Notes

Introduction

2 Ibid, 37.
3 Ibid, 41.
4 An armchair traveller or tourist is a person who travels metaphorically through reading the travel narratives or every literary work. He or she does not actually travel rather prefers to read the travel or adventure narratives. The examples and details of armchair tourism are discussed in the fourth chapter.
6 For full definition of the term, travel narrative. see my first chapter.
9 The term is used by Mary Louise Pratt in her *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992) 6. As Pratt states, "[e]thnographers have used this term to describe how subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials transmitted to them by a dominant or metropolitan culture. While subjugated peoples cannot readily control what emanates from the dominant culture, they do determine to varying extents what they absorb into their own, and what they use it for transculturation is a phenomenon of the contact zone" (6). Moreover, she defines the contact zone "to refer to the space of colonia encounter, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (ibid).
11 Ibid, 102.
13 Those tourists who are motivated to travel to a country, a particular place, site, landscape or landmark, especially after reading a travel book, a travel narrative or a travel fiction, are called literary tourists. The term literary tourism is a subdivision of cultural tourism. It is explained in detail in chapter four.
14 The term Barchesian tourist is used for those anti-tourists who read the signs of other cultures like Roland Barthes, especially in his travel to Japan. The definitions and examples of both Barthesian tourism and anti-tourism are given in the second chapter.
15 The term anti-tourist is used by Paul Fussell to refer to those tourists whose "merely is not inquiry but self-protection and vanity" [Paul Fussell, *Abroad, British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (Oxford).
Oxford UP, 1980) 47. The anti-tourists attempt to merge into "the surroundings, like speaking the language (of the host country), even badly" (ibid). They stay "in the most unlikely hotels, consume "the local food," dress "with attention to local coloration," avoid "the standard sights," and "lounge cameraleans" (ibid, 47-8). For more information, see Paul Fussell, Abroad, 47-50.

17 Ibid, 9-10.
18 Ibid, 5-6.
19 Ibid, 14.
21 Paul Fussell, 206.
23 Paul Fussell, 207.
24 Ibid.
27 Quoted in Paul Fussell, 125.
28 Paul Fussell, 127.
29 Quoted in Paul Fussell, 173.
30 Nigel Nicolson, 17.
32 Ibid, 401-2.
33 James Clifford, Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late 20th Century (Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1997) 36.
34 Quoted in Paul Fussell, 203.
35 Ibid, 204.
36 Paul Fussell, 211.
37 Quoted in Paul Fussell, 212.
40 James Clifford, 66.
41 Pseudo-places are those places, which have no historical or monumental importance, but the firms or touristic companies design them for comfortable forms of journeys such as airports, hotels, restaurants, and so on.
43 Ibid, 9.
44 Travellee is used by Mary Louise Pratt as a term which "is coined on analogy with the term 'addressee.' As the latter means the person addressed by a speaker, 'travellee' means persons traveled to (or on) by a traveler, rectorors of travel. [...] Obviously, travel is studied overwhelmingly from the perspective of the traveler, but it is perfectly possible, and extremely interesting, to study it from the perspective of those who participate on the receiving end." (Mary Louise Pratt, 242, note 42). I use the term for everyone or everything who/which is observed by the traveler from the people to all the cultural signs in the countries to/in which a traveller travels.
45 Nigel Nicolson, 102.
46 Ibid, 104-5.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid, 102.
52 Ibid, 102-3.
53 There was a 'recurrent insanity' in her life, which hastened her death. There are also many disastrous events such as her mother's death (when she was thirteen), her half-sister's death (when fifteen) her father's death (when twenty), and death of her brother Toby (when twenty four) which changed her life. She also suffered from acute depression and even insanity (sexual abuse by her half-brothers during her childhood), which could have resulted in a "youth that was deeply disturbed": "Her two half-brothers, George and Gerald Duckworth regarded Vanessa and Virginia as objects, first of woman, then of desire" (Nigel Nicolson, 10). Quentin Bell summarises it as 'incessant relationship' in his biography of the life of his aunt (Virginia), and explains that the influence of such behaviour remained all her life. Various other things contribute to her depression: the war, the destruction of her two London houses, sometimes the difficulties of travel, her fear of failure as a writer (decline in her creative energy) and so on.
56 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
333

There are also some other places to which she travels such as Bath (which is today one of the third most popular tourist attraction in England), Brighton, Bristol, Cheddar, the Cotswolds, Derbyshire, Dorset, Glastonbury, Manchester, Oxfordshire, Hadrian’s Wall, Salisbury Plain, Somerset and Weymouth.

Jan Morris, 1.

Ibid., 7.


Ibid., 155.

James Buzard, 122.

Ibid.

The term mere tourist refers to those tourists who are conducted by the touristic agencies to see the conventional things in the conventional ways. I consider them as the blind tourists in contrast to the anti-tourists or Barthesian tourists. For more information, see the second chapter.

James Buzard, 106.


Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, eds. Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts (London: Continuum, 2002).


Ibid.


Elleke Boehmer, 141.

Ibid., 142.

Chapter 1


3 Ibid.
7 Ibid, 163.
8 Richard Wrigley and George Revill, P Ianologies of Travel (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000) 182.
10 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 39.
11 James Buzard, 99-100.
12 Ning Wang, 20.
13 Quoted in Paul Fussell, Abroad, 129.
15 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 10.
16 Ibid, 13.
17 Ibid, 39.
18 Ibid, 38.
19 James Buzard, 19.
20 Ibid, 33.
22 James Buzard, 1.
24 James Buzard, 8.
25 The details of their travel are recorded in Virginia Woolf's A Passionate Apprentice (317-47). See also Jan Morris's Travels with Virginia Woolf (London: Hogarth P, 1993) 200-16. "Patra [as] most sea ports is cosmopolitan, and very garrulous. We saw men in skirts and gaiters however. Turks, Albanians & Montenegrois scattered about among a tremendous crowd. [...] We left for Olympia in a great first class carriage which we had naturally to ourselves. [...] And so we had the experience for the first time of sitting on the ground & eating grapes from the tree in the open air. [...] Ruins of Roman Houses, Temples of Apollo—Tholos—are scattered innuantable. It needs learning to see anything but chips of stone. And in the museum chaos is still more chaotic: they are fitting temples together, hammering the old stone into the right shape. [...] The people use the same plough that they did in the days of Homer, says Mrs. Noel, & though the-races have changed, their lives cannot be much different; the earth changes.
but little. [...] They sit about on classic marble, chatting and knitting; but they do not vulgarise the place as we Tourists must do; but rather make it human and familiar" (Paine: 318-28).

26 Jan Morris, 316.


29 James Clifford, 22.

30 Ibi, 8.

31 Ibi, 71.

32 Ibid.


38 Jan Morris, 6.

39 James Clifford, 34.


42 Linda Peach, 9.

43 Karen R. Lawrence, 238.

44 Jan Morris, 44.

45 The Encyclopaedia of Postcolonial Literatures in English suggests particular categorizations for postcolonial travel writing: an "inter-commonwealth travel" in which a traveller or travel writer from one country visits and offers commentary on another; the "return travel" in which a migrant or native visits his own colony or post-colony; the "within-the-country travel," where the traveller explores his own national community. (Quoted in Barbara Korte, 154). Undoubtedly, Woolf is not a postcolonial travel writer.

46 Barbara Korte, 68.

49 Ibid, 121.
50 Ibid, 124.
51 Mary Louise Pratt, 133.
52 Ibid, 59.
53 Ibid, 60.
55 Barbara Korte, 85.
57 Barbara Korte, 125.
58 Ibid, 72-3.
59 Ibid, 149.

67 Maria Sibylla Merian from the Netherlands, set forth on a two-year journey to Dutch Suriname. During her journey, she collected and raised insects, interviewed natives about the normal uses of plants, and gathered a variety of drawings for her book titled *Metamorphosis of the Insects of Surinam* (1705).


69 Ann Radcliffe and her husband travelled through the Netherlands and Western parts of Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Along the Rhine, they have also encountered recurrent traces of the continuing war between Austria and its allies and the revolutionary French. Radcliffe reports that they went equipped with a map of military positions. Notably, she expresses her concern in terms that directly connected the inhabitants’ means of subsistence, their practical relation to the land, with her own pleasure in viewing them.

70 Barbara Korte, 109.


75 Ibid, 89.

76 Her clothing was a multivalent symbol, which not only defined her as a woman but also maintained her Occidental privilege.


