[Book] State of Emergency: a Greek inheritance

[Thesis]

Travel writing's past, politics and processes: a core sample

Submitted by Helena Drysdale to the University of Exeter

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Abstract

This PhD comprises a book and thesis. *State of Emergency* is an interdisciplinary work of travel, history, memoir and biography, with sections cut and summarised to meet the word count. The thesis has evolved through an open-minded enquiry into ways of re-evaluating the history and discourse of travel writing, challenging critical approaches and seeking a new way forward by using personal stories. It presents an original analogy for research, criticism and creative writing called ‘core-sampling’. *State of Emergency* demonstrates its practical application.

State of Emergency follows the footsteps of my ancestor George Bowen, author of the 1854 John Murray *Handbook to Greece,* the world’s first stand-alone practical guide to Greece. Travelling with Bowen's Handbook and unpublished journal, I open up a contested imperial past, while witnessing an economic meltdown and migrant crisis that again thrust Greece onto the world stage, prompting urgent questions about national destiny, colonialism, migration, travel, and uses of the past.

The thesis examines Bowen and his Handbook from historical, critical and postcolonial perspectives, and enquires into ways of re-evaluating the aesthetics and politics of travel and life-writing. It asks how to navigate Bowen’s imperial legacy and position myself as a travel writer. ‘Core-sampling’, a geological method of excavation, provides an analogy for an interrogation of self, other, place and the past, unearthing connections that can promote empathy and self-knowledge, and avoid pitfalls of imperialist objectification, and self-obsession. Analysis is drawn from history, anthropology, philosophy and literary and postcolonial criticism, and case studies include works of life-writing.

Table of Contents

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Travel writing's past, politics and processes: a core sample

by Helena Drysdale

Introduction

'The struggles of Modern Greece must command the sympathy of all thoughtful minds.'[1] So wrote George Bowen (1821-1899), troubled by Greece's struggles to cast off Ottoman imperialism and take shape as the first new independent state in post-Napoleonic Europe. Bowen's 1854 *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* is now largely forgotten, but in the mid-nineteenth century it was one of the most widespread and authoritative sources of up-to-date information about Greece throughout the Western world. Outdated guidebooks may seem unreliable witnesses to the past, but Jonathan Keates argues that long after their advice and information have been rendered redundant, they become companions to another territory, 'that immense, enduringly resonant space created by the culture and aspirations of an evolving society at a given stage in its development.'[2]

Bowen confronted the chaotic aftermath of a Greek revolution that had captured European attention. According to Roderick Beaton, its significance as a watershed in European history has since been minimised by scholars, a fact Beaton blames on exceptionalism, the Greek rhetoric being less about radical innovation than restoring a glorious past, which did not fit the pattern of other European

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[1] *Handbook for Travellers in Greece* (London: John Murray, 1854), p. 1. Henceforth cited with page numbers in the text.

[2] *The Portable Paradise: Baedeker, Murray and the Victorian Guidebook* (London: Notting Hill Editions, 2011), p.5. Keates traces the history, significance and idiosyncratic cultural and physical charm of these guides, and likens his research to archaeology, in which the detritus of a society acquires special significance, particularly apt in the case of Greece.

revolutions.[3] My project redresses this oversight. Travelling with Bowen's Handbook and journal two centuries later, I witnessed an economic meltdown and migrant crisis that again thrust Greece onto the world stage, and again asked urgent questions about Greek national destiny and the state of Europe.

Travel writing has been the focus of much historical attention, but guidebooks have been overlooked. The few studies there are tend to focus on the Grand Tour and end in 1840 or 1850, before the advent of mass tourism, while Handbook scholarship has generally concentrated on the publishing industry. Bill Bell, for example, traces Murray's processes from manuscript to print, and the struggle between authorial autonomy and commercial imperatives as the publisher exploited industrial developments to reach new reading constituencies, but does not address the Handbooks.[4] Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston study the rise and demise of the Handbook series, and William Lister's bibliography usefully summarises biographical notes on every anonymous Victorian Handbook Editor, charting the

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[3] 'Introduction', *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, ed. by Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 3. In this essay collection by mostly Greek scholars, Beaton contextualises the marginalisation of modern Greece in the historiography of European nationalism.

[4] 'Authors in an industrial economy: the case of John Murray's travel writers', *Romantic Textualities: Literature and Print Culture, 1780–1840, 21* (Winter 2013) (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 2013). For a study of John Murray's published works on non-European exploration see also Bill Bell, Innes M. Keighren and Charles W. J. Withers, *From Travel to Print: Exploration, Writing and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2015). This also excludes the Handbooks.

Handbooks' development as they became more geographically specific.[5] However, there has been no systematic study of Bowen's edition, allowing my research to fill a major gap in travel-writing and guidebook scholarship. Only Bruce Knox has paid Bowen scholarly attention, but he concentrates on Bowen's career, not his writing or travels.[6]

Bowen's Handbook preserves a Victorian traveller's experiences at a time when travel and travel literature denoted 'the scope and scale of English influence', and opens up an important but overlooked area of British imperialism in Greece.[7] The Empire is loaded with conflicting impulses and ideologies, entangled with anxieties about the fact of Western power. Bowen represented certain attitudes towards race, sex and knowledge, and a sense of superiority that conflated industrial and military might with merit, and I confront that heritage and explore my ambivalence towards it. Such questions are pressing at a time of heightened institutional struggles over the history, ideology and legacy of British imperialism, with museums seeking to decolonise and repatriate collections, and universities decolonising their curricula, interrogating long-held and internalised assumptions and

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[5] See Lister's *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Norfolk: Dereham, 1993), and Gráinne Goodwin and Gordon Johnston, 'Guidebook publishing in the nineteenth century: John Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Studies in Travel Writing* 1–19, iFirst (Taylor & Francis, 2012), p. 10 <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13645145.2012.747791> [Accessed 12 March 2017]. This argues that Murray was superseded by Baedeker and other Anglophone guides after the Handbooks' heyday in 1859, partly because of a reluctance to keep editions updated and move with the times. The Handbooks began to seem verbose and over-scholarly; they grew up with the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Review*-reading set, and failed to make the transition to the next generation, the British middle- and lower-middle-class 'excursionists'.

[6] See 'The British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1847-1859, and the dispersion of a foreign elite', *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 2000, 1 & 2, 10, pp. 107-124; and 'British Policy and the Ionian Islands, 1747-1864: nationalism and imperial administration', *English Historical Review* (London: Longmans, 1984).

[7] Goodwin and Johnston, p. 10.

perspectives, and calling for greater historical awareness of contexts in which scholarly knowledge has been produced.

John Darwin's *The Empire Project,* one of several recent reappraisals of the British Empire, provides some of my historical foundations.[8] Where many recent historians emphasise imperialism as an ideological concept that legitimised hegemony and control, stressing exploitative relationships with capitalism, and binaries of colonisation versus nationalism and metropole versus periphery, Darwin's approach is more nuanced. He views the empire less as a territorial monolith ruled from Whitehall than as an informal global web of interdependent spheres of influence, settlement, trade, mission, negotiation and authority. 'Viewed as a political or administrative entity, British imperialism remained […] unfinished, untidy, a mass of contradictions, aspirations and anomalies.'[9] Darwin argues that its tentacular power derived from the messy confluence of disparate elements political, economic, geopolitical, military, social, cultural, industrial and spiritual, which depended on drive, ambition, and the haphazard and ever-shifting global economic and geopolitical environment. It was interlinked by increasingly complex communication systems, which Bowen's Handbook expressed and facilitated. Darwin calls this the British world-system.[10]

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[8] *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). See also Darwin's *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

[9] Ibid., p. xi.

[10] The term was first lent authority by J. A. Gallagher, who established that 'despite its many disguises, British imperialism was both global in reach and systemic in structure.' Gallagher's influential 1970s lecture series was published posthumously as *The Decline, Revival and Fall of the British Empire,* ed. by Anil Seal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

While many other works have helped shape, expand and contextualise this thesis, my research has focused mainly on unpublished archive material, examined here for the first time. The travel journal that supplied the Handbook's raw material, and letters, diaries, portraits and photographs dispersed across private collections in Europe and Australia, are testimony to the unprecedented record of individual lives that the emergent bourgeoisie maintained from the eighteenth century onwards.[11] These serendipitous finds provide insights into Bowen's life and career, enabling me to track his authorial voice, discover his private attitudes and expectations, learn what others thought of him - the gossip - and unearth his personal experiences of colonialism and nineteenth-century Greece and Turkey.

Another major resource has been an unpublished forty-five-year correspondence between Bowen and John Murray III (1808-1892) in the National Library of Scotland's John Murray Archive, which illuminates the evolution of Bowen's Handbook, practicalities of nineteenth-century publishing, and their enduring friendship.[12] This was supplemented by unpublished colonial correspondence, parliamentary debates and press cuttings in the Corfu Archives, the Somerset Archives, the British Library's Gladstone Papers, and the Colonial Office records at the National Archives in Kew, which reveal Bowen's role in the Ionian

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[11] Literary historian and essayist Isaac d'Israeli is credited with coining the term 'autobiography' or 'self-biography'. 'He who studies his own mind, and has the industry to note down the fluctuations of his opinions, the fallacies of his passions, and the vacillations of his resolutions, will form a journal to himself particularly interesting, and probably not undeserving the meditations of others.' *Miscellanies; or literary reflections* (London: T. Cadell and W Davies, 1796) p. 97.

[12] According to Bill Bell, the John Murray Archive 'offers one of the richest archival sources for publishing history, providing unequalled insight into the way that a prominent London publisher dealt with its authors in the age of colonial expansion.' 'Authors in an Industrial Economy', p. 9.

Islands and increasingly strained Anglo-Ionian relations, details of his marriage, and his disastrous friendship with Edward Lear.

The materiality of the archives provided tangible humanising connections, each fragment contributing to a composite biography of a man and a place in time. Everyday details became as significant as traces of Jurassic pollen for the geologist. There were frustrating lacunae, but the deeper I delved, the greater historical, geo-political and literary significance the Handbook acquired, and I began to comprehend the scope of a life more controversial and passionately-lived than that suggested by the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.[13]

I also spent nearly a decade learning Greek, exploring Greece, and conducting qualitative, empirical and historical research into such specialised subjects as quarantine, migration, border control, Victorian disease, nineteenth-century Athens, Orthodoxy, minority rights, Ionian politics and family history. My engagement with a diverse range of people - Greeks, Turks, ex-patriates, migrants, and my extended Greek and Irish family - provided equally rich material.

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Colin Thubron defines travel writing not as an intellectual understanding of the subject, but as a pattern that captures ‘a sort of smell and feel of a culture - or how it was in one instance.’[14] According to Mary Louise Pratt, the genre permeated nineteenth-century culture and provided ‘curiosity, excitement, adventure, and even

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[13] Entry by Bruce Knox, 2004 < https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3036> [Accessed 7 November 2019]. See also R. B. Joyce, ‘Bowen, Sir George Ferguson (1821–1899)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bowen-sir-george-ferguson-3032/text4451, first published 1969 [Accessed 1 September 2020].

[14] Alec Ash, ‘The Best Travel Writing’, *Five Books,* 22 July 2011 <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/travel-writing-colin-thubron/> [Accessed 15 March 2020].

moral fervour about European expansionism.'[15] It enjoyed a late twentieth-century surge, coinciding with growing travel possibilities and globalisation. In the 1980s and 90s travel writers, including myself, met regularly at the Royal Geographical Society, and informally in London pubs, to report back from unfamiliar territory. In 1983, *Granta*, Britain's leading contemporary literary magazine, helped elevate the genre to high literary status by bringing together an outstanding collection of travel writers including Bruce Chatwin, Redmond O'Hanlon, Jonathan Raban, Colin Thubron, Norman Lewis, Jan Morris and Paul Theroux.[16] They explored world cultures, languages, histories, politics, and geographies, and wove observational details into a whole that was informative, inspiring, humane, thoughtful, beautiful, revelatory, transformative, and often wonderful in the literal sense. They also told a good story.

Around the turn of this century, the genre went out of fashion. As judge of several travel-writing prizes, I observed the number of submitted titles falling. One year saw only one submission, the following year none; the prize was abandoned. Larger publishers, even John Murray, traditional home of travel writing, dropped travel writers from their lists, except luminaries such as those mentioned above, most of whom either died, like Chatwin and Lewis, or seemed to run out of new or compelling material. In 2011 Paul Theroux published a compilation of quotations that summarised his lifetime of travel.[17] Theroux predicted that the future of travel writing was the blog. Frank Izaguirre labels this 'grim', bemoaning the travel blog's tendency

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[15] *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), first published 1992, p. 3. Pratt explores ways in which the all-seeing European imperial explorer or travel writer desires, objectifies, and possesses the observed non-European other.

[16] *Granta*, 10, 1983.

[17] *The Tao of Travel: Enlightenments from Lives on the Road* (Toronto: McClellan & Stewart, 2011).

towards superficiality and lists, such as ‘Five best beaches in Antigua’.[18] Izaguirre argues that there remains an appetite for innovative, well-crafted, and entertaining travelogues, but it is now fed mostly by small specialist presses, which generally lack budgets to promote their titles.

A plummet in guidebook sales since 2005 is blamed on free online information.[19] The contemporaneous decline in travelogue publishing has been attributed to several factors, such as a glutted market and the genre’s debasement by a plethora of whimsical titles.[20] The rise of the internet and fall in media advertising budgets has seen long-form travel journalism dwindle. In 2009 Jan Morris expressed the belatedness that besets travel writing:

> *Now that nearly everyone has been nearly everywhere, it might be thought that travel writers have lost their purpose. Only the most spectacularly perilous journey is nowadays worth writing a book about, and a public almost surfeited with TV travelogues rarely needs to be told what foreign parts look like.*[21]

Several travel writers and their armchair audiences struggled with the artificiality required by producers of TV documentaries, such as my own *Dancing with the Dead*, which portrayed the protagonist enduring hardships and solitude, but with a camera

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[18] Frank Izaguirre, ‘The Rise and Fall of Travel Writing’, *Fourth Genre: Explorations in Nonfiction,* Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring 2013), p. 184. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.14321/fourthgenre.15.1.0183?seq=1 [Accessed 23 February 2020].

[19] According to Nielsen’s Total Consumer market, guidebook sales in the UK in 2005-2017 fell by 33.5 percent. See Stephen Mesquita ’Travel guide sales slip again’, *BookBrunch*, 2019, http://www.bookbrunch.co.uk/page/free-article/travel-guide-sales-slip-again/. [Accessed 17 February 2020].

[20] Conversations with Barnaby Rogerson, Director of Eland Books, and Derek Johns, literary agent and Jan Morris biographer, 2018.

[21] ‘The Allure of Travel Writing’, *Smithsonian Magazine*, September 2009, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/the-allure-of-travel-writing-42681966> [Accessed 15 March 2020].

crew in tow.[22] Doubts about authenticity coincided with growing unease about travel writing's role in the contested social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism, the world's second-largest industry after the drug trade.[23]

At the turn of this century a proliferation of critical studies of travel writing and its valences with colonial and post-colonial history revived academic interest in travel writing, 'but usually as a kind of love that dare not speak its name'.[24] Recently-debated formal issues include explorations of the nature and function of the stereotype, the subjective presence of the author, truth value in narrative writing, the representation of time, inter-cultural 'translation', exoticism, the function of metaphor, and the role of dominance in the relationship between travel writers and those they represent.[25] According to Michael Jacobs, travel writing has uncomfortable and complex historic connections with colonisation; the notion of the white Western male conveying lordly impressions of an objectified other appears 'increasingly anachronistic and elitist' in the post-colonial era of widespread travel.[26] By 'othering', Homi Bhabha means creating an image that is 'at once an object of desire and derision, an articulation of difference contained within the fantasy of origin and

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[22] Written and presented by Helena Drysdale, Director Patrick Lau, produced by Warner Sisters (Granada/Boston: WNET, 1991).

[23] Pratt, p. 237.

[24] Steve Clark, Introduction to *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, ed. by Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 3. Note that 'post-colonial' (hyphenated) denotes a historical event, while 'postcolonial' indicates disparate forms of representations, interpretations and values.

[25] For a useful summary see Mary Baine Campbell, 'Travel Writing and its theory' in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 261-278.

[26] Michael Jacobs, 'It's too soon to wave goodbye to the magical art of travel writing', *Guardian*, 28 August 2011 https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/aug/28/travel-writing-hugh-grant-booksellers [Accessed 16 May 2020].

identity'.[27] Failure by travel writers to address the politics of representation - the portrayal of diverse characters whose experiences are outside their own - and to question their own privileges, means and limitations, is arguably a contributing factor in the genre's crisis. Travel writing is predicated on alterity, but although many travel writers attempt to bridge gulfs between 'self' and 'other', few have addressed issues of identity, knowledge and other power relationships in their writing.

In 2017, *Granta* admitted to having been accused of colonial high-handedness, and devoted an entire issue to the plaintive question, 'Is travel writing dead?'[28] Hoa Nguyen responded with a call for 'homing' rather than tourism. 'Do we need more Westerners consuming their way across Vietnam, commenting on local dress, smiles, food and sharing tips on where to get the best deal on bespoke silk shirts?'[29] Do readers want some outsider's view of a place - a fleeting, privileged and probably Eurocentric gaze - when they can read an insider's view? Perhaps sensing this, many recent travel writers have focused on their own territory.[30] This could signify parochialism, or reclaiming, or a search for identity in a globalised and fragmenting world, but could also suggest anxiety about the traveller's gaze, and issues of power, knowledge, and bias in representing the other.

Can life-writing enlighten such debates? Autobiography suggests the exemplary 'great man' survey of a whole life, and memoir a slice of life, but they

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[27] Bhabha, p. 96.

[28] Sigrid Rausing, Introduction, *Granta*, 138, Winter 2017, p. 10.

[29] Ibid., p. 178.

[30] The 2018 Stanford's Dolman Travel Book Award shortlist included *Islander: A Journey Around Our Archipelago* by British writer Patrick Barkham, *The Rule of the Land: Walking Ireland's Border* by Northern Irish writer Garrett Carr; *RisingTideFallingStar* by Southampton-based Philip Hoare, whose journey includes British coasts; and the prize-winning *Border: A Journey to the Edge of Europe* by Bulgarian poet Kapka Kassabova.

have always been so generically, philosophically and politically problematic that the broader 'life-writing' has become the preferred term. This flourishing genre is increasingly valued as a field of academic study, which itself reflects a wider interest in interdisciplinarity. Zachary Leader defines it as 'a range of writings about lives or parts of lives, or which provide materials out of which lives or parts of lives are composed.'[31] While Roy Pascal defined autobiography as centring on 'the self, not the outside world', and 'a shaping of the past' that gives life a pattern,[32] David McCooey sees life-writing as key to understanding how the past reverberates in the present, 'how 'history' is always 'contemporary'.'[33] Hermione Lee calls life-writing a hybrid of 'impure, multilayered and multisourced narratives' which desire to convey a vivid sense of the biographical subject.[34] She notes that biography literally means life-writing, from the Medieval Greek *bios*, life and *graphia*, writing.[35]

Virginia Woolf asked how one can narrate the self in the light of memories, public opinion, family and other powerful influences that both tug us in different directions and fix us in position. This is what she meant by 'life-writing', a term she is thought to have coined.

> *Consider what immense forces society brings to play upon each of us, how that society changes from decade to decade; and also from class to class;*

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[31] 'Introduction', *On Life-Writing,* ed. by Zachary Leader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.1.

[32] *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1960), p. 9.

[33] 'The Limits of Life-writing', *Life-writing,* 14, 2, (2017), pp. 277-280.

[34] 'Literary Encounters and Life-writing', in *On Life Writing*, p. 125.

[35] *Biography: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 5.

> *well, if we cannot analyse these invisible presences […] how futile life-writing becomes.*[36]

Woolf suggests that identity is constituted and sustained by forces she is compelled to analyse. She implies a mixture of detachment and constraint: 'I see myself as a fish in a stream; deflected; held in place; but cannot describe the stream.'[37] This is not the place for ontological discussion of selfhood, nor to explore the conundrum of how a mind can be both subject and object, observing and observed, actor and receptor. Modernism long since challenged the authenticity and unity of the self; as Woolf asserted in *A Room of One's Own*, '"I" is only a convenient term for somebody who has no real being.'[38] She affirmed nonetheless: 'Whether we call it life or spirit, truth or reality, this [is] the essential thing.'[39] My challenge lies in rendering these invisible presences, and plotting a work of travel writing that explores the archival, familial, world historical, biographical and personal strands that drove my Greek odyssey.

While travel writing is ostensibly a literature of observation and exteriority, memoir is a literature of subjectivity and interiority, an inward journey that explores and expresses the self, memory, relationships, identity and the other. Can memoir help me avoid pitfalls of imperialist heroics and objectification? Can travel writing help me avoid charges memoir often faces of self-indulgence or narcissism? I argue that weaving them together can offer a route forward for travel writing.

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[36] 'A Sketch of the Past', in *Moments of Being, 1939-1941,* ed. by Jeanne Schulkind (London: Harcourt Brace, 1985), p. 80.

[37] Ibid.

[38] *A Room of One's Own* (London: Granada, 1983), first published 1929, p. 6.

[39] 'Modern Fiction', in *Selected Essays*, ed. by David Bradshaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 8.

Lines: A Brief History by anthropologist Tim Ingold provides a metaphorical pathway. Ingold envisages life as a manifold 'woven from the countless threads spun by beings of all sorts, both human and non-human, as they find their ways through the tangle of relationships in which they are enmeshed.'[40] Ingold explores ways in which pre-modern gestures traced by hands in the air and on cave walls, by feet in dance or the voice in song, were gradually converted into place-to-place connectors, and how this affected our understanding of travel, mapping, narrative and place.

If life is a complex meshwork, so is the writing of it. Ingold quotes Dr Johnson's derivation of the word 'line' from the Latin *linea*, which originally meant a thread made from flax - *linum* - woven into linen, which 'lined' garments for warmth. So lines began as threads. Ingold adds: 'The verb 'to weave', in Latin, was *texere*, from which are derived our words 'textile' and - by way of the French *tistre* - 'tissue', meaning a delicately woven fabric composed of a myriad of interlaced threads.'[41] Thus 'text' and 'textile' have a common derivation, as do 'line' and 'linen', pointing to the analogy between writing and weaving. 'Just as the weaver's shuttle moves back and forth as it lays down the weft, so the writer's pen moves up and down, leaving a trail of ink behind it'.[42] This connection is physically manifest in Bowen's journal, where the fine Whatman's paper accidentally allows his handwriting on the reverse to show through, creating an effect resembling embroidery. In cross-written letters in which he wrote on the page then saved paper by turning it at ninety degrees and writing over the top, he created a pattern hard for the modern reader to unravel, unintentionally replicating the warp and weft of weaving on top of the paper's weave.

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[40] Tim Ingold, *Lines: A Brief History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 3.

[41] Ibid., p. 61. Ingold adds that the Gothic typeface Textura, the oldest form of European movable type, was supposedly so-called because of the resemblance of a page of writing to a woven blanket. p. 70.

[42] Ibid., p. 69.

Ingold traverses lines between disciplines, concentrating on weaving, music and handwriting; I interpret his relational studies as routes across time, space and genre. *State of Emergency* conjures temporal lines that interweave present with past, blood lines that connect me with Bowen, physical pathways that travel from England to Greece and Turkey and across linear borders between them, and generic lines that traverse history, memoir, biography, travel and fiction. Invisible threads also link Bowen's handwritten journal - Ingold's gestural traces - with the point-to-point connectors of the printed Handbook, while visible and imagined lines and neural pathways entwine texts, the journeys they recount, the authors who recount them, the readers who read them and the travellers who recreate them.

Ingold shows that in weaving, the point at which two colours meet is called the lock.[43] Locks, junctions, nodes, intersections: these are places for creative encounters, and forcing a pause, and a decision about which way to turn. This idea is animated in my cancer treatment cell, where I was imprisoned and separated from my normal environment and routines, while paradoxically enjoying the freedom to step back and take stock, a kind of lockdown. Travel itself can provide a junction in life. It appears to be confinement's opposite, but it offers the same possibility of being a fish out of water, and of encountering new cultures while observing our own from different angles.

Ingold's investigation of lines that travel *along* and *across,* which illuminate ideas of mapping, modalities of travel, interconnection and globalisation, are horizontal lines. To penetrate my quadrangulation of self, other, place and the past, and find connections between them, I need to dig *in* and *down*. These are vertical lines. From this notion I have evolved a research, creative and critical strategy I call

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[43] Ibid., p. 62.

core-sampling. A powerful geological tool for investigating parts of the earth's structure, core-sampling uses hollow steel drills to penetrate rock or sediment and haul to the surface subterranean material for examination and analysis. A core-sample retrieves a sectional record of timber for dendrochronology, or layers of soil, ice, or sediment from the ocean floor to provide valuable information about changes of climate, species and terrain. These cores reveal the strata of the past, and can alter scientific understanding of geologic formations. My term 'core-sampling' glances at Bowen's friend and publisher John Murray III, founder of the Handbook series and ardent geologist, who while researching his own Handbooks often went down mines. It also speaks to *State of Emergency*'s cancer theme, as core-sampling is used as a medical biopsy in cancer treatment.

I have employed core-sampling to examine my subjective present, and layers of the past that lie beneath and shape it, and hold them up for scrutiny. Core-sampling has enabled me to access Bowen, and Victorian Greece, not from outside with spurious objectivity, but via the conduit of my self and my family history. This has invoked empathy across time and space, helped me to nuance historical and critical narratives, and make visible some of the invisible presences that deflect us and hold us in position. Virginia Woolf, searching for these invisible presences, believed 'the present when backed by the past is a thousand times deeper than the present when it presses so close that you can feel nothing else.'[44]

A core sample is a vertical diagram, and can be a representative section of something larger, providing detailed focus on a part from which we might sense and nuance the whole. As Donna Haraway attests, 'The only way to find a larger vision is

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[44] 'Sketch', p. 98.

to be somewhere in particular.'[45] This is a paradox: how can a writer do both? She suggests that in order to see the bigger picture we need to know where we are coming from, understand what she calls our 'situated knowledges'. These depend on signifiers such as gender, race, creed and class, enriched by details such as upbringing, interests, hatreds or passions. Core-sampling is a close reading born of Foucauldian New Historicism, which analyses fragments of text or individual moments or events with an eye to history and the author's social circumstances, thought structures and unacknowledged political affiliations and bias.[46] If a map of Greece provides a horizontal view, Bowen's Handbook supplies a vertical one, a core sample of a particular place at a particular time, and the palimpsestic layers of history underneath. Its appearance of impersonal totality is illusory; it is, crucially, Bowen's particular view of that particular place at that particular time. By burrowing into Bowen's life and milieu, I can understand his situated knowledges. However, to do so in a meaningful way I also need to understand my own. Core-sampling requires a willingness to explore ourselves, and to penetrate the subterranean forces that shape us: Woolf's invisible presences, Ingold's manifolds, Darwin's world-systems.

