Grzegorz Moroz

Travellers, Novelists and Gentlemen

Constructing Male Narrative Personae
in British Travel Books, from the Beginnings
to the Second World War

Studien zur Germanistik, Skandinavistik und Übersetzungskultur

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Contents

Introduction

The present study is an attempt to go against the grain of two main trends that may be discerned in the burgeoning field of travel writing studies, ever since this discipline was established more than two decades ago: a focus on the analysis of travel narratives written by women and on the analysis of the ways in which travel writers have represented the world and the other. The focus in this book, as its main title—*Constructing Male Narrative Personae in British Travel Books*—indicates, is on travel books written by men and on the development of the ways in which these men have constructed their narrative personae. In the present study, I support Jan Borm's contention that travel writing is not currently acknowledged as a genre, but a group of texts—both fictional and non-fictional—with travel as their main theme; this view is strengthened by Bożena Witosz's claim that these texts are related through "family resemblance." I also argue—again following Jan Borm—that the travel book (alternatively called the "travelogue") should be treated as a distinct literary genre and that its three key features include: the non-fictional dominant, the reader's assumption that the journeys described have taken place in reality, and the identity of the author, narrator and principal character. In this study I apply Borm's taxonomy diachronically and argue that the birth of the new genre of travel book should be located in the middle of the eighteenth century in such texts as Henry Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (1755) and Tobias Smollett's *Travels through France and Italy* (1766). I present the development of non-fictional travel narratives before Fielding and Smollett, between the end of Antiquity and the middle of the eighteenth century. I propose to call these texts "pre-travelogues"[1] and claim that they are distinctly different from the travel books written after 1755. I argue that pre-travelogues exhibit an accumulation of features and themes

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1   Some of the key terminological inconsistencies, problems and dilemmas related to the field of "travel writing" are discussed in Chapter One, in this volume. However, I feel that one explanation should be presented here. In the present study I have decided to use the term "travel book," more widespread in the British literary tradition, rather than its more "American" equivalent "travelogue." When confronted with the idea of inventing a label for a group of non-fictional travel narratives such as *Itinerarium Egeriae,* Walter Raleigh's *The Disoverie of Guyana* or Thomas Coryate's *Crudities*, texts showing many similarities with the "travel books" written after Henry Fielding's *Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* and yet, markedly different, the coinage which seemed obvious at first was "pre-travel book." But I soon realized that because of the two word, non- hyphenated nature of the term "travel book," adding a prefix "pre" followed by a hyphen, would result in a situation when the new coinage would be understood as a "book" written in the era described as "pre-travel," rather than a "travel book" written in the period before "travel books" *sensu stricto* were written. Therefore, despite the potential accusations of terminological inconsistency (relying on "British" "travel books" and American "travelogues" in one study) I have opted for the coinage "pre-travelogue."

which—together with social and literary developments connected with the position and the self-awareness of the middle class in Britain—brought about a qualitative change, which occurred around 1750, and that the genre of the travel book was born then. I attempt to demonstrate how the genre has been evolving dynamically since then and claim a crucial role in the genre for the constructed narrative persona. The changes in the concept of a gentleman in Britain in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are analysed as being particularly crucial for the developments in the ways male travel writers tended to represent themselves in their travel books.

In order to elaborate my main argument, I rely on a wide and hybrid range of theoretical positions and concepts. For the treatment of the issue of literary genre I follow French scholars of post-structuralist background, Tzvetan Todorov and Gérald Genette, as well as the so called "cultural theory of literature." The specific concepts developed within these approaches, which I find particularly useful in the diachronic treatment of travel books are: Todorov's opposition between "fiction and diction," Genette's "genre contract" and "paratext," as well as Barbara Korte's version of the "circuit of culture." In arguing for the placing of the origins of the genre of travel book in the middle of eighteenth century and "relegating" the earlier non-fictional, first person travel narratives to the category of "pre-travelogues," I rely on two disparate streams of arguments. The first one is based on the concept of the "referential pact, as derived from Phillipe Lejaune's "autobiographical pact." The second one relies on Henry Fielding's use of the differences between two modes of realistic novel writing existing at the time, modes which Michael McKeon called "naïve realism" and "extreme scepticism." In my view, the birth of the genre of the travel book should be analysed alongside, and together with, two other genres which emerged in this period: the novel and the autobiography. I argue that the birth of these three genres was intricately connected with the dynamic development of the concept of the individual, unique, bourgeois "self." I also argue that the development of the travel book as a genre from the middle of the eighteenth century coincided with the beginnings of the so called "celebrity culture," and that the genre of the travel book, from its beginning, was dominated by celebrity novelists both male and female: Henry Fielding, Tobias Smollett, Ann Radcliffe, Mary Shelley, Frances Trollope, Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope, Henry James, D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, and Evelyn Waugh.

I rely on the notion of "discourse," as developed by Michel Foucault, and adopted for travel writing studies by such eminent scholars as Edward Said, Sarah Mills and Elizabeth Bohls. I follow the development in the ways of constructing narrative persona in the British travel books of the second half of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, from the perspective of the genre of the travel book being not only a generic, but also a discursive hybrid. I approach travel book writers' self-fashioning as restricted and limited by a range of disparate discourses and attempt to analyse the synergy and friction in travel books of such

discourses as: sentimental, scientific, aesthetic, colonial, classical and the discourse of mercantile good sense.

For the study of the ways in which male travel writers have constructed their narrative personae, I also rely on fundamental achievements and findings in the field of sociology, and their applications in the field of history, literary and cultural studies. The notions which have been particularly potent and useful include: R.W. Connell's "hegemonic masculinity" (in its "historicised" version of John Tosh), Jonathan Culler's dichotomy "traveller/tourist" (in its "historicised" version of James Buzard) as well as John Urry's "tourist gaze."

Travellers, Novelists and Gentlemen: Constructing Male Narrative Personae in British Travel Books is divided into two parts, each consisting of three chapters. Part One is concentrated on the theoretical and historical aspects of the problems of travel writing, non-fictionality in the context of literary studies and (self)-representation in disparate discourses. Part Two contains three "case studies," an analysis of the travel books written by three key British novelists and prolific travel book writers of the inter-war period: D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh.

