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Introduction

In *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (1988), Patrick Brantlinger, in a chapter titled 'The New Crusades', claims that, 'a crusading spirit – usually Tory or conservative, occasionally evangelical, sometimes even utilitarian and radical, but always at least implicitly imperialist – informs most nineteenth-century British writing that took the Near East for its subject'.¹ In this dissertation I will be exploring this label of a 'crusading spirit' in relation to a series of travel narratives which Brantlinger highlights as part of the contemporary popularity for travel books that took the Near East as a subject. However, out of these texts, which were all published in the 1840s, he only affords discussion for two of these, Alexander Kinglake's *Eothen, or Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (1844)² and William Makepeace Thackeray's *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846).³ I have selected these two texts for the purposes of my own discussion, but I have also included Eliot Warburton's *The Crescent and the Cross, or Romance and Realities of Eastern Travel* (1845),⁴ and Harriet Martineau's *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848).⁵

All four of the writers being discussed here, Kinglake, Warburton, Thackeray, and Martineau, were connected in some way, either knowing one another personally or from being connected through one another; Kinglake, for instance, knew both Warburton and

¹ Brantlinger, Patrick, 'The New Crusades' in *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism* (Ithaca ; London : Cornell University Press, 1988) p.137

² Kinglake, Alexander William, *Eothen, Traces of Travel Brought Home from the East* (New York : Cosimo Classics, 2010)

³ Thackeray, William Makepeace, *Notes on a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (Milton Keynes : Dodo Press, 2011)

⁴ Warburton, Eliot, *The Crescent and The Cross, or Romance and Realities of Eastern Travel*, 2 Vols (Leipzig : Bernh. Tauchnitz Jun, 1852 ; repr. Marston Gate: Elibron Classics, 2005)

⁵ Martineau, Harriet, *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (Philadelphia : Lea and Blanchard, 1848 ; repr. Marston Gate : Bibliobazaar, 2008)

Thackeray as friends from their studies together in Law at Cambridge, and Martineau, though not on personal terms with these other writers, was known to have socialised within the same literary circles. Because of this they formed what might be called a new upper-middle class coterie of travel writers. Their texts often responded to their predecessors' works and were often a means for them to compare experiences of the Near East; for example Kinglake's preface in *Eothen* was intended for Eliot Warburton, who in return published his own travel narrative in response.

I have chosen to look at texts published in the 1840s specifically because as a decade it saw the origins of modern tourism to the East, even if very few could still afford to travel to the Near East and because these authors were writing at a time when medievalism and the crusades were becoming popular in art and literature. As well as this, period was interesting in terms of geopolitics. Tourism was given rise to by the subsidence of what came to be known as the Eastern Question crisis of the 1830s. At the very end of the eighteenth century a long period of modern geopolitical interest in the Orient was sparked by Napoleon's military campaign in Egypt and Syria. This was followed by the growing issue of an internal power struggle within the Ottoman Empire during the 1830s. After almost a decade of military and diplomatic endeavours by Britain to preserve the integrity of what now seemed to be an ever weaker Ottoman Empire, the crisis was resolved and safer tourism for British travellers in the region was assured.

As the prospect of safe travel in the region increased, travel became a reality for a broader group of British society the Near East began to shift from an unfamiliar site of danger and conflict, attainable only by the plucky, independent, and wealthy traveller, to a pleasure destination for a growing number of middle-class travellers like the four I will be discussing.

These tourists were now seeing a part of the world that had previously been confined to the pages of early Orientalist scholars and the romantic imaginations of poets and novelists; for them, the Orient had already been explored, mapped, fought over, studied, and published. The growing number of travel narratives published throughout the 1840s meant that these texts did lack the originality and the imagination of earlier works; however, they reflected the transition from an unknown and romantic Orient of the imagination to a tangible Orient that was embedded in geopolitical reality. It is this tension between imagination and reality that I will be focussing on throughout.

In Section One I will be discussing the broader cultural context behind travel writing of the Near East. Here I will first be exploring the popularity of early nineteenth-century medievalism as well as the resurgence of the Crusades in popular culture before constructing an overview of each travel writer in their negotiation of crusader identity. In Section Two I will be examining the relationship of time and space in Orientalist discourse and how this affected travel writers' expectations of the Near East. I will be paying particularly close attention to the conflict Near Eastern urban environments presented for the imaginative geography of the traveller. Finally, in Section Three I will focus my attention on travel writing in the Holy Land, and specifically on travellers' reactions to the city of Jerusalem. I will be aiming to highlight the city as a contested space that creates conflict in traveller identity.

The overall purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate the ways in which the 'crusading spirit' manifests as an imaginary force in travel writing, and how this force was resisted against by the realities of Near Eastern space and geography.

Section One: Modern Travel and the Crusades

Attitudes towards the Crusades during the eighteenth century have been mostly defined by the voices of philosophers and historians such as Diderot, Voltaire, Gibbon, and Hume, all of whom concluded that the Crusades had been nothing but 'ignorant and violent fanaticism' in an era of blind faith.⁶ Seeking to distance themselves and modern society from the faith-based traditions of the past, especially the Middle Ages, Enlightenment philosophers naturally read the Crusades as an obstacle on the path of mankind's progress. However, by the mid-nineteenth-century the attitude in Europe towards the Crusades had dramatically shifted and they were no longer dominantly perceived to be a pointless exercise in violence; Crusading, as Christopher Tyerman points out, 'ceased to be a dirty word' (Tyerman, p.114)

In their discussions on crusader historiography both Tyerman and Jonathan Riley-Smith find that there were two major influences behind this change in attitude; these were Europe's growing political advantage in the Near East, and the revival of medievalism in domestic culture, which saw an ever 'growing appreciation for the Middle Ages'.⁷ I will be discussing British political involvement in the Near East and its positive influence on British travel to the Near East, but first I will examine the cultural background behind the crusading imperative that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century.

A growing appreciation for the Middle Ages was the primary catalyst for the shaping of positive images of the Crusades during the early nineteenth century. Early Enlightenment historians had criticised the Crusades in the first place because they were seen as the result of the blind religious fanaticism that dictated society in the Middle Ages. The Crusades could

⁶ Tyerman, Christopher *The Invention of the Crusades*, (Houndmills : Macmillian, 1998) p.112

⁷ Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York : Columbia University Press, 2008) p.53

only be refashioned if the Middle Ages first lost their label as the 'Dark Ages'. The only way this period in time would become appealing was through collective disillusionment with the present, and for Britain during the early nineteenth-century, the gulf between an idealised past and a disturbing present had never seemed so great. Republicanism threatened to spill over from France, reform movements campaigned for political franchise, and the technological and commercial progress reduced geographical distance and the class distinctions; the fabric of British society was being suddenly and irreversibly reshaped. As David Lowenthal states, 'No other society had so rapidly embraced innovation and invention or seen its landscapes so thoroughly altered. Yet no other society viewed its past with such self-congratulatory gravity or sought so earnestly to reanimate its features.'⁸ In selectively reviving and idealising a number of appealing attributes of the Middle Ages, such as chivalry, faith, and romance, and disregarding other less appealing associations, medievalism functioned as a form of utopian escape. Attitudes towards the Middle Ages had evolved from the early-Enlightenment perspective, which distanced the Middle Ages as Other, into a Romantic one, which incorporated them back into the present.

