

BRITISH TRAVELLERS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY
ON GREECE AND THE GREEKS

[Greeks] are vicious in their own defence. They are so unused to kindness that when they occasionally meet with it they look upon it with suspicion, as a dog often beaten snaps at your fingers if you attempt to caress him. "They are ungrateful, notoriously, abominably ungrateful!" —this is the general cry. Now, in the name of Nemesis! for what are they to be grateful? ... They are to be grateful to the Turks for their fetters, and to the Franks for their broken promises and lying counsels. They are to be grateful to the artist who engraves their ruins, and to the antiquary who carries them away; to the traveller whose janissary flogs them, and to the scribbler whose journal abuses them. This is the amount of their obligations to foreigners. (Lord Byron, *The Poetical Works*, London 1935, p. 864, Notes to Childe Harold's Pilgrimage)

Thus wrote Lord Byron, that great philhellene, immediately after his first visit to Greece at the beginning of the nineteenth century. His words motivated me to investigate the image of Greece and the Greeks which was created and perpetuated by the people of Europe at a time when Greece itself could hardly claim to be even a semibarbaric country.

Before starting I would like to note the following principles, guidelines, and restrictions. Geographically speaking, I focused on texts relating to Greek soil within the present boundaries of Greece. As far as my temporal termini are concerned, I opted for texts written by Western Europeans in the nineteenth century, concentrating on the first two decades of the nineteenth century, because they have sufficiently distinctive features to set them apart from other historical periods. I also believe that it was not until then that Western Europeans finally acquired a clear perception of the ethnological and cultural differences between the various Balkan peoples: by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a clear distinction was being made at least between Greeks, Albanians, Slavs, and Moslems/Turks. The second half of the nine-

teenth century was ruled out, for it was sullied by harsh ethnic strife in the Balkans, which misled most European observers into taking sides either as defenders and supporters or as accusers of the various Balkan peoples. Furthermore, I also excluded the early years of the newly independent Greek state (because the Europeans' judgements and opinions chiefly relate to the young kingdom's government machinery and political problems).

The selected texts were written by travellers, and there are specific reasons for this. After 1800 there was a marked increase in European public demand for travel writing, particularly about journeys to the East and Greece. The trend was boosted by a fashionable and widespread interest in the ancient world. It was a trend which, in turn, gave travellers fresh impetus for further and increasingly frequent visits to the Balkans, which resulted in a plentiful supply of descriptions and assessments of the region. As the sole "eye-witnesses" to begin with, it was the travellers who gradually moulded European public opinion about the people and countries they visited. On the other hand, the travellers frequently found themselves shackled by popular perceptions and became virtual agents of these, presenting their images and opinions in the light of received public opinion, and for the most part reinforcing stereotypes which they themselves had helped to create. Their opinions frequently appear to carry some weight, for the travellers tend to be highly cultured individuals (by the standards of their time) and of some social status, or people with some special reason for travelling in the Balkans (diplomats, military men, or missionaries).

My research has focused on British travellers, who accounted for the majority of visitors to the East, particularly Greece, in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. After the Napoleonic Wars, Western and Central Europe was out of bounds to wealthy British travellers, but the close relations between the Empire and the Sublime Porte and the eastward expansion of British trade provided a gateway to the East. Besides, the Orient was fascinating, unexplored terrain and Greece a country surrounded by a myth that was all-pervasive in the keenly classicistic Britain of that time. Add to this the chance a trip around the Balkans afforded to collect data and information which could be politically exploited by the robust British Empire, and the social prestige which surrounded those who had visited Greece, and it is easy to understand the British mania for travelling in that country just at that period in time¹.