A core sample used to study subterranean formations before drilling a gas well determines what is contained within the strata at the bottom of that particular

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[45] Donna Haraway, 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective', *Feminist Studies*, 3, 14, 1988, pp. 575–599. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/3178066. [Accessed 14 Mar. 2020] Repr. in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (Routledge, 1990), p. 590.

[46] 'New historicism' was coined in the 1980s at the University of California, Berkeley, where Michel Foucault taught postmodern approaches to history. In *The New Historicism* (New York: Routledge,1989) Harold Aram Veeser summarises the theory's key assumptions: that every act of expression emerges from a material culture or network; every act of criticism is itself a product of its material network; no discourse expresses unchanging truths. New historicists see power in Foucauldian terms, not as purely class-based, but extending throughout society.

hole, not the entire region. Each core sample is a unique quest. However, by scrutinising a part, core-sampling unearths details that might represent or challenge wider narratives. We can only know how by reading around the subject. In this way, I have been able to position Bowen in the context of Victorian travel writing and publishing, and modern and nineteenth-century Greece, imperialism and the culture of tourism that arose from it and the Grand Tour. By examining Bowen's contribution to travel and guidebook writing, and his role in the evolution of traveller to scripted tourist on the threshold of the modern era, I have offered a wider perspective on Victorian discourse concerning Greece's position in the world.

Chapter 1 contextualises the Handbook and scrutinises its origins, processes, preoccupations and motivations, highlighting Bowen's significance in bridging the bifurcation between early nineteenth-century picturesque travelogues and later practical and supposedly impartial guides. Ingold distinguishes between 'wayfaring lines' and 'lines of transport', which I use as an analogy for tensions between freedom and constraint in Bowen's authorial self-presentation and writing.[47] I ask how, by including Ottoman and British-controlled areas in its geographical scope and thereby exposing nationalist faultlines, the Handbook influenced *enosis* - the ambition to reunite all Greek peoples. By encouraging tourism how did it affect Greece? I stress my questions' relevance to Greek identity within today's Europe, and to the development of tourism, today the major industry buttressing Greece.

Chapter 2 draws on social science, critical theory, philosophy and anthropology to elucidate and evaluate Bowen and his Handbook and my own creative practices according to a postcolonial reading of an encounter between a Western traveller and the so-called 'Orient'. I address political and ideological

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[47] Ingold, p. 84.

approaches to travel writing, asking if a critical examination of a brief but productive period in Bowen's life can provide an enriching route into the past, and nuance postcolonial discourses. At a time of post-colonial and post-Brexit anxiety about identity, can such a study help us discover who we are?

Chapter 3 asks if travel writing in any period can be other than an imperial project. Can core-sampling, an exploratory process that penetrates sedimentary layers of the self to expose vulnerabilities and promote self-knowledge, enable empathetic connections across space and time? Can it help travel writing move away from the old tropes of masculine objectification and colonisation?

I conclude by asking how readers might view Bowen's Handbook today, and if understanding our situatedness and inherent subjectivity can encourage us to be wary of the implicit biases and societal stigmas on which we construct assumptions and hypotheses. Can this provide a way of moving forward not only in the dark arts of narrative, but also towards deeper connections with ourselves and others?

Chapter 1: Bowen's Handbook

In *The Empire Project*, John Darwin shows that what became known as the 'second empire' began after Waterloo, and gained traction in the 1830s and 40s, when favourable economic and geopolitical conditions enabled the Victorians to transform the 'sprawling legacy of war and mercantilism' into a system of world power.[48] Bowen's Handbook was commissioned in 1851, the 'watershed year' of the Great Exhibition, a liberating time when free trade globalisation was taking hold in British politics and culture.[49]

John Murray's iconic Handbooks, the world's first guidebook series, reflected and expanded this world-system. Between the start of the series in 1836 and its sale to Edward Stanford in 1901, Murray published Handbooks to almost every European country alongside Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Palestine, Algeria and Tunis, the Mediterranean, India, Japan, and New Zealand. Until the late 1850s, when rival series took over, few affluent English-speaking travellers embarked for these destinations without a Murray in their portmanteau. Bowen's edition lists 108 European cities outside Britain where Handbooks could be purchased from Murray's agents. Issakoff in St Petersburg, J. Zanghieri in Parma, Schweighauser in Basle, Madame Camoin in Marseilles: their names map a travel, literary, and commercial network that spanned Europe and beyond. Murray Handbooks were the 'supreme

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[48] Darwin, p. 23. From 1830 to 1857 the nominal value of British exports tripled, while the tonnage of shipping using British ports quadrupled. By the 1860s Britain had a vast emigrant reservoir, and by the 1870s would be endowed with the military, economic and demographic resources to command and sustain a world-system.

[49] Paul Young, *Globalisation and the Great Exhibition: The Victorian New World Order* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 193. Young argues that the 1851 Crystal Palace display of worldwide industrial products was decisive in the formation of capitalism, allowing commentators to position Britain as a global leader of peace, prosperity and progress, and of liberal cosmopolitan ideas and industrial strengths, and to legitimise British imperialism and the coercion it entailed.

monument to the era between the stage coach and the aeroplane: the age of steam locomotion by land and sea.'[50] According to Goodwin and Johnston:

> *At a time when the reaches of English commercial and imperial interests were ever-widening, the analogy with Murray's growing geographical remit in Europe, the Middle East and Asia made the publishing venture synonymous with the achievements of English overseas expansion.*[51]

A *Times* review claimed that 'Into every nook which an Englishman can penetrate he carries his red Handbook.'[52] The gold lettering on red cloth was as recognisable as a British passport.[53] George Hillard noted in 1853: 'Murray's Guidebooks now cover nearly the whole of the Continent and constitute one of the great powers of Europe. Since Napoleon no man's empire has been so wide.'[54]

It was the lack of such a companion that inspired the first Handbook. In 1829, John Murray III made his first visit to the Continent, but as no guidebooks had been written to Northern Europe, he found himself in Hamburg destitute without such 'friendly aid'. He collected 'all the facts, information, statistics, &c., which an English tourist would be likely to require', rearranged them into geographical routes rather

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[50] John Gretton, Introduction, *A Bibliography of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* by William Lister (Norfolk: Dereham Books, 1993), p. xxv.

[51] Goodwin and Johnston, p. 10.

[52] Gretton, p. i. The word 'Murray' was even used in 1859 by Dublin University's Magazine to signify encyclopaedic travel knowledge. 'Continental notes in July and August', *Dublin University Magazine*, Oct 1859, p. 415.

[53] In 'Baedeker's Universe', *Yale Review,* 74 (Spring 1985), pp. 386-403, Edward Mendelson claims that in 1846 Baedeker bettered Murray by introducing the bright red cloth 'that was later imitated by most other guidebook publishers, eventually by Murray himself.' In fact, Murray was there first: all the Murray Handbooks were red (except the first edition of *Switzerland* which was blue) but the vegetable dyes, later replaced by chemical, faded to tan, hence Mendelson's mistake. <http://www.columbia.edu/~em36/baedeker.html> [Accessed 5 July 2017].

[54] George Hillard, *Six Months in Italy* (London: John Murray, 1853), p. 353. Hillard may have been flattering his publisher.

than the customary alphabetical list, and enriched them with information on history, architecture, geology 'and other subjects suited to a traveller's need'.[55] Murray folded sheets of paper in half and in columns noted every fact, laying the foundations on which all Murray Handbooks would be built. It was groundbreaking in scholarship, structure, portability, attention to detail and accuracy, and for the first time systematically synthesised literature with practical advice. 'Guidebooks have never been quite the same.'[56] Eventually published in 1836 as a *Handbook to Travels on the Continent*, it was such a success that Murray swiftly followed it with *Southern Germany* (1837), *Switzerland* (1838) and *France* (1843).

Murray's timing was brilliant. The Handbooks were part of an explosion of travel writing that coincided with Europe's accelerating steam-powered communications, and excitement about geographical and intellectual expansion, which included an urge to map and calibrate the world.[57] The 'road-book', which emerged in the seventeenth century, had already become more sophisticated and popular: in 1803, Daniel Paterson's *New and Accurate Description of the Roads in England and Wales, and Part of the Roads of Scotland* was so successful that it ran

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[55] John Murray IV, *John Murray III 1808-1892: A Brief Memoir* (London: John Murray, 1919), pp. 40-41. This charming if hagiographical biography includes John Murray III's own account of the Handbooks' origins, which he revealed in 'The Origin and History of Murray's handbooks for travellers', *Murray's Magazine*, 6 November 1889, pp. 623-29, to refute claims that his rival Baedeker had invented the Handbook series.

[56] Gretton, p. xxv.

[57] The Handbooks appeared at an auspicious moment as railways expanded over Europe. The first steam-powered passenger railway opened in England in 1825; in Belgium and Bavaria in 1835; in France in 1837 and the Netherlands in 1839. The first international rail line connected Brussels with Cologne in 1843. Railway mania gripped England and Wales between 1844-47. By 1850 Great Britain had 9797 kilometres of track; Austria had 1357 kilometres, France 2915 and Germany 5856. *Bradshaw's Railway Guide*, celebrated invention of George Bradshaw (1801-1853), appeared in 1839.

to 10,000 copies and 13 editions. The Ordnance Survey's activities in mapping the British Isles since 1791 were well-known to the public, being broadcast 'in enthusiastic detail' in the press.[58] John Murray II (1778-1843) was central to this expansionist phenomenon. A founding Fellow of The Royal Geographical Society in 1830, he published a mainly non-fiction list of history, philosophy, science, medical books and travel, including in 1839 Charles Darwin's epic *Voyage of the Beagle,* one of numerous books to stoke interest in science and exploration. Founded in Fleet Street in 1768, John Murray was the world's oldest independent publisher until sold after seven generations to Hodder in 2002.[59] According to Bill Bell, John Murray was one of the principal British publishers of travel and exploratory literature throughout the nineteenth century. 'With a list that sported such celebrated names as Charles Darwin, John Franklin, Isabella Bird, David Livingstone and Austen Henry Layard, the titles […] read like a who's who of nineteenth-century travel writing.'[60]

By the 1840s most major destinations were accessible, but most guidebooks were a 'heterogenous collection of hints to young men on the Grand Tour', while the road-books, superseded by the railways, were outdated and despised.[61] The appetite for guidebooks was growing, and the enterprising Murrays satisfied it. Karl Baedeker of Leipzig was Murray's greatest rival, but every place they both covered was described by Murray first.[62] The *Saturday Review* noted the emergence of

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[58] Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation* (London: Granta, 2011), p. 203.

[59] For an entertaining history, see Humphrey Carpenter's *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty* (London: John Murray, 2008).

[60] Bell, 'Authors in an Industrial Economy,' p. 9.

[61] Gretton p.ii.

[62] 'The Origin and History of Murray's Handbooks for Travellers', *Murray's Magazine*, 6 November 1889, pp. 623-29. Karl Baedeker (1801-1859) published his famous travel guides from 1829 onwards. Despite their rivalry, Baedeker was Murray's friend and distributor in Leipzig, and always acknowledged his debt to Murray.

Baedeker as a ‘capital guide’, but dismissed it as ‘by no means so pleasant an instructor as his English rival’.[63] The series took off with enthusiastic reviews, large sales, and eminent authors offering their services, including Ruskin on Cumbria and Trollope on Ireland, both of whom Murray turned down. Hillard eulogised:

> *I very rarely found occasion to correct a statement, or to dissent from an opinion. They are compiled with so much taste, learning, and judgement, and have so many well-chosen quotations in prose and verse, that they are not merely useful guides but entertaining companions.*[64]

In 1850 Bowen proposed himself as author of the first *Handbook to Greece*. Since the mid-seventeenth century ancient Greece, as opposed to Rome, had been increasingly revered as the bedrock of European civilisation, and during the eighteenth century had become regarded as ‘a polestar of nearly blinding brilliance.’[65] The ‘Franks’ - western non-Greeks - venerated Greece’s ancient culture and claimed it as their own, by appropriating it into their cultural baggage, and (to Bowen’s disgust) physically carting it off; by 1807 the Elgin Marbles were on display in London.[66] However, Greece was considered too uncomfortable, uncivilised and

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[63] ‘German Literature’, *Saturday Review*, 15 August 1857, p. 157.

[64] Hillard, p. 353.

[65] David Constantine, *In the Footsteps of the Gods: Travellers to Greece and the quest for the Hellenic Ideal* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011), first published as *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). p. 104. For studies of travel writing in Greece see also Richard Stoneman’s *A Literary Companion to Travel in Greece* (Malibu: John Paul Getty Museum, 1994), and Martin Garrett’s *Greece, A Literary Companion* (London: John Murray, 1994). For a literary view of Greece through Greek eyes, see *Greece,* ed. by Artemis Leontis (San Francisco: Whereabouts, 1997). All overlook Bowen.

[66] Byron deplored the plundering and mutilation of Greek works of art, including a tirade against Elgin in *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* (London: John Murray, 1812-18). Bowen echoed his distaste in his journal and Handbook. As Dritsas confirms, ‘The Murray Handbook may have, indeed, been among the earliest (if not the earliest) protests against Lord Elgin’s atrocity.’ Dritsas, p. 38.

dangerous to form part of the Grand Tour. The Hellenic ideal was more appealing than the reality. Byron's travelling companion John Hobhouse noted, 'only a few desperate scholars and artists ventured to trust themselves among the barbarians, to contemplate the ruins of Greece.'[67] Winckelmann, who with Goethe arguably did more than anyone to disseminate knowledge of Greek culture throughout Europe, never visited Greece.[68] Nor did Shelley, whose lyric drama *Hellas* (1822) celebrated Europe's debt to Greek civilisation and radicalism. Nonetheless, while the Napoleonic Wars disrupted the Grand Tour, some like Byron and Hobhouse who still travelled but were prevented from visiting France or Italy visited Greece instead. In 1809 Hobhouse found Athens swarming with travellers.[69] This was interrupted by the 1820s revolution, but when Bowen arrived in 1847 the country was taking shape, communications, security and medical conditions improving, and hotels opening. He felt a Greek Handbook was required (v).[70]

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[67] John Cam Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia* (London: James Cawthorn 1813), i, pp. 301-2. For further discussion of the Greek Grand Tour up to the 1820s, including modes of preparation for the journey and guide books, see Helen Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival: British Travellers' Perceptions of Early Nineteenth-Century Greece* (London: Routledge, 1990).

[68] Winckelmann's influential *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* was translated into English by Fuseli in 1766. Constantine speculates that fear of physically confronting the destruction of the Hellenic ideal kept Winckelmann and Goethe away, pp. 116-127.

[69] Hobhouse, p. 203.

[70] The numerous Greek histories published at this time are testimony to the craze for Greece as it came into being after its revolution, including works by Thomas Keightley (1835), William Mitford (1835 and 38), Oliver Goldsmith (1839), and Frederick Malkin (1840), in addition to those by Leake et al noted below. For a discussion of the success at the 1851 Great Exhibition of American sculptor Hiram Powers' *The Greek Slave* (1844), which combined classical beauty with eroticism and imagery of Turkish subjection, and helped fuel the mid-century passion for Greece, see Churnjeet Mahn, 'Journeys in the Palimpsest: British Women's Travel to Greece, 1840-1914' (doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 2007), pp. 2-3, 135.

Bowen argued that Murray's current *Handbook for the East* (1845), which covered Greece and the Ionian Islands, Turkey, Constantinople, Asia Minor and Malta, was 'a skilfully prepared abstract of the works of the most celebrated travellers,' but because of recent changes in Greece was out of date (v). Although anonymous like most Handbooks, Lister reveals that it was based on a text by Godfrey Levigne, an Anglo-Irish traveller in the Levant between 1830-33, with the rest written by Henry Headley Parish, a diplomat in Constantinople and Secretary to the British Legation in Athens from 1830-1834. Published by Murray in 1840, it was updated in 1845 by Octavian Blewitt, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, with notes from recent travellers. Privately dismissing it, even in this updated form, as 'very poor for the East', Bowen assured Murray that he did not wish to criticise 'so useful a compendium', but to repeat what many travellers had requested, that there should be a stand-alone *Handbook for Greece.* He suggested splitting the current Handbook into two, one covering the Ottoman Empire in Europe and Asia, including Syria, and the other the countries inhabited by the Hellenic race. He offered to write the latter.[71]

Seventeenth in the series, Bowen's Handbook was the world's first accurate practical guidebook devoted solely to Greece. Bowen acknowledged that numerous other writers had described Greece, but this was the first time their works had been 'compared, extracted and compressed into portable shape' (v). While Blewitt's 1845 edition devoted 228 pages to the 'Hellenic' regions, Bowen's at 460 pages was double the length and far more detailed. He retained c. 100 pages of the original, repeating practical advice and descriptions of places he could not visit himself, but added comprehensive introductory essays and painstakingly-researched new routes.

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[71] National Library of Scotland, John Murray Archive, MS.40136, 20 November 1850. This correspondence will henceforth be cited as GFB to JM with the date.

It remained the only guidebook to Greece in any language for the next eighteen years. His voice remained audible for at least twenty-eight years after that. Murray earned a fortune by issuing new editions, to the extent that his lavish new mansion in Wimbledon, built in 1851, was nicknamed ‘Handbook Hall’, but he often changed little but the title page.[72] The 1872 edition, revised by R.G. Watson, a diplomat in Constantinople and Athens, added new routes and updated advice, but repeated the bulk of Bowen’s introduction, and included notes Bowen sent in 1859 for an edition commissioned but never completed, owning to ‘armed conflicts on the border between Greece and Turkey.’[73] The 1896 Murray Handbook retained much of Bowen’s text, as did the almost identical 1900 edition, the last in the series before it was sold.[74] By the time Baedeker produced his first *Guide to Greece* in 1889, thirty-five years after Bowen, Murray had published five of seven editions, including the first two Handbooks to the East. The first Greece guide in Hachette’s Guide-Joanne series, precursors of the French Guides Bleus, did not appear until 1891.

Since the eighteenth century, patterns and systems had been transforming architecture and design, education, bureaucracy, science, natural history, geography, technology, sport, languages and communications. Murray epitomised this ‘global classificatory project’ by systematising travel guides, thereby making foreign

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[72] It was actually named Newstead, after Byron’s ancestral home in Nottinghamshire (Murray IV, p. 26). It is now under Wimbledon's centre court.

[73] Lister, p. 19.

[74] Margarita Dritsas’s examination of the impact of Murray Handbooks on Greek tourism, the first such study in Greece, discusses important changes in tone between the 1840 and 1872 editions. The 1872 ‘changes’ she notes were in fact repeated from Bowen’s edition, published eighteen years earlier. One important change, however, was that the 1872 edition included for the first time a section by a Greek, Professor Roussopoulos, an archaeologist at Athens University. ‘From Travellers Accounts to Travel Books and Guide Books: the formation of a Greek tourism market in the nineteenth century’, *Tourismos,*1, 1, Spring 2006, pp. 29-54, p. 32.

countries more accessible and navigable.[75] The Handbooks' uniform template gave readers confidence that they knew where to find information no matter what country they were in. Contents were equally systematic. Murray strove to create a rational discourse based not on reminiscences or impressions, but on scientific observation.[76] He demanded succinct 'matter-of-fact descriptions of what ought to be seen at each place,' avoiding 'florid descriptions and exaggerated superlatives.'[77] Although authors included an illustrious roster of diplomats, soldiers, clergy and academics, they were known as Editors and signified at most by their initials.[78] These were not their guides, but the publisher's, their authority underwritten by the Murray institution. Murray himself was not identified as the first Handbook Editor until 1887, fifty years after publication.[79]

Personal knowledge was welcome; personal opinions were not. Murray complained that Parish's manuscript of the 1840 edition had 'allusions to Politics, and the Eastern Question […] that every impartial person must allow to be quite irrelevant in a Guidebook.'[80] Murray was concerned that Parish's anti-Russian

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[75] Pratt, p. 26.

[76] For an in-depth study of the Romantic period's struggle to integrate literary and scientific travel narratives see Nigel Leask's *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[77] Preface, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent*, 1836.

[78] Murray was originally considered a tradesman, and not elevated to gentleman status until John Murray II famously burnt Byron's unread but potentially reputation-damaging memoirs in 1824. Murray was thought to have acted heroically in Byron's interests rather than his own, because he would have made a fortune from the memoirs' sale. For more on the extraordinary scene around the fireplace in Albemarle St, see Carpenter pp. 128-148.

[79] Murray IV, pp. 40-41.

[80] Murray wanted scenic views and their peculiar characteristics pointed out, and a few interesting anecdotes, but not to be 'burthened with all the details'. JM III to Parish, 22 December 1839, John Murray Archive, MS.41911.

remarks would exclude the book from sale in Russian-ruled countries, and could even be confiscated and see the owner locked up. Richard Ford, whose flamboyant and witty *Handbook to Spain* became the most highly-regarded in the series, was furious when Murray, concerned about alienating international buyers, forced him to cut criticisms of the French, the church, and the Spanish aristocracy. Ford moaned that Murray wanted him to be 'mechanical and matter-of-fact […] and I am an ass for my pains. I have been throwing pearly articles into the trough of a road-book.'[81] Ford withdrew the first edition and had to repay his £500 fee. Murray eventually published the rewritten book in 1845.[82] Augustus Hare, who wrote two Handbooks to English counties in the 1860s, complained that his writing for Murray had to be 'as hard, dry and incisive' as his taskmaster. 'No sentiment, no expression of opinion were ever to be allowed, all description was to be reduced to its barest bones, dusty, dead and

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[81] Ford to Henry Addington 18 November 1841, q. E. W. Gilbert, 'Richard Ford and His 'Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain', *The Geographical Journal*, 3/4, 106, (September - October 1945), pp. 178-9. Alarm bells might have rung in Albemarle Street when Bowen told Murray on 20 November 1850 that he wanted his Handbook to be 'as full and as satisfactory' as *Spain,* which caused Murray such grief, but unlike Ford Bowen managed not to irritate his publisher. Although a favourable review in the *New York Sun* (4 August 1890) put Bowen's Handbook on a par with Ford's, Bowen's is more measured, succinct and - unsurprisingly given his subsequent career - diplomatic. Perhaps this diplomacy contributed to Bowen's friendship with Murray, which (unusually for Murray) lasted long after publication. (Conversation with David McClay, Curator of the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland, 2013).

[82] Reviewers deplored Ford's Francophobia, but *Spain* was a huge success, selling 1389 copies in three months. Gretton, p. x.

colourless […] utterly unreadable.'[83] Hare was so frustrated he left to write rival guidebooks of his own.[84]

The Victorian era may have been bound by systems, but it was also a liberating time of mental and physical expansion and adventure. This sets up one of several intriguing tensions between constraint and freedom that this thesis will now explore. Ingold's archaeology of lines distinguishes between 'lines of transport' and 'wayfaring lines', the former rigid, repetitive, unimaginative and constraining, the latter meandering dynamic pathways of movement and growth.[85] Bowen's journal shows him exploring Greece like a wayfarer, with no clear aim other than to engage with 'the country that opens up along his path.'[86] By contrast, the Handbook's specified routes are lines of transport to prescribed destinations and objects of attention, which bypass what might emerge en route, and transform place into a

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[83] *The Story of My Life* (London: George Allen, 1896), q. Gretton, p. xvii. Hare's complaints did not stop him from plagiarising Murray, or at least so Murray claimed re Hare's 1875 *Cities of Northern and Central Italy*. See Keates pp. 40-51 for an entertaining view of their rivalry.

[84] Tucked into my 1896 *Handbook to Greece* is a letter from John Murray IV thanking Bowen for his 'kind note' in response to 'Mr Hare's impertinence', and enclosing the book as a gift.

[85] Paul Klee saw the active line that famously 'went out for a walk' (not, as often mistranslated, 'was taken for a walk') as dynamic, free, investigative and playful, while the line that connects adjacent points is 'the quintessence of the static'. *Paul Klee Notebooks: The Thinking Eye*, 1, ed. by Jurg Spiller, trans. by Ralph Manheim (London: Lund Humphreys, 1961), p. 105. q. Ingold, p. 73.

[86] Ingold, p. 76. Bowen had no decent map of Greece. The first was the 1832 survey by the French Scientific Commission, but this covered only the Peloponnese and part of Attica. Aldenhofen's map, published in 1838, is largely based on this survey regarding the Peloponnese and Attica, but being large scale was inconvenient for travelling, and the place names were in French and Greek (17). Bowen recommended 'a small map, which is tolerably accurate, and convenient for travelling' published by M. Nast, a German bookseller in Athens, and Kiepert's splendid but not portable *Atlas of Greece*, published in 1851 (17).

series of nodes 'in a static network of connectors.'[87] On 2 October 1847 Bowen recorded in his journal:

> *Hence this road ascends - & winding through a number of undulating hills - covered with a natural shrubbery of fragrant pines & myrtles - we about 11 descended on the plain of Marathon, through a most beautiful gorge wh opens at every turn of the ragged path enchanting views of the sea, & opposite mountains of Euboea.*

Cauterising his naturally discursive style, in the Handbook this becomes:

> *It is possible to go to Marathon and return to Athens in one day, by taking a carriage out to Cephisia, whither horses can be sent on. This is by far the best plan'* (209).

But how far did Murray's editorial strictures - his lines of transport - constrain Bowen's wayfaring individuality? Superficially, Bowen conformed to Murray's protocols. His ambition was not to explore his feelings, or situate himself in relation to the sublime or picturesque, but to give the public 'more correct and accurate information than is to be found in the books - however clever and interesting - of previous travellers' (135). He promised Murray that his edition would be a 'brief but systematic account' that 'adhered strictly to the arrangement and table of contents', and systematised the material 'scattered very often in a very incorrect shape, up and down the old *Handbook for the East.*'[88] Impersonality was an aesthetic imperative and an ethical ideal. Bowen understood Murray's aim to acquaint readers with the country, not the Editor. In the Handbook he quotes 'Demotes', who ridiculed writers

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[87] Ingold, p. 75.