Ronnie Ellenblum states that for the Romantics the Middle Ages were 'a world which applied directly and personally to themselves and their own contemporaries', they had become an 'emblematic collective memory'.⁹ As a consequence of the romantic disillusionment with the present and medievalism's rose-tinted view of the past, the Crusades emerged as a national history worth revisiting. What had before been an act of

⁸ Lowenthal, David, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1985)p.96-7

⁹ Ellenblum, Ronnie, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2007) p.13

‘outmoded Catholic barbarism’, was now a source of British pride.¹⁰ This transformation took place once the ‘*European* story ceased to exist’ and when the Crusades diversified across Europe into distinct nationalist narratives (Ellenblum, p.31). In Britain, for example, Richard the Lionheart, who was arguably French in all but his royal title, was increasingly imagined as an English King. Even Sir Walter Scott’s popular medievalist romance *The Talisman* (1825), in which he portrays Richard as cruel and violent in contrast with a civilised and rational Saladin, could not dampen the king’s hero status, in fact, it contributed to his national fame. By 1851 his statue was on display at the Great Exhibition before its final relocation to the grounds of the newly completed, and suitably Gothic, Palace of Westminster. This cultural blindness towards the bloody version of crusading was in no way totalising, and so positive accounts were always required to wrestle with this underlying contention. Nevertheless, the medievalist’s focus on romance, chivalry, and the ‘crusading spirit’ was powerful enough to allow for crusading to evolve as a synonym for fighting a good cause (Tyerman, p.117)

The choice of the Middle Ages and the Crusades as the subjects of historians and artists during the nineteenth century has primarily been read by critics as the result of politically conservative tendencies. For example, John Ganim claims that the conservative nature of medievalism became overt during the early century as ‘a critique of modernity, a critique of industrialization, urbanization and democratization’. Furthermore, he claims that ‘the social world imagined in this scheme idealized both aristocracy and folk. The aristocracy was imagined almost entirely in terms of chivalry, to the exclusion of other traits’.¹¹ Similarly,

¹⁰ Knobler, Adam, ‘Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48 (2006) 293-325 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0010417506000120>> p.309

¹¹ Ganim, John, *Medievalism and Orientalism* (Houndmills : Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) p.29

Tyerman finds that much of the impetus behind studies of the Crusades 'stemmed from the desire to see in medieval chivalry a set of distinctive aristocratic values and behaviour to challenge the utilitarian ethos of industrialisation, the rise of the commercial classes and the emergence of popular politics' (Tyerman, p.120). However, while Medievalism was compatible with the conservative desire to keep alive traditional institutions during the onset of industrialisation and the democratisation, it also provided a substance for the Whig interpretation of History in which modernity was praised as a result of these traditions. While the Conservative romantic perspective on Crusader history sought to bring the past into the present, the Whiggish interpretation found that the influences of the past were already impacting on the present state of society; history from the Whiggish perspective was a justification for the democratic and industrial society of the present. The unbroken continuity of past with present meant that it was easier for the Whig historian to find similarities than to determine the differences which were focussed on by Conservative historian. Either way, whether Conservative or Whig, the core principle of Victorian medievalism, as recognised by Rosemary Jann, remained the same, 'it represented less an attempt to recapture the past "as it really was" than a projection of current ideals back into time'.¹² Medievalism then allowed for both 'progress and tradition' (Jann, p. 140), with its shifting interpretations depending wholly on the ideological needs of its proponent.

An example of this was the Enlightenment historian William Robertson's desire to incorporate the Crusades into the development of modern, or Western, civilisation.

Robertson's interpretation of the Crusades was made in his 1769 history book, *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V*. In it he moves away from the traditional

¹² Jann, Rosemary, 'Democratic Myths in Victorian Medievalism', *Browning Institute Studies*, 8 (1980), 129-149 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25057689>> p.129

enlightenment method of studying the Crusades as a static object of history and, instead, reads them, as Tyerman states, as 'an agent of modernity'.¹³ He admittedly could not ignore their 'superstition or folly', but he could interpret them in a way that was compatible with his view of history as progress.¹⁴ The Crusades, he argued, were responsible for 'the first gleams of light which tended to dispel barbarism and ignorance' from Europe. He based this argument on an idea of cross-cultural exchange between the crusaders, who were rustic in their manners, and their Muslim enemy, who were 'a more polished people', 'It was not possible for the crusaders to travel through so many countries and to behold their various customs and institutions, without acquiring information and improvement' (Robertson, p.16). The purpose, then, was misguided, but the end results were beneficial. Ronnie Ellenblum believes that Robertson's views were most likely influenced by the popularity of the Grand Tour during the eighteenth century as his reading of the Crusades as a 'useful' journey reflected the purpose of refinement in the Grand Tour (Ellenblum, p.10). Europeans were continuing to use travel as a means of personal improvement which allowed for a more comfortable parallel to be drawn between the barbarian Crusader and the present-day traveller. However, as the Crusades and the Middle Ages were incorporated into the continuous line of progress, rather than separated off as an isolated period of difference, the difference between the barbarian crusader and the civilised traveller was to be observed as a difference by degrees rather than as difference by opposition. Therefore, the distance between barbarian Other and the civilised Self was made particularly more difficult to negotiate, and, if we bring in the Near East as a shared space for their aims, then the environment that travellers found themselves in only threatened to further intensify this

¹³ Tyerman, Christopher, *The Debate on the Crusades*, (Manchester : Manchester University Press) p.82

¹⁴ Robertson, William, *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth (Volume I)*, (London ; George Routledge & Co, 1857) <<http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AG4VAAAAYAAJ>> p.16

difficulty. However, the traveller's negotiation of space and scenery is something that will be discussed in more detail over the following sections.

If medievalism contributed towards the transformation of the crusader figure in the first half of the nineteenth century, then the crises that took place in the Near East during the first half of the nineteenth century further boosted interest in crusader history. The European expansionist policy in the Mediterranean and the Near East, a region which consisted primarily of long-held territories of the Ottoman Empire, had been almost non-existent until 1798, but when Napoleon Bonaparte launched his military campaign in Egypt and Syria in this year, his actions signalled the beginning of Europe's political ascent over the Ottoman Empire. Though Napoleon's military occupation of Egypt had ultimately failed, it has been defined by Edward Said as the moment which gave birth to 'the entire modern experience of the Orient'.¹⁵ The Near East became a site of heavy-handed European diplomacy towards the mid-nineteenth century, which allowed for the development of mass tourism in the region. The Ottoman Turk as a 'physical menace' was reduced to a harmless yet contemptible curiosity as 'exotic Mediterranean tourism and a passion for Orientalism stripped views of crusading of any sense of abiding conflict or hostility' and as contact between European travellers and the Islamic world of the Near East increased, attitudes towards the crusades became less concerned with their violence and instead became interested in their 'motives and inspiration' (Tyerman, p.113).

Eitan Bar-Yosef makes an extremely interesting point in highlighting the paradoxical nature of the development of the Crusades as metaphor when in reality Britain was expanding its

¹⁵ Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (London : Penguin, 2003) p.87

involvement in Palestine.¹⁶ He compares the British bombardment of Acre against the French in 1799 with Richard the Lionheart's siege of the same city against Saladin in 1191; however, he also concedes that this is as far as the crusading parallel goes, as throughout the rest of the century Britain had actively supported the Ottoman Empire rather than seeking to topple it. Napoleon's campaign in the Near East at the beginning of the century was only the beginning of a longer series of incidents that would bring European nations, especially Britain, back into the Near East militarily, diplomatically, and eventually touristically throughout the rest of the century. These were referred to collectively in Europe as the Eastern Question. The Egyptian-Ottoman Wars of the 1830s were just one early aspect of this question which had entrenched Britain ever deeper in the politics of the Near East. Britain had vested interests in the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as it provided an essential overland route for commercial activity in India, and its collapse threatened to leave a power vacuum for Britain's European rivals. This became a significant possibility when in 1831 Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman viceroy of Egypt, invaded and successfully occupied Syria before forcing Ottoman troops back towards Constantinople. From 1833, a period of relative peace followed, in which Muhammad and his son Ibrahim Pasha, in an attempt to garner European favour, initiated a scheme of administrative modernisation of the territories now under their control. In 1839 fighting resumed and in 1840 the Convention of London was signed ordering Muhammad Ali to cede the Levantine territories in exchange for hereditary rule of Egypt. Following Britain's naval bombardment of the Lebanon coastal cities these terms were finally accepted.

While Bar-Yosef is right to state that Britain were allies with the Ottoman Empire, therefore negating any true parallels between British intervention in the Near East and the Crusades,

¹⁶ Bar-Yosef, Eitan, *The Holy Land in English Culture, 1799-1917* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2005) p.259

the return of British influence in the Near East during these decades fuelled the crusading imagination. For example, in 1840 and again in 1841, the founder of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, Sir William Hillary, wrote two pamphlets in which he expressed his desire to see the Christian occupation of the Holy Land. He intended to revive the Knights Hospitallers of St John to their former glory and to launch a 'crusade of peace' (Siberry, p.371). Although Hillary never realised this aspiration, he is one example of many nongovernmental factions who influence the way the Holy Land was perceived in British culture (Scholch, p.40). Though the British government considered themselves on the side of the Ottoman Empire against Muhammad Ali, the reforms that were forced through due to British influence in the 1830s and 1840s demonstrated that they were still culturally and religiously in opposition. It was not politically feasible at this point for Britain to officially occupy Egypt or the Levant but by the end of the 1830s crisis Britain had made, as pointed out by Alexander Scholch, a 'religious-cultural penetration' (Scholch, p.41)

An example of this cultural penetration by the British was the sudden growth of tourism to the area. The Levant had become a much safer place for travellers and tourists. In the time which he had possessed control over the region Mohammad Ali expanded the rights of members of the non-Muslim population, and particularly the Christian community, who he protected from open discrimination.¹⁷ This and his tough policing reforms were a means of encouraging, though he never received it, European support. When the Ottoman Empire retook the territories in 1840 they were obliged to maintain these reforms while also allowing for European intervention 'on an unprecedented scale' (Bar-Yosef, p.64). European consulates were established in the Jerusalem for the first time during this period, with

¹⁷ Scholch, Alexander, 'Britain in Palestine', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 22 (1992) 39-56
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2537686>> p.40

Britain's being the first in 1838.¹⁸ This provided the nation with a permanent political influence at the heart of the Holy Land and also promoted safer travel for British tourists. As the Near East made way for British political interests, it subsequently opened up to travellers' interests, and their written accounts about their experiences catered for readers' imaginations at home. The number of books published featuring Palestine, Syria, Egypt and Arabia as their subject went from 181 between 1775 and 1825 up to 870 between 1825 and 1876 published (Bar-Yosef, p.95), which was not only a testament to the number of travellers for whom the Near East was now available, but also Britain's growing cultural influence in the region.