Chapter One opens with the analysis of the generic debate which has taken place in anglophone literary studies in connection with travel writing in general and travel books in particular. First the synchronic and then the diachronic perspective are outlined. The second part of the chapter introduces the key theoretical concepts which have been relied on and applied to follow the main argument made in the present study, namely that the birth of the genre of the travel book should be located in the middle of the eighteenth century and that from the beginning, one of the genre's key features was the self-fashioning of celebrity professional writers.

Chapter Two traces the history of travel writing from the perspective of distinguishing between its empirical and fictional branches. The non-fictional travel narratives written in the ancient Greek tradition, such as Herodotus's *History of the Persian Wars* and Pausanias's *Guide to Greece*, are shown to be distinctly different—mostly because of their lack of the structural focus on the "self"—from "pre-travelogues." The concept of a "pre-travelogue" is introduced to cater for the whole category of non-fictional travel narratives from *Itineriarium Egeriae* at the end of the fourth century to the "voyages and travels" immediately preceding Fielding's *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* published in 1755. The development of "pre-travelogues" is seen as a steady accumulation of features connected with the evolving concepts of subjectivity, non-fictionality, the individual self, as well as a means of representing "the self" textually. This long and unsteady process finally culminated in—what from the vantage point of the beginning of the twenty first century might be conceptualized as—the birth of the genre of the travel book.

Chapter Three presents the developments of the ways in which male narrative personae were constructed in British travel books since the middle of the eighteenth century to the outbreak of the Great War. Travel books written in this period are

presented as discursive hybrids, but at the same time it is claimed, that in the great majority of cases, one particular discourse might be described as dominant and prevailing. The taxonomy of travel books written between 1755 and 1914 is postulated as dividing them, according to the dominant discourse, into: aesthetic, sentimental and imperialist ones. The changes in the ways of constructing narrative personae are analysed through the lens of Barbara Korte's version of the concept of the "circuit of culture," separately for each of the main categories of travel books and with a focus on the most influential travel book writers in each group.

Travelling was one of the key and recurrent themes in the British literary scene in the period between the wars; as Samuel Hynes observed in his classic study of the literature of this period: "the journey itself [was] the most insistent of 'thirties metaphors.'"[2] Travel was central to the period's masterpieces both in verse and in prose, in James Joyce's *Ulysses* and in T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*. But travel in that period was rendered not only metaphorically in High Literature, but also much more commercially in travel books. As Valentine Cunningham testified "there was a huge audience for travel books. The thirst for news from somewhere else scarcely let up."[3] In fact, the genre enjoyed a long spell of almost unbroken and growing popularity since it had been established in the middle of the eighteenth century and got "disentangled" out of the earlier amorphous, supra-generic category of "travels and voyages." There were more than one hundred travel books published in Britain between the wars, which more than doubled the numbers from the previous two decades.[4] Many of these books were written by professional novelists, journalists, intellectuals, poets and other men of letters, like: Graham Greene, George Orwell, Norman Douglas, D.H. Lawrence, T.E. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Osbert Sitwell, W. H. Auden, Christopher Isherwood, Rebecca West and Freya Stark. Bernard Schweizer noticed that, "[t]hose who, like C. Day-Lewis, stayed at home, were almost an anomaly."[5] Moreover, there was a tiny group of writers who managed to establish their reputation as professional travel book writers, among them, Robert Byron and Peter Fleming. There were also books published by men who had

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2   Samuel Hynes, *The Auden Generation: Literature and Politics in England in the '30s* (London: Bodley Head, 1976), p. 229.

3   Valentine Cunningham, *British Writers of the Thirties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 349.

4   These figures are taken from "Travel Writing Since 1900: A Selective Chronology" and "Travel Writing Since 1900:A Selective Bibliography" in: Michael Kowalewski, ed., *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp. 289-356. Kowalewski states that: "This bibliography, while not exhaustive, is designed to convey a sense of the range, diversity, and multicultural richness of travel writing in this century." (p. 287). See also: Bernard Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road*, *The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930's* (Charlottesville & London: University Press of Virginia, 2001), footnote 4, p. 187.

5   Bernard Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road,* p. 2.

acquired their celebrity status outside the literary world, like *I Search for Truth in Russia* (1936) written by Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress. There were also numerous books written by men and women of no celebrity status who managed to persuade their publishers, or more often, risked their own money to publish their non-fictional travel accounts. Yet, it was the professional writers, particularly novelists, who thrived on the popularity of the travel book with the readers, more than anyone else. The reasons for this were manifold. They had a clear advantage over other tourists and travellers willing to textualize their travels into travel books: they had contacts in the world of publishing, as well as a reputation for the highest skills in creative writing and a certain degree of celebrity status that they had earned as successful novelists, and they were not bound by the place and time restrictions of a regular nine-to-five job. When travel abroad became possible after the austerities and limitations of the Great War, many of them, like D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley or Robert Graves, left Britain for good and became nomadic ex-patriots, revisiting Britain mostly to negotiate and sign contracts for new books, as well as to renew their celebrity status. Some of them, like Evelyn Waugh, Somerset Maugham or W.H. Auden, retained Britain as their place of permanent residence, but travelled abroad, often to warmer climates during the colder months in the northern hemisphere. The desire to travel to warm places and the "vogue to travel" abroad that existed in this period were not only strengthened, but in many cases made possible, by Britain's monetary policy, the gold standard of the pound sterling, which meant that it was much cheaper to live abroad than at home.

British travel books of the 1920s and 1930s described a huge variety of journeys ranging from long and exotic ones to short "Home Tours." From Aldous Huxley's around the world tour in *Jesting Pilate* to George Orwell's short visit to depression-stricken Wigan. From the arduous trek through the Amazon jungle of Peter Fleming in *Brazilian Adventure* and Evelyn Waugh in *Ninety-Two Days* to safe tourist trips in Aldous Huxley's *Along the Road* or J.B. Priestley's *English Journey*. It is not the exoticism or its lack of destination, nor the means of transport that are characteristic of all inter-war travel books, but something else—the subjectivity of the account, the personal angle, the foregrounding of the self against both the other and the world.