78 Mary Louise Pratt, 104. Anna Maria Falconbridge wrote a book, titled *Narrative of Two Voyages to the River Siera Leone* (1802), which is one of the European travel writing about Africa. In 1791, she went to West Africa as the wife of Lord Alexander Falconbridge, a physician who, after years of working on slave ships, had become a well-known abolitionist. She wrote the reports and experiences of her two trips to Africa in the form of epistolary accounts and sentimental writing.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 With a small support team, as Geoff Barton writes, Victorian explorer, Isabella Bird, prepared to make the perilous ascent of one of the highest peaks in America’s Rocky Mountains. Geoff Barton, *Travel Writing* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994).
Bird’s initial writings are in the form of letters based on her journals, notes and actual messages sent to her younger sister Henrietta. As Bird becomes a more experienced traveller, she realizes the professional advantage of travelling far from European settlements and routes.

As a traveller’s daughter, after her parents’ death, at thirty years of age, with no particular experience and knowledge and no specific training, she found herself free from every limitation for the first time in her life. She had not only her father’s large collection of travel and science books but also a magnificent collection of travel souvenirs. She was an independent field naturalist with unstable connections to the British Museum, who helped support her travels by collecting freshwater fish and other small specimens for biologists in Britain. Her book, titled *Travels in West Africa*, indicates her adventure to continue her father’s work. She explains her dangerous and joyful experiences and writes at length about learning how to observe and keep a lookout in the forest for wild nature. Moreover, she describes herself as either walking or navigating her own canoe.

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339

303 Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, 116.
305 Ibid.
308 Ibid, 117.
310 Ibid, 46.
311 Sara Mills, 31.
312 Ibid, 113.
313 Ibid, 82.
316 Cheryl McEwan, Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in East Africa (Adershot: Ashgate, 2000).
317 Ros Murlin and Supriya M. Roy, 122.
318 Sara Mills, 56.
319 Steve Clark, 23.
320 Sara Mills, 18.
321 Ibid, 73.
322 Sara Mills, 58-9.
323 Ibid, 59.
324 Ibid, 51.
326 Ibid.
327 Caren Kaplan, “Hillary Rodham Clinton’s Orient,” 220.
328 Barbara Korte, 180.
329 Ibid, 81.
331 Ibid, xxi-xxii.
As Percy G. Adams states, there are “delightful verses mixed with the prose of two poets, Chapelle and Bouchaumont (1656), writing a travel book about France at the same time and in much the same way as the great poet Basho wrote of his late seventeenth-century Haiku journeys in Japan [...]. [T]here are two works by Jean Regnard (c. 1700), the world traveler and fine writer of comedies, about two real trips in France, one, entitled “Voyage de Normandie,” consisting of a “letter” in prose passages alternating with clever stanzas of verse, the other, “Voyage de Charmont,” entirely in verse, witty, detailed, set to music, with a slightly risqué refrain” (Ibid., xxvi). W. H. Auden also wrote prose that contains some poems. For instance, his *Letters from Iceland* (1937) is a reportage most notably on a trip to Iceland with MacNeice. Auden’s trip to China with Christopher Isherwood was the basis of *Journey to a War* (1939).

133 James Buzard, 165.
134 Jonathan Culler, 159.
135 Barbara Korte, 38.
136 Ibid., 78.
137 Mary Louise Pratt, 78.
138 Ibid., 80.
139 Ibid., 75.
140 Karen R. Lawrence, 179.
141 Jan Morris, 9.
142 Ibid., 3.
143 Ibid., 2.
144 Ibid., 139.
147 Martin Green, *Seven Types of Adventure Tale*, 8.
148 Ibid., 10.
149 Ibid., 11, 13.
150 Ibid., 41, 45.
151 Ibid., 35.
153 Martin Green, *Seven Types of Adventure Tale*, 1.
154 Ibid., 4.
155 Ibid., 22.
156 Ibid., 23.
157 Ibid.
Chapter 2

3 Ibid, 9-10.
13 While writing her travel narrative, she read and was extensively influenced by Homer's *Odyssey*, *Hakluyt's Elizabethan travel narratives, Conrad's Heart of Darkness* and *Leonard Woolf's The Village in the Jungle*.
14 Karen R. Lawrence, 157.
15 Quoted in Karen R. Lawrence, 158.
16 See my introduction, note 41.
19 Ibid., 95.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid., 96.
22 Ibid., 97-8.
24 Ibid., 97.
25 Ibid., 97-8.
26 Rossana Bonadie, "Theory into *écriture*: travel literature encounters touring cultures" 417-28, in *Cross-Cultural Travel*, 424.
27 Graham M. S. Dann, 105.
29 Ibid., 74-5.
31 Ibid. 13.
32 Ibid., 12.
33 Graham M. S. Dann, 88.
33 Graham M. S. Dann, 136.
34 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 411.
For more information, see Virginia Woolf's early diaries (Ptd. 261-71).
37 Karen R. Lawrence, 166.
38 Ibid, 170.
39 The number of Graces varied in different legends, but usually there were three: Aglaia (Brightness), Euphrosyne (Joyfulness), and Thasia (Bloom). They are said to be daughters of Zeus and Hera (or Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus) or of Helios and Aeole, a daughter of Zeus. Frequently the Graces were taken as goddesses of charm or beauty in general and hence were associated with Aphrodite, the goddess of love; Peitho, her attendant; and Hermes, a fertility and messenger god.
40 Karen R. Lawrence, 154.
41 Ibid, 162.
44 Manfred Pfister, "Buce Chatwin and the Postmodernization of the Travelogue" 253-267, in LIT 7 (1996) 255.
45 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 39.
46 Ibid.
47 Graham M. S Dann, 24.
48 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 39.
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid, 42.
51 Ibid.
53 Ibid.
55 Graham M. S. Dann, 74.
56 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 43.
57 Ibid, 42.
58 Rossana Bonadei, 419.
59 Ibid, 422.
60 Ibid.
61 Graham M. S. Dann, 75.
62 Ibid.
63 James Bazarz, 2.
65 Kerby R. Lawrence, 160.
67 Ibid, 74-5.
68 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 43.
70 Graham M. S. Dann, 77.
71 Ibid.
73 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 44.
74 Relating to her travel to Spain and staying in an Andalusian inn, Woolf writes in an essay in the Guardian on 19 July 1905 that “[h]otelkeepers are apparently subject to that slight and amiable obliquity of the moral sense which goes by the name of loyalty. [...] [T]he hotel-keeper’s word sounded comfortable in our ears [...] [for this reason] the good second-class inn became an epitome of all that is desirable in life” (Jan Morris, 193).
75 Graham M. S. Dann, 88-9.
76 Ibid, 88.
77 Ibid.
81 Rossana Ronai, 420.
82 Ibid.
83 Two quotations are recorded in James Bazarz’s The Beaten Track: “[T]he tourist, in short, is notoriously a person who follows blindly a certain hackneyed round: who never stops long enough before a picture or a view to admire it or to fix it in his memory; and who seize every opportunity of transplanting little bits of London to the districts which he visits” (Quoted in James Bazard, 91). Bazarz quotes Leslie Stephen, “Vocation” 205-14, in Cornhill Magazine, 20 Aug. (1869). See also Men, Books, and Mountains: Essays by Leslie Stephen, ed. S. O. A Ullmann (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1956) 168-81.
84 “[T]he ordinary tourist has no judgement, admires what the infallible Murray orders him to admire.... The tourist never diverge; one hair’s breadth from the beaten track of his predecessors, and within a few
miles of the best known routes in Europe leaves nooks and corners as unsophisticated as they were fifty years ago; which proves that he has not sufficient interest in his route to exert his own freedom of will” (Leslie Stephen, *Cornhill Magazine*, 174).

84 James Buzard, 1.
85 Ibid, 2.
87 The clichés are listed by Jost Krippendorf (1987) as follows: “deep blue ocean, white sand, sunset, palm trees, beautiful named holiday makers, picturesque fishing and mountain villages, happy and laughing, colourfully dressed locals, turquoise green swimming pools, eternal sunshine, eternal snow, untouched landscapes, virgin ski slopes, opulent self-service buffets, parents and children radiating health and happiness, adventurous trips, imposing sights, exciting nights, sex life and so on. A serene Sunday world, a world of illusions, only a clipping, a montage usually worlds away from reality; a holiday atmosphere in superfœtes, seen through rose-tinted glasses, presented the way people would like it to be, a world they fear for. Nobody will argue seriously that people do not see through these clichés. But it is obviously pleasant to be seduced by them, again and again” (Quoted in Graham M. S. Dann, 194-5).

89 Quoted in Graham M. S. Dann, 65-6.
90 Jan Morris, 2.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid.
97 Graham M. S. Dann, 126.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
101 Fussell writes: “Of all noxious animals,” says Francis Kilvert in the 1870’s, ‘the most noxious is the tourist.’ And if not animals, insects. The Americans descending on Amalfi in the 1920’s, according to Osbert Sitwell, resemble ‘a swarm of very noisy transatlantic locusts,’ and the tourists at Levanto in the
1950’s, according to his sister Edith, are “the most awful people with legs like flies who come in to lunch in bathing costume—flies, centipedes” (Paul Fussell, Abroad, 40-1).

