

THE LITTLE-KNOWN TRAVELLER IN GREECE

1600-1900



**Unpublished Diaries, Correspondence
and other materials in British Record
Offices**

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ABSTRACT

HISTORY

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THE LITTLE-KNOWN TRAVELLER IN GREECE, 1600-1900

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This thesis studies unpublished diaries, correspondence and other material in British Record Offices, examining conditions encountered by travellers to Greece while under the control of the Ottoman Empire. It covers the hazards of travel suffered alike by merchants, aristocrats, diplomats and military men, and their methods of overcoming them, until organised journeys became available, demonstrating that little changed during the period and illustrating the tenacious endeavours of travellers in arduous conditions.

operation, though hospitality was seldom refused. This hospitality often consisted of a place by the fire, a straw mattress on the earth floor, bread, cheese and olives - a share of their own poverty. It is of indefatigable men that the documents speak. A study of their journeys and the conditions they encountered is the purpose of this work. The travellers themselves evolved from the merchants concerned with the Levant Company and the dilettanti, mainly aristocratic gentlemen dedicated to the study of the arts, through students of architecture and sculpture, and those *en route* to consular posts, to the philhellenes engaged in the liberation of Greece, and finally to the tourists organised by Thomas Cook. Conditions of travel overland improved little during this period, but the introduction of steamships in the 1830s eased the passage for the sea traveller.

Sources

The principal sources of unpublished memoirs of the early travellers have been the Record Offices of this country. The staff have been helpful and knowledgeable about their documents, and their facilities have been welcoming, though their offices ranged from modern buildings to those of some age and poverty. Equally helpful have been the staff of the library of the British School at Athens, the Gennadius Library, also in Athens, the British

Library, the library of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, St. Deiniol's Library, at Hawarden, and the local library on the island of Aegina in Greece.

A valuable source of information on early voyages are the published volumes of the Hakluyt Society, which included the account of the gift from Queen Elizabeth I to the Sultan, constructed and delivered by Thomas Dallam at the turn of the 17th century, and the travels of John Sanderson in the Levant between 1584 and 1602.

Record Offices contacted and visited

A postal search of 55 Record Offices and visits to ten of them have revealed unpublished letters and diaries in many parts of the country, which form the basis of this study, and contain personal accounts and impressions never intended for public scrutiny. They were addressed to members of the traveller's family, and as such, were more frank in detail and opinion than official documents. In particular, the opinions and feelings of the Chaplain to the Army in Corfu in 1842, held at the Cambridge Record Office, would possibly have prejudiced his career. Likewise the letter held by the Dorset County Record Office in Dorchester, written by William John Bankes to Colonel Ross, would certainly have ended the life of the Bey of Maina had it been revealed.

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The Record departments of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, and Birmingham City Council libraries were both visited and provided valuable material in the form of the manuscript c.1620 of Lewes Robertes¹, and the diary of Helen Caddick², a much travelled Birmingham lady who planned her journey under the auspices of Thomas Cook. These were the first and the last documents in the collection. The Record Offices visited on the east of England were Ipswich, which held 23 excellent hand-written volumes of J. Berners³, too delicate for photocopying, and Norwich, which held a letter from Nicholas Revett⁴, a diary of E. A. Field, which contained only travel names with little relevance to this study, a letter book of David Barclay of the 26th Foot, pleading for replacement uniforms, letters from Tom de Grey concerning the search for a candidate for the Greek throne, and Jex-Blake family letters which contained little useful information. Bury St. Edmunds held the revealing journal of H. M. G. Coore⁵, written during his captivity with Greek brigands in 1865. Cambridge Record Office was not visited, as it was able to send photocopies of the letters written by Rev. Charles Green⁶ while in Corfu, and extracts from letters of John and Martha Yeardley, Quakers on a religious visit to the Ionian Islands. These did not qualify for inclusion as they had already been published in pamphlet form. The Greater London Record Office was visited, but

could offer only letters from Andrew Brown Donaldson, where the information on Greece was given mainly in the form of sketches. In the West Country, a visit to the Somerset Record Office at Taunton produced notes of a journey to Constantinople by John de Havilland, in poor condition and not available for photocopying. They were mainly concerned with comments on the difficulty of photographing ancient buildings, and pertinent to early camera work, but not to this study. The Devon Record Office at Exeter held a photographic album of L. E. Upcott's visit to Greece, a hard-backed notebook mainly concerned with expenses, the menu of dinner at the Royal Palace, Athens, travel journals of Lord John Fortescue that dealt chiefly with Prussia and Italy, and a sketch of Athens sold for the benefit of the fund for building a Protestant chapel in Athens. In the south of England, the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester held a large collection of papers of John Hawkins⁷, traveller and botanist, including sketches, watercolours and engravings. Likewise Dorset County Record Office at Dorchester were helpful in providing a sight of the papers of William John Bankes⁸, although these had not yet been catalogued. The Record Offices at Northampton⁹, Chester and Bedford¹⁰ were not visited, as they were able to supply photocopies of the relevant material. The letters of Randle

Wilbraham¹¹ from Chester were particularly valuable and in good condition.

Records transcribed

A selection of documents to be transcribed was made on the grounds of their relevance to conditions described in published works, and where it was felt that they made some contribution to the knowledge of conditions encountered. Documents not selected were material that was currently being researched, such as that on William Gordon held at Aberdeen, those of a technical nature written by the plant hunters held at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, the material of Sir George Wheler, who was a canon of Durham Cathedral, as his work had been published, and official papers of John Viscount Ponsonby, Ambassador at Constantinople, all held at the University of Durham. The agreement concerning the construction of the Salonica to Demotica Railway, held at Carlisle, and the memorandum concerning a Greek loan, a baptism, and orders to convey prisoners to Messolongi, held at Gloucester, were also disregarded.

It was the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth which provided a photocopy of the incomplete manuscript by Lewes Robertes¹², held among the Wigfall papers, dated c.1620. This was an account of a voyage through the Ionian Sea to Crete, the

Cyclades and the Dardanelles, being the final stage of a journey from England to Constantinople. It is written in ink in a difficult contemporary script on paper, and is in remarkably good condition.

The 18th century is not well represented in the unpublished works found in the Record Offices. The letter of Nicholas Revett,¹³ dated 12 June 1751, from Athens, held by the Norfolk Record Office in Norwich, sheds more light on the financial problems suffered by the artists working on the Acropolis. It is a manuscript copy of the original document. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett were responsible for the three volumes of *The Antiquities of Athens* published in 1762, under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti.

Manuscript notes of his travels in Greece from 1787 by John Hawkins¹⁴, in rather poor condition, are held by the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester, amongst a large collection of his papers. John Hawkins was the botanist who accompanied Dr Sibthorp on his plant collecting travels, and was responsible for publishing Dr Sibthorp's work after his death.

A collection of 23 volumes, thought to have been written by J. Berners¹⁵, is held by the Suffolk Record Office in Ipswich. These are accounts of his travels in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Egypt, the Mediterranean, Greece and Austria. Volume Number 4

Mediterranean, Greece and Austria. Volume Number 4 concerns his travels in Greece. The volumes are in excellent condition.

The Cheshire Record Office in Chester holds the manuscript letters from Randle Wilbraham¹⁶ to his mother from 1794 to 1797. They are written in ink and are in fairly good condition. Highly descriptive, they give a good account of his travels and encounters.

Some idea of the intrigue and negotiation that took place between parts of Greece and Britain is given by the letter held by the Dorset Record Office in Dorchester, which William John Bankes¹⁷ wrote to Colonel Ross around 1815. It conveys a highly confidential message from the Bey of Maina, to be sent to the British government officials in Corfu, hoping for assistance in the uprising. The letter is a draft of one supposedly sent, and is in poor condition. The travel itinerary suggested for Bankes is also held amongst his papers at Dorchester, and gives practical suggestions for the best methods of travel at this time. The adviser is unknown.¹⁸ Also concerned with the British troops at Corfu was the Reverend Charles Green.¹⁹ Ordained in 1837 at the age of 24, he was sent as Chaplain to the forces at Corfu in 1842.²⁰ His letters are held in the de Freville collection of papers from Hinxton Hall at the Cambridgeshire County Record Office at

Cambridge. They show considerable deterioration of his spirits and mental health during his term in Corfu, which ended in 1846, but he apparently continued to serve in his capacity as Chaplain in Chatham, Malta and Dover. His writing became muddled and unreadable by the end of 1845, and he was evidently distressed by his poverty and social position.

An unhappy visit was made by H. M. G. Coore²¹ in 1865. He suffered kidnap by brigands, only released on a payment of £3,000 in gold. His experiences demonstrated the lawlessness still encountered by travellers in the second half of the nineteenth century. The account is held by the Suffolk Record Office in Bury St. Edmunds, and is a typed copy of the original.

The end of the century saw travel to Greece becoming organised. Fairfax Cartwright,²² taking up a consular post in Constantinople, called at Athens on his way. His letter is held by the Northamptonshire Record Office, and the final document is the diary of Miss Helen Caddick,²³ who travelled under the auspices of Thomas Cook. Her tour took her from Birmingham to Jaffa, Jerusalem, Damascus, Constantinople, Athens and London in 1889. Her detailed description, clearly legible, is held at the Birmingham Library. The archivist at Thomas Cook²⁴ gave assistance by supplying a copy of *Cook's*

Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser, November 12, 1888, giving details of the tour taken by Miss Caddick, with instructions and descriptions for the guidance of passengers.

Hellenic travel: the printed sources

An interesting review of the early travellers William Biddulph, Chaplain to the Levant Company at Smyrna, William Lithgow, George Sandys, Paul Rycaut, consul at Smyrna, and John Covel, Chaplain at Constantinople, is made in *The Eve of the Greek Revival* (1990) by Eleni Angelomatis-Tsougarakis.²⁵ David Constantine deals, among others, with George Wheler's journey in 1675 with Jacob Spon of Lyons, studying Greek antiquities in a scholarly manner, in his *Early Greek Travellers and Hellenic Ideal* (1984).²⁶ William Lithgow himself,²⁷ writing in 1609, told of his journey covering many thousands of miles, being imprisoned in Spain for assaulting the Spanish Ambassador, banishing himself from his native soil. He described the Morea as having few cattle and many ruined castles, the island of Zante with its important trade of currants exported to England for the cooking of English plum pudding, and concluded that the barbarous Turks and time had defaced all monuments of antiquity. His detailed observations, and those of Thomas Dallam, also at the beginning of the seventeenth century,²⁸ are a valuable source of information about conditions in

when he made his tour in 1610 aboard the ship 'London'. He listed the products of the islands he visited, and found the Greeks less civil than the Italians. He frequently quoted Homer and Virgil, and keenly observed houses, streets, the sponge industry and the customs of the Greeks that he encountered. George Wheler³⁰ was a botanist and a cleric. He travelled with Dr. Spon of Lyons in 1682. His comments reflected his interests in plant life and he also noted that Athens had 200 churches and the Turks had five mosques. He acquired marbles and inscriptions, and appreciated the food, wine and olives of Athens. The account of his travels was well considered by later travellers. Bernard Randolph reported on the present state of the Morea in 1689. His interest led him to note the strength of the castles that he found. He recorded that vessels from Khania, Nauplion, Monemvasia and Athens bound for Constantinople stopped at Karistos on Euboea to hear news of the latest position of pirates.

In the eighteenth century, the unpublished material augments the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,³¹ wife of the ambassador to Constantinople (1708 to 1720), published in 1965 and edited by Robert Halsband. She was able to give the woman's view of life in the Ottoman Empire, as she had the unique opportunity of visiting the women in the harem. She

opportunity of visiting the women in the harem. She gleaned inside knowledge which was unavailable to the male travellers, and used her descriptive talents to convey it to her friends in England. Her biography has been written by Robert Halsband.

Richard Chandler³² wrote about his travels in Asia Minor in 1764 and 1765. He and his companions were confined near Smyrna from May to August in 1765 on account of plague. His visit was carried out under the instructions of the Society of Dilettanti.

Nicholas Revett accompanied him as architect and William Pars as artist. He was allocated £800 for his study. The letters of John Morritt of Rokeby³³ who journeyed in Europe and Asia Minor between 1794 and 1796 discussed his opinion that the Turks were more honourable than the Greeks, who he felt were united in cheating him in Salonica. His view of Athens was much rosier. The sky was pure and there were flowers, oranges and lemons in every garden.

Undoubtedly the two most famous travellers in the nineteenth century were Lord Byron³⁴ and Lord Elgin³⁵. Both travellers are well documented. Earlier than these notabilities, William Gell³⁶ began his travels. His works on the geography and antiquities of Ithaca, published in 1807, recording his quest for Ulysses and the Odyssey, and his narrative of a journey in the Morea, published in 1823, were well regarded by subsequent travellers.

He examined temples and castles, the ruins of Mistra and the state of repair of fortifications.

Lord Byron, accompanied by his friend Hobhouse, made his tour of Greece between 1808 and 1811, and returned in 1823. His letters are well known and the travel diaries of the journey are recorded by J. C. Hobhouse in his book *A Journey through Albania*.

William Borst studied *Lord Byron's First Pilgrimage* in 1948, and Harold Nicolson used the papers for his *Byron, The Last Journey, April 1823, 1824* in 1924.

Lord Elgin's acquisitions in Greece are similarly well recorded. William Richard Hamilton wrote a *Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece* in 1811, and William St Clair has researched Lord Elgin and his acquisitions from the Parthenon in his volume *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*. Letters to the Reverend Philip Hunt describing the journey of Lord Elgin's Embassy from England to Constantinople in the years 1801-1803 are held at the Bedfordshire County Record Office, but permission was not given for their inclusion in this work.

The Edinburgh Review was a publication which devoted much of its space to travellers' experiences, serialising Edward Daniell Clarke's³⁷ account of his travels in 1801, published in 1810. The publication did not refrain from criticism of his views. There are a number of review articles of the

views. There are a number of review articles of the works published by various authors who had experienced life in the Near and Middle East in the latter part of the 1820s. Edward Dodwell's volumes, *Travels* (1819), and his *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopean Remains in Greece, and Constructions of a Later Period* (1834) contained many fine drawings and paintings.

The uprising and the subsequent War of Independence brought many philhellenes to Greece to support her cause. Concerning these Richard Clogg published *A Short History of Modern Greece* (1979), also presenting a paper in Athens in 1991 entitled "Britain and Greece in the Age of Greek Independence". At the same conference, Richard Stoneman presented "Early British Travellers in Greece, 1595 - 1811". Transcripts of these papers are held at the British School at Athens. Douglas Dakin wrote of *British and American Philhellenes during the War of Greek Independence, 1821 - 1833* (1955). The son of Lord Cochrane wrote of his father's experiences as a British participant in the war in his *Wanderings in Greece* (1837). Scholars such as the Reverend J. A. Cramer gave his *Geographical and Historical Description of Ancient Greece* in 1828 despite the unrest, but from the letters and journals of Samuel Gridley Howe³⁸ came harrowing descriptions of the sufferings of the

Greek refugees during the war, and his attempts to relieve their starvation.

After the war had restored the sovereignty of Greece, scholars again worked on the classical sites. The Reverend Doctor Christopher Wordsworth,³⁹ Bishop of Lincoln, wrote his *Athens and Attica - Journal of a residence there*, published in 1836, and *Greece, Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical* (1839). He covers not only antiquities but rivers, mountains, lakes and plains, tracing the path of St. Paul and adding engravings of the scenes. William Leake⁴⁰ gave his impressions of *Athens and Demi of Attica* in 1841, and *Peloponnesiaca* in 1841. He travelled widely and surveyed excavations, laying the foundation of geographical and topographical studies of the whole of Greece. Richard Pococke⁴¹ wrote about Cyprus in his *Description of the East, Volume II, Part I*, published in 1845. He found the Cypriots the most subtle and artful people in all the Levant, describing their customs, food and fortifications.

Missionaries were sent to Greece to give spiritual education, one of which was the Reverend S. S. Wilson⁴², who published *A Narrative of the Greek Mission* in 1839, and the Cambridgeshire County Record Office holds letters of John and Martha Yeardley, Quakers on a religious visit to the Ionian Islands in 1835. The Library of the Society of

Friends holds information on William Allen, who was Treasurer of the British and Foreign School Society in 1819, and the American Quaker Stephen Grillet who toured the Greek schools. Their visit was opposed by the Church of England. A Relief Committee was set up in 1822 and the Quakers contributed £8,000, bringing destitute Greek boys to be educated at Southwark in 1824.

Edward Lear⁴³ visited Greece and his journals, *Journal~~s~~ of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania* were published in 1851. He had an original view of dragomans, his own necessities for sleeping and clothing, and horse-riding. His descriptions of his encounters were colourful and detailed, as were his many paintings of the Greek scene.

English travel-writing: a survey

The tradition of travel-writing was long established by the time the travellers to Greece from 1600 to 1900 undertook their journeys. The earliest Greek travel writer, Pausanias, worked on his *Guide to Greece* between 150 and 180 A.D. His volumes were carried on many a journey to Greece, and held in high regard. If the journals were available to them, it was incumbent upon those setting out to study and prepare according to the best advice of

those who had travelled before. The travel diary kept by James Thoburn, the servant of Hawkins, during the tours to Greece in company with John Sibthorp between 1793 and 1798 mentions among books taken on the expedition,"

Dr Chandler's travels in Greece.