[88] GFB to JM 28 February 1853. Bowen also helped revise the 1854 *Handbook for Turkey,* 'as a friend', i.e. unpaid, glad to have the 'opportunity of systematisation and putting in a concise form my information about the Ottoman Empire, which will henceforth be useful to me.' (GFB to JM 17 January 1854).

on Greece - mostly German princes or noble English marquesses - 'whose books are like Chinese maps, the writer himself representing the Celestial Empire, and the subject some small islands which fill up the rest of the world.'[89] Demotes concluded: 'These noble authors are unlikely to give any very accurate ideas to their respective countrymen' (43). 'Demotes' mocked both their sense of entitlement and the way they placed themselves at the centre, their egos pushing Greece into the periphery and obscuring it for everyone else.

However, a closer look shows Murray's schema fracturing under the weight of Bowen's individuality. Bowen told Murray he would combine 'the information of a scholar with the observations of a man of the world'. Both had written largely on Greece, but with a few honourable exceptions, 'the scholars have not been men of the world, and the men of the world have not been scholars.'[90] He implied that he combined the two. Because travellers in Greece were still 'of a more intellectual class than the general run of tourists in the West' he would make the Handbook 'not only a practical, but also somewhat of a learned compendium', inferring his own personal predilections.[91] He included foreign language quotations without translation. Outlining the advantages of paying a servant in advance, he informed readers that 'The comfort of such an arrangement is obvious: *cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator'* (8).[92] Bowen knew that the 'jobbers', sportsmen, and military types returning from India who still comprised the majority of travellers in Greece were unlikely to be fluent in dead languages, so he was flattering them that they too could be cultivated

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[89] Letter to *The Morning Chronicle,* 10 October 1843.

[90] GFB to JM 14 March 1851.

[91] GFB to JM 20 November 1850.

[92] Literally, 'the penniless traveller will sing before the robber', or 'he who has nothing has nothing to lose'.

enough to converse in Latin on mundane practicalities of travel. This is the writer's way of embracing the reader and drawing them into their web; Bowen was simultaneously voicing his own subjective tastes and intellectual leanings.

However, *State of Emergency* demonstrates his crisis of self-doubt as he became aware of his imperfect antiquarian knowledge, which forced him to subcontract certain sections to an expert who could analyse, categorise and classify Athens' ancient architecture with scientific authority.[93] This exposes another tension between Bowen's wayfaring knowledge and a sudden consciousness of its limitations, and on a wider level between the gentlemanly amateur ranging over disciplines, and the mid-century rise of specialist professions.

Bowen maintained the Handbook's appearance of impartiality on matters of politics and history by quoting other texts, such as the anonymous pamphlet, *The Ionian Islands under British Protection* (44).[94] But this was a front, because Bowen had written the pamphlet himself. He also appended his name to quotations, or wrote, 'According to Mr Bowen', relying on the Handbook's anonymity to let him get away with it. By recycling material he saved himself time and effort, and drew attention to and underwrote the authority of his other publications, but he was also indirectly expressing his own opinions, hiding in plain sight.

While the Handbook appears to reinforce distinctions between public and private, *Mount Athos,* a worked-up version of his 1849 journal, traversed their boundaries, adding another piece to the jigsaw of self-representation that he constructed in different published and unpublished genres and forms.

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[93] GFB to JM 3 November 1852.

[94] (London: Ridgway, 1851)

Bowen's motive in by-passing Murray's strictures was partly altruistic: he sought to change conventional attitudes towards Greece. The overriding sentiment of his classically-educated contemporaries was nostalgia for antiquity and disenchantment with the degraded 'primitive' present.[95] Most travellers shared Byron's melancholic regret for 'Fair Greece! Sad relic of departed worth.'[96] Bowen, by contrast, was a sympathetic student of modern Greece. While the 1853-6 *Quarterly Review* carried numerous articles extolling Britain's ally Turkey and condemning Greece, largely to elicit support for sending British soldiers to fight for Turkey in Crimea, Bowen argued that Greece had been misunderstood. He shifted the focus onto modern history, which was 'less familiar to the general reader' but 'indispensable to a right understanding of the present condition of the country and people' (27). In his view, Greece's dire circumstances - enervated by centuries of Ottoman rule, impoverished, lacking support, arms, men or training - made its revolution 'the most heroic strife' of modern times (33).

Bowen cared so much that here he risked irritating Murray like Parish and Ford by abandoning quotations and openly expressing his opinions. Bowen was equally unconventional for a Frank in trying to understand the Orthodox Church. Most Europeans overlooked Byzantine culture to focus on the Hellenic ideal. Protestants found Orthodoxy bizarre, 'a strange mixture of feasts and fasts; of

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[95] Despite never visiting Athens, Edward Gibbon described the Athenians walking 'with supine indifference among the glorious ruins of antiquity; and such is the debasement of their character, that they are incapable of admiring the genius of their predecessors.' *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Strahan & Cadell, 1782, revised 1845), vi, p. 145. Gibbon took his account from (among others) Spon's *Voyage en Grece,* (Lyons, 1678), ii, pp. 79-199, and Wheler's *A Journey into Greece* (London, 1682), pp. 337- 414.

[96] *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* Canto II, verse LXXIII (London: John Murray, 1812).

ringing of bells and muttering jargon.'[97] They abhorred relic-veneration. The 1840 and 1845 Handbooks describe the remains of Corfu's patron saint, St Spyridon, as 'mummy-like' and 'a most disgusting object', and the annual festival, when the saint was processed through the town, an 'absurd affectation of compliance with the prejudices of the people…adopted with a view to conciliate the affections of the natives.'[98] As an Anglican, Bowen might be expected to have shared this disgust, but instead he deleted this section and wrote respectfully that St Spyridon's embalmed body, thought to have wrought miracles, was preserved in a richly ornamented case, and three times a year was carried 'in solemn procession' around the esplanade, followed by the Greek clergy and native authorities (65). The 1845 edition condemned the Greek clergy as coming 'principally from the lowest class, and with few exceptions are ignorant, superstitious and fanatic.'[99] Bowen replaced this insult with a scholarly chapter on the church, based on his audiences with Patriarchs in Constantinople and sojourns in monasteries at Megaspelion (Route 11), Meteora (Route 42) and Mount Athos (Route 47), which few other Europeans had achieved. He assured Murray that his 'minute account' was 'rather more accurate' than Robert Curzon's, the only other detailed contemporary commentary, however 'clever and amusing'.[100]

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[97] Frances Maclellan, *Sketches of Corfu* (London: Smith, Elder, 1835), p. 119. This acerbic English governess's memoir of a year in Corfu (1833) paints a vivid portrait of Anglo-Ionian life during the Protectorate.

[98] 1840 Handbook, p. 5.

[99] 1845 Handbook, p. 4.

[100] GFB to JM 20 November 1850. In the Handbook Bowen described Mount Athos's ecclesiastical libraries as 'ransacked' by Curzon in 1837, and previously by Professor Carlyle and Dr Hunt in 1801 (421). Curzon's manuscript-buying journey, published by John Murray in 1849 as *A Visit to Monasteries in the Levant*, recounts experiences and observations similar to Bowen's, but Bowen did not share Curzon's collecting instinct (or money).

Forty years later, Bowen was still batting for the Greeks. In 1891 he accused Amy Yule, Editor of the 1884 edition, of 'faults of scholarship'.[101] She had cut out 'nearly all that was in favour of the Christians in the Levant', and inserted many 'unformulated remarks and petty sneers to their prejudice.' Bowen fulminated:

> *This is an error which has been carefully avoided in the other Handbooks. It is obviously bad taste in a work of this nature, which should be, for many reasons, almost colourless with respect to local politics, to attack violently, and often falsely, the character and conduct of the people of the country described, and who naturally resent such treatment and do all they can to disparage the authority of the assailant.*[102]

It was bad taste and bad business. Bowen had revisited Greece the previous year (1890) where he was 'personally acquainted with the leading Greeks of all parties' who had found it so offensive to themselves and their country that they were 'shunning' it.[103] He marked passages to cut or revise.[104] 'I am in want of an occupation just now, and it would be a labour of love on my part to make the Handbook for Greece as good as possible.'[105]

Despite Bowen's professed resistance to politics and personal opinion, he had what an Oxford friend called a 'predilection for foreign politics' that permeated his

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[101] Amy Yule had lived in Greece and was daughter of Henry Yule, the first Asiatic geographer of his time, scientist, soldier and author of Hobson-Jobson, the famous dictionary of Anglo-Indian words, and a friend of Murray's.

[102] GFB to JM IV 19 May 1891.

[103] Ibid.

[104] GFB to JM IV 31 October 1896. That edition was updated by the multi-lingual Reverend H.W. Pullen in 1896.

[105] GFB to JM IV 19 May 1891.

edition despite himself.[106] The very scope of his Handbook was political. He referred on page one to the 'present state and future destinies of the Levant' as 'that most important question.' The text includes the northerly swathe of Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace and parts of Albania, plus many Aegean islands, which comprise Greece today but were then still Ottoman, which Bowen called 'Classical and Historical Greece' but 'not yet reunited to Christendom' (v). The word 'yet' is important here. This was the *Megali Idea*, the Great Idea that preoccupied Greece for the next century, of reuniting all Hellenes within future borders in Asia Minor, along the Balkans and the Ionian Sea, with the capital in Constantinople. Bowen included these regions in his Handbook because there were fewer Turks here than English in India, and the majority was Greek in 'those great elements of nationality: blood, religion and language' (v). By pointing at these nationalist faultlines, Bowen provocatively laid down markers for on-going independence movements.

Bowen was conflicted, however. Britain aimed to maintain influence in the region, and welcome greater Greece into European Christendom, but in 1854 entered the Crimean War allied with infidel Turkey - Greece's mortal enemy - against Russia, Greece's Orthodox friend. Bowen was personally conflicted because the *Megali Idea* also threatened the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, and his job and salary. He portrayed the Ionians as contented beneficiaries of a just British legal and administrative system, which had provided 'thirty years of peace and prosperity' after the systematic 'corruption and tyranny' of Venetian rule (55, 53). In fact, he was well aware of political unrest; his descriptions were extracted from his own 1851 pamphlet*,* which was commissioned to justify Ward's draconian suppression of

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[106] 'Governor Bowen and His Critics', anonymous undated article from the 1870s, private archive.

Cephalonian riots. He even prefaced his *Ithaca in 1850* with reference to the current 'political ferment'.[107]

Another tension emerges between Bowen as colonial representative, imposing imperial 'lines of transport' on the Protectorate, and his wayfaring private views. The Handbook was written just after the 1850 Don Pacifico affair. Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, had blockaded Greek ports after the Greek government refused to compensate a British subject when his Athens house was ransacked. During a famous five-hour speech, Palmerston justified his gunboat diplomacy by assuring every British subject that throughout the world he 'shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him from injustice and wrong.'[108] As an agent of empire, Bowen represented this triumphalist Victorian sensibility, yet he was independent-minded enough to be ambivalent and even opposed to some of its manifestations. In the Handbook he noted that Palmerston's policy 'was violently assailed in England,' but that 'debates on the question in both Houses of Parliament will amply repay perusal' (101). In his private journal he dismissed Palmerston's bellicosity as outrageous.

The Handbook itself offered the prospect of a wayfaring freedom from constraints. Given the 'unavoidable discomforts of travelling in Greece', a *valet-de-place* was still recommended, but travellers were liberated from having to employ an entourage of servants, because the Handbook explained how to manage for themselves (17). They no longer needed classical connoisseurship, or to hire expert

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[107] (London: Ridgway, 1851, trans. into Greek 1859).

[108] *Hansard*, 3, 112, pp. 380-444, 29 June 1850. Confidence in British security would be undermined before the next Handbook was published by the notorious 1870 Dilessi case, when British (and Italian) travellers were kidnapped by brigands near Marathon and murdered, severely testing Anglo-Greek relations.

guides, because the Handbook could inform.[109] Bowen devised brief skeleton tours viable for travellers on a budget, rather than the months or even years required for the Grand Tour, inspiring the *Times* to claim that 'By the help of Murray, the veriest Cockney, the greenest schoolboy and the meekest country clergyman may leave his counter, his school or his parsonage, and make his way through all Europe comfortably, cheaply and expeditiously.'[110] Thus the Handbook helped travellers to break free from physical, intellectual and economic constraints and set off in Byron's romantic footsteps. It was Byron made bourgeois.

However, this was a fantasy, because apart from the expense of such a voyage, the Handbook alone cost 15/-, equivalent to an agricultural labourer's weekly wage.[111] This sets up a tension between social classes via the democratisation of travel to which it contributed, and the constraining elitism it served.[112] Murray and Bowen were creating space in a new publishing market to reach as wide a readership as possible, attempting to meet the needs of a pre-industrial society in which wealthy travellers could enjoy long periods of leisurely exploration, as well as those of an industrialising society in which the socially and geographically mobile middle classes, travelling along lines of transport during time-limited holidays, might abhor, aspire to or envy that kind of moneyed leisure.

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[109] Hewitt shows how from the late eighteenth century travellers transferred their dependence from human guides to guidebooks and maps, and thus gained a wider view of the landscape, 'allowing freer improvisation over its contours.' p. 310.

[110] *Times,* 2 December 1850.

[111] Gretton, p. xxi.

[112] As one commentator observed: 'The travelling class of England is generally taken from the higher ranks, while in Germany every class of society is represented.''Railway Literature Abroad', *New Monthly Magazine* 1858, q. Carpenter, p. 110.

This connects with mimetic fantasies of colonial exploration, and sets up another tension between wayfaring aspiration and constraining reality. While the travelogue described what the author had done in the past, the guidebook offered an image of what the reader might do in the future. However, while middle-class travellers might have aspired to Bowen's adventures, few would have shared his intellectual intentions or physical bravery, and Bowen knew that. Like Bulwer Lytton's popular silver fork novels, the Handbook revealed a world of which most people could only dream, giving readers a sense of pressing the face to the glass.[113]

By accompanying the lure of adventure with instructions on how to achieve it, the Handbook liberated travellers from human guides, but curtailed their freedom in other ways. Handbooks never sought to overpower readers with 'the dogma of critical orthodoxy'; although there were attempts to evolve hierarchies of sights, 'the tyranny of good taste and received wisdom' did not dominate.[114] Nevertheless, Bowen sought to engineer travellers' experiences by directing them along scripted pathways - lines of transport - and pointing out every view, noting every cultural reference. Thus the Handbook with its pre-planned routes helped travellers to navigate around Greece, but ironically limited their imaginative possibilities and opportunities for discoveries of their own. The journey became 'no more than an explication of the plot.'[115] This signposted a junction between independent traveller

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[113] Edward Bulwer Lytton, author of now forgotten novels that opened windows onto aristocratic worlds, was the Colonial Secretary who appointed Bowen Governor of Queensland, and acted as mentor during his career. EBL was also a historian of Athens, author of *An Autumn in Greece* (London: John Ebers, 1826), and in 1862 was offered - but declined - the crown of Greece.

[114] Keates, p. 9.

[115] Ingold, p. 15.

and guided tourist, with the tourist narrative defining itself against the former, often 'with an acute sense of belatedness.'[116]

Many scholars have explored the cultural connotations inherent in distinctions between 'traveller' and 'tourist', the traveller often characterised as a sensitive wayfarer enjoying authentic experiences off the beaten track, unlike the supposedly sheep-like tourist following prescribed lines of transport, shielded and comforted by familiarity.[117] Ingold sees the traveller as hunter-gatherer, continually responding to the environment in an intimate coupling of locomotion and perception. 'He watches, listens and feels as he goes, his entire being alert to the countless cues that, at every moment, prompt the slightest adjustments to his bearing.'[118] For Bowen 'tourist' still meant Grand Tourist, not the denigrated successor. Although visitors came increasingly for wildfowl shooting, Greece had no fashionable watering holes or gaming tables, and while Bowen and friends enjoyed 'delicious bathes', no one thought to sunbathe. However, he did imply a distinction, identifying his ideal reader - and himself - in the Handbook's first sentence: 'A journey in Greece is full of deep and lasting interest for a traveller of every character, except indeed for a mere idler or man of pleasure' (1). For Bowen travel meant self-education and acculturation; it was work, not pleasure, and he directed his Handbook at the tourist's corollary, the serious-minded morally-superior anti-tourist. It nevertheless standardised and

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[116] Leask, p. 7

[117] See *The Norton Book of Travel*, ed. by Paul Fussell (New York and London: Norton, 1987), and Susan Bassnett, Introduction, *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopaedia*, ed. by Jennifer Speake (London: Routledge, 2003). The term 'tourist', coined in the late eighteenth century, took off with Thomas Cook, who from 1841 used the railways to develop packaged tours, and in 1855 organised the first Cook's tour to Europe. The first packaged cruise to Greece was offered in 1833: three weeks aboard the *Francesco Primo* touring Naples, the Ionian Islands, Navarino Bay, then Nauplion to Constantinople.

[118] Ingold, p. 78.

packaged his own and his predecessors' experiences and knowledge into recipes for mass consumption.

According to Churnjeet Mahn, one of few scholars to have examined Greek Handbooks, Bowen's contribution to Greek guidebooks depended on his role as 'a respected colonialist whose knowledge as a representative of the British government had lent an authority to the guidebook that was underwritten by his administrative role for the British Empire.'[119] In fact, although the Handbook was commissioned while Bowen was the Ionian University's vice-chancellor, it was written after he had resigned that post for his Brasenose Fellowship. Additionally, his name lent the Handbook no authority because he was not named as 'Editor' - author - until an advertisement appeared in the 1859 *Quarterly Review,* five years after publication, when Bowen was appointed Governor of Queensland. His promotion might have enhanced his authority and increased sales, but the Handbook remained anonymous nonetheless. Bowen's authority derived more from his empirical and scholarly research. On seeking the commission, he informed Murray:

> *I have visited and examined every single site of importance in those countries. In fact, I believe that my travels in these parts have been more extensive than those of any other foreigner – except Colonel Leake. Moreover, I enjoy a great advantage in being personally acquainted with nearly all the natives of distinction both in Greece and in the Ionian Islands; and in being able to speak and write fluently Modern Greek – the only language understood by the vast majority of the population.*

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[119] Mahn, p. 24.

His university role gave him access to academics and a library, which helped to make him 'thoroughly acquainted with the history – the topography – the language – and the political and moral condition of Modern Greece.'[120]

Mahn also claims that Bowen's contribution to Greek guidebooks was not new or distinctive.[121] I argue that it was both. The Handbook was neither the 'hard, dry and incisive' writing Hare resented, nor the egotistical writing Murray feared, but a synthesis of the impersonal on-site recordings of eighteenth-century antiquarianism ('lines of transport') with early nineteenth-century Romantic and aesthetic Hellenism ('wayfaring'). In her history of the Ordnance Survey, Rachel Hewitt demonstrates that while the Enlightenment celebrated cartography as 'the language of reason and political equality,' the Romantics often resented rationality for 'enslaving the human mind', and viewed maps and guides more as stimulants for the poetic imagination, and assisting 'a deeply felt love for nature and solitary wandering.'[122] Bowen's Handbook embodied this duality. It was a rational guide to the archetypal home of political liberty and egalitarianism, which was also a place of sublime landscapes and picturesque ruins that had special resonance for the Romantic sensibility. This dialectic of objectivity and subjectivity, of scientific and personal, gave rise to Bowen's mid-century realism, and put him in a unique position to bridge the gap between travel writing, guiding and scholarship, and to elevate guidebooks to a new level.

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[120] GFB to JM 20 November 1850.

[121] Mahn, p. 24.

[122] Hewitt, pp. 147, 145, 203.

The Handbook's reach was wide. Murray accounts ledgers show a profits spike in 1854, the year Bowen's edition was published.[123] Handbook profits were never substantial because of expenses of paper, printing, binding, map-engraving, advertising, authors' fees, and 'entering Stationer's Hall', but Bowen sold 1942 copies - not insignificant, given the 15/- price tag, worth c. £70 today - and by 1864 his edition was in profit.[124] In 1854, Murray spent 9% of the expenses for Bowen's Handbook on advertising it.[125] It was also well reviewed. The *Spectator* praised it as 'one of the best of Murray's well-known series.'[126] According to another review:

> *Colonel Leake, one of the great authorities in that part of the world… is the driest and most unattractive of writers; and most of his successors have faithfully followed his manner. Two signal exceptions to the general rule must, however, be made. They are Curzon's delightful book on the "Monasteries of the Levant," which Mr Ruskin pronounces to be the best book of travels he ever read, and Sir George Bowen's Handbook and "Mount Athos".*[127]

Thus empirical knowledge of Greece was brought home to British readers, making Bowen what Pratt terms a 'transculturator', his writing becoming a 'key instrument in creating the "domestic subject" of empire.'[128] As John Darwin notes, 'To an extent we

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[123] Goodwin and Johnston, p. 4.

[124] www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/relativevalue.php [Accessed 14 December 2017].

[125] John Murray Archive, copies ledgers, MS.42730, p.57 and MS.42731, p.255. By the late 1850s over 100 other newspapers, periodicals and trade magazines had carried advertisements for Murray's books.

[126] *Spectator,* 5 July 1890.

[127] 'Sir George Bowen as an author', private archive, n.d.

[128] Pratt, p. 3.

are gradually beginning to notice, the return flows of experience, scientific information and academic talent exerted a powerful influence upon elite culture in Britain.'[129] Another reviewer praised the Handbook for leaving 'a deep and lasting mark on English classical literature,' continuing:

> *[For] close upon a quarter of a century, the same ground has been gone over by a host of travellers, both of the bona fide and the summer excursionist class, and the volumes written upon it would furnish out a good-sized library. But the Handbook still is, and always will continue to be, the standard and descriptive work which nothing can supersede.*[130]

This prediction proved over-optimistic. When the series was sold in 1901, Henry Pullen, a prolific Editor, conceded that the Handbooks were written for 'a class of travellers which has ceased to exist, and their raison d'être is gone.'[131] Bowen's influence remains, however, in contemporary guidebooks such as Nigel McGilchrist's 2010 guides to the Aegean Islands.[132] McGilchrist, like Bowen an Oxford classicist, similarly relishes the way being in Greece illuminates the ancient stories; like Bowen he relies on trustworthy personal experience which travellers are invited to correct

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[129] Darwin, p.5. In a lighter vein, Carpenter notes: 'It was the detail and tone of the travel accounts published by Murray throughout the nineteenth century that inspired countless adventure-story titles for boys, and kept the thrill of adventure fresh for a new generation.' p. 126.

[130] Anonymous review, private archive, n.d.

[131] W. Pullen to JM IV, 29 May 1901, John Murray Archive, MS.40987.

[132] *McGilchrist's Greek Islands* (London: Genius Loci, 2010). According to one review, 'For lovers of the Aegean, it is as close to being the definitive guidebook to the region as you are ever going to get.' See Max Davidson, 'Greek islands guide: A literary Odyssey of island life', *Daily Telegraph*, 19 February 2011.

and enhance.[133] In this, as in his sympathetic approach, unobtrusive scholarship, and intended readership of educated, energetic and independent-minded travellers, McGilchrist is Bowen's heir.

It is beyond this essay's scope to quantify Bowen's role in tourism's embryonic development, but successive Handbooks testify to Greece's evolution as a destination, which accompanied thrilling archaeological discoveries. Bowen wrote with dry humour in 1854: 'A quarter of a century ago, or even much later, a "Chapter on Inns" in Greece would have resembled the "Chapter on Snakes" in a certain work on Ireland; and which chapter simply contained the words "There are no snakes in this country"' (20). The tent recommended in 1845 in case there was no accommodation, or an epidemic forced the traveller to be 'independent of the state of the health of the town', was by 1854 deemed unnecessary (5), and by 1896 there were (relatively) first class hotels in all major towns.[134] In 1845 there were no direct ships from Britain to Greece; by 1896 'large and well-appointed' Greek and British steamers sailed direct from London and Liverpool.[135] In 1854 Greek journeys were made almost entirely on horseback (3); by 1896 carriage roads were few or dilapidated, but there were fifteen railways with three more opening imminently.[136] Although Bowen met some redoubtable female travellers, he fails to mention women travellers in his 1854 edition, but by 1896 'ladies in moderately robust health' would

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[133] 'Only what is seen with the eyes can trustfully be written about; and to that end I have attempted to walk, ride, drive, climb, sail and swim these Islands in order to inspect everything talked about here.' Preface, *McGilchrist*. <https://www.mcgilchristsgreekislands.com/island-notebook.html> [Accessed 1 November 2018].

[134] 1845 Handbook, p. xvii, 1896 Handbook, p. xxx.

[135] 1896 Handbook., p. xxiii.

[136] Ibid., p. xxxiii.

enjoy exploring the Greek interior, provided they were ‘prepared to rough it with cheerfulness and good temper’.[137]

Handbooks not only systematised and shaped Anglophone perceptions of abroad, they also altered the destinations themselves. One reviewer noted that a rapid increase of English tourists ‘usually coincides with the opening of a new field by the handbooks of Murray.’[138] As arbiters of taste, Handbooks could make or break a hotel or even a town. In 1853 George Hillard wrote: ‘From St Petersburg to Seville, from Ostend to Constantinople, there is not an inn-keeper who does not turn pale at the name of Murray.’ Innkeepers and tradesmen even resorted to bribery. The 1845 Handbook cautioned them against imposters posing as Handbook contributors to extort money in return for recommendations.[139]

By directing tourists towards or away from a place, Handbooks altered that place. In turn, expanding and increasingly complex tourism and communications networks, and archaeological discoveries, imposed growing demands on guidebook writers, and their books consequently became more detailed and sophisticated. Bowen devoted a single volume to Greece; McGilchrist devotes twenty volumes to the Aegean Islands alone.

Successive Handbooks show how narratives of Greece changed. The ‘struggles’ outlined in 1854 were by 1896 toned down to its ‘condition and prospects,’ and the sentiment scaled back from ‘sympathy’ to ‘interest’.[140] This was largely due to an improving economic outlook, boosted by tourism, which is now one of Greece’s

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[137] Ibid., p. xxxiv, p. xxxvii.

[138] ‘The *Handbook for Syria and Palestine’, Saturday Review*, 30 October 1858, pp. 426-8.