102 Graham M. S. Dann, 144.
104 Ibid.
105 Ibid.
106 James Buzard, 4.
107 Ibid.
108 Paul Fussell, Abroad, 47.
109 James Buzard, 5.
110 Ibid, 96-7.
111 Ibid, 152-3.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid, 10-11.
114 Ibid, 10.
116 James Buzard, 12.
117 Ibid.
118 Ibid, 13.
119 Stanley Black, 370.
120 Rossana Bonadèt, 420.
122 Rossana Bonadèt, 420.
123 Ibid, 422.
124 Karen R. Lawrence, 159.
125 Roland Barthes, The Responsibility of Forms, 236.
126 Ibid, 237.
127 Ibid, 238.
128 James Buzard, 102.
130 James Buzard, 104.
131 Ibid, 102.
The important point is that travel as James Buzard has pointed out, "stimulates active imaginative impulses and invites us to indulge them before returning home: we multiply events innocently, and set out on adventures 'as it were.' Travel, in sum, has become an ameliorative vacation, which like the emerging nineteenth-century concept of culture, promises us a time or imaginary space out of ordinary life for the free realization of our otherwise thwarted potential. As long as the imaginative liberties of culture remain in a separate space outside our normal lives—and in foreign travel, how could they not do so, since travel takes us physically outside our own home environment?—home society will not be exposed to the dangerous drives of its members" (ibid, 102-3).

Ibid.

Quoted in Rossana Bonadei, 423-7.

James Buzard, 27-6.


Quoted in Rossana Bonadei, 424.

Rossana Bonadei, 424.

Quoted in Rossana Bonadei, 424.

Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 244.

Ibid, 247.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

James Buzard, 34.

Ibid.


Ibid.


James Buzard, 322.


James Buzard, 28.

Ibid, 324.

Ibid, 81.


Ibid, 76

Ibid.
11 James Clifford, 9.
12 ibid., 12.
13 ibid., 19, notes.
14 ibid., 24.
16 James Clifford, 7.
17 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 18.
18 Woolf, in A Room of One’s Own, refers to this idea that “[c]onsider 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; well, if we cannot analyse these invisible presences, […]” (RO: 80).
19 For instance, Orlando participates in everyday life while at the same time maintains an observer’s objective detachment, namely she acts as a participant-observer to gain a thorough understanding of Turkish culture. Like a contemporary ethnographer, Orlando usually selects and cultivates close relationships with individuals, known as informants, who can provide specific information on ritual, kinship, or other significant aspects of cultural life.
24 ibid., 40.
26 Ibid, 195.
27 Ibid, 191, 199.
28 Ibid, 193.
29 Ibid, 200.
30 Ibid.
32 Ibid, 136.
34 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid, 238.
39 Quoted in Roland Barthes, “Right in the Eyes,” 239.
43 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 93.
45 Ibid.
46 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 93.
48 Ibid.
52 Ibid, 198.
54 Ibid, 115.
34 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.
35 It brings to mind Foucault's lecture: "[w]hen I lecture somewhat dogmatically, I tell myself: I am paid to bring to the student a certain form and content of knowledge; I must fashion my lecture or my course a little as one might make a shoe, no more no less"; in other words, "I bring this object to the desk, I show it and then I leave it up to the audience to do with it what they want. I consider myself more like an artist doing a certain piece of work and offering it for consumption than a master making his slaves work." Pamela Major-Potetzl, Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Western Culture: Toward a New Science of History (Sussex: Harvester P, 1983) 52.
36 Clifford Geertz, 10.
37 Ibid, 22, 26.
38 Susanne Ledanff, 335.
40 John Mepham, 85.
41 Susanne Ledanff, 336.
42 Ibid, 337.
44 Homi K. Bhabha, 114.
45 Bill Ashcroft, 138.
48 Quoted in Gillian Beer, 273.
49 As Gillian Beer states, Woolf “had been in London under bombardment; she had looked up anxiously after Vanessa vanishing by light plane to Switzerland" (278).
50 "The D.H. Moth first flew in 1925 and, as Gibbes-Smith puts it, 'heralds the popularity of the light aeroplane movement'.” Quoted in Gillian Beer, 276.
51 Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 94.
54 See Naomi Black's introduction to Virginia Woolf’s *Three Guineas*, xlv.
57 Ibid.
59 Virginia Woolf hates doctors, for instance, Dr Sainsbury, diagnosed the illness that Virginia was shortly to give to Clarissa: influenza and a tired heart. His behaviour was like Sir William Bradshaw: "equanimity—equanimity—practise equanimity, Mrs. Woolf" [In Leonard Woolf's *Downhill All the
Way: An Autobiography of the Years 1919-1939 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1967) 51]. Dr George Savage, who had been Woolf’s doctor since Hyde Park Gate, always insisted that the best medicine for Virginia was rest, quiet living, an ample diet, and some absence from the bumptious social distractions of London. Very similarly, Dr Maurice Cwieg, the most eminent Harley Street psychiatrist of his day, insisted that Virginia needed to gain weight.

84 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 338.
86 Ibid, 151.
87 Ibid, 162.
88 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 149.
89 Ibid, 105.
90 Bill Ashcroft, 46.
91 Ibid.
92 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 128.
93 Ibid, 128-9.
94 Homi K. Bhabha, 245.
95 Ibid, 142.
96 Etienne Boehmer, 142.
97 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 18.
98 Linden Peach, 91.
99 Bill Ashcroft, 147.
100 Linden Peach, 91.
101 Ibid.
102 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 73.
103 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 72-7.
104 Ibid, 73.
107 Quevedo in Peter Ackroyd, 701.
108 Bill Ashcroft, 60.
110 Homi K. Bhabha, 112.
111 Ibid.
112 Ibid.
113 Ibid.
114 Ibid, 114.
112 Ibid.
117 Ibid.
118 Clifford Geertz, 14. More information, relating to her identity and the identity of the others, is given in the last chapter.
119 Nigel Nicolson, 14.
120 For more information, see chapter six.
121 Peter Ackroyd, 705.
122 Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, 95.
123 Homi K. Bhabha, 50.
124 Ibid.
126 Nigel Nicolson, 14.
127 Peter Ackroyd, 709. Deborah L. Parsons, 50.
128 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 192.
129 Ibid, 18.
130 Ibid, 225.
131 The term is explained in chapter six, note 19.
132 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 60-1.
133 As Woolf recorded in her diary, she herself was against patriotism and militarism, “[Dr Thomas] Arnold outdid me [Virginia] in anti-nationalism, anti-patriotism, & anti-militarism” (D 1: 108, Friday 18 January 1918). Dr Thomas Arnold was “the third of the four subjects in Lytton Strachey’s Eminent Victorians” (D 1: 107, note 26).
134 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 60-1.
136 Linden Peach, 112.
138 Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, 101.
139 Ibid, 100
140 Michel Foucault, Essential Works of Foucault, 25.
141 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 64.
142 Deborah L. Parsons, 25.
143 Ibid.
144 Ibid.
145 Ibid, 37.
146 Ibid, 41.

Katherine C. Hill-Miller writes, in *From the Lighthouse to Monk’s House* (2001), “[the glove shop might have been either A. Butle Ltd, Glovers (158A New Bond Street—on the left side of the street) or the London Glove Company (83 New Bond Street—on the right side of the street)]” (95).

Similarly, Orlando (the woman) changes her clothes and dresses as a young man of the eighteenth century fashion, being involved in the scene of mutual observation by a passante or prostitute, who is of the tribe which nightly furnishes their naves, and sets them in order on the common counter to wait the highest bidder” (O 124). Unlike the girl in Trafalgar Square who disappears very soon without even being touched by Walsh, this passante invites Orlando to her room in Gerrard Street as the result of Orlando’s manly behaviour. This signifies the male-dominated society of the eighteenth century, in which women had no freedom to walk at night except to disguise themselves by wearing men’s clothes. It directs our attention to the magical power of clothing, which disguises Orlando’s sex and controls the social and cultural discourses. This game between Orlando and the prostitute shows Orlando’s (the disguised woman’s) escapade. The clothes, as a discourse, are explained in detail in chapter five.

Deborah L. Parsons, 61.

Ibid, 63.

John Mepham, 87.

Ibid.

Rachel Bowkoy, 35.

Ibid, 40.


Ibid, 221.


Homi K. Bhabha, 162.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 215.

Homi K. Bhabha, 140.


Chapter 4

2 Quoted in Mike Robinson and Hams Christian Andersen, “Reading Between the Lines: Literature and the Creation of Touristic Spaces” 1-38, in Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts, eds. Mike Robinson and Hams Christian Andersen (London: Continuum, 2002) 31-2.