So far, two book length studies of British travel books between the wars have been published: Paul Fussell's *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (1980) and Bernard Schweizer's *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing in the 1930's* (2001). They were focused on different aspects of the period's travel books: Fussell's on the authors' celebration of their freedom and elite status as "travellers" rather than "tourists." Schweizer's on the extent to which, in this period, travel and politics were "inseparable companions."[6]

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6   Schweizer, *Radicals on the Road,* p. 4.

Both Fussell and Schweizer resorted to the method of "case studies," the selection of a relatively small group of travel book writers for an in depth analysis in order to demonstrate more general tendencies and trends.[7] I have adopted a similar strategy in *Travellers, Gentlemen and Novelists: Constructing Male Narrative Personae in British Travel Books* and have chosen to analyse the travel books of a selected group of writers: D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh.

The major aim of Part Two is to show the ways in which the narrative personae were constructed in the travel books of three British novelists and travel book writers of the period: D.H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley and Evelyn Waugh. These particular writers have been selected for the fact that their prolific output in the field of travel book writing—Lawrence published six travel books, Huxley three and Waugh seven—allows the analysis and comparison of alterations and the development of strategies used to create their narrative personae and also to draw some more general conclusions about the nature of this construction, its limitations and possibilities. Yet, unlike Paul Fussell and Bernard Schweizer, I have decided to present developments in the field of travel books in the wider historical context, attempting, in Part One of the book, to trace generic and discursive changes and oscillations, since Herodotus's *The History of the Persian Wars* on the one hand, and Henry Fielding's *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon*, on the other. Such a move, I sincerely hope, has helped me to approach British travel books written in-between the wars from a novel perspective.

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7   Paul Fussell chose the travel books of Graham Greene, Robert Byron, Norman Douglas, D.H. Lawrence and Evelyn Waugh. Bernard Schweizer concentrated on George Orwell, Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene and Rebecca West.

PART ONE

Chapter One
Travel Books as Objects of Scholarly Interest

Travel Books and Travel Writing: Generic Issues in Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives

The Anti-Generic Bias of Anglophone Scholarship

Charles Forsdick—himself a professor of French Literature at Liverpool University and the author of numerous articles and four books on travel literature in French—wrote in *New Approaches to Twentieth-Century Travel Literature in French: Genre, History, Theory* (2006) that:

> It has been claimed that anglophone scholarship, heavily influenced by postcolonialism and notions of (neo)colonial discourse, has focused on travel literature's ideological taintedness to the detriment of considerations of the text's literariness, whereas many francophone scholars, drawing on narratology and genre theory, tend to emphasize literary typology to the detriment of understanding what Edward Said has usefully dubbed the "text's worldliness."[1]

And by quickly adding that "careful consideration of form and genre can in fact enable reflection on the textualization of travel,"[2] he expressed his conviction that a middle of the road approach, avoiding the extremities of anglophone and francophone scholarship, and at the same time drawing strongly on both of them is possible; he was to put this into practise in his book. I, in turn, believe that such an approach can be fruitfully employed to trace the developments of the travel book as a genre.

Considerations in relation to forms, history, generic definitions and generic boundaries have never been at the centre of the attention of anglophone scholars since they started writing in a more or less regular fashion about travel literature in the late 1970s. This generalization seems to be true both with regard to scholars adopting the new postcolonial approach following in the wake of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and those scholars approaching travel literature from a more

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1   Charles Forsdick, Feroza Basu and Siobhan Shilton, *New Approaches to Twentieth-Century Travel Literature in French: Genre, History, Theory* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 14-15.

2   Forsdick, *New Approaches,* p. 15.

traditional, liberal humanist perspective such as Paul Fussell in *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (1980), Mark Cocker in *Loneliness and Time: The Story of British Travel Writing* (1992) or Bernard Schweizer in *Radicals on the Road: The Politics of English Travel Writing* (2001).

Paradoxically, one of the strongest and most radical anti-generic statements in the field of travel writing studies has come from Tim Youngs, Professor of English and Travel Writing at Nottingham Trent University, director of the Centre for Travel Writing and editor of the journal "Studies in Travel Writing" which has been published since 1997. In his first book on travel writing *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues 1815-1900* (1994) Tim Youngs wrote:

> Travel writing feeds from and back into other forms of literature. To try to identify boundaries between various forms would be impossible and I would be deeply suspicious of any attempt at the task.[3]

Mary Baine Campbell is another important scholar in the field of travel writing studies with a strong anti-generic focus. In the two influential texts she has written, her theoretical positions are distinctly different; what they have in common is their anti-generic attitude. In the introduction to her book *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing 400-1600* (1988) Campbell declared:

> The history of the travel book before the seventeenth century is, from our perspective, a *pre*history, a history of the slow assembling of the features that now identify a work as "travel literature." It is perhaps only from the armchair of the postcolonial twentieth century that these works can be seen as bearing a close enough family resemblance to constitute a genre.[4]

It is crucial to note here that Campbell, in *The Witness and the Other World*, used such terms as "travel literature," "travel book" and "travelogue" interchangeably, as if they were synonymous expressions. Fearing that using a twentieth century "armchair" and "postcolonial" concept of "travel literature" as a genre for the interpretation of older texts would be "anachronistic," Campbell proposed dropping

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3   Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1815-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 8.