Henry Swinburne's travels in the two Sicilies,

The voyages of discovery by Columbus and Cabot in the 15th century had fired the enthusiasm of the early navigators and traders. The majority of travel writing in the 16th and 17th centuries took the form of ships' logs, seamen being accustomed to write the logs of their journeys day by day. There were Danish ^dexp~~e~~ditions to Greenland in 1605, and Arctic explorations between 1605 and 1620, while voyages to the Maldives, Moluccas and Brazil were undertaken by Francois Pyrard between 1600 and 1608. These were all written from the point of view of the seamen traversing treacherous and mostly unknown seas.

One of the first descriptions of travels in Europe and Asia in the 17th century was that of Peter Mundy. Like Thomas Dallam,⁴⁵ who had travelled to Constantinople at the behest of Queen Elizabeth, Peter Mundy was neither aristocrat nor intellectual, but was possessed of a lively curiosity and an ability to describe his surroundings to 'pleasure

such Freinds (who mightt come of the reading thereof) Thatt are Desirous to understand somwhatt off Forraigne Countries'.⁴⁵ His manuscripts give accounts of practically the whole of Continental Europe, parts of England and Wales, Western India, China and Japan, though there is no evidence that his manuscripts were printed before publication by the Hakluyt Society. He was a member of a family engaged in the pilchard business, living in Cornwall, and as such was well used to travelling in the interests of trade. He was taken by his father to Rouen, and learned the French language. In 1621 he went to Seville where he learned Spanish and in 1628 travelled to India in the service of the East India Company. In 1617 he went to Constantinople by sea, returning overland with the retiring ambassador, Sir Paul Pindar, the Levant Company's representative at Constantinople in 1620. It was in this year that the manuscript was written by Lewes Robertes⁴⁶, a merchant in the Levant Company, also returning from Constantinople, but by sea. Places such as Zante are described by Dallam, by Covel⁴⁷, by Lithgow, who visited Zante in 1610⁴⁸, and Struys who was there in 1658⁴⁹. Wilbraham describes it in 1797⁵⁰, and Helen Caddick in 1889⁵¹. Likewise the ruins of Troy claimed the attention of many early travellers, Dallam⁵², Lithgow⁵³, and Struys⁵⁴; Wilbraham visited in 1797⁵⁵, while Constantinople played a part in the journals of countless

travellers. The overland journey followed the route used by later travellers on the Orient Express. Mundy has given a description of the Grand Signior's Seraglio at Adrianople⁵⁷, where the party lodged during a terrible shower of rain, also described by Captain Townshend⁵⁸ when taking up his post of military consul at the beginning of the 20th century. At Philippopolis Mundy's party encountered plague, and like later travellers, their route was diverted and orders given forbidding any member to enter the infected district.⁵⁹ Robbers, too, presented difficulties, but guards were provided for the Ambassador's protection and that of his party.⁶⁰ Between Constantinople and Belgrade, they had averaged 21 miles per day, but bad roads, mountainous country and great heat between Belgrade and Sarajevo, slowed their pace to 13 miles per day. This is considerably more than that accomplished by the single travellers in small groups, who often only managed three or four miles each day. At Spalato they were confined in a Lazaretto, a fate many later travellers endured, but were soon released owing to the favour shown to the Ambassador, and a ship brought them to Venice, where they stayed for a month, giving Mundy the opportunity of examining the arsenal, which appealed to the Cornish seaman more than the buildings in the city itself⁶¹. His interests were not confined to descriptions of the lands through which he passed,

but included the towns of Protestants in France and the activities of the Huguenots on the Loire.⁶¹

Like many a later traveller he was delayed by bad weather at Calais. Mundy had obviously impressed Sir Paul Pindar, for it was through his influence that he gained a post with the East India Company and was able to describe his travels in India. By his own reckoning he had covered 27,900 miles.

Mundy's experiences were totally at odds with those of Henry Hudson, who navigated his way towards the North Pole in 1609. He named places on the coast of Greenland, was hindered by ice, and complained that more could have been done 'if the crew had been willing and if want of some necessary provisions had not prevented it'.⁶² Hudson had been despatched to seek a passage to China by the north east for the Holland East India Company, but in 1610 had crossed the 'furious overfall' at the entrance of Hudson Strait, and sailed hundreds of miles west into the great bay that has since borne his name. In 1615 the diary of Richard Cocks describes his time in the English factory in Japan as a history of failure,⁶³ and William Hedges describes his agency in Bengal from 1681 to 1687.⁶⁴ The East India Company was responsible for the voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan in 1613⁶⁵, while the literature describing the conquest of New Spain by Bernal Diaz del Castillo and the naval expeditions to search for other

islands illustrate the expansionist policies being exercised by the powerful nations of Europe. Religious divisions in Europe sent Francois Lequat into exile when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685. He accompanied the Marquis du Quesne to the island of Rodriguez, where he observed the fauna and flora in scientific detail which is of interest to naturalists of the present day. He also described Mauritius, Java and the Cape of Good Hope during his travels.⁶⁷ It was religion that carried Friar Domingo Navarrete to China, when he undertook missionary work for the Jesuits from 1618 to 1686, his manuscripts providing valuable evidence of life in China at this time.⁶⁸ At the same time, William Hedges was describing his Agency in Bengal.⁶⁹ His manuscript was bought from a bookseller in Canterbury, part of a lot at a sale which had been rescued from India House and carted away to be destroyed, illustrating the precarious nature of the preservation of the early travel literature.

Seamen continued their hazardous voyages in the 18th century. The Hon. John Byron's manuscript describing his circumnavigation in 1764 has found its way to the National Maritime Museum⁷⁰ and Carteret's voyage round the world in 1766 was his attempt to set the record straight after his efforts had been eclipsed by those of Captain Cook.⁷¹ His return coincided with the departure of Surville and

Labe on their expedition of the *St. Jean Baptiste* to the Pacific.⁷¹ They reached the mouth of the Ganges in 1768, sailed on to Ceylon, taking salt for Chandernagore, from thence to China, then across the Pacific, visiting New Zealand and on to South America, describing the countries they visited. The Frenchmen were emulated by George Vancouver who went round the world between 1791 and 1795.⁷² His manuscripts were widely scattered, but gathered mainly from the Public Records Office and the British Library. He trained under Captain Cook, whose third voyage revealed that valuable furs were plentiful on the northwest coast of America. When promoting his first expedition to the northwest coast, the London merchant found a valuable patron in Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, who had sailed with Captain Cook on his first voyage. It was during Cook's first and second voyages that two means of solving the age-old problem of how to determine longitude were coming into use. In 1759 John Harrison completed his fourth time-piece, known as H4, with exhaustive tests until 1764, and won the prize of £20,000 offered for a solution.⁷³ Until this time, no navigator could have been certain of his east/west position. The journals of Captain James Cook himself, describing the voyages of the *Endeavour*, *Resolution* and *Discovery*, are well documented. Trade was the chief incentive for travel, as

illustrated by the journals and letters of Captain Charles Bishop.⁷⁵ He sailed to the northwest coast of America in 1794 from Bristol for the otter fur trade. Although his log books are lost, his manuscript survives. The Levant Company trade revived the interest in the old Euphrates route to India, and four travellers described their journeys by the Great Desert Caravan Route to India in 1745. Some travellers found the travel by way of the Syrian Desert preferable to the long sea voyage.⁷⁶

Religion also provided the incentive for the church to send missions to the Niger⁷⁷ and to Ethiopia.⁷⁸ The Latin manuscript of Remedius Prutky, a Franciscan stationed in Egypt in 1751 who led a mission to Ethiopia, travelling in Egypt, Sinai and the Holy Land, Arabia, Ethiopia, India and Europe, was lodged in Prague, but obtained by the Ethiopians as a valuable source of their history.

Scientific interest played a part in 19th-century travel. Sir George Mackenzie took a party of Edinburgh Scientists to Iceland in 1810 to study the volcanic activity. Although he wrote a book, it was obvious that it depended largely on Henry Holland's scrupulously prepared text.⁷⁹ The journal survives in Reykjavik. In equally cold climes, Rochfort Maguire spent two years at Point Barrow, Alaska, on board *H.M.S. Plover*, in search of Sir John Franklin.⁸⁰ This was the first example of Europeans

living in the west Arctic with the Eskimos of North Alaska. He described the process of learning to cope with an exotic environment and a foreign society. A. J. Mounteney Jephson also described a relief expedition when he joined a journey led by H. M. Stanley to rescue the Governor of the Equatorial Province of Egypt, isolated in southern Sudan in 1881 by the rising of the Mahdi.⁸¹

An early forerunner of the Grand Tourist was Francis Mortoft, who travelled through and described France and Italy in 1658.⁸² His manuscripts at the British Museum describe a typical Grand Tour, with three months in Rome, and provide an interesting account, unlike many of his successors, who gave priority to their complaints of the food and drink they encountered. Mortoft was emulated by F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt, whose letters were collected and translated by M. Auroussean,⁸³ tracing his journeys on foot across France, Italy and Switzerland. He then sailed for Australia in 1848, where he joined Ned Kelly and became part of the folklore. He disappeared in the Australian bush in 1848. Well before that, the Grand Tour had become part of the education of many young aristocratic gentlemen who travelled with their tutors, tracing the history of Rome, and subsequently searching for the origins of Greek antiquities. Their travels are examined below.

Travel literature has abounded since that time. Travelling has been succeeded by tourism, organised first by Thomas Cook, with a wealth of advice offered to the traveller in the form of guide books and reminiscences. Even now, the journals and diaries of the early travellers hold a strong appeal owing to the courage and fortitude with which the difficulties and discomforts were overcome and described for the benefit of future generations. The authors planted their saplings with no hope of enjoying the trees that were to grow from their labours.

- 1 Document Number 1
- 2 Document Number 11
- 3 Document Number 4
- 4 Document Number 2
- 5 Document Number 9
- 6 Document Number 8
- 7 Document Number 3
- 8 Document Number 6
- 9 Document Number 10,
- 10 Letters to the Reverend Philip Hunt regarding
Lord Elgin's journey held on microfiche, but
permission for their use not granted.
- 11 Document Number 5
- 12 Document Number 1
- 13 Document Number 2
- 14 Document Number 3
- 15 Document Number 4
- 16 Document Number 5
- 17 Document Number 6
- 18 Document Number 7
- 19 Document Number 8
- 20 Confirmed by Lambeth Palace Library records and
the National Army Museum
- 21 Document Number 9
- 22 Document Number 10
- 23 Document Number 11
- 24 The Travel Archive, 45 Berkeley Street, London
- 25 Eleni Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The eve of the
Greek Revival*, London 1990

²⁶ David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and Hellenic Ideal*, London 1984

²⁷ William Lithgow, *The total Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painfeull Peregrinations of long 19 yeares Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Africa*, published Glasgow 1906, Journey taken 1609.

²⁸ Thomas Dallam, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599 - 1600*, edited by J. Theodore Bent, Hakluyt Society, London 1843

²⁹ George Sandys, *A relation of a journey begun A.D.1610*, No details of publisher on ancient volume

³⁰ George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece with Dr. Spon of Lyons*, London 1682

³¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters* edited by Robert Halsband, Volume I, 1708 - 1720, Oxford 1965

Robert Halsband, *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, Oxford 1956

³² Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764, 1765*, London 1971, Edited by Edith Clay

³³ John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby, *The letters of John B. S. Morritt, Journey in Europe and Asia Minor, 1794 - 1796*, London 1914

³⁴ J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, New York 1971

William Borst, *Lord Byron's First Pilgrimage*,

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Harold Nicholson, *Byron, The Last Journey*,
April 1823, 1824 London 1924

³⁵ William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*,
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³⁶ Sir William Gell, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., *The
Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca*, London 1823

³⁷ E. D. Clarke, LL.D., *Travels in Various
Countries*, London 1817

³⁸ Samuel Gridley Howe, *Letters and Journals*,
edited by his daughter Laura E. Richards, *The Greek
Revolution*, Vol. I, Boston 1909, A.M.S. edition 1973

³⁹ Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of
Lincoln, *Greece, Pictorial, Descriptive and
Historical*, London 1839

⁴⁰ William M. Leake, *Athens and Demi of Attica*,
London 1841

William M. Leake, *Peloponnesiaca*, London 1846

William M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, 1830

William M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*,

1835

⁴¹ Richard Pocock, LL.D., F.R.S., *A Description of
the East*, Vol. II. Part I, London 1845

⁴² Rev. S.S. Wilson, *A Narrative of the Greek
Mission*, London 1839

⁴³ Edward Lear, *Selected Letters*, Edited by Vivien

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⁴⁴ Thorburn's notebook dated Paris July 12th, 1789 mentions 'Books taken, Dr. Chandler's travels in Greece, Henry Swinburnes travels in the two Sicilies in four volumes, Lady Wortley Montagu's letters, Beauties of the Rambler in two volumes, Powis Castle in two volumes, published 1788, Smollett's Travels in two volumes, 1788, Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem by Henry Maundrell (at Easter 1697 - Chaplain to the factory at Aleppo), The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, in which are included Memoirs of a Lady of Quality in four volumes, 1769, A Third Account of the laws in France, description of journey through France, Italy, Mt. Vesuvius [author not named]'

⁴⁵ Thomas Dallam, Extracts from his diary in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599-1600*, Hakluyt Society, London 1843

⁴⁶ Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, Ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Hakluyt Society 1907 p.3

⁴⁷ Document 1

⁴⁸ John Covel, Extracts from his diary in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. J. T. Bent, Hakluyt Society, London 1893, p.126

⁴⁹ William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of long 19 yeares Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe Asia & Africa*, Glasgow 1906,

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⁵⁰ John Struys, *Voyages and Travels, Through Italy, Greece, Muscovy, Taartary, Media, Persia, East India, Japan and other Countries in Europe, Africa and Asia, &c. &c. Done out of Dutch, By John Morrison*, London 1684 p.98

⁵¹ Document 5

⁵² Document 11

⁵³ Thomas Dallam, *Extracts from his diary in Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599-1600*, Hakluyt Society, London 1843 p.49

⁵⁴ William Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of Long 19Yearres Travayles from Scotland to the most famous Kingdomes in Europe Asia & Africa*, Glasgow 1906 pp.122-125

⁵⁵ John Struys, *Voyages and Travels, Through Italy, Greece, Muscovy, Tartary, Media, Persia, East India, Japan and other Countries in Europe, Africa and Asia, &c. &c. Done out of Dutch by John Morrison*, London 1684 p.78

⁵⁶ Document 5

⁵⁷ Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, The Hakluyt Society, ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, p.49

⁵⁸ Capt. A. F. Townshend, *A Military Consul in Turkey*, London 1910

⁵⁹ Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, The Hakluyt Society,

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- ⁶⁰ ibid. p.61
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- ⁶⁷ Francois Lequat, *Travels*, Hakluyt Society, Vol. 82, London 1890
- ⁶⁸ Domingo Navarette, *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618 - 1686*, Hakluyt Society, Vol. 118, London 1962.
- ⁶⁹ William Hedges, *Diary of William Hedges during his Agency in Bengal*, Hakluyt Society, Vol. 74, London 1883
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- ⁷⁴ Dava Sobel, *Longitude*, London 1996, p.16
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- ⁷⁷ *The Journal of Friedrich Hornemann's Travels from Cairo to Murzuk, 1797-987*, Hakluyt Society, London 1964
- ⁷⁸ *Prutky's Travels in Ethiopia and Other Countries*, ed. J. H. Arrowsmith, Hakluyt Society, London 1991
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- ⁸¹ *Diary of A. J. Mounteney Jephson, Enmin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1887-1889*, ed. D. Middleton, Hakluyt Society, London 1969
- ⁸² *Francis Mortoft - His Book*, Hakluyt Society, London 1925
- ⁸³ *The Letters of F. W. Ludwig Leichhardt*, collected and translated by M. Aouroussean, Hakluyt Society, London 1968

CHAPTER II

THE TRAVELLERS

Travellers to Greece between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries were motivated either by their livelihoods, as in the case of merchants and envoys, or by their curiosity and desire to study the lands of which they had read. The seven ancient wonders of the world had drawn men to Rhodes, to Olympia and to Ephesus. The Romans and the Crusaders had left their legacy of travellers' tales, and the pilgrimage routes were well trodden. Pausani^as's Guide to Greece, written in the second century A.D. was a work of reference regularly used by those travelling among the classical Greek sites.

In the seventeenth century, since the time of Elizabeth, material progress and trade had resulted in the development of Britain into a wealthy nation, with maritime and colonial expansion. Merchants, such as those who formed the Levant Company and the East India Company, were important and wealthy travellers. They laid the foundation of routes, ships, ports for revictualling their vessels, relations with officials in the countries with whom

they traded, and safety in the organisation of caravans across hostile territories.