3 Mike Robinson and Hams Christian Andersen, “Reading Between the Lines,” 5.

4 Mike Robinson and Hams Christian Andersen, Literary and Tourism, xiii.

5 Ibid. For more information, see Manfred Pfister, “Travelling in the Traces of . . .: Italian Spaces and the Traces of the Other” 25-37, in Sites of Exchange: European Crossroads and Faultlines, eds. Maurizio Ascari and Adriana Cornado (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006).

6 Mike Robinson and Hams Christian Andersen, Literary and Tourism, xv.

England was (and is) a place attracting the attention of many travellers. For instance, Daniel Defoe’s A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain (1724-6) which is read by Woolf, is a work portraying Cornwall or St Ives as “a pretty good town, and grown rich by the fishing-trade” [Daniel Defoe, A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain, eds. P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens (New Haven: Yale UP, 1991) 109]. Defoe’s book is “a survey of Great Britain in the guise of a popular guidebook, [it is] a particularly good example of [...] unifying cultural forces. It contains a topical review of the state of the roads in England, which considers the effects of the new Turnpike Acts [...] in highlighting ‘the increase of people, and employment for them [...] the increase of buildings, [...] the increase of wealth’ (43) as well as ‘the improvement in manufactures, in merchandises, in navigation’ (45), it ostensibly expresses a mercantile ethos; and it explicitly offers the written account of the nation as an authoritative substitute for actual travel” [Doris Feldmann, “Economic and Asesthetic Constructions of Britishness in Eighteenth-Century Domestic Travel Writing” 31-45, in Journal for the Study of British Cultures, 4:1-2 (1997) 32]. Defoe observes England with his imperial eye for gaze as a traveller who is proud of his Englishness. He considers and reads “London and its uniqueness” through his “economic vision” (P. N. Furbank and W. R. Owens, ix).

Another example is William Cobbett’s Rural Rides which includes explanation and description of his journey in England and his short trip to Cornwall. Cobbett’s career as a journalist and, for the last three years of his life, as a member of the House of Commons were devoted to restoring his ideal of rural England in a country rapidly being transformed by the Industrial Revolution into the world’s foremost manufacturing nation. His famous tours of the countryside began in 1821 recorded in Rural Rides, which was an univalued picture of the land. He travelled and observed everything with the gaze of a journalist, who is familiar with the social and political problems of the country, as he wrote, “What a life to see people live to see this sight in our own country, and to have the base vanity to show of that country, and to talk of our ‘constitution’ and our ‘liberties,’ and to affect to pity the Spaniards, whose working people live like gentlemen, compared with our miserable creatures [...] [It is a mockery to talk of their ‘liberty’ of any sort, to choose between death by starvation (quick or slow) and death by the halter]” [William Cobbett, Rural Rides, vol. 2 (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1937, first edition 1912) 82-3. Monday, 4 September 1826] On 3 July 1830 he wrote in “Tour in The West” that “I shall, as soon as may be, return
to Bath, taking Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire in my way; fom Bath, through Somerset, Devon, and into Cornwall; and back through Dorset, South Wilts, Hants, Sussex, Kent, and then go into Essex, and last of all, into my native country of Surrey" (ibid, 276).


10 Ibid, 245.

11 Michael Barke, "'Inside' and 'Outside' Writings on Spain: their Relationship to Spanish Tourism" 80-104, in Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts, eds. Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, 87.

12 Ibid, 84.

13 Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, Literature and Tourism, xv.

14 Ibid.

15 Michael Barke, 85.

16 Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, Literature and Tourism, xiv.

17 Mike Robinson, "Between and Beyond the Pages: Literature—Tourism Relationships" 39-79, in Literature and Tourism: Reading and Writing Tourism Texts, 42.

18 Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, "Reading Between the Lines," 4.

19 Ibid.

20 Jan Morris, 48.

21 Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, Literature and Tourism, xix.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid, 2.

24 Ibid, 3.


26 Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, "Reading Between the Lines," 9.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid, 15.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid, 16.

32 Ibid, 17.


34 Ibid, 23.


36 Ibid.

37 Mike Robinson, 40.

35 Mike Robinson, 52.
36 Ibid.
38 Jan Morris, 91.
39 Ibid, 93.
40 Ibid, 166. Moreover, in her diary on 25 April 1931, she wrote, “Rang at Castle door. [...] A tower at one end. A garden with flowering trees. The usual renovated peaked & black tiled Chateau; over the door Que S’est-il—A woman came. [...] This is his bedroom; this is his dressing room. Here he died. Here he went down—he was very small—to Chapel. Upstairs again is his library. The books & furniture are in Bordeaux. Here is his chair & table. He wrote those inscriptions on the beams. Sure enough it was his room; a piece of an old wooden chair might be his” (D 4: 26-1, Saturday 25 April 1931).
41 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 1. As Hill-Miller states, “[w]e admitted that literary pilgrimages were a guilty pleasure: she liked to choose a darkish day, ‘lest the ghosts of the dead should discover us’” (Ibid).
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid. 212.
45 Quoted in Paul Fussell, 203.
46 Paul Fussell, 204.
47 Quoted in Paul Fussell, 212.
48 Karen R. Lawrence, Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition (London: Cornell UP, 1994) 163
49 Woolf writes in her diary, “[t]he Elizabethan prose writers I loved first & most widely, stirred by Hakluyt, which father lugged home for me—I think of it with some sentiment—father tramping over the [London] Library with his little girl sitting at HPG [Hyde Park Gate] in mind. He must have been 65 or 15, 16, then, & why I dont know, but I became enraptured, though not exactly interested, but the sight of the large yellow page entranced me. I used to read it & dream of those obscure adventures, & no doubt practised their style in my copy books” (D 3: 271, 8 December 1929).
52 Ibid, 309.
54 Vita Sackville-West, Passenger to Teheran (London: Hogarth P, 1926) 17.
81 Mike Robinson, 60.
82 Ibid, 41.
84 Mike Robinson, 43.
85 Ibid, 43-4.
87 James Buzard, 160.
88 Ibid, 161.
90 Ibid.
91 Karen R. Lawrence, 164.
92 Mike Robinson and Hans Christian Andersen, “Reading Between the Lines,” 7.
93 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 3.
95 Ibid, 94.
96 Ibid.
97 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 5.
98 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 99.
99 Ibid, 102.
101 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 12.
102 As Katherine C. Hill-Miller states, Stephen was the vice-president of the St Ives Swimming and Sailing Association. Stephen and “Julia were among the first members of the St Ives Arts Club, an Association founded in 1890 to promote the artists’ colony that sprang up at St Ives early in the 1880s. Stephen was elected president of the Arts Club in 1881. And during the General Election of 1892, he presided over at least one political meeting at the Guild Hall” (15). St Ives is a town or parish in Penwith district that is an administrative and historic county of Cornwall. In 1497, the pretender Perkin Warbeck was proclaimed
king when he anchored in St Ives harbour. Clustered around the old town of winding streets and colour-washed stone cottages, there were housing fishermen, artists and potters. Moreover, fishing, mining and shipping were three industries that supported St Ives economy for many years. For more information, see (32).

93 The name St Ives has been given to a style of pottery established there by Bernard Leach in 1920. Therefore, for a long time, it was (and is) one of the central touristic places for its many attractive landscapes. Modern holiday villas—the product of touristic industry in Cornwall—however, have covered the hillsides, which are overlooking the bay. Today there are many touristic landscapes and places that attract the attention of mere and literary tourists to travel to the place, such as St Ia’s church (Woolf and her brother sheltered there from the rain in 1903), Talland House (built in 1874), Tate Gallery and the Lifeboat House (or the Coastguard Station) in the centre of St Ives. There are other landscapes beyond the town centre, such as St Iwe’s monument (one of the Stephen family’s habitual Sunday walks), the Huers’ House (the headland between St Ives and Carbis Bay), Trencom (a National Trust Property), the Godrevy lighthouse (first showed its light on 1 March 1859). For more information, see Katherine C. Hill-Miller’s From the Lighthouse to Monk’s House, 41, 44, 47 and 48, respectively. Other places associated with Woolf and her family are the Tregenna Castle Hotel (Leslie Stephen stayed there in 1881 and Henry James while visiting the Stephens in St Ives), the Badger Inn (Virginia alone spent Christmas there in 1909), the Carbis Bay Hotel (Virginia and Leonard spent three weeks there in 1914), Zennor (Virginia called its paths ‘the loveliest place in the world’), Higher Tregerthen, Eagle’s Nest (Christmas of 1926).