4   Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing. 400-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 5. The phrase "family resemblance" appears in Campbell's book just once more, and also on page 5: "Attention will be paid to the modern writing as it bears a significant family resemblance to the modern genre, of which the first substantial instance is Egeria's account of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land." The concept of "family resemblance," as derived from Ludwig Wittgenstein's 'Familienähnlichket', is crucial in Bożena Witosz's theory of genres in travel literature as proposed in: Bożena Witosz, "Gatunki Podróżnicze w Typologicznym Ujęciu Geneologii Lingwistycznej" in *Wokół reportażu podróżniczego. Tom 2*, ed. Dariusz Rott, (Katowice, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2007), pp. 11-29. There exists no indication, however, that Campbell was consciously applying the term in Wittgenstein's (and Witosz's) way at all. It seems that the term "family resemblance" was used by her in the sense of "similarities" or "intrinsic similarities."

the generic issues and adopting a method she called "a chronological discussion of selected texts"[5] which "avoids some of the distortions of critical anachronism; each text is viewed as it was written and initially received in light of its own literary past and present."[6]

The position adopted by Mary Baine Campbell in a text entitled "Travel writing and its theory," which became the final chapter of *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002) is markedly different. In the opening paragraph she stated:

> 'Travel literature' is the significantly *generic* descriptor that has succeeded the Modern Language Association Biography's pre-1980s 'travel, treatment of'. But as a tool it cannot complete a search for relevant critical and theoretical materials.[7]

And later on in her text she expanded this tenet, expressing her doubts about the potential value of the concept of a genre for future studies within the field of travel literature:

> Much early work, both before and after the new spotlights were first shone on the imperial texts of information, was given to traditionally literary questions of genre and tradition, voice and fictionality. Although these topics may seem quaint from the point of view of the highly articulated theoretical advances of the 1990s, they were useful not as mere objects of conceptual repudiation but in fact as minesweeping tools and empirical groundwork for the development of reception histories[...] The sense of travel writing as a genre was, where it manifested itself, often crude and restrictive, but the articulated concept of a corpus or 'tradition' was in fact useful, especially to social historians, in showing contemporary readers how to be proficient at reading *with* the grain of older accounts. Without that we cannot do the 'deeper' work of reading against it.[8]

It should be stressed, that one of the key assumptions made in this study is that, no matter how "quaint" the notions such as "genre, tradition, voice and fictionality" in the context of anglophone literary studies at the beginning of the second decade of the twenty first century are to some scholars, they are useful tools in reading and analysing the development of travel literature in general and travel books in particular; and that there exist some alternative ways of reading between the presumably "shallow reading with the grain" and the "deep reading against the grain."

In the context of the strong anti-generic bias in anglophone criticism and critique of travel writing, it is not surprising at all that the most often quoted early definition of travel writing is the one proposed by Jonathan Raban in the book *For Love & Money: Writing-Reading-Travelling 1968-1987* (1988):

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5   Campbell, *The Witness,* p. 5.

6   Campbell, *The Witness,* p. 5.

7   Campbell, "Travel Writing and its Theory", in: *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 261.

8   Campbell "Travel Writing and its Theory", p. 266.

As a literary form, travel writing is a notoriously raffish open house where different genres are likely to end up in the same bed. It accommodates the private diary, the essay, the short story, the prose poem, the rough note, and polished table talk with indiscriminate hospitality. It freely mixes narrative and discursive writing.[9]

Paul Fussell and "Travel Books as Literary Phenomena"

Raban's definition merely stressed the hybrid nature of travel writing and listed some of the key genres it "accommodates," but it stopped short of declaring travel writing's generic status in relationship to them. It was only in the penultimate chapter entitled "Travel Books as Literary Phenomena" of Paul Fussell's "classic" book *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (1980) that the generic problems with travel writing and travel books came to be discussed at some length. This chapter is clearly an afterthought of a great liberal humanist scholar[10] who, after analysing the travel books of inter-war British writers with love and imperialist nostalgia, felt compelled to locate travel books in terms of literary genres and their hierarchy. Fussell's musings and findings became the essential starting points in almost all subsequent attempts to define travel books and travel literature written in English since that time.

The very title of the chapter "Travel Books as Literary Phenomena" indicates serious ambivalence. It is true that by calling them "literary phenomena" he felt that he was elevating the best of inter-war travel books, like his favourite *The Road to Oxiana* by Robert Byron, to the status of "Literature;" a status they had hitherto been denied in traditional Anglo-Saxon scholarship. On the other hand, the term "literary phenomena" with the nebulous aura of the word "phenomena" shows liberal humanists' uneasiness about the categories of texts traditionally perceived as straddling the border between fiction and fact and thus, by extension, between "Literature" and its murky borderlands.

Fussell's first point about the issues connected with the "theorizing" of travel books seems highly problematic. He claimed that "we are entering complicated territory, where description, let alone definition, is hazardous, an act closer to exploration than to travel" in a situation "when we must invoke two words instead of one to a kind of work."[11] And he contrasted (quite a strange and apparently random) assortment of two-word categories alongside "travel book" ("war memoir," "Black autobiography," "first

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9   Jonathan Raban, *For Love & Money: Writing-Reading-Travelling 1968-1987* (London: Picador, 1988), pp. 253-254. 9 Jonathan Raban's propensity for definitions may be accounted for by the fact that before becoming a professional (and very successful) travel book writer himself, he had been Malcolm Bradbury's assistant at Norwich University in the late 1960s.

10   Paul Fussell's other key books include: *Poetic Meter & Poetic Form* (1965) and *The Great War and the Modern Memory* (1975).