[139] 1845 Handbook, Preface.

[140] 1896 Handbook, p. xxviii.

most important industries. July 2019 saw a record high of 38 million tourists, a challenging influx into a population of 11 million that Bowen would doubtless neither have predicted, nor desired.[141] The irony of guidebooks like Bowen's and McGilchrist's is that they inspire solitary wandering through majestic landscapes, while instructing others how to get there too, thereby changing - even destroying - the enchantment they extoll.[142] This points to today's wilderness- and eco-tourism, which plays on desires for originality and solitude, but by encouraging tourists commodifies what they have come to see, and generates nostalgia for what they themselves have helped to ruin.[143]

Bowen's Handbook was a product and instrument of the interconnected global circulation of people, commodities and ideas - the British world-system - that characterised the Victorian age. An emblem both of reason and the imagination, it addressed tensions between systematisation and liberty, conformity and individuality, objectivity and subjectivity, and shaped itself into a hybrid text. It also articulated a mid-century turn to realism and professionalism. In some ways it was a dispassionate endeavour, attempting to translate one culture for another, but by

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[141] <https://tradingeconomics.com/greece/tourist-arrivals> [Accessed 3 January 2020].

[142] Before Murray, William Wordsworth's *A Guide through the District of the Lakes* (first published 1810) was one of the few intelligent well-written guidebooks. In glorifying the wilderness, it altered the Lake District by attracting hordes of tourists, to the extent that it was dubbed 'Wordsworthshire'. In 2017 Cumbria had over 47 million visitors, earning the county £3bn but causing concerns over crowding. <https://www.in-cumbria.com/news/17781961.concerns-raised-dramatic-hike-visitor-numbers-lake-district-cumbria-secures-tourism-zone-status/> [Accessed 3 January 2020].

[143] A recent tip on 'how to be a better tourist' suggests: 'Read a bit more about your destination than a "best of" list to find more unique, less crowded places to visit.' Tourists going on cruises are advised to choose a smaller vessel 'which not only means fewer tourists but also access to places others can't reach.' 'Tips of the week', *The Week,* 29 February 2020.

navigating tactfully around's Murray's corporate schema Bowen also managed to convey his personality. His Handbook was a sophisticated hybrid genre that he and Murray largely invented, and a core sample of a country's language, history and culture, stamped with Bowen's distinctive character. By pushing at formal boundaries, he helped to elevate humdrum guides to a new level of detail, accuracy, and sophistication. He broke literary ground, created space in the market for a new class of traveller, and influenced guidebook writing and tourism today.

Chapter 2: The Hermeneutics of Hospitality

In *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha describes the negating experience of living and working 'within a world-system […] pointed in a direction away from you', and how that incites resistance to power and prejudice, and to 'the invidious narratives of centre and periphery.'[144] Like most postcolonial critics, Bhabha has been inspired by Edward Said's 1978 *Orientalism,* which initiated an epistemological shift away from art, text, culture, history, people or place, to shine a hermeneutic spotlight on ways they have been read in the West. Postcolonial theory challenges centuries-old orthodoxies in an attempt to unmask styles of thought, modes of discourse and ways of seeing perpetrated by Europeans on the non-western world, and within wider power relationships involving gender, class and race. Through such close but 'suspicious' readings of texts that are 'in another sense of the word, notably suspicious themselves', I have examined some of Bowen's assumptions and motivations, and interrogated the implications for a writer in dialogue with a white male colonial forebear.[145] In the context of an emerging focus on genealogy and family history, popularised by TV programmes such as *Who Do You Think You Are?* and currently Google's third most frequent search (after news and porn), I ask if an intense and productive engagement with my ancestor's life and writing can bring a tangled imperial past into focus.

Said identified *The Persians* by Aeschylus, the earliest extant Athenian play, as the first 'orientalist' text, in that it transformed the Orient into a distant and threatening otherness.[146] By the nineteenth century, many Europeans supposedly viewed Greece itself through a similar filter. Said argues that by defining the Orient,

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[144] Bhabha, p. xi.

[145] Baine Campbell, p. 261.

[146] Said, p. 6.

they authorised and disseminated views of a semi-mythical construct, a topic of learning and a site of dreams, a fantasy of haunting landscapes and exotic, erotic and despotic beings. These clichés, presented as truths in 'imperial texts of information', served to justify and prolong asymmetrical power relations.[147] It was less about seeing the East for what it was than defining Europe's self image by creating a contrasting other, and using that to propagate Western imperialism. Europe may have widened its intellectual and geographical horizons, but it remained the main observer, firmly in the privileged centre. 'For even as Europe moved itself outwards, its sense of cultural strength was fortified.'[148]

Said deploys Foucault's equation of knowledge with power. Foucault defined power as 'a multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced.'[149] Although reticent on the subject of colonialism, Foucault's metaphors of displacement, space, interstice, territory and geopolitics provided the theoretical basis for *Orientalism*.[150] For Said, power included new or partisan forms of knowledge, and Europe's civilising power to convert and progress the East into modernity. The intention was to 'domesticate the Orient and turn it into a province of European learning', to exercise cultural strength,

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[147] Baine Campbell, p. 266.

[148] Said, p. 116.

[149] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Discourse', trans. by Ian McLeod, q. *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader,* ed. by Robert J.C. Young (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), p. 101-2. Foucault's concept of 'discourse', meaning not a particular work or canon but the surrounding collectively-produced determinants - the world-systems - gave Said a way of comprehending the 'systematic discipline' by which European culture was able to 'manage - even to produce - the Orient.' (*Orientalism*, p. 3).

[150] Robert J.C. Young, 'Foucault on Race and Colonialism', 1995, p. 6 <http://robertjcyoung.com/Foucault.pdf> [Accessed 8 December 2018].

to compare, to codify, to dominate, and subdue.[151] Ingold's 'lines of transport' here become lines of occupation, which inscribe boundaries around communities, and intersect at 'nodal points of power.'[152]

Can family history put a human face to Britain's imperial appropriations? Alison Light argues that family history can be inherently conservative, or 'history lite' for solipsists, or solace for those who want to give their ancestors a proper burial.[153] I ask instead if we can learn from insights into an individual steeped in Western ethnocentrism, who articulated colonial subjectivities and power dynamics, but was also open to languages, history, diversity and adventurous travel, and determined to overturn stereotypes. Can core-sampling help elucidate Bowen's motivations and historical contingency? Can it help me address my own subjectivity, ambivalence about power and the colonial traveller's gaze, and the limitations and privileges of my own perspectives? Can a part nuance the whole?

A deconstruction of Bowen's Handbook provides extensive material for discussion of the rhetoric of privilege, mobility, gendered subjectivity and 'the knowledge and power game'.[154] Superficially, it reads like an orientalist text. The habits of Greeks of every age have 'the strong tincture of Oriental customs' (46). The Oriental architecture, picturesque mosques, and crowded variety of costume and pictorial incident bewilder and delight the artist 'at each step', as if Greece was a sequence of images displayed for the privileged traveller's delectation (1). People are homogenised into networks of generalisations: Athenians are quick, vivacious

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[151] Said, p. 78.

[152] Ingold, p. 81.

[153] *Common People: The History of an English Family* (London: Fig Tree, 2014), p. xxvii.

[154] Haraway, p. 577.

and restless, Albanians passionately nationalistic and war-like (1). Wallachs are more peaceable and industrious than Albanians; 'and if they are endowed with less native acuteness and desire for information than the Greeks, they possess at least equal steadiness and perseverance' (52). Such categorisations connoted for Said 'the high-handed executive attitude of nineteenth century and early twentieth century European colonialism', which accepted innate traits and cultural distinctions as starting points for theories, literature, economics, imperial administration and geopolitics.[155] For Bhabha, such rhetoric is central to colonial discourse, denoting megalomania or paranoia that produces imagined constructions of cultural and national alterity.[156]

By defining the elusive 'other', the Handbook objectified the Greeks, emphasising the polarity between 'us' and 'them', rich and poor, visitor and visited. Said attests that cultures and societies are moulded by such tensions between dominant powers and margins, metropole and periphery. According to Pratt:

> *Empires create in the imperial center of power an obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. It becomes dependent on others to know itself. Travel writing […] is heavily organized in the service of that need.*[157]

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[155] Said, p. 2.

[156] Such generalising is not unique to western writers on the so-called Orient. Greek writer Nikos Kazantzakis states that all English people share characteristics of 'pride, dignity, determination, power of resistance, discipline - few words, many deeds, great humanity.' We are assured that 'The English love the land,' but 'nothing is more enticing for the English than strange tales of the sea […] The sea satisfies the romantic, anxious necessities of the English spirit; the land, her practical, conservative, stubborn needs.' *England: A Travel Journal* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965), pp. 13, 49. Kazantzakis is not interested in power or colonialism, simply in describing what he understands of a foreign culture.

[157] Pratt, p. 4.

The Handbook's process of selecting, advising, recommending, and establishing hierarchies of sights is adjunct to wider structures of domination. Fundamental to Western travellers' attitudes was the 'ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority.'[158] Edmond About enraged the Greeks by finding fault everywhere, but he satirised the English too. 'It has been said with some truth, 'What gives those people their power is, that they repeat to themselves twenty times a day, I am English. I am sure that at the Ionian Islands they repeat it once oftener than elsewhere.'[159] That complacent superiority was reinforced by the Handbook's perception of the primitive Greek way of life, corruption, oppression of women, and absence of modern infrastructure.

> *Orders and plans, it is true, have been frequently issued by the Greek Government for the formation of roads in various directions, but, in consequence of the scantiness of the population, and the profligate expenditure of the public revenue, little has been hitherto effected; and, as the labourer in Greece gains more by the cultivation of his hands than the wages offered by the Government, it would be difficult to induce him to quit his fields and commence road-making* (15).

This reflected Britain's industrialising power, and nostalgia for the rural simplicity that industrialisation was supplanting.

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[158] Said, p. 42. It also implied a distinction between the educated and uneducated, and therefore between men and women. For Virginia Woolf Ancient Greek symbolised patriarchal power, since few women were given the opportunity to learn it. See 'On Not Knowing Greek' (1925), in *Collected Essays* (London: Hogarth Press, 1966), p. i.

[159] Edmond About, *La Grece Contemporaine,* published in English in 1857 as *Greece and the Greeks of the Present Day,* q. Robert Eisner, *Travellers to an Antique Land: The History and Literature of Travel to Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), p. 168.

James Buzard identifies ‘the human tendency to fall back on a text when the uncertainties of travel in strange parts seem to threaten one’s equanimity’, which signals the ‘cyclic ritual’ underpinning the connection between travelling and texts.[160] Buzard shows how reading before leaving aroused expectations; travel tested them; further reading afterwards strengthened and recharged them. Said argues that this was how ideas became *idées reçues,* which bore scant relation to reality, but were anxiously repeated to create a tradition of unquestioned assumptions that fed into the power imbalance between East and West, ensuring subordination. Publication in an accredited form such as the Handbook, which was clothed as a work of encyclopaedic scholarship with scientific validation, enabled information to become fixed, normalised and widespread. Bowen’s 1851 Ionian pamphlet was so regularly repeated, praised and reinforced in the Handbook and articles in the *Quarterly Review* - written anonymously by Bowen himself - that his views became the accepted British view, his assertions and opinions transformed into facts. As if to put readers off the scent in case they doubted his objectivity, Bowen even anonymously criticised his own anonymous pamphlet for having ‘drawn too favourable a portrait of the population’; he referred readers to a ‘sterner but truer portrait in the *Times* of

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[160] *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the ways to “Culture” 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Buzard explores perceived distinctions between tourist and traveller, and how a democratising and institutionalising tourism gave rise to new formulations about what constitutes ‘authentic’ cultural experience.

Sept 17 1849.'[161] Bowen boasted to Murray that his information had become 'quite the text book of the Colonial Office on the subject.'[162]

In 1854 Murray Handbooks were described as exerting 'considerable influence, not only upon the comfort of our English public in its autumnal peregrinations, but also in determining the point of view in which Englishmen regard nations of the Continent.'[163] As one edition built on the last, Bowen's Handbook acquired further disseminative and inter-generational power. An 1870s review rhapsodised:

> *Take up any recent manual of classical geography, school edition of Homer, popular encyclopaedia, gazeteer, or the like works, and the probabilities are at least fifty to one that the descriptions there given of Greek topography and scenery are for the most part taken from [Bowen's] writings, with or without acknowledgement, but generally without.*[164]

Said defined such institutional endorsements, which imparted credibility and status, as 'all aggression, activity, judgment, will-to-truth, and knowledge.'[165] Haraway,

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[161] 'Ionian Administration', *Quarterly Review*, 91, 1852, pp. 315-352, p. 321. Murray regularly used his own prestigious *Quarterly Review* to publish favourable reviews of his publications, and it was not unheard of for authors to review their own works. Walter Scott, who co-founded the *Quarterly Review* with John Murray in 1809, anonymously reviewed his own *Tales of my Landlord*, and this was his harshest review.

[162] GFB to JM 22 April 1852. Bowen had been quoted by Colonial Secretary Sir John Pakington in a Parliamentary debate on 5 April 1852 (*Hansard,* HC Deb 5 April 1852, vol 120, cc 718-34).

[163] *Quarterly Review,* 94, p. 45.

[164] Anonymous 1870s review, private archive. Handbooks were also plundered by novelists for landscape descriptions, or to inspire adventure stories for children, which in turn stimulated further travel. Jonathan Keates shows how the idea and actuality of 'abroad' permeated Victorian fiction, and that Trollope's *Nina Balatka* draws on details from Murray's *Southern Germany* which he took on his travels. pp. 85-99.

[165] Said, p. 204.

rightly suspicious of the transcendence of such unlocatable and disembodied 'objectivity', considers it to be duplicitous 'scientistic, positivist arrogance' mediated by rhetoric and power.[166]

Descriptive lines of transport were imposed on the place, giving travellers knowledge that the Greeks themselves did not necessarily have, which reinforced misunderstandings between visitor and the objectified, silent, visited. In defining a place, we interpret it from our own privileged perspective, and thereby exert power over it. Bowen's text could shape the tourist gaze, and through transculturation even transform its subject. In the 1880s Kaiser Wilhelm reportedly interrupted meetings to watch the changing of the guard, saying, 'A terrible bore, but Baedeker is on record as saying that I do this every day, and I mustn't disappoint his readers.'[167] Greece's political elite were interested in foreign accounts of their country, which influenced the Greeks' image of themselves. According to Vasiliki Galani-Moutafi, outsiders' negative views led to a 'deeply wounding sense of social, cultural, economic and political dependency, which the Greek state experienced in the past and continues to do so in the present.'[168] Such representations led Greece to exploit stereotypes for touristic purposes, which perpetuated them.

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[166] Haraway, p. 580.

[167] Tirdad Zolghadr, 'The Pygmies were our compass', *Bidoun*, 7, *Tourism*, Spring 2006. <https://www.bidoun.org/articles/the-pygmies-were-our-compass> [Accessed 16 February 2020]. No source is cited for this anecdote.

[168] 'Greece in Travel Writing and Tourist Discourse: Cross-Cultural Encounters and the Construction of Classifications' in *Travel, Tourism, and Identity,* Culture & Civilisation, 7, ed. by Gabriel. R. Ricci (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017). Focusing on historical and anthropological perspectives on travel and tourism in Greece, Galani-Moutafi explores the relationship between classification and boundaries, and ideology and politics, in particular the Greek national identity and its ambiguities, tracing Western classical representations and images of Greece and the Greeks in eighteenth-twentieth century travel writing.

Bowen's position, however, is more complex than might appear. Referring to travel writing as an act of translation, travel theorist Caren Kaplan asks: 'Are imperialist travelers' descriptions of cultural differences the ones we want to reproduce in tourist brochures?'[169] This points to what Aijaz Ahmad considers the contradictory nature of postcolonial theory, which condemns post-Enlightenment scholar-travellers like Bowen on one hand for emphasising reason, universality and cosmopolitanism when each culture is said to be so discrete and autonomous 'as to be unavailable for cognition or criticism from a space outside itself', while on the other hand it condemns them for 'othering' and dividing 'us' from 'them'.[170] Ahmad posits that cultural differentialism, whereby no culture is available for description or representation by another, denies historical time. When in each culture was there a moment of cultural authenticity? Kaplan stresses that 'All versions of the "postmodern" share a distrust or disavowal of master narratives, totalizing systems of explanation, and a recognition of the breakup of formerly hegemonic practices and representations,' but she adds that questioning one hegemony may only result in another taking its place, or consolidate some new form of hegemony over other interests.[171] As *State of Emergency* shows, colonised Ionians like the Roma family who fought British Protection had themselves been colonisers. Who in the end is entitled to tell the stories?

David Constantine challenges the idea of the cyclopian imperial eye by reiterating the multi-faceted and ever-changing responses of European scholar-

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[169] *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1996), p. x.

[170] 'The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality', *Race & Class*, 36, 3 (1995), p. 17.

[171] Kaplan, p. 12.

travellers in Greece, which depended on individual predispositions, and shifts in taste and understanding.[172] Kyriakos N. Demetriou likewise observes:

> *As there is no single Victorian image of ancient Greece, there is no single aetiology that can embody the Victorians' sensibilities and moral concept that stimulated such an extensive involvement in the Greek struggle.*[173]

Demetriou adds that changing perceptions about Greece and the Greeks were reflected in the variety of judgement and sentiment expressed in reviews of Victorian travel books.[174] According to Herwig Friedl, postcolonial modes of analysis submerge, invalidate and extinguish distinguishing features, reducing and simplifying a 'fascinatingly varied landscape of Western […] readings of a great number of highly diverse Oriental cultures with their numerous unmistakably individual achievements', and cast doubt on 'the legitimacy, the dignity, and often even the moral integrity of major testimonials in the productive, dialogic encounter between prominent individual representatives of world cultures.'[175] Friedl calls postcolonial mistrust of often disinterested and benevolent approaches a 'hermeneutics of resentment'.

Core-sampling offers a route into this manifold by attending to what Haraway identifies as 'the rich and always historically specific mediations through which we

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[172] Constantine, pp. 2-3.

[173] 'A Bibliographical Guide to Nineteenth-Century British Journal publications on Greece', in *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 18/19, 2002/3 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota), p. 291.

[174] Ibid., p. 294. Demetriou's bibliography overlooks Bowen.

[175] *Thinking in search of a Language: Essays on American Intellect and Intuition* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), pp. 88, 87. Friedl focuses on Bowen's contemporary Emerson's reading of Medieval Persian poetry in the light of *Orientalism* and postcolonial theory.

and everybody else must know the world.'[176] My situation is complicated by my descent from both coloniser and colonised. Salman Rushdie argues that being an Indian living in the West makes his vision both plural and partial.[177] What happens, Kaplan asks, when an author's 'perspectival sites' are seen to be multiple?[178] Although I have more archive material on Bowen than on the Greek side, which tilts the emphasis towards him, that multiple vision is advantageous in helping me to see from different sides.

Bowen's gaze was complicated by Greece's geopolitical division between the newly-independent Kingdom and Ottoman and British Empires, and by Britain's mixed identity as defender of Greek liberty and burgeoning imperial power. Bowen was relationally positioned between them: this was his defining dialectic. Although Britain administered and 'protected' the Ionian Islands and wielded indirect power in Greece and Turkey, Greece was neither settler colony nor site of conquest, enslavement or conversion. Instead, Bowen articulated Greece's double identity as subject of Oriental degeneration and cradle of Western civilisation. Greece was both despised and revered, East and West, 'them' and 'us', peripheral and central, inferior and superior.

Bowen served imperialist elements of his career by construing the Ionians as politically naive and dependent on Britain to teach them how to govern themselves. Bhabha identifies this as 'Western nationalist discourse [that] normalizes its own

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[176] Haraway, p. 577. This influential essay does not dismiss science and 'truth' as entirely socially constructed, but avoids binary oppositions in searching for forms of objectivity that account for the historical contingency of all knowledge, a critical practice that enables us to recognise our own 'semiotic technologies' for making meanings, and a no-nonsense commitment to accounts of a 'real' world.

[177] 'Imaginary Homelands', in *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991* (London: Granta, 1991), p. 431.

[178] Kaplan, p. 8.

history of colonial expansion and exploitation by inscribing the history of the other in a fixed hierarchy of civil progress.'[179] Bowen hoped to defend British Protection and its economic, military and strategic advantages - and his own job. He conceded that the Ionians' 'instinct for nationality' had produced a 'vague desire' for *enosis* once the Kingdom of Greece had 'become orderly and civilized', but meanwhile 'enlightened Ionians' were content to enjoy the many practical benefits of British connection. Bowen articulated the British civilising mission. 'Every man, high and low, found in every representative of England a power with both the will and the means to support the right and redress the wrong' (55). This reads like colonial wishful thinking, or what Bhabha calls a narcissist's dream, but *State of Emergency* shows that however fraught relations were, most reformist Ionians such as Candiano Roma shared a pragmatic acceptance of British protection, at least until the mood swerved towards *enosis* in the late 1850s.[180]

The situation was further complicated by the lack in Britain of universal sympathy for empire. Between ????? The Radical MP David Hume argued vociferously against imperialism, tried to undermine the Colonial Secretary Sir John Pakington, and in House of Commons debates demanded a public enquiry into events in the Ionians.[181] Even pro-imperialists had different interests and concerns and often disagreed. As demonstrated during the Don Pacifico affair, Bowen was emblematic of the establishment but also resistant to it. Moreover, while upholding the British Protectorate, he paradoxically tried to end it. When rational minds in

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[179] Bhabha, p. 163.

[180] For insights into Ionian attitudes towards British colonialism, see Dracato Papanicolas, *The Ionian Islands: What they have lost and suffered under the thirty-five years' administration of the Lord High Commissioners sent to govern them* (London: Ridgway, 1851).

[181] SEE DAVID HUME REF HANSARD

Whitehall were trying to make sense of territorial space, world affairs were being steered by a stolen government despatch, Bowen's dynastic marriage, and the vanity, ego and passions of people barely mentioned in the historical record. The 'British world-system' conjures a machine with well-oiled cogs, but *State of Emergency* reminds us how unmapped and personality-driven geopolitics can be. This was the mid-century Empire: less a hegemonic rule by centre of periphery than a tangled meshwork of forces and interests personal, local and international.

Mahn recognises that Bowen tried to 'qualify, modify and counter stereotypes of contemporary Greece and Greeks', yet contradicts this by asserting that Handbook Editors 'were interested in finding a vital component to life in Greece, one they did not find in the very alive Greeks, but in the spiritual and imaginative engagement with a semi-oriental space without any of the dangers of being in the 'Orient.''[182] Their understanding of Greece, we are informed, 'had closer affinities to viewing sculpture in the British Museum than the experience of the 'reality' of contemporary Greece.'[183] Bowen's life disturbs such assumptions and generalisations. As *State of Emergency* shows, Bowen spoke fluent Greek, developed relationships with Greeks of all classes and backgrounds, and engaged so deeply with the 'very alive Greeks' that he married one of them.[184] His marriage could be construed as a political union, a version of colonial domination or even enslavement, but it nonetheless produced six Anglo-Greek children.

Mahn argues that the Handbooks' over-emphasis on historical continuity petrified the country, and was intended to underwrite Britain's moral, political, cultural

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[182] Mahn, p. 25.

[183] Ibid., p. 46.

[184] This rare level of fraternisation makes his involvement with Greece deeper than that of most British writers, from Byron through the Durrells to Leigh Fermor.

and social authority as an analogue of ancient Greece.[185] Certainly, as a classical scholar, Bowen reiterated the premise fashionable since the late eighteenth century, and now seemingly 'eccentric or even unintelligible' - that 'Ancient Greece matters.'[186] For Bowen, European democracy and intellectual freedom were exemplified by the Hellenic ideal. No nation, he believed, could ever do for the human race what the ancient Greeks had done. His descriptions emphasised the prevailing idea that Greece's history and literature were embedded in its topography and culture. Bowen noted, for example, the resemblance between contemporary and ancient navigational methods and terminology. 'The narrative of a voyage by Homer would be a not inaccurate account of going to sea in a boat of the country at the present day' (19). Europeans increasingly believed that 'Good art had its roots in particular time and place.'[187] By finding evidence of Homer's naturalism and realism, travellers could confirm his greatness, while simultaneously enhancing their appreciation by giving classical texts pored over since childhood 'new and brilliant illuminations' (2). It worked both ways, place enriching literature, and literature enhancing place.

> *Even the ferocious attacks of vermin, which soon find out an Englishman, are exactly described in the graphic accounts given by Aristophanes of similar sufferings in Greek houses of old - a reflection with which the classical scholar may endeavour to console himself in the watches of the night* (21).

This was less about primitivism, petrifying the country or underwriting Britain's superiority, as Mahn suggests, than delight in recognition.

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[185] Mahn, p. 8.

[186] Constantine, p. xiii.

[187] Ibid., p. 75.

Contrary to Mahn's accusation that Handbook Editors over-emphasised the past at the expense of the present, Bowen explored the new nation, adding a chapter on modern history precisely because it was so little known, and therefore misunderstood (107). He devoted substantial sections to the justice system and economy as well as to the Orthodox Church. Mahn concedes that Murray Handbooks offered images 'beyond the narrow scope of antique vistas', but nevertheless reads 'a simulated nostalgia' into Bowen devoting seventy pages to ancient Athens, and only seven to modern Athens.[188] She implies criticism of Bowen for excluding great nineteenth-century institutions such as the Archaeological and Numismatic Museums, the British School of Archaeology, the Gennadius Library and Zappeion; however, their absence from the Handbook was not because of a reductive primitivism at the expense of modern Greece, but because they were not yet built. Mid-century Athens was decimated by war, and the reconstruction programme only just getting underway. Bowen's seven pages included most of what then existed; ancient Athens was far more extensive.

