Chapter 1

Travel: Definition, History, Types

> *[T]he beginnings of modern tourism [refers back] to Thomas Cook and the mid-nineteenth century—roughly the period at which the short story was beginning to evolve into a distinct literary form [...]. It was inevitable that the two should converge. Travel, with its association with marvels, strangeness, adventure, and so forth, has always proved an irresistible literary subject—indeed, half the point of going into foreign territory was to write an account of the whole undertaking. As it became more widely available, however, the focus of interest shifted from pioneering or anthropological travel to the more ordinary business of tourism—holiday-making.*[1]
>
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1. 1. Definitions

In the *American Heritage Dictionary* of the English Language, Third Edition (1997) 'travel' is defined as 'going from one place to another.' 'Dwelling' means 'a place to live in,' it may refer to home, *Heimat*. The former meaning focuses on 'going' and 'place,' and the latter on 'place,' and 'living.' Both these definitions share the word 'place.' This demands another explanation, which is the definition of 'place,' or what a 'place' means. Place means 'space', 'room', 'dwelling', 'region' or 'a particular area of locality.' Ostensibly, there is no "metaphysical boundary" between two different places such as "Geneva" and "Milan"; it means, "the land between them is marked off by convention and history into many smaller independent units"[2] such as villages, cities, farms, towns and so on. The "true travellers" travel every step of the way, so that everything they pass is fully "a place" to them, because they are aware of the "stimuli" offered to "their sensibilities in every location."[3] Yet, place is a very limited word, travel needs a movement in time *and* space which is more complicated than place. Space means "the continuous expanse extending in all directions or in three dimensions, within which all things exist, variously thought of as boundless or indeterminately finite" (*American Heritage Dictionary*). As Karen R. Lawrence demonstrates in *Penelope Voyages*, this

emphasis on space rather than place is felt intensely in Woolf's *The Voyage Out*, accounting for the lack of particular topographical and geographical description; space is much more than an attribute of the physical landscape. Unlike place, space is experienced phenomenologically by the imagination on the axes of "proximity and distance", "accessibility and remoteness."[4]

Travel is always to a certain extent a search for the exotic, which one then brings home—either in the form of stories, souvenirs or memories—as evidence to the strange sights observed, and the hardships undergone throughout the journey. Exotica, in the forms of art, music, religion, dress, fashion, food, behaviour, culture, plants, disease and different groups of people, suggest that a true traveller has travelled beyond the usual haunts and become acquainted with native life elsewhere. For instance, the exotic or cultural signs read and deciphered by Woolf can be traced in her travel narratives, especially in *Orlando*. Travel, indeed, is a journey in time and place. In this regard, Wimal Dissanayake and Carmen Wirkramagamage, in *Self and Colonial Desire: Travel Writings of V. S. Naipaul* (1993), argue that in travel writing the notions of 'space and place' are as significant as the notion of 'time' and they are crucially interrelated. They believe that the behaviour, the social structure and the attitudes of people living in remote lands are changed as time passes; in other words, time becomes a way of classifying and evaluating people and society. The category of time provides the Western traveller-narrator-writer with an authorizing hermeneutics with which to "semiotize cultural difference" and a structure of articulation within which to "legitimise the colonial enterprise."[5] Such a semiotization and legitimisation of the colonial enterprise can be seen in Woolf's *The Waves*.

In addition, Caren Kaplan, in *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (1996), discusses Woolf's modernist concern with space and location, with articulating the need for the physical place as an issue of material and spiritual survival and with the "expansion and contraction of colonial worlds."[6] This shows a concern with location and space, with a room of one's own, and with expanding home from the domestic to the public sphere. This concept of space brings further questions and spatial considerations, questions of history and place, into the women's mind. Ironically, the term 'politics of location' comes into consideration in postcolonial and post-modern

discourses of feminism. It is within the context of the intricate relationship between cultural assertions of collectivity and experiences of "marginality", "liminality" and exclusion that the question of location becomes politicized in modern feminist theory, chiefly in Euro-American feminism.[7] Descriptions of climate or economic improvements are themselves also evaluations of the social, cultural or political status of a place and its inhabitants that can influence the situation of a place as a site of attractions for tourists or travellers. Richard Wrigley and George Revill, in *Pathologies of Travel* (2000), debate the therapeutic effects of travel "as a result of its relaxing effects."[8]

One of the significant points, as far as the definition of travel is concerned, refers to the crucial changes in the means of travel from the earliest times up to the present. Today the independent nature of travel has been replaced by the dependent nature of tourism, because modern forms of transport have replaced the original means of travel. The transformation of travel into tourism can be understood within the context of capitalism. It means that the industrial expansion of a country leads to its greater potentiality for tourism. In *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis* (2000), Ning Wang states that "tourism is a specific kind of experiential commodity"; that is to say, tourism is the result of the "commoditization of travel experiences," which is "maximizing profit" and "minimizing cost."[9] As Paul Fussell writes, unlike a traveller, a tourist searches for that "which has been discovered by the entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity"; in addition, a tourist is in search of temporary "leisure" gained during voluntary "visits" to the extraordinary places far from home with the purpose of "experiencing a change."[10] Such a valuable change is actually substantial, because, as James Buzard maintains, the tour could broaden the tourist's horizons, make him or her "a citizen of the world"[11] or at least, a better citizen at home. Indeed, in every form of travel, the feeling, sensations, mind, world, and even the soul of the traveller are all correspondingly refreshed and purified.

Modern capitalist culture has destroyed the authentic human relationship, and tourism appears as a reaction to the "ambivalence of modernity."[12] The cultural and tourist industries appear to be escalating in all European nations and regions. No one writes for humanity, one writes for one's own country and sect, to "amuse [one's] friends or annoy their enemies."[13] Jonathan Culler writes that tourism is a "crucial feature of modern

capitalist culture" based on enmity and "hostility" rather than unity or "community among individuals."[14] A close analysis of the term shows that in all parts of the world travel of any kind gives 'offense'; for instance, in Germany during the war the "returning travelers encountered a hostility conveniently combining patriotism with envy."[15] During the war, travel was difficult or somehow impossible, since going abroad was "a murderous parody of the real thing."[16] For instance, in 1935, during the spring holiday, Leonard and Virginia Woolf drove through Holland, Germany and Austria to Florence and Rome. The Foreign office warned Leonard that it is dangerous for a Jew to visit Germany at that time and then in the neighbourhood of Bonn they were really confronted with a problem.

The traveller and tourist are two different categories. Before tourism, there was travel and before that, there was exploration. Fussell makes the distinction between the traveller, the tourist and the explorer in this way:

> All three make journeys; but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveller that which has been discovered by mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity. The genuine traveller is, or used to be, in the middle between the two extremes. If the explorer moves toward the risks of the formless and the unknown, the tourist moves toward the security of pure cliché. It is between these two places that the traveller mediates, retaining all he can of the excitement of the unpredictable attaching to exploration, and fusing that with the pleasure of "knowing where one is" belonging to tourism.[17]

Moreover, a historical survey indicates that these three categories are related to different phases of time and different classes of people. Exploration belongs to the "Renaissance" period, missionaries and the educated class of society, travel to "the bourgeois age" and class, and tourism to the "proletarian moment" and the middle-classes of society, albeit explorers have lived all the time and in every generation.[18] Hence it is difficult to explain the real meaning of travel, because travel and tourism, especially anti-tourism, are interlinked with each other. Buzard states that the "economic, demographic, and political influences, the intellectual currents of Romanticism," and even "the Napoleonic Wars," all play an important role in the development of tourism in England and abroad.[19] It means that tourism acts as a political, colonial force and consuming machine which reflects the economic and political situation of the world. Wrigley and Revill, referring to Buzard, point out that travellers as opposed to tourists are represented as both travelling

for a purpose and observing the people and place in meaningful ways. In contradistinction, the mere tourists' experiences are indicated as predictable and repetitive, a combination of vanity and rigidity, which results in vulgarity, offensiveness, unawareness and ignorance. Hence the image of a real traveller of the bygone age, in its old sense, is itself subject to a process of stabilization, whereas the mere tourist through improvements of transportation, such as railway and aeroplane, transmutes into a "living parcel."[20]

In 1930, Evelyn Waugh wrote, "every English man abroad, until it is proved to the contrary, likes to consider himself a traveller and not a tourist,"[21] because the English believe that the tourist is following "blindly whereas authentic travellers have travelled with open eyes and free spirits."[22] Fussell states the relationship between the tourist and traveller:

> Tourism simulates travel, sometimes quite closely [...]. But it is different in crucial ways. It is not self-directed but extremely directed. You go not where you want to go but where the industry has decreed you shall go. Tourism sooth[es] you by comfort and familiarity and shields you from the shocks of *novelty and oddity*. It confirms your prior view of the world instead of shaking it up. Tourism requires that you *see conventional things*, and that you see them *in a conventional way*.[23] [My emphasis]