1. Part of the introductory comments were based on William Miller, *The English in Athens before 1821... A lecture*, London, The Anglo-Hellenic league, 1926; Terence Spencer,

The study of these travel writings (which, it should be noted, do not include isolated or fragmentary comments on individual local or social groups of Greeks, but consider the Greeks as a whole) produced the following conclusions. In most cases, the journey to Greece was motivated not by a sheer desire for genuine and impartial knowledge, for discoveries and revelations, but rather by a wish to confirm and reinforce images which had already been tailored by others and which the travellers had encountered in their personal reading or carried within themselves, long before they visited Greece, as part of the common perceptions of a closed society with an overriding sense of its own superiority. Most early nineteenth-century British travellers' images and impressions of Greece and the Greeks in fact reflect one or more of three basic stereotypes: i) Greece as an integral part of the Orient; ii) Greece as the unworthy heir of a glorious past; iii) Greece as a potential colony.

I

Greece as an integral part of the Orient. What precisely did this mean in the eyes and the minds of the British travellers? Two things, mainly:

1. Greece belonged to what was known as the "exotic lands". Consequently, everything there seemed exotic, strange, worth pointing out and describing. Everyone was interested in queer and outlandish customs, and so travellers' writings frequently bore such titles as "A Remarkable Custom of Marriage in the Isles of the Aegean" or "Reculiar Customs and Habits among Greeks"². The manner in which Greek men and, particularly, women dressed, or cut and styled their hair, the food they ate, the places where they lived, their behaviour in various day-to-day situations, when eating, washing, meeting new people³. To all such things they would devote pages, sometimes

Fair Greece, sad relic: Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron, London 1954; James M. Osborn, "Travel Literature and the Rise of Neo-Hellenism in England", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 67 (May 1963), n. 5, pp. 279-300; *Περιηγήσεις στον ελληνικό χώρο*, Athens 1968; K. Simopoulos, *Ξένοι περιηγητές στην Ελλάδα*, v. 1-4, Athens 1972-1974; David J. Constantin, "Poets and Travellers and the Ideal of Greece", *Journal of European Studies* 7 (1977), pp. 253-265; Paschalis Kitromilides, "Γνωσιολογικός εμπειρισμός και πολιτιστικός φιλελληνισμός", *Deltion Istorikis kai Ethnologikis Etaireias* 23 (1980), pp. 3-26; Helen Angelomatis-Tsoungarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival; British Travellers' Perceptions of early nineteenth century Greece*, London 1990; Elli Skopetea, *Η Ανατολή της Δύσης και η Δύση της Ανατολής*, Athens 1992.

2. See eg. Robert Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, vol. 1, London 1820.

3. For the description of a lunch in a Greek house see H. W. Williams, *Travels in Italy*,

whole chapters, and either deliberately or unconsciously create or reproduce a picturesque, folklorish picture full of condescension towards a part of the human race which, though endearing, was at the same time inferior to its observers. Greece was “at least a masquerade, if not altogether a theatrical performance”⁴, and the Greeks “busy bees”, “frolickers”, “chatterers”, “like children gay playing at work”, “inapt for serious work”, “indolent”, “obsequious”, when all was said and done “an inferior race”⁵. To the British aristocrat tightly buttoned up in his Western attire, anything different all too easily became “grotesque”; while the Greeks’ “exhilarating gaiety” seemed both to attract and to disturb. It was all part of the bewitching and backward East⁶. Some travellers attempted to interpret and explain what they regarded as Greece’s Oriental character: “The tincture of Oriental customs, which is traceable in the language and manners of the Greeks of every age, arises from their position on the borders of the eastern world”⁷; but for most of them, the statement ‘Greece is still, as it always was, part of the East’ was clearly charged with negative connotations. Which brings us on to the second implication for the British of Greece’s belonging to the Orient.