The historical continuity Mahn decries may have been a European projection, but Beaton shows that it was also Greek self-representation designed to fit the new nation into a narrative of collective and uninterrupted identities and aspirations, which were intended to erase the reality of interwoven ethnicities, languages, conquests, conversions and assimilations. Historical continuity was *the* idea on which the new nation predicated itself. This is not the place to explore the origins and cross-pollination of ideas; however, Beaton demonstrates that although since the late

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[188] Mahn, pp. 25, 33. Mahn notes the 'gradual disappearance' of Oriental sections from the Handbooks, and cites a Hellenising *Quarterly Review* quotation from the 1872 Handbook. This was in fact quoted by Bowen in his 1854 Handbook, demonstrating that the turn from Orientalism to Hellenism was underway twenty years earlier.

eighteenth century the Greek diaspora had absorbed German, British, and French ideas of nationalism and emancipation, simultaneously a distinctive Greek consciousness had surfaced in the Ottoman territories, fostered by Orthodoxy. The 1823 Greek delegation to the London Philhellenic Committee deployed the Orthodox imagery of resurrection of an ancient civilisation in order to garner British sympathy and funding for the revolution.[189] Mid-nineteenth-century Ionians even moved beyond the rhetoric of revival to insist that antiquity had never died.[190] To suggest that Greek nationalism depended solely on foreign ideas is to deny the Greeks agency. As Paschalis Kitromilides boldly states, 'Whereas in writing on nationalism within Greece we can very often observe a serious divorce from theory, writing on Greek nationalism outside Greece is marked by an even more serious divorce from research.'[191]

Ideas of historical continuity supposedly reinforced notions of modern degeneracy. According to Bhabha, 'The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest.'[192] However, as already demonstrated, Bowen rejected the

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[189] Beaton, p. 3. For insights into Greek loans and the role of the Great Powers in debt enforcement, with poignant foreshadowing of the 2008-18 economic crisis, see John A. Levandis, *The Greek Foreign Debt and the Great Powers 1821-1898* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944).

[190] This is the nation state as 'imagined community', as famously characterised by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), but which Bhabha recognises in 'the overlap and displacement of domains of difference' whereby 'the competing claims of communities' are negotiated in ways that 'may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable.' Bhabha, p. 2.

[191] 'Paradigm nation: the study of nationalism and the 'canonization' of Greece', in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896),* p. 29.

[192] Bhabha, p. 101.

widespread narrative of degeneration. Warning against over-emphasising the past at the expense of the present, he accused classical travellers of being

> *too ready to look down with cold disdain on the forlorn estate of a people, for whose ancestors they profess even an extravagant veneration; - foreigners resident among them have been too eager to accuse of every meanness and every vice the sons of those fathers who taught Honour and Virtue to the ancient world* (44).

It is an overstatement to claim that Handbooks in general were written with a 'lack of anything approaching crude xenophobia in describing foreign manners and customs.'[193] The 1845 edition condemned the Greek 'national character' as the lowest in Europe. 'Vanity is the predominant characteristic and their want of veracity *(Grecia mendax)* is proverbial. They display an uncontrolled propensity to litigation, revenge, and political intrigue, cloaked under the thin veil of patriotic enthusiasm.'[194] Bowen, however, deleted this, arguing that the Greeks had been 'much misrepresented, partly though ignorance and partly through prejudice' (44).

Bowen also resisted conventional ideas of linguistic degradation. He insisted that Greek was not just an 'appendage to the customary academical pursuits', as argued in William Leake's *Researches in Greece*, one of Bowen's principal sources, but a living language spoken by millions throughout the Levant, with which England was closely connected by classical, historical, political and commercial ties. Leake scorned modern Greek for bearing 'the same comparison with its parent language, as the poverty and debasement of the present generation to the refinement and opulence of their ancestors' (37). Bowen disagreed, contending that modern and

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[193] Gretton, p. xix.

[194] 1845 Handbook*,* pp. 3-4.

ancient Greek differed far less than people believed. Objecting to the way Europeans imposed their 'knowledge' on the Greeks, Bowen wrote to *The Times*:

> *It is difficult to understand on what ground a living language like Greek should be pronounced by Englishmen in a way unintelligible to those who speak it as their mother-tongue, any more than any other living language […] It is well known that it was Erasmus who invented the modern pronunciation of [ancient] Greek […] as a sort of Protestant shibboleth.*[195]

This was not an obscure philological debate. It mattered because the language's perceived decline reinforced a sense of inferiority, and undermined Greek national identity.

For Said, the Orient could never be a free subject of thought or action because of the 'whole network of interests' inevitably brought to bear upon it.[196] All encounters, orientalist or otherwise, involve a 'whole network of interests' - that is Ingold's manifold.[197] However, in postcolonial discourse such encounters assume interpretive power regarding the way representations can be influenced by relationships, desires, subjective beliefs and other 'situated knowledges', including 'the associative rip tides of the unconscious.'[198] Bowen's knowledge was mediated by significations of power emerging from class, race and gender struggles. As de

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[195] Private archive, n.d.

[196] Said, p. 3.

[197] In *The Silent Traveller in London* (London: Country Life, 1938), Chinese author Chiang Yee states: 'As I am an Oriental […] I am bound to look at things from a different angle.' But he asks if it is really so different. 'The various nationalities […] may be different superficially, but they eat, drink, sleep, dress, and shelter themselves from wind and rain in the same way. In particular their outlook on life need not vary fundamentally. Individual thought is always individual, and similarity of tastes will always link people without regard for any geographical boundary. You would expect your butcher to think of a frisky young lamb as good to eat, not to look at! A Chinese butcher will think the same as he does!' (p. ix).

[198] Baine Campbell, p. 273.

Certeau warns, there is ‘no “pure” voice, because it is always determined by a system […] and codified by a way of receiving it’.[199]

Bowen was also bound by what Said terms ‘the restorative citation of antecedent authority’. He sought models in the classical canon which he compared with ‘the most important publications of the present day’(v). Core-sampling unearths the sedimentary layers on which the Handbook was built, its sources ranging from Strabo and Pausanias, to William Gell, classical topographer and friend of Byron and Scott, whose *Geography of Ithaca* (1807) and *Itinerary of Greece* (1810) were commissioned by the Society of Dilettanti. Bowen credits Byron’s travelling companion John Hobhouse’s *Journey through Albania, &c.*, 1813. According to Ioli Vingopoulou ‘Hobhouse is considered the most profound analyst of public and social life in the urban centres of continental Greece and one of the most fervent supporters of the Greek cause.’[200] Bowen also cites *Travels in the Ionian Isles Greece, &c*, 1819, by English doctor Henry Holland, who - like Hobhouse - was less interested in archaeology than in modern Greece and its geopolitics.[201] Bowen expressed ‘peculiar obligations’ to Leake, in particular his celebrated 1835 *Travels in*

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[199] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. by Stephen Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 134. Many of de Certeau's ideas influenced New Historicism, particularly regarding the figure of the ‘other’ fabricated by travel literature, and the psychology of alterity.

[200] Byron funded the journey, while Hobhouse set himself the task of using up his supply of one hundred pens, two gallons of Japanese ink and a reams of good paper to produce an epistolary account of their voyage, focusing on modern Greece rather than its antiquities, over one thousand pages. http://eng.travelogues.gr/collection.php?view=49. [Accessed 8 June 2020].

[201] These were researched and written just before the outbreak of the War of Independence. There was an inevitable publishing hiatus during the revolution, but afterwards a flurry of books was published, with over half Bowen’s bibliography published in the decade preceding the Handbook’s publication, including Edward Lear’s witty and lighthearted *Travels in Albania,* 1851. Thus Bowen attempted to keep up to date.

Northern Greece.[202] Bowen's other sources included *Athens and Attica* (1837) and *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical* (1844) by classical topographer Christopher Wordsworth.[203] The plain straightforward style of General Thomas Gordon's 1832 *History of the Greek Revolution* convinced Bowen of its authority, and he also used Bishop Thirlwall's *History of Greece,* and the multi-volumed *History of Greece* by Scottish Philhellene George Finlay.[204] Bowen's section on Greek commerce derives from an 'interesting pamphlet' by a Mr Mongredian, and a report by John Green, British consul at Athens, originally prepared for Lord Palmerston and copied by Bowen into his journal in 1848 (44).[205] An anonymous review of Lord Nugent's diaries of Greek travels in 1843-4, with the *Quarterly Review's* typically extensive independent commentary and political observations, was clearly a major influence.[206]

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[202] Swashbuckling soldier, topographer, archaeologist, numismatist, antiquary, historian and traveller, Colonel William Leake was commissioned by Pitt the Younger to survey the topography of Northern Greece (then Turkey) and the Peloponnese, and train Ottoman forces to help resist a threatened Napoleonic attack. After release from imprisonment by the Turks in Salonika he supplied arms to Albanian warlord Ali Pasha, and was English Resident at Ali Pasha's court when Byron passed by. He also organised the rescue of Elgin's marbles when they were shipwrecked off Kythera.

[203] Nephew of the poet, Wordsworth was headmaster of Byron's school Harrow and Bishop of Lincoln. He toured Greece from 1832-3 and nearly died when he was stabbed in the neck by brigands.

[204] Finlay abandoned his university studies to join Byron in the revolution and stayed to farm in Attica and write. He and Bowen met in Corfu in 1851 and exchanged their latest publications. Finlay's copy of Bowen's *Mount Athos* in the British School at Athens is scrawled with mostly unfairly critical marginalia.

[205] GFB to JM 5 May 1853. Augustus Mongredien (1807–1888) was a corn merchant, political economist, chess master and writer.

[206] *Quarterly Review,* 78, 1846, pp. 297-322. Nugent's diary was published in *Lands, Classical and Sacred* (London: Charles Knight, 1845). The review was by John Howson, Dean of Chester.

Said accuses such citations of lending texts a spurious legitimacy that the native inhabitants, who had no say in how they were portrayed, were unable to resist.[207] Nevertheless, Bowen was independent-minded enough to test his Saidian 'reservoir of accredited knowledge' - the limitations of his discourse - against his fieldwork on the ground.[208] He immersed himself in Greece's history, topography, language, and political and moral condition, and employed empirical and scholarly research to challenge authorities. Regarding the exact location of classical sites in Lefkada, for example, he disagreed with Leake, who 'generally hits off ancient topography with a sort of intuition', but in this case had mistakenly followed 'the common and superficial opinion' (78).

Previously, travellers did not check guidebooks' accuracy, and few actually visited sites off the beaten track because getting there was so hazardous; they preferred to read about them in comfort at home. Bowen, however, assured Murray that instead of repeating stereotypes, his local knowledge made his information 'authentic'.[209] Mahn concedes that Murray's 'entire guidebook project relied on the nearest and most direct correspondence between text and reality'.[210] This was important to Murray, who warned that unlike a personal travel narrative, a guidebook was subjected to more severe test and criticism, with every word 'liable to be weighed and verified on the spot.'[211] Murray advised one contributor that he wanted 'not a mere compilation from other works, but the rest of personal observation.'[212]

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[207] Said, p. 94.

[208] Ibid., p. 39.

[209] GFB to JM 20 November 1850.

[210] Mahn, p. 30.

[211] Preface, *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent,* 1836.

[212] JM to William Brockton 1833, q. Carpenter, p. 169.

Wary of superficial first impressions, Bowen resisted commenting on new places until the novelty had faded and he could supply a more considered response; even then his views fluctuated.

Bowen's intellectual milieu was equally responsive and open-minded, as demonstrated by the *Quarterly Review*. Rivalled only by the *Edinburgh Review* for readership, influence and quality, it published over 3,500 articles. One issue alone included reviews of books in a range of European languages, alongside erudite articles expressing diverse opinions on politics, memoir, travel, art, parliamentary reform, minority rights, geology, history, natural history, science, poetry, the Crystal Palace, a debate on the pros and cons of empire, and a savage review of a book about Turkey that (long before Said) warned against stereotyping the Orient, and exaggerations, ignorance and misstatements.[213] As one contributor noted, it was only travellers' accounts from Greece that could refute exaggerated claims of Muslim brutalities against the Christians, which shaped not only how the West viewed the Orient, but also foreign and colonial policy.[214]

Most of the Handbook relied on 'copious materials' Bowen 'collected' on his journeys (v). By 'materials' he meant knowledge and personal experience. Ingold notes that the ancient Greek word for reading - *anagignosko* - literally means 'to recollect', while the corresponding Latin word - *lego* - referred to the process of

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[213] *Quarterly Review*, 94, 1854. Founded in 1809 by John Murray II as a Tory rival to the Whig *Edinburgh Review*, the popular *Quarterly Review* was supported by powerful literary and political figures, notably Sir Walter Scott, Robert Southey and George Canning. Its enthusiastic review of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in March 1812 set London - and Byron's career - alight. See Carpenter p. 66. Other popular periodicals carrying articles on Greece at the time included the *New Monthly Magazine*, *Ainsworth's Magazine*, *Fraser's Magazine, Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *British and Foreign Review, Tait's,* the *Dublin Review, Bentley's Miscellany,* and the *Westminster Review. S*ee Kyriakos N. Demetriou's *'*A Bibliographical Guide to Nineteenth-Century British Journal publications on Greece'*.*

[214] *Quarterly Review*, 94, p. 517.

gathering or collecting.[215] For Said, such a 'systematic discipline of *accumulation*' implied a structured possession and control, which led fatally to the accumulation of human beings and territories. Even if not manifest, 'A submerged part retains its secret European power, to comment on, acquire, possess everything around it.'[216] For Pratt this is the 'white male subject of European landscape discourse' looking out, possessing and categorising. Travel books extended that sense of ownership, entitlement and familiarity to readers, and were 'one of the key instruments that made people "at home" in Europe feel part of a planetary project'.[217]

However, there is difference between colonial and respectful accumulation. According to Haraway, Western peregrinations 'have often been violent and insistent on mirrors for a conquering self - but not always.'[218] Lines may be imprisoning lines of prejudice and power but, as Ingold demonstrates, can also be generative paths of movement and growth. Exhibiting what Constantine calls 'the curiosity, tolerance and versatility of the good traveller,' Bowen interacted with Greeks and Turks of different backgrounds, mostly with respect, intelligence and humour.[219] On 8 November 1849, Bowen recounted in his journal a ride from Larissa to Trikala with a Turkish farmer who spoke perfect Greek and was well-informed about the West; he mentions 'such trifling facts'

> *to show how ridiculous it is in many English travellers, who are unable to speak in any common language to an Oriental, coming home and writing*

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[215] Ingold, p. 15.

[216] Said, pp. 123, 160.

[217] Pratt, pp. 9, 3.

[218] Haraway, p. 586.

[219] Constantine, p. 54.

books, in which the people of the East are represented as sunk in utter ignorance and apathy as to all that is going on elsewhere.

This is not 'othering'. Instead, it echoes 'Demotes' who is quoted in the 1845 Handbook as despising travellers who raced around the country casting quick glances at mountains and ruins, sneered at Otto's army, and dismissed all Greeks as crooks without having spoken to a single one. However, that same edition underwrote their ignorance by providing only two sentences on modern Greek and six lines on pronunciation, advising travellers that Greek was so difficult they had better employ translators instead.[220] Bowen repeated the Demotes quotation but also devoted an entire chapter to Greek's origins, spread, dialects, pronunciation and form, offering readers the opportunity to improve language skills, cross boundaries, and subvert stereotypes (36-42).

Contemporary guidebooks like McGilchrist's have a similar dynamic, the longing to get under the skin of a place and people, not to occupy, dominate or other, but to understand, and even to loosen one's own psychic borders and be occupied in exchange. Bowen's sometimes contradictory responses reveal the transformative effects of the country on a man prepared to have his ideas changed by encounters with otherness.

As a writer, Bowen faced the blank page not 'as the colonial conqueror confronts the surface of the earth', and not by imposing his attitudes and understandings as a form of ownership, but by gathering what others had let fall: re-collecting.[221] Given Greece's size and limited communications, it was difficult to cover every inch himself, so Bowen also included other contemporary accounts.

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[220] 1845 Handbook, pp. xv, 26.

[221] de Certeau, q. Ingold p. 13.

Handbooks were supplied with pre-printed forms for readers' comments and corrections, which were often incorporated into subsequent editions, making Handbooks living things, constantly updated.[222] Bowen noted that 'Such co-operation alone can ultimately produce a complete and perfectly accurate work' (Preface). Although the Handbook privileges Bowen's perspective, allowing him the curatorial power to filter and comment on other views, this collaborative project disrupted the power of the guiding authorial voice. Rather than presenting himself as a totalising 'Lord of all I survey', Bowen even insisted that Handbook readers could 'form an accurate opinion' not by relying on his interpretation, but by going to Greece and seeing it for themselves (1).

Thus the Handbook acknowledged that it was not about ruling imperial lines onto blank spaces so much as inscribing lines on top of a myriad other lines, comprising not only 'the restorative citation of antecedent authority' and other travel accounts, but also conversations and observations, histories and myths, news and gossip, and pathways generated over millennia by residents, visitors, donkeys and goats. Every place exists because people come and go from that place, forging networks of migration, commerce, culture, ecology, stories, human relationships and even disease.[223] Bowen acknowledged the provisional nature of these lines:

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[222] 'Particularly acceptable' were details of improved accommodation and means of communication, but only if '*derived from personal knowledge*' [Bowen's italics] (Preface).

[223] For an exploration of the conceptualisation of space, place and the environment, and concepts of home and identity, see *A Place in the World? Places, Cultures and Globalization,* ed. by Doreen Massey and Pat Jess (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Open University, 1995). Massey distinguishes space from place, 'space' representing a geographical locale, 'place' that space when made or owned, and coherent notions of which are challenged by migration and 'historical mixing' that disrupt ideas of a definable and fixed 'sense of place' with political boundaries and ethnic homogeneity.

> *With the exception of the great lines from town to town, it is almost useless to trace out routes very minutely. Indeed, such a task would be endless, and, from the local changes which are constantly occurring, the only valuable information respecting lodging, &c., in the country villages must be obtained on the spot* (15).

Travellers could read Bowen's lines, follow his tracks, and collect experiences to test against his text which were themselves complicated by their individual world-systems. Later they could re-collect their experiences, mentally retrace their routes and add their own lines of thought, deepening the neural pathways.

Bowen travelled horizontally across the surface of Greece but he also penetrated the surface, and this generated sympathy. He believed that Greece's struggles must command 'the sympathy of all thoughtful minds.' Sympathy derives from the Greek *συμπάθεια*, meaning a feeling of pity or concern for another's misfortune. His awe at the sublime, typically northern enthusiasm for the lure of the south, and vision of Greece as an adventure-filled locus for the leisured classes, did not obscure the complex politics or straitened circumstances of the inhabitants. Had it been coined in the 1850s, Bowen might have used the word 'empathy', meaning the ability to understand or vicariously feel another's feelings from within their frames of reference.[224]

Suzanne Keen touches on the implied condescension and power imbalance inherent in sympathy and empathy, and the distrust they sometimes garner.[225] Some contemporary intellectuals resist the way they universalise human emotions, which

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[224] 'Empathy' was adapted from ancient Greek by German philosophers to create the word *Einfühlung* ('feeling into'), which was translated into English by a twentieth century British psychologist. Ironically, in modern Greek *εμπάθεια* means 'malice' and 'hostility'.

[225] *Empathy and the Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

'affronts others' separate personhood', regarding empathy as a fantasy of emotional recognition and a manifestation of the hegemonic arrogance of the affluent West, of a 'cultural imperialism of the emotions' that risks oversimplification and misunderstanding.[226] However, although Bowen's Handbook emerged from a sovereign western outlook, his motives were largely altruistic: he deployed his descriptive power to negotiate between authority and affect. Bowen was committed to enriching readers' interpretive experience, changing British perceptions of Greece, and therefore indirectly changing the Greeks' perceptions of themselves in a positive way. This speaks to Darwin and Ingold's ideas of interconnected systems, which Foucault also addressed in his nuanced theory of power. According to Foucault, power is made acceptable not by dominating but because 'It induces pleasure, it forms knowledge, it produces discourses; it must be considered as a productive network which runs through the entire social body much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.'[227]

Bowen also sought to assist travellers. Ingold posits that the derivation of the verb 'to read', from the Anglo-Saxon *raed,* centred on the idea of 'giving advice or

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[226] Keen, p. 147. Keen cites Richard Posner, 'Against Ethical Criticism. *Philosophy and Literature* 21, 1 (1997) p. 19; Richard Delgado, *The Coming Race War? And Other Apocalyptic Tales of America after Affirmative Action and Welfare* (New York: New York University Press, 1996) pp. 4–36; Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950*. 1958. Rpt. with a new introduction (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p.109; Marcus Wood, *Slavery, Empathy and Pornography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 36.

[227] Michel Foucault, *Power, Truth, Strategy*, ed. by Meaghan Morris and Paul Patton (Sydney: Feral Publications, 1979), pp. 35-6.

counsel', which became 'explaining something obscure.'[228] Having read the Handbook, travellers were ready for their journey.[229]

Bowen travelled in multiple identities, intellectually, imperially, touristically and sympathetically. He wrote largely in the interests of translation, not the pursuit of exoticism, denigration, shock factors, or from a Western sense of property. He also travelled to improve himself. In October 1847, he concluded his first Greek journey, delighted to have progressed in the 'proper knowledge of mankind' by acquainting himself with the customs, men, and manners of the East, 'subjects wh. are quite a mystery to those who have never visited that fair quarter of the earth.' This speaks to the scene in T.H. White's Arthurian children's epic *The Once and Future King*, touched on in the next chapter, when the wizard Merlyn recommends that the best thing for being sad is to learn something. 'That's the only thing that never fails […] Learn why the world wags and what wags it.' [230] Knowledge may lead to power, but when aligned with judgement and maturity it can lead to freedom.

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Said asks how to study other cultures and peoples 'from a libertarian, or a nonrepressive and nonmanipulative, perspective'. He adds: 'But then one would have to rethink the whole complex problem of knowledge and power.'[231] Haraway seeks to do this by embracing partiality. Bhabha attempts to decolonise the mind,

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[228] Ingold, p. 14.

[229] Rebecca Solnit extends this idea, noting that 'To read is to travel through that terrain with the author as guide.' *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Verso, 2001), p. 72.

[230] *The Once and Future King* (London: Wm. Collins 1978), first published 1958, p. 185. Based on Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, it collects and revises four shorter novels published from 1938 to 1940, the first and most famous being *The Sword in the Stone.*

[231] Said, p. 24.

and recognise complex cultural and political no-man's-lands that exist on the cusp of often opposed political spheres. Bhabha locates a postcolonial non-binary culture in the marginal and 'unhomely' spaces between dominant social formations, in the liminal, the transient, the migrant.

> *These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood - singular or communal - that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation.*[232]

For Bhabha these in-between spaces express the ambivalence of the migrant experience, and are historically and culturally 'a paradigmatic colonial and post-colonial condition'.[233] They occupy the blurred edges of what Pratt calls the 'contact zone', which she identifies as a space of imperial encounters 'usually involving conditions of coercion, racial inequality, and intractable conflict' or asymmetrical power relations.[234] Bhabha calls this 'borderline experience' hybridity, which he views as a way forward; it is a strategy of resistance, an uncontainable threat to dominant power that displaces or breaks down polarities of self/other, inside/outside, rich/poor, knowledge/ignorance, coloniser/colonised.

State of Emergency provides several examples of hybridity, in the migrant experience, in my own sense of displacement, and in the Ionian Islands. The British and Ionians met in the imperial 'contact zone', an ambivalent space where the Ionian people were neither colonised nor independent, neither British nor Greek. Some Ionian reformists preferred this space to the alternatives, yet it remained an arena of asymmetrical power relations. Although as Colonial Secretary Bowen was part of the problem, he sympathised with the Ionians, and tried to achieve the hybridity Bhabha

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[232] Bhabha, p. 2.

[233] Ibid., p. 13.

[234] Pratt, p. 8.

espouses by marrying Diamantina Roma, although this was a strategy not of resistance but reconciliation.

Some critics have charged Bhabha's hybridity theory with being too discursive, too immaterial. Aijaz Ahmad questions the way it dispenses with gender, class, a sense of place, or of belonging to anything that may be useful for defining one's politics.[235] He calls it untethered, morally lonely, the 'frenzied and constant refashioning of the Self, through which one merely consumes oneself under the illusion of consuming the world.'[236] Ahmad denies Bhabha's claim that the universality of displacement is the general human condition and the desirable philosophical position, by pointing out that most individuals are not free to fashion themselves anew with each passing day, and only the privileged few can enjoy constant mobility. Some migrants I met were enduring a kind of forced march from home, while simultaneously suffering an imposed stasis. This was not a place they wanted to occupy. They wanted to be *someone somewhere*. Kaplan points out that in the midst of a myriad possible identities we will still need passports or ID cards; we will have to assert one kind of identity or another.[237]

Michael O'Riley describes hybridity less as a strategy of resistance than as a haunting, which 'nonetheless turns upon the idea of a placeless place, combining postructuralist displacement with a politics of location or placement.'[238] This implies a mixture of freedom and constraint, of wayfaring and transport. *State of Emergency* is haunted by Bowen, and explores such 'placeless' places: my cancer-treatment room,

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[235] Ahmad, p. 13.

[236] Ibid., p. 18.

[237] Kaplan, p. 1.

[238] 'Postcolonial Haunting: Anxiety, Affect, and the Situated Encounter', *Postcolonial Text,* 4, 3, (2007), p. 3.

Bowen's Lazaretto, the Filakio migrant reception centre and spaces within Greece and Turkey occupied by displaced migrants unable to work and unable to leave. These are non-places, places of psychic dissonance, in-between spaces that Bhabha calls 'unhomely'. As travellers of all sorts we occupy such non-places as we pass through, and in the process become non-people.

Herwig Friedl proposes a more humanising alternative that he terms the 'hermeneutics of hospitality'. This envisages neither hybridity nor a kind of disembodied transcendence, but a space in which foreign texts and cultures and different time periods are allowed 'to unfold productively in a new cultural and historical moment and environment.'[239] The hermeneutics of hospitality do not try to expunge differences between centre and margin, self and other and so on. Instead Friedl's analogy helps me to understand my position in trying to fashion an encounter with Greece and the past which avoids colonial pitfalls. Bowen and I collaborate with each other, the place and those we meet along the way, exchanging stories and information to cultivate understanding from different vantage points. The hermeneutics of hospitality allow for such interactions. Bowen and I are guests in Greece; we are guests of foreign host cultures, and simultaneously hosts to the new ideas and impressions they bring. I am a guest of migrants in their Istanbul crypt, and host to their stories. Bowen and I are guests of each other. I meet Bowen across a 160-year time gap; through his journal he admits me to his world. As his guest, I observe his world-system with respect, understanding his historical contingency. Inevitably I bring my own world-system with me, my invisible presences, but I try not to impose anachronistic values. I am simultaneously host to the new ideas and images that he offers. The hermeneutics of hospitality make it possible to consider

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[239] Friedl, p. 83.

trans-national and cultural encounters in this more generous way. I meet Bowen and Greece across time, and we both encounter Greece across space, and engage in 'an unending dialectic of persistence and change'.[240] We open ourselves up to each other, not from a position of domination, condescension or resistance, but in a respectful meeting place where we can come together, available for what Friedl identifies as 'the possibly unexpected and unforeseen challenges that the guest has to offer.'[241]

Friedl's idea directs us back to tourism. In a study of Greek Handbooks, Mary Beard argues that tourism is an aspect of the power struggle (or 'complex negotiation') between visitors, with their biases, prejudices and projections, and the visited.[242] This is particularly relevant in Greece, which is haunted by a past it has exploited and self-parodied for the benefit of the mass tourism that sustains its economy.[243] It is also a common insecurity of travellers to wonder about their social and environmental effects on a country, and what locals really think of them, along with further anxieties associated with relative differences in wealth, freedom and

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[240] Ahmad, p. 18.

