possess the liveliest imagination, are most touched by the sublime, while men who have cold, enquiring minds, have not this exquisite feeling in any great degree, and indeed seem to lose it as they cultivate their reason (409).

For Wollstonecraft, one must "possess the liveliest imagination" in order to be most receptive to the sublimity of nature. Indeed this point seems to be at the centre of her philosophy, and equally, at the centre of her selfhood:

Nature is the nurse of sentiment, - the true source of taste; yet what misery, as well as rapture, is produced by a quick perception of the beautiful and sublime, when it is exercised in observing animated nature, when every beauteous feeling and emotion excites responsive sympathy, and the harmonized soul sinks into melancholy, or rises to exstasy, just as the chords are touched, like the Aeolian harp agitated by the changing wind. But how dangerous is it to foster these sentiments in such an imperfect state of existence; and how difficult to eradicate them when an affection for mankind, a passion for an individual, is but the unfolding of that love which embraces all that is great and beautiful (Wollstonecraft 39).

Kelly writes that Wollstonecraft "saw herself as a divided personality" (25) and "often suffered from mental and emotional exhaustion and apathy" (25). In this passage she allows herself to fully recognise the underside to her extreme sensibility. The key to her person, to her unification with nature and her God, to her very philosophy of womanhood, is *sensibility*. Yet, as the centre of her 'self', it is this very feature that we find characterised in Wollstonecraft's undoing vulnerability, her tenacious loyalty to the father of her child, her exposure to the lowest of feeling as well as the most exalted. In *Letter XII* she laments: "Why has nature so many charms for me – calling forth and cherishing refined sentiments, only to wound the breast that fosters them?" (73). The pain of existence, when one is so sensitive, and so exposed to absorbing feeling from one's surroundings and interactions, exerts an unwelcome pressure on the mind.

Let us return to the opening passage of this essay, for this is where Wollstonecraft's depiction of her mental processes engages most vividly with the forces of nature. Its opening line bursts with energy and vitality: "Reaching the cascade, or rather cataract, the roaring of which had a long time announced its vicinity, my soul was hurried by the falls into a new train of reflections" (Wollstonecraft 89). Elsewhere in the text, Wollstonecraft exclaims "What... is this active principle which keeps me still awake?" (11), alluding to contemporary "debates on 'vitalism', and the question of whether life had its origins in some super-added principle or arose innately from the organization

of matter"³ (Brekke & Mee 169). The energy, the very roaring of the cascading water is all of life's exuberance; and has been so for all eternity, for all we know. This is nature at its most invigorating, and Wollstonecraft's 'soul' is "hurried" by this life-source, onwards and forwards, at a pace she cannot resist: carried into a "new train of reflections." This is a direct reference to Dr David Hartley, who used the term "psychology" to refer to "the study of the soul" (Brown 361) in his *Observations on Man*, published in 1749. This work was central to the establishment of "Associationism" as "a fully-fledged philosophical system based on a theory of the physical working of the mind" in the eighteenth-century (Bourne Taylor & Shuttleworth 67).

Associationism was originally based on the idea that the mind spontaneously links ideas in chains of thought – that it was the mental representations themselves which somehow recognized their affinity with each other... In his *Observations on Man...* Hartley argued that the repetition of associations created a set of physical vibrations along a continuum between the nerves and the brain (Bourne Taylor & Shuttleworth 67-68).

Boulton writes, that "Among aesthetic theorists... the theory became of increasing importance... particularly for the insights it provided into the way in which emotional effect depends on association" (xxxiii). Wollstonecraft then, refers to associationism in the turn of phrase "train of reflections", which she uses several times in the letters, two others of which are also metaphorically connected with water. In *Letter XIX* she writes of a scene which "plunged me into a train of reflections" (104), and earlier, in *Letter VIII* the phrase appears similarly, once again, in the context of Wollstonecraft sharing the work of rowing a boat in the sea with a lady who is pregnant. She is enjoying the new experience:

I soon became expert, and my train of thinking kept time, as it were, with the oars, or I suffered the boat to be carried along by the current, indulging a pleasing forgetfulness, or fallacious hopes. –How fallacious! yet, without hope, what is to sustain life, but the fear of annihilation – the only thing of which I have ever felt a dread – I cannot bear to think of being no more – of losing myself – though existence is often but a painful

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³ The concept of natural objects being sentient, or alive in unusual ways, is also addressed in *Letter IX*: "Not nymphs, but philosophers, seemed to inhabit the [pines] – ever musing; I could scarcely conceive that they were without some consciousness of existence – without a calm enjoyment of the pleasure they diffused" (Wollstonecraft 57).

⁴ It is not difficult to understand the leap between the words 'chain' and 'train', which became interchangeable. The word 'train' has been used since the mid-fifteenth century in a similar sense: "With of indicating composition. (a) A line or trail on a surface" (OED Online).

consciousness of misery; nay, it appears to me impossible that I should cease to exist, or that this active, restless spirit, equally alive to joy and sorrow, should only be organized dust – ready to fly abroad the moment the spring snaps, or the spark goes out, which kept it together (51).