Fussell argues that the tourist's blindness is due to "see[ing] conventional things" in a "conventional way," whereas the traveller seeks "novelty and oddity." Concurrently, it is recorded that in the eighteenth century, the English who went abroad returned "better Englishmen,"[24] because they had encountered the culture and life of other societies via comparing them to the great qualities of their own culture and society. The tourist's vocabulary can be traced in some of Woolf's writings, especially in *The Voyage Out* and *To the Lighthouse*. For instance, in September 1906, Woolf and Vanessa with Violet Dickinson travelled by train through France and Italy, and by sea from Brindisi to Patras and then Olympia. There, her brothers, Adrian and Toby, joined them and they proceeded on the Grand Tour.[25] They visited Acro Corinth (the fortress of ancient Corinth), Nauplia by steamer, Epidauros, the Acropolis and many other historical monuments. The effects of her travel are thickly described in *The Voyage Out*. Her letters and diaries during April 1932 are, however, excellent proof to demonstrate that she is neither a mere tourist nor a traveller. The next time she travelled to Greece with Leonard, Roger Fry and his sister

Margery. Seeing Nauplia, Athens, Corinth, and many other places for the second time gives her really an infinite joy and delight, since she meets "*her own ghost*"[26] everywhere. This time her way of observation is changed and becomes renewed. She does not focus her gaze on the temples, the churches and other monuments like a mere tourist, but on the people, shepherds and the country like an 'anti-tourist' or a *Barthesian tourist*.

Ethnographers are the other group of travellers and travel writers. Ethnography is concerned with "the construction and representation of 'cultures'"[27] and races; it is a practice of modern travel which influences travel writings as well. It is based on direct observation of and reporting on a people's ways of life in societies usually not in the observer's own country but distant places, either geographically or culturally far from the observer's own country. Hence an ethnographer is a participant-observer who

> participates, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions; in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues with which he or she [as a cultural analyst] is concerned.[28]

This kind of observation leads to an understanding of a particular social and cultural group. The ethnographer, thus, is a traveller who likes "to stay and dig in (for a time)" in the host society, he also tries to be an expert in different languages and to analyze the other societies "intercultural situations."[29] In ethnography, a 'native' is the cultural figure and a traveller is the intercultural figure who encounters other cultures as the focus of his observation. Ethnographic fieldwork is concerned with showing "a cluster of disciplinary practices through which cultural worlds are represented."[30] The main purpose of ethnography, therefore, is to articulate a "deeper, *cultural* understanding" of "systematic observation and recording of data."[31] It represents an "effective interlocution in at least one local language"[32] in a hermeneutic attention to implicit or profound structures, hidden meanings and complex discourses of a particular culture.

Moreover, ethnography is not just a regulative practice of "outsiders visiting/studying insiders," rather, as James Clifford quotes Kirin Narayan saying, "a practice of attending to 'shifting identities in relationship with the people and issues an anthropologist seeks to represent'."[33] If ethnographers as insiders focus their gaze on analyzing home, they are

domestic ethnographers and the branch of knowledge they are concerned with is domestic ethnography. The negotiation of identities is, thus, an essential process including both the subjects and objects of ethnography. It creates a binary opposition between home and abroad. In this regard, home or *Heimat* is the place of native (also of a traveller who is at home), race, root, culture, sameness, and abroad is the place of traveller, raceless, rootless, modernity and difference. Despite such binary oppositions and based on anthropological studies both home and abroad have the signs and significations of mobility. According to feminist politics, home is not homogeneous but relational; the idea of home depends on the repression of differences even within oneself. Rosemary Marangoly George states that home "moves along several axes ['literary theory, architecture, sociology, political science, geography, philosophy and psychology']."[34] However, domestic ethnography, as Billie Melman argues, develops mostly as a "female genre," originally aristocratic, which appeared in the early nineteenth century mainly among the middle-class travel writers.[35] The genre's earliest and most prominent prototype is Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's so-called *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, collected during her journey to Constantinople or Istanbul. Her letters become a model of travel writing which incorporated movement across the open spaces with detailed accounts of domestic and largely feminine spaces. Vita Sackville-West's *Passenger to Teheran* (1926) and *Twelve Days* (1928) are also significant examples praised and studied by Woolf while writing her travel narratives. For instance, in *Orlando*, Woolf uses such ethnographic models of travel.

In *Virginia Woolf: The Novels* (1998), Nicholas Marsh lays emphasis on Woolf's social concerns by referring to the opening part of *Mrs Dalloway* and indicating that Woolf "sees and conveys the absurdities of awe, power, ceremony and pretentiousness; yet she also shows that there is a deep human need to belong to the tribe."[36] Woolf's great emphasis on "a deep human need to belong to the tribe" is the result of her ethnographic definition of culture and patriotism. She believes that the national experience connects all the people on an emotional human level; hence, she is concerned with illustrating society and culture as an essential, profound and powerful influence that every individual needs. The time-span and date of *Mrs Dalloway*, *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves* show that the events are influenced by the cultural crisis of the Great War and portray the social

problems of an industrial society. *Mrs Dalloway*, for instance, distinguishes between a post-war "feminine England" and an England in which the "preponderance of women over men" is at its height, because of the rate of "infant mortality" among male babies and the mortality of young soldiers.[37] One can trace the preponderance of women in the shopping streets of London in *Mrs Dalloway* which conveys not merely the social fact but an acknowledgement that leads to a trans-cultural relation in post-war England. However, Woolf increasingly moves us further from the actual, external reality and the consequences of war towards the general, internal and theoretical impact of such events on the social and cultural condition of post-war individuals. Accordingly, she is a profound and precise social observer and cultural critic, and in a sense, she sees like an ethnographer.

Nevertheless, Woolf does find she feels some "sense of insular inadequacy" during her travels abroad, her "language skills [are] insufficient for foreign conversation" or for instance, "her clothes not up to foreign competition," which shows that from such a point of view she never plays the role of a real ethnographer during her journeys.[38] In her letter to Violet Dickinson on Sunday 7 July of 1907, she writes, "I had down all the books I want to read, French and Latin and English and Greek" (*L* 1: 298). Her knowledge of other languages, especially Greek and some French, shows her desire to read and translate the cultures of other countries. For this reason, she is a contradictory individual moving between the poles of being an ethnographer and not.

Even though travel and writing about travel have a long and varied history, no one knows exactly who the first traveller was. Certainly, many groups of people travel, "acquiring complex knowledges, stories, political and intercultural understandings,"[39] who never produce any travel account. Some of them just travel for pleasure, others for gaining knowledge to fictionalize their experiences and passions in the form of imaginary writing, and some for scientific purposes. Some critics believe that travel writing is essentially an "imperialist mode of representation"; they also argue that it is a European mode and has been involved in the "history of colonialism."[40] The 'imperial I/eye' of the travel writer, in Mary Louise Pratt's conflation,[41] is still effective in an age that, after Empire, has yet to settle imperialism's scores. Travel writing and imperial conquest have a long-established relationship with each other.

In this sense, Woolf writes her diaries, letters, essays and travel narratives with a British reader, or a British consciousness in her mind. For instance, in her first travel narrative, *The Voyage Out*, as Linden Peach argues, "Woolf's use of male and imperialist adventure genres has been related to her concern with gender differences."[42] Hence this travel narrative demonstrates her wider concern with the dominant political thought of her time concerning gender identity, Englishness, Empire and with debates concerning colonialism. *The Voyage Out* is *a voyage out* into womanhood, into empire, or the protest of Woolf against male travellers who constrain women to be mere tourists or to have *voyages in* such as marriage and domesticity. In her *Penelope Voyages*, Lawrence asserts that Woolf's *voyage out* offers a modern example of a "doubling back"—moving "from a voyage out to a voyage in"—or the depiction of a journey to a "geographical and historical extremity" of the 'new world' of South America and of "another journey to the limit of self in death"[43]—Rachel's death. She continues her debate on Rachel's voyage out to South America on the *Euphrosyne*, as well as Orlando's diplomatic trip to Turkey, which are emblems of English imperialism or a masculinist habit of conquest and also symbolize possible escapes from a constricting gendered subjectivity. Moreover, based on her feminist and anti-imperialist objectives, Woolf criticizes the desire for Britishness, Englishness, and especially Londonness, precisely because it is a very strong passion within her own self. In a book review in "The Times Literary Supplement" on 9 November 1916, she confesses, "[f]or Londoners, at any rate, there is only one real example of a town in the world—compared with her the rest are country villages."[44] Elsewhere, in a letter to Ethel Smyth on 11 September 1940 she writes, "the passion of my life, that is the City of London" (*L* 6: 431).

My argument in the following chapters is to trace the signs of the "inter-commonwealth travel"[45] in *The Voyage Out*, in which Woolf portrays South America like a *tabula rasa* or a blank page in comparison with already-written English conventions. Moreover, she uses the "return travel" in *Orlando*, in which the protagonist's metaphoric *voyage in* is also a *voyage back* or a return trip both geographically and physically. Similarly, she portrays Peter Walsh's return journey in *Mrs Dalloway*. The 'domestic' or 'home' journey can be traced in *Mrs Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*, as well as *The Waves* in a metaphoric sense, which will be discussed in the succeeding chapters in detail.