[241] Friedl, p. 83.

[242] 'Don't forget your pith helmet', *London Review of Books*, 16, 27, 18 August 2005 <https://www.lrb.co.uk/v27/n16/mary-beard/dont-forget-your-pith-helmet> [Accessed 12 May 2017] See also S. Said,'The Mirage of Greek Continuity: On the Uses and Abuses of Analogy in Some Travel Narratives from the Seventeenth to the Eighteenth Century' in *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. by W. V. Harris (Oxford, 2005), pp. 268 -293.

[243] This thesis cannot explore environmental impacts, but it is worth noting that while the *Granta* travel issues of 1983, 1986 and 1989 barely mentioned the climate, by 2007 climate change had become a significant consideration, along with a more sophisticated understanding of the genre's ambiguities. Editor Ian Jack called for travel writing with a genuinely illuminating and even moral purpose, arguing that this required trustworthy information. 'How else do you justify the carbon emissions spent in its research?' Introduction, *Granta*, 94, 2007, p. 14.

mobility. However, in the hermeneutics of hospitality tourists are not invaders who take without giving, despoilers, latter-day colonials, but honoured guests.[244]

This conjures a space resembling the beach in Zakynthos where I sit with Dionysios and watch the sunset, or an imaginary space where I sit with Bowen. We arrive in the hermeneutics of hospitality with our suitcases of prejudices, fears, preconceptions and desires, but come together, guest and host, to acknowledge and appreciate our differences, find connections, and manifest what Friedl calls 'the civility of the spirit.' In the decades following third-wave feminism, we have developed more fluid and ambiguous ideas of identity, and of ways we modify the world and are modified by it. We may not perceive the subliminal effects - the exchanges of microscopic materiality - but we might see the results. Host and guest 'become who they are in this very encounter,' Friedl proposes, not hostile or suspicious but on the threshold of 'a possibly new, a changed, and enriched identity.'[245]

While steering readers through Greece's cultural, historical and political labyrinths, Bowen simultaneously preserved a sense of difference by reinforcing British identity. By describing Greece, and domesticating its mysteries for the West, Bowen implied that he and his readers were morally and existentially outside Greece, 'us' rather than 'them'. By celebrating Greece, diffusing knowledge, disseminating Greek culture abroad, and persuading readers to share his vision,

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[244] In *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1981), Jamaica Kincaid critiques the tourist gaze by describing her home Antigua from the viewpoint of the tourist *and* herself, guest and host. Recent travel books by insiders include *Longing, Belonging: An Outsider at Home in Calcutta* by Bishwanath Ghosh (India: Tranquebar, 2014), and *The Epic City: The World on the Streets of Calcutta* (London: Bloomsbury 2017) by Kushanava Choudhury, both journalists exploring the city from inside and outside.

[245] Friedl, p. 89.

Bowen impacted perceptions of Greece, thereby helping to shape Greece itself. Our presence alters what we see: wherever we go, we leave traces of ourselves behind. However, by drilling into Bowen's processes and background, I have demonstrated that his Handbook was less a colonial power-grab than a thread in an improvised creative and political meshwork. As Baine Campbell notes:

> *It has been an important advance to realise that 'the Rest' had its own various power politics and forms of observation, into which usually oblivious Western desires could be plugged, and that the power of colonial masters was not as absolute or deracinating as the masters themselves, or even some of their guilty descendants, believed.*[246]

As a tool, the Handbook expressed a rational authority on which travellers depended for knowledge, safety and potentially their lives; as a text it articulated a complex mix of desires and responses. Bowen systematically 'collected' the language and other textual and experiential information to taxonomise Greece, but rather than inflicting a single totalising gaze and repeating clichés, he acknowledged the myriad other viewpoints, and tested them against his personal experience on the ground, largely for the purposes of scientific accuracy, and to sympathise with and get as close as possible to the realities of a country he loved. Core-sampling has shown that although Bowen in many ways represented his culture and time, his relationship with Greece and the Greeks, and openness to having his ideas changed and being changed himself, disrupts colonial templates. In defining a place and a people, we interpret them in our own eyes, subtly shape them to suit our purposes, and thereby exert power over them; thus the Handbook was arguably a form of control. However, it works both ways. A guidebook may change a place, but by travelling somewhere

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[246] Baine Campbell, p. 264.

we open ourselves up to unforeseen challenges, the place becomes part of us, and we too are changed.

Chapter 3: Breathing life into travel writing

Is travel writing dead? Drawing on Helen Macdonald's *H is for Hawk* and Olivia Laing's *The Lonely City,* I return to the question that troubled *Granta* in 2017.[247] Like *State of Emergency,* these works are quadrangulations of self, other, place and the past. I ask if travel writing can be other than a masculine colonisation, a mapping of the writer's lines - their world-system - onto an objectified space. Or can sustained attention on the non-heroic female self, which foregrounds the protagonist's vulnerability or marginalisation and generates empathetic connections, help move travel writing out of a creative impasse?

Although embracing a complexity of non-fiction narratives that resist being compartmentalised, *H is for Hawk* opens in travelogue quest form with Macdonald hunting for goshawks, her descriptions conforming to Thubron's travel-writing definition by conveying the woodland's 'smell and feel'. It is 'a watery anomaly, a pond in dunes, surrounded by thick tussocks of sand sedge many, many miles from the sea' (6). Place, however, is not an end in itself, nor observed with any claim to objectivity; place is accessed via the self. After Macdonald's father dies, 'The skies broke and it rained and rained […] My city was apocalyptic. […] As the rain fell and the waters rose […] I struggled to keep my head above them' (17). As she says of writer and naturalist T.H. White, 'The lines between man and landscape blur' (40). Laing experiences a similar connection. Heartbroken after being abandoned by the man she intended to join in New York, she moves from one dismal sublet to another, wandering through Manhattan's 'teeming island of gneiss and concrete and glass' (5). The alienation stemming from her rejection, which makes her feel

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[247] Helen Macdonald, *H is for Hawk* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2014); Olivia Laing, *The Lonely City* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2016). Henceforth both cited with page numbers in the text.

'desolate and unfrequented', is mirrored and exacerbated by the physical and psychological impact of the city's 'uneasy combination of separation and exposure', with its closed compartments and cold windows that reveal but separate off preferable lives (3). *State of Emergency* likewise opens by establishing a relationship between self and place. Greece is part of my present and my family past, and through the damaged oleander valley, which symbolises the destructive violence of Greece's economic crisis, it functions as an analogy for my physical and mental crisis, and provides sanctuary and distraction from them.

Many travel writers have combined self-expression with objective description, and integrated mental and physical landscapes.[248] In 1803 Dorothy Wordsworth declared stoutly: 'I think journals or Tours except as far as one is interested in the travellers are very uninteresting things. Wretched, wretched writing! I can hardly read them myself'.[249] Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, the topographical poem frequently quoted by Bowen, interwove mythology, history, adventure, politics and descriptions of wild landscapes, and by including practical footnotes became one of the earliest Greek guides, but Byron's (or his alter ego's) passion, anger and sexual allure made travel and politics seem less important 'than a display of the author's naked heart'.[250] Jan Morris argues that the best travel writers do not write about

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[248] Kinglake expanded travel writing's creative potential by introducing the self more overtly into the travelogue (Eisner, p.19). Kinglake's popular *Eothen* (1844) was high on Bowen's reading list.

[249] *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland, AD 1803*, ed. by Carol Kyros Walker, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997) q. Nigel Leask, English Department Seminar, University of Exeter, 9 October 2017.

[250] Andrew Elfenbein, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 18. John Murray II published Byron's four cantos between 1812-1818, making Murray rich, Byron an overnight sensation, and Greece a glamorous tourist destination. Excerpts were included in the Handbooks, but in 1840 Murray published a portable *Lord Byron's Poetry* as an accompaniment which, Handbook readers were advised, no traveller should be without.

travel, but describe its effects on themselves, 'recording the experience rather than the event, as they might make literary use of a love affair, an enigma or a tragedy.'[251] Norman Douglas advised that 'the ideal book of this kind offers us […] a triple opportunity of exploration - abroad, into the author's brain, and into our own.' He added challengingly: 'The writer should therefore possess a brain worth exploring […] and the courage to proclaim it.'[252]

In her masterly survey of autobiography's history and discourses, Laura Marcus traces confessional writing back to St. Augustine, via Rousseau, Goethe and Byron.[253] Marcus shows that like travel writing, autobiographical criticism has always been a site of struggle between personal and public. Jo Gill defines confessional writing as uncompromising honesty that displays moral courage and offers the promise of personal catharsis and therapeutic gain. The speaker, compelled to confess, requires an auditor, stressing the relationship between confessant and confessor.[254] To those schooled in Protestant reticence, for whom confession was reserved for communion with God in silent prayer, it was considered shameful vanity

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[251] Morris, op. cit.

[252] 'Arabia Deserta', 11, *Experiments*, 3-25 (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925), q. Eisner, p.18. These were demands that Douglas notoriously met. A pagan who escaped to Capri to avoid prosecution for homosexuality, his last words were reputedly, 'Get those fucking nuns away from me.'

[253] *Auto/biographical Discourses: Criticism, theory, practice* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994). *The Confessions* (397-398 AD), a thirteen-volume record of St Augustine of Hippo's conversion to Christianity, and a classic in Christian theology, is often cited as the first autobiography. Thomas de Quincey, perhaps voicing self-hatred, prefaced *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* by admitting that 'Nothing, indeed, is more revolting to English feelings, than the spectacle of a human being intruding on our notice his moral ulcers or scars, and tearing away that 'decent drapery', which time, or indulgence to human frailty, may have drawn over them' - before going on to do just that. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), first published 1821, p. 1.

[254] "Your story. My story': Confessional writing and the case of *Birthday Letters*', in *Modern Confessional Writing: New Critical Essays,* ed. by Jo Gill (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 68 - 83.

to talk at length about oneself. Bowen's journal functions as a record, a practice run for the Handbook and a form of self-reinvention, but there is no sense of confession; nevertheless, in *Mount Athos* Bowen apologised for the unavoidable 'frequent egotism' of the diary form.[255] Georg Misch, who helped generate critical interest in autobiography in the 1950s and 60s, believed autobiography 'springs from the most natural source, the joy in self-communication and in enlisting the sympathetic understanding of others; or the need for self-assertion.'[256] By contrast, Richard Sennett regards contemporary autobiographical writing as an immodest urge for self-disclosure, which he argues testifies to society's growing individualism. 'Each person's self has become his principal burden; to know oneself has become an end, instead of a means through which one knows the world.'[257] The disparaging terms for the so-called 'misery memoir' and 'sick lit' genres suggest disapproval of egotism and self-indulgence.[258] Blake Morrison notes that life-writing is often seen negatively

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[255] Bowen, p. 2.

[256] Georg Misch, *A History of Autobiography in Antiquity*, trans. by E.W. Dickes, 2 vols. (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1950), p. 4. Current autobiographical theory explores problems of genre, truth, representation, singularity, identity and normalcy, motivations and intentions. Topics include 'damage narratives', therapy, sexuality, autofiction, mental illness, fictional freedoms, writing the body, the past, and autoethnography. See *Writing the Self: Essays on Autobiography and Autofiction*, ed. by Kerstin. W. Shands and others (Flemingsberg: Södertörn University Press, 2015), p. 7.

[257] *The Fall of Public Man* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 4.

[258] Laing cites Woolf, whose essay 'On Being Ill' examined meanings and metaphors of illness, and its creative and transformative potential. Given pain's ubiquity and the spiritual change it brings, Woolf wondered why it had not become a literary theme like love, battle and jealousy, concluding that literature is concerned with the mind, not the daily drama of the body. *Selected Essays,* p.101.

as attention-seeking, little more than a literary 'selfie', with memoir's inherent narcissism inscribed in the word, 'me-*moi*'.[259]

Eileen Battersby condemns Macdonald's 'irritating mix of the personal and confessional,' complaining that 'there is far more Helen here than hawk, which presents a problem for a reader interested in reading a book about the ancient art of falconry as practised today.'[260] Battersby misses the point in a manner reminiscent of a sporting magazine's parodic review of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which criticised the 'extraneous material' in a study of gamekeeping.[261] Although a hoax, this review demonstrates how readers can range from those who want a purely factual account to those who want just the human story, each disturbed by the intrusion of the other narrative.[262]

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[259] 'The Worst Thing I Ever Did: The Contemporary Confessional Memoir,' in *On Life-Writing,* ed. by Zachary Leader (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 202. Narcissism has become a frequent term of abuse for modern culture, or a synonym for selfishness and egotism, but it is also a clinical personality disorder denoting exaggerated self-obsession, grandiosity and lack of empathy. (See *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-5,* 5th ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Publishing, 2013), pp. 645, 669–72.) This multiple meaning makes it a slippery term for literary analysis. In Greek and Ovidian mythology Narcissus was in love with an image he did not realise was himself, suggesting his problem was not only self-love but an astonishing lack of self-awareness. 'Narcissus-like' as a description of a psychological attitude was first used in 1898 by British sexologist Havelock Ellis, and in *On Narcissism*, 1914, Freud defined it as problematic relations between the ego and external objects, an idea developed by object-relation theorists.

[260] Eileen Battersby, 'Bird tale that fails to fly', *Irish Times*, 6 September 2014 <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/bird-tale-that-fails-to-fly-h-is-for-hawk-by-helen-macdonald-1.1917840> [Accessed 15 May 2020].

[261] Ed Zern, 'Secrets of an English Gamekeeper, or The Lady Bags a Stag', in *Field and Stream*, November 1959, p. 142.

[262] The point is illustrated by two Amazon reviews of my book *Mother Tongues: Travels through Tribal Europe* (London: Picador, 2001). 'This book really should be read by anyone trying to understand the importance of cultural identity in shaping "nations" and the impact of the existing structure of European boundaries upon cultural minorities. I would have given it 5 stars but […] the story of the author's family starts to intrude too much.' (5 April 2013). 'Without the portrait of partner and children I think the main subject matter might have been a little dry.' (7 January 2008).

Battersby accused Macdonald of writing a 'slick and fashionable' memoir masquerading as nature writing, but Macdonald does not deceive readers, any more than I disguise a cancer memoir as an account of Greece, or Laing disguises a memoir of loneliness as art history. Macdonald's exploration of falconry is mediated by what falconry means to her, and by extension to readers who might struggle with its militaristic symbolism and associations with fascism, cruelty and death.[263] Greece, the Handbook and Bowen, and their history and ideology, are mediated by what they mean to me, and by extension to the modern reader. Laing's cultural criticism is mediated by what loneliness means to her, and by understanding the functions and processes of loneliness, she hopes to offer solace to fellow citizens of the lonely city by assuring them that it is a worthwhile place to be. Macdonald's falconry is bound up with her bereavement, Laing's cultural criticism with her isolation, and my experience of Greece and Bowen with cancer: our narratives are interwoven.

Bowen's Handbook may be located at one end of the self-other, subject-object spectrum, and *State of Emergency*, *H is for Hawk* and *The Lonely City* at the other, but whereas the Handbook was less objective than Murray might have liked, Macdonald, Laing and I begin with the subjective self, but escape from being exclusively self-concerned by using the self as a conduit into the public domain, drawing on an ethos of situatedness. Each is concerned with a delicate relation between facing suffering, and turning away from it to other things that distract from

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[263] Macdonald initially tried writing *H is for Hawk* without including her depression, but found the story failed to fly. BBC News, uploaded 22 Jan 2015 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-n8TdnMuSSk> [Accessed 7 April 2017].

but lead circuitously back to it.[264] In thinking about something else, the writer gives that something a personal investment, which brings it back to themselves. In *State of Emergency,* the Handbook and Greece offer self-sublimation and consoling distraction from loss and mortality, but also a sense of security and roots. They undermine my identity by forcing me to question assumptions about ways we see the world and the past, yet lead back to self-recovery. Subject and object are not dichotomies but mutually dependent. The personal element humanises the objectified other and makes it less dry; the public, impersonal element tempers the self-indulgence.

The process involves core-sampling. *State of Emergency* excavates my experiences of cancer and Greece, then penetrates the Handbook and my family history, and through that accesses Bowen and his experiences of nineteenth-century Greece. From there it probes strata of imperialism, Anglo-Greek relations, Victorian ways of travel, and the development of modern Europe. Laing likewise opens with her self, probing her estrangement in New York. ‘What does it feel like to be lonely? It feels like being hungry: like being hungry when everyone around you is readying themselves for a feast. It feels shameful and alarming’ (11). She becomes hyper-vigilant to an unidentified threat of rejection, triggered by her actual rejection, and by the trauma of ‘the revealed gulf’ that stems from being different, which threatens to propel her deeper into the interior of her self (50). Laing then ‘burrows’ (her word) into subterranean layers of childhood loneliness. Misch argued that ‘It is of the very essence of human existence that we can raise to the clarity of consciousness that

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[264] Wilhelm Dilthey, who founded autobiographical criticism, viewed autobiography as the primary cell of history, with individual subjectivity the central principle. See Marcus, pp. 142-5. *Writing the Self* attributes the present ‘avalanche’ of autobiographical writing to ‘great interest in questions of self and identity,’ moving on from arguments about subjectivity. p. 7.

which moves us ‘deep down’.’[265] Laing deepens her probe to examine other types of circumstantial, chronic and psychic loneliness, including the loneliness of loss, bereavement, mourning, and of being denied a voice.

Macdonald also begins with her self, taking readers right inside her skull, which feels ‘stuffed with something like microwaved aluminium foil, charred and shorting with sparks’ (1). By confiding in readers she recruits them, engendering empathy by providing privileged access to her self. To engage them in her forthcoming bereavement, she descends a layer into her childhood relationship with her father, recalling outings in search of sparrowhawks, and to buy falconry books. This leads to the hawks that are Macdonald's daemon, her totem, and explains why in crisis she turns to a hawk: it connects her with her father and her past. ‘When the hawk was on my fist I knew who I was’ (143). Paradoxically, hawks also facilitate a loss of self. Since childhood, birdwatching has been a means of self-sublimation. ‘The girl who was me when I was small loved watching birds. She made herself disappear, and then in the birds she watched, took flight’ (86). That disappearance presages the loss of her father, and the grief-stricken loss of her normal self. Disappearance is also a skill her father taught her, which enables her to gain her goshawk’s trust. ‘Concentrating very hard on the process of *not being there*.[…] you empty your mind and become very still. You think of exactly nothing at all’ (67).

This interweaving of self/other and subject/object is epitomised by Macdonald’s identification with her hawk. She is attracted by what she perceives as the non-human purity of the hawk’s exclusive preoccupations. ‘The hawk was everything I wanted to be: solitary, self-possessed, free from grief, and numb to the

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[265] Misch, p.8.

hurts of human life' (85).[266] Mabel's vitality cauterises Macdonald's pain. 'The hawk was a fire that burned my hurts away' (160). Freud, who Macdonald cites, proposed that mourning is a necessary process whereby the bereaved detaches themselves from the lost object through consoling substitution, severing one attachment to make another possible, whereas melancholy is a pathological state of entrapment by a possibly unconscious loss.[267] Freud posited that loss propels the bereaved into a struggle between a desire to live that means abandoning the loved one, and a desire to die that entails clinging to and following them into death. Macdonald does not want to forget her father, but falconry is a neutralising distraction from loss, as art is for Laing and Greece and Bowen are for me. Macdonald is drawn to Mabel because 'Every tiny part of her was boiling with life' (160), but Mabel's vitality is paradoxically conjoined to mortality. 'Everything about the hawk is tuned and turned to hunt and kill' (83). While recognising the danger of valorising the violence Mabel embodies, Macdonald records her need for it. A hawk targeting its prey represents her father's sudden death, and when Macdonald receives the news she collapses to the floor as if she too has been dealt a blow from above (12). Coming to terms with Mabel as a

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[266] Macdonald touches on object-relation theory and introjection. According to Melanie Klein, 'Introjection of the good object is also used by the ego as a defence against anxiety.[…] The processes of splitting off parts of the self and projecting them into objects are thus of vital importance for normal development.' 'Notes on some schizoid mechanisms' (1946), in *Envy and gratitude and other works (1946-1963)* by Melanie Klein (London: Hogarth Press, 1975), pp. 6-9.

[267] Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, 14, (1914-1916): On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement, Papers on Metaphsychology and Other Works,* trans. by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1974), pp. 243–258. Freud's distinction between mourning and melancholia is important in guiding clinical psychiatrists in the diagnosis of prolonged grief or clinical depression, which is vital in preventing the over-prescription of antidepressants or other medical assistance to those suffering from grief, which is a normal process. Antonio E. Nardi, 'Mourning and Melancholia, Sigmund Freud (1917)', https://www.scielo.br/pdf/jbpsiq/v65n4/0047-2085-jbpsiq-65-4-0307.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2020].

symbolic predator helps Macdonald come to terms with the way her father was struck down, and by engaging with this principle of radical mortality Macdonald reminds us that we are all exposed to the hazard of sudden death.

As Mabel grows tamer, Macdonald feels herself growing wilder, traversing the border between human and avian. 'I was turning into a hawk. […] I had put myself in the hawk's wild mind to tame her, and as the days passed in the darkened room my humanity was burning away' (86).[268] Transmuting her desire for autonomy into a hawk could represent ritualistic suicide. In contrast to the predominant feelings of love that Freud believed could end mourning, the melancholic has ambivalent feelings of love and hate for the other, and cannot sever attachment to the lost object. Sylvia Plath's *Daddy* mixes love with hatred.[269] Plath wants freedom from constraining emotional bonds, but having strengthened the connection through a Freudian 'identification of the ego with the abandoned object', this entails freeing herself from herself.[270] Blaming herself for her father's death, Plath proposes suicide as a suitable punishment.

Macdonald shows no such anger, guilt or ambivalence, but she hints at unacknowledged constraints when she recognises the making of jesses as a symbolic act. 'These were the cords that would hold me to the hawk […] Suddenly the hawk was very real. And so, in a burst of remembrance so fierce he could have

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[268] Macdonald cites J.A. Baker's *The Peregrine* (London: William Collins, 2017), first published 1967, which she hates for what she sees as the author's desire for annihilation disguised as an elegy for falcons, but which makes the similar rhetorical claim that the author can become the hawk and assume its viewpoint, a kind of transcendence. After months of watching peregrines, Baker finds himself crouching over kill, mantling like a hawk, living 'the same ecstatic fearful life. We shun men.' p. 102.

[269] Plath wrote the poem in 1962, a month after her separation from Ted Hughes and four months before her suicide. *Collected Poems* (London: HarperCollins, 1992).

[270] Freud, p. 249.

been in the room, was my father' (50). To mourn effectively in Freudian terms, she needs to sever those bonds, or transfer them from father to hawk. Macdonald also implies, perhaps unconsciously, that parental relations were not as idyllic as she claims. As a child reading T.H. White's *The Goshawk,* she recognised the hawk on the book jacket as 'taut with antipathy; everything a child feels when angry and silenced' (30).[271] She climbed a hill above her home where she crawled into her favourite den under a rhododendron bush, wriggling down on her tummy 'like a tiny sniper' (68). The sniper - concealed, all-seeing - administers death from afar, so even as an eight-year-old Macdonald recognised something of herself in the hawk's targeted aggression. Freud saw aggression as a symptom of melancholia, in which hostility for another is internalised and directed at oneself.

Aggression is, however, mixed with transcendence. On acquiring her hawk, Macdonald opens the box on the Scottish quayside, and imaginatively rises up to see through the hawk's air-borne eyes as it confronts the dazzling world for the first time: 'the point-source glitter on the waves, a diving cormorant a hundred yards out; far hills and the heather on them and miles and miles of sky' (54). In this flight of fancy Macdonald achieves a kind of resurrection. Watching birds inspires an almost spiritual ecstasy in which the unwinged world recedes; she longs 'to possess the hawk's eye. To live the safe and solitary life; to look down on the world from a height and keep it there'(189). But ironically, the hawk that symbolises militaristic prowess and the death-blow from above is earthed, captured, and forced to submit to a brutal training regime in which it is hooded, and controlled from above.

Laing's feelings of loneliness are so overwhelming that she wants to annihilate them. She echoes Macdonald's ritualistic suicide by seeking to lose

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[271] Written 1936-37, published 1951.

herself, at least ‘until the intensity diminished’ (14). Laing suggests the image of the *flâneur*, a sharp-eyed stroller chronicling her emotional and urban environments, the meandering inverse of the Handbook-reader who diligently follows prescribed routes and gazes at objects deemed worthy of attention. Laing rejects Baudelaire’s version of the *flâneur*, abhorring his ‘dandyish disinclination to engage with the reality of other people’, which is perplexing given Laing's own disengagement from human reality (223). The real difference is that while Baudelaire celebrated the ‘immense joy’ of ‘the passionate spectator’, whom he called the man of the crowd, ‘to set up house in the heart of the multitude’, Laing does not valorise her alienation except as an intellectual route into a new experience of reality, and a literary motif to explore connections between loneliness and art.[272] By living tangentially to the world and alternating introspection with observation, she resembles more a tormented Mrs Dalloway.[273] This may seem self-absorbed, but to interact with the wider context, the *flâneur* paradoxically requires a dissolution of self, a porosity. Laing’s tireless roaming allows her temporarily to forget her ‘sorry self’ and become ‘borderless as the mist, pleasurably adrift on the currents of the city’ (49).