11   Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 202.

novel" and "picture book") with one-word labels such as "epic," "novel," "romance," "story," "novella," "memoir," "sonnet," "sermon" or "essay."[12] Fussell's point is highly problematic, because it seems fairly obvious that with most of the one-word genres as listed by Fussell, with the possible exception of "sonnet," we are also entering complicated territory, where descriptions and definitions are not necessarily less hazardous. The next point raised by Fussell was to differentiate between travel books and guide-books; he argued that guide-books: "are not autobiographical," "are not sustained by a narrative exploiting the devices of fiction" and that they are "addressed to those who plan to follow the traveler."[13] This allowed him to offer his definition of a travel book, based on the expectations of an implied reader:

> A travel book, at its purest, is addressed to those who do not plan to follow the traveler at all, but who require the exotic or comic anomalies, wonders, and scandals of the literary form *romance* which their own place or time cannot entirely supply.[14]

Fussell went on to explore the intricate relationships travel books go into, on the one hand with essays, and on the other with forms designated with two words, such as: "war memoir," "comic novel," "quest romance," "picaresque romance" and "pastoral romance."[15] Subsequently, Fussell attempted to exemplify these relationships by referring to and quoting from the best known of British literary travel books from the inter-war period and suggested that:

> If as a form of prose fiction a "romance" is more likely than a novel to be set abroad or in an exotic place, then *romance*, whether "quest," picaresque, or pastoral, will suggest itself as a term to designate an indispensible element of a travel book.[16]

The assignment of the element of "romance" as indispensible in a travel book allowed Fussell, in turn, via Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957) and Campbell's *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949), to suggest that the modern travel book:

> [...] is what Northrop Frye would call a myth that has been "displaced"—that is lowered, brought down to earth, rendered credible "scientifically"—and that the myth resembles the archetypal monomyth of heroic adventure defined by Joseph Campbell.[17]

Though extremely perceptive at times, Fussell's analysis is severely handicapped, for it fails to take into account the historical perspective of travel books, and the sense of their historical development. It focuses synchronically and exclusively on British literary travel books written in between the two World Wars and, to a certain extent, just before the Great War.[18]

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12   Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 202.
13   Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 203.
14   Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 203.
15   Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 206.
16   Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 207.
17   Fussell, *Abroad*, p. 208.
18   For the "fundamental" criticism of Fussell's "elitist" treatment of the phenomena of travel books see: for example, Caren Kaplan, *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of*

The same limitations are largely repeated in another influential study attempting a definition of travel writing and travel books: Patrick Holland's and Graham Huggan's *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Writing* (1998). Holland and Huggan relied heavily in their theorizing on Fussell's arguments and in their own explications, apart from relying on examples taken from "canonical" anglophone travel writers of the second half of the twentieth century, they extensively referred to Fussell's "favourite" travel writers: Evelyn Waugh and Robert Byron. Yet, similarly to Fussell, they never ventured into pre-twentieth century territory. At the same time, however, Holland and Huggan's book, introduces a novel and thought provoking treatment of issues connected with travel books and travel writing, such as the fiction/non-fiction boundary and the construction of a narrative persona.

Travel Writing and Travel Books According to Jan Borm

A text which clarified some problems and at the same time opened new perspectives, but also new dilemmas in the research on travel books written in English, is Jan Borm's "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology" which was published in *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (2004). Borm, being familiar with the German and French literary traditions, used the findings of scholars researching these traditions to propose an approach to travel narratives written in English. First, he offered a list of terms used in anglophone travel writing criticism, arguing that they are used in a confusing way, due mostly to their very abundance: "travel book," "travel narrative," "journeywork," "travel memoir," "travel story," "travelogue," "metatravelogue," "traveller's tale," "travel journal," "travels" and also "travel writing," "travel literature," "the literature of travel" and "travel genre."[19] Borm declared that "'travel writing' is not a genre but a variety of texts, both predominantly fictional and non-fictional, whose main theme is travel."[20] He postulated that the terms "literature of travel" and "travel literature," because of the "literary" element at work in all of these categories, should be treated as synonyms of "travel writing."[21]

Displacement (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1996), pp. 50-56. See also: Carl Thomson, *Travel Writing* (London and York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 19-24. Kaplan convincingly accuses Fussell of being driven by "imperialist nostalgia" (p. 53). Thompson concentrates particularly on Fussell's introduction in his anthology (Paul Fussell, "Introduction", in *The Norton Book of Travel*, ed. by Paul Fussell (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1987), pp. 11-17.) and accuses Fussell of "a rather circular rationale" (p. 22) and "personal prejudices that smack of elitism and sexism" (p. 22).

19   Jan Borm, "Defining Travel: On the Travel Book, Travel Writing and Terminology", in: *Perspectives on Travel Writing,* Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, eds. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 13.
20   Borm, "Defining Travel", p.13.
21   Borm, "Defining Travel", p.13.

The next crucial step taken by Jan Borm was to sidetrack the problems traditionally encountered with the dogmatic and binary treatment of the fiction/non-fiction borderline in hybrid genres in general, and travel books in particular, by reverting to Hans Robert Jauss's concept of "dominant" and "dominant aspects," which Jauss had elaborated while dealing with the problems of mixed genres in medieval literature.[22] Borm adopted Jauss's concept for the travel literature/travel book distinction stating that "while certain genres consist of a mix of different genres and forms of writing, their identity can be defined in terms of dominant aspects."[23] This allowed him to formulate the definition of the travel book as:

> Any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates (almost always) in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator, and principal character are but one or identical.[24]

Critical Support of Jan Borm's Position

It should be noted that Jan Borm's precise definition of a "travel book" basically repeats what Barbara Korte had earlier described as a feature of a "travelogue" in the introduction to *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations* (2000):

> Even though the travelogue is a genre not easily demarcated, a basic understanding of its characteristic features has evolved over the centuries: accounts of travel depict a journey in its course of events and thus constitute narrative texts (usually composed in prose). They claim—and their readers believe—that the journey recorded actually took place, and that it is presented by the traveller him or herself. Within this basic frame of definition, accounts of travel manifest themselves in a broad formal spectrum, giving expression to a great variety of travel experience.[25]

All three key aspects present in Borm's definition had been there in Korte's description: depiction of a journey, a claim (and the readers' belief) that the journey(s) really took place and the fact of the presentation in the first person narration. The problem here is confounded by the fact that Korte's book is a translation from German. In the original, Korte used the term "Reisebuch," a term much more established and much less equivocal in German literary scholarship. It is clear that Catherine Matthias, the translator, had a problem with which phrase to choose from the ones existing in anglophone literary scholarship. The possible

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22   Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception,* trans. by Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), pp. 81-82.
23   Borm, "Defining Travel", p.17.
24   Borm, "Defining Travel", p.17.
25   Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing: from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. by Catherine Matthias (London: Macmillan, 2000), p.1.

candidates were probably: "travel book," "travelogue" and "travel narrative."[26] In fact, Jan Borm himself, in the second part of his essay (though only implicitly) admitted that the terms "travel book" and "travelogue" should be treated as synonyms, by stating:

> I would like to suggest a similar distinction between *the travel book or travelogue* as a predominantly non-fictional genre and *travel writing* or *travel literature* (*the literature of travel*, if one prefers) as an overall heading for texts whose main theme is travel.[27] (my emphasis, G. M.)