1. 2. Male travellers versus female travellers

The long history of travel is predominantly Western-dominated, mainly male, and especially upper-middle class. Before the 1750s, few wealthy and noble Englishmen had travelled throughout their own country and portrayed their homeland in their travel accounts. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the travellers observe everything in detail and recount their own observation in an "encyclopaedic manner."[46] In the eighteenth century, a new group of travellers named scientific travellers were in search of new geographical and biological information, and later the missionaries who served the government expeditions travelled to expand Christianity. Simultaneously, as Bernard Schweizer in *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930s* (2001) points out, "the concern with natural history" was replaced by a "sociological" and "anthropological" interest.[47] This new mode of writing investigates the social and cultural constitution of mankind.

For instance, Alexander von Humboldt and Aime Bonpland were the most brilliant and creative explorers of the eighteenth century, who wrote down all their experiences and observations in detail, from the seas, rivers, mountains, plains, villages, *haciendas* to jungles and so on. Humboldt's American travels were regarded as a "model journey of exploration and a supreme geographical achievement."[48] Humboldt portrays his experiments in the form of a "view" or a "tableau," which he calls "the esthetic mode of treating subjects of natural history"[49]; hence, his purpose, as he records in his preface to *Ansichten Der Natur*, is to recreate in the reader's mind "[n]ature's ancient communion with the spiritual life of man."[50] In much the same way, Woolf uses such an aesthetic description of nature in portraying the natural life of a Turkish tribe in Constantinople in *Orlando*. Humboldt assimilates culture to nature, which guarantees "the inferior status of indigenous America: the more savage the nature, the more savage the culture."[51] Woolf uses the same formulae as Humboldt for the savage gipsies who are as savage as nature. Humboldt was a great master of the explanatory mode, who put emphasis on the idea of production and reception in travel and exploration. In this regard, one can see both the travellers and the travellees play a crucial role in writing a travel book. The travellees are those individuals in exotic lands which are visited by a traveller. Normally, travel is

studied through the viewpoints of the travellers, yet it is possible to study it from the participant's perspective, i.e., those who participate at the receiving end, like the gipsies in *Orlando*.

Barbara Korte, in *English Travel Writing* (2000), argues that the nineteenth century was a period of intensification of travel and tourism because it was the century during which various facilities, commodities and opportunities were improved; thus, it paves the way for all groups of people to travel. John Barrow was one of the first Englishmen who published his *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* in 1801. He was a young diplomat and travelled to the Cape during the first period of British colonization as a personal secretary to the new colonial governor. Barrow was sent on many lengthy journeys to explore the grievances between settlers and Company Officials and to control both of them. Barrow's travel writing makes very limited reference to the military and diplomatic sides of his mission; rather, he writes as a naturalist, geographer and ethnographer. Ostensibly, what he narrates is a sequence of "sights or settings" and a description of "landscape and nature."[52] The language of his writings suggests the fantasy of dominance and acquisition, and his 'imperial eye' or 'I' interprets what falls within its gaze. In this regard, Pratt believes that the observer's task is hard precisely because his concern is not merely to "collect the visible," but also to "interpret it in terms of the invisible."[53] In much the same way, Edward Wortley Montagu, who was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Turkey in 1716, and Harold Nicolson, who was a British diplomat in Turkey, observe Constantinople, its culture, the people and the invisible layers of cultural relations. Similarly, in August 1908, when Leonard Woolf was twenty-seven, he was appointed to the virtually independent post of Assistant Government Agent at Hambantota, which is a lonely district in South-East Ceylon. For the villagers, Leonard was "part of the white man's machine, which they did not understand."[54] Woolf uses such methods and models in *Orlando* in which she portrays the life of an English male diplomat who observes Constantinople with his imperial eye, but returns as a female adventurer who gazes like a sentimental traveller.

Although Victorian tourism is a form of travel distinct from the voyage of the explorer, the standardized form of account also represents a mixture of description, factual information, entertainment value and portrayal of personal experience. The cultural

values and norms of the traveller's home society in all this are always significant. The traveller, explorer, ethnographer, and especially the English tourist, is expected to be a faithful British subject.

Thomas Cook who opened "the world's first travel agency in 1845" believes that a tour provides the experience of travel for "large numbers of travellers" as opposed to an elitist individual trip.[55] Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Cook exploits the desire for and effectiveness of mass tourism, and recreates the Grand Tour[56] as a mass experience by the 1840s. Cook intends to reform the traveller's potential by making him into a healthier body, with a more "liberal and enlightened"[57] mind. During that time, he finds that the economical railway travel means that even people of the working classes can join packaged excursions and tours. Railway travel provides a fairly safe, clean, secure, privileged, and conventional mode of transportation for families and also for unaccompanied women.

Cook established the circular tours which were the first ever tourist trips, called 'Great Circular Tour of the Continent.' They conducted the tourists to "what is worth seeing", "where to see it", "where to go", "how to go," and "whom to stop with while passing over."[58] His attempts were criticized and rejected by some travel writers who were "devoting their energies to 'lamenting the lost art of travel' and [...] believed that travellers discover 'through pain' but tourists 'passively experience controlled pseudo events'."[59] To Cook, a tour was no longer an individual experience, rather a 'package tour'—a journey systematized to supply large numbers of travellers with prompt transport and expedient accommodation at an inexpensive price. Woolf represents such groups of package tourists or mere tourists, and describes their hobbies in *The Voyage Out*. Like Anthony Trollope, in his *Tales of All Countries* (1861), Woolf emphasizes the significance of sights for the traveller, especially the tourist, in her travel narratives. In *The Voyage Out*, the descriptions are organized in such a way as to resemble the typical tourist's behaviour; in other words, her text moves with the traveller from one view to the next or from sight to sight. She also displays a personal humorous attitude in her descriptions of the places visited and their inhabitants, which is highly entertaining.

Most of Woolf's travel stories have complex motives related to tourists' travels, adventures and explorations. In her travel narratives, Woolf narrates her memory of

journeys; indeed, she recreates and mixes her experiences with her stored memories. Her travel narratives are, as Barbara Korte states, "always the creative reconstruction of travel experience."[60] One can trace the signs of autobiographical and fictionalized writing as well as diary writing in her travel narratives. In addition, Woolf uses quotations, allusions and references, extracted from the "layers and layers of text[s]"[61] of previous writers. There are references to travel and to intellectual adventure texts within all her travel fictions. In her works, she explains her own desire to travel, and explores the furthest regions (outside England) she travelled to, especially Greece, Spain and Turkey, as well as the nearby places (inside England) like Cornwall and London. Her travel narratives enrich the travelling experience and the traveller's gaze and observation. Thus, it is truly significant to emphasize, as Korte claims, that the "experience of travel is thus fundamentally intertextual."[62]

Like Paul Theroux after her, Woolf, in Patrick Holland's and Graham Huggan's words, "mixes fiction, autobiography, and travel in a virtuoso, confessedly self-indulgent performance."[63] Theroux believes that travel removes one's 'self' and makes a new person in a new land. Although his novels are "workmanlike contemporary fictions in the political-existential tradition," his travel books employ "intertextuality", "performance" and all the "self-referential trappings" of "metafiction."[64] As Holland and Huggan explain, Theroux's fictive/autobiographical fantasies restate the influence of the self through the act of determining the episode, inventing its details, describing its agents, and "masking its fictionally fantastic producer" by removing the boundary between fact and fiction.[65] Philip Glazebrook's *Journey to Kars* (1984) which grows out of a trip through Turkey is similar to Woolf's *Orlando*. In *Journey to Kars*, Glazebrook retraces the adventurous journeys of Victorian travellers through the Ottoman Empire. Like Woolf, he travels mainly 'in the company of ghosts,' accompanied by the Victorian travellers whose books he has taken along with him.

In addition to male travel writers, women travellers also played active roles in travelling and in influencing the genre of travel narrative. From the fourteenth century onwards, Western women have written accounts of their travels, aware that they were not ordinary women, yet exceptional, odd and strange adventurers. The majority of women travellers, who belong to the middle-class, are presented as very constrained in their

movements. Sara Mills, in *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (1991), deals with the position of women:

> Middle-class women were defined by states of their husbands or fathers, and social advancement was possible primarily through marriage [...]. The discourses of 'femininity' which circulated throughout society at this time aimed to make this feminine position seem 'natural' for middle-class women, and they were an exceptionally strong force in socialising women into these limited roles.[66]

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, except Sibylla Merian who travelled to far away places to follow her scientific interest in botany and zoology, other female naturalists prefer to remain domesticated, gathering their samples from nature close to their home.[67] During these centuries, women's travel writing had often consisted of letters or journal entries that had been privately sent to family and friends, and later edited and published in the form of travelogues, like Mary Wortley Montagu's *The Turkish Embassy Letters* and Mary Wollstonecraft's letters. The structure of women's thoughts, desires, ideas, experiences, observations, meditations, as well as their reactions is rather different from men. Although some women travelled abroad in the eighteenth century, it was not really until the nineteenth century that women began to travel alone to the exotic lands far from their home. The women travellers were unusual and odd individuals whose form of discourses, practices and observation were misrepresented by men. In *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit* (1999), Steve Clark states that female travel writing was commendable for its "transposition of the romance conventions of heroic agency"[68] on to the women travel writers and presenting them with a rare opportunity to demonstrate the qualities of the male adventurer.