The journeys of Kinglake, Warburton, Thackeray and Martineau were all made possible by the European-influenced modernisation program of Muhammad Ali and the subsequent British-Ottoman political relationship during the 1840s, all of which had been weighted in Britain's favour. So, like many other travel writers who took the Near East as their subject, they were enabled to go there as a consequence of the British political intervention.

However, once these writers had been to the Near East, they became factors in the region's cultural penetration. Their writing communicated a specific impression of the Near East for readers at home, which then allowed those whose minds were already infatuated with medievalism to formulate their own parallels between the crusades and the genuine attainability of Near East. They wrote accounts of their travels at a time when the Crusades were being forged into national identity and when a crusading imperative was being revived among certain religious or imperialistically motivated groups. Nevertheless, each of these writers, when dealing with the Crusades as a part of their journey, treats them with the

¹⁸ Siberry, Elizabeth, 'Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press) p.369

ambivalence I discussed earlier. The crusaders were a part of their history and their selfhood, yet they also threatened to surface as the barbaric Other. For these writers then, travel to the Near East was fraught with connections to a past, which was both a desired aspect of travel yet also threatened to destabilise the boundaries of the self. Travel writing, according to Richard Kerridge, usually displays a combination of desire and anxiety because the desire of the traveller is to make the 'otherness of the world' familiar and no longer threatening, the anxiety, however, surfaces when this world threatens to 'capture', 'contaminate' or absorb the self so that 'its present consciousness' becomes 'imprisoned in a body that had become other'.¹⁹ As a result of this, when the Crusades are referred to in Near Eastern travel writing, they are always distanced or displaced.

For example, Alexander Kinglake avoids altogether any explicit references towards the Crusades in his travel narrative, *Eothen*. Unlike the other writers in this discussion, who demonstrate an overt opinion towards them, he only makes indirect references to them by observing the characteristics of the people he encounters. *Eothen*, which was based on the journey he made to the Near East in 1834 and which was the original Near Eastern travel narrative from which the others here took inspiration, is in this sense unique. In the writer's own words, it is of a 'superficial character' (*Eothen*, p.xx). The other texts here are interspersed with discussions of history and geography, whereas *Eothen* is a more fluid narrative, where at times it is even difficult to distinguish where Kinglake is situated in his progression from Serbia to Cairo and back again. In the preface he forewarns the addressee, assumed to be Warburton, and his readers that, 'from all details of geographical discovery, or antiquarian research, from all display of "sound learning, and religious knowledge", from

¹⁹ Kerridge, Richard, 'Ecologies of Desire', in *Travel Writing and Empire* ed. by Steve Clark (New York : Zed Books, 1999) pp.164-182 p.167

all historical and scientific illustrations, from all useful statistics, from all political disquisitions, and from all good moral reflections, the volume is thoroughly free' (*Eothen*, p.xx). Kinglake is not interested in providing a series of facts, historical anecdotes, or statistics, but is rather more concerned with providing his own personal impressions of the Eastern travel experience. As a consequence, the narrative is absent of any of history of the Crusades or of crusader monuments. However, when Kinglake does refer to the Crusades, it is because they are impressed on him by his encounters with the foreign Other. For Kinglake, the 'ultra-Turkish' looking men who he employs to carry his luggage are Saracenic:

Whether the fellows who now surrounded us were soldiers, or peaceful inhabitants, I did not understand... they seemed as if they were thinking that they would have been more usefully, more honourably, and more piously employed in cutting our throats than in carrying our portmanteaus (*Eothen*,).

And while Europe has long progressed since the days of Crusading he finds that its once violent spirit continues instead in the Christians of the Eastern Church. He observes in Dthemetri, his dragoman (a local guide and interpreter typically employed by European travellers in the Near East) and a member of the Greek church, a primitive cruelty aimed towards the Muslim inhabitants they encounter, for which Kinglake gives him the label of a 'true Crusader'. 'Whenever there appeared a fair opening in the defences of Islam', Kinglake observes, 'he was ready and eager to make the assault' (*Eothen*). Dthemetri's actions are looked upon with disdain by Kinglake, even if they are made on his behalf. It is therefore only with ambivalence that he accepts Dthemetri's behaviour, as he admits 'the practice of intimidation... rendered necessary is utterly hateful to an Englishman' (*Eothen*, p.). Kinglake reinforces his own identity as an Englishman by displacing the barbarism of the Crusades

onto the Oriental Other, whether Christian or Muslim. Furthermore, to distinguish himself from Dthemetri's actions, which as a traveller he is necessarily implicated in, he casts himself as the outsider, standing 'aloof from Dthemetri's crusades' as 'only the death's head and white sheet with which he scared the enemy' (*Eothen*,). In envisioning his own appearance through the eyes of the Orientals as a white death-like figure hovering on the outside of events he is affirming his own Otherness to them. He is on the outside, distanced and dislocated from the East temporally. Steve Clarke highlights this as one of the fundamental characteristics of travel writing. A traveller, by the very nature of their title, keeps moving, '[they] return: their traces are ephemeral. They must remain in order to comprehend, but the simple fact of temporal residence would remove the original frisson of interrogation of and by the other'.²⁰

Warburton's references to the Crusades throughout *The Crescent and the Cross* are significantly more overt. Bar-Yosef highlights how travel writers joined in an 'endless textual procession' (Bar-Yosef, p.65) by repeating the process of one another's journeys, but from this we can also see that travel writers were aiming to replicate footfall across a much wider historical scale. Warburton, for instance, writes, 'All this time you are travelling in the steps of prophets, conquerors, and apostles; perhaps along the very path which the Saviour trod' (*Crescent*, II.17). Warburton assures his readers that he is on the same path of the prophets and the apostles, and not just conquerors. However, when he first gains sight of Jerusalem in the distance his thoughts turn solely to the first impressions of the crusaders:

When the crusading army, thinned by pestilence, privation, and many a battle-field, gazed upon the view before us, that warrior host knelt down as a single man; sobs

²⁰ Clarke, Steve, 'Introduction', in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (New York: Zed Books, 1999) p.17

burst from their mailed bosoms, and tears streamed down their rugged cheeks.

Those tears, and not the blood so profusely shed upon the plains of Palestine, were the true evidences of the Crusading spirit' (*Crescent*, II.41)

Warburton sympathises with the crusaders and their purpose but he is keen to stress the difference between the 'true spirit' of the Crusades and the 'bloody ambition' with which they were carried out (*Crescent*, I.304). As a historian would, he attempts to distinguish why the Crusades went wrong, finding the answer to be with the militarisation of religious orders under the Catholic church. However, he admired the spiritual aim of the Crusades and observes that this same spiritual aim exists presently in the Church of England Missionary Society. So while Warburton firmly distances the Crusades in history, he seeks to re-enact their spirit which he laments the decline in, 'is the old crusading spirit so dead amongst us, that no one will now bear the banner of the Cross once more to Palestine in a purer cause?' (*Crescent*, II.66).