2. Greece was a wild and barbaric place, disgusting and uncouth in comparison with civilised Europe; at best it was a “semi-barbarous state”⁸. Most of the travellers found the Greeks’ mores and way of life primitive and repellent⁹, while the Greeks themselves, “a nation ... depressed to the lowest point in the descending scale of barbarism, [present] a spectacle perhaps the most piteous and humiliating”¹⁰. The travellers’ criteria of barbarousness

Greece, and the Ionian Islands, Edinburgh 1820, pp. 264-265; for the description of Greek womens’ costume and habits see eg. Charles Wilkinson, *A tour through Asia Minor and the Greek Islands*, London 1806, pp. 342 and 367. On the same subject see also William Gell, *Narrative of a travel in the Morea*, London 1823, pp. 9-10 and 16-17 and Frederick N. Douglas, *An essay on certain points of resemblance between the ancient and modern Greeks*, London 1813, pp. 120-122.

4. William Gell, *Morea*, p. 9.

5. Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, Part Second, Section the third; Greece, Egypt and the Holy Land*, London 1816, p. 321 and John Galt, *Letters from the Levant; containing views of the state of society, manners, opinions, and commerce in Greece...*, London 1813, p. 345.

6. Charles Wilkinson, p. 342 and E. Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece, during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806*, London 1819, vol. 1, p. 132.

7. William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*. Amsterdam 1967, vol. 4, p. 146.

8. T. R. Joliffe, *Narrative of an excursion from Corfu to Smyrna; comprising a progress through Albania and the north of Greece...*, London 1827, p. 243.

9. See eg. William Gell/K. Simopoulos, vol. 3a, p. 122; E. D. Clarke, p. 81.

10. T. R. Joliffe, p. vii.

originate from their own excessive expectations and the impossible demands they make of an enslaved nation: "Modern Greece has produced no great artist, nor statesman, nor general, nor poet, nor philosopher"¹¹. There are occasions, however, when, on their travels, they encounter Western customs, a Western lifestyle, houses furnished in the Western manner, Greeks with a knowledge of the Western languages; in which case, "this is aided by the intelligence and acquirements they have derived from ... European intercourse", and such Greeks may now be regarded as being on a par with respectable European social circles¹². So the British, as representatives of the civilised world, regard Greece as a field awaiting cultivation, and they industriously record the faults and defects they believe they find there. They see themselves as bearers of civilisation and education, which conveniently enables them to pick out whatever is alien (alien to what, one wonders?), disparate, and incongruous. Thus, some consciously, others all unsuspecting, act as agents of the "civilised" imperialist West, whose duty and mission it is, either singly or jointly, to 'civilize' the 'barbaric' Orient. Typically, according to most of them, the Greeks can be 'cured' only by Europe, by gaining access to European cultural trends through knowledge of the European languages and translations of European books, by becoming familiar with European mores, European law, and the European political system¹³. Even then, "it still remains a matter of interesting speculation, whether a nation may not be created in this part of Europe ... which may be capable of bearing a part in all the affairs and events of the civilized world"¹⁴.

This civilising mission by the West to the uncultural East and the British travellers' image of the Greek world are directly linked with another issue, not unconnected I believe with this particular stereotype. It is the important fact that the Greeks belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church, a confession which, in the past (and to an extent even today), was little understood and accepted by the rationalist Catholic or Protestant West, and drew (and continues to draw) accusations of "superstition", "idiocy", "ignorance", "absurdities", and "simple-mindedness"¹⁵. It was a church that to them practiced

11. William George Clark, *Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel*, London 1858, p. 336.

12. Henry Holland, *Travels in the Ionian Islands, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, & c. during the years 1812 and 1813*, London 1815, p. 153. See also, Charles Robert Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant (1810-1817)*, London 1903, p. 62.

13. Henry Holland, *op. cit.*; John Hobhouse (Broughton), *A Journey through Albania*, New York 1971, pp. 71-72.

14. Henry Holland, pp. 530-531.

15. Peter Edmunt Laurent, *Recollections of a classical tour through various parts of*

an adulterated form of Christianity, false, and hedged about with empty theatrical ceremony, "plenty of superstition and parade"¹⁶, which had lured the Greeks into barbarism and ought to be purged by the Western brand of Christianity. The travellers present a blemished picture of Orthodoxy in a context of gossip and anecdote that ridicules the religious ceremonies, "which have an air of absurdity" and "a degree of primitive simplicity"¹⁷. The more firmly the travellers believe in the Church's negative influence on the Greeks, the more uncivilised, Orientally fuddled, and barbaric do they show its representatives to be.