During the eighteenth century, the "accounts of scenic tourism" or landscape experience played an important role in travel writing; for instance, Ann Radcliffe's admirable and attractive account of her travels, in *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany*, includes many conventional elements of the Grand Tour account. She portrays her protagonists as scenic tourists. Radcliffe's magnanimous and rough narrative of her Continental expedition joins elements of the report on manners and conditions abroad with the genre of the picturesque tour.[69] A typical element of her work, as Korte writes, is "the comparison between home and abroad,"[70] which she defends in her preface, and confesses that her

husband's 'manly' competence in observation helps her to record and to write about factual events and subject matters. Radcliffe and her husband travel for pleasure, i.e. to enjoy the landscape, through the Rhine Valley in both directions. Her domestic travel or the home part of her journey is rich in descriptions of a scenic area of the Lake District.

The Victorian era was the heyday for women travellers, especially British women, to travel 'independently.' They also provided a model for the modern female traveller; accordingly, the number of women travellers during the Victorian and Edwardian periods was greater than at any other time. In the Victorian period, the British women accompanied their husbands and families throughout their journeys. However, the women travellers show extremely various journey patterns including travel for "pleasure, curiosity, business, adventure", "self-discovery, scientific research" and "religious pilgrimages."[71]

Korte asserts that travel writing, as a 'marginalized genre,' has been crucially attractive particularly to women writers. She claims that women have always travelled in different forms as tradeswomen, as companions to husbands and visitors of relatives, such as Lady Montagu in Constantinople, Vita Sackville-West in Tehran, as pilgrims like Margery Kempe, and as explorers like Isabella Bird. Gradually women discover the possibility of travelling, witnessing, observing, narrating and describing the important events and significant places of the world.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, with the accompaniment of her husband, who was British ambassador to Turkey, set out upon a grand tour. During the two years that she spent in transit and in residence in the Turkish Capital, she carefully composed and copied out a series of letters sent to her family and friends in England. In her letters, she provided her readers with detailed and rich descriptions of the "buildings", "furnishings", "dress, behaviours, and activities" of the Turkish women's lives in "seraglio[s]" or harems, bathing houses, "churches and curios in noblemen's homes."[72] Unlike the male travellers who misrepresented the Turkish women in their imaginary seraglio, Lady Montagu assumes the authoritative position of the "participant-observer" with her direct access to the seraglio of the Turkish women.[73] She portrays such women as the "sign" of female "liberty and freedom": "[t]hey go abroad when and where they please. 'Tis true

they have no public places but the bagnios, and there can only be seen by their own sex. However, that is a diversion they take great pleasure in."[74]

Lady Montagu praises the physical beauty of the oriental women as "gloriously beautiful," being well proportioned and white skinned: "[t]hat surprising harmony of features! That charming result of the whole! That exact proportion of body! That lovely bloom of complexion, unsullied by art! The unutterable enchantment of her smile! But her eyes! Large and black, with all the soft languishment of the blue!"[75] It was then that Lady Montagu, as an educated travelling woman, found herself to be a woman out of time and place. Internal diversity and dialogue are fundamental ethics of her approach to both travel and aesthetics.[76] However, in *Women Travellers in Colonial India: The Power of The Female Gaze* (1998), Indira Ghose has pointed out that Lady Montagu not only observes the Turkish women through her erotic gaze but also "produces herself as the object of the other's gaze and locates herself firmly in the viewing process."[77] Woolf's woman traveller, Orlando, might be considered as a proper imitation of Lady Montagu in Constantinople, since she gazes at and is gazed at by the gipsies.

Anna Maria Falconbridge is another British woman who identifies her observations, discoveries and desires with her gender "modesty" and "female curiosity."[78] As Mary Louis Pratt argues: "[a]s a woman she [Anna Maria Falconbridge] is not to see but be seen, or at least she is not to be seen seeing."[79] She is a travel writer, whose authority is "dialogic," that is, "seeking out rather than defying local knowledge."[80] Woolf's gaze is like her gaze, which reveals dystopias of exploitation and neglect, and their more disturbing situation since these are the consequences of apparent humanitarianism, especially of the British government. The political tradition in Falconbridge's writing plays itself out in the spheres of the erotic and the domestic.

In 1819, another English woman, Catherine Hutton, wrote *The Tour of Africa*, which is a fictional journey through Africa, narrated by a fictional male persona, in the first person point of view and in loving detail; it is like Orlando's fictional journey to Constantinople. Like the Flushings in *The Voyage Out*, Hutton was an antiquarian and armchair traveller, the only daughter of a local historian and antiquarian, William Hutton, who portrays her in the *History of the Hutton Family*. Catherine Hutton describes the southern Mediterranean, the place she never actually sees, in her 'three-decker' *Tour of Africa*, like

Woolf who fictionalizes India and to some extent Africa, in *The Waves*, while never travelling to such places.

Isabella Lucy Bird Bishop's *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (1879) portrays a tour on which the writer goes purely for pleasure. In her writing, she records her experiences as an explorer in a sentimental mode of writing.[81] Travel provides opportunities that are unobtainable at home, resulting in a "dramatic rebirth both physically and mentally."[82] For instance, Bird's travels in the Rock Mountains prove to be a marvellous cure for her physical illness and depression, like Orlando's journey to Constantinople. Bird appraises how the lay of the land, its rivers, mountains and natural resources relate to the expansion of the inhabited areas and the culture of the people in such areas.[83] Her recognition of the importance of scientific investigation for the colonial government interests enlarged the marginal nature of women's contribution to the scientific societies. Moreover, her Colorado visit was an early portent of her personal success as a female traveller. For Bird, the Colorado adventure had been crucial; accordingly, her true home would be in the foreign lands and in unknown and strange places, which runs through as a continual theme of her writing, as an "escape to solitude" away from people, especially Europeans, into a "fast disappearing wilderness."[84] It is like Orlando's escape to solitude, his search to find tranquillity not in Western society but in an Eastern landscape. Bird inevitably celebrated non-European culture, and as an observer, she is considered a darling gentle lady by the observed. Her books concerning the East are full of sociological discourses, for instance, on traditional crafts and customs of Persia, and economic analyses of Arab trade and labour in the region. She confirms that a woman is not physically limited in her fieldwork and that a woman can venture anywhere a man can on the condition that she has control over her means of transportation.

Mary H. Kingsley, who journeys through West Africa in the 1890's, sets out to complete her father's unfinished work in Africa.[85] Kingsley's account of Africa shows a similar openness in her approach to a foreign culture. She was thoughtful and friendly in her relations with the Africans who accompany her during her journey. As she was exactly familiar with the 'mentality' and 'lifestyle' of Africans, she criticized repeatedly the European imperial power and missionaries for their 'narrow-mindedness' in

understanding them. She promptly became intertwined in the colonial politics of the area and ultimately transfers her energies to focus on the "questions of colonial governance."[86] She believed that missionaries were destroying African culture and producing more mischief than good. Sara Mills points out that "Kingsley's views of the African as a separate and inferior species is often glossed over in accounts which stress her love for Africans."[87] She participated vigorously in the politics of expansion in Britain on behalf of a particular political position. Kingsley argues for the possibility of economic development without domination and utilization. As Pratt states, "Africa is her mother, and down those shimmering, dark and slimy pathways, Kingsley is getting herself born."[88] Like for Rachel Vinrace, in *The Voyage Out*, the jungle provides an "area of transition" for Mary Kingsley; i.e., the mental construct of a region where identity is constantly changing and the traveller is free to form his own identity separate from social and cultural expectations.[89]

Both Kingsley and Bird, like Orlando, Rachel and Hewet in Woolf's travel narratives, had a fondness for solitary travel accompanied by the natives who had not accepted the European cultural conventions and who would consider all foreigners as equally strange, making little distinction between the behaviour of foreign men and women. Both use the travel-writing genre as a means of obtaining "authority" through personal experience, then apply these qualifications to reinforce their entrance into the "scientific discourse."[90] Kingsley, like Bird, travelled to a place where the European gender expectations were unknown and where she could define herself, so long as she did not carry this newly formed identity back to Britain and accepted more conventional behaviour restrictions at home, exactly like Woolf's adventurers. Bird declared a preference for travelling rather than being in England or at home, whereas Kingsley identified (herself) specifically with West Africa in preference to Britain, not simply as a place for travelling but as a culture. As Korte points out, travel gives Bird and Kingsley an opportunity to cross the traditional gender boundaries of their own culture. The type of travel writing which women were (and are) encouraged to do was (and is) essentially concerned with the emotional sphere, i.e., autobiography, letters and travel narratives.