A year on from the publication of Warburton's *The Crescent and the Cross*, William Thackeray published his *Notes on a Journey* which is unique in its methods of distancing the Crusades through parody. His travel narrative, as Brantlinger argues, was a determined attempt to subvert 'the medievalism of [the] reactionary celebrators of the "good old days"... an ironic inversion of the crusading legend made famous by Scott in *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*' (Brantlinger, p.137). For Thackeray modern crusading is not about violent conquest and it is not even about spiritual conquest, it is instead about the spread of civilisation and technology:

Wherever the captain cries "Stop her!" Civilisation stops, and lands in the ship's boat, and makes a permanent acquaintance with the savages on shore. Whole hosts of

crusaders have passed and died, and butchered here in vain. But to manufacture European iron into pikes and helmets was a waste of metal: in the shape of piston-rods and furnace-pokers it is irresistible; and I think an allegory might be made showing how much stronger commerce is than chivalry, and finishing with a grand image of Mahomet's crescent being extinguished in Fulton's boiler (*Notes*, p.)

The P&O steamer is his steed and his umbrella is his sword. Civilisation, according to Thackeray, will do more to conquer Islam than crusading knights ever could or modern Christian missionaries ever will. The medievalist romance is now gone as he observes the faded remnants of chivalry in Malta and Rhodes. In Jerusalem he finds the savage memory of the Crusades in the temple where the knights 'rode knee-deep in the blood of its defenders' (*Notes*,). The reality of the Crusades, he laments, has been obscured by the romantic fictions of writers such as Walter Scott so that people should ignore their own fortune at living in an age of modernity rather than barbarity:

When shall we have a real account of those times and heroes—no good-humoured pageant, like those of the Scott romances—but a real authentic story to instruct and frighten honest people of the present day, and make them thankful that the grocer governs the world now in place of the baron? (*Notes*,p.)

If Thackeray's travelogue is a comic celebration of modernity, then Harriet Martineau's *Eastern Life* is its exact opposite. Martineau is determined to find the origins of the present state of society in the distant past. Her travelogue is as much of a religious and social tract then an account of her journeys. In the temples of Egypt she finds the ruins of statues once worshipped by ancient 'warrior worshippers' which she believes to be the origin for 'consecrating warfare to God':

Such a method of observance, being natural in certain stages of the human mind, is right in its place; — in a temple of Ramases, for instance. The wonder is to find it in the jubilations of Christian armies, in the dispatches of Cromwell, and even in the Prayer-book of the English Church, in direct connection with an acknowledgment of the Prince of Peace, whose kingdom was not of this world. (*Eastern*, p.120)

She observes that the claim of God's will used to justify the Crusades is just as present in today's society as it was in the Middle Ages and before. Crusades, for Martineau, will persist as long as the materialist systems of faith that produce them are maintained. Along with religious idolatry they are a remnant of barbarism that has no interest in perpetuating. However, when she enters the Holy Land she does admit to being surprised by the impulse of the 'crusading spirit' and 'momentary ill-will to the Mohammedans' when she looks down on the city of Hebron, before then checking her feelings:

I was presently ashamed of the absurd and illiberal emotion; and, as I looked upon the minaret, felt that the Mohammedans had as much right to build over sacred places as the Empress Helena: though one must heartily wish they had all let it alone.' (*Eastern*, p.379)

As her words suggest, this ill-will was likely not motivated by any anger towards Islam, as much as it had been directed towards the buildings on the area. After all, she has less sympathy towards the major denominations of Christianity than she has for the Muslims, whose 'Arab intensity', she claims, makes them 'in so far children' (*Eastern*, p.498).

For Martineau the Holy Land was as a land that she associated with biblical memory, which is a concept I will be discussing in the final section of this study. Like so many other British

travellers who arrived in the Near East she was shocked to discover a landscape so different from the one that her imagination had provided her with. Having now discussed the attitudes of traveller's towards the Crusades and where they situated their self in relation to them I will now be moving on to discuss the relationship between the traveller and their awareness of space, and the role their perception of time played in affecting sense of self in the Near East.

Section Two: Resistance in the Historic Orient

In *Medievalism and Orientalism* John Ganim writes, 'the Middle Ages and the Orient are parallel universes... But most strikingly the Medieval is accorded a direct connection to modernity, explaining the origin of national and civic identity, while the Orient is a living museum of the past, bracketed off from modern development or even excluded from the potential for development' (Ganim, p.87). Now that I have established the effects of medievalism on the identity of travellers during the first half of the nineteenth century, and travel writing's negotiation of the Crusades as an act of barbarism, I will move on to examine how portrayals of the Near East in travel writing were treated as similarly Medieval, yet set aside exclusively from modern European identity.

In his seminal postcolonial text, *Orientalism*, Edward Said argues that the Near East, or, the Orient, functioned as an 'Other' against which the imperialist nations of Europe constructed a self-image of superiority. Focussing much of his discussion on literary representations of the Near East, he finds that Orientalist representations of the region perpetuated a binary structure that promoted the distinction between the familiar, which was Europe, the West, or 'us' and the strange, which was the Orient, the East, or 'them' (Said, 43). This divide between East and West was not only a physical or geographical one but rather an imaginative construct that relied on the notion of temporal distance. Here I will discuss how British travel writers in the Near East negotiated space in search of the past while accommodating for a process that Nigel Leask has termed 'temporal exchange',²¹ which is understood here to be the exchange of Western modernity for Oriental antiquity. My aim here is to not only to establish how travel writers denied Eastern modernity in favour of an

²¹ Leask Nigel, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing* (Oxford :Oxford University Press, 2005)p.52-53

'authentic' or 'pure' Eastern antiquity but also to demonstrate that even antiquity was a culturally ambivalent notion which threatened to destabilise the fantasy of difference.

Kinglake's *Eothen* is an excellent example of how Orientalism in travel literature not only perpetuated the idea of neat geographical boundaries but also the disjointed nature of time at the borders separating East from West. In the opening chapter, appropriately titled 'Over the Border', Kinglake recalls the scene as he looked across the border from Austria-Hungary towards Ottoman Serbia:

At Semlin I still was encompassed by the scenes and the sounds of familiar life; the din of a busy world still vexed and cheered me; the unveiled faces of women still shone in the light of day. Yet, whenever I chose to look southward, I saw the Ottoman's fortress—austere, and darkly impending high over the vale of the Danube—historic Belgrade. I had come, as it were, to the end of this wheel-going Europe, and now my eyes would see the splendour and havoc of the East. (*Eothen*,)

The border zone here, while functioning as a real geopolitical border, can be interpreted in this portrayal as a divide conjured up in Kinglake's imagination. In contrast with the 'Busy', 'light', and, 'wheel-going' Europe he constructs an 'Austere', 'dark', and 'historic' Ottoman Empire; this is an Oriental horizon that projects backwards in time. As Andrew Hammond points out, 'the border crossing is not the first sighting of a cultural Other that only properly emerges within the territory before one, but is already the site of absolute otherness, the pure presence of exoticism and barbarity'.²² Even without having prior experience of the real Near East, travellers would have had particular expectations of a pre-Orientalised region beyond the border; expectations which were embedded in Western consciousness by

²² Hammond, Andrew, 'Frontier Myths: Travel Writing on Europe's Eastern Border' in *Myths of Europe* ed. by Richard Littlejohns & Sara Soncini 197-213 (2007) p.198

what Said calls 'latent Orientalism' (Said, 2006); the unspoken and persistent collective certainty in the East's otherness.

The Near East, however, is an ambivalent geographical space where the Self and Other are easily confounded. As Billie Melman argues, for travellers, whether conscious of this or not, it was a 'border zone', which was as much a part of Europe as it was of the Orient; 'it was *of* the West, yet *outside* it'.²³ As well as forming a geographical midpoint between Europe and Asia, the Near East, as Linda Colley states, had shared a long history of 'religious, cultural, and political exchanges with the West'.²⁴ Colley argues that it had been 'the familiar face of Islam' in Europe, and especially for Britain, which throughout the eighteenth century relied on Islamic regional powers as 'vital auxiliaries' to their territorial presence in the Mediterranean (Colley, p.103). Furthermore, the various events in the early nineteenth century that constituted the Eastern Question, which I discussed earlier, required significant military and diplomatic collaboration between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, which in turn facilitated the processes of modernisation and westernisation, or as Brantlinger calls them, different 'names for the same revolutionary process' (Brantlinger, p.139), throughout Egypt and the Levant. This, of course, was only modern history; the greatest significance the Near East would have had to the European traveller was its biblical connections, and even they were sharing space on the site of origin for the world's three primary monotheistic religions. At this point then I will be addressing the following questions: When, considering the long history of relations between East and West, did the traveller's association of the modern Near East with past originate? And why was Islam, which for so long had been a

²³ Melman, Billie, 'The Middle East/Arabia: 'The Cradle of Islam'', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* ed. by Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press) p.105