In her perceptive study of Freud and elegy, Tammy Clewell explores the anti-consolatory approach to mourning that substitutes displacement, transcendence and

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[272] ‘The Man of the Crowd’, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays,* trans. and ed. by Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1964), p. 9.

[273] Mrs Dalloway is an apt reference, because Woolf used her novel to critique the idea of the proscribing and prescribing guidebook, even naming her villain Bradshaw, implying a connection with the railway guide. See Jesse Schotter’s “Objects Worthy of Attention”, https://modernismmodernity.org/articles/objects-worthy. [Accessed 3 June 2020]. Schotter explores how Modernism highlights tensions emerging from a ‘sacrificing of focus on personal or subjective experience to the need to anatomize a city or country.’ Note that he attributes the modern guidebook form to Baedeker from the 1860s, failing to credit Murray as Baedeker’s model.

redemption with immersion in grief, what Elizabeth Bishop called the 'art of losing'.[274] Rebecca Solnit likewise explores the creative possibilities of loss by embracing it as 'a voluptuous surrender, lost in your arms, lost to the world, utterly immersed in what is present so that its surroundings fade away.' Solnit implies a psychic state resembling sex, but 'achievable through geography'.[275] Macdonald and Laing cannot attain this level of sensuality. Like White, Macdonald finds the demands of human relationships too challenging and turns to a hawk instead. Laing yearns for touch, having been rejected after falling in love 'headlong and too precipitously' (12). She wonders if sex might cure loneliness, 'but what happens if our body or sexuality is considered deviant or damaged, or if we are ill or unblessed by beauty?'(5). She longs for connection while poised to flee, making herself into a kind of unreliable narrator. She seeks consolation in the internet's simulacrum of intimacy, her laptop screen her 'cathected silver lover' (219). Yet, there is a Woolfian sense of bodily extremity to her feelings, a voluptuousness in the way she surrenders her identity, sealed in her private bubble, safely 'remote from the possibility of physical rejection […] looking for connection of an easier, less exposing kind' (224-5).

My cancer cell is a void that encapsulates loss, dislocation, isolation and surveillance. This is my book's inner chamber. It seems contrary to Laing's teeming urban and virtual cities, yet central to her loneliness is 'the way a feeling of separation, of being walled off or penned in, combines with a sense of near-unbearable exposure' (17). My clinical cell seems like the inverse, too, of Macdonald's feral sitting room littered with hawk mutes, yet it offers a similar prospect of immersion and transcendence. All share a sense of penetrating an

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[274] 'Mourning beyond Melancholia: Freud's Psychoanalysis of Loss, *Japa*, 52/1, p. 47 http://www.apsa.org/portals/1/docs/japa/521/clewell.pdf [Accessed 1 June 2020].

[275] *A Field Guide to Getting Lost* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2005), p. 6.

introverted space that has therapeutic attractions, while also being profoundly dangerous.

These spaces are liminal in social anthropologist Victor Turner's original sense of a segregated transitional space, in which we undergo rites of passage necessary for growth and individuation.[276] Sequestered in what Turner calls a liminal 'realm of primitive hypothesis, where there is a certain freedom to juggle with the factors of existence', Macdonald is divested of previous habits of thought, feeling, and action, and becomes neither bird nor human, but both.[277] Laing inhabits similarly marginal spaces and states of separation, her identity dissolved. 'Invisibility and speechlessness, ice and glass: the classic imagery of loneliness, of being cut off' (210). Turner calls this 'structural invisibility'. Tribal initiates have nothing, are symbolically naked and vulnerable, inhabiting their betwixt and between period of 'fruitful darkness […] of silence, celibacy, absence of merriment and movement', which lies outside normal societal structures or world-systems.[278] Turner also touches on the polluting nature of the initiate, shunned and sequestrated for fear of contamination. Like my radiation, Laing's loneliness has a 'force field', which 'seems destined to cause others to turn and flee' (25). This echoes Macdonald, who feels ravenous need 'motoring out' of her, causing a man she falls for to 'run a mile' (17).

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[276] Victor Turner, 'Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in *Rites de Passage*', in *Betwixt & Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation*, ed. by Louise Carus Mahdi, Steven Foster and Meredith Little (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1994,) first published in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press,1967). Using the analogy of the pupa changing from grub to moth, Turner demonstrates that maturation or cult-membership initiation rites play an archetypal role in transitions between states of being, and have sociocultural significance as a means of tribal survival and self-nurture.

[277] Ibid., p. 15.

[278] Ibid., pp.8-9.

Laing quotes Winnicott's consequences of isolation, which include 'becoming locked in perpetuity into the cell of solitary confinement, in which a sense of reality, of boundedness, is rapidly eroded' (263). Marooned on the internet, she welcomes 'calling time on the tyranny of the physical,' but she also fears being 'abandoned in perpetuity' (247). She and Macdonald both cite Winnicott's Ingoldian study of a boy obsessed with string, a symbolic means of communication, which represents his terror of abandonment by his mother.[279] My 'cell of solitary confinement' is not only a metaphor for an existential malady; it represents the threat of perpetuity and abandonment that is death.

Our consoling substitutes act like scar tissue over wounds, and by focusing on them we shield ourselves from pain. As Macdonald says of White's love of the countryside, it was 'a love that was safe to write about' (40). Laing quotes social scientist Robert Weiss who felt that loneliness is so unnerving it induces in those who have escaped 'a kind of self-protective amnesia' (26). A podcast producer invited me to record my experiences in the radioactive cell, but I could not bear to listen to the tapes. Yet, to write we all had to return to those unsafe places, which required courage.

Woolf hoped that boring into a shocking experience and putting it into words would reveal the reality behind its appearance, and make it whole, and that wholeness would rob it of its power to hurt.[280] By establishing distance between my experience and the words chosen to convey it, and by shaping and controlling the experience, I tamed it, as Macdonald tames Mabel. I effaced some of its otherness, and gained power over it. By being on the page it lost its attachment to memory and

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[279] D.W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (London: Routledge, 1971).

[280] Woolf, 'Sketch', p. 72.

ceased to be mine. This assisted my transition from trauma to resolution. Macdonald does not really want to burn her hurts away: she wants to connect with her father and remember him. 'The art is not one of forgetting, but letting go.'[281] Laing does not really want to lose herself in the city, but to commemorate those who turned it into art. We transcend loss by creating artefacts ourselves. Julia Kristeva proposes that writers recovering from grief are motivated by a desire to master loss, overcome contingency and assert the primacy of identity, and translate the lost other in a work of art that may expand the limits of representation, but still effaces the radical otherness of what it translates.[282] As Laing states, 'Art doesn't have to have a reparative function, any more than it has a duty to be beautiful or moral. All the same, there is art that gestures towards repair' (266). Our books are a mark of our survival. They may be consoling substitutes for us, and potentially helpful for others. Suzette Henke describes life-writing as offering the tantalising possibility of restoring the fragmented self to an empowered position of psychological and political agency, which may offer hope to others, and help them forge empathy and connections and interrogate their own lives.[283]

On emerging from our liminal state, each of us returns to normal life, re-born in 'the reformulation of old elements in new patterns.'[284] Cancer hopefully cured, I find comfort in connecting with those enduring their own forms of liminarity, such as the migrants. Laing finds that art helps her traverse 'the fragile space between separation and connection' (266). She concludes that loneliness is not failure, but a

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[281] Solnit, *A Field Guide*, p. 23.

[282] *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. by L.S. Roudiez, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

[283] Suzette A. Henke, *Shattered subjects* (London: Macmillan, 2000), pp. xvi, xix.

[284] Turner, p. 9.

sign of being alive (280). Macdonald, having feared she was going mad, accepts that Mabel cannot satisfy her needs, and that ‘Human hands are for holding other hands. Human arms are for holding other humans close’ (222). That is the pathos: once Mabel has done her therapeutic work, Macdonald somewhat brutally discards her. In Freudian terms, this severance is necessary for Macdonald to complete her mourning.[285]

We each return to our renewed selves through conversations of sorts with ‘the deeds and works’ of long-dead men (*Hawk*, 38). This prompts questions about what such objects of attention mean for the writer and their sense of self. Laing is ‘possessed with a desire to find correlates, physical evidence that other people had inhabited my state’ (5). She tessellates out into the contemporary American artists whose works articulate aspects of her isolation, such as Edward Hopper, whose *Nighthawks* is the paradigmatic image of urban alienation, its windows a simulacrum of loneliness’s ‘paranoid architecture’, which functions ‘simultaneously to trap and expose’ (30). Her portraits are to a degree self-portraits. Her attention is not on the isolated self or the objectified other, but herself *within* the other. She even wonders if she is morphing into her chosen artists. Like Hopper, she becomes ‘a peeper, a creeper, a connoisseur of open windows, patrolling in search of stimulating sights. Like him, my attention was often caught by the erotic’ (223). In her state of singularity, she seeks common ground, a desire for reciprocal understanding. This

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[285] Freud attributed the process to the narcissistic satisfactions that the mourner derives from being alive. ‘Mourning and Melancholia’, p. 257. Tammy Clewell’s study of Freud’s reconfigured approach to grief in his essay, ‘The Ego and the Id’ (1923) demonstrates that the bereaved may rage against intractable bonds, but ‘the subject may move from rage to recognition, accepting its own contingency and welcoming a process of mourning that can never be complete.’ In other words, rather than reinvesting in a new external consoling substitute, which would end the mourning, the bereaved can take ‘the lost other into the structure of one’s own identity, a form of preserving the lost object in and as the self’, leaving the work of grief to be ‘an interminable labor.’ Clewell, pp. 56, 61.

enables her to forge empathetic connections, and see the artists as part of a collective self, which is paradoxically defined by isolation. She wrests broader meaning from the contradictions they have faced. ‘What does it mean to be lonely? How do we live if we aren’t intimately engaged with another human being?’ (5).

However, for all her sense of connection, Laing generally does not intrude on the artists’ narratives, instead standing aside to let them speak. She often becomes barely more than a self-referential haunting. By leaving the artists in their isolated spheres, the book’s structure mirrors New York’s ‘walled off or penned in’ architecture (17). The effect is distancing. Moreover, she encounters them in New York for the first time, and investigates them from the outside, addressing them episodically to link aspects of her predicament with theirs: they are not part of her personal history, nor is she constantly present within the bigger story. She peoples an imaginary city with these lonely souls, to which she creates a map ‘built out of both need and interest, pieced together from my own experience and those of others’ (8). This idea of mapping makes her trajectory horizontal as much as vertical. By disappearing from the page after offering so much of herself, she leaves the reader hungry for more, ironically creating loneliness herself.

Examining the history and methods of falconry, Macdonald likewise tessellates out into broader terrain. However, in exhuming childhood memories of reading *The Goshawk,* Macdonald emphasises falconry and White’s role in her personal narrative. Because they matter to her, they matter to her readers; Laing cannot generate the same level of connection. The life-writing process involves judging aesthetic relationships between components, treading a line between self-exposure and constraint, or wayfaring and transport. Too little of the self can feel coy, promising intimacies that are undelivered; too much can be a source of shame or

seem egotistical or self-important. Rachel Cusk admits to feeling shame in the creation of an object for the public gaze, but derives power from her apparent lack of embarrassment in offending others or revealing less attractive sides of herself; few writers are willing to go that far.[286] Ultimately, *The Lonely City* is less powerful than *H is for Hawk* because the disproportionate weight of Laing's biographies unbalances her book, and there is less personal involvement with the other, which generates less empathy. This cannot be objectively quantified, but I found I was not moved in the same way.

There can be tension in the relationship between a writer and a biographical other whose ideas and attitudes may differ from their own. Macdonald recognises aspects of herself in White:

> *Like White I wanted to cut loose from the world, and I shared, too, his desire to escape to the wild, a desire that can rip away all human softness and leave you stranded in a world of savage, courteous despair (38).*

But she is disturbed by his sadomasochism and angered by his hopeless falconry. She hates his portrayal of falconry as a battle between man and bird, which she believes gave the practice a bad name. However, in reading White's diaries, letters and biography, she unearths the 'invisible presences' that Woolf identified, which provokes empathy. It is tacit in her view of White that he found relief through identification with an animal he thought was a ruthless killing machine as an antidote to existential terror caused by his abusive childhood, and she comes to see his admissions of ignorance not as stupid but brave. Moreover, by connecting White's brutal upbringing with his brutal falconry, Macdonald can imply a parallel connection between her own happy upbringing and her kind falconry. Using White's account as

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[286] Rachel Cusk, 'I was only being honest', *Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2008/mar/21/biography.women> [Accessed 9 September 2019].

an exemplar of some of the worst aspects of falconry enables her to demonstrate the contrast between their techniques, and recast falconry in a gentler light.

Nevertheless, Macdonald's engagement with White exposes her to accusations of complicity in legitimising and perpetuating falconry's militarist symbolism and power play and dubious associations with fascism. Macdonald recounts meeting a U2 pilot who occupied lonely hours in space reading White's *The Once and Future King*, which explores flight, secret knowledge, power, governance and war (32). The scene is analogous to the eagle symbolism on the dollar bill - the image of imperial power - and to ideas of target, deadly precision and prey.[287] As she opens the box containing her newly-purchased goshawk, tension on the Scottish quayside resembles 'The last few seconds before a battle' (53). Macdonald's vocabulary of 'grappling', 'mortal terror', 'savage, defensive fear' is the language of torture. 'Brought up short by her jesses [Mabel] twitters in high-pitched distress as the realisation of her hateful circumstances strikes. She can't get away' (66). The reader wonders if Macdonald is as different from White as she claims.

However, Macdonald is knowingly ambiguous, which enables her to distance herself from the worst aspects of falconry while recognising its appeal. She claims that 'The hawk had caught me. It was never the other way around' (24). Given that she bought the hawk from a breeder this seems disingenuous, but her point is that she seeks less to dominate than empathise. The leather jesses binding Mabel to her signify more than control. Echoing Ingold, she calls them 'palpable lines, not physical ones: lines of habit, of hunger, of partnership, of familiarity' (158). Lines between

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[287] The eagle, regarded as king of the avian world, is a popular national symbol world-wide, but it acquired fascistic overtones after being adopted as Nazi insignia. Falconry was popular in 1930s Germany, and White even acquired his goshawk in the 1930s from a German who had painted a portrait of Göring's favourite hawk.

coloniser and colonised, between master and slave, become lines of ‘something the old falconers would call love’ (158).

By engaging with Bowen I do not legitimise imperialism. I acknowledge my sense of being implicated in the past, the need to confront my own ambivalent relationship with it, and my dilemma in using him for personal reasons, without falling into colonial traditions. Unlike White, Bowen is not a reflection or foil; I sympathise with him, and use auto/biography to set up a conversation between our historical perspectives, pinning down the vitality of our lived experiences, and giving them new lives through the writing process.

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Each of us is finding a voice in a traditionally male world. With notable exceptions, there have been relatively few women travel writers.[288] Between 1983 and 2013, only six out of the sixty-nine travel-writers - 8.7 percent - in *Granta’s* travel-writing issues were female.[289] In 2011, Colin Thubron claimed that travel writing, essentially a British tradition, was sustained by the public school system, which, although not a solely male phenomenon, engenders the classically masculine

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[288] John Murray was one of a minority of nineteenth-century publishers to include female travel writers on his list. The entire Handbook series was modelled on *Travels on the Continent* by the redoubtable Mariana Starke, who persuaded Murray that when peace was restored after the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the British would hasten to the continent not as Grand Tourists but family groups on a budget. They would need information not only about art and architecture, but also about costs of food and lodging, and care of sick family members. Published in 1820, it was so popular that by 1829 it had run to seven editions, all updated in situ by Starke herself.

[289] *Granta,* 10, ‘Travel’, 1983; *Granta,* 20, ‘In Trouble Again’, 1986; *Granta,* 26, ‘Travel’, 1989; *Granta,* 94, ‘On the Road Again: Where Travel Writing Went Next’, 2006; *Granta,* 124, ‘Travel’, 2013. Contributors included sixty-nine men and only six women. A compilation in *The New Granta Book of Travel,* ed. by Liz Jobey (London: Granta, 2011) published travel writing by twenty men and only three women.

qualities of self-confidence and independence embodied by Bowen.[290] Likewise, while women have contributed to the history, methodology and community of falconry, it has always been a predominantly male sport. Hawk-training is even termed ‘manning’. Macdonald found reading classic British falconry authors 'was like being dropped into an exclusive public school’ and she unconsciously soaked up ‘the assumptions of an imperial elite’ (28).

Times are changing: in 2017 the number of female travel writers contributing to *Granta,* 138, had risen to 35.7 percent - an irony given that it asked if travel writing is dead. Most contributors answered No. Colin Thubron recognised that ‘The old patrician stress on the historical and aesthetic […] has loosened into more personal and demotic writing.’[291] Samanth Subramanian and Eliza Griswold also replied No, stressing the uniqueness of every writer’s distillation.[292] None mentioned the growing number of female travel writers.[293] Can women offer something new?

Travel writing was traditionally off-limits to most women because travel is by definition ‘the negation of domesticity’.[294] Jane Robinson argues that while Victorian female travel writers demonstrated a range of attitudes and motivations, they were united by voyaging ‘across the boundaries of convention and traditional feminine

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[290] Ash. <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/travel-writing-colin-thubron/> Thubron went to boarding school aged seven.

[291] *Granta*,138, p. 95.

[292] Ibid., pp. 60, 182.

[293] Only Robert Macfarlane mentioned the influence of female writers, citing Anna ‘Nan’ Shepherd’s *The Living Mountain* (1977), which is ironic given Macfarlane’s image as the ‘lone enraptured male’, as characterised by Kathleen Jamie (‘A Lone Enraptured Male’, *London Review of Books*, 30, 5, 6 March 2008). Macfarlane was also alone in addressing travel writing’s challenge to represent the consequences of climate change and mass extinctions, on which *State of Emergency* can only briefly touch. *Granta,* 138. p. 102.

[294] Leask, p. 204.

restraints.' Men embarked with reputations to forge and patrons to please, and 'their written accounts have been dedicated to tangible results.'[295] Women, mostly without such responsibilities, were able to dwell on the personal and impressions. Pratt shows that intrepid female travellers such as Mary Kingsley voiced their own kind of mastery, but most were denied the heroic discourse of discovery and domination.[296]

Domesticity also excluded women writers from auto/biography. While men described public life, women's experiences were confined to the private domestic sphere, which was despised as a subject, and even taboo to expose in public. Virginia Woolf complained: 'This is an important book, the critic assumes, because it deals with war. This is an insignificant book because it deals with the feelings of women in a drawing room.'[297] It was partly to expose processes of female exclusion and marginalisation in conventional exemplary or eulogistic 'Great Man' auto/biography that 1980s feminist critics adopted Woolf's 'life-writing' term instead.

Women were traditionally considered incapable of auto/biography because they supposedly lacked a coherent sense of self. Enlightenment philosopher John Locke associated goal-directed and sustained identity with men, considering female subjectivity to be discontinuous and associational.[298] A generation later, David Hume

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[295] *Wayward Women: A Guide to Women Travellers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. ix-x.

[296] See Pratt's examination of Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* (1897) in *Imperial Eyes*, pp. 209-212.

[297] Woolf, *Room*, p. 70.

[298] Locke defined man as 'abler and stronger', but put women on equal footing with men within marriage, arguing that subordination may be a woman's lot, but not her destiny. See Chris Nyland, 'John Locke and the Social Position of Women', *History of Political Economy* (1993), 25 (1): 39–63 <https://doi.org/10.1215/00182702-25-1-39 [Accessed 18 November 2019].

called female subjectivity a ‘bundle of perceptions’ lacking centred selfhood.[299] Feminist criticism celebrates that discontinuity, defining feminist objectivity as a means of comprehending that knowledge is not universal, transcendent or unaccountable, but comes from positional perspectives: the stream in which we swim, the manifold that entangles us, our world-systems, our core samples.[300] Rachel Cusk defines herself as a feminist, and a feminist as someone who articulates personalised problems. She calls herself an ‘artist of the self’ who acts as an interface between private and public, probing the junction between how people live and how they feel. ‘That’s what I mean about female identity being radical, that dissonance between interior life and exterior appearance.’[301]

Macdonald, Laing and I employ life-writing as a flexible endeavour that seeks narrative form in personal, intimate histories previously devalued as lacking inner meaning. Rather than colluding with masculine imperialist traditions, we reinscribe ‘the claims of feminine desire onto the texts of a traditionally patriarchal culture.’[302] By naming her hawk 'Mabel', rather than the conventional ‘Vampire', 'Jezebel', or 'Swastika', Macdonald attempts to carve out a feminine domestic space. On their first foray outside, Macdonald is alert to every possible threat.

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[299] See Genevieve Lloyd, ‘Hume on the Passion of Truth', *Feminist Interpretations of David Hume,* ed. by Anne Jaap Jacobson (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), pp. 39-59.

[300] For an examination of third-wave feminist use of multiple personal perspectives, which challenge dominant views and valorise fragmentation and build empathy and compassion as a basis for feminist and identity theory, see Su-Lin Yu, ‘Reclaiming the Personal: Personal Narratives of Third-Wave Feminists’, *Women's Studies,* 40, 7, (October 2011), pp. 873–889. doi:10.1080/00497878.2011.603606 [Accessed 12 June 2020].

[301] Cusk, *White Review,* No. 14, July 2015 <https://www.thewhitereview.org/feature/interview-rachel-cusk/> [Accessed 9 September 2019].

[302] Henke, p xvi.

> *I look down and see each pale blade of grass casts two separate shadows from the two nearest lamps, and so do I, and in the distance comes the collapsing echo of a moving train and somewhere closer a dog barks and there's broken glass by the path and next to it a feather from the breast of a woodpigeon judging by its size and curl* (99).

The moment when the writer stops and observes their surroundings is identified by eco-philosopher Timothy Morton as a nature-writing motif, whereby the reader is invited to become aware of their own surroundings.[303] It can also be anthropocentrism, the writer arranging everything around themselves, implying domination by centre of periphery, the panoramic trope of the 'Lord-of-all-I-survey'. For Macdonald, however, this moment is more like the hyper-vigilance of a protective mother on her first outing with a baby. Her domestic setting is a matter not just of a different sphere of interest, but of modes of subjectivity. As Pratt states of Victorian travel writers, if the men's job was to collect and possess everything around them, women travellers sought to collect and possess themselves. 'Their territorial claim was to private space, a personal room-sized empire.'[304]

Since the late 1960s, 'the personal is political' has been a second-wave feminist rallying cry; however, it is not exclusively feminist, and many male travel writers employ introspection, address loss, and expose their emotional as well as

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[303] *Ecology without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). Morton critiques environmental writing, particularly Romanticism, that uses transcendental rhetorical concepts claiming to reveal nature by reenacting the feeling of being united with or mirrored by it. He argues that fetishising nature paradoxically creates an aesthetic distance that leads to its objectification, thence to demystification and a colonial violation. Morton implies that respecting the environment means leaving it mysterious and even threatening. Arguably, ignorance is the greater problem.

[304] Pratt, p. 156.

physical vulnerabilities.[305] In *To a Mountain in Tibet* Thubron explores Mount Kailas while grieving for his mother; in *Passage to Juneau* Jonathan Raban interrupts his sail up the American coast to attend his father's funeral, and enters choppy personal waters as he navigates the end of his marriage.[306] Henke notes that trauma such as illness or grief threatens the integrity of the body and compromises 'the sense of mastery that is part of western notions of harmonious selfhood.'[307] These solitary men-in-landscapes nevertheless retain something of the tone of the Victorian travelogue, the exploratory, scientific or survivalist impulse enacted by the all-seeing, authoritative, heroic or self-mockingly anti-heroic (but erudite and self-aware) male adventurer. Laing nods to this tradition in subtitling her book *Adventures in the art of being alone,* but she goes further in foregrounding and making a literary virtue of her vulnerabilities. She is embarrassed by the thinness of her life, feels childishly needy, and frightened by lifting a lid 'on an unappeasable abyss' (14).

> *Over time these feelings radiate outwards, making the lonely person increasingly isolated, increasingly estranged. It hurts, in the way that feelings do, and it also has physical consequences that take place invisibly, inside the closed compartments of the body* (12).

To attribute such power to one's feelings may be self-aggrandising, and perhaps there is performative pleasure in self-humiliation, but the self-scrutiny feels vivid and honest. Although there is much that is heroic in her and Macdonald's struggles, it is a

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[305] The phrase was popularised by Carol Hanisch's essay 'The Personal is Political', originally published in *Notes from the Second Year: Women's Liberation,* ed. by Shulie Firestone and Anne Koedt (New York: Radical Feminism, 1970).

[306] *To a Mountain in Tibet* (London: Penguin, 2011); *Passage to Juneau: A Sea and its Meanings* (New York: Pantheon, 1999). Macdonald cites as an influence nature/ travel writer Robert Macfarlane, who himself cites Raban.

[307] Henke, p xii.

different kind of heroism that comes from publicly confronting, reenacting and surviving personal crises.

The feminist gaze also requires ‘passionate detachment’, and ‘mobile positioning’ in which ‘the imaginary and the rational - the visionary and objective vision - hover close together.’[308] According to Marcus, ‘Being on the page with someone else replaces singularity with alterity in a way that is dramatically female.’[309] Our relationships with our biographical other attest to Haraway’s feminist quest for partial, locatable, critical knowledges that sustain the possibility of webs of connections wherein we ‘learn how to see faithfully from another’s point of view.’[310] Haraway pleads for reliable accounts ‘not reducible to power moves and agonistic, high status games of rhetoric or to scientistic, positivist arrogance’, arguing instead for a fresh valuation of self in relationship, an embodied and empathetic consciousness.[311]

In *The Sword in the Stone* the teacher-wizard Merlyn transforms the Wart into a hawk to make him brave and give him the knowledge and therefore power to assume the Arthurian crown. However vividly imagined, Macdonald’s metamorphosis is rhetorical. She tries to get under Mabel’s skin not only to escape herself, but to see from another’s viewpoint in a way that challenges anthropomorphism, and thereby expands her - and our - understanding of the natural world. I attempt to see through Bowen’s eyes to enhance understanding of Greece and our imperial past, and I engage with the migrants to understand ideas of mobility and stasis, invisibility and scrutiny, borders and alienation. Laing attempts to see through the eyes of her

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[308] Haraway, p. 585.

[309] Marcus, p. 222.

[310] Haraway, p. 583.