Gertrude Bell, as an explorer and archaeologist, regards the homeland or the West as "an enclosed garden," a "sanctuary," and the East as a place of "adventure" and

enterprise; thus, travel is an emancipatory activity for her.[91] She has a wide cultural experience and knowledge of the East as an ideal, imaginary and symbolic place. Billie Melman[92] believes that the women's vision of the Middle East indubitably reflects their own prejudices and hegemonic notions on the exotic and oriental, because it is formed by gender, class and religion. In addition, the women writers were (and are), daringly eager to know the reason of the hostility of male travellers towards the Orientals, like Orlando.

In spite of the fact that the 'themes of travel' appear in some novels, such as Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), it was during the nineteenth century that travel writing as a genre expanded. However, it was during 1890 to 1939 that the spirit of modernity appears, especially in travel writing. The modern themes of travel emerge in many travel narratives in the twentieth century including Virginia Woolf's travel narrative *The Voyage Out* and E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*. Korte believes that travel writing has various modes of presentation, such as intermixing of narration and description, exposition and even prescription. In fact, both travel narrative (fiction) and travel writing involve storytelling and fictionalization (reconstruction of actual experience in the moment of it being told); yet the distinction between them arises from the factuality of accounts in travel writing, that is, unlike travel narrative, the journey actually takes place.

1. 3. Gender boundaries

Contemporary gender critics claim that gender is distinguished from sex, which is the biological designation of male and female. Gender is a "product of the prevailing mores, expectations, and stereotypes of a particular culture."[93] It is a social construct, a behaviour socially acquired, a product of especially patriarchal culture and its institutions. For this reason, as Indira Ghose argues, travel enables women "to transgress the gender norms of their times."[94] Travel paves the way for women travellers to negotiate "a form of gender power."[95] Sara Suleri's *Meatless Days*, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan point out, provides a reminder that not only do women travel differently but also their journeys inaugurate a 'difference' into the modern culture of travel. What does differentiate the women's journey from the men's is "the female gaze."[96] For instance, regarding the women's position in colonialism, Ghose argues, that by

> constructing themselves as busy collecting picturesque scenes or curios or flowers [...], looking on while men managed the dirty business of politics, women travellers epitomize the stance of British women in empire—as located outside of historical and material conditions.[97]

Ghose adds that the significant point that "needs to be scrutinized is the site from which women gaze, that is the positions of power in which they are located."[98] She concludes that the "women's perception of the other" which is "constructed (not reflected)" in their travel narratives is different from the men's perception.[99]

For example, Dea Birkett, in *Jella* (1992), gives the account of her journey in a cargo ship from Africa back to England. As the only woman on board, she is disorientated as far as her gender role is concerned and because of her androgynous physique, the men call her 'Jella' or boy. Orlando is like Jella, because of his androgynous physique. Regarding women's identity, Ghose believes that "by locating Western women in other parts of the world," travel provides a "contradictory position" for such women as "colonized by gender, but colonizers by race."[100] In Woolf's works, especially in *Orlando*, one can trace such a privilege for the Western Orlando in contrast to the Eastern gipsies.

The patriarchal society creates many social, cultural and religious taboos for the women because of their physical vulnerability, and therefore it is sometimes hard for them to travel alone.[101] For instance, as Jan Morris writes, Woolf rarely travelled alone: "in earlier years she was generally with family and friends, in later years with her husband. When possible she stayed at good hotels [...] or with hospitable English expatriots."[102] Hence the women are considered more as tourists than travellers, labouring under the disadvantages of their sex. The women travellers, as Holland and Huggan state, "are the objects of unwelcome male attention" as well as of "the threat of rape."[103] Woolf demonstrates this idea when she portrays Orlando's (the woman's) return journey to England. Orlando's presence on board a ship gives a different feeling to all the sailors, especially the Captain.

One of the themes running through many conventional studies of women travellers is the difference between their lives at home and on the road. Susan Bassnett states that the women travellers are often presented as having been able to detach themselves from "the

constraints of contemporary society," realizing their potential once outside the margins of "a restrictive social order."[104] Such women could find an opportunity of escape through travel. It seems that travel for some women may offer a means of redefining/re-recognizing themselves, assuming a diverse persona and becoming someone else who does not exist at home. Indeed, Bassnett believes that many of the works by women travellers are "self-conscious fictions,"[105] and the personae portrayed in their works are fictional characters rather than real travellers. She adds that

> [m]any travel writers, men and women, have reinvented themselves in similar ways [inventing a new persona for themselves], always claiming to be writing in a spirit of 'authenticity' yet fictionalising their experiences by writing themselves as a character into the account of their travels. There is an evident tension between this process of self-fictionalising and the travel writer's claims to veracity.[106]

Holland and Huggan argue that the "women traveler-writers have fashioned a space in which to explore their own identities. They have used travel writing to liberate themselves at least temporarily, from the constraints placed upon them by their own societies."[107] For instance, Mary Morris, in *Nothing to Declare* (1988), considers the narrative of her extended journey to Central America as an important circumstance for self-exploration. Her external journey is imbued with an inner quest for self-recognition. Morris, as an American woman in Mexico, is conscious of the ambivalence of her position throughout her narrative and she is persistently observant and afraid of the danger of rape. Thus, she converts her writing into a psycho-gram of her subconscious fears and desires. Holland and Huggan state that Morris's journey is a test of "mettle," a "trial" not simply of her own strength, yet of the "collective" strength of her "sex."[108] Woolf draws the psycho-gram of her childish desires, fears and love of family in *To the Lighthouse*.

The women travellers validate their own life by suffering hardship, physical and psychological illness, tedium, and even sometimes death, and they try to endure and reach a utopian liberty. Sara Mills, for instance, in *Discourses of Difference*, indicates how women writers such as Isabella Bird and Mary Kingsley, in their travels achieve freedom from the constraints made by the Victorian patriarchy. Likewise, Korte believes that the travelling women are caught between the conventional expectations of their home societies and a 'counter-discourse of emancipation,' which frequently results in an

awareness of gender '*ambiguity*.' Once women achieve the ability to travel more widely and more independently, they adapt themselves to a position of gender ambiguity by taking on the masculine virtues of potency, enterprise and determination.

What is significant for women travellers or women as a whole is mobility, since every change in a woman traveller's surroundings may open up possibilities for change in her horizon of expectations or her identity. For women, travel of every kind is an escape from the recurring and tedious life of an ordinary contemporary woman. In this regard, one of the major problems, as Casey Blanton argues, was the question of women's dress during their journeys.[109] Even the most rigorous and daring travellers, such as Mary Kingsley and Isabella Bird, obliged to camp in the native houses or to chase specimens in precarious rapids, shown in "proper female dress," i.e. "long skirts, blouses, and stout stays."[110]

The Western women travel writers who published accounts of their travels at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries hardly travelled with official status, and because of this lack of governmental support, their work is sometimes seen to have a curiously ambivalent position in relation to truth. Therefore, the female characters represented in women's travel writing sound obliquely atypical. Women writers have an absolute knowledge that their accounts and comments would be considered "odd, exceptional or eccentric,"[111] and would simultaneously be accused of "falsehood."[112] For instance, Mary Kingsley omitted some parts of her book, *Travels in West Africa*, for fear of these parts not being accepted and believed. Mills also discusses Mary Russell's idea with regard to the limitation of women's texts to "certain topics," which results in "inferior" texts.[113] Russell believed that women cannot create an authentic observation of places, and their texts are not supposed to be very 'scientific' and reliable, but instead seemed to be somehow 'amateurish.' Such a problem occurred frequently in women's travel writing, especially in the nineteenth century. During this period, women writers avoided references to the colonial context.

Gender, race and class are categories which might influence women's gaze. Kingsley had to cope with the ideas about race more unequivocally than earlier women travellers. In her writing, race and gender were intermixed as she took on male exploratory roles in her travels. Kingsley, eccentrically, wished her accomplishments to be listed among those

of men, not women. In a sense, her activities were planned in such a way that in the eyes of the outside world, she was a man.

In spite of all these barriers and problems, religion offered women an opportunity to travel to the sacred places, for instance, in the "pilgrimage to the Ka'ba sanctuary in Mecca," a Muslim custom called the Hajj pilgrimage, the women are conventionally free to spend the time expected for this holy pilgrimage.[114] All women travel writers try not only to create a fixed position for women in the vast world of travel writers, but also to remove the restrictions created by gender roles and gendered notions. In some cases, however, the women could travel more "aimlessly" and less "methodically" than the men. Korte quotes Mary Wollstonecraft's observation in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792): "when [a man] undertakes a journey, [he] has [...] the end in view; [whereas] a woman thinks more of the incidental occurrences, the strange things that may possibly occur on the road."[115] Korte argues that Wollstonecraft indicates the negative aspect of the aimlessness of women's travelling. Unlike Wollstonecraft, Korte explains the positive aspect of travelling without a specific end in view and states its potential for spontaneous and personal observation.