84 Mike Robinson, 50.
85 Ibid.
86 Jan Morris, 45
88 Mike Robinson, 48.
89 Ibid, 49.
90 Ibid, 50.
91 Roland Barthes, 4 Barthes Reader, 237.
92 Today “Talland House has been divided into five luxurious holiday flats, and its current owners—Sue and Nigel Bedford—live on the ground floor. The Bedford’s home incorporates the Stephen family’s parlour and the dining room where the famous dinner party took place” (Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 35-6). However, as Hill-Miller states, the owners welcome Virginia Woolf’s scholars and enthusiasts and arrange visits to talk about the house’s literary history.
93 Martin Green, Seven Types of Adventure Tale: An Ethology of a Major Genre (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State U, 1991) 60. I have explained it in detail in chapter six.
94 Mike Robinson, 54.
95 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 92-8.
97 Ibid, 64.
96 Ibid, 78.
95 For more information, see the website of the Virginia Woolf Society of Great Britain at http://www.orlando-jp.org/wwsgb/index.html, which is an indispensable tool for any traveller or tourist who is interested in Virginia Woolf’s list of London addresses.
94 For instance, 6 Canning Place (the house of Clara Pater, Virginia Stephen’s Latin and Greek teacher), 16 Young Street (Leslie Stephen’s first wife’s house), King’s College (Virginia’s first classes in Latin and Greek), St Mary Abbots’ Church (the place of Steha Duckworth wedding ceremony in 1897), Little Holland House (the home of Virginia’s great aunt, Sarah Primey), 6 Melbury Road (G. F. Watts’ new home ‘Little Holland House’ in memory of the Primeys), 12 Holland Park Road, Leighton House (Frederic, Baron Leighton of Stretton’s house, visited by Woolf).
93 For more information, see website: http://www.orlando-jp.org/wwsgb/index.html
92 This tour begins its literary tourism from 29 Fitzroy Square (Virginia and Adrian’s home in 1907-11), 21 Fitzroy Square (Duncan Grant’s studio in 1909-11) to 33 Fitzroy Square (Roger Fry’s the Omega Workshops in 1913-19). Gordon Square is another touristic place of London with its 46 Gordon Square, 37 Gordon Square (Vanessa and Duncan Grant rented) and 41 Gordon Square (Lyton Stanchey’s mother and sisters in 1919). 38 Brunswick Square (Virginia’s and Adrian’s third Bloomsbury house in 1911). 37 Mecklenburg Square (Virginia and Leonard rented from 1939) and British Museum Reading Room or London Library in St James’s Square which is described in A Room of One’s Own and in Jacob’s Room. Other places are Richmond upon Thames (Virginia and Leonard lived there in 1914-24), 17 The Green (in 1914-15, Virginia and Leonard lodged there) and Hogarth House (in 1915-24 the Wool’s lived there).
91 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 122.
90 Ibid, 123-4.
89 Mike Robinson, 53.
88 Ibid, 56.
87 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
85 Ibid, 57.
83 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 141.
82 Ibid, 146.
81 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 94.
79 It is located in the town of Sevenoaks, and is built between 1456 and 1486 by Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.
119 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 154. For more information, see (154-6).
120 Mike Robinson, 57.
122 Mike Robinson, 39.
124 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 36.
126 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 37.
127 Ibid, 122.
128 Ibid, 38.
129 Ibid.
130 Ibid, 39.
131 Ibid.
134 Ibid.
136 Ibid.
138 Ibid.
139 Ibid, 79-80.
140 Ibid, 58.
141 Jan Morris, 8-9.
142 Ibid, 9.
144 Ibid, 59-60.
145 Ibid, 60.
146 Ibid, 58.
147 Jan Morris, 8.
149 Ibid, 60.
150 Ibid, 64.
151 David Bradshaw, 201.
362


131 Ibid, 360.

132 Ibid.

93 Nigel Nicolson, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Hogarth P. 2001) 33. For more information, see (L 1: 403-10), and her essay "Impressions at Bayreuth" in (L 1: 288-93) as well as Jan Morris's *Travels With Virginia Woolf*, 149-54.

134 Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, 8.

135 Ibid, 112.

136 Ibid, 5.


138 Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, 114.

139 Quoted in Nigel Nicolson, 6.

140 Jan Morris, 4.

141 Ibid, 9.

142 Woolf's travel narratives motivate some literary tourists, such as Jan Morris and Katherine C. Hill-Miller, to travel to those places recorded by Woolf in her writings. For more information, see Morris's *Travels with Virginia Woolf* and Hill-Miller's *From the Lighthouse to Monk's House*.


146 Ibid.

147 Ibid, 243.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid.

150 Ibid, 244.

151 Ibid, 91.

152 Katherine C. Hill-Miller, 31.

153 Ibid.

154 Jan Morris, 49. Quentin Belf quotes, "On Saturday morning Master Hilary Hurst and Master Basil Smith came up to Talland House and asked Master Thoby and Miss Virginia Stephens to accompany them to the lighthouse as Freeman the boatman said that there was a perfect tide and wind for going there. Master Adrian Stephen was much disappointed at not being allowed to go" (vol. 1).


156 Ibid.

157 Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, 111.
Chapter 5

3 Ibid, 24.
6 The memories of Woolf’s own holiday in Turkey and Greece in 1906 and of a sojourn in Turkey in 1911 give us the detailed records of her travelling gaze. For more information, see (P/E: 347-62) and Jan Mervis’s *Travels With Virginia Woolf* (London: Hogarth P, 1993) 223-33.
10 Ibid, 177.
11 Ibid, 2.
13 Ibid, 7.
14 Ibid, 5.
20 Vita Fortunati, 10.
22 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994) 59. The term is used by Edward Said to describe a way of reading the texts of English literature to indicate their deep implication in imperialism and the colonial discourses. He claims that “we begin to reread [the cultural archive counterpervasively, i.e.,] with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts” (ibid). Moreover, as Bill Ashcroft states, by putting emphasis on “the affiliations of the text, its origin in social and cultural reality rather than its fictitious connections with English literature and canonical criteria, the critic can uncover cultural and political implications that may seem only fleeting; addressed in the text itself” (Bill Ashcroft, 56).
24 Karen R. Lawrence, 238.
24 Edward Said, Orientalism, 43.
25 Manfred Pfister, “Robert Byron and the Modernisation of Travel Writing,” 484
26 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 114-15
27 ibid, 109, 132.
28 ibid, 132.
31 Virginia Woolf, Orlando, xvii.
32 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 115.
34 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, xvi.
35 ibid.
36 ibid, xvii.
37 Karen R. Lawrence, 194.
39 ibid, 34, notes.
40 A leading member of the Ottoman government from 1913 to 1918 who played a key role in the Ottoman entry into the Great War on the side of Germany. He joined General Mahmud Savuk under whose command an “Army of Deliverance” advanced to Constantinople to depose the Ottoman sultan Abdillahad II. In 1911, when war broke out between Italy and the Ottoman Empire, he organized the Ottoman resistance in Libya, and in 1912, he was appointed the governor of Benghazi. In the Second Balkan War (1913), Enver was chief of the general staff of the Ottoman army. On July 22, 1913, he recaptured Edirne (Adrianople) from the Bulgars; and until 1918, the empire was dominated by the triumvirate of Enver, Talat Pasa, and Cemal Pasa. In 1914, Enver, as minister of war, was instrumental in the signing of a defensive alliance with Germany against Russia. In 1918, following the Russian Revolution of 1917 and Russia’s withdrawal from the war, he occupied Baku. After the Armistice in Europe, Enver fled to Germany in 1918. For more information, see Philip Nansel’s Constantinople: City of the World’s Desire 1453—1924 (London: John Murray, 1995) 367-89.
41 Edward Said, Orientalism, 94.
42 ibid, 95.
44 ibid.

41 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, xxv.


43 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 77.

44 Iobed Grundy, 135.


46 Janet Todd, ed. *The Collected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft* (London: Penguin Books, 2003) 176,178, 290, respectively. She refers to these forms of domesticity in her letters number 93 and 94 to Everina Wollstonecraft (one of her two sisters) and letter number 174 to Elizabeth Bishop (her other sister Eliza who has also called Bess and Betsey), respectively.

47 Woof states "[r]evolution thus was not merely an event that had happened outside her (Wollstonecraft); it was an active agent in her own blood," because she has been "in revolt all her life—against tyranny, against law, [and] against convention" (CR: 157).

48 Anne K. Mellor, "Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman and the women writers of her day" 141-59, in *The Cambridge Companion To Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. L. Claudia Johnson, 147.

49 Woof was very effectively under the influence of Wollstonecraft. Woof believed that "she is alive and active, she argues and experiments, we hear her voice and trace her influence even now among the living" (CR: 163).


51 Ibid, 16-17.

52 Ibid, 108.


54 Virginia Woolf, *Orlando*, xv.


56 Mary Louis Platt, 168.


59 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 92.

60 There is a city in northwestern Turkey, formerly called Brusa, original name Prusa, later called Bursa. It is probably founded by a Bithynian king in the 3rd century B.C., it prospered during Byzantine times after the emperor Justinian I (reigned A.D. 527-565) built a palace there. Today, Bursa is linked by air with Istanbul and has long been a favourite tourist centre. Woolf's Brousas is, however, an unmapped and fictionalized village; it might refer to Brusa or any other place.
In spite of the fact that Mary Wellstonecraft never travelled to the Orient, her letters and her love of nature are significant for Woolf. As Woolf writes, "Mary had a passionate, an exuberant, love of Nature" (CR: 160).