The merchants were joined in the eighteenth century by aristocrats and classical scholars, who sometimes travelled with them, eager to discover the source of the artistic enthusiasms engendered by their education. The choice of route was determined by difficulties in Europe. The crisis of 1789 in France, with its threat to the privileged, discouraged the British aristocrats from French territory, and rendered sea travel hazardous. The French were in northern Italy and occupied the Ionian Islands off Greece. Troubled times, however, did not deter the more adventurous travellers, who adjusted their programmes accordingly. A coalition against France which included Britain, Turkey and Russia improved relations with the Ottoman Porte, and saw an increase in the number of envoys despatched to Turkey. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had given a knowledgeable insight in her letters into life in the Turkish court, and demonstrated her sympathy for all things Turkish. This sympathy was echoed by many travellers in the eighteenth century, and it was not until the opening years of the nineteenth century and the stirrings of the Greek insurrection that serious support was to be given to the hard-pressed Greek population suffering under the Turkish yoke. The Greek revolt brought

Britain's relationship with Turkey and Russia into serious difficulty. Opinion was greatly divided. Liberals and romantics, among whom Lord Byron played a leading part, supported the Greeks. While the conflict had brought military advisers to Greece, it had also much enlarged the range of travellers.

It was at the end of the nineteenth century that organised journeys to Greece began. Thomas Cook planned tours to Jerusalem and the Eastern Mediterranean, which included Greece in their itinerary. These would not prove to be popular with either the Greeks or the general travelling population for many years to come, but they marked the beginning of a trend which was to make the individual traveller, who chose his route and spent months, or even years, pursuing his interests and satisfying his curiosity, a rare breed.

Though many travellers arrived in Greece in the pursuance of their business, there were few who remained immune to the classical history represented by the artefacts with which they found themselves surrounded. Their interests included architecture, botany, geology, ornithology, the collection of classical artefacts, hunting, photography, or simple curiosity, and the documents of the travellers studied in this work demonstrate all these enthusiasms. In this respect they are

representative of the majority of travellers whose works have been published.

MERCHANTS

Trade was the foremost reason for travel to the eastern Mediterranean in the seventeenth century. Merchants were drawn to the Levant during the reign of Elizabeth I in search of wealth, and to transport their goods in English ships rather than in Venetian argosies. Venice and Genoa monopolised much of the trade, while the French had obtained a foothold in 1536. The Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant was formed in 1582 to co-ordinate the English trade. William Harebone of Great Yarmouth, the first ambassador from England to the Ottoman Porte, sailed in the Company's ship in that year and established a factory at Constantinople. The principal factory was situated at Aleppo, with its outlet at Scanderoon, where all company vessels called before Constantinople, with another important centre founded at Smyrna. Increasing numbers of merchants traded in the Eastern Mediterranean. These men were of considerable standing to qualify as factors in the Company. One such was Lewes Robertes (1596 - 1640) who wrote his description of the journey to Constantinople (Document 1). As a merchant and a seaman, he was aware of potential

supply-points on his route around Greece, tar at Zante, good harbours, and victuals for his ships. He was a well educated man, and recorded the history of the areas through which he travelled. This did not blind him to the conditions in which contemporary Greeks were living, and the treatment they received from the occupying Turks. He recorded the journey he took in 1624.

Like Robertes, Peter Mundy travelled in Europe and Asia in the seventeenth century, representing his family engaged in the pilchard business of Cornwall. He was learned in French and Spanish, and in 1617 went to Constantinople by sea, returning overland in the company of Sir Paul Pindar, the Levant Company's representative, who later recommended him to a post in the East India Company. He travelled to India in 1628, confirming his fascination with the lands through which he travelled and the history of their peoples.¹

While Mundy and Robertes set off for Constantinople, Fynes Moryson was recommending the advantages to be gained by travellers joining the caravans of merchants in the Turkish Empire for the security they bestowed against thieves. Two or three hundred camels and their attendants were less vulnerable to violation than a small party,² and gave some idea of the volume of trade between east and west.

These Elizabethan travellers were more fitted for their journeys than Thomas Dallam, selected by his Queen as a fine craftsman, who was scarcely prepared at all. There was no-one to whom he could turn for advice. He was ordered to make and to transport an extraordinary organ with moving figures and a clock, as a gift to Sultan Mahomed III in 1599,³ with a view to encouraging the powerful ruler to look favourably upon the merchants who were arranging business contacts with Constantinople, part of the Elizabethan expansion.

DILETTANTI AND ARISTOCRATS

Travellers to Italy were many; young men and their tutors, classicists and those in search of society and entertainment made their visits to the remains of Roman civilization. They were well catered for in Italy, with hotels and good roads. These were not to be found by the travellers to Greece, nor demanded by merchants who were based on their ships or in company premises and often stayed in *khans* with their caravans.

In the year 1734, gentlemen who had travelled in Italy, enjoying the treasures they had found there, founded the Society of Dilettanti. Their ambition

was to 'encourage at home a taste for those objects which had contributed so much to their entertainment abroad'. They were regarded as arbiters of taste and culture, and financed the travels of students of classical architecture and painters who would bring home the results of their labours, drawings, paintings, inscriptions, casts, and, in some cases, the marbles themselves for the instruction of intellectuals in Britain. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett left England in 1750 with the intention of accurately measuring and drawing the treasures of Ancient Greece, which were published by the Society in 1762 with the title of *The Antiquities of Athens*. Despite Revett's assurance of Turkish co-operation, it is mentioned in the preface that a Turkish gentleman visited them 'to see that we did not carry off any treasure, for he did not conceive any other motive could have induced us to examine so eagerly what was under ground in his castle.' The letter from Nicholas Revett, dated 12 June 1751, to an unknown correspondent illustrates the anxiety about the funding of their work. Revett was to travel to Greece again under the instructions of the Society of Dilettanti, accompanying Richard Chandler in 1764 and 1765 as architect. Stuart and Revett were not rich noblemen, unlike John Hawkins (Document 3) who spent some years in Greece, rebuilt his home at Bignor Park in Sussex in the classical style, was an eminent botanist and geologist and a man of many

interests. Hawkins was born at Trewithen, Cornwall, in 1761, the fourth son of Thomas Hawkins, educated at Helston, Winchester and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was elected to the Society of Dilettanti in 1799, became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1791 and of the Geological Society in 1808, and was one of the founders of the Royal Horticultural Society in 1804. Hawkins had been a companion of Dr John Sibthorp, who was collecting material for *Flora Graeca*, but died in 1796. It was Hawkins who supervised the publication of his work. His companion for part of his journey was Randle Wilbraham (Document 4) who travelled in Greece between 1794 and 1797. He had been elected to the Society of Dilettanti in 1786, and became Deputy Arch-Master in 1787. His letters to his mother show him to have been a cultured man of many interests. His diary kept during his botanical expedition in 1787 describes the plants he found at every point in his travels along the coast of Lycia, Cyprus and Rhodes. He shot one of every species of bird and snake and noted its characteristics. He examined ruins and noted their classical history.

The third member of the Society whose documents appear in this work is William John Bankes (Document 6) of Kingston Lacy. His travels took him to the furthest reaches of the Peloponnese, into the Mani, where few travellers ventured. As a man of

substance, he was approached by the Pasha of the Morea with a highly confidential suggestion that he might contact the British Government with a view to a possible invasion, promising his support from the various guerilla bands who held sway in the mountains of the Taygetus.

Entertainment and relaxation was uppermost in the mind of H. M. G. Coore (Document 9) who travelled in some luxury on a chartered yacht, thereby avoiding the problem of accommodation. His intention was to shoot game at the various sites of disembarkation, a gentleman's favourite occupation at this time. Unfortunately, he and his companions themselves became game for the Greek brigands by whom they were captured.

John de Havilland, whose shipboard notes are held at the Record Office, Taunton, also followed his own gentlemanly interests of history and photography but his somewhat sketchy account of his visit to Rhodes makes his comments not worth reproduction. His interests were in the medieval history of the Knights and the Grand Masters at Rhodes, together with the possibility of photographing the remains of their castles and churches. In 1876, as a photographer, he was only forty years later than the first photograph of the pioneer, Fox Talbot. He travelled on board a steamer departing for the Holy Land, and published a printed essay entitled

'England Herself at Constantinople. The Best Solution to the Eastern Question - London 1877'.

These intellectuals were following the path of the melancholy William Lithgow of Lanark who had travelled 36,000 miles by 1609, an opportunity not open to a poor man. His first sight of Greece was Corfu, followed by Zante, Cephalonia and Leuk⁶as. He sailed on to Corinth, exploring Laconia and Arcadia and visiting Sparta and Argos. He proceeded to Athens, where he was furnished with provisions for his voyage to Crete and treated with honour, passing Melos, Patmos, Chios, and Lesbos, *en route* for Cyprus and finally Constantinople.⁵ George Sandys visited the Greek islands in 1610 observing the traditions and customs of the Greeks, quoting Homer and Virgil in his subsequent record of the journey.⁶ George Wheler was a cleric, his chief interest being botany. He travelled with Dr Spon of Lyons in 1682, indulging his passion for plants and recording the churches he found, while studying the antiquities with the help of his friend.⁷ He listed plants, topography and trade, and described the small factory at Zante [Zakinthos] which conducted its business with a consul and five or six merchants dedicated to the provision of currants, much to the taste of the English and the mystification of the local population. 'The Zantiots are yet strangers to the luxury of Christmas Pies, Plum-potage, Cake

and Puddings, etc'.⁸ Wheler respected his companion's superior knowledge of classical Greece when collecting marbles and inscriptions, which he later presented to Oxford University.

While probably not so well-to-do as some of these travellers, Richard Chandler was sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti to visit Asia Minor in 1764. He was accompanied by Nicholas Revett and William Pars as architect and artist⁹, prompted by the desire to further artistic interests, as was John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby, who was educated at St. Johns College, Cambridge, obtaining his B.A. in 1794 when he commenced his travels. He had a taste for antiquaria and research, and furthered his interests with an investigation of famous sites in Asia Minor and Greece. His letters illustrate the opinions and conclusions of an educated man of his time.¹⁰

The need to add topography to artistic research gave Sir William Gell his motivation in 1806. His visit to Greece formulated his views on a society where few changes had taken place and very little improvement in more than 20 years, and his intention was the aquisition of a geographical knowledge of the country. He was so successful in his investigations that his narrative accompanied many future travellers.¹¹

Certainly the most famous of the aristocratic and wealthy travellers to Greece was Lord Byron, accompanied by his friend John Hobhouse. Their first journey was during the years 1809 and 1810, when, like others, they satisfied their classical curiosity. They contemplated the site of the battle of Actium in N.W. Acarnania and travelled in great style. They hired dragomans, taking four large leather trunks of 80 lbs. each, three smaller trunks, a canteen, three beds with bedding and two bedsteads loaded on to horses, and caused some astonishment by sheltering from the rain under umbrellas. They were provided with houses in which to rest during their journey to stay with Ali Pasha of Joannina. It was to bring relief to the beleaguered Greeks fighting for freedom that Lord Byron returned in 1823, when military matters prevailed over research.

ENVOYS

Those who were sent to perform a duty in Greece had a somewhat different attitude to the country and the inhabitants. Fairfax Cartwright (Document 10) was a diplomat *en route* to Batoum. He found the celebration of Greek Easter at Corfu and its attendant ceremonies worth mentioning, but describes Athens as a very dull place. He was mainly

concerned with the important social contacts that he was able to make in 1887, rather than with artistic or topographic matters. The social conditions of the indigenous population concerned him not at all.

Earlier travellers sent to the Ottoman Empire were mainly diplomats and officers concerned with the court of the Sultan and the Levant Company.

William Biddulph took up his post as Chaplain to the Levant Company at Smyrna in 1600, Thomas Roe was Ambassador at Constantinople from 1621 to 1628, Paul Rycaut held the post of consul at Smyrna from 1667 to 1678, and John Covel became Chaplain at Constantinople in 1670.¹² Paul Rycaut, son of a London merchant, consul at Smyrna for 11 years, was well known to Europeans for his writings about the Ottoman Empire, translated into eight languages. He was a keen collector of Greek coins and medals, and it was then that the English community began sending home ancient statuary.¹³ He entertained Dr John Covel, the Chaplain, at his country house outside Smyrna, where he met George Wheler and his friend, Dr Jacob Spon. Bernard Randolph was appointed Consul at Athens, but was forced to leave in 1688 with the Venetian conquest of Athens, followed by its abandonment to the Turks. His interests led him to study the fortifications of the lands through which he travelled, noting the state of lawlessness in the Morea in 1689.¹⁴

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, while not strictly an envoy in her own right, travelled with her husband on his appointment as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Turkey in 1716 when he replaced Sir Robert Sutton. He also represented the Levant Company. Lady Mary's letters provide the most detailed description of life in Ottoman Turkey during this period. As a young woman living in a house designed by William Talman in the Palladian style, she had developed a taste for classical architecture, and her education fitted her for conversation with men of letters. In Turkish lands she saw the contrast between barbarism and culture. She encountered plague, visited the Sultan's harem, and lived in a palace, studying Homer and learning the Turkish language.¹⁵ Her knowledge of the social conditions which prevailed among the Turks was considerable and she took the trouble to acquaint herself thoroughly with the land in which she lived. She left a heavy stone artefact to be returned to England by Lord Elgin, who was appointed His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte in 1799. Elgin himself was enthusiastic in his desire to provide English artists with copies of classical Greek statuary, and, later, the marbles themselves.¹⁶

It was in the nineteenth century that the military forces became involved in Greece, mainly as

advisers, sometimes as combatants, but also as protectors of Corfu. Lord Cochrane visited Greece in 1826 during the War of Independence. He held the keys of a money chest containing £8,000 from England, a contribution to the military campaign. Landing at Poros, already in the hands of independent forces, he was led to a conference in a lemon grove. He gave a vivid description of conditions in the newly liberated areas, and discussed the importance of guarding the antiquities, forbidding their export and urging their preservation.¹⁷ This represented a departure from the collectors of previous times and introduced a new element in the treatment of classical sites and artefacts.

It was not just military and antiquarian advice which was offered, but religious recommendations as well. The Rev. Charles Green (Document 8), came as Chaplain to the English forces in the Ionian Islands. In 1842 he wrote to his mother describing the conditions in which he lived. He was concerned more with the society in which he moved, and with those of his countrymen whom he encountered in the course of his ministry, than with the local people. His conscience worried him greatly, as did his lack of funds, and his letters deteriorate in line with his physical and mental condition.

Greece was not neglected by the missionaries who sought to re-establish the Christian religion amongst the newly freed people, though not necessarily the traditional Orthodox faith which had sustained the cause of freedom in many areas. The Rev. S. S. Wilson published *A Narrative of the Greek Mission* in 1839, and John and Martha Yeardley visited the Ionian Islands in 1835 on behalf of the Quakers.

The interests of the travellers had gradually evolved from the artistic and scientific to the military and political, though cultural curiosity was always present. It was inevitable that once Greece had become the target of so many diverse groups, it should be opened up to its recent mass invasion.

TOURISTS

By 1889, Thomas Cook was organising tours to the Eastern Mediterranean. Helen Caddick (Document 11) was able to take part in a five-week tour to Palestine and on through Constantinople and back to London, sailing on the 'Ganges.' She was tireless in her exploration of the sites of Ancient Greece, though occasionally forgetting their famous

connotations, rigorous as was her itinerary. Like her predecessors, she was interested in her fellow travellers, but seldom met the local people other than the guides, with whom she was unable to communicate owing to the language difficulties.

Two years previously, Fairfax Cartwright (Document 10) had complained that his steamer had been filled with 'a lot of damned Cook's tourists on board', and they were unwelcome to the traditional traveller.

Lewis Upcott travelled in 1896. His papers, held in the Record Office at Exeter, contained a panoramic sketch in pencil of Athens by Mrs Bracebridge, and a description of the lofty tower erected early in the fifteenth century by the Florentine Dukes of Athens. His comments at Corinth, Megara and Eleusis were of a personal nature and so not included in this work. He did, however, mention that he was grateful to find the Cook's interpreter to smooth the way. He was also grateful to his horse, who carried him through such hostile and mountainous conditions. With the advent of organisation, after some years of exclusivity, travellers were destined to become tourists, more welcome for their currency than for their presence. This was a sad decline from the genuine hospitality and kindness which earlier travellers had encountered.