²⁴ Colley, Linda, *Captives* (London : Jonathan Cape, 2002) p.103

legitimate threat to the European powers in the Mediterranean, cut off from 'modern history and socio-political circumstance'? (Said, p.260)

Edward Said points us in the direction of the emergence of modern Orientalist discourse and the accompanying potential for imperialist enterprise during the early-nineteenth century (Said, p.41). Orientalism was a turn away from such notions of dependence on, or equality with, the Islamic Near East as Europe started to become confident in the belief of its own cultural superiority. In the arts and in scholarship writers began to employ a number of negative idioms related to human and societal development when alluding to the Orient and these included terms such as 'childlike', 'savage', 'barbaric', and 'backwards'. Though terms like this had been used to describe the inhabitants of Islamic nations beyond Europe before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were now being used in the context of post-Enlightenment thought. The Enlightenment re-evaluation of historical analysis and time, which gave birth to the Whig interpretation of history that I elaborated on in the previous section, meant that these derogatory terms were now related to a position on a grand universal scale of progress. The Enlightenment, according to Johannes Fabian, marked the point when 'faith in salvation' was replaced with this new 'faith in progress'.²⁵ The commonly accepted version of Christian time, with salvation at its core, was 'secularised' as natural history, and salvation, which had been its epitome, was replaced by civilisation. This concept of time can be understood as single line of evolutionary progression on which various cultures across the world are positioned based on their stage in cultural development. Fabian, drawing parallels with the theory of relativity, refers to this as the 'positional relativity of the experience of Time'. Civilised Europe, as the Enlightenment culture, unquestionably took its position at the 'end' of the line (present/modernity), while

²⁵ Fabian, Johannes, *Time and the Other* (New York : Columbia University Press) p.26

the Orient was situated further back towards the beginning of this line (past/antiquity) (Fabian, 26-9). In observing the effects of this split in time on the division of European and Oriental cultures in Orientalist discourse, John Hobson refers to it as the 'Peter Pan Theory', which was the belief that the Orient had not matured, instead remaining underdeveloped, while the West maintained its way on the path of progress since the Middle Ages and into 'the blinding light and warmth of capitalist modernity'.²⁶

Orientalist discourse was sustained by this all-encompassing and singularly Western perspective of cultural development, as it had severed the temporal links that held the modern Near East in parallel with the modern West. Tourists to the Near East were just as, if not more conscious, of their movement through culturally conceived time zones of Western 'present' and Oriental 'past' than geographical borders and their observations of cultural difference became based on the 'temporalization of space' (Leask, p.46). Furthermore, by distancing themselves from their subject through the perception of time, tourists compensated for the distance that had been lost between themselves and the Orient in terms of physical space. By exaggerating the distance in historical time between Europe and the Orient, temporalisation contributed towards the production of 'imaginative geography and history', which Said defines as the mental construction of a space occupied exclusively by the traveller's imagination (Said, p.55).

Travellers from Britain journeyed to the Near East expecting to find a culture rooted in its antiquity. It promised 'an authenticity of being, which the ever more urbanized nineteenth century lacked', states Geoffrey Nash, 'it was a destination whose allure resided in its

²⁶ Hobson, John, *The Eastern Origins of Western Culture* (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.8

capacity to satisfy Westerner's search after some kind of original'.²⁷ So when they encountered the reality of a modernised or 'inauthentic' East they were naturally disillusioned. British travel writers in the 1830s and 1840s especially found that they were negotiating a space that was tied to *their* present, and as familiar as it was foreign. The increasing tourist, commercial, and political contact between Europe and the Ottoman Empire saw that the romantic image of an authentic and purely Oriental Near East was eventually tainted by knowledge through experience, as well as encroaching Western modernity in the region. For example, the Egyptian cities of Alexandria, and Cairo were major commercial hubs and tourist hotspots that sustained Europe's, and more vitally Britain's, connection to India. This was something that travellers in Egypt, such as Harriet Martineau, were especially aware of. She wrote, 'there is seldom a time when many English do not meet at Cairo... some coming from home on their way to India, or for traveling objects, and others arriving from India for health or holiday' (*Eastern*,). Although it would be another forty years before Britain officially occupied Egypt, it was already transforming into a cultural extension with its own 'agreeable society' (*Eastern*,) .

Seeing modern Egypt for themselves, travel writers became aware of the discrepancies between the romance and the reality, or the past and the present, as the titles of Martineau's and Eliot Warburton's travel narratives seem to suggest, and their writing displayed the conflict between their expectations of an imagined past-Orient and the modern reality with which they were faced. This is clearly more noticeable in travellers' descriptions of urban spaces and the major cities, Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, and Jerusalem. When faced with what they considered to be an unsightly, modern, and familiar

²⁷ Nash, Geoffrey, Politics, Aesthetics and Quest in British Travel Writing on the Middle East in *Travel Writing in The Nineteenth Century* ed. by Tim Youngs (London : Anthem Press) pp. 55-71 p.56

reality, travel writers were likely to psychically excavate it through temporalisation in order to convey the Orient of their own expectations. This was a typical part of the Orientalist mindset according to Said who recognises such discrepancies in travel writing where the modern Orient would dispute the imagination and send the traveller's mind back into the imagination where their own conception of the Orient, their 'real' Orient, resided (Said, p.101).

An instance of this can be found in Kinglake's overstated manifestation of the past-Orient on the borders of Europe. However, it was evidently more difficult for later travel writers to negotiate their way to a past-Orient, as their narratives reveal that they struggled in coming to terms with the lack of a past grandeur when first arriving in Egypt. On arrival in Alexandria by steamers from the Mediterranean they found that their first experiences of the Near East were quite the opposite of authentic. Thackeray, for example, expresses his astonishment at the city's Englishness when he finds the atmosphere of the port to be comparable with that of 'the dockyard quay at Portsmouth':

There are slop-sellers, dealers in marine-stores, bottled-porter shops, seamen lolling about; flys and cabs are plying for hire; and a yelling chorus of donkey-boys, shrieking, "Ride, sir!—Donkey, sir!—I say, sir!" in excellent English, dispel all romantic notions. The placid sphinxes brooding o'er the Nile disappeared with that shriek of the donkey-boys. You might be as well impressed with Wapping as with your first step on Egyptian soil. (*Notes* ,)

The stark reality of Alexandria wiped out any notions of romantic scenery for Thackeray, as it also did for Eliot Warburton and Harriet Martineau, who present it as the most disappointingly unromantic location in their travels. Both writers comment on its

'dreariness', which Martineau suspects to be 'induced' rather than of nature, 'If we could have stood on this spot no longer ago than the times of the Ptolemies', she writes, 'it would have been more difficult to conceive of the present desolation of the scene than it now is to imagine the city in the days of its grandeur' (*Eastern*, 23). Warburton expresses a struggle with his imagination too in trying to find room for the Alexandria that he knows from the history books:

Though earth and sea remain unchanged, imagination can scarcely find a place for the ancient walls, fifteen miles in circumference; the vast streets, through the vista of whose marble porticoes the galleys on Lake Mareotis exchanged signals with those at seas; the magnificent temple of Serapis on its platform of one hundred steps; the four thousand palaces, and the homes of six hundred thousand inhabitants. (*Crescent*, I.25)

Past and modernity are at odds here; to borrow Fabian's space/time physics terminology, it is impossible for the two Alexandrias, one ancient and one modern, to exist in the same space at the same time and so the easiest option for these travel writers is to 'manipulate the other variable – Time' (Fabian, 29-30). Of course this was a much simpler undertaking in mountain ranges, plains and other natural landscapes, which were freer from the human and material obstructions that clashed with touristic imagination. This is why Warburton returns to find Alexandria even more 'familiar and almost European' (*Crescent*, 274) after spending three months exploring the ancient ruins, towns, and villages along the Nile in Upper Egypt.

Urban environments have more potential to be disappointing in travel writing because they reflect the already familiar modernity of Europe. In his study of nineteenth-century tourism

in Oriental cities, Mark Mazower agrees that it is the European tourist's fascination with the past over the present that prevents them from taking any interest in urban culture, unless, that is, it confirmed their prejudices of the Orient.²⁸ When the urban spaces of the Near East were of interest to travellers it was because the streets and their inhabitants evoked the scenes and characters from the tales in the *Arabian Nights*. This collection of ancient and medieval stories inspired translations by a number of European Orientalists since the beginning of the seventeenth century, which almost certainly raises questions about their status as authentically Oriental; however, they were embedded in tourists' imaginations as *the* authentic model for medieval Islam, the 'benighted nonprogressive' model of the east, which tourists sought after (Brantlinger, p.143).