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 148.

Ibid, 120.

Quoted in Edward Said, Orientalism, 98.

Vita Sackville-West, Twelve Days, 10.

Edward Said, Orientalism, 12.

Vita Sackville-West, Twelve Days, 18.

Ibid, 28.

Ibid, 36.

Ibid, 36-7.

Ibid, 59.

Ibid, 68.

Ibid, 70.

Ibid, 79.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid, 80.

Ibid.

Vita Sackville-West, Passenger to Teheran, 17.

Vita Fortunati, "The Metamorphosis of The 'Travel Book' in Vita Sackville-West's Passenger to Teheran" 65-73, in Travel Writing and The Female Imaginary, 69.

Ibid, 70.

Vita Sackville-West, Passenger to Teheran, 16. "[T]ravel is a private pleasure, since it consists entirely of things felt and things seen,—of sensations received and impressions visually enjoyed" (Ibid).


Vita Sackville-West, Twelve Days, 82.

Ibid, 88.

Ibid, 90.


Vita Sackville-West, Twelve Days, 119.

Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 118.
100 Roland Barthes, “Pax Culturalis,” 106.


102 Ibid, 182.

103 Mary Louis Pratt, 166-7.

104 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 95. Letter XXXV to Abbe Conti, Adriano, 17 May 1718.


107 Mary Louis Pratt, 167.

108 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, xxviii. Flera Tristan also—under the influence of Montagu—finds such a feminotopos in her travels to Peru in Lima, which shows the independence of “Lima women” (Mary Louis Pratt, 167). Another woman traveller, Maria Graham portrays the image of “a Garden of Eden” (ibid, 168).

109 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 71.

110 Ibid.

111 Ludvila Kostova, 23.

112 It should be noted that even many male travellers disguise themselves in order to be free to visit some particular and religious places, such as Richard Burton who visited Mecca and Robert Byron who disguised himself while visiting the Holy Shrine in Mashhad.

113 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 95.

114 Ibid, 150.

115 Ibid, 27, 49.


117 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 133.


121 Ibid.

122 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 149.


125 Ibid. 45.
126 Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran*, 130, 150-51.
134 Ibid., 102.
135 Ibid.
136 This may refer to Edward Wortley Montagu's and Harold Nicolson's reports of their diplomatic arrival at Constantinople. In her own visit to Constantinople, Woolf recorded: "suddenly we found ourselves confronted with the whole of Constantinople; there was St Sophia, like a treble globe of bubbles frozen solid, floating out to meet us [...]. There were men in turbans squatting together at one end; they rose & went away, talking loudly, when their conclave was finished [...] such were the worshippers in the mosque of S. Sophia; nor did their worship seem inappropriate to the place" (P 4: 347-50).
138 Ibid., 39.
139 Ibid., 38.
140 Ibid., 94.
141 Woolf herself recorded it: "[t]ravellers have made so much of the virtues of the change, considered aesthetically, that there is no longer any genuine interest in it" (P 4: 349).
143 Ibid., 101.
144 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, 132. Letter XLVII.
145 Ibid., 132-3, April 1718.
146 Vita Sackville-West, *Passenger to Teheran* 25.
149 Homi K. Bhabha, 7.
131 Bill Ashcroft and Pal Ahluwalia, 51.
133 Roland Barthes believes that the woman "gives shape to absence, elaborates its fiction, for she has time to do so; she weaves and she sings; the Spinning Song expresses both immobility (by the hum of the wheel) and absence (far away, rhythms of travel, sea surges, cavalcades). It follows that in any man who utters the other's absence something feminine is declared: this man who waits and who suffers from his waiting is miraculously feminized. A man is not feminized because he is inverted but because he is in love." Roland Barthes, A Lover's Discourse: Fragments, transl. Richard Howard (Berkeley: Vitage, 2002) 13-14.
134 Nigel Nicolson, 164.
135 Roland Barthes, A Lover's Discourse, 16.
136 Ibid, 226.
138 Nigel Nicolson, 60, notes. Harold was born in Tehran, and as this reason, his father called him by his Persian name "Hadjí."
139 And then I came to a field where the springing grass
Was dulled by the hanging cups of frillilariess,
Sullen and foreign-looking, the sneaky flower,
Scarfed in dull purple like Egyptian girls (lines 45-48)
140 Roland Barthes, A Lover's Discourse, 13.
141 Clifford Geertz, 21.
142 James Buzard, 25
143 Ibid, 100.
144 Ibid, 8.

Chapter 6
3 Ibid, 31.
6 Martin Green, Seven Types of Adventure Tale: An Etiology of a Major Genre (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State U, 1991) 60. Woolf was greatly under the influence of Daniel Defoe (U3: 131).
Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, xi. In The Waves, Woolf makes nineteen direct and more than ten indirect references to India, as well as fourteen references to Africa, Egypt and Nile.


Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, xiii. Leonard Woolf also expresses this idea: “[i]t is Ceylon, or is it the Liberal Government but I am beginning to disbelieve in democracy. I should have been a liberal in 1840, now I think I am a Brahman. We are all doomed, I imagine; here we certainly are & therefore—for it can only be this enlarged—in India. You cannot imagine the fatuity of it in Jaffna. Theoretically everyone is told that he is equal with everyone else, while practically we try to be paternal, despotic, to be what we were & refused to remain 50 years ago.” Leonard Woolf, Letters of Leonard Woolf, ed. Frederic Spence (London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1989) 125.

Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism, xiii, xiv.

Ibid, xiii.

Edward Said, Orientalism, 332.

Ibid, 7.


During her first trip to Persia in 1926, when Vita Sackville-West arrived at Bombay, India, she wrote in a letter to Virginia that she is “truly a picture-maker” (102). In her next letter, she wrote that she has seen so many strange faces in India, “faces of animals and of men; buffaloes and Hindus, hounded or turbaned; faces of Eurasians, oddly wrong; faces of young soldiers. [...] Jungle on either side of the train; rocks looking like medieval castles; peacocks padding in the village pond. Roads tracked in the dust, seen from train windows [...] A Jackal staring in the scrub. An English general. [...] India, apparently uninhabited too, in spite of its 320 millions.” Vita Sackville-West, The Letters of Vita Sackville-West to Virginia Woolf, eds. Louis DeSalvo and Mitchell A. Leaska (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1985) 103-4.

Nicholas Daly, Modernism, Romance, and The Fin De Siècle: Popular Fiction and British Culture, 1880–1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 61


Ania Loomba, 74.

Subaltern is a term first adopted by Antonio Gramsci, meaning those groups in the society who are subject to the hegemony of ruling classes. Later, the notion of subaltern became a significant issue in post-colonial theory when Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak criticized the existing assumptions in her essay “Can the subaltern speak? Speculations on widow sacrifice.” Spivak elaborates the problems of the subaltern by focusing on the situation of gendered subjects and of Indian women in particular, because the colonial discourse considers women as the colonized and the black women as doubly colonized or subaltern. In a sense, as Ania Loomba states, white women undergo gender problem, but “black women suffer from both racial and gendered forms of oppression simultaneously” (Ania Loomba, 163). The subaltern, Loomba argues, recovers “the histories and perspectives of marginalised people—he they
women, non-whites, non-Europeans, the lower classes and oppressed castes" (ibid, 231). For more information, see Spivak's "Three women's texts and a critique of imperialism" 756-69, in Critical Inquiry, 18, no. 4, Summer (1985), Chandra Talpade Mohanty's "Under Western eyes: feminism scholarship and colonial discourse" 71-92, in Boundary 2, Spring/Fall (1984), and Vron Ware's Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History (London: Verso, 1993).

24 Leonard Woolf, Letters of Leonard Woolf; 424. Leonard calls the intellectual "a class of person who by training or trade or both is accustomed largely to rely upon the intellect as an instrument [...] in practical and particularly political affairs" (423).


26 Ibid, 180.

27 After writing The Waves, Woolf, in her reply to an ecstatic letter from Goldsworthy Lowes Dickinson, wrote, "I did mean that in some vague way we are the same person and not separate people. The six characters were supposed to be one" (L 4: 397).

28 Michel Foucault, 182.

29 Edward Said, Orientalism, xvi.


31 Ibid, 53.

32 Ibid.


35 Susan Gorskaya, 43.

36 Leonard Woolf wrote many books relating to politics and his anti-imperialist ideas before Virginia's The Waves, including The Future of Constantinople (1917), Empire and Commerce in Africa (1919), Village in the Jungle (1925), his diaries in Ceylon and many other political essays published by New Statesman.