[311] Ibid., p. 580.

lonely artists to enhance understanding of contemporary art and urban isolation. Haraway notes that '*how* to see from below is a problem requiring at least as much skill with bodies and language, with the mediations of vision, as the 'highest techno-scientific visualizations.'[312] Merlyn employs magic; we use imagination and empathy.

Yet Haraway also warns of romanticising and/or 'appropriating the vision' of the less powerful or subjugated while claiming to see from their positions.[313] I do not claim to fully empathise with the migrants' traumatic experiences on the road, but I confront this dilemma when I discover that Bowen was not the man I had romanticised. Likewise, Macdonald suddenly realises that far from becoming a hawk, she had projected her own feelings onto this wild creature, in what could be construed as a reenactment of the Freudian ideas of transference and appropriation that she critiques in nineteenth-century falconers (79). While acknowledging the premium in establishing the capacity to see from the peripheries and depths, Haraway warns that these locations are not exempt from their own semiological and hermeneutic modes of critical enquiry; the 'positionings' of the 'subjugated' are no more innocent than any other.[314]

However, such subjugated standpoints are, Haraway insists, preferable to apparently totalising standpoints such as Bowen's, because their partial, located embodied knowledges - the multidimensional topography of subjectivity - 'seem to promise more adequate, sustained, objective, transforming account of the world.'[315] *State of Emergency* was not written with a route plan, or to fix a country's identity, or surveil it with the cyclopian gaze of colonial destination-oriented transport. I claim

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[312] Ibid., pp. 584, 588.

[313] Ibid., p. 584.

[314] Ibid.

[315] Ibid.

neither innocent nor comprehensive vision. Although solitary travel can be alienating and lonely, I did not brave heroic or anti-heroic adventurers. I approach the world not from on top but aslant or from below, along a permeable line between objectivity and subjectivity, which includes an exploration of my own explicit desires and why Bowen, the migrants, the Patriarch and others I met en route matter to me.

Our empathetic longings will never be fully satisfied because part of us remains within our situated spheres. This points to the hermeneutics of hospitality. Laing enters the lives of her chosen artists, and they enter hers, but she is not transfigured into them. I do not recreate Bowen's travels in the auto/biographical-travel tradition popularised by Richard Holmes, but we visit each other's territory.[316] For all her desire to become a hawk, Macdonald eventually accepts its impossibility. However, Macdonald takes Mabel into her home, and although Mabel has little choice in the matter, they learn from each other. 'I've made a hawk part of a human life, and a human life part of a hawk's, and it has made the hawk a million times more complicated and full of wonder to me' (181).

Speaking to the belatedness that Jan Morris feared threatened travel writing with redundancy, Thubron noted that it is illusory to claim the world is too much known when it is in a state of constant flux.[317] That flux, Haraway believes, is impossible to capture except in pieces, fragments or reflections, which she considers a feminine form. How does this work in practice? In *Passage to Juneau* Raban intercuts his nautical adventures from Seattle to Alaska with his emotional life, and Captain Vancouver's parallel eighteenth-century voyage. However, Raban's stories

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316 Richard Holmes' *Footsteps*, his biographical travels in the footsteps of Robert Louis Stevenson and others, was first published as a work-in-progress in the celebrated *Granta,* 10, 1983.

317 *Granta,* 138, p. 95.

are confined to blocks, and transitions between them feel rough. Laing transits between narratives in a more intimate and arguably feminine way, but her research is also ‘pieced together’ in unwieldy chunks, moving it towards a metropolitan discourse of accumulation.

H is for Hawk moves more fluidly between storylines, as mapping demonstrates. Chapter 7, for example, begins with Mabel’s sounds, which leads to bird sounds generally, thence to Macdonald’s childhood home, then back to her present home. We flit from Mabel to Gos, back to Mabel, then to Macdonald herself and self-analysis; she begins training Mabel, returns to her father and their shared observational skills, to his interest in flight, then back to Mabel. Chapter 11 dwells on self and Mabel for three pages, White for three pages, then self and father. Chapter 12: self and Mabel, falconry history, White, Mabel. Chapter 13: White, self, Mabel, self, Mabel, White, self, Mabel, White. Sometimes Macdonald makes leaps that leave the reader momentarily confused: are we with her and her hawk, or White and his? However, she trains us to expect the jumps and soon welcome them. She hints at connections, or segues between them almost without us noticing. When angered by a friend’s husband, ‘I rage my way home, heart bating wildly’(111). ‘Bating’ is when a hawk dives off a trainer’s wrist in terror: the link to Mabel is so subtle it looks like a typo. As Ingold puts it, ‘Far from connecting points in a network, every relation is one line in a meshwork of interwoven trails.’[318]

State of Emergency moves between observation and introspection, present and past, personal and impersonal, introspection and observation, fact and fiction, lived experience and research, thought and action. The result is a pattern not evenly balanced - that would be monotonous - but hopefully natural, unobtrusive and

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[318] Ingold, p. 90.

vibrant, establishing a rhythm like weaving, or breathing in and out. I instinctively wanted to straighten my narrative thread, but that would deny the to-and-fro of the travel experience. Instead, vistas and detours open up unexpectedly as the structure of my environment is progressively disclosed, and my reality reordered. Core-sampling helped me to create literary space in which to interweave threads through metaphor, allusion, association, elision and echo, enabling me to attribute symbolic meaning and seek connections. Woolf argues that 'it is only by gathering up and putting together these echoes and fragments that we arrive at the true nature of our experience.'[319]

Roy Pascal emphasised that autobiography centres on the self, not the outside world.[320] Richard Sennett countered paradoxically:

> *because we are so self-absorbed, it is extremely difficult for us to arrive at a private principle, to give any clear account to ourselves or to others of what our personalities are. The reason is that, the more privatized the psyche, the less it is stimulated, and the more difficult it is for us to feel or to express feeling.*[321]

I have shown, however, that life-writing can centre on the self *and* the world, illuminating both. The female writers examined here show 'a sharper sense of links between historical, psychoanalytic, literary and philosophical representations.'[322]

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[319] 'Impassioned Prose', in *Selected Essays*, p. 61.

[320] *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, p. 9, q. Marcus, p. 163.

[321] Sennett, p.4. Sennett argues that the public sphere has been usurped by the private psychic scene, and that this is detrimental to individual and society. Compellingly for my discussion about freedom and constraint, and the hermeneutics of hospitality, Sennett also highlights the paradox that public spaces have often led to dead spaces, which people desert in favour of their own homes, i.e. private spaces, and that secure spaces with boundaries can favour social interaction.

[322] Marcus, p. 275.

They create a new interdisciplinary nexus, entering into the creative possibilities of their unstable genre, reformulating private experiences and vulnerabilities in a public way, thus refuting charges of self-indulgence, and mediating the objectified other to humanise their non-fiction, while acknowledging their own subjectivities and inconsistencies. I propose this as a way forward for travel writing.

Conclusion

Ingold has helped me to map my travels onto Bowen's, and offered a way of viewing his Handbook and journal as manifestations of a myriad different kinds of lines: bloodlines, timelines, guidelines, lifelines, borderlines, intertextuality, lines of enquiry, lines on maps, and tensions between centre and periphery, traveller and place, wayfaring and transport. Bowen's handwritten journal suggests wayfaring, and the printed Handbook transport: form expresses content.[323] The journal's gestural lines loop in an energetic and organic flow 'from the moving point of contact between pen and paper'; the Handbook's typography, punched out mechanically to form isolated 'cold and expressionless' clumps of letters, carries little trace of human connection.[324] 'The intimate link between the manual gesture and the inscriptive trace is broken. The author conveys feeling by his choice of words, not by the expressiveness of his lines.'[325] Bell argues that the role of Murray's printers in correcting manuscripts and making them ready for press was more influential than is generally supposed, but nevertheless the reader is disconnected by the mechanics

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[323] The etymological connection between 'journal' and 'journey' reveals the deep relationship between travel and personal record-keeping. Both stem from the same root meaning 'day' - *jour* in French - as does 'diary' (diurnal). A medieval 'journey' denoted a day's travel, around twenty miles, and the journal recorded it. See Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Williamsburg: University of North Carolina Press 1982), p. 192.

[324] Ingold, 'In Defence of Handwriting', *Writing on Writing*, Durham University Department of Anthropology: Writing Across Boundaries, https://www.dur.ac.uk/writingacrossboundaries/writingonwriting/timingold/ [Accessed 12 June 2020].

[325] Ingold, *Lines*, p. 3.

of publishing and the typeface's anonymity.[326] Bowen's journal relates his daily journey without foreknowledge of what was coming next. 'By its nature, thinking twists and turns, drifts and meanders.[…] To hunt you have to be alert for clues and ready to follow trails wherever they may lead. Thoughtful writers need to be good hunters.'[327] By contrast, Bowen wrote the Handbook in full knowledge of its destination because he had already lived it, and was providing a template for others. As Ingold suggests, it is like joining the dots, a succession of loci and incidents. While the journal is to be read chronologically in a linear fashion, the Handbook lacks a continuous narrative and is to be consulted and dipped into. The journal has a storyline; the Handbook hints at stories, but they are fragmented, obscured and compressed: it is an outline.

As Ingold highlights, lines are also cracks that people can fall through. 'As the certainties of modernity gave way to doubt and confusion, lines that once went straight to the point have become fragmented, and the task of life is once more to find a way through the cracks.'[328] *State of Emergency* illuminates those fractures 'of brittle surfaces caused by stress, collision, wear and tear': irregular forces rubbing against each other and causing fissures.[329] They were manifested by the rupture formed by cancer, made visible by the line across my neck and internally by the

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[326] In an increasingly mechanised process, authors still had to negotiate with in-house editors, compositors and illustrators. Printers' readers often had to point out to authors their 'tiresome repetitions, incorrect assertions, intoxicated hyperbole, faults in grammar, and above all, in punctuation'. Bell, 'Authors in an Industrial Economy,' p. 16. Bowen had numerous exchanges with Clowes, John Murray's printers, which by 1839 was the world's largest printing house.

[327] Ingold, 'In Defence of Handwriting'.

[328] Ingold, *Lines*, p. 4.

[329] Ibid., p. 45.

surgical interruption to the linear flow of my endocrine system, and by the consequent rupture in my mental health, the image of me cracking up.

While mapping offers a horizontal view, I have proposed core-sampling as a vertical view, an exploratory process that can inspect a particular moment and use it to test more general assumptions, reveal our situated knowledges and nuance our understanding of ourselves, others, place and the past. *C*ore-sampling has enabled a process of retrieval without the anachronistic admonishments of hindsight, by understanding a particular man and his context, and what he means to us now. Core-sampling has assisted my insight into the slippage between Bowen's published works and private experiences, and enabled me to understand the contexts and historical contingency that influenced his outlook.

On surfacing a geological core sample, the pressure on it reduces, often releasing liquids or gases captured within. This speaks to Woolf's desire to unearth the past, but is also an analogy for the therapeutic process of bringing buried historical and personal experiences to the surface in order to diffuse them. Alterations during excavation make it difficult to determine exactly what may have been contained within the strata at the bottom of the hole. As Elizabeth Abel warns in her perceptive analysis of Woolf's 'Sketch', 'The past cannot heal the present in part because, viewed through the present's disenchanted lens, the past is already broken'.[330]

This points to the idea of the past as a site that can be colonised. With the power to describe and objectify Bowen, who has no right of reply, I proceed with

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[330] 'Spaces of Time', *Modernism and Autobiography*, ed. by Maria DiBattista and Emily O. Wittman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 55-69, p. 63.

caution regarding my own unconscious motives and biases.[331] Having set up Bowen as a liberal, intelligent, multi-lingual traveller who undermined the cliché of the arrogant colonial, and disrupted the 'us' and 'them' paradigm to nuance the wider imperial project, I was confronted with Edward Lear's loathing, which cast Bowen in a new light. Lear is an impressive witness, and I had been proud of their friendship, but his accusation that Bowen was a pompous, self-aggrandising, malicious bore threatened my story. If Bowen was so unpleasant why had I - and my reader - bothered with him? Bowen's dethroning also threatened my sense of self. Having been proud of him, I became ashamed of him. This tested my integrity, tempting me to colour Bowen in a more favourable hue, or draw a stronger distinction between us, asserting my moral superiority. After weighing the evidence I did neither, instead acknowledging the attractions and sometimes repulsions Bowen holds for me, and avoiding speculation.

While inevitably making creative selections from my source material, I adhered to documented facts. Haraway suspects the false privilege of a totalised scientific truth, and shows that although there is a certain level of objectivity built into the scientific method, it is dangerous to overstate it because of the biases that enter into scientific thinking. Interpretations of facts are debatable, evidence tainted or incomplete, researchers fallible, memories unreliable. Alison Light notes that unlike academic historians, family historians are 'ineluctably one of the group' they are studying, and therefore more likely to be selective or to identify with their subjects.

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[331] Woolf sought more equality between biographer and subject, allowing the biographer to become less of a hagiographer or chronicler, and more of an artist, able to choose and synthesise. Woolf, 'The New Biography', in *Selected Essays*, pp. 95-101. Some biographers have now gone the other way. Alexander Masters opens *Stuart, A Life Backwards* (London: Fourth Estate, 2005) with his homeless heroin-addict subject shaping Masters' biography. 'Put briefly, his objection is this: I drone on.' (p. 1). Masters re-writes along Stuart's suggested lines, making it a collaborative project.

‘Like all history, family history […] is never neutral in what it wants to say about the past. This, of course, makes it more interesting as well as politically volatile.’[332] Indeed, my brush with cancer forced me to acknowledge the provisional nature of all certainties. Yet Haraway also rejects the relativism at the opposite end of the ‘truth’ spectrum, describing the 'equality' of positioning as a denial of responsibility and critical enquiry, ‘a way of being nowhere while claiming to be everywhere equally,’ which is poignant in a discussion of guidebooks, particularly when their anonymity implies unsituated objectivity.

My authorial intention is descriptive, historical and autobiographical. Salman Rushdie argues that description is inherently a political act, and that ‘redescribing a world is the necessary first step towards changing it.’[333] *State of Emergency* attempts to describe the plight of Greece, and give voice to those who sometimes feel voiceless, such as the migrants. It bears responsibility to get things right in ways that meet not only narrative demands but moral and personal demands too. Rushdie points out that description is a way of making a version of the truth, which may differ from official truth, or theoretical truth. Solnit writes that although she became a historian because there was no truth in her family, history is best served not by claiming an authoritative and disinterested relationship to the facts, but by disclosing your own desires and agendas, ‘for truth lies not only in incidents but in hopes and needs.’[334] By allowing my embodied gaze to be plural and contingent, fundamentally unreliable and incomplete, I can enjoy what Haraway calls ‘the privilege of partial perspective’, and produce knowledge with greater objectivity than by claiming

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[332] Light, pp. xxiv, xxviii.

[333] Rushdie, p. 430.

[334] Solnit, *A Field Guide,* p. 59.

neutrality. Infinite vision, she reminds us, is illusory, a 'god-trick.'[335] We may never get to the bottom of things, nor see the past innocently or objectively, but acknowledging that brings us one step closer to the truth.

Objective truth may be suspect, but history should not be contaminated by false history, and as Thubron observes, reality is so extraordinary you don't need to make it up.[336] In recovering Bowen's life and transporting him from periphery to centre, I tried to treat him fairly. I ascertained that nothing in his history as an imperial governor suggests he was other than liberal, and relatively benign and wise for his time.[337] This gave me confidence in my capacity to find the right balance between my personal investment in Bowen and my post-imperial critical conscience about him. Baine Campbell cites women travellers as not necessarily fitting the profile of 'Western oppressor' that has been so powerfully constructed by postcolonial theory. It is an even greater surprise to discover that some male imperialist travellers can also nuance that image. But as Baine Campbell observes, 'We have met the Other and - as usual, but now we admit it - s/he is Us. And who,' she wonders, 'might that be?'[338]

My research also revealed some of the historical strata on which the present is built, complicating the crude argument that we have renounced an imperial past

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[335] Haraway, p. 584.

[336] Ash. <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/travel-writing-colin-thubron/>

[337] In New Zealand Bowen rode across the North Island, even while a war was underway, in order to understand the country. He learnt Maori, was instrumental in ending the war between the white settlers and the Maori, and commissioned a report into the Maoris' dwindling numbers and socio-economic plight with which he sympathised. When a white settler family and a renowned missionary were murdered by a Maori war party in 1869, Bowen resisted arresting the culprit because he warned that death on the scaffold was much more significant than death on the battle field. See Helena Drysdale, *Strangerland: A Family at War* (London: Picador, 2007).

[338] Baine Campbell, p. 264.

we regard with aversion. Our disputed imperial legacy belongs to us all. However ambivalent we may feel, to occlude it is to deny what shapes our identity. What corrodes is our reluctance to come to terms with it. Disavowal, as some would prefer, is too easy and too damaging. We are made ill by avoidance.

Representation does not make life-writing a mimetic process, but an evocative and emotional one that prioritises interpretation. Ingold argues that the line that became straight in the modern industrialised world has been ruptured by the dislocations of modernity. Far from distrusting partial truths and the blurring of generic distinctions, there is now 'a wider distrust of fixed forms, simple or single truths or meanings'.[339] For Marina Warner, life-writing is sustained and animated by such unknowability. 'The unreliability of the narrator, the cardinal idea of Modernism, has slid across into non-fiction', leaving fiction and non-fiction 'no longer opposites or even distinct.'[340] This is an overstatement, since readers come to life-writing with expectations of veracity.[341] Arguably, all writing style acts as a process of falsification; all narrative is inherently manipulative; its planned pattern of information has motives, its material is controlled, and since the end of the twentieth century some feminist critics have argued that it is preferable to eschew style in favour of

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[339] Leader, p. 2.

[340] Arts Foundation Creative Non-Fiction Seminar, City University, London, 2017.

[341] Female life-writers accused of fraudulence include Margaret Seltzer, whose critically-acclaimed *Love and Consequences* (2008), allegedly the memoir of a mixed-race foster-child's life of drugs, sex and gangs, was withdrawn from sale on revelation that Seltzer was actually raised in a white middle-class family and sent to a good school. Misha Defonseca's *Misha: Memoir of the Holocaust Years* (1997), translated into 18 languages, was discredited when forensic genealogists unearthed historical anomalies. She claimed she did not deliberately hoodwink readers, simply failed to distinguish between reality and imagination, but in 2014 was forced to repay her publisher. Although fake autobiographies are not new - they were common in post-revolutionary France for example - they undermine the genre by spreading suspicion of it.

more authentic forms such as letters and diaries. But why should these be more truthful in their self-representations? Memoir means remembering, and memories are fallible. My truth may differ from my characters' truth. I speak for them, conscious of the ethical burden around issues of exploitation and other areas of dominance, and the invasion of privacy inherent in portraying real rather than fictional characters, and where possible I showed them my manuscript and gained their consent.[342]

In the contemporary parts I used fictional techniques such as characterisation, dialogue, and rearrangements of chronology. I created the character of Pavlos to amalgamate other characters for the sake of clarity, and to express things people said but did not want repeated in print. This is not falsifying reality, but intensifying it for stronger dramatic effect. According to Raban, the word 'fiction' stems not from some imaginary Latin verb meaning, 'I make things up as I go along', but from a Latin verb meaning, 'I give shape to things'. Taking the material of a journey and discovering plot in it is turning it into fiction 'in the best sense'.[343]

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How might we read Bowen's Handbook today? While its stuffy facts and statistics have long been redundant, and some of its assumptions now seem preposterous, the format and basic logistical information Murray devised have become so commonplace it is hard to imagine alternatives. It remains an important record of Victorian political and commercial values, and intellectual and moral

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[342] One character was delighted, another felt both flattered and offended, and asked me to change her name to one of her choice, saying this enhanced her sense of affirmation and agency. Perhaps to fulfil a long-held fantasy, one male character asked me to make him female, but this complicated my narrative; another resisted reading it, insisting it was my book to do with as I chose.

[343] James Campbell, 'Northern Exposure', *Guardian,* 20 September 2003, <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/sep/20/featuresreviews.guardianreview11> [Accessed 5 October 2018].

enthusiasms and anxieties. It is a valuable picture of Greece at a particular moment in its evolution, viewed through the eyes of Bowen and the topographers, travellers, diplomats, classicists, artists and politicians he curated. In 1859 a reviewer credited Murray with setting the 'fashion of employing high literary skill and attainments in the compilation of guide-books.'[344] Bowen's prose, though rich with the resonance of imperial self-confidence, is sometimes beautiful in the ebb and flow of its grandiose sentences.

> *A journey in Greece is full of deep and lasting interest for a traveller of every character, except indeed for a mere idler or man of pleasure. There the politician may contemplate for himself the condition and progress of a people, of illustrious origin, and richly endowed by Nature, which, after a servitude of centuries, has again taken its place among the nations of the earth; there too alone can he form an accurate opinion on that most important question - the present state and future destinies of the Levant* (1).

The idea of genuine adventure to be had in the relative security of a European country is enviable, while quarantine and plague are reminders of how lucky we are as travellers today, and how travel could be again, post coronavirus.[345] Equally, it is poignant to set Bowen's travels and mine against those of the migrants I encountered, which reverse narratives of outward colonial expansion.[346] There is further poignancy in testing Bowen's travels against my dislike of the environmental

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[344] 'Recent Guide-Books', *Saturday Review,* 1 October 1859, pp. 398-9.

[345] I finished this essay during the 2020 lockdown, making the situation different from when I researched and wrote the book, and probably different from how it will be in future. This provides another example of situatedness.

[346] For further discussion of modern migration set against imperial mobility see Pratt, pp. 239-241.

depredations of modern tourism. This reinforces the notion of nostalgia as a condition of travel, the tantalising sense of missing a golden age.

Dilthey believed time is an endless flow in which the present contains the memory of the immediate past. ‘Every observed moment of life is a remembered moment and not a flow; *it is fixed by attention which arrests what is essentially flow*.’ [Dilthey’s italics]. We may observe the stream’s flow, but in so doing we stop it. ‘So,’ Dilthey concludes, ‘we cannot grasp the essence of this life.’[347] This restlessness is embodied in history, and in the fluctuations of the self, and the comings and goings of travel, and by writing about them we try to fix them. Unlike the line of transport, the wayfaring line goes out for a walk somewhere, but ‘every ‘somewhere’ is on the way to somewhere else.’[348] With that in mind, *State of Emergency* avoids tying up threads. We reach the end of the book, but is that the end of the story? Bhabha writes:

> *Beginnings and endings may be the sustaining myths of the middle years; but in the fin de siecle, we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion. For there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of direction, in the ‘beyond’: an exploratory, restless movement […] hither and thither, back and forth.”*[349]

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[347] Wilhelm Dilthey, *Selected Writings,* ed. by H.P. Rickman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 252.

[348] Ingold, p. 81.This gestures towards Cavafy’s dictum in his poem *Ithaka* that travelling is as important as arriving, and Tennyson’s version in *Ulysses,* in which the elderly protagonist has a restless urge to keep on travelling. Homer’s Odysseus was a wayfarer in the sense that his journey was meandering, but he might have preferred it to be transport, given that his aim was to get home.

[349] Bhabha, p. 2.

Bhabha could be describing the liminarity of travel - the act of leaving and returning, and what you take with you and leave behind and how you have been transformed en route. While memoir can embrace quotidian mundanity, or equally, the intense 'moments of being' that shocked Virginia Woolf out of existential torpor, travel can be life-altering, and almost outside of life. Daily life is suspended, and we enter a period of heightened perception, agency and receptivity.

State of Emergency occupies a generic in-between space, and traces a precarious pathway between pitfalls of self-indulgence and impersonal objectivity, and muddy areas where both are revealed to be not what they seemed.[350] It uses 'syncretism, juxtaposition, and integration' to bridge present and past, and different cultures, and allows for 'the performance of identity as iteration [and] the re-creation of the self in the world of travel'.[351] According to Marcus, 'the perceived hybridity, which troubled earlier critics is now celebrated […] as a powerfully transgressive property of the autobiographical form.'[352] Yet *State of Emergency* does not aim for hybridity in Bhabha's rootless sense. As Laing warns, 'collapse, spread, merging: these things sound like the opposite of loneliness, and yet intimacy requires a solid sense of self to be successful and satisfying' (241). The writing instead requires a kind of return home, a consolidation or taking stock.[353] The processes and results are not a strategy of resistance, nor what Raymond Williams saw as a dangerous double agent slipping between dichotomies, or its opposite, 'a magical instrument of

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[350] Woolf celebrated writers such as De Quincey who 'stand obstinately across the boundary lines.' 'Impassioned Prose', in *Selected Essays*, p. 56.

[351] Bhabha, p. 12.

[352] Marcus, p. 10.

[353] According to Solnit, the word 'lost', from the Old Norse *los*, means the disbanding of armies, suggesting a return home. *A Field Guide,* p. 7.

reconciliation.'[354] Instead of a binary rhetoric, its interweaving consolidates Friedl's hermeneutics of hospitality, whereby we neither dominate nor synthesise, are not spies, ghosts or healers, but are situated guests and hosts who know who we are but learn from each other, accepting and even welcoming truths that are partial, and express different viewpoints.

This proposes the travelogue as embodiment of an ideal tourism: respectfully open to the other, to expanding physical, sociocultural and intellectual horizons, to collaborating with chance and recognising doubts and vulnerabilities and the limits to what we can control. We may not know where we will end up. I do not confront 'the blank surface of a sheet of paper much as the colonial conqueror confronts the surface of the earth […] in preparation for the superimposition upon it of a construction of his own making.'[355] I self-dramatise not to vindicate myself or Bowen, or dominate, surveil or other, but to record my journey, and deploy subjective and essentially interrogatory experiences to relate some kind of truth about how we travel, read the past and respond to the world, and how we are shaped by history and culture. The point is not to know the unknown, but how to travel in search of it. If, as Solnit proposes, we cease to be lost 'not by returning but by turning into something else,' what that 'something else' might be, writing can help us find out.[356] 'It is the job of artists to open doors and invite in prophesies, the unknown, the unfamiliar; it's where their work comes from, although its arrival signals the long disciplined process of making it their own.'[357]

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[354] Marcus, p. 7. Williams wrote of the crippling dichotomies of fact/fiction, discursive/imaginative, referential/emotive, which pervade autobiographical discourse, when in reality these distinctions overlap. See Marcus p. 108.

[355] de Certeau, q. Ingold, p. 13.

[356] Solnit, *A Field Guide,* p. 71.

[357] Ibid., p. 5.

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