Each of the travel writers discussed here employs the *Arabian Nights* in some way to enhance their portrayal of Oriental city life, apart from Kinglake that is, whose narrative, to state it mildly, is more self-centred than the others; he uses it as a prop in his own performance, 'I gladly reclined on my divan... with the "Arabian Nights" in my hand (Eothen,). Martineau, however, uses it to convey her view of Cairo, and though she is unable to describe the beauty of the light and atmosphere, she suspects that the city will be easily 'imagined at a distance' for her readers, provided that they have already obtained 'the notions of a mosque, a bazaar and an eastern house' from the *Nights'* illustrations (*Eastern*, 246). Warburton evokes the stories when entering Cairo and again later when he stays in Damascus; in Cairo the street becomes a scene, with 'Water-carriers, calenders, Armenians, barbers, - all the dramatis personae of the Arabian Nights' (*Crescent*, I. 47), and in the 'more thoroughly Oriental' Damascus he claims, 'not only do you hear their fantastic tales

²⁸ Mazower, Mark, Travellers and the Oriental City, c. 1840-1920, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), 59-111 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3679341>> p.76

repeated to rapt audiences in the coffee-houses, but you see them hourly exemplified in living scenes' (Warburton, 153-4).

Derek Gregory highlights the performative aspect of Oriental city space for travel writers, noting that they 'scripted the scene as theatre and constituted local people as actors' while they themselves were the 'audience'.²⁹ He claims that, by projecting the *Arabian Nights* onto the city streets, travel writers 'domesticated' the exoticism of the Orient, 'making it both attractive and innocuous' (Gregory, p.143). For example, Warburton knows the space in his mind when he describes the streets as 'strange to your eye, yet familiar to your imagination' (*Crescent*, 151). And for Thackeray the *Arabian Nights* are associated with the fantasies of his own and his readers' youths:

'try one DIP into Constantinople or Smyrna. Walk into the bazaar, and the East is unveiled to you: how often and often have you tried to fancy this, lying out on a summer holiday at school! It is wonderful, too, how LIKE it is: you may imagine that you have been in the place before, you seem to know it so well! (*Notes*,).

The *Nights* were both domestic and foreign, they were a text that evoked both childhood memory and the medieval Orient. Despite diverting the tourist's thoughts to a medieval Orient of the imagination – a darker, dangerous, yet more exciting past – the evocation of the *Arabian Nights* in travel writing also carried the imagination off to memories more immediate and personal, memories which were homely and reassuring. However, as Robert Hampson points out, 'the real city of trade and activity struggles against the projection of

²⁹ Gregory, Derek, 'Scripting Egypt', in *Writes of Passage* ed. by James Duncan & Derek Gregory (London : Routledge, 1999) 114-151 p. 142

childhood fancies.³⁰ The real lives of the present-day people are irrelevant to the travel writer if they do not in some way relinquish to the past, whether this past was fictional fantasy, as in the *Arabian Nights*, or whether it referred even further back to the ancient civilisations.

Travellers in the Near East, and in Egypt especially, found that they needed to travel outside of the city spaces to experience the more 'authentic' Oriental landscape which they could claim to know, or even better, which they could claim some shared origin in without having to align themselves with the state of modern Egyptians. As John Barrell states 'distinction between the modern and the ancient Egyptian seems to do duty... as a distinction between East and West'.³¹ In the absence of the modern Orient and its modern inhabitants British travellers did not have to contend with the artificial landscapes, which disturbed their views of natural unchanging landscapes and ruins, and with the temporal clash which brought modern Egypt into contact with modern Europe.

The Nile provided the best opportunity for travellers in Egypt to escape from the Western-influenced city spaces and to find the scenery which would take them back to the civilisations of Ancient Egypt. Warburton and Martineau both took boat trips into Upper Egypt along the River Nile and found the sites there to be of much greater interest. For Warburton specifically it was the lifestyle of the Nile trip that provided a real Near Eastern experience; he asks his readers, 'Has society palled upon you? Have the week-day struggles of the world made you wish for some short sabbath of repose?' He then recommends to them that the solution is a trip on the Nile, which seems to provide escape from the

³⁰ Hampson, Robert, 'From Cornhill to Cairo: Thackeray as Travel-Writer', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 34, (2004) 214-229 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3509495>> p. 28

³¹ Barrell, John 'Death on the Nile: Fantasy and the Literature of Tourism', in *Cultures of Empire* ed. by Catherine Hall (Manchester : Manchester University Press, 2000) p.188

scheduled and busy life of Western modernity, 'As you recede from Europe further and further on, towards the silent regions of the Past, you live more and more in the Past' (*Crescent*, l.113-114). The Nile is referred to almost as if it were a time machine which takes travellers out of bounds from regular temporal structures and closer to the past and it is interesting to note that it is still often referred to as doing so in tourist brochures today.

The ancient ruins, the temples, the pyramids, and the sphinx are the real Egypt to these travellers. As John Urry explains in *The Tourist Gaze* (2002), 'tourism involves the collection of signs', these signs are then communicated and repeated through different mediums, in this instance travel literature, and used to construct the tourist gaze which fixes onto the landscape or scenery what it considers to be *the* authentic identity of a location.³²

Travellers therefore fix and claim these sites in their imagination. The sites of ancient Egypt are given significant amount of attention in Martineau's narrative, so much so that Inderpal Grewal argues that she is more 'interested in the ancient monuments and history' than she is in 'Egypt's modern inhabitants'.³³ Martineau's primary desire is to preserve these monuments. She expresses her displeasure at finding the names of tourists carved into the ruins, and asks if such graffiti could ever be committed in Westminster Abbey (*Eastern*, 155). By considering herself as a would-be protector and restorer of the ancient sites, Martineau places herself in a position of privilege. She wishes for 'a great winnowing fan, such as would, without injury to human eyes and lungs, blow away the sand which buries the monuments of Egypt' (*Eastern*, p.45). However, as a traveller, who would have to leave it behind, she recognises that for now it is best left untouched under the fine preservative that is the sand. She acknowledges that there is as of yet no means by which it can be recovered

³² Urry, John, *The Tourist Gaze (Second Edition)*, (London: Sage, 2002) p.3

³³ Grewal, Inderpal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and Cultures of Travel* (Duke University Press, 1996) p.84

and even if it were, she considers the current inhabitants 'from their ignorance' not 'worthy as spectators' (*Eastern*, p.46).

Martineau finds a connection with the ancient residents of ancient Egypt that she cannot bring herself to find in its modern residents, which is most likely why she claims a privilege to the ruins and sites. She instead makes connections between the characteristics of these remnants of civilisation and their continuation through Western civilisation. She writes that Egypt is the country from which 'all art is derived' and she recognises the Gothic spire to be an 'attenuated obelisk' (*Eastern*, p.50). She expresses a typical Whig interpretation of history where the modes of life of the ancient Egyptian merge into the present day. In one instance she finds the tomb of a wealthy ancient Egyptian and compares his life to that of a contemporary English gentleman:

Here are the life and death of a man who lived so long ago that at the first mention of him, we think of him as one having no kindred with us. But how like ours were his life and death! Compare him with a retired naval officer made country gentleman in our day, and in how much less do they differ than agree!' (*Eastern*, p.155)

The modern Egyptians appear to have no place in this history as theirs was severed off from this evolutionary process of civilisation. Warburton hints that he is of a similar opinion on this topic when he states that the end of the Crusades saw the split of East and West, 'the Crescent shone triumphantly over the whole of Palestine: by such as light History has never been able to see her way' (*Crescent*, II.63). This, however, is not to say he does not recognise the seed of Eastern culture planted in the West before Crusaders' defeat. He meets an Arab physician in Damascus whom he comments to that all knowledge of

chemistry and astrology came from the Arabs, but the reply he receives once more reveals a typically Orientalist inflection in the text:

he said that Arab science was only like water when it came to use in Frangistan: “you put fire under it and turn it into steam” “you English know all things, and can do what you please; you know more of us than we do of ourselves” (*Crescent*, II.158)

The Near East promised to represent a past unchanged, or ‘a living museum of the past’, precisely because modern Orientalism perpetuated the idea of a point of severance between the East and West at the end of the Crusades. The barbarian Crusader was left behind temporally in the West and he was left behind geographically in the Near East. The ancient and medieval Near East fed into Western civilisation and they also fed into the modern British traveller’s conception of themselves, which is why it was something they believed they could unearth from the modern Orient and claim familiarity with. As a consequence of this, travellers heading to the Near East in the mid-nineteenth century expected to find an Eastern Middle Ages that had been contiguous with their own but were instead unsettled by the experience of modernity. The Middle Ages were therefore, as John Ganim points out, ‘native’ in both senses of the word (Ganim, p.107).