Back in London in 1798, after five years of travel, we may leave it to James Thoburn, the servant and companion of traveller John Hawkins, on his return to London to utter a heartfelt 'Many thanks to God Almighty for his mercys having Incounterd many Dangours, and difficultys, both by land, and sea, arrived safe and well in my Native Land'.¹⁸

- ¹ Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, The Hakluyt Society, ed. Sir Richard Carnac Temple.
- ² Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, (Glasgow 1908), p.474
- ³ Thomas Dallam, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599-1600*, ed, J. Theodore Bent, London, Hakluyt Society, 1843
- ⁴ Society of Dilettanti, *Ionian Antiquities*, (London 1769), Preface
- ⁵ William Lithgow, *The Total Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of Long 19 Yeares Traveayles from Scotland to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa* (Glasgow 1906)
- ⁶ George Sandys, *A relation of a journey begun A.D.1610*, ed. J. Theodore Bent, Hakluyt Society, (London 1843)
- ⁷ George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece with Dr. Spon of Lyons*, (London 1682)
- ⁸ *ibid.* p.43
- ⁹ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764. 1765*, ed Edith Clay, (London 1971)
- ¹⁰ John B. S. Morritt of Rokeby, *The letters of John B. S. Morritt, Journey in Europe and Asia Minor, 1794 - 1796*, (London 1914)

¹¹ Sir William Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, (London 1823)

The Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca, (London 1807)

¹² Eleni Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, *The Eve of the Greek Revival*, (London 1990)

¹³ Sonia P. Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey*, (Oxford 1989), p.6

¹⁴ Bernard Randolph, *Present State of the Morea*, 1689, (London 1690)

¹⁵ Robert Halsband, *The Life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, (Oxford 1956)

¹⁶ William Richard Hamilton, *Memorandum on the subject of the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, (London 1811)

¹⁷ George Cochrane, (son of Lord Cochrane), *Wanderings in Greece*, (London 1837)

¹⁸ James Thorburn, notes held in the papers of John Hawkins at the Record Office, Chichester

CHAPTER III

Travellers' Concerns

This collection of unpublished letters and diaries for the most part examines conditions encountered by travellers to Greece while under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Rome had been the centre of the classical world and it was to Rome that the young aristocrats and their tutors travelled to complete their education. Rome was more accessible than Greece and made the wanderers more welcome in the form of accommodation and entertainment. In the late seventeenth century, scholars became enthusiastic about discovering the remains of classical Greece. Trade with the Levant was increasing, and merchants were joined by the more adventurous travellers, some of whom were classicists pursuing their dreams of the Athens of Pericles and the Troy of Homer. Unlike those who undertook the Grand Tour, they found few comforts; no hotels, roads destroyed by flood and torrent, mountainous terrain, robbers by land, pirates by sea, sickness, dirt and poverty. They were at the mercy of unreliable Greek and Turkish ship masters,

horse hirers and bureaucratic officials, whom they encountered in all their travel arrangements. John Hawkins, in Document No. 3, relates 'As to our travelling pace it was at the rate of 3 miles the hour or a slow walk... such a long exposure to the sun rendered us weak and languid', and 'at the close of the evening we stretched our mattresses before the door of her cottage and laid down to rest... we halted without being able to procure any refreshments for ourselves'. Randle Wilbraham, in Document No. 5, describes 'our crew being very fearfull and ignorant of navigation voted it stormy', and, during a later voyage 'we were detained by contrary weather either at sea or upon almost desert islands (as Imbros and Samothrace) nearly a week, during which time I lay at the bottom of an open boat, exposed to the wind and rain, burning with a violent fever, and neither able to eat nor to help myself. Had I not had the constitution of an horse, I could not have withstood what I then suffered'

These accounts of the rigours of their journeys were not addressed to future travellers, as was Sir William Gell's *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, published in 1823. Most wrote simply to their families at home, and as such, give more personal impressions of the country through which they travelled and the people they met. The emotions of

H. M. G. Coore in Document No. 9 will have been confirmed by the experiences of more recent hostages, while those of the Reverend Charles Green in Document No. 8 were never intended to be scrutinised by the public eye. Few chaplains could have been so undermined by poverty and the unfamiliarity of a foreign culture.

Despite the hazards and set-backs, at no time were these travellers deterred absolutely by the conditions in which they found themselves. Some, indeed, had been hardened by previous botanical expeditions. They reported them mainly in everyday terms, regarding them as a nuisance rather than in life-threatening terms. Local consuls were sought for guidance, provisions and frequently for hospitality, and, where possible, journeys were made in the company of merchants who were more sensible of the necessities and dangers of the route. Fynes Moryson notes in 1617: 'In the Turkish Empire they travell not, as we doe, sometimes one man alone, sometimes two, three, or more consorts, at pleasure; but as theeves there goe in troopes to spoil, so Merchants for their security, joyne together till they have some two or three hundred Cammels, loaded with goods, and a convenient number of men to attend them'.¹ Most serious travellers had availed themselves of the narratives recorded by previous travellers. George Sandys had travelled in 1610,

recording his experiences, while Sir George Wheler and his companion, Dr Spon, wrote their impressions in 1682, and are frequently quoted by their successors. They had travelled with the intention of identifying and describing classical monuments, while Wheler combined his travel with plant hunting and returned with a considerable collection. In 1611 Thomas Coryat had his *Crudities* published with the express intention of helping to 'better encourage Gentlemen and lovers of travell to undertake journeys beyond the seas. Of all the pleasures in the world travell is (in my opinion) the sweetest and most delightfull'. His later travels in 1612 took him to Zante, Troy and Constantinople, but he died before accomplishing his next volume of travelling experience. His friend, Hermannus Kirchnerus, wrote an Oration, which was included in Coryate's volume, where he mentioned the many difficulties, labours and toils, the many calamities, misfortunes and miseries, even to the hazard of life and welfare, somewhat tempering Coryat's enthusiasms.

Stuart and Revett in the 1750s were the first to travel to Athens with the specific intention of measuring and drawing the classical remains, and the enthusiastic reception of their work published by the Dilettanti Society fuelled the desire for classical students to see the wonders for

themselves. They received encouragement from Robert Wood, who had travelled to Greece filled with his love of the works of Homer, and subsequently fired the imagination of his readers with his descriptions of Palmyra and Baalbec. It was Wood who proposed that Chandler should lead the expedition sponsored by the Dilettanti Society in 1764, and Chandler's professional management of the trip was demonstrated in his subsequent publication *Travels in Asia Minor*, adding to the fund of experience to be drawn upon by later travellers. The earliest travellers to Greece were an elite group of enthusiasts, many of whom knew each other and were able to draw upon each others expertise. However well prepared, they were unable to foresee and circumvent the practical difficulties which would inevitably bar their way.

Plague

Plague had ever been a scourge of travellers. Accompanying the Mongol tribesmen expanding through Asia in the thirteenth century, and the merchants supplying the increasing demand for luxury goods, to the travellers in the later centuries, fear of infection had a profound influence on their choice of direction. Careful enquiry from one region to

the next, assessment of rumour, sometimes travel at night, were commonsense precautions.

The Levant being the entrepot for trade between East and West, by 1500 the response of the doctors to the challenge had led to professional medical care and hospitals for treatment of diseases. The Levant Company's doctors also made a special study of the plague, and *Russell on the Plague* was the standard work of its time,³ rejecting the doctrine of fatalism held by most Moslems, and that of divine judgement held by some Christians.

Both Berners (doc. 4) and Wilbraham (doc. 5) encountered what they describe as 'plague' on their voyages. Berners describes his concern over reports of plague at Corinth. The illness resulting in the death of two men in the city was not known for certain to be plague. Violent malignant fever could result from cholera, malaria, dysentery, or typhus, all endemic to the area. Wilbraham noted that plague had killed 4,000 people in Rhodes in 1795, while Revett and Stuart (doc. 2) abandoned their work in Athens when threatened by the disease. Serious epidemics (whatever their nature) were clearly one of the major hazards known to all travellers in southern Europe. In 1602, Paul Pindar at Venice wrote to John Sanderson in Constantinople⁴ 'By reason of the plague in Germany we are her[e] inforced to have all things opened and eared [aired]

att lazaretto'. Sir Henry Wotton, ambassador to Venice in 1603, had noted 'one travels thru the Tyrol and Bavaria at night, on account of this universal fear of the plague'.⁵ This is at variance with the advice given to travellers by the Royal Geographical Society in 1893⁶ concerning the avoidance of malaria, 'In the malarious districts of Italy travellers find the danger of going about at night...The evident cause is that the malarious vapours ... are more concentrated at this period.' By this time in the nineteenth century, they saw no reason to warn intending travellers of the danger of plague, but did give advice on bronchitis, pneumonia, pleurisy, rheumatism, dysentery, fever (mostly malarial), liver problems, sea-sickness, sunstroke, parasites, and accidents.

In 1630, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany gave instructions for the care of the sick and the disposal of the dead, issued by the Magistracy of Health in Florence,⁷ and in the same year, John Reresby '(waiting several months for the infection to diminish) was compelled to leave the country without having seen more than Venice and Florence'.⁸ Wheler and Spon were deterred from travelling through Thrace on their way to Greece⁹, making their way instead to Smyrna, which itself was subject to frequent epidemics of plague, causing Chandler, accompanied by Nicholas Revett and William Pars, to

alter their plans in 1764. They stayed in Smyrna while it was relatively safe in winter, but feared to return to the city after their travels through Greece as it was filled with pestilence, and consequently made their headquarters at a village called Sedicui at some distance from Smyrna, their destination. There they were incarcerated from May to August, fearful of contact with any person who had visited Smyrna, but needing supplies from time to time, such as wine and candles. For these a Turk was sent. They reported the plague had started on the islands of Macronisi and Tinos. It was Chandler's view that 'The plague might perhaps be truly defined, a disease arising from certain animalcules, probably invisible, which burrow and form their nidus in the human body... They are imported almost annually into Smyrna, and this species is commonly destroyed by intense heat'¹⁰. It was when they were about to leave Smyrna that Chandler reports meeting three English gentlemen, one of whom was Randal Wilbraham, whose memoirs of his travels are reported in Document 5. To add to Chandler's problems they were much infested by 'musquittoes, or large gnats, which tormented us most exceedingly by their loud noise, and by repeated attacks on our skin... At night they raged furiously about our beds, assaulting the gauze veil, our defence, which, thin as it was, augmented the violent heat to a degree almost intolerable. Their

fondness of foreign food is generally but too visible, in the swollen and distorted features of persons newly arrived'.¹¹ During their journey home they spent 14 days quarantine in the lazaret on Zante¹². Lady Mary Wortley Montague was among many eighteenth-century travellers in Greece and the Near East who took refuge as best they could from the pestilence. She would write in 1717: 'We pass our time chiefly at a Country house ten miles from Constantinople, this being the Plague season.'¹³ A distance of 10 miles or more from the seat of infection seemed to be the best solution for avoiding the plague, although the travellers were not aware that they were avoiding the infected fleas to be found in the overcrowded conditions in towns. Napoleon himself was forced to retreat from Acre 'with an army decimated by plague'.¹⁴ Such was his anticipation of plague that in 1799 he left orders to Kleber to evacuate Egypt when 1,500 of his army had died from the disease.¹⁵ In 1817, E. D. Clarke found Navplion in the Morea extremely unhealthy¹⁶, recommending Peruvian bark and arsenic drops to avoid the plague.

Wartime inevitably brought epidemics concurrent with its other miseries. During the insurrection of 1770, when Catherine the Great coveted Constantinople, her fleet was stationed at Paros, and like those of Napoleon, her forces suffered

great losses from plague, while visitors to Greece during the War of Independence found refugees the inevitable victims of epidemics and diseases. When Kapodistrias became the Greek leader based in Aegina, he not only gathered orphans of the battle, but sent doctors to confront the plague affecting the refugees on the islands of Spetses and Hydra, and at Navplion and Argos in the Morea.¹⁷

The fear of the spread of disease had led to the building of lazarettos, thereby adding to the hazards and tribulations of travellers, delaying them in their journeys home by lengthy confinement in isolation. Travelling in 1839, the Rev. S. S. Wilson was confined in the lazaretto at Zante for 19 days because he had been in the land of epidemics.¹⁸ He reports that he was devoured with vermin, and near him 'lay the body of the celebrated, talented, erring nobleman Lord Byron'. They went on the same ship to Malta and after a second quarantine of 25 days, the Reverend Wilson was re-united with his family. The efficacy of these lazarettos was challenged by Dr. John Bowring in 1838.¹⁹ 'The controversy as to the contagiousness [of plague] has been long and fiercely agitated'. He is pointing out that the change in opinion is leading to a recognition of the inefficiency of quarantine regulations and of the non-contagious and endemic character of the oriental plague. He quotes Clot

Bey, head of the Medical Department in Egypt, saying that he had never known the plague to be communicated by contact. The Moslems, he notes, although Predestinarians, vaccinate willingly. His sympathies lie with the traveller, who is 'subject to visitations and arrests, the most capricious and the most despotic, the sacrifice of happiness, the weariness, the wasted time, the annoyance, the sufferings inflicted by quarantine legislation, they exceed all measure... they are useless for the ends they profess to accomplish'.

As Dr. Bowring noted, the attitude of the Moslems was different from that of the Christians. The Moslem was prohibited from either entering or fleeing a plague-stricken land²⁰ alleging that plague was a mercy and a martyrdom from God, and that there was no contagion of plague because disease came directly from God. Arthur Kinglake, arriving in Cairo in 1835, commented on the fact that the Moslem performed correct religious rituals in the face of calamity, 'It is said that when a Mussulman finds himself attacked by the plague he goes and takes a bath'.²¹ The Emperor of Byzantium, John Cantacuzenos, had believed that a visitation of the plague was divine punishment for sinful behaviour²².

In all the references to plague by travellers, there is seldom a description of life in a pestilence-

ridden city, as great care was taken to avoid such knowledge. Bald figures of death among the population as reported by hearsay and rumour were quoted. It is left to Alexander Kinglake in his book *Eothen* to describe the horror and dread of the citizens of Cairo at the mounting death toll, and to illustrate the reasoning behind the decision of the travellers quoted here to avoid such dangers.

Although he has embroidered his narrative to enchant his readers, there is little doubt that during his travels he encountered conditions that echoed those mentioned in the diaries and letters of earlier travellers. His book was intended to enlighten and entertain those who dreamed of similar journeys, unlike the personal letters of travellers to their friends.

In Europe, with a similar attitude towards malaria, it was believed that plague was the result of a miasma, and that it was contagious, illustrated by the edicts of the Magistracy of Health in Florence in 1630, 'to the occupants of the house where the sickness has been... that they must not leave the house... that they must not associate with anybody, and must not give away anything from their house.'²³

The term 'plague' was used to cover most epidemic illnesses, but bubonic plague was not alone in attacking with ferocity. Dirt, lack of hygiene, and overcrowding provided breeding grounds for flies as

well as fleas and could lead to typhoid fever, dysentery, cholera and bacterial food-poisoning.²⁴ Although England suffered its last and one of the worst attacks in 1665, no such relief was granted to the countries around the Mediterranean, and treatises on the plague epidemic then raging in the Hijaz were still being written in the nineteenth century,²⁵ as illustrated by Kinglake's travels. The traveller was well-advised to take all reasonable precautions.

KLEPHTS AND BANDITTI

In addition to fear of the plague, few travellers failed to record precautions against robbery or sufferings inflicted by outlaws. Whether on land or on the high seas, the danger was always present.

Lewes Roberts in 1620, Document 1, being a merchant familiar with the seas, reports that he kept a watchful eye when passing Modona and Corona, [Methoni and Koroni], 'wher the Tunes Pirratts refresh themselves and keep spies uppon the adjoyninge hills to see what shipps doe passe that waye'.

The eighteenth century shows little improvement in safety for travellers, but Berners, Document 4,

notices that, between Megara and Corinth, Albanian guards were placed for the protection of travellers, under the command of a Turk. At the end of the century he reported that the road was free from danger, but that it was not possible to travel over the Morea without a guard. Having made a precautionary departure from plague-ridden Corinth, they continued from Piraeus by sea, but were forced into the bay of Milos by bad weather, where reports were received of a number of 'Pyrratical Boats' and so sailed in convoy with an armed French vessel to Smyrna for safety.

This lack of law and order at the end of the century is confirmed by Randle Wilbraham, Document 5, when travelling through the mountains of Thessaly which 'are much infested by robbers as well Christians as Turks who unite in gang, take possession of some pass, and lay the neighbouring country under contribution attacking the villages and making prisoners of all such travellers who are imprudent enough to expose themselves in dangerous places without an escort. Their method of treating the prisoners they take is, as you will allow, more singular than agreeable to those upon whom the experiment is tried. When they seize any body whom they know or suspect to be rich, they oblige him to write to his friends for a certain sum as his ransom, if his friends refuse or demurr, they send

a 2nd letter with increased demands, inclosing the prisoner's ear or more according to their fancy. If the ransom comes, well and good, if not, the unfortunate man soon falls a victim to the cruelty of these scoundrels composed of rebels, outlaws, the outcasts of society'. The traveller suffering the treatment described by Wilbraham in Document 5 was H. M. G. Coore, Document 9. In 1865 he was kidnapped, and his friend, Lord Hervey, despatched for a ransom of £3,000 in gold. He describes his sufferings in detail, giving a vivid picture of his despair while being forced to march through hostile conditions and sleep on the hillsides. His friends meanwhile sought to provide the large sum of money. His tribulation had a successful conclusion. The money was obtained and his life spared.