37 The concern of the (historical) enquirer should be not with 'isms and catchwords of party politics, but with the meaning of man's political desires and beliefs and their influence on the past and future of mankind ... From the 16th to the 20th centuries this goal has been pursued by the state, not least by Economic Imperialism and the acquisition of outside markets for home produced goods ... Whatever the cause, it is certain that at no time in the history of the world has there existed a society of human beings dominated by such a universal economic passion as ours is. It is the passion of buying cheap and selling dear." Quoted in Duncan Wilson, Leonard Woolf: A Political Biography (London: Hogarth P, 1978) 118. Wilson quotes Leonard Woolf, Empire and Commerce in Africa: A Study in Economic Imperialism (London: Allen and Unwin, 1919) 359-60.

38 Duncan Wilson, 115.

39 Leonard's experiences in Ceylon had him towards "the conclusion that self-government would be better for Ceylonese than good government on their behalf by British, and that there was no sufficient guarantee
of good government remaining good, if it was exercised by foreigners who were not sufficiently responsible to an imperial body." For more information, see Duncan Wilson’s Leonard Woolf (1978) 110. However, reviewing the history of the British Empire shows that the removal of threat from the strongest competing foreign powers set the stage for British conquest of India and for operations against the North American Indians to extend British settlement in Canada and westerly areas of the North American continent. Furthermore, the new commanding position on the seas provides an opportunity for the British Empire to capture additional markets in Asia and Africa and break the Spanish trade monopoly in South America. During this period, the scope of British world interests broadens dramatically to cover the South Pacific, the Far East, the South Atlantic, and the coast of Africa.

37 Ibid.
38 Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (London: Routledge, 1994) 79.
40 Homi K. Bhabha, 76.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
45 Lauren Rusk, 20.
46 Ibid, 21.
47 Ibid.
48 Tahiti is the largest island of the Vinward Group (Îles du Vent) of the Society Islands, French Polynesia, and one of the Pacific countries in the central South Pacific. It was proclaimed a French colony and its population included Chinese and Europeans.
49 Ania Loomba, 162.
50 Bill Ashcroft, 219.
51 Ania Loomba, 192, 230.
52 Bill Ashcroft, 104.
53 Jane Marcus, 84. Marcus argues that Woolf “reveals the way each of the white women in their Foucauldian roles as sexualized social beings—Rhoda the hysteric, Jinny the prostitute, and Susan the mother—collaborates in Bernard’s plot to cancelize the physical and verbal brutality, class arrogance, and racial intolerance of Percival. Feminist readings often argue that Bernard’s fluency depends upon the
suppression of Rhoda, that her silence is necessary for his speech" (ibid). The idea that women are a part of the imperial project is discussed in detail in chapter three.

55 Ibid.
56 Edward Said, Orientalism 250.
57 Jan Marcus, 76.
59 Homi K. Bhabha, 123.
62 Ibid, 192.
63 It is similar to Woolf's aunt's or Mary Benton's death as she writes, she "died by a fall from her horse when she was riding out to take the air in Bombay" (RO: 56).
64 Jane Marcus, 77.
65 In 1920, Leonard Woolf sarcastically transferred the terms savage and uncivilized from the Africans to the Europeans. For more information, see Empire and Commerce in Africa and Letters of Leonard Woolf.
66 Edward Said, Orientalism, 95.
67 Ibid, 103.
68 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 455.
69 Ibid.
70 Homi K. Bhabha, 36. Homi K. Bhabha uses the term colonial minciney to refer to a group of natives (in Lord Macaulay's words) "a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, opinions, in morals, and in intellect" (Bill Ashcroft, 140) or the colonized subjects who have the desire for a reformed and recognizable 'Other.' I use the term, in a particular sense, to refer to those subjects who are socially, culturally, racially and sexually marginalized, or colonized by the patriarchal society or the colonizers.
71 Ania Lomba, 173.
72 Homi K. Bhabha, 60.
73 Bill Ashcroft, 227. In A Room of One's Own, Woolf writes, "(occasionally an individual woman is mentioned, an Elizabeth, or a Mary; a queen or a great lady. But by no possible means could middle-class women with nothing but brain and character fit their command have taken part in any one of the great movements which, brought together, constitute the historian's view of the past" (RO: 67).
74 Rhoda and Louise are both English and white, but they are considered here as the representative of colonial subjects because of their social and racial marginality.
75 Bill Ashcroft, 227.
70 Homi K. Bhabha, 90.
71 Ibid, 97.
72 Michel Foucault, 180.
73 Ibid.
75 Michel Foucault, 182.
77 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 459.
78 Homi K. Bhabha, 70.
79 Ibid, 83.
80 Ibid, 80.
81 Ibid, 114.
82 Ibid, 37.
83 Bill Ashcroft, 119.
84 Homi K. Bhabha, 52.
86 Ibid, 90.
87 Ibid, 91.
88 Ibid, 96.
89 Roland Barthes, A Barthes Reader, 459.
90 Denis Judd writes, “India was, in many ways, the most important component part of the Victorian Empire. On average, nineteen per cent of British exports went to India, and hundreds of millions of pounds sterling were invested there. [...] Thus, for economic reasons, as well as for reasons of prestige, India was described as the 'brightest jewel in the Crown'. [...] In 1877 Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India” [Denis Judd, The Lion and The Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600—1947 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) 94].
91 Bill Ashcroft, 48.
92 George Wyndham (1863-1913) was the chief Secretary for Ireland, 1900-5, with a seat in Mr Balfour’s cabinet since 1902.
93 Ania Loomba, 6.
94 In 1518, an English settlement at Paraíba do Sul [Portuguese Río Paraíba Do Sul, a river, in eastern Brazil, formed by the junction of the Paraíba and Paratinga rivers, east of São Paulo, between Mogi das Cruzes and Jacareí. It streams east-northeastward, receiving tributaries from the Serra da Mantiqueira, the Serra do Mar, and forming part of the border between Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro.
states), farther down the coast of Brazil, was attacked and destroyed by Mem de Sa the Portuguese governor, who feared it would ally itself with natives to resist Portuguese control. The Portuguese decided to expel the French from Brazil, and the task was given to Estácio de Sá, a nephew of Governor Mem de Sa of Brazil, who in 1565 occupied the plain between Dog Face Hill (Morro Cara de Cão) and the Sugar Loaf and Ilha mounts, laying the foundations of the future town of Rio de Janeiro. After two years (1565–67) of bloody battles, in which Estácio de Sá was killed and the French expelled, Mem de Sá chose a new site for the town, farther inland on the coast of the bay, at the top of the Hill of Rest (Morro do Descanso), or St. Januarius Hill (São Januário), later called the Castle Hill (Morro do Castelo).

In 1668, the settlement was laid out in the form of a medieval citadel, protected by a bulwark and cannons.

161 Santa Maria de Belém (St. Mary of Bethlehem) was established consolidating Portuguese supremacy over the French in what is now northern Brazil. It is located near the mouth of the Amazon River. The word ‘Marina’ means ‘harbour’ and ‘port,’ and the European trading ports made a landfall, not in the mouth of the Amazon, but thirty miles south, at Belém (who called Belém de Pará, and sometimes simply Pará), which lies eighty-six miles up the Pará river from the Atlantic. It is capital of Pará state, northern Brazil, on the Baía do Guajará (Guajará Bay), part of the vast Amazon Delta, near the mouth of the Rio Guanã, about 80 miles (130 km) up the Rio Pará from the Atlantic. It was given city status in 1655 and was made the state capital when Pará state was separated from Maranhão in 1772. Belém was the centre of trade, especially sugar trade, rice, cotton, coffee and rubber industry as well as shipping for the Amazon valley and river steamers left there for destinations up the Amazon and its tributaries. The most valuable products now exported from the Amazon by way of Belém are nuts (chiefly Brazil nuts), black pepper, cassava, sugar, cotton and tobacco. The Voyage Out shows that Santa Maria is “not much larger than it was three hundred years ago” (VO: 82). In 1909, Belém had a population of 200,000, whereas the travel narrative reprises Santa Maria as much smaller than Belém. Belém is the main port for Amazon River craft and is served by international and coastal shipping and by inland vessels south to Brasília. Paved roads extend to Piavi and Guajará states.


163 One of Woolf’s first references to the problem of Armenians can be found in her records of travel to Turkey: “No one who has visited the Mosque, & the bazaars can doubt the force of the current. But at the same time, no one knows exactly where it tends: a dozen stories of the place show that it can take a subtler channel, & it was not years ago that the Turks & Armenians massacred each other in the streets” (Pr: 357). In 1894, when the Armenians refused to pay the oppressive taxes, Turkish troops and Kurdish tribesmen killed thousands of them and burned their villages. Therefore, Armenian revolutionaries staged another demonstration two years later: they seized the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul; as a result, more than 50,000 Armenians were killed by mobs of Muslim Turks whose actions were apparently coordinated by government troops. Woolf refers to this massacre in her travel records in 1906.
However, the last and deadliest of the massacres occurred during the Great War (1914-18). Armenians from the Caucasian region of the Russian Empire formed volunteer battalions to help the Russian army against the Turks. Early in 1915, these battalions recruited Turkish Armenians from behind the Turkish lines. In response, the Turkish government ordered the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Armenians to Syria and Mesopotamia. In the course of this forced exodus, about 600,000 Armenians died of starvation or were killed by the Turkish soldiers and police while on route in the desert.