Section Three: Imaginary Conflict in the Holy Land

If the Near East was a geographical and temporal border zone in travel writing, where space and time became conflated, then the Holy Land was a border zone within this border zone. In his study of the Holy Land in English culture, Eitan Bar-Yosef states that the Holy Land is a unique space in postcolonial discourse because it 'resists any clear cut division between Occident and Orient'. He states that due to 'its geographical location, historical heritage, and most significantly, its scriptural aura' it 'offers an exceptionally forceful challenge' to the binary logic of Orientalism (Bar-Yosef, pp.8-9). He argues that it avoids being classified under typical Orientalist discourse and instead becomes a site of 'Vernacular Orientalism', a process by which the Holy Land, rather than being rejected as Other, is accommodated for by the traveller, it is 'domesticated, and internalized, becoming an integral part of the Western Self' (Bar-Yosef, p.12). In this final section I will be using Bar-Yosef's reading of the Holy Land to assess the ways in which British traveller's experienced the Holy Land, and I will also be paying attention to the difficulties of imaginatively appropriating its space with the previous section's discussion of urban and rural space in mind.

As the site of origin for the three monotheistic religions of the world and the site of shared national histories for both Eastern and Western nations, the Holy Land had the capacity to encourage a wide variety of thoughts for the traveller, and for the British traveller these would have been either biblical, crusading, or both. These were the two most prominent time periods portrayed in British literature on Palestine during the nineteenth century according Beshara Doumani,³⁴ which was no doubt a consequence of medievalism's popularity and the political and cultural influences that were settling in the Holy Land and

³⁴ Doumani, Beshara, 'Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestinians into History', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 21, (1992) 5-28 p.8

the rest of the Near East from the 1830s onwards. However, we must ask why the Holy Land was once more a site of importance in British culture, when for centuries it had been ignored in post-reformation England. We only have to look to John Bunyan's *The Pilgrims Progress* published in 1678, to understand the role of pilgrimage in protestant culture, it was no longer a physical journey made to the Holy City but rather a metaphor for an internalised and spiritual journey of the Self. The British no longer looked to Jerusalem, that distant site in the Near East, for spiritual salvation when it could be found at home. As Linda Colley explains, they believed themselves 'to be in God's special care' and that 'their land was nothing less than another and better Israel'.³⁵ By the early nineteenth century William Blake demonstrated that this line of thinking was still as strong as it had been a hundred years earlier in his preface to *Milton a Poem*:

I will not cease from Mental Fight,

Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand:

Till we have built Jerusalem,

In Englands green & pleasant Land³⁶

Jerusalem was to found in England, rather than Palestine, and it was to be negotiated as a mental and spiritual landscape with the aid of scripture. Anouar Majid identifies this as the process of Vernacular Orientalism as conceived of by Bar-Yosef, as it was primarily through print culture that the Holy Land was incorporated into the 'process of internalization'. With

³⁵ Colley, Linda, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven ; London : Yale University Press, 1992) pp.28-30

³⁶ Blake, William, 'Milton a Poem', copy B, object 2, in *The William Blake Archive*, ed. by Bentley, Erdman & Keynes <<http://www.blakearchive.org>> [Last accessed 31/08/12] .41-44

this 'the Orient was displaced and inserted in the West'.³⁷ Travelling to the Holy Land for spiritual purposes had been a Catholic pursuit and because of this, Protestant travellers to the Near East before the nineteenth century would have been necessarily cautious as to how their journey might be perceived. Eliot Warburton makes it clear in his own travelogue that the last time in memory when Christians left England for Palestine they had worshipped it as a 'geographical object of idolatry' (*Crescent*, I.303), a treatment of the land which he cautions eventually resulted in the Crusades.

Nevertheless, by the 1840s the Crusades in British culture were being stripped of their associations with Catholicism, religious fanaticism, and bloodshed and the Holy Land was being imagined less as a site of pilgrimage and more so within a new context of geopolitics. British travel writers were therefore able to journey to the Near East and particularly the Holy Land without too much anxiety. The political reality of the Holy Land though, was that its geographical and material value was still less significant than its spiritual value. Doumani states that its religious and symbolic significance to the West still outweighed its material status because it 'was small in size and of unexceptional economic potential (Doumani, p.7). And even though Britain's imperial prospects were looking promising, especially in the direction of East, Bar-Yosef concurs that 'while it could well have been a glittering gem in Britain's imperial crown... it was certainly not the Jewel'.³⁸ If it were to be presented in Imperial terms then it could not be discussed in its own value but rather as an outpost, a 'means of attaining an altogether greater promise' (Bar-Yosef; 2003, p.35).

³⁷ Majid, Anouar, 'The Political Geography of Holiness', *Am Lit Hist*, 21(2009), 633-646
<<http://alh.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/3/633.short?rss=1>> p.634

³⁸ Bar-Yosef, Eitan, 'Christian Zionism and Victorian Culture', in *Israel Studies*, 8 (2003), 18-44
<<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/is/summary/v008/8.2yosef.html>> p.35

There is no evident imperialising motive by British travel writers in the Holy Land simply because there is no material value to be gained from it as land. Thackeray notes that, apart from a very small number of 'green and fresh' patches, Jerusalem is surrounded by 'Parched mountains, with a grey bleak olive-tree trembling here and there; savage ravines and valleys, paved with tombstones—a landscape unspeakably ghastly and desolate (*Notes*,.) Warburton's observation of the surrounding geography is just as negative:

No river nor stream nor any stream flows by; no fertility surrounds it, no commerce is able to approach its walls, no thoroughfare of nations it finds in the way. It seems to stand apart from the world, exempt from its passions, its ambitions, and even its prosperity... it stands solitary, and removed from all secular influences, and receives only those who come to worship at its mysteries (*Crescent*, II.44-5)

Warburton's description is evidently a separation of its positive spiritual value from its political and commercial value, which are in the negative. At the same time it can be seen that these descriptions greatly underplay any spiritual desire for the aesthetics of the land. For Thackeray this is especially the case, as he can only seem to associate the city with death; In the streets he recalls the scenes of massacres from the Old Testament where 'Fear and blood, crime and punishment, follow from page to page in frightful succession', he recalls scenes of Crusader 'butchery', and 'in the centre of this History of Crime rises up the Great Murder of all...' (*Notes*, p.). When the real streets of Jerusalem have been awash with so much blood the spiritual becomes preferable for Thackeray.

As in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria, where modernity and the familiar resisted the traveller's imaginary geography, the city of Jerusalem rejects the traveller's notion of a spiritual and scriptural landscape. In a site as physically contested, and as physically

constructed to reflect this contestation, as Jerusalem, British travel writers find it difficult to lay a spiritual claim. The streets are crowded with Catholics of the Latin and of the Greek churches, Muslims, and Jews, all fighting for their space within the walls which is endlessly conveyed to the Protestant traveller as base idolatry. Kinglake and Thackeray both describe the disorienting nature of this space when they each go looking for the recognisable imaginary past-spaces of their minds. Kinglake, at one point finding himself weary of the crowds, decides to escape from the confines of the city, which he portrays as a vast indoor space, to go for a ride to Mount Calvary, yet when he asks his dragoman to procure some horses he is met with the reply, 'Mount Calvary, signor?—eccolo! *it is upstairs—on the first floor*'. External space and inside space suddenly become confounded and everything begins to take on an artificial quality, 'In effect you ascend, if I remember rightly, just thirteen steps, and then you are shown the now golden sockets in which the crosses of our Lord and the two thieves were fixed. (*Eothen*,). Thackeray, after growing used to this characteristic of the city and its holy sites, expresses his shock when for once he discovers a landmark which has not been confined to an interior:

Above the Tomb of the Saviour, the cupola is OPEN, and you see the blue sky overhead. Which of the builders was it that had the grace to leave that under the high protection of Heaven, and not confine it under the mouldering old domes and roofs, which cover so much selfishness, and uncharitableness, and imposture?
(*Notes*,)

After staying in the city for a longer period of time, Kinglake eventually declares himself as having become a 'man about town' but as he becomes physically familiar with his surroundings it is not because they correspond to his notion of spiritual geography, but that

they instead correspond to his notion of London geography. Due to its built-up artificiality Jerusalem loses its religious value and becomes as like any other urban space:

Your club is the great Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where everybody meets everybody every day. If you lounge through the town, your Bond Street is the Via Dolorosa, and the object of your hopeless affections is some maid or matron all forlorn, and sadly shrouded in her pilgrim's robe. (*Eothen*,)

The city has such a disillusioning impact on British travel writers because, as Majid claims, their Jerusalem was constructed from 'the sacred geography of the Sunday school curricula' (Majid, p.634). 'Sacred geography', as a scriptural and spiritual concept, has no basis in physical geography but the British, as I have already acknowledged, had come to associate Jerusalem with the landscape and feelings connected to home. First I will examine this memorial connection before moving on to discuss the role of landscape in domestic and nationalist attachments.