These examples of lawlessness are amply verified by the published sources. The sixteenth century had seen the ravages of the piratical Barbarossa, and Thomas Dallam reports the presence of pirates during his journey to Constantinople in 1599. He mentions the Hydriotes 'who are bold boatmen and pirates as they are adventurous merchants;'.²⁶ In 1609 William Lithgow records being 'beset by three Greek murdering renegades and an Italian bandido'.²⁷ He was beaten and stripped. His clothes were restored, but not his blue gown and money. He was, however, given a token, a small piece of clay, in case he

encountered any of their companions, and this would prevent him from more robbery. This would indicate that the robbers were well organised and the various groups known to each other and the local dwellers. The town of Athens was closed every night by means of gates at the end of narrow streets, where the houses were very close together, and as such was reasonably well secured from Corsairs. So noted George Wheler in 1682.²⁸ Fynes Moryson had already given his advice in 1605, 'In all Innes, but especially in suspected places, let him bolt or locke the doore of his chamber; let him take heed of his chamber fellowes, and alwayes have his Sword by his side, or by his bed side; let him lay his purse under his pillow, but alwayes foulded with his garters, or some thing hee first useth in the morning, lest hee forget to put it up before hee goe out of his chamber'.²⁹ This was a warning about fellow travellers, but he also had advice to give on dealing with attack, 'Neither would I advise a stranger to fight for his money, if hee be assaulted by theeves (called Banditi) in Italy, since they are men of desperate fortune, and when they assaile the passenger, have not only their bodies armed as aforesaid, but carry Muskets, and have ready meanes of escape'.³⁰ His experience in Turkey was that 'It were in vaine to give any precepts for quarrels in Turkey, where a Christian not onely may not quarrell, but not so much as carry a sword, no nor

looke a Turke in the face without a Bastinado...Theeves are lesse to be feared there, because passengers neither goe nor ride alone, but in Caravanes, that is, a multitude of men and loaded Cammels...yet the Christians ... chancing to meet by the way any Janizaries, shal be forced to give them such victuals as they carry, especially wine'.³¹ At this time he also recommends that a traveller should conceal his religion in Italy.

Greece was never short of hiding places for the bands of robbers scouring the countryside for the unwary traveller. While examining the ruins of Alexandria Troas in 1764, Chandler describes the confusion of remains in a hollow overgrown with trees which could have been a stadium, with the basement of a large temple nearby. An ideal 'lurking-place of banditti, who often lay concealed here, their horses tied in rows to wooden pegs, of which, many then remained in the wall'.³² The threat continues, as 'From Chemali we returned to the vineyard, purposing to embark as soon as possible; the danger from banditti increasing with our stay in these parts, which had already produced a general uneasiness'.³³ Chandler was harried by dogs, used to guard flocks and herds from wild beasts, not easily repelled by their guides, and made even more anxious by the report that the consul had been attacked by bandits and his party

overcome. The consul himself ran into the water up to his chin, where he was fired upon by the bandits and badly hurt. This news caused them to return to their previous lodging and not to risk staying at Sigeum as they had planned.³⁴ They were told that the banditti were numerous and cruel, were warned not to venture further on their way, and were perplexed by their situation and unable to determine how to proceed. Only a year later, Joachim Bocher, the discoverer of the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae was murdered 'apparently for the silver buttons of his coat'.³⁵

When Lord Byron and Hobhouse took their journey through Albania in 1809, their route was also harrassed by lawlessness. While at Vrutza, a village seven hours from Ioannina, they were advised not to follow the road, being unprovided with a guard, as the country of Loru was not safe, and recommended to take another route by Arta.³⁶ They later obtained a guard, travelling close through a ravine, as this, they were informed, was where the robbers, or kleftis, most commonly made their attack. Ali Pasha himself, though clearing much of his territory of lawbreakers, told them that 'they could not go by the common road through Triccala, as that part of the country was infested by large bands of robbers; but that they might go through Carnia...he would give us orders to his several

military posts, to take as many guards as might be necessary'.³⁷ Hobhouse remarks that the woods and hills of every part of Ali Pasha's government were in the possession of large bands of robbers, who were recruited and protected by the villages; and who laid large tracts under contribution; burning and plundering the districts under the Pasha's protection. Ali Pasha dealt with these by burning, hanging and impaling. However, some of almost every village belonged to these bands of robbers, and no disgrace was attached to plundering, and it was common to hear a man say 'when I was a robber'. The banditti, in groups of two, five and seven hundreds, sometimes even a thousand, assembled under some formidable chief and retired to the summits of the most lofty mountains. They met at Metzovo^{and} commanded the passes from Greece and Thessaly into Albania, sometimes living in caves, but mostly in the open air. The shepherds supplied them with meat and the villages provided bread. They drank water only, and were well supplied with spies to give them notice of the approach of an enemy or any fit for plunder. They would ambush their victims and fire upon them until they threw down their arms, when the victims would be gagged, bound and plundered, or perhaps held to ransom for many thousand piastres. The prisoner would then be released or beheaded, according to circumstances.³⁸ When snow drove them from the mountains, they would disperse, live on

their plunder or go into employment, which they always quit on a stated day in the spring. Hobhouse had described the organisation of lawlessness that prepared the way for the treatment of Coore (Document 9) in 1865. Charles Cockerell found the seas equally infested in 1811. 'One of the workmen pointed out the pirate boats off Sunium which is one of their favoured haunts, which one can see from the temple platform, such local knowledge being widespread. ³⁹

Miss Helen Caddick, whose memoirs of 1889 form the final document, travelled under the protection of Thomas Cook. Her guide on this occasion was one who had accompanied 'the Vyners' to Marathon around 1879. They were attacked and taken prisoner by brigands. Despite the guide's entreaties in Athens, troops were sent instead of ransom money and the Vyners were killed. The guide was imprisoned for two years on suspicion of aiding the brigands, but was not prohibited from continuing his guiding activities. Yet Miss Caddick survived perfectly well under his care.

By the turn of the century when Captain Townshend travelled to Turkey to become British Vice-Consul in Adrianople, he found that 'there are a good many brigands or robbers scattered about, but they very rarely molest a foreigner... In Asia Minor the motive is purely robbery for gain, a different state

of affairs from Macedonia, where the brigands, bands of *komitajis*, are politicians or 'patriots' and only incidentally robbers'. He found the dogs a more serious affair than brigands.⁴⁰

The attitude of the Greeks to lawlessness seems to be summed up by the resentment of the inhabitants of Hydra in 1828. They voted against Kapodistrias, the new head of free Greece, because he brought in a Bill condemning piracy, their chief source of income.⁴¹

MOTIVATION AND ATTITUDE OF TRAVELLERS

The incentive common to practically all travellers to Greece was a desire to see the antiquities known to them by reason of their classical education, and if possible, to obtain a larger or smaller sample of them as a souvenir of their tour, often under the guise of 'protection from vandals and the elements'.

The earliest travellers like Fynes Moryson and Coryat had travelled from the sheer pleasure of doing so. Coryat says 'of all the pleasures in the world travel is (in my opinion) the sweetest and most delightfull'⁴², his writing motivated by the desire 'to animate the learned to travell into outlandish regions'. Fynes Moryson, like Coryat travelling early in the seventeenth century, was more poetic, 'Running water is sweet, but standing pooles stinke', likening those who failed to travel to the 'standing pooles'.⁴³

Lewis Roberts in 1620, Document 1, travelling about his business with the Levant Company, went with his companions taking their 'fouling peces' and explored the ruins of a spacious city 'honoured with the sepulcher of Achilles'. Even Thomas Dallam, the clock-maker and no great scholar, in 1599 had not

resisted the desire to take a piece of stone from the Trojan shore.⁴⁴ John Hawkins, of Bignor Park in Sussex, Document 3, stayed in villages where the inhabitants would lead him to any antiquities they had discovered. He regretted the explosion of the gunpowder magazine on the Acropolis during the siege of Morosini and the effect of war and earthquakes upon the precious remains. He was particularly interested in the collection of medals [coins], and copied many inscriptions during his journey around 1787. The artist who accompanied Berners, Document 4, in the 1790s, drew the antiquities which were being examined. Upon entering the town of Megara, they sent the Crier to say that some travellers were arrived who wished to purchase any antiquities they could meet with. They were brought a great quantity of small medals, but they were so defaced they did not think them worth buying. Randel Wilbraham, Document 5, in letters to his mother in 1795 describes the Oriental view that the object in visiting the East was to find treasures, which could even be conjured out of stones. 'This notion as you will immediately perceive takes its rise from the anxiety with which travellers enquire after ancient buildings, it has however occasionally produced a bad effect, for the inhabitants have been known in more than one instance to break and destroy columns in hopes of finding gold on the inside'. That most aristocratic traveller, William John Bankes,

Document 6, travelled extensively in the early nineteenth century, scoured Europe for treasures to adorn his mansion at Kingston Lacy in Dorset, designed by Roger Pratt for William John's ancestor, Sir Ralph. William John's father, Henry, was a friend of the Duke of Wellington, and the traveller himself was a close friend of Lord Byron, thereby making himself eligible for preferential treatment by the Levantines.⁴⁵ The collecting of valuable antiquities to furnish and ornament the houses of the wealthy and the museums of Europe led to the invasion of Greece by collectors, who were scouring it of its antiquities by the early 1800s.⁴⁶

It was the formation of the Dilettanti Society, comprising wealthy young gentlemen who had met in Venice during their tour of Italy, that led to the idea of sponsoring artists to draw and to measure the rapidly decaying monuments in Greece. The Dilettanti Society sponsored James Stuart and Nicholas Revett when they proposed their expedition leading to the production of a volume of *Antiquities of Athens*, in consultation with Gavin Hamilton, who was already selling excavated antique sculptures.⁴⁷ It was their intention to 'contribute to the improvement of the Art itself, which at present appears to be founded on too partial and too scanty a system of ancient Examples. Those published by Palladio and Gesgodetz do not afford a sufficient

variety of examples for restoring even the three Orders of Columns'.⁴⁸ Stuart and Revett left Venice for Greece early in 1751. The French were equally keen to exploit the antiquities of Greece. In 1780, the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, preparing the second volume of his *Voyage pittoresque de la Grece*, employed the French Antiquarian and collector, Louis Francois Sebastien Fauvel,⁴⁹ then an artist, to research for him. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, Fauvel was without his sponsor, and was forced to sell antiquities to support himself. The Dilettanti Society likewise sponsored Richard Chandler in 1764 for the exploration and description of classical sites, leading to his masterly descriptions in *Travels in Asia Minor*.⁵⁰

It was evident that the antiquities were viewed differently by Greeks and Turks from the esteem in which they were held by the travellers. Chandler saw a large Corinthian capital and an altar made hollow and used as a mortar for bruising corn, and a large sarcophagus serving as a fountain⁵¹. He also copied inscriptions and bemoaned the fact that these writings should be left to lie neglected. He recommended the removal of the sarcophagus into the safer custody of some private museum and pointed out that the commanders of ships in the Levant trade had instruments by which the stone might be broken.⁵² The temple at Iakli had had its marbles 'melted

away, as it were piecemeal, in the furnaces for making lime, which are still in use, by the ruin', demonstrating the difference in attitude of scholars and that of the Turks and Greeks.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's motive for travelling was to accompany her husband as he took up his post of Ambassador to the Porte at Constantinople. This gave her the opportunity to give full rein to her curiosity about the lives of the people, and particularly the women, in the Muslim controlled territories through which she passed. Her letters gave an excellent view of their lives, enlivened by her perception and personality. She, too, collected antiquities, finding a stone bearing a Greek inscription too heavy for her ship and leaving it for Lord Elgin to transport.

In 1799 Lord Elgin was appointed His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte. He was enthusiastic about the project of transporting plaster casts to improve the knowledge of Greek architecture in Great Britain.⁵³ On the recommendation of the Reverend Philip Hunt, he obtained a firman from the Porte, stating that his artists were in the service of the British Ambassador Extraordinary, and, among other permits, were to be at 'liberty to take away any sculptures or inscriptions which do not interfere with the works or walls of the Citadel'.⁵⁴ Lord Elgin said

believed that if the English did not rescue the treasures, then the French would do so. It was the differences of opinion about the treatment or neglect of the antiquities that demonstrated the disagreement between the western travellers and the inhabitants they encountered.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS GREEKS AND TURKS

Little had changed since Euripides recommended 'Traust them and hang them, or rather hang them first for sureness'. Lewes Roberts, Document 1, had little sympathy with Turkish cruelty when he visited Chios. He described the castle 'latelie surprised by the florentins, who againe were forced to render it, whose heads as tokens of the Turkes perfideousnes, are piled in the walles of the castle with mortar'. John Hawkins, Document 3, regarded the cruelty of the Turks with horror. Visiting the Governor of Athens, 'He was represented to us as a monster of iniquity. It was not long since he had been guilty of an act the particulars of which excited our horror and detestation. The cruel abuses of his power had provoked a spirit of insurrection even among the Mahometan inhabitants of Athens'. The fear of the Turks by the Greeks is confirmed by Berners, Document 4, at the end of the eighteenth century. 'During this excursion, I had several opportunities of remarking the fear which the Greeks have of Turkish oppression.... We ourselves were eye-witnesses several times with what little concern our Janizary took whatever pleased him'. Randle Wilbraham, Document 6, noted that '[an Oriental] ... would be affronted were you to offer him money but makes no scruple of desiring [gifts]

from England double in value to what you purposed giving him'. He had sympathy for the Christians under Moslem control. 'I have often lamented and I believe remark'd to you the wretched state of the Rayahs or Christian subjects, in Asia and in the Asiatic parts of the Ottoman empire subject to the insolence and barbarity of their haughty and rapacious Masters but never in the course of my tour do I think to have seen more ... than in part of Thessaly where the Christians experience a plague worse than the oppression of the Turks or the attacks of the robbers, this is the Protection of the Albanians'. When Bankes proposed his tour to the Levant in the 1810s, Document 7, he was recommended 'trust to a Turk in preference to a Christian. The Christians will promise much, but are such complete slaves that they are able to perform little'. He subsequently became the trusted confidant of the Bey of the Maina. The Reverend Charles Green, Document 8, during his tour of duty as Chaplain to the army stationed in Corfu in 1841 was outspoken in his contempt. 'The Greeks are a very low set,' he felt, 'I could tell you some odd tales already and yet with all their dirt and profligating of your name, tell them that kissing pictures and crossing and Saint Spiridon is all of no avail, they would give you the most tremendous ducking you ever experienced... A magnificent country to look at, the inhabitants Turks and Greeks

savages armed everyone of them with two or three pistols and a sword each'. Miss Helen Caddick, Document 11, was preserved from the necessity of making close contact with either Greeks or Turks, apart from her guide, being under the protection of Thomas Cook.

These attitudes find support in the published memoirs. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, writing to the Princess of Wales in 1717, bemoans the oppression of the Greek peasants by the Janizaries and their extreme poverty. She notes that 'The Turks are too proud to converse familiarly with merchants etc. who can only pick up some confus'd informations which are generally false', and that the Turks would not converse with a stranger 'they were not assur'd is considerable in his own country'.⁵⁶ This preference for elevated social standing applied when William John Bankes, Document 6 travelled in the Mani in 1810. The Bey of the Maina, Mavromichaelis, risked certain death by confiding his plans to break free of the Ottoman domination. Bankes was a man of property and a friend of Lord Byron, making him eligible for the Bey's confidence and trustworthy with treasonable plans. Richard Chandler remarked that 'it was not proper to move until the Ramazan or Lent of the Turks, during which they are often sour and churlish, was over;⁵⁷' Hobhouse 'found it to be a common practice in Greek families, for those who

have no money to be retainers and attendants to such of their relations as are more wealthy;... An excessive reverence for wealth is the distinguishing characteristic, as it appears to me, of all the inhabitants of the Levant.'⁵⁸ Hobhouse and Lord Byron were well received by Ali Pasha in Albania, who, as Lady Mary had remarked, was impressed by aristocratic connections, but more lowly travellers were in some danger from the suspicions of the local population, who could see no sense in looking at ancient buildings and assumed tourists must be spies. Sketching was regarded as a dangerous activity.⁵⁹ 'The Greeks will do nothing without the stick' was the remark attributed to one of the Joannina city guards during Lord Byron's visit,⁶⁰ and Hobhouse quotes Lady Mary 'These people, living between Christians and Mahometans, and not being skilled in controversy,... very prudently follow both. They go to the mosks on Fridays, and to the church on Sundays, saying, for their excuse, that they are sure of protection from the true Prophet; but which that is, they are not able to determine in this world.' Greek guides, he says, confine all their energy to talking, but in action are noisy, wavering and timid. Therefore it is necessary to have a soldier to enforce obedience, was the opinion formed by Hobhouse, who quoted Ali Pasha's reputation for beheading, impaling and roasting. However, his admiration for Greek seamen was

unreserved. He expressed disgust for the Turkish sea captain who ran aground in the harbour, wrung his hands and wept, and when the mainyard snapped in two, the guns broke loose and the foresail split, gave up the management of the ship to the Greeks.

Motivation and attitude changed when the Greeks were engaged in their attempts to free their country from Ottoman rule. When the Turks hanged the Patriarch of Constantinople and burned and pillaged Chios, killing 23,000 Chians, followed by the loss of the battle of Athens, the sympathy of Europe was roused. England, France and Russia formed the Triple Alliance in 1827 to guarantee the Greeks their country. The struggle brought military personnel and philhellenes rather than aristocratic travellers to their shores. The Greeks then received more practical sympathy for their oppression.