Borm did not try to hide the fact that his taxonomy was strongly influenced by scholarship in German and French literatures and the divisions cut there:

> French critics distinguish between the terms *rècit de voyage* and *littèrature de voyage*, just as German critics speak on the one hand of the *Reisebuch* or *Reisebericht* (travel report) and on the other of *Reiseliteratur*. In both French and German, one therefore distinguishes between the genre *travel book* (*rècit de voyage – Reisebuch* or *– bericht*) on the one hand, and, on the other, *travel literature* (*la littèrature de voyage – Reiselitaratur*) as an overall thematic category (and not a genre) that includes works of non-fiction and fiction.[28]

It should be noted that Joan-Pau Rubiés, four years prior to Jan Borm, had come up with a definition of travel literature, which agrees with Borm's definition in two central issues: treating travel literature as a "body of texts" rather than a genre and the inclusion of both fictional and non-fictional texts:

> [Travel literature] can be defined as the varied body of writing which, whether its principal purpose is practical or fictional, takes travel as an essential element for its production. Travel is therefore not necessarily a theme, nor even a structuring element, with the body of literature generated by travel […] The crucial point is that the writer, who could easily be an armchair writer, relies on the materials and authority of first hand travellers.[29]

In an interesting essay entitled "The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre" (2007) David Chirico, though disagreeing with Jan Borm on terms of terminology, preferring the term "travel narrative," instead of "travel book,"[30] repeated three key features from Borm's definition of the "travel book:"

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26   Such alternatives as "travels" or "voyages and travels" would have been too anachronistic to describe the development of the genre in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

27   Borm, "Defining Travel", p. 19.

28   Borm, "Defining Travel", pp. 18-19.

29   Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe", *Journey*, 1, 2000, p. 7.

30   David Chirico, "The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre", in: *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe,* Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, eds. (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2008), pp. 27-59. Chirico gave the following reason for using the term "travel narrative" in his paper: "because it appears to mean what it says, is the best translation of the French *rècit de voyage*, and is useful in explaining the fact that other secondary works, which are more

A non-fictional first-person prose narrative describing a person's travel(s) and the spaces passed through or visited, which is ordered in accordance with, and whose plot is determined by, the order of the narrator's act of travelling.[31]

The usefulness of Borm's distinctions has recently been noted by other scholars, such as Kim Philips[32] and Carl Thomson,[33] grappling with the problems of genres and development of travel literature in the historical perspective.

Travel Books, Genres and Narratology

In order to apply Jan Borm's definition of the travel book historically and to argue for the key role of the construction of narrative personae in the development of the genre of the travel book, I intend to rely on inspirations, concepts and guidelines from a range of theoretical positions. These are drawn mostly from disparate areas: genre studies, narratology, autobiographical studies, masculinity studies, tourist studies and the applications of Michel Foucault's concept of discourse in the field of travel writing studies.

The historical perspective of the concept of the travel book as a genre in the British literary tradition is most strongly supported by the findings of two French scholars, often perceived as the founding fathers of narratology: Tzvetan Todorov and Gérald Genette. Todorov defined the genre as "the codification of discursive properties,"[34] where these properties are defined as any properties of the text which can be made obligatory. The attractiveness of Todorov's approach lies in the fact that he reconciled two distinct approaches to the issue of genres. One concentrates on discursive properties—formal, pragmatic or thematic. The other approaches genre as a sociological, historical or literary fact. Todorov aimed at the "dialectical" approach:

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inclined to deal generally with travel-themed texts, reach different conclusion about genre"(pp. 41-42). In the footnote which follows, Chirico explains that by "secondary works" he means the text of Jan Borm "Defining Travel" and that, although their terminology differs, "the principle is the same" (footnote 30, page 42) :

31   David Chirico, "The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre", p. 39.

32   See: Kim Phillips,"Travel Writing and the Far East c.1215 - c.1550", http://www.amdigital.co.uk/ news/Dr-Kim-Phillips-Medieval-Travel-Writing-Sample-Essay.html. (retrieved: 10.03.2011).

33   Carl Thomson, *Travel Writing* (London and York: Routledge, 2011). Thomson acknowledges Borm's solution of the "travel writing versus travel book" dilemma to be "an eminently sensible suggestion" (p. 23), but stays short of adopting Borm's terminology choosing, for what Borm calls "travel book", to use two terms synonymously (and somewhat confusingly): "modern travel book" (defined in his glossary on p. 202) and "travelogue" (p. 206).

34   Tzvetan Todorov, "The Origin of Genres", in: *Modern Genre Theory,* David Duff, ed. (Harlow, Longman, 2000), p. 198. Todorov's key texts on the issues of genres are: *Genres in Discourse,* trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990) and *The Architext: An Introduction,* trans. by J.E. Lewin (Berkeley, California University Press, 1992), both translated from the French texts published in the late 1970s.