106 Linden Peach, 104.
109 Linden Peach explains that "when Brigadier-General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on an unarmed assembly following a Briton being mauled by a crowd. Dyer was able to do so because of the negative and reductive way in which he perceived Indians, forcing those who had to use the street on which Miss Marcia Sherwood was assaulted to crawl on all fours. [...] Having brought wheelbarrows to India, he offers no explanation of the fact that the Indians chose not to use them other than implying that that was no more than one would expect from their lack of intelligence" (Linden Peach, 93). Denis Judd refer to the same event "the British authorities were further provoked at the demonstrations in Amritsar, which had led to a series of violent incidents on 10 April, during which four Europeans had been killed and one female missionary physically assaulted. [...] Indeed, in General Dyer's cold-blooded and ruthless massacre of unarmed and peacefully demonstrating men, and children may be seen yet another example of the European male's tendency to violent overreaction in response to a physical threat to a white female" (Denis Judd. 136).
110 Ibid, 132.
111 Ibid.
112 These constitutional reforms, however, fail to bring the princely states into line with the new trend towards self-rule. Mahatma Gandhi, having spent over twenty years in "mobilizing local Indian political action against the white supremacist regime in South Africa," (ibid., 124) believed that the white minority government and their Western education had brought a good deal of trouble, corruption and enslavement for the Indians.
113 During seven years Leonard Woolf served in Ceylon, he "held several positions in the colonial administration, notably that of Assistant Government Agent, Hambantota" (introduction by the Ceylon Historical Journal, xxviii [Leonard Woolf, Diaries in Ceylon 1908-1911: Records of a Colonial Administrator (Ceylon: Metro Printers, Colombo 8, 1962)]. His novel The Village in the Jungle is an
imaginative description of life in Ceylon, which finds a place among those valuable reports on Ceylon. For more information, see Leonard Woolf’s *Diaries in Ceylon 1908–1911*.

114 Leonard Woolf wrote in *Empire and Commerce in Africa* that “in 1870 England, Germany, and France deposed the Khedive Isma'il; in 1881 came the mutiny of Arabi; in 1882 the bombardment of Alexandria and the landing of British forces in Egypt … within about a decade of the opening of the Canal, Egypt was under the military occupation of that European State which ruled India” [Quoted in Kathy J. Phillips, 153]. See also Lytton Strachey’s last essay, “The End of General Gordon,” in *Eminent Victorians*. The essay is about Gordon’s life in which Strachey explains how the British forces crushed the nationalist revolt of the Arabi in Egypt, and so on. Woolf refers to it in her letter on 28 December 1917 (L 2: 205).

115 As Said writes, “[During [Britain’s] involvement in imperial affairs [he] received a monarch who in 1876 had been declared Empress of India; he had been especially well placed in positions of uncommon influence to follow the Afghan and Zulu wars, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, the death of General Gordon in the Sudan, the Fashoda Incident, the battle of Gondarman, the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War” (Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 31).

116 Ibid.


119 Ibid.

120 Bill Ashcroft, 116.

121 Ibid, 117.

122 Ibid.


124 Michel Foucault, “4.”


126 Michel Foucault, 205.


129 Ibid.

130 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, xvi


133 Percival of the Arthuria legends is also a traveller. Percival’s main adventure was a visit to the castle of the wounded Fisher King, where he saw a mysterious dish (or grail) but failed to ask the question that would have healed the Fisher King.

15 David Morley and Kevin Robins, 8.
16 Quoted in Manfred Pfister, The Fatal Gift of Beauty, 3.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid, 5.
21 Ibid, 4.
22 Jan Morris, 244.
23 Bill Ashcroft, 85.
24 Ibid.
26 Ibid, 86.
27 Ibid.
28 David Morley and Kevin Robins, 25.
29 Lloyd Davis, 69.
32 Homi K. Bhabha, 162.
33 Paul de Man, 10.
34 Jan Morris, 70-1. Article in The Times, 15 August 1916.
35 Ibid, 149.
37 Ibid, 17.
41 Rosemary Marangoly George, 2.
42 Jan Morris, 157.
44 Ibid, 158.
45 Woolf’s records of her journey to Greece are also collected in her “Greek book” (L 1: 289) which refers to the Journal of her Greek tour in September and October 1906. As Nigel Nicolson writes, Sussex University has a typescript copy of this Journal.
46 David Morley and Kevin Robins, 6.
47 As Jan Morris has pointed out, Woolf wrote it while staying in the Cottage Hotel in Wooler, called today the Tankerville Arms, home of the Tankyburger.
48 David Morley and Kevin Robins, 10.
49 Ibid.
50 Quoted in David Morley and Kevin Robins, 10.
51 David Morley and Kevin Robins, 7.
52 Jan Morris, 4.
53 Iain Chambers, "Narratives of Nationalism: Being "British"" 145-64, in Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location, 149.
54 Jan Morris, 44.
55 52 Tavistock Square was the Woolfs' lovely house where they had lived from 1924 until moving to 37 Mecklenburg Square in 1939. 52 Tavistock Square was totally destroyed by a bomb.
57 Erica Carter, xii.
58 Paul de Man, 9.
59 Iain Chambers, 154.
61 Chinn is a town situated in the western France. It is famous for its medieval streets and a ruined château, where the first meeting between St. Joan of Arc and King Charles VII of France took place in 1429. A statue of the 16th-century French writer François Rabelais, who was born in the vicinity in about 1494 and passed his childhood in the town, stands on the river embankment.
62 Jan Morris, 163.
63 Cassis is a place in France where Virginia and Leonard "stayed in a villa near Vanessa's and negotiated the lease of a three-room 'pavant-hut' in the woods nearby" (L. 4: 65)
64 Jan Morris, 206.
67 Erica Carter, viii.
69 Iain Chambers, 153.
70 Ibid.
71 Woolf recorded it in a journal article in August 1906, when she and her sister, Vanessa, rented Blo's Norton Hall, near the hamlet of East Harling in Norfolk, a place in the Fenlands of eastern England.
12 James Donald, "How English Is It?: Popular Literature and National Culture" 165-86, in Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location, 179.

13 Ibid, 182.

14 James Clifford, 99.


16 Ibid.


18 Ibid, 19.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid, 337.

22 Rosemary Marangoly George, 5.

23 Martin Green, 338.

24 Ibid, 739.

25 Nigel Nicolson, 14.

26 Peter F. Alexander, 117.

27 Ibid.

28 Quoted in Peter F. Alexander, 117.

29 Bill Ashcroft, 198.

30 Peter F. Alexander, 66.

31 Ibid.

32 Virginia’s and Leonard’s “mixed marriage” was sometimes problematic for Leonard who compared Jews favourably with “gentiles” (ibid, 67). Moreover, while staying in Ceylon, he had written to Lytton Strachey, “the Semite is worth at any rate in the East” (Quoted in Peter F. Alexander, 69). He felt then the sense of “being an outsider” and wanted to know what it meant, “to be a Jew in England” (Peter F. Alexander, 101). As Peter F. Alexander has pointed out, Virginia despised Leonard’s family, “their religious beliefs, their manners, their furniture, their loudness and their closeness” (ibid, 78-9). Virginia and Leonard did not invite Leonard’s family for their wedding. Yet despite Virginia’s wish, Leonard was never to succeed in detaching himself completely from either Judaism or his family (ibid, 80).

33 Elizabeth Grosz, “Judaism and Exile: The Ethics of Otherwise” 57-71, in Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location, 60.

34 Ibid.

35 Peter F. Alexander believes that Leonard very “badly wished England belonged to him, or he to it,” and this desire may originate in his “intense awareness of the foreignness,” of being a Jew, a person who was not accepted in England as being English (102). His unhappiness stemmed from the fact that he was neither a perfect Englishman nor a Jew in spite of having the blood in his veins, hence even after his marriage he had still not found a “spiritual and psychological home for himself” (ibid, 103).


Peter F. Alexander, 187.

Roy F. Stueve, 4.

Ibid, 201.

Ibid, 12.

Ibid, 15.


Ibid, 6.

Ibid, 7.

Ibid, 81.

Ibid, 153.

Quoted in James Buzard, 331.

James Buzard 128.


Ibid.

Quoted in Nigel Nicolson, 63.


Robert J. C. Young, 4.


James Buzard, 103.