II

Greece as the unworthy heir to the glorious historical past. What was modern Greece to the early nineteenth-century British travellers who visited it?

Quite simply, Greece was its ancient monuments, the memories of its historical past, its ancient writers, and its glorious ancient forebears. Most of the travellers, who were frequently alumni of Oxford and Cambridge, were filled with nostalgia for the ancient world, and their prime motive for journeying to Greece was to indulge in their passion for things ancient, and frequently to purloin antiquities. They were all keen amateur or professional archaeologists (John Galt, William Leak, Edward Clarke, John Hobhouse, Charles Cockerell, T. Smart-Hughes, Charles Wilkinson, Henry Holland to cite but few), and all 'so anxious to meet with any vestiges of antiquity'. Regardless of any other purpose to their visit, they would seek out and describe sculptures, medals, coins, inscriptions, manuscripts¹⁸; and in some cases, they would even remove them when they left. They were philhellenes all; but their philhellenism rarely embraced the contemporary inhabitants of Greece, being almost exclusively directed towards the ancient world, the monuments, and, sometimes, the landscape. They therefore roamed around Greece, the ancient classics in hand (Strabo, Pausanias, Pliny), trying to

Greece, Turkey, and Italy, made in the years 1818 and 1819, London 1821, p. 114; Edward Daniel Clark, pp. 353, 391; Henry Holland, pp. 234 and 238; T. Smart-Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece and Albania*, London 1820, vol. 2, p. 97; Frederick N. Douglas, p. 61; John Hobhouse, p. 519.

16. H. W. Williams, vol. 2, p. 165.

17. John Hobhouse, p. 520.

18. Henry Holland, pp. 43-44 and 64 (of the Greek translation: Henry Holland, *Ταξίδια στα Ιόνια νησιά, Ήπειρο και Αλβανία*, Athens 1989); E. D. Clarke, pp. 70 and 74.

identify the places they visited, while at the same time interlacing the texts with lengthy historical retrospections when the places so inspired them¹⁹. Their image of modern Greece was hazy, obscure, and distorted before their journey; in most cases it remained so after their return. Through their studies and reading, they had envisioned the glory of a splendid past civilisation, and now their eyes beheld a despised, poverty-stricken people subjugated to a barbaric conqueror, incapable of producing new Delphi and another Acropolis. Hence, most of them speak of biological and intellectual degeneration and describe the modern Greeks in the worst possible terms: "poor", "dirty", "superstitious", "subtle", "ostentatious", "profligate", "vain", "indolent", "obsequious", "lying", "invidious", "bigots", "light", "inconstant", "wretched", "treacherous", "narrow-minded", "extremely ignorant", "foolish", "incautious", "utterly contemptible", "passionate", "childish", with a "contentious, envious, undisciplined and intractable" nature, and plunged in a state "of degradation and servility" are the expressions they usually include²⁰.

All the travellers attempt to detect similarities between the modern Greeks and their illustrious ancestors. Some of them even point out certain "primitive" virtues in the modern Greeks as echoes of the distant past: they compare modern customs with ancient; the language, dances and songs, diet, even hairstyles; seek survivals of the ancient myths amongst the modern Greeks and similarities in their facial features²¹. Do the modern Athenians, one wonders, resemble Pericles? Do the Maniots look like the ancient Spartans? As Frederick N. Douglas writes:

We love to trace, in the descendants of those men who at various periods have benefited and adorned the world by their actions, some trait of resemblance in mind or in person which identifies them with their ancestors; we look back with pleasure to the recollections of past fame, and anticipate with eagerness its renewal. ... Travellers, and especially our own countrymen, fresh from their study of classical literature, and glowing with those principles of freedom,

19. See eg. Charles Wilkinson and E. Dodwell.

20. John Galt, p. 143; William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. 1, pp. 14 and 183; Edward Daniel Clarke, p. 321; Peter Edmund Laurent, p. 124; Charles Wilkinson, pp. 285, 291 and 400-401; John Hobhouse, pp. 584 and 598; Charles R. Cockerell, pp. 46 and 63; John Hobhouse, p. 226.