Perhaps the visitors felt like Kinglake in *Eothen*, 'for myself I love the race; in spite of all their vices, and even in spite of all their meannesses, I remember the blood that is in them, and still love the Greeks'.

F I N A N C E

'Your huts are full of bronze, and since we always give you the first pick when a town is sacked, you have plenty of the choicest women in them too. Maybe you are short of gold'. Homer, *Iliad*, Book II.

A need common to all travellers has always been that of money. Finance for his journey, his daily expenses, his accommodation, his distresses and his pleasures has been an ever-present anxiety. Barter was still in use in a few countries as late as the eighteenth century, but gold and silver was found to be most commonly acceptable in all countries. It was, however, difficult to transport when negotiating hostile terrain on the back of horse or mule, and only practicable when accompanied by a large retinue of servants. There were restrictions

imposed upon the amount transported, as reported by Fynes Moryson in 1617⁶¹. He felt that the allowance of £20 should be ample for the average journey, in view of the alternatives available. He advised the traveller to leave a trusty friend at home, who would 'keepe good credit with the Merchant that furnisheth him with mony abroad... Fifty or sixty pounds sterling yeerely, were sufficient at the time when I was beyond sea, to beare the charge of a Travellers diet, necessary apparrell, and two journies yeerely'.⁶² 'Each man his cote to fit, As his cloth will permit'.

Bills of exchange had been known in western Europe since the end of the thirteenth century,⁶³ though complicated for the traveller's use. Letters of credit were used between bankers and merchants, allowing the bearer to draw a certain amount and recommending him to the person addressed.

Gradually, banknotes were evolved, and paper money later took the place of coinage, but not before travellers had suffered the misfortune of counterfeit money. Turkish gold coins were based on the Venetian sequin, of some rarity, the lower denominations being frequently minted illegally. After 1830, when Greece became involved in fighting for its independence, twenty or thirty small mints were set up at Hydra and Spetses to copy and debase Turkish money and weaken the Turkish economy.⁶⁴

Penalties were harsh, and a Greek was found beheaded in Smyrna for passing counterfeit money.

Letters of introduction were vital to the traveller, to be signed by persons of the highest aristocratic status it was possible to obtain. Ambassadors and consuls were regularly called upon by tourists for hospitality and financial assistance. It was planned that travellers could be issued with 'an universal letter of credit in the form of promissory-notes, which should be payable at all the principal places in Europe where travellers were likely to be'.⁶⁵

This plan of Exchange Notes was dated c.1770, and seventy-eight European agencies were set up. By 1790 the agencies totalled 141, including Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo. Agencies were persuaded to pay out immediately to the presenting traveller. Not until 1795 were agencies established at Cyprus and Salonika, and the list was augmented by Zante in 1816.

Travellers were put into some difficulty when they lost their circular notes. It was not insuperable provided they had not also lost the letter of order, in which case the traveller's signature could be forged and the notes fraudulently presented. They were warned to keep the two apart. There is little doubt that money played a vital role in getting the

traveller through the annoyances of frontier controls and past bureaucratic officials, particularly in the Levant. It behoved him, therefore, to take every precaution against loss and theft. Letters of introduction eased his progress when allied to adequate funds.

Nicholas Revett in 1751, Document 2, records that Mr Dawkins and Mr Wood (examiner of the Palmyra ruins) gave them credit for \$2,000 upon a merchant in Smyrna, for which he was grateful, confirming that this was customary in the mid-eighteenth century. Robert Wood, who wrote the *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer*, journeyed with John Bouverie and James Dawkins to Palmyra and Baalbec, and encouraged Stuart and Revett working in Athens by promising to buy eight sets of their volume at 20 guineas a time, while Dawkins bought twenty sets. Such financial encouragement enabled more work to be accomplished. Earlier travellers had been men of substance or merchants in the prosecution of their business, but Revett and Stuart were artists and in need of patrons such as the Society of Dilettanti, and those who travelled to Greece in a military capacity had to rely upon their pay.

The Reverend Charles Green, Document 8, Chaplain to the forces in Corfu, was constantly concerned about money. 'Money is the root of all evil sayd the Parson on the Sunday, he thinks not so on the

Monday'. Such was his concern that it played a large part in his letters to his mother.

When H. M. G. Coore, Document 9, was kidnapped by brigands in 1865, his financial needs were desperate and of an unusual character. Unless his friends, including Lord Hervey, could raise £3,000 in gold, his life was forfeit. Lord Hervey and Strutt went to Patras by steamer and procured the money in a day. Mr Lalas, a Patras tradesman and broker, had come with the money, but he was afraid to bring it at night lest he should be robbed on the road. On learning that £1,000 of the money was paper, the brigands refused to receive anything but gold. The remainder of the gold coins were procured from Ithaca. Mr Coore was scornful about the conduct of the Greek Bank at Athens. They had been asked to telegraph to their branch at Patras to advance the money, which they had done, but added the proviso that they should get the best terms they could. The bank at Patras had declared that they had only fourteen napoleons, but it was felt to be a lie, so it was obtained by contribution from all the local people at Tragomesti, where the yacht was moored. The Captain of the ship *Chanticleer*, Captain Fenwich, provided 700 sovereigns from the ship's chest, and the local people brought napoleons or sovereigns to supply the balance.

By the time Helen Caddick travelled in 1889, Document 11, she did so with Thomas Cook who organised her tour, therefore relieving her of all tedious arrangements. Miss Caddick paid £200 for her tour, which represented a considerable sum of money in 1889, but Cook's *Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser*, December 14, 1888, describes the provision of First Class Railway and Steamer, riding horse, mule and tent, hotels and omnibus, carriages and fees of admission.

Two centuries or more before the arrival of Thomas Cook, the Levant Company came to the aid of merchants and ambassadors. John Sanderson wrote to the Company in 1596: 'Of me likewise His Lordship toke 1000 chequins of gould... Other mony of Master John Bate he [i.e. the ambassador] hath given bills uppon the Right Honourable the Lord Treasurer; Thus his Lordships need was supplied'.⁶⁶ Richard Chandler took advice and carried money in 'crownpieces of silver, called imperial tallerie, from Leghorn. Mr. Rutherford, an English merchant, accepted our bills on a banker in London; and, on our arrival at Smyrna, we found that we gained more than five per cent, on the money we had imported'.⁶⁷

Lady Mary Wortley Montague, the indefatigable traveller and letter writer, complained of her letters miscarrying or being opened by government agencies. The letters were sent to her via bankers

in Rome and Lyons, those in Rome sending her 50 sequins in 1740, which Mr. Belloni swore was all the money he had in the house. 'They go to market with paper, pay the lodgings with paper... there is no specie to be seen. Some twenty-five years later, nothing had changed. Smollett noted that gold and silver barely existed'.⁶⁸

Lord Byron kept a year's supply of money in circular notes, as well as other forms of money orders, during his travels in Greece in the nineteenth century. Lord Byron's circular notes, from Ransom & Morland's bank, were supplemented by letters of credit. In 1823 he wrote to Douglas Kinnaird: 'I am about as the Exchange is high (very high) to convert several of my circulars into monies of the Country'.⁶⁹ Hobhouse described the gold coins current in Turkey, 'the smallest of which is a pretty coin, worth two piastres..The Venetian zequin varies in value from ten to eleven piastres...the money made of silver, much debased'.⁷⁰ He warned of the necessity of care in procuring money in Turkey, because of the great variety and changeable value and the number of bad pieces in circulation, as the Greeks were ready to cheat the traveller at all times. He also comments on the practice of paying the officer in charge the sum of twenty piastres. It was the custom to give presents to all officials in the Levant, and 'many travellers carried with

them cloth, snuff-boxes, guns, pistols, and other articles of English manufacture, in order to repay the liberality of their hosts.⁷⁰ He felt it was too troublesome to carry such gifts, but the officers of Ali Pasha's court emptied his purse, and it was difficult to know what to give on different occasions; however, financial provision had to be made for these gifts.

Relative to the importance of the problem, little was written by travellers about their financial arrangements, probably the discussion of private money affairs being regarded as in poor taste and not to be shared with their readers. However, work was being done to relieve them of some anxiety, and the provision of credit was certainly a priority when making preparations for a journey.

By the end of this century, in 1891, the traveller's cheque had arrived, though Americans were still recommended to take \$5 a day in gold for expenses when travelling in Europe. The financial structure of the management of traveller's funds had been established.

- ¹ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, Glasgow 1908 p.474
- ² Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities, Hastily gobled up in five Moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany and the Netherlands; Newly digested in the hungry aire of Odcombe in the County of Somerset, and now dispersed to the nourishment of the travelling Members of this Kingdome*, Glasgow 1905 p.3
- ³ J. Theodore Bent (ed.), *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599 - 1600*, Hakluyt Society, London 1843, p. xl.
- ⁴ Sir William Foster, ed. *Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584 - 1602*, Hakluyt Society, Series II, Vol. LXVII 1931, p.222
- ⁵ L. P. Smith, *Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 1907, i 330 ff.
- ⁶ Douglas W. Freshfield and Captain W. J. L. Wharton, R.N, *Hints to Travellers, Scientific and General*, Royal Geographical Society, London, p.48. 1893
- ⁷ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Faith, Reason, and the Plague*, Bologna 1977, p.116
- ⁸ John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604 - 1667*, London 1989, p.123

- ⁹ David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers*, Cambridge 1984, p.24
- ¹⁰ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-65*, London 1971, p.221
- ¹¹ *ibid.* p.63
- ¹² *ibid.* p.x
- ¹³ Robert Halsband, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montague, 1708 - 1720*, Oxford 1965, p.365
- ¹⁴ Philip K. Hitti, *History of Syria*, London 1957, p.690
- ¹⁵ Alan Moorehead, *The Blue Nile*, London 1962, p.130
- ¹⁶ E. D. Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries*, London 1817, p.195
- ¹⁷ Costas M. Stamatis, *Aegina, History and Civilization*, Athens 1991 p.136
- ¹⁸ Rev. S. S. Wilson, *A Narrative of the Greek Mission*, London 1839
- ¹⁹ Dr. John Bowring, *Observations on the Oriental Plague and Quarantines*, Paper presented to the British Association of Science at Newcastle on 24 August 1838, Edinburgh 1838, p.2
- ²⁰ Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, P.U.P., New Jersey, 1979, p.22
- ²¹ Arthur Kinglake, *Eothen*, Lincoln, Nebraska 1970 reprint, p.246
- ²² Robert S. Gottfried, *The Black Death*, London

1983, p.37

²³ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Faith, Reason, and the Plague*, Bologna 1977, p.116

²⁴ J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles*, C. U. P. 1971, p.144

²⁵ Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* P.U.P. New Jersey p.335

²⁶ Hakluyt Society, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599-1600*, ed. by Theodore Bent, London 1843

²⁷ Wiliam Lithgow, *The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of Long 19 Yeares Traveyles from Scotland to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, Glasgow 1906

²⁸ George Wheler, *A journey into Greece, in company of Dr. Spon of Lyons*, London 1682, p.346

²⁹ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, Englan, Scotland & Ireland*, Vol. III, Glasgow 1908, p.388

³⁰ *ibid.* p.402

³¹ *ibid.* p.406

³² Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-1765*. ed, Edith Clay, London 1971, p.29

³³ *ibid.* p.35

³⁴ *ibid.* p.40

³⁵ David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, Cambridge 1984, p.204

³⁶ J. C. Hobhouse Broughton, *A Journey Through Albania and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810*, Philadelphia 1817, p.34

³⁷ *ibid.* p.104

³⁸ *ibid.* p.183

Charles Robert Cockerell, *Travels in S. Europe, 1810-1817*, ed. by his son, London 1903, p.174

⁴⁰ Captain A. F. Townsehend, *A Military Consul in Turkey*, London 1910, p.34

⁴¹ Costas M. Stamatis, *Aegina - History and Civilization*, Athens 1991, p.189

⁴² Thomas Coryat, *Coryats Crudities*, Glasgow 1905, p.8

⁴³ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 1601, Glasgow 1908, p.370

⁴⁴ Hakluyt Society, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant, 1599-1600*, ed. by Theodore Bent, London 1843

⁴⁵ Viola Bankes, *A Dorset Heritage*, London 1986, p.115

⁴⁶ C. P. Bracken, *Antiquities Acquired. The Spoliation of Greece*, Newton Abbot 1975

⁴⁷ Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture*, London 1969, p.1

⁴⁸ Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, Volume the First New York 1968, Originally London 1762

⁴⁹ C. P. Bracken, *Antiquities Acquired, The*

- Spoliation of Greece*, London 1975, p.16
- ⁵⁰ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, 1764-1765, ed. Edith Clay, London 1971, p.ix
- ⁵¹ *ibid.* p.21
- ⁵² *ibid.* p.38
- ⁵³ William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, London 1967, p.7
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.* p.88
- ⁵⁵ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Complete Letters* ed. Robert Halsband, Volume I, 1708-1720, Oxford 1965, p.311
- ⁵⁶ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor 1764-1765*, ed. Edith Clay, London 1971, p.125
- ⁵⁷ J. C. Hobhouse, *A Journey through Albania*, Philadelphia 1817, p.26
- ⁵⁸ David Constantine, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*, Cambridge 1984, p.22
- ⁵⁹ J. Hobhouse Broughton, *A Journey through Albania*, Philadelphia 1817, p. 111
- ⁶⁰ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell*, London 1617, p.123
- ⁶¹ *ibid.* p.374
- ⁶² John Booker, *Travellers' Money*, Stroud 1994, p.7
- ⁶³ John Booker, *Travellers' Money*, Stroud 1994, p.3
- ⁶⁴ Sir W. Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking-House*, London & Edinburgh 1860, p.29
- ⁶⁵ Hakluyt Society, *Travels of John Sanderson in*

the Levant, 1584-1602, ed. Sir William Foster, p.159

⁶⁶ Richard Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor, 1764-1765*, ed. E. Clay, London 1971, p.14

⁶⁷ John Booker, *Travellers' Money*, Stroud 1994, p.11

⁶⁸ Leslie A. Marchard (ed.) *Byron's Letters and Journals, 1816 - 1823*, London 1973 - 82, Vol. 5, pp. 106, 107.

⁶⁹ J. C. Hobhouse Broughton, *A Journey through Albania*, New York 1971, p.38

⁷⁰ *ibid.* p.44

APPENDIX I - Maps

LIST OF MAPS

Document 1 - Lewes Robertes

Document 3 - John Hawkins

Document 4 - J. Berners

Document 5 - Randle Wilbraham

Documents 6 and 7 - W. J. Banks

Document 11 - Helen Caddick



JOHN HAWKINS - DOCUMENT No. 3

J. BERNERS - DOCUMENT NO 4.



RANDLE WILBRAHAM - DOCUMENT NO 5

W. J. BANKES - DOCUMENTS 6 AND 7





APPENDIX II

RECORD OFFICES VISITED

(Photocopy of Manuscript sent by post)

DOCUMENT NO. 1.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, Aberystwyth, Dyfed.

An incomplete manuscript by Lewes Robertes, 1596
- 1640, held in the Wigfall papers No. 2852 dated
c.1620.

An account of a voyage through the Ionian Sea
to Crete, the Cyclades and the Dardanelles, being
the final stage of a journey from England to
Constantinople. Robertes was a merchant and writer
on economics, a native of Beaumaris, co. Anglesey,
who served with the East India and Levant Companies
and is known to have been in Constantinople in 1623.

DOCUMENT NO. 2. and NO. 11

NORFOLK RECORD OFFICE, Norwich.

Nicholas Revett, letter from Athens, 12th June, 1751, O.S. Manuscript, held under the reference WKC7/67.

E. A. Field, diary of his travels in 1896, held under reference MC 57/12, 507X2.

The Record Office holds a letter book, 1821 - 1824 of David S. Barclay of the 26th Foot who was stationed in San Maura (now Levkas) Greece (reference RQG 522, 489X3) This contains letters pleading for greatcoats and replacement uniforms for his troops who were suffering from cold and sickness.

Letters from Tom de Grey, concerning the search for a candidate for the Greek throne, 1839 (Wals XLV/14, 425X3) This was not pertinent to the present study.

A letter concerning trips to Marathon and Thermopylae in 1751 (WKC 7/67, 404X3) and Jex-Blake family letters written from Greece, 1880s and 1890s. These letters contained little useful information for this study.

The Record Office also holds a diary of E. A. Field's travels in Greece in 1896 (MC 57/12, 507x2) which appears as Document No. 11.

Papers of Edward James Dawkins, ambassador from England 1828 - 1835 (MC 124/141, 600X7, MC 124/142, 600X8) and from the Greek authorities 1828 - 1831, (MC 124/143-144, 600X8) and letter books of letters sent by Dawkins 1828 - 1835, MC 145-148, 600X9, considered not pertinent to this study.

DOCUMENT NO. 3

WEST SUSSEX RECORD OFFICE, Chichester.

John Hawkins, traveller and botanist, papers which include diaries and letters concerning Greece 1787 - 1831 held under the reference Papers Group 19, and collection of sketches, watercolours, engravings etc. relating to places, mainly in the Aegean, Acc. 3519. Letters to his mother, Anne, 1786 - 1798, are on page 11 in the Catalogue edited by F. W. Steer, published by West Sussex County Council in 1962.