Cheryl McEwan's argument about the diversity and variations in women's writing styles, concerning the Victorian women travellers in East Africa, shows that such variations are the result of different social classes, ages and religion in different periods.[116] She sees the women's travel writing as much more complex than previous studies had suggested. This shows that women, because of their archetypal curiosity, are more eager and able to cross the cultural boundaries than men.

Women may either imagine or write about themselves as men imagine and represent themselves, or they "can choose 'silence,' becoming in the process 'the invisible and unheard sex'."[117] Mills argues that women's writing is "repressed" and their silence is "stressed."[118] Indeed, the women travellers are different from male travellers, not because of their sex or physical potentials, but because of their ways of seeing, observing, assessing people and places. Mary Morris, the editor of *Maiden Voyages: Writings of Women Travelers* (1993), mentions the women's concern with the internal journey as one of the major differences between the women's texts and men's.

Steve Clark refers to Sara Mills, who distinguishes male and female writing, and shows that "women's travel writing is 'more tentative than male writing,' more empathetic, other-directed, and so more inclined to present 'people as individuals'."[119] Mills states that most of the women travellers construct their texts within a range of "power nexuses: the power of patriarchy, which acted upon them as middle-class women, through discourses of femininity: the power of colonialism that acted upon them in relation to the people of the countries they describe in their books."[120] Moreover, she refers to the "textual power" which is not the reflection of some other forms of power, instead "a manifestation of power itself"; i.e., the "[t]exts *are* relations of power."[121] Therefore, the works by women travellers that provide a serious and detailed social documentation cannot be separated from such power nexuses, for instance, Freya Stark's *The Valleys of the Assassins and other Persian Travels* (1934).

Catherine Stevenson, in *Victorian Women Travel Writers in Africa* (1982), states that both men and women use autobiography in their travel narratives. Yet the male travel writers use the formal distilled autobiography to elucidate their objective evaluation of all forms of life and journey, while the women travel writers construct private, fragmented and episodic autobiographies to legitimize their own subjective evaluation.

The discourses drawn upon by the women travel writers are different from their male counterparts. For instance, the discourses of femininity in the twentieth century defined for the middle-class women a range of roles, principally situated within the private sphere, that is, the family relationships and spiritual and moral security of the members of family. For these reasons, the women travellers are more concerned with writing their accounts in the form of autobiography, letters, diaries or a mixture of them or incarnating their emotional sphere in the travel narratives or fictions. Women almost travel and write their accounts and annotations as gendered individuals with clearly delineated roles.

A close analysis of travel and exploration shows that the female adventurers or travellers criticize imperialism and colonialism. Mills argues that colonialism is portrayed as a male product where females have secondary roles. The women travellers had to write their experiences within a tradition that denied their role as free travellers, because if the image of the colonizer is sexualized as a man bent on raping the virgin lands, then a woman from the colonizing culture/system is effectively erased.

Many women travellers, indeed, were (and are) vigorously concerned with colonialism, i.e., they wrote about the colonial situation. Amazingly, as Mills claims, in spite of the presence of women in the colonial discourses, their work has been largely ignored by men. She refers to Patrick Williams's idea that "the representation of British women's sexuality is seen as an essential component in the construction of Britishness, and particularly, male Britishness within the colonial context."[122] She concludes that women play significant roles in the colonial activity as signifiers, but not as "producers of signification."[123] The dominant reading of women's travel writing, according to Mills, tends to be an "autobiographical one, which foregrounds those elements in the text which concern themselves with personal relations, self-revelation and other feminine characteristics," whereas with the male colonial texts the dominant reading is completely different and the elements relating to the "colonial situation" are often foregrounded.[124]

In "Femininity, Modernity, and Colonial Discourse," Hsu-Ming Teo asserts, "British women were more sympathetic to non-Western natives, more likely to engage in reciprocal changes, and therefore less implicated in the discursive violence of various imperial projects than male travelers."[125] In spite of many distinctions, women's travel writing shares many characteristics with that of their male contemporaries. Teo restates Sara Mills's suggestion that the women's travel writings are composed of "many complex and often contradictory discourses such as those of imperialism, femininity, adventure narrative, ethnography, and racism."[126] The women writers, like men, do not often struggle with imperialism, rather in a sense they may implicitly support it. In this regard, Caren Kaplan writes, "[f]eminist travel enacts its own imperialisms often in the name of personal or gender liberation."[127] In Woolf's case, the situation is completely ambivalent, because she is against imperialism and colonialism, while she defends Britishness, Englishness and Londonness, which might be considered in a sense as a form of imperialism.

1. 4. Travel narratives: objective versus subjective

Barbara Korte, in *English Travel Writing*, claims that "the literature of travel is gigantic; it has a thousand forms and faces."[128] She believes that travel writing during the nineteenth century continues, in part, to be object-oriented and informative.

Fundamentally, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the travel account spans "the full spectrum from extreme object to extreme subject orientation," and from "sober instruction to entertainment and aesthetic delight."[129] Percy G. Adams, in *Travel Literature Through The Ages: An Anthology* (1988), argues that travel literature can be characterized by content as the "guidebook, land journey, and water voyage" or it can be classified by form; hence, it has "as many forms as does fiction or poetry."[130] He states that there are three forms of travel narrative: first, "letters" either formal or informal; second, "diary, or journal" which is obviously one of the most popular forms until the twentieth century; third, the "simple narrative" (the most common form) written in "the first person" which usually gives dates and names of places and often involves "an essay on the nature or advantages of travel."[131] He points out that the literature of travel has many surprising forms such as the dialogue form, autobiography or biography, as well as poetry or prose that contains some poems.[132] However, the novelists' travel accounts are characterized by a strong emphasis on the objects of travel and the traveller's subjective experience. For this reason, by mixing and playing with the objective and subjective conventions, Woolf effectively manages to take fiction away from its constrictions and to redefine and reinvent a new space in which things move aesthetically in the direction of the history of representing adventure or travel fiction.

Like Anna Jameson, Frances Trollope and Charles Dickens for instance, Woolf not only casts "the informal travel account as primarily a 'volume of personal impressions', staking out as its particular function the idiosyncratic rendering of sights seen," but also works "to turn belatedness into an opportunity for discovering a mode" of travel fiction truer than lived experience.[133] All these attempts are for the sake of an authentic form of experience, which can help the traveller to make a proper judgement about the places to which he travels. Following Roland Barthes, Jonathan Culler states, "[t]he *authentic* is a usage perceived as a sign of that usage," and travel in every form even as anti-tourism "is in large measure a quest for such signs."[134] This authenticity is what the travellers, especially the women travellers, need during their journeys.

In an objective travel narrative, the information is definite as to the location and physical nature of the places and objects. Moreover, the text, which might be written without a great deal of conscious planning, is solely simple transcription of true events.

The objective travel narratives involve a "factual travel account" to improve our knowledge of the world, and put emphasis, mainly, on the "object" of travel.[135] The conventions of factual travel narratives demand an objective method of description; hence, the objective descriptions are usually more favoured by men in their travel narratives than women.

However, one can trace the signs of objective-descriptive representation in Woolf's writings through her description of the castles, houses, the Diamond Jubilee Day, and some geographical places, objects, people, customs, costumes and so on. Her diaries and letters are full of such descriptions, and the influence of such annotations can be seen on occasion even in her travel narratives, such as the description of the hotel and villas in *The Voyage Out*. For instance, when she went to Ireland in 1934 she wrote of the Irish people's customs: "one could never understand the Irish: one had to live as they did. They sit in their cottages talking about politics; they dont [sic] dance much; they have no amusements" (*D* 4: 213). Elsewhere, she portrays her experience of a geographical place, Venice, for instance, a place she visits three times:

> There never was such an amusing and beautiful place. [...] We have a room here right at the top just at the side of the Grand Canal: beneath all the gondolas are moored, and the gondoliers make such a noise I cant think coherently. It was the strangest dream to step out into our gondola after those two days of train [...]. I cant quite believe it is a real place yet and I wander about open mouthed [...]. We walked all down the [Riva degli] Schiavoni last night—where the buildings looked cut out of marble, and a great gondola hung with coloured lamps floated by. (*L* 1: 137-8)

Woolf's diaries, letters, essays and some travel accounts for journals are more object-oriented, since she describes everything factually or as she experiences them in the world of reality. In such forms of description, the writer tries to record everything based on whatever he sees or observes without using imagination or any fantastic composition.