21. George Clark, p. 326; Edward Daniel Clarke, pp. 81 and 86; Frederick N. Douglas, pp. 63, 72, 82, 124, 128, 152, 154, 163 and 171; Edward Dodwell, vol. 1, pp. 133 and 157 and vol. 2, pp. 15-20; Charles Wilkinson, pp. 287 and 291; H. W. Williams, vol. 2, p. 165.

which form its peculiar merit, excite by their pity of exertions of the modern Greeks²².

Though some do detect similarities²³, for most the comparison does not favour the modern Greeks, who are considered to fall far short of the ancients:

Greece, Greece, how art thou fallen! Once the mistress of the histrionic art, covered with odeums, stadiums, and theatres, all dedicated to the amusement of a numerous and noble-minded people; now inhabited by a scantied and miserable race ... The race of Grecian glory has long since been run ... Rambling through the streets of Athens, one seeks in vain the faces of the Greeks, those majestic features which characterise the sculptures of the Ancient ... Like the Helots of Sparta, the modern Greeks seem to be a middle race, between slaves and freemen²⁴.

For T. Smart Hughes, the Greeks are a miserable race living in the land of the ancient heroes; and Twedell regards them as base scoundrels, unworthy of the name of human being, who disfigure everything in the land of the gods²⁵. The Greeks are depraved and disgusting, sunk in an incurable moral degeneration and such utter ethnic decline that many travellers question whether they are descended from the ancient Greeks at all: "The moderns show no spark of the mighty genius of the ancients", observes Clark²⁶, while Joliffe wonders if it is possible:

for a traveller to persuade himself that the motley group, which he occasionally mingles with, are really descended from the heroes of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Plataea ... that they are the unsullied posterity of that bright array of warriors and of sages, whose names adorn the libraries of the civilized world²⁷.

Thomas Thornton goes much further:

But can men who "in the evolution of ten centuries, made not a

22. Frederick N. Douglas, pp. 1 and 72.

23. Frederick N. Douglas, John Hobhouse, Henry Holland, Charles Wilkinson.

24. Peter Edmund Laurent, pp. 104, 111, 133 and 163.

25. See K. Simopoulos, vol. 3b, pp. 221 and 717.

26. George Clark, p. 335.

27. T. R. Joliffe, p. 244.

single discovery to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind" ... and have since lain "vanquished and weltering" ... can such men suddenly recover from the stupor of tremendous a fall, and emulate the virtues of their remote and illustrious ancestors? If indeed they be the descendants of the ancient Greeks; for how fallen, how changed from those ... Who are the modern Greeks? ... They never sprang from those Athenians whose patriotic ardour could not wait the tardy approach of the Persian army ... Still less can the modern Greeks be supposed the descendants of those Spartan citizens to whom a state of actual warfare was repose ... the Greek had already dwindled into the Graeculus esuriens, the hungry parasite, fawning, intriguing, subtle, argumentative and loquacious²⁸.

The collective sentiments of most of the travellers of this period towards the Greeks are summed up by John Galt:

It is impossible to witness the degraded state of the Greeks, and to remember their ancient elevation and glory, without feelings of indignation; ... It is useless to grieve for their condition ... The Greeks of these times, as seen among the ruins of the ancient temples, are but the vermin that inhabit the skeleton of a deceased hero²⁹.

III

Greece as a potential colony.