In Edward Said's article, *Invention, Memory, and Place* (2000), he focuses his attention on the construction of a collective memory through which people identify with one another or certain groups. He states, 'The invention of tradition is a method for using collective memory selectively by manipulating certain bits of the national past, suppressing others, elevating still others in an entirely functional way'.³⁹ For Britain, then, the Holy Land remained the constant in its national identity and it was only the manipulation of the traditions surrounding the Holy Land that changed. For the sake of stability of national identity, post-reformation England was required to maintain its connection with the Holy City while redefining the tradition of pilgrimage to distance itself from Catholicism. From

³⁹ Said, Edward, 'Invention, Memory, and Place', *Critical Inquiry*, 26 (2000) 175-192
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1344120>> p.179

this the tradition of 'sacred geography' was constructed, and through repetition over the centuries in texts and other modes of communication it became collective memory. This is why the physical experience of Jerusalem becomes disconcerting for the British traveller, because they are forced to confront and re-enact a history that has become Other.

Jerusalem in reality is not the spiritual or anglicised space British travellers expect because their collective memory of the city has convinced them that it is something different. It does not reflect their national identity. Warburton and Martineau both write of their expectations of the Holy Land and Jerusalem before they arrive and the impressions of their childhood on shaping these expectations. Warburton writes:

The first impressions of childhood are connected with that scenery; and infant lips in England's prosperous homes pronounce with reverence the names of forlorn Jerusalem and Galilee. We still experience a sort of patriotism for Palestine, and feel that the scenes enacted here were performed for the whole family of man'
(*Crescent*, I.304)

Having read and pronounced in English the names of Jerusalem and Galilee from childhood, he acknowledges some kind of affiliative belonging to the region, as the acts performed there by Jesus were 'for the whole family of man'. Martineau too draws on her childhood memories as she discusses with her companion travellers the nearing opportunity to trace these memories throughout the city:

There we were comparing the impressions of our childhood about the story of Jesus, and the emotions and passions that history had excited in us; and we saw, the while,

the breaking up of the camp, and the leading forth of the camels which were soon to set us down on his native soil, and possibly near some of his haunts (*Eastern*, p.372)

Bar-Yosef states that it is this nostalgia, which was made up of the memories of childhood, Sunday school, family bible and more importantly home, is where the 'notion of Jerusalem in England fed into the actual encounter with the land' (Bar-Yosef, p.88). This same process is also recognised in theories of nationalism by Anthony D. Smith who discusses it under the label of 'territorialization of memory'.⁴⁰ He defines this as:

[A] process by which particular places evoke a series of memories, handed down through the generations, and it summarizes a tendency to root memories of persons and events in particular places and through them create a field or zone of powerful and peculiar attachments' (Smith, p.134)

Both perspectives provide a useful way to assess travellers' reactions to their surroundings in the Holy Land. These travel writers expect the scenery of the Holy Land to evoke a particular set of memories and to strengthen their attachment to the Holy Land and their nation at the same time. However, as it was in Egypt, the urban space and its variety of inhabitants refuses to correlate with the memory and so disturbs the traveller's belief in the authenticity of their own identity. This is very similar to the Orientalist's conflict between romantic imagination and reality, as the mind will always try to seek a pathway back to the memory or imagination.

We can see that this happens through the travellers' desire to escape the interior of Jerusalem and to find natural spaces on its outskirts, spaces which are 'so blank to the eye, yet so full of meaning to the heart' (*Crescent*, II.42-43). These seemingly unchanged

⁴⁰ Smith, Anthony D., *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2003) p.134

geographical spots provide relief from exterior interference while allowing the traveller to internalise their environment and regain their sense of control over it. Following her experience of the city Martineau, who as a Unitarian disliked material religions and ceremony altogether, refers to it as 'the heathen metropolis of Christendom', and rather than be dictated to by the manmade environment she turns to the natural environs where she is free to project her own version of Jerusalem, 'While wandering among the great natural objects, — the valleys, pools, and hills which superstition cannot meddle with or disguise, all was right, we could recognise for ourselves the haunts of Jesus, and enter into his thoughts.' (*Eastern*, p.432).

Bar-Yosef recognises that heights and open spaces seem to benefit travel writers in enacting the process of Vernacular Orientalism because from a distance the distinction between nature and artifice is lessened and so can be more easily accommodated into the imagination. The typical English depiction of the landscape, he states, is 'shaped by this all engulfing gaze, dismissing the tiny man-made monuments in favour of the panoramic view as a whole' (Bar-Yosef, p.79). This is very similar to Mary Louise Pratt's conception of the 'seeing-man', 'the white male subject of European landscape discourse... whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess'.⁴¹ However, as I have already stated, the Holy Land seems to elude traditional imperialist discourse on the basis of its spiritual significance. Especially as it is already a contested site from which the English traveller appears to be physically excluded. Kinglake's panoramic gaze across the Sea of Galilee is particularly interesting to Bar-Yosef. Kinglake positions himself in the position he imagines Jesus to have stood on and he looks over the stretch of water below and to the East. He admits that his

⁴¹ Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (2nd edition) (New York : Routledge, 2008) p.9

view should evoke the traditional 'historical associations of the place', but he cannot control his thoughts which travel back to the lakes of England, 'There she lay, the Sea of Galilee. Less stern than Wast Water, less fair than gentle Windermere, she had still the winning ways of an English lake' (*Eothen*, pp.93-4). Bar-Yosef notes that Kinglake 'gazes eastwards, only to direct his inner vision westwards' which is why the landscape is 'suddenly Anglicized'

In the open and barren, and therefore uncontested, spaces of the Holy Land the travel writer is more comfortable. In these spaces comparisons can be made to home. If we look at Martineau's journey towards Jerusalem and then compare it to her passage out away from it as a final example of Vernacular Orientalism at work, we can determine that ultimately Jerusalem refuses to be claimed exclusively by any community, either by imaginary or physical will. When she enters the Holy Land the wilds are 'all very like home, — like the wilder parts of England, except for our Arab train, and the talk about wild Bedouens, for whom our scouts were carefully on the look-out' (*Eastern*, 377). Then Jerusalem becomes the point of contestation and disturbs this construction of home. However, when leaving Jerusalem she once more finds space to Anglicize, describing the scenery as she head out from the shadow of the city as 'becoming' 'so like that of the outskirts of an English park, as to give us the same home-feeling that we had in meeting familiar weeds on our entrance into the Holy Land.' (*Eastern Life*, p.464)

Conclusion

In his study of medievalism and Orientalism, John Ganim writes:

since the Renaissance there has been a sometimes implicit and sometimes explicit debate as to whether the Middle Ages was a continuation or an interruption in the development of Western culture, whether it was indigenous or local, the very point of origin of the modern nation on the one hand, or whether it was foreign and imposed, the result of contamination by outside forces on the other.' (Ganim, p.107)

The Middle Ages were a natural source of anxiety during the first half of the nineteenth century and their surfacing in popular culture only threatened to highlight the possibility of 'un-pure' origins in Western Civilisation. Similarly the Crusades and the 'crusading spirit' were ambivalent terms which at once symbolised both barbarity and pure cause. The Crusades therefore threatened to disrupt the boundaries between past and present, and between savagery and civilisation, which is why travellers, while often making reference to the Crusades, were extremely cautious about relating wholly to them. I hope to have demonstrated here that, while the Near East during the 1840s might have been a politically weak region which relied on Britain's support for its stability, when travellers experienced and imagined their will over it they found that it was considerably more difficult to overcome. Not necessarily because of the East versus West dichotomy of geographical space but more so because it was the site of memory for the British traveller, a reflection of the self in both a foreign space and a foreign time. Urban spaces further disrupted these boundaries as confined and enclosed spaces where the travellers was forced into an encounter with the unfamiliar. I hope to have shown that rather than conquering the Near

East through travel, travel writers became the recipients of a very strong counterassault launched at their imagination.

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