We might establish the place of the notion of genre even more precisely by making two symmetrical distinctions. Since a genre is the historically attested codification of discursive properties, it is easy to imagine the absence of either of the two components of the definition: historical reality and discursive reality. In the absence of historical reality, we would be dealing with the categories of general poetics that are called—depending upon textual level—modes, registers, styles, or even forms, manners and so on. The 'noble style' or 'first person narration' are indeed discursive realities; but they cannot be pinned down to a certain moment in time: they are always possible. By the same token, in the absence of discursive reality, we would be dealing with notions that belong to literary history in the broad sense, such as trend, school, movement, or, in another sense of the word, style. It is certain that the literary movement we know as symbolism existed historically; but that does not prove that the works of authors identified with symbolism have discursive properties in common (apart from trivial ones); the unity of the movement may be centred on friendships, common manifestations, and so on. Let us allow that this may be the case; we would then have an example of a historical phenomenon that has no precise discursive reality. This does not make it inappropriate for study, but distinguishes it from Genres, and even more from Modes, and so on. Genres are the meeting place between general poetics and event-based literary history; as such they constitute a privileged object that may well deserve to be the principal figure in literary studies.[35]

Todorov's view about the nature of genres is particularly potent in view of the massive generic shifts in the European literary tradition in the Early Modern Period, when the economic developments of early capitalism brought about serious social changes, such as growth of literacy and the birth of commercial markets for books. The birth of such genres as the travel book, the novel and the autobiography from such forms as romances, earlier travel narratives and confessional literature complies with Todorov's statement that new genres are always born through the transformation of one or several other genres: "by inversion, by displacement, by combination."[36]

Gérald Genette, similarly to Todorov, took only minimal interest in travel writing, but two concepts he introduced in his influential studies—that of a "paratext" and "fiction versus diction"—will be used extensively in the present study because of their explanatory power in arguing for the establishment of the travel book as a new and distinct genre in Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century.[37]

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35   Todorov, "The Origin of Genres", pp. 200-201.

36   Tzvetan Todorov, *Genres in Discourse,* trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 15.

37   See: Gérald Genette*, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Richard Macksey (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also: Gérald Genette*, Fiction and Diction,* trans. by Catherine Porter (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

Travel Books and Autobiographical Criticism

"Autobiographical criticism" is a term encompassing a wide range of theoretical approaches ranging from liberal humanist through psychoanalytical and (post)Marxist to post-structuralist. The dawn of the discipline is often associated with Wilhelm Dilthey's famous statement that**:** "[a]utobiography is the highest and most instructive form in which the understanding of life comes before us."[38]

The autobiographical critics have tried to analyze a wide range of texts, which were set outside the boundaries of High Literature by the hierarchical aesthetic and ideological pronouncements of what is now known in critical theory as "liberal humanism." The scope of autobiographical studies covers different types of texts, collectively referred to as "life narratives."[39] It may appear somewhat surprising that the whole field of "travel writing" and "travel narratives" is seen from the perspective of autobiographical criticism as a tiny branch of "life narratives." In their most radical approach Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson distinguish fifty-two genres of life narratives, and "travel narrative" happens to be just one of them.[40] What is not surprising is the large area of convergence between studies of the autobiography and travel books as genres, and the cultural issues concerned with their (de)construction.

The analysis of the similarities and interrelations between the autobiography and the travel book in the generic perspective is strengthened by the historical perspective because the establishment and development of the genre of the autobiography in eighteenth-century Britain and the almost parallel establishment and development of the genre of the travel book, might be seen as the result of the same process of development of the construct of the (bourgeois) self. Two books on autobiography that have focused on the historical perspective of the

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38 Wilhelm Dilthey, *Meaning in History. W. Dilthey's Thoughts on History and Society,* ed. by H.P. Rickman, ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1961), p. 85.

39 Two most useful introductions and surveys of the field of autobiographical criticism are: Linda Anderson, *Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 2001) and Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

40 Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography,* pp.183-207: The remaining fifty one genres according to Watson and Smith are: (in alphabetical order): apology, autobiographics, auto/biography (a/b), autobiography in the second person, autobiography in the third person, autoethnography, autofiction, autography, autogynography, autopathography, autoanatography, autotopography, Bildungsroman, biomythography, captive narrative, case study, chronicle, collaborative life narrative, confession, conversion narrative, diary, ecobiography, ethnic life narrative, ethnocriticism, genealogy, heterobiography, journal, journaling, letters, life writing, life narrative, meditation, memoir, oral history, otobiography, oughtobiography, periouatography, personal essay, poetic autobiography, prison narratives, relational autobiography, scriptography, self-help narrative, self-portrait, serial autobiography, slave narrative, spiritual life narrative, survivor narrative, testimonio, trauma narrative, witnessing.

establishment of the genre are exceptionally useful in approaching similar issues concernings, an area far less explored critically. Philippe Lejeune's concept of the "autobiographical pact" (French "la pacte autobiographique")—presented in *La Pacte Autobiographique* (1975), published in English as *On Autobiography* (1989)[41]—is fundamental in the construction of the parallel concept of the "referential pact," postulated for the genre of the travel book by scholars like François Hourmant and Charles Forsdick.[42] Felicity A. Nussbaum's *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989) offers an insightful reading of the rise and early development of autobiography in eighteenth-century Britain as a crucial point for the convergence of phenomena linking class, gender and genre. Nussbaum persuasively argues that "the 'self' is an ideological construct that is recruited into a place within specific historical formations rather than always present as an eternal truth."[43] She regards the eighteenth-century autobiography "as a matrix of conflicting discourses and practices that produce, reflect, contain and transform class and gender identities."[44] Such a perspective provides an attractive possibility for interpreting the parallel rise and development of travel books, which is dealt with in the following section. And more specifically, the arguments from Chapter Five of *The Autobiographical Subject's* (entitled "Manly Subjects: Boswell's Journals and *The Life of Johnson*") had a considerable influence on the analysis of James Boswell's and Samuel Johnson's constructions of the narrative personae in their travel books.

The "non-fiction dominant" is the most problematic issue of the four "discursive properties" postulated for the travel book by Jan Borm (the other three are: the first person narration, the fact that the reader supposes that the journey has taken place in reality and the identity of the author, narrator and principal character). Some of the research dilemmas generated by the fuzziness of the term "non-fiction dominant", connected with the difficulties of separating fiction from non-fiction as well as establishing which "dominant" the text exhibits, could be avoided by the application of Philip Lejeune's concept of the "autobiographical

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41   The whole book was published in English in 1989. Philip Lejeune, *On Autobiography,* trans. by Katherine Leary (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). It included the chapters "The Autobiographical Pact" and "The Autobiographical Pact-bis". The first of these chapters had been published in English earlier (in 1982) under the title "The Autobiographical Contract", Tzvetan Todorov, ed., *French Literary Theory Today, A Reader,* trans. R. Carter (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, 2011), pp. 192-222. In this study I follow scholars like Charles Forsdick, who use the term "pact," rather than "contract." Charles Forsdick, Feroza Basu and Siobhan Shilton, *New Approaches to Twentieth-Century Travel Literature in French: Genre, History, Theory* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 24.