It was during the eighteenth century that the description and experience of landscape began to play a major role in travel writing and travel narratives. It was the time of the emergence of "scenic tourism," as Korte states, their purpose was to describe the "aesthetic perception of landscape," which was a new artistic style in travel writing. She adds that William Gilpin, who was a painter and tourist, defined objects of "picturesque beauty," especially in the landscapes, and the result was the emergence of the picturesque travel book.[136] Indeed, the picturesque travel writings were like tour books or guidebooks

which included description of the picturesque beauty of the sights. These texts were characterized by a longer description of landscape sought out by the travellers, as for instance, Gilpin's tour book *Observation on the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786). Both the scenic travel guide or tour book and the picturesque travel book describe the landscapes, yet the former is transformed from its subjective experience into a standardized pilgrimage and the latter is schematized into a round of well-known, canonized sights. Gilpin himself was uninterested in these forms because he believed that they are without 'any end' at all and are just amusing.

Through the emergence of both the abolitionist movement and the rise of travel literature, sentimentality consolidated itself in the 1780s and 1790s as a strong mode for portraying colonial relations and the imperial borders and created a serious debate among the travel writers of the period. In the object-oriented travel narratives, information is relevant as far as it attaches to the purposes and systematizations of knowledge institutionalized outside the text, whereas in the subject-oriented writings, the language of emotions assigns value to all the events. Such sentimental travel writers, Pratt argues, look through the language of facts and find an "alternative spiritual understanding of nature as image of the divine."[137] Reciprocity or "reciprocal vision," as a dynamic and crucial characteristic of a sentimental travel writer, means to "establish equilibrium through exchange."[138] The writer's travel narrative is an attempt to portray the reciprocity between himself and the others; as Pratt claims, it is the characteristic of sentimental fiction to transmit the political as erotic and to reflect the political instabilities in the sphere of family and reproduction. It adds a new mode of writing to the previous forms, and in this way, subject-oriented travel writing emerges.

Pratt considers Mungo Park's *Travels* as "an instance of sentimental travel writing on the imperial frontier."[139] Park's writing includes no geographical concept, or discovery, no observation, or recollection, yet personal experience and adventure. In his writing, he organizes the reciprocal gaze along the lines of gender and reflects the great sentimental obsession with trans-racial erotic relation. Such forms of subject-oriented writing plainly anchor what is being expressed in the sensory experience, judgement, agency, expectations or desires of the human subject. What is significant here is what is experienced, especially from the first person point of view, which is the distinguishing

element between factual and fictional writing. In the subject-oriented travel narratives, the speaker's hopes, desires, expectations, fears and experiences reshape the events and register their significance.

The sentimental travel narrative is in the form of autobiography; however, it is a kind of travel writing produced primarily by the women traveller, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the twentieth century, the signs of change in the construction of travel narratives can obviously be seen in many examples. Then, the sentimental mode of travel writing changed into sensitivity to moods and impressions which are the typical traits of modernism. However, the first person narrator still occupies a central position, the increased use of dialogue in travel writing has more blurred the gap between the travel account and fiction, making the travel text resembles the novel or travel narrative much more closely. In addition, the characters are introduced through a range of conversations which are invented rather than recorded.

Moreover, the epistolary travel account, as one of the concerns of women, is mixed with fictionalized-autobiographical writing. This modernist form of travel fiction creates a style of writing reflecting the traveller's flow of perceptions, thoughts, memories and feelings, such as Woolf's travel narrative, *Orlando*, in which the protagonist's "voyage in" is also a voyage out and a "voyage back."[140] For instance, in her records of travel to Florence in 1909, Woolf wrote "[w]hat one records is really the state of ones own mind" (*PA*: 396). Elsewhere, when she was fifty-eight, she wrote that her writings were seldom the description of place, but rather "records of the effect of place upon a particular sensibility."[141] These two quotations include some sort of sensibility, which remained unchanged in Woolf's life.

Woolf undertook some of her later travels, especially after her marriage, with her husband Leonard, who was persistently drawing social conclusions, yet Virginia turns to her own immediate, personal responses and experiences, which make her writings more sensitive. Her works reflect personal, social, cultural and even political changes and experiences, so they recount both her inner and her outer journeys. As Jan Morris states, "she did once think of writing a travel book with a vengeance."[142] Woolf writes in one of her diaries in June 1931 that "I had an idea for a book last night—a voyage around the world, imaginary, haunting, climbing, adventurous people, shooting tigers, submarines,

flying & so on. Fantastic!" (*D* 4: 32) Moreover, Morris writes, Woolf much admired Kinglake's claim that "his masterpiece of travel writing, *Eóthen*, was 'thoroughly free' of [...] geographical discoveries, historical illustrations, useful statistics or any political disquisitions."[143] The sense of place, setting and space are significant subject matters for her. Regarding these points, Woolf is more concerned with subject-oriented travel narratives in which the writer is free to describe her sensations, personal experiences and her internal travels into the mind. Hence she mixes her real and external experiences with her internal journeys.

For instance, the settings in most of her travel narratives have their origins in the places where she lived, passed summer holidays or travelled during her life. In *Mrs Dalloway*, she portrays London and its streets and parks, and in *To the Lighthouse* she depicts a vaguely Hebridean setting (in 1927), which is really a protracted and exact evocation of St Ives Bay in Cornwall, with the Godrevy lighthouse on its island in the distance. *To the Lighthouse* is the result of a boat trip in 1892 to the Godrevy lighthouse with her elder brother Thoby. In this travel narrative, she portrays an imaginary setting in Scotland and mixes it with Cornwall; moreover, she believes that it is "*not very convincingly Hebridean*," yet later on in 1938, she and Leonard drive through the Highlands to visit the Western Isles.[144] The setting of *The Waves* is implicit in the interior monologues of the six characters who have been brought up in country houses, which seem to be places like Talland House in Cornwall. In *Mrs Dalloway*, *To the Lighthouse* and *The Waves*, Woolf, explicitly and implicitly, portrays an England overshadowed by tradition, the decline of the Empire, the social and cultural problems of an industrial society. All her descriptions and annotations confirm that she is a precise and exact observer and analyst of her own society and culture; however, she uses such exactness even in portraying exotic lands, for instance, South America in *The Voyage Out*. Her writings are both subject- and object-oriented travel narratives.

Generally, Woolf is a writer who has nothing to do with the professional status of travel such as travel for exploration and discovery, instead her travel narratives convey her personal involvement in the cultural strata of society in the form of factual statements mixed with fictional ones. In her fictions, we can find the signs of cultural, ethnographical and even exploratory travels and travellers. To sum up such

diversifications, two kinds of travel writing seem apt for such an approach: *factual* and *fictional* travel writings. The former covers object-oriented travel writings, which elaborate the actual and concrete adventures of real travellers who undergo hardship such as anthropologists, ethnographers, explorers, and to a certain extent tourists (i.e. anti-tourists). The latter paves the way for the emergence of a new type of travel narrative, which is written by a novelist, a poet or every literary writer who uses travel and its consequences as the subject of his *travel narratives*. Subsequently, literature, especially fiction, can be a means of metaphoric travelling not only within the world of reality and the external world but also within the world of the imagination (conscious and unconscious).

1. 5. Adventure versus non-adventure

Actions or taking decisions of any kind remote from our life may be a kind of adventure; however, the routine life of man is non-adventurous. Much of the adventure writing is non-fiction in the form of accounts of sailing, climbing, exploring, or historical descriptions of revolutions, battles or guerrilla warfare and so on. An adventure can interrupt the customary course of events, but simultaneously, it is positively and significantly related to the context which it interrupts.

According to Martin Green, the great adventure tales are "those acts of imagination and narration"[145] that create the fictional communities called nations as a political form. In the modern world the concept of 'nation-ness'[146] is one of the common disputable aspects in politics: "we must approach the idea of a nation not at its origin [...] but via the tension between inside and outside, via its borders, its policing, [and] its suspicions."[147] Green deals with "the value of bodily experience, its dialectical relationship to other values, ideal or political," and states that "[it] is a theme that is relevant to the adventure tale."[148] He argues that "whiteness" or Westernization matters to the adventure reader, because the English adventure tale has not only its "imperialist associations" but also "the experience of the Great War."[149] For instance, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* is the first distinctively modern adventure story which has motivated many writers to write adventure stories, such as Woolf who creates the theme of adventure in her travel narratives by portraying a 'Robinsonade Island' in *The Waves*.

Adventure serves the concerns of an "alliance of imperialists, chauvinists, [and] entrepreneurs."[150] Green claims that we expect from different forms of adventure a "submersion in the experience," from its language, "a language of action that is often remote from critical thinking or verbal play," from its subject-matter, a sense of "exploration of the weakness of social laws and guarantees", "an exploration of forbidden violence" and "the experience of inflicting it."[151]

A close analysis of the world of adventure stories indicates that most of these stories, in their old sense stories of violence, were written by men; therefore, men were always centralized and women marginalized in such stories. Yet Woolf reconstructs this formula very cautiously and places women as the central adventurers in her adventure fictions. For this reason, an adventure setting should not be necessarily far away or remote; it can be the domestic atmosphere of home such as London in Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* or Cornwall in *To the Lighthouse*. Woolf's adventure narratives have stayed "closest at home," dealing, as far as their story is concerned, with a "very small group of cultured middle-class men and women"[152] in England during her lifetime. When someone reads her adventure narratives it seems that he enters an unknown, uninhabited island which has not been explored by anyone else before.