This 'train of thought' is, as well as poignant, fascinating to follow. We can never know whether Wollstonecraft was attempting a truthful representation of a reverie she fell into while rowing along, her thought-pattern rhythmically punctuated by the oar, and represented by the dash; or whether she was recounting the story of rowing the little boat and began to ponder on life's meaning in the moment of writing. The rhythm of the words in this thought-provoking monologue is expressive of an unhappy mind, articulating each phrase as it comes, much in the way of an emotional speech, or indeed, thought process. The style, inseparable from the motion of the oar as it pushes through the water, is reminiscent of William James' famous paragraph, written just over a century later, in 1890:

Consciousness then, does not appear to itself chopped up in bits. Such words as 'chain' or 'train' do not describe it fitly as it presents itself in the first instance. It is nothing jointed; it flows. A 'river' or a 'stream' are the metaphors by which it is most naturally described. In talking of it hereafter, let us call it the stream of thought, or of consciousness, or of subjective life' (239)⁵.

Let us return once again to the cascading waterfall of the opening quote. The second sentence, "The impetuous dashing of the rebounding torrent from the dark cavities which mocked the exploring eye, produced an equal activity in my mind: my thoughts darted from earth to heaven, and I asked myself why I was chained to life and its misery?", presents an extraordinary merging of mind and nature. The violence of the 'rebounding torrent' as it bursts from the 'dark cavities,' themselves imitative of the unconscious in their production of thought from unknowable recesses, is unstoppable. We feel the inevitability of this stream, and are both helpless and strangely disinclined to resist. Next comes the profound, the questioning of the divine: there was no other way; she had already thought the thought. Her mind has become indistinguishable from the torrent:

Still the tumultuous emotions this sublime object excited, were pleasurable; and, viewing it, my soul rose, with renewed dignity, above its cares –grasping at immortality – it

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⁵ The term 'Stream of Consciousness' was actually first used in English in the late 1870s by philosopher G.H Lewes (Holland), not by James.

seemed as impossible to stop the current of my thoughts, as of the always varying, still the same, torrent before me – I stretched out my hand to eternity, bounding over the dark speck of life to come (89).

This is all-consuming sublimity, drawing her towards danger for the very thrill of cheating 'self-preservation'. The space between the moment before this human hand touches the water and the union between nature and the self is at last able to stretch across the boundaries between life and death for this poor tormented soul, and the moment in which "we turned with regret from the cascade" (89), is unrecognised by the text. We are left with a hole in our narration, a space for us ourselves to fall, lost, into our own chasms of doubt and reflection.

It seems then, that the pursuit of this union with the sublime, and therefore 'the truth', is not meant to end in any final attainment; 'the truth' is the motivation, the reason for existing in 'this painful consciousness of misery', it is the aesthetic experience of life: a narrative of unattainable desire, "the ideal life that is always out of reach" (Holmes 20).

To examine this question further, let us look back to the earlier *Letter XIII*, written from the seaside tranquillity of Tonsberg:

With what ineffable pleasure have I not gazed – and gazed again, losing my breath through my eyes – my very soul diffused itself in the scene – and, seeming to become all senses, glided in the scarcely-agitated waves, melted in the freshening breeze, or taking its flight with fairy wing, to the misty mountains which bounded the prospect fancy tript over new lawns, more beautiful even than the lovely slopes on the winding shore before me. – I pause, again breathless, to trace, with renewed delight, sentiments which entranced me, when, turning my humid eyes from the expanse below to the vault above, my sight pierced the fleecy clouds that softened the azure brightness; and, imperceptibly recalling the reveries of my childhood, I bowed before the awful throne of my Creator, whilst I rested on its footstool... (50).

Wollstonecraft's pursuit of unattainable desire in nature is, it seems, not born simply of intellectual or religious devotion, but also perhaps of bodily desire. In this eroticised passage, set in the context of reveries made upon waking from solitary slumber in an isolated spot on the Tonsberg coastline, after "sometimes, reclining on the mossy down, under the shelter of a rock," (49) and

falling asleep, we read the language of (autonomous) orgasm. This 'breathless', carnal fantasy of gliding, and melting, of waves and 'flight to the misty mountains', 'which bounded the prospect fancy', of entrancing sentiments and of piercing into the 'azure brightness' of heaven, is unmistakeably sexual. It is a dream of union between body, mind and soul: union of the self, defined through the natural surroundings of the narrator, as she is "diffused" into them.

This merging of the unconscious with land and seascape is, as we have seen, characteristic of the *Letters*. In questioning Wollstonecraft's daring in her investment of the self into her depictions of the Scandinavian natural beauty, I raised a problem very similar to that answered by the *Advertisement* to the *Letters* concerning Wollstonecraft's anxiety surrounding the egotism of employing a first-person narrative. To avoid this, she attempts to "arrange" her thoughts, but finds that they immediately become "stiff and affected" (*Advertisement*):

I, therefore, determined to let my remarks and reflections flow unrestrained, as I perceived that I could not give a just description of what I saw, but by relating the effect different objects had produced on my mind and feelings, whilst the impression was still fresh (*Advertisement*).

I would like to propose that Wollstonecraft could not have taken her 'self' out of her "bold sketches" (158, Analytical Review), for they are herself, imprinted on her psyche as she experienced them; and her emotional and psychic journey, her "very personal version of associationism" (Myers 166) is (happily) inextricable from this powerful and original work.

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