42   Forsdick, *New Approaches,* p. 54.

43   Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England,* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. xii.

44   Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject,* p. 13.

pact" treated as a key element of what Gérald Genette referred to as the "genre contract."[45]

As explained in the previous section, Borm introduced the "non-fiction dominant" notion in order to obviate difficulties concerning the notorious fiction/non-fiction dichotomy. What bothered Borm (and many other scholars) most, was that many travel books, though non-fictional in mode and tone, exhibit many of the devices and features that we traditionally attribute to fiction, like the use of "free indirect speech, scenic construction, present-tense narration, prolepsis, iterative symbolism."[46] Nevertheless, Borm believed that in most cases it is possible to distinguish a "non-fiction dominant" from a "fictional dominant." Phillipe Lejeune's definition of the autobiography can be of help in approaching this critical issue: "[r]etrospective narrative in prose which a real person gives, about his/her existence, in which he/she emphasizes his/her individual life, and in particular the story of his/her personality."[47]

Lejeune broke down his definition into the following elements:

1. Linguistic form: (a) narrative; (b) in prose

2. Subject dealt with: individual life, story of a personality

3. Situation of the author: identity of the author (whose name refers to a real person) with the narrator

4. Position of the narrator: (a) identity of the narrator with the principal character; (b) retrospective perspective of the narrative.

David Chirico, while commenting on the features described by Lajeune, raised two points which are important from the perspective of this study: that "empirically there are obvious links between autobiographical and travel narrative texts and that "[i]t will be easiest to characterize feature (3)—"the identity of the author with the narrator"—as 'non-fiction.'"[48] As regards the first point raised by Chirico, Paul Fussell's definition of travel books should be recalled, in which they are treated as a "sub-species of a memoir" and their literal validity is attempted through "constant

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45   On the issue of "genre contract", see: for example, Gérard Genette, *Paratexts,* pp. 41-42. It should be added that it was not only Todorov and Genette, who treated genres from the perspective of social contracts. For example, Frederic Jameson, an American post-Marxist critic noted: "genres are essentially literary institutions, or *social contracts* between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a particular cultural artefact." (my emphasis, G.M.). Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 106.

46   David Lodge, *The Practice of Writing: Essays, Lectures, Reviews and a Diary* (London, Secker & Warburg 1996), p.8. Quoted in: Jan Borm, "Defining Travel", p.16.

47   David Chirico, "The Travel Narrative as a (Literary) Genre", p. 37. Chirico's translation from: Phillipe Lejeune, *Le pacte autobiographique* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), p. 14.

48   Chirico, "The Travel Narrative", p. 38.

reference to actuality."[49] From this perspective the only major difference between the travel book and the autobiography is referred to in Lejeune's second point: in the autobiography the main subject is "individual life, story of a personality," whereas in the travel-book it is "a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality." Also Lejeune's point "4(b)" is more problematic in the case of travel-books, for the "retrospective perspective of the narrative" is not present in a sub-category of travel books—namely those in the form of journals.[50]

However, it was neither point "2" nor point "4(b)" which were crucial for Lejeune in establishing his "autobiographical pact," but points "3" and "4(a)." All other elements were treated by Lejenue as relative and secondary. Both these points are also essential elements of Borm's definition, namely "assuming or presupposing that author, narrator, and principal character are but one or identical." Such a pact, in the context of travel books is sometimes referred to as the "referential pact" (*la pacte référentiel*), another term borrowed from French developments in narratology.

> Every text [belonging to the genre of the travel book, G. M.] is characterized by the referential pact that the narrator creates from the outset with his reader. This pact— implicit in but integral to the genre—could simply be stated as follows: 'I am going to tell you what I saw'.[51]

Another important point about the nature of autobiography, which is also very pertinent for modern travel books, was raised by Fleishman in his assessment of Lejeune's later re-valuations of the nature of the "autobiographical pact." Fleishman claimed that the paradox of the autobiography writing —and, as I claim,

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49 Fussell, *Abroad,* p. 203.
50 However, as regards the retrospective/non-retrospective dichotomy, Charles Forsdick's remarks about this issue are worth quoting. Forsdick concluded his long debate about the retrospective/non-retrospective dichotomy in the following way: "The distinction between retrospective and non-retrospective narration of the journey remains […] a flexible and at times wholly artificial one. The journal (unlike, in theory, the official logbook) is often subject to alteration on return, either for the purposes of self-performance or in order to suppress those aspects of the journey with which the traveller may, on this return to a customary routine and context, feel uncomfortable." Charles Forsdick, *New Approaches,* p.32.
51 Charles Forsdick quoted the definition of the referential pact given by François Hourmant: "Tout récit de voyage se caractérise par la pacte que d'emblée le narrateur scelle avec son lecteur. Implicite mais consubstantial au genre, ce pacte pourrait de façon simple s'énoncer de la façon suivante: 'Je vais vous raconteur ce que j'ai vu'" François Hourmant, *Au pays de l'avenir radiuex: voyages des inellectuels francais en URSS, á Cuba et en Chine populaire* (Paris, Aubier, 2000), p. 64. Quoted in: Charles Forsdick, *New Approaches,* footnote 7, p. 54. It should be noted that in Forsdick's translation of the quote from François Hourmant the phrase "Tout récit de voyage se caractérise par la pacte [...]" ("Each travel book is characterized by the pact [...]") has been rendered by Charles Forsdick as "Every text," which is far too general and therefore I have added my explanation to this quote. Also Borm used the term "'referential pact" in: Jan Borm, "Defining Travel", p. 15.