Copies of the loose sheets folded into the diary of Hawkins' travels are photocopied. The diary itself is hand written in a hard-backed

notebook and is unsuitable for photocopying. Notes have been taken.

DOCUMENT NO. 4

(Photocopy of manuscript letters sent by post)

CHESHIRE RECORD OFFICE, Duke Street, Chester.

Letters from Randle Wilbraham to Mrs. Wilbraham Bootle (his mother), 1794 - 1797, held under reference No. DBW/N/E/A/ - /E/

The Packets of letters contain those from Vienna, Buda, Jemewar and Bucharest, Belgrade, Adrianople, the Bosphorus, Boinkdery [Buyukdere], Smyrna, Scio, Athens, Brunswick, Rhodes, Cyprus, Latichen, Aleppo, Antioch, Baghdad, Birasik, Orfa, Mardin, Nisibin, Jesira, Mosul, Ispahan, Shiraz, Basra, Kirmanshah, Tulfa, Rhorrow Shireen, Kirmanshah, Palestine, Egypt, Persepolis, Shiraz, Busheer, Palmyra, Jaffa, Damascus, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Sickem and Samaria, Bethlehem, Acre, Mt. Carmel, Tyre and Sidon, Beirut, Naxos, Antiparos, Athens, Thasos, Smyrna, Troy, Tenedos, Volo, Mt. Athos, Mt. Pelion, Livadia, Patras, Zante, Corfu, Malta, Missolongia, Messina, Palermo, Rome, Naples, Caserta.

DOCUMENT NO. 5

DORSET COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, Bridport Road,
Dorchester.

Notes made by William John Bankes when he
visited Greece in the 1810s (reference D/BKL)

These notes are on small pieces of paper in Folder
XVII. There is also a rough draft of a letter to
Colonel Ross regarding a confidential proposal from
the Bey of the Maina, which is photocopied.

DOCUMENT NO. 6

DORSET COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, Bridport Road,
Dorchester.

Travel itinerary forming the basis of Bankes'
journey, from Cadiz to Seville, Malta, Sicily,
Athens, Egypt and Syria. Document by unnamed writer
recommending how to travel and what to see during
the trip. Valuable advice on arrangements.

DOCUMENT NO. 7

Photocopies of manuscript received by post.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, Shire Hall,
Cambridge.

Letters written by Rev. Charles Green while in
Corfu, dating from the nineteenth century (Ref:
R57/24/13(e)1)

Extracts from letters of John and Martha
Yeardley, Quakers on a religious visit to the Ionian
Islands in 1835 (R59/26/2/21)

These were published in a pamphlet of 56 pages in
1835. 21 lantern slides of Greek scenes, taken
in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries, in
the collection of Chesterton St. Luke parish
records.

DEVON RECORD OFFICE, Castle Street, Exeter.

Photographic album of L. E. Upcott's trip to
Greece, 1897, Ref. 3828M/F55

Lewis E. Upcott's travel diary in Greece, 1896-1897,
Ref. 3828M/F30. Hand written notes in a hard-backed
notebook. Photocopying not allowed. Notes taken.

Menu of dinner at the Royal Palace, Athens at which the Rev. F. R. Elliot was present, 1893. Ref.

2335M/EG49

John Fortescue's travel journal of Austria, Egypt, Italy and Greece, 1843-1844, Ref. 1262M/FD23

Travel journals of Lord Fortescue in Prussia, Italy and Greece, 1842/1843, Ref. 1262M/FD22. These journals were hand written in hard-backed notebooks. Permission to photocopy not granted. Notes taken.

Sketch of Athens with descriptive notes, sold for the benefit of the fund for building a Protestant Chapel in Athens, 1836. Ref. 2087M/Z4. Examined. Permission to photocopy not granted.

DOCUMENT NO. 8

SUFFOLK RECORD OFFICE, 77 Raingate Street, Bury St. Edmunds.

Journal of H. M. G. Coore, written during his Captivity with the Greek Brigands in 1865. A typewritten copy.

GREATER LONDON RECORD OFFICE, 40 Northampton Road, London EC1R OHB.

Letters from Andrew Brown Donaldson to his mother during his travels through Europe, c.1864-5 (ref. F/DON/38, with sketches. These mainly referred to Egypt, but notes were taken of those referring to Greece. Permission to photocopy not granted.

SOMERSET RECORD OFFICE, Obridge Road, Taunton.

Notes of a journey to Constantinople held in the papers of John de Havilland in 1876 under reference 9DD/SAS HV 102. The diary was in the form of rough notes in poor condition and not available for photocopying. Notes taken.

DOCUMENT NO. 9

(Photocopy received by post)

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE RECORD OFFICE, Wootton Hall
Park, Northampton

Letter relating to travelling to Greece
handwritten by Fairfax Cartwright to his uncle,
dated April 26th, 1887

DOCUMENT NO. 10

BIRMINGHAM CITY COUNCIL, Library Services, Central Library, Chamberlain Square, Birmingham.

Travel diary of Helen Caddick, a much travelled Birmingham lady who travelled under the auspices of Thomas Cook to Greece and Palestine in 1889-90 (ref. MS 908/1)

THOMAS COOK GROUP LTD., 45 Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London. The Travel Archive supplied the story of Thomas Cook and his family, and a copy of The Excursionist, November 12, 1888, describing the excursion to Palestine taken by Helen Caddick.

SUFFOLK RECORD OFFICE, Gatacre Road, Ipswich.

The travel diaries of J. Berners (possible writer): 23 volumes concerning travels in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Egypt, the Mediterranean, Greece and Austria, 1790 - 1793 (Ipswich Branch: HE7, acc.2608)

These have been examined and notes taken, but permission to photocopy was not given, as it would damage the volume relating to Greece, Volume 4.

BEDFORDSHIRE COUNTY RECORD OFFICE, County Hall,
Cauldwell St., Bedford.

On microfiche, letters to the Reverend Philip Hunt describing the journey of Lord Elgin's Embassy from England to Constantinople 1801 - 1803. These letters belong to William St Clair from whom permission was sought to receive a copy of the microfiche. Mr St Clair wishes to use some of these letters in his own work, so permission could not be granted.

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DOCUMENT 1

32 foolscap pages of manuscript held by the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, in the catalogue of the Wigfair collection, no. 2852, dated c.1620.

(? 1620) AN INCOMPLETE MANUSCRIPT (32 pp.)
giving an account of a voyage through the Ionian Sea south - eastwards 'to the height of Candie' [Crete], and thence northwards through the Cicleades [Cyclades] into the Aegean Sea and the Helespont [Dardanelles], being the final stage of a journey [from England] to Constantinople. Amongst the places, etc., mentioned are Zante Road [departed 26 September], Morea, the cities of Modona and Corona, the 'height of Candie antientlie Creete', the city of Athens, Mt. Parnassus, the isles of Rodes, Coos [Cos], Samos, Pathmos, Nicaria, and Chios, the port of Smirna [arrived 7, departed 17 October; mention of the British consul, Richard Millward], the isles of Lesbos and Lemnos, and the ruins of Troy [visited

by the party which included 'our worthie preacher Mr. Cadwalleder Salisburie, a Denbighshire gent']. The account is replete with classical, historical, and scriptural allusions. Towards the end of the narrative the writer gives an English version of a passport issued to him by the Turkish authorities prior to his return journey from Constantinople to England in 1624, wherein he is described as 'Lewes Robertes, English marchant... Twentie eight' [possibly Lewis Roberts 1596 - 1640, merchant and writer on economics, a native of Beaumaris, co. Anglesey, who served with the East India and Levant Companies and is known to have been in Constantinople in 1623]. The date of the outward voyage is not given, but the passport issued in 1624 for the return journey states that Roberts had been resident at Constantinople for some years. Roberts wrote two books after his return to England, "The Marchants Mappe of Commerce" in 1638 and "The Treasure of Traffike" in 1641.

A sample of the script is included. The document was transcribed and the transcription sent to the National Library of Wales where it was checked by the archivist.

that my father in his young days, was one of the best exam-
iners of craft or craftie, using the best brings, ways to
earnings, by their own means and publique rots, and
the constant way was, that when an ambassador was
sent from other princes to Rome, the Senate appointed
sometimes two, sometimes four to attend him, and these
servants in the ceremonies of our Religion, especially in
their own Hallards, so it happened that Henry the Sixth
of England near the end of his reign sent an honorable
personage, a knight named (—) ambassador to our
estate, who in himself was endowed with exquisite perfor-
mance foromunge, both a nobleman and ambassador, and who
in short time was so well esteemed by the state, that
they conferred many honors upon him, to this man
was my uncle an attendant, as I said before, who being
a reasonable fellow, and of singular witte, fitt to accom-
pany great and eminent personages was the more at-
tractive to this Ambassador, who of himself, enjoying
earnings, and virtue, brought in the means, and amongst
other discourse upon a time, the Ambassador desired
him of him what rare or singular thing, there was
in Rome to be seen, that was not worthy, or that
artistic worthie of a curious beholder, or what admirable
structure, worthy the view, my uncle answered him, that
he would bid you name of all the good things
you should see, him to persuade, to take the pains, to go
in person to visit and see things that he had traveled ma-
ny places, and countries, and had judgment to be able to
make distinctions, between good, and better, and best of all
but of your lordships (said he) will converse with a tra-
ned Doctor, who undertakes to settle strange events
and resolve things doubtful, if report may give credit,
he would at present give not his pleasure, I am less
able to know to cause conference with his name, who
went to his abiding by whom he was welcomed in
friendly manner, and after some days acquaintance
they grew a great league of amitie between them
both he admiring his art, and the other admiring
his civility and excellent counsel.

Soe it happened that being in familiar conference
together one day the Ambassador desired him to tell
him, what should succeed to his returne of England
and

The final stage of a journey to Constantinople.

Some smale way thence distante, is there a verie plentifull fountaine of excellent Tarre, issueinge out of the ground, and not to be creditedd/ had there not beene soe manie eye wittnes/ the which is accompanied with pure water, excellent likewise in fact, and the Tarre as good as may bee used, and to bee had by anie that hath need thereof, I will not insist to straine, to give reasons of the same, because I will leave it to a natural philosopher which search out the causes of

the hidden supernaturall actions/ in divers parts of the world happeninge, haveinge ended our busines we departed Zante Roads the 26 of September, entringe into the Ionian Sea passinge alonge Morea, and the citties of Modona, and Corona where antientlie stooode those famous republikes of the Messenians, Argines, Lacedemonians, Cirionians, Thebans, Aelians, and Arcadians/ nowe nothinge thereof appearinge but ruins, and sleightlie inhabited by greekes groaninge under the tyraine of the turquish emperoure.

One our lefte hand we left Castle Turnes latelie ransackt by the knights of Malta, sworne enemies to the, also (Tavesuale Ilands), antientlie, Strophader supposed the seate of the harpies, now strinally the one haveinge a monastrie of Colliers, or greecean friers fedd by the charitie of there neybour.

Hence with a faire gale wee passed by Modona, and Corona, in the maine of Morea, wher the Tunes pirratts refresh themselves and keep spies uppon the adioynnninge hills to see what shipps doe passe that waye.

With vents in puppa wee passed alonge forced somewhat out of our waie, by reason of the contrarines thereof, till we came to the height of Candie antientlie Creete in circuit about 500 miles,

devoted formerlie to Diana haveinge once 100
 principle citties, here is found habdamum, halmius
 and that worthie dictamus, used by venus in the eare
 of her adonis the cheefe enritchment of this
 countrie, is the Muscadine and Malmsey, hence
 transported to our coulder regions, and by Scaliger
 compared to Nectar/

Creete I confesse, Joues fosterers to be

for Nectar onelie is transferred from thee

Here is also the ruins of that famous laberinth
 of Dedalus at the foote of the hill Ida not to be
 entered without a guide and reported soe intricate
 and vaste for the manie meanders threaten never
 returninge, without unmatchable clewe of threade,
 the cheefe cittie is Candia, subject to the
 venetians and governed by a gentleman of that
 signiorie.

The wind comeinge about somewhat larger, turned
 our full sailes for the Arches of Pellago or
 Cicleads in number 53, passinge between cape Angelo
 and Corigo, about 5 miles distant over, once known
 by the name of Citherea/ an Iland consecrated to
 venus (and where once stooode Sybilla Citherea), wher
 nowe the ruins of her temple appears also on the
 toppe of an hill stands the ruins of Menelaus castle
 , kinge of Sparta, and husband to Helen the faire,
 whence it was that paris stole her away, who

afterward was the cause of Troes destruction, this Iland is subjecte to the venetians, but all together inhabited by greekes.

Passinge the Iland we entered the Aegean Sea, dividinge greece from the lesser Asia a place wonderfull dangerous to the sailors, by reason of the manie rockes and Ilands.

On our left hand wee left the other gulph of Corinth that disimboques it selfe, into the sea, as also the province of Masedonia, of Macedon, the sone of deucalion now in Turquish romelli, containinge antientlie three provinces, Thessalie, Helade and Mirmidon, the coast that homer formerlie gave three names to the Thessalions. The cheefe cittie of Masedonia is Thessalonica, where St. Paul sent his epistle, to the Thessalomans, now created Salonica inhabited by Jewes, where the hebrew tounge is onelie used.

Not farre distant is that famous amongst poetts hill Pernassus, haveinge two toppes to the eye of the behoulder, whereon the muses were said toinhabite/Also Athensthat famous nurst of learninge seated betweene Macedonia and Achaia, on the sea shoare, fyrst called Cecropia, or Cecrops, afterward Athens of Minerva, whichis still inhabited, but with Athyysmes and Barbarisme whichin lieu of the liberall princes there once soe plentifull taught.

Not farre thence is Thebes on the side of a hill
 appearinge, seated in Macedonia, nowe nought
 remaininge, but a smale castle of smale or noe
 account.

On our right hand wee left the maine of
 Caramania, a province in Asia the lesser, also the
 Rodes, (the seate of those famous knights) an Iland
 not farre distant from the maine supposed to be
 beloved by Phebus, for noe day passeth wherein the
 same is not there clearelie sene, here was that huge
 Colossus of brasse to him dedicated, worthlie
 reputed one of the seven wonders of the world
 (whereof the Collossans were the Inhabitants called
 to whom St. Paul wrote his epistle) beinge in heghte
 70 cubitts each finger equalishinge a man's bodie,
 and the thombe too great to be fathomed, being
 twelve years makinge, and throwne down by an
 earthquake 70 years after the structure, the brass
 laded 900 cammells, besides what peeces fell into
 the earth and sea never found, it was soe high that
 a shippe passed betwint his legges, his eyes two
 lathornes to give light to the entrers in bynight,
 and indeed it was two greate longe to continue/

This Iland beinge inhabited by knights
 Rhodians, formerlie templers after the possession
 thereof 214 years, and 6 months siegne rendered by
 valerius, grant Master to Solliman the magnificent
 anno. 1522, now inhabited by Turques and Jewes, and

some fewe Greekes forbidden to remaine in towne by night, soe much feare doe they needleslie stand in of those perfidious pians.

Also on our right hand we lefte Samos, where Juno was borne, it challengeth also the habitation of Sybilla, and Pithe, flourishinge in the dayes of Nimia Ponpillius, second kinge of Rome, who they say professed of Christ/

Thy god thy foolish Juda knewst not, knowne nott unto earthlie minds, but crowned hast his browes with thornes, and given him gale to tast

But, in nothing more famous than in the byrth of Pithagoras, that fyrst Philosophie into greece and thence into Ittalie/

The Iland Pathmos nowe Palmosa is not farre thence seated, barren in all things, nothinge there growinge but uppon such earth as is there trasported from other places and therefor inflicted as a punishment to St. John, hither banished by the emperour trajan, on the north side of this Ile is the house where he wrote his revelation, a litle thence the cave where it revealed both held by the inhabitinge grecians in greate devotion after the death of the Emprour he removed to Ephesus, one of the seaven churches of Asia, beinge 120 years of age, and causinge a grave to bee made, entered it alive as it is said in the presence of Marie, to

whom afterward beinge dead, they covered with earth,
howsoever I have remembered to have read some
authors, that hee is not dead, if soe, howe can it
be that here they show strangers, a dead mans hand
reported to be his whose nayles pared growe againe,
it smelles of juclinge or forgerie.

Coos: now longe Ile amongst manie other lies
there wherein Hypocrates was borne the Reunier of
Phisicke and here in Esculapius temple stooode that
famous portraite of Penns, drawne by Appelles,
herelike wise borne, afterward removed to Rome by
Octavius Casar, and dedicated unto Julius, it is
said that at the drawinge thereof, he assembled
together the most beautifull women of the Iland,
comprehendinge in that his one sole worke, devined
prefections for this picture the coans had
onehyndred talents, remitted them of there tribute
soe much did the Romans honor the arte and the
artemaster.

Hicaria once Icaria standed not farr likewise
takinge the name as doth the adjacent sea of the
fall of headstronge Icarus, and the escape of
Dedalus.