An adventurer, especially in its traditional sense, is called on for "courage, cunning, ruthlessness, endurance, leadership, and basic survival skills," and ultimately he must be ready "to kill or to be killed."[153] An adventurer may have different kinds of excitement or different views of life; for this reason, the world of the adventurer, according to Green, is "the forbidden world of violence."[154] Woolf's adventurer is an extraordinary individual, since she creates an innovation in the world of male adventure by adding female adventurers and travellers as well as by analyzing the internal adventure or travel of her characters.

In fiction, the author may characterize his adventurers based on their ranks in society, for instance, a middle-class woman has desires and fears unlike those of an upper-class one. Therefore, the adventure stories offer different kinds of heroes, different kinds of excitement and different views of life. Today, there is no limitation for the protagonist, who is sometimes an adult, sometimes a child, sometimes a man, sometimes a woman, sometimes white, and sometimes non-white. However, there is the choice of first- or

third-person narrator who occasionally tells the story "straight" and occasionally tells it "satirically or negatively."[155] The adventure story is "sometimes as fact and sometimes as fiction"[156]; however, there is no rule against having all these alternatives at the same time. Yet if one looks at culture as a whole, according to Green, one may find how "adventure fiction and adventure fact reflect and feed each other."[157] The main point is the importance of adventure fiction, since it is a significant part of any culture, and particularly an important part of the modern Western culture. Such stories convey all the experiences, desires and dreams of the white adventurers as explorers, governors, soldiers, ambassadors and so on. Therefore, adventure fiction is a "reflected, refined, rehearsed, and reordered"[158] experience of an adventurous writer. For instance, Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* is the adventure of a literary tourist as well as an armchair tourist in the books and adventure stories.

In spite of the fact that the "adventures of the respectable kind" reveal themselves as "political documents," Green believes, they are reflected in the "white nations' feelings about their status as nation-states and [are] about the imperial venture they were jointly engaged in"; i.e., they are "about their national and international destinies."[159] Therefore, an adventure fiction through a proper context helps the reader not only "to see the dream being dreamed" but also "to feel the attraction it exerted."[160] One of the great interests of adventure stories is to reveal the Western and the Eastern cultures. For instance, in *The Waves*, Woolf criticizes the position of both English (white) and marginalized or in-between (either white or non-white) adventurers in white culture and society, and the great influence of that allegedly civilized culture upon the uncivilized inhabitants. An adventure fiction may be about "killing, conquering, dominating other people and countries" or about "building up hierarchies and empires of power"; therefore, there is sometimes "violence" beyond the adventure story that "protects us in our peaceful pursuits."[161] An adventure fiction has sometimes a kind of "respectability," yet it depends on how much or which kind of respectability the writer desires; hence, "respectability" depends on the writer's decision whether to give superiority to a particular subject or not. Generally, the adventure tale genre of literature, according to Green, deals with "truth and morals."[162]

Green explains that the significance of the Robinson Crusoe story or the "island stories" resides in its key ideas of "modern politics, economics, exploration, science, and so on."[163] For instance, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was not, according to Green, overtly about imperialism, yet at the end, "the island is going to become part of the British Empire."[164] In this kind of story, the heroes of empire are emblems of masculinism in an England that owed many of its discoveries to the sea and the land; therefore, the importance of such heroes is recognized in the perilous situations such as storm, shipwreck, mutiny, savagery, and danger, not in political or social life.

The "[w]anderer story" or "picaresque" reflects the political significance of travel "round the world"; therefore, travel can be a part of the "triumph of humankind over the environment."[165] In the twentieth century, either to travel around the world (the voyage out) or even to read about travel and adventure (the voyage in) is fascinating; in other words, the motif of *an adventure in adventure* (discussed in chapter 4)[166] pleases many readers and motivates them to travel. Such *an adventure in adventure* is the prominent *leitmotif* in some of Woolf's travel narratives, especially *The Voyage Out* and *To the Lighthouse*. In *The Voyage Out*, the reader's interest is divided between the seas and lands with reference to different means of transportation. Therefore, the sense of movement and space creates a "sense of power,"[167] especially the power of imperialism. Such descriptions of travel are so powerful that they motivate the reader to participate in the action of travel. *The Voyage Out* shows a suitable model of travel in which the old ways of sea voyages test the individual's manliness, whereas the railways and river steamers represent national power.

According to Green, most people's adventures come when they are travelling and most travels are adventurous, because during our travels, we are eager to see things as colourful and as adventurous as possible. Woolf's adventures took place during travelling at home and abroad because from her own sense and through her gaze most of her travels were adventurous. Moreover, the desire for adventure is one of her great desires, for as she writes to Leonard before their marriage, she expects five things from their union: "love, children, *adventure*, intimacy, [and] work [my emphasis]" (*L* 1: 496). For Woolf, travel and adventure are associated with each other; in fact, they are two inseparable poles in her life.

"Colonial narratives including adventures," Richard Phillips states, provide "points of departure for criticism and resistance."[168] Such adventure narratives offer one medium in which resistance to colonialism is possible. In spite of the "historical association [of adventure] with colonialism,"[169] it has sometimes been a vehicle for post-colonial resistance. For instance, Woolf, in her post-war writings, tries to relocate or remap the identities and the political geography in the context of imperial England which is portrayed in *The Waves* very clearly.

Her travel narratives, according to Phillips, are "capable of reaching broad audiences and making an impression on popular readerships, packaging powerful political" messages in an "appealing readable narrative form."[170] Woolf's works are the "critical adventures" which use "the geography of adventure stories as a point of departure to get something new" and to construct "new geographies and identities."[171] Her adventure narratives are categorized into two patterns: external and internal. For instance, *Mrs Dalloway*, which portrays Clarissa Dalloway's and Peter Walsh's adventures in the form of walking in the streets of London, shows a model of external adventure in London. Simultaneously, it represents an internal adventure in Clarissa's and Peter's mind in which both journey into their past or into their youth at Bourton.

Woolf's writings, like many recent travel narratives, illustrate a way in which adventure can also be used critically to negotiate the world's political views and constructions of identity. Indeed, she never uses an adventure in its original sense; she tries to remain within the bounds of adventure by leading her characters into the real yet unmapped and unknown spaces in which it is possible to create new worlds, new voices as well as new identities. The adventure not only frees the imagination but also paves the way for a metaphorical space in which to travel. The purpose of adventure is to give us a magical image of distant lands and seas. There is, however, ambivalence in Woolf's geography of adventure, especially the adventures at home and abroad. Phillips claims that most of the adventure stories "reflect entrenched ways of seeing"; however, the adventure occupies the ambivalent space in which the "boundaries between home and away, women and men" may be unstable.[172] Such "spatial boundaries" also create the "metaphorical boundaries" between masculinity and femininity.[173]

Martin Green, in *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1980), has pointed out that the adventure narratives energize the "myth of English imperialism," because they charge "England's will with the energy to go out into the world and explore, conquer, and rule."[174] In this regard, Woolf creates the setting of *The Waves* in a Robinsonade Island which is "the myth of [...] imperialism"[175] in many specific ways. Such islands or colonies need three things to survive: "politically strong core states, new labor controls" and "geographical expansion."[176] For instance, India supplied this "system with precious goods, luxury items, exotica," and the "sugar industry", "slaves" as well as "the large agricultural domains."[177]

Green defines adventure as "a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in settings remote from the domestic and probably from the civilized" that "constitute a challenge to the central character,"[178] whereas Woolf creates a hidden remote setting and places her adventurers in the domestic settings of England in contrast to the colonial subjects who live in England. For instance, in *The Waves*, her white adventurers belong to the honourable English families who use their superiority to re-establish, relocate and reactivate their sense of Englishness as noble English families, whereas the other peripheral adventurers suffer from their inferiority, or lack of Englishness. Woolf shows that England and English people live by the myths of imperialism. She uses the pattern of the domestic novel in her domestic adventure, such as *Mrs Dalloway* and *To the Lighthouse*. She relates her adventure stories to the system of domestic culture of home and exotic culture of abroad. Middle class family life and marriage are two themes of the domestic novel used by Woolf in her adventure narratives.

The adventure narrative's disposition of "seriousness" helps the writer to deal with the "historical fact" and strengthens the pride of that generation, in Woolf's case, the pride of the English people.[179] Through her adventure narratives, Woolf gives us an "alternative to the imaginative world of adventure"[180]; i.e., she paves the way for her readers to participate in an *adventure in adventure*. Explorers and travel writers also write novels and create fantasies, while novelists produce "imaginative imitations of explorers' exploits"; in other words, the travel writers produce narratives that rely "heavily on the gothic and heroic paradigms of adventure genres," whereas the novelists use the ethno-methodology and produce the ethnographic travel fictions that involve the "'manners and

customs' prototype of anthropological accounts."[181] Such ethnographic accounts are the core of interest in Woolf's adventure fictions or travel fictions.