This notion is expressed in many ways, but above all by the conviction which pervades all the British travellers' writings, i) that they belong to an empire which not only observes, but also intervenes, and ii) that they are visiting part of the Near East, where in this period the people are constantly exposed to such intervention and suffer the consequences. Profoundly imbued with British patriotism, with a substantial concern for Britain's national interests and its policy in the East, and filled with an unequivocal sense of their own superiority, certain that they are the salt of the earth, the travellers

28. Thomas Thornton, *The present state of Turkey; or a description of the political civil and religious constitution, government and laws of the Ottoman Empire*..., London 1809, vol. 2, pp. 68-72.

29. John Galt, p. 78.

adopt a paternalistic stance towards the semi-savages. Colonialist behaviour is frequently brought out in them by the vexations of the journey with regard to food, personal hygiene, and material living conditions, which are scarcely to be borne by wellbred British aristocrats. The absence of the libraries, theatres, and concert halls which some of them expected to find (!) merely serves to reinforce their attitude towards the poor natives.

They regard as completely justifiable any British intervention in Balkan affairs, frequently this takes the form of helping Greece to obtain the freedom and progress it is incapable of acquiring alone: "It would be more manly for us to assist him [the Greek] to gain his independence as a means to work out his moral regeneration; nothing can render the Greeks either a nation, or submissive to any known form of government, but a strong arm of foreign power"³⁰. Most, in any case, believe the Greeks to be utterly unworthy of national emancipation and independence, even with the assistance of the kingdoms of Europe: "There can, at all events, exist little chance of freedom, or what would really be emancipation, for the Greeks"³¹. They equate the Greeks with their Indian and African colonials and require them to bow servilely to their every wish. John Galt, William Gell, and many other British travellers toured around Greece with an escort of Turkish soldiers or Tatar attendants and, brandishing letters of recommendation from the local pashas, they demanded shelter, food, and other necessities for their journey from the impoverished Greeks, violating their spirit of hospitality with menaces. Most of them, indeed, were particularly proud of this: when Gell found that no-one in a certain village was willing to put him up, he found it

necessary to take more effectual measures. I enquired, therefore, for the protogeros or headborough, whose duty it was to assist strangers, and having found his house, secured an entry by alighting and walking into his chamber, vowing to cut off his head, complain to the Pasha, have the town burned, and all the other remedies with which an angry man in the East threatens those who neglect him³².

30. William Gell, p. 295. See also, William Martin Leak and F. N. Douglas.

31. William Gell, p. 168. See also, William Turner, *Journal of a tour in the Levant*, London 1820/K. Simopoulos, v. 3b, p. 299.

32. William Gell, pp. 375-376. See also, *Ibidem*, pp. 101-103 and T. R. Joliffe, pp. 65 and 105.

And all because most of them seem not to realise that

without this advantage, travelling in the Levant would hardly be tolerable; for although the traveller may, by the power of his fir-mahn and of Turkish attendants, force his way into the Christian houses, he would be dissatisfied in his objects of inquiry if he were not generally met by a disposition to hospitality³³.

The notion that Greece was regarded as a potential colony is strengthened by the fact that many British travellers were offended or even enraged when the Greeks were too proud to kowtow to Westerners. "Notwithstanding their political degradation, there is a high tone of national vanity among them"³⁴; "This national vanity renders a true Greek the most insufferable animal in the world, and I take great pleasure in pulling him down ... With all their pretensions to superiority, they are really an inferior race"³⁵. They accuse the Greeks of arrogant, disdainful conduct, of displaying the obstinate, sickening insolence of emancipated slaves³⁶. Coming as they do from an illiberal, authoritarian regime, the British colonialists see no difference between the Greeks and the Egyptian fellahin or the Indians. They had inherited this attitude from travellers who had visited the Balkans decades before the beginning of the nineteenth century; and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (and who knows, possibly even to the present day) they cultivated the notion among some of the Balkan peoples to such an extent that in the mid-nineteenth century some of them could write such comments in their diaries as: "I am such entertained that I am a Person in this country —they all think I was a Person!"³⁷.

The British travellers' attitude reflected the empire's policy at that time towards the people of the Balkans and the Near East. As far as Greece was concerned, it was expressed in terms of two concepts³⁸:

- i. Making the territory of Greece a protectorate of the mighty British

33. William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, vol. 1, p. 323.

34. Henry Holland, p. 161. On the subject of national vanity see also, George Clark, p. 330; Charles Wilkinson, p. 281 and John Fuller, *Narrative of a Tour through some parts of the Turkish Empire*, London 1829, pp. 19-20.

35. John Galt, p. 344.

36. Edward Dodwell/K. Simopoulos, v. 3a, p. 281.

37. Gertrude Gell/E. Skopetea, p. 41, n. 50.

38. See K. Simopoulos, v. 3a, p. 21.

Empire, whose "power and resources are illimitable" and which has the capability of effecting

a gradual amelioration ... in the disposition and manners of the people. Society will thus eventually become remodelled: the influence of English habits will necessarily extend itself to all the various classes in the community; while the powerful genius of the protecting state infusing new spirit into the heart of the people, will cause its lifeblood to circulate with health and vigour³⁹.

ii. Resistance to any prospect of creating a strong independent Greek nation, out of fear lest it develop into a rival mercantile marine power. One of the most philhellenic of the early nineteenth-century British travellers writes on this subject:

To England, indeed, the independence of the Greeks must always be a subject of alarm. It is at sea alone that they have as yet shown any symptoms of spirit and perseverance, and ... it can only be by her trade that Greece can ever become powerful; but the union of Constantinople and the Archipelago under the government of an active and commercial people would be in the highest degree dangerous to our naval power ... In short we have every reason to rejoice that the crescent still towers over the port of Constantinople⁴⁰.

It is true that both in this period and later on travellers' comments may be found which do not follow the general line of one or another of the stereotypes; but either these are retracted by the traveller himself elsewhere in his text (William Leak being one example) or they can only be described as quite atypical and uncharacteristic, being encountered so rarely in comparison to the abundant comments which perpetuate the stereotypical images.

The foregoing discussion is in the nature of a preliminary presentation or an introduction. There is much more to be said both about these general stereotypes and other more specific images and about the factors which occasioned and confirmed them. I should like to end presently with an analysis of the travellers' stereotypes by another British traveller, the Reverend Charles Swan, who visited Greece soon after the period under discussion (1826) and is one of the shining exceptions.

39. T. R. Joliffe, pp. 10-11 and 246.

40. Frederick N. Douglas, pp. 193-195.

It is singular with how many wild ideas Europeans come into Greece. Some design presently to carve out fortunes, others look for fame ... while a third class dream of "Asiatic eyes" and love and liberty ... Instead of finding Greece the land of spotless purity which their imaginations have depicted, they find evil stalking abroad as openly as at home. Naturally supposing that every Greek must be a man of honour and honesty, they trust without the smallest precaution: if they be once taken in, their malediction strikes as the very heart of Greece! ... Thus they instantly denounce Greece as the land of extortion! ... They enter modern Greece possessed of little more acquaintance with it than what arises from newspapers, or from certain reminiscences of its ancient history: they come full of their own importance, of the value of their services, and of the prodigious recompences due to them, —they interfere with that they do not understand — prescribe rules for the conduct of a people whose character they have not considered — are offended at not meeting the comforts and conveniences of advanced civilization, and return to Europe to discharge their venom, invent frothy declamations, and render their inconsistency the laughing stock of all about them. Such, I verily believe, is the true state of the case as it regards those who have returned home disgusted with the condition of Greece. They have faith in visionary fancies; they have dreamt a pleasant dream, and they have awoke mortified at not finding in reality the glorious assemblage of beings and things from which their excited minds had prepared them ... Enthusiasm is lost in vexation, and frequently replaced by a vindictiveness of feeling which urges to the most indecent demeanour⁴¹.

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41. Charles Swan, *Journal of a voyage up the Mediterranean, principally among the islands of the Archipelago, and in Asia Minor*, London 1826, vol. 2, pp. 108-111.