Icarus Icarys nomine fecit aguis/

who were said to flie in regard of there sailes by
Dedalus fyrst invented, to outstripp the pursuit of
Minos, when Icarus bearinge too much saile in

another followinge vessell, suffered shippwracke
heere, and it may be uppon the once Melanthi nowe
called fornoli, sharpe rockes, well known, and much
feared by mariners.

Next wee passed Dellos, or Delphos, now Dillis,
an Iland likewise of these arches, and famed
floteinge, and moveable, formerlie here was seated
the temple of Apollo, where he gave his oracles
therefor called Delphos, the ruins of whose temple
wee there sawe, affoordinge faire pillers of Marble,
of exceedinge greatenes, to such as will fetch them,
and there stones of price both in there nature and
workmanshippe, and manie borne awaye yearelie by the
greate turkes gallies, home-wards bound after there
yearelie progresse, those ilands between low ground
barren and uninhabited.

Also millo once miletus, mentioned in St.
Paules voiage, actes 20:15: is here seated at which
wee determined, by reason of contrarie windes to
ancher, this place is inhabited by greekes, and
abounded in excellent dinete, and scametie, made and
wrought by the inhabitants, and store of excellent
milletons, also it reported, it, affoordeth two
soverall fountains affoordinge oyle, which is the
cheefest enritchment of the inhabitants.

Micano, was the next we passed by, wherein is a good harbour for shippes, and esteemed one of the fruitefullest iland in those arches.

Zia, was the next wee passed, famous for the byrth of Simonides the poet, and oristatus that excellent phisitian.

Tino was the next wee passed, in the Eveninge, belonginge to the state of Venice, and is esteemed impregnable not to be taken by the Turkes, who have often made there triall of strength against it.

Sciro, was the next, which of ould was the segnorie of licomedes, and here they saye Achilles was brought upp in the habite of a woman, who in that time begatt Pyrrhus, on the daughter of licomedes, and wher Sutie Vlisses discovered this fatall prince of Troye.

Poris was the next wee sawe beinge neere 40 miles about, very plentifull, and one of the best Iles of the arches.

Next had wee sight of the maine of Asia on our right, and Chios, or now Scio on our left hand, being one of the principall ilands, the grand Signorie posesseth amongst the maine ilands of the Arches, haveinge there in a fair cittie of the name, beinge 100 miles in circuite, produceinge honie, cottnes, and abundance of mastique, peculier onlie

to this soyle, the haven guarded from the enemie by a castle called the diamond whereone is a lanthorne from the winds furie, by a decayeinge mould, the castle was latelie surprised by the florentins, who againe were forced to render it, whose heads as tokens of the Turkes perfideousnes, are piled in the walles of the castle with morter, they have here the most delightsome gardens in the world, affoordinge oranges, lemons, citrous, figgs, pomgrattes and raysins, in great quantities, this is one of the citties that contend for the byrth of homer, whose sepulcher is not farre distant from the cittie, on a mountain called Helias, or by some Gaspos, in an ould castle wherein beinge entered, and after the descent of 16 staires into a cell, the which, haveinge passed in another four square roome, an ancient tombe is seene, whereon are certaine Greeke characters, which for the antiquitie thereof cannot bee read, also the inhabitants would have this iland, a Sibills seate, leadinge strangers through a pleasant grove of Palmes, not farr distant from the towne, where once stoode a temple of Apollo called by them Crithea, where in an antique chaire there satte to deliver his oracles.

Partridges heare are but comon foode, which both in coller and quallitie differ from ours, and such abundance and so tame that whole flockes of 200 or 300 are seene in the streetes and feelds

together kept by boyes and girles driven out in the morninge to feede, and recald by night with whistles.

The inhabitants are for the most parte Greekes though under government of Turkes the women accounted the most beautifull dames in the world, and generallie adicted to venerio, espetiallie towards the west Christians, which are fairer complexioned, than there countriemen, proud and sumptuous in apparell, the meanest in satin and taffeta, and sometimes in cloth of gould, and siliver adorned with jewells and pretious stones, but how ever ther clothinge is rich, there fassion likes me nott, they have noe wast, but from the arme pitte downe, there garmonts hange downe right, as our loose corded gownes do behind (indeed the lesse troublesome to him that takes them upp) for the most parte there husbands are ther panders, and when anie strangers arive, they presentlie demand if hee will have a mistres, and soe make whores of there wives and are contented for a litle gaine to were hornes, especiallie to such as are well complectioned that children maie prove faire of which they not a litle boast of amongst themselves, such are the base minds of ignomineous cuckhounds.

They are in a maner released of there thraldome in the unsencible thereof, well merittinge the names of Merrie Greekes, when there leasure will permitte

them, for never a sonday nor holliedaye passeth,
 without a publique meeteinge where intermixed with
 women they dance out the daye and with full crowned
 bowles enlengthen their jollitie, not seldome
 passinge over into Asia, and to the adjoyning
 ilands, to those merrie and jovial assemblies where
 once desirous to see there fassions, my self with
 some other merchants accompanied them, where
 haveinge chosen a plesant plott of ground, the men
 and women sittinge in a ringe with some instruments,
 a maid stept out of the ringe sittinge crosslegged
 in the midst of us, began to singe a famous songe
 amonst them called Macetta/ which because I was
 desirous to knowe, it was presented mee by a sitter
 by, in greeke and Itallion, for they judge the same
 worthie to be put in all languages, and haveing had
 some idle time, I translated it into English what
 stuff it is you shall heare, and be the judge of
 this worthie bawd Macetta/

From hence departinge for Smirna, entringe the
 Baye soe called by the towne after the durance of a
 wonderfull storme which continued about some 6
 houres, beinge uppon the saventh of October, wee at
 last anchored in the sight of the towne, and after
 our salutation with our ordnance, wee were invited a

shoare by the then consull of our nation, Richard Millward.

This place is seated in Asia in the province of Ionia once beinge one of the seaven churches, but this nowe other neere neyboure Ephesus lieth ruined, and there Beaties turned to deformitie her knowledge unto Barbarisme, and her religion unto the impiotie of those wicked Mahumettans, the ruine of her Church yett remaineinge with the sepulcher of Policarpus that worthie persecuted bishopp in a smale chappell kept by 2 poore grecians papists a peece of his tombe I brought thence with mee, and also a relique of his mitter, as they would have mee beleewe, amongst other goodlie temples that they had, the reliques of which yett remaine, one was consecrated to Homer, for the Smirnians will have him to be borne there, containinge his honored image, and herein litle behouldinge to Pithagoras, who reported to have seene him hanging in hell for soe fableinge of the goddes/

The cittie is nowe extended alonge the sea shore in former times one the side of an adjoyninge hill where are the ruins of a statelie castle within the walles thereof is fixed the image or statue of there ancient Goddesse (-) whose figure is much defigured by a bribe of a loveinge turquish woman whose husband was inamored thereon, and to that purpose daylie spent manie howers in contemplatinge

the forme till his wife gave gifts to a janisarie to
shoot at in divers places of the visedge and soe
hath neerlie spoiled there workemanshippe and
linaments of the countenance/

This cittie is now much frequented by
marchantes for ventinge Europe Comodities and buying
upp of cotton wolles which here growe in greate
quantitie with the seed thereof they sowe the
fields, as wee doe with corne, the stalke as bigge
as a wheate, but tougher as a beane, the head round
and bearded in size of a medler, and as a stone
which repenninge breakes, and full of delicate white
softe bumbast intermixt with seed, which with an
instrument they separate, soe that a man would
imagine it impossible that such a small shell the
biggnes of an ordinarie olive, should containe being
opneda pece more than cann be held in the hand, but
more to be admired is the acte wherewith our
mariners use to stine (as they terme it) there
shippes, informinge a sague, to the greatenes of a
wolle packe of 300 lb. waight into a roome, att
fyrst two narrow for a mans arme, when extended by
there engines, soe that I have seene the verie
deckes of a shipp of 350tonnes, to leape upp
therewith above 12 inches, which at sea in a month
or two now settles of it selfe in its old former
fyrst built place.

The 17 of October we departed Smirna haveinge received large testimonies of frenshippe from our consull, and the handmaid of london wherein I came out of England, arived in porte as we sett saile to depart.

The 18 wee mette the indien of london coming from Constantinople and bound for Smirna, who gave us notice that wee were expected there both by our Ambassador and marchants.

The nineteenth the wind was contrarie, and the current that came from the Blacke Sea settinge hard against us, we were constrained to anchor in a smale baye under the Iland of Mitellin, where about 10 dayes befor, a galleon of the great Turke of 1200 tonnes (bound from Constantinople to Alexandria) was cast away one a rocke never till then found which had 36 palmes of water uppon it and the shippe drew 28 foote by which the greatnes thereof may be imagined.

This Ile, may be about 7 miles from the shore of Phrighia, in circuit 160 miles, the cheffest cittie called Mitellin, after the Ilands name, which antientlie was called Macoria, then Lesbos:

This Iland hath given breath to manie famous men as Pythacus, Sapho, who gave name to Saphigne and Alceus, hence also came Arion, Theopastus, land others, the Tirannie of the Turqueish government hath

brought this Iland to paralell the rest of her
fellowe Iles in miserie, nothing here nowe worthie
of note, save the castle, strengthned by nature and
arte, maintained by a garison of Turques, and an
Arsenall wherein is kept some gallies for the
preservation of there coast from the violencies of
piratts.

After two dayes aboade wee hence departed,
haveinge made plentifull provision where it was soe
cheape that wee had a good fatt sheepe for two
shillings, and excellent wine wonderfull cheape
whoso worthie did horace give itt that praise

Here underneth some shaddie vine full cuppes of
nurteles Lespian wine will wee quaffe freelie nor
yett shall Thionian liber with mars brawle

Againe riseinge our ancors and reneweinge our
hopes with the show of a fair winde we launched out
of the porte and past in sight of monte sancto, soe
called by there neighbours: beinge a heigh and verie
eminet hill made in circuite about hundred miles,
wherein there is 24 monasteries, of greek friers,
protest Colviers, who with the labour of hands, by
the example of the ancient desples, maintaine
themselves, and not afer the now papists, lasie
frier like costome haveinge obtained, soe much good
from a heathenish beinge there soveraign as that noe
turke, moore nor jew shall abide amongst them.

From hence wee passed by Lemnos that famous Ile, and hopinge to recover the helespontine Sea, the current settinge out of the blacke sea, beinge soe violente, and dangerous, we could not possible attaine thereto, soe that againe wee were forced to come to anchor, between the maine of Assia and the Sigian shoare, and the renowned Iland Tenedos famous when Troye was in her principall pompe and state.

We remained not here about 24 houres, but we had a smale gale of Southerlie wind, and though litle more than would stime the current, yett we lett faile our sailes but were quicklie forced to lett fall our anchores, and rest, like ould men that ascend hilles, but our anchoringe place proved to be opposite to the ruins of ancient Troye, that place that hath given soe manie pregnant writers such a lardge argument.

The fyrst day of our aboad heare, beinge neerer the Ile than the maine, wee went ashore to view the same, and the inhabitants, and mountinge the rockes, remembered Virgills verses. Libro: 2:

Est in conspertu tenedos notissima fama,

Insula: --- cr.--- videlicet.

I sight of Troye an Ile of wealth and fame,

Whilst priam in his princelie state aboade

now but a bay and vuscared roade

And so indeed wee found it to which adjoineth a castle, and Towne of noe great importe, but tenn miles in circuit, producinge excellent Muscadines, which declareth inhabitants to bee gretians.

It was fyrst called Lecrophin, then tenedos of tene the builder of that cittie, and was in the warres of Troie slaine by Achilles, here are yett the ruins of a Temple supposed of the same that was dedicated to him after his death, wherein it was not lawfull under a seaver punishment to name Achilles, and yett by the simpleous reliques it may be imagined the Temple of Neptune soe famous in this Iland.

Hence also beginnes the gulph of Salonica or Thessalonica, where as I said befor, mount pernassus stands, where the muses haunted, but as for the fountaine Hellicon, I marvill wher it is seated had it beine the objecte of my sight, like a greedie and unsatiabie drinker, I should have drunke upp the streams of poesie, to have bettered and enlarged, my homelie poeticall enthousiasmos, the hill Pernassus hat two toppes like a sharpe pages, the one whereof is drie and sandie, signifyinge as I conceive, that poetes are alwayes poore and needie, the other barren and rockie resemblinge the ingratitude of nigardlie patrons, but the intermedium or valley,

betweene the same is pleasante and delightsome
denoteing the delightfull, and fruitefull soyle (as
a countriman doth observe) which painfull poettes,
the muse plowman doe soe industriously manure.

That night wee returned aboard, and with the
ensueing morninge wee renewed our labour to see the
reliques of that famous Troye, whereto because it
was somewhat dangerous to performe for theeves
amongst the ruins doe lurke, each marchant tooke his
foulinge peece, beinge about 8 in number accompanied
with our worthie preacher Mr. Cadwallader
Salisburie, a Denbighshire gent wherin I esteemid my
selfe not a little happie, to have our minister to
be our countriman, who was sent and imployed by the
Turquie Comp. in london to serve the marchants
factors in Constantinople, together with 10 or 12
mariners well provided, being thus accomodated
ashoare we went, takinge such memorialls with us as
wee had aboard, formerlie written that had viewed
the place, but some of our Companie well acquainted
in the Turkish, and greeke tounge, wee made towards
the fyrst villedge we sawe, and ther enquireing for
there churchmen, called coloires whom wee imagined
should be the most learned they have, such light as
their knowledge affoarded them by tradicion, or
those ruins could afforde us, by present sight.

The fyrst thinge wee did was like wandring
passengers, mount an eminent hill, on the toppe

whereof was seated some ould ruins of buildings, and from thence wee had sight of manie small mounts imagined to be rayseed by hand, and formerlie serving as watchtowers, to over view the gretian fleete

and the levell wher the cittie, at the lower part thereof stoode the fyrst discernable ruins wee beheld, was of a spacious citie or towne upp a high promontorie, called Cape Ienesorie where imperfecte walls then to the sea, there antiquitie, the foundations thereof should seme by the reporte of our guide to bee laid by Constantinus the greeke, who at fyrst intendinge to remove the seate of his Empire, began here to build which uppon a new resolution he erected at Bisantium now called Constantinople.

This is that famous promontorie of Sigeum, honoured with the sepulcher of Achilles, which Alexander the Greate visiting in his Asian expedition, sacrificinge to the gost of his kinsman, whom he accounted most happie haveinge such a trumpett as Homer was, to resound to future ages his manie vertues, this place is called by the inhabitants Stamboll Vechio, or an ould faire towne, and indeede nowe retaines the cheefest reliques of that ruined cittie.

Hence wee had a plaine sight of that famous Mount Ida, where Paris beheld the huge goddesses in

his dreams, and here was the beginning of the cittie
 which by my supposition extended itself at least 20
 miles in compass rather small than anie former
 other, which I the rather conceive, because
 mountinge manie hills, and made mounts, the form
 still appeared the same by the vast ruined
 buildings, but doubtles in the plaine stood that
 famous Illium (founded by Ilus) called Troye
 promisceouslie of Troas, famed to have beene walled
 by Neptune and Phebus, there is non I thinke that
 have not heard of the former takinge, the tenn years
 warre and the later finall subversion which some
 have written to happen in the yeare of the world,
 Two Thousand, seaven hundred, fourscore and four,
 ou:m:lib 15:

Soe rich, so powerfull that we proudlie
 stoode, that would for ten years, space spend so
 much bloode, noe Prostrate onelie her ould ruins
 showes and tombes, that famous ancestors enclose/

Howe onelie remaines a confused heape of
 buildings thrown down by time, and overgrown with
 rubbidge, 3 or 4 villadges are seated here and there,
 in the bodie, and raised out of the ashes of this
 towne, onlie inhabited by ignorant grecians, who
 cann only tell the curious passenger here was Troye,
 in some places also the oxe hath drawn over the
 plowshare, affoardinge corne as in the vallies that
 the hillside delved by the labouringe husbandman,

and converted to vineyards, the plaines never the sea affoarding the shore shweete grasse for the sheepe, which in good plentie here feede which were bought for 2s. and 3s. a peece.

In these plaines are scattered framedould monuments which we conceived to be Tombes, and the northern side for the most parte eaten with the wether some also we found uncovered, which made us more confident in this oppinion.

North of the promontorie of Sigeum is that of Reteum, cellebrated for the sepulcher of Ajax, and his statue by Antonius, transported hence into Egpte, here was also formerlie thrown upp by the sea, at the foote of this mountaine (after the shippwrecke of Ulisses) the armour of Achilles, the cause of his madnes, and selfe slaughter.

Between the two capes, or headlands, lieth a spacious and ample plaine, with two smale riveretts running through the same, once famouse by the names of Simeonis, and Scamander the divine, now in summer season drie, which served formerlie the grecians for stations for ther shippes, this plaine I imagine to be the Theater of all the renowned battells, and scrimidges betweene the troyans and grecians, and nott farr distant, from that fatall Palladium,

Troyes preservor, though nott fortunate, yett nott
inglorious, nor unrenenged/

Ould Troie by greekes twice sackt, twice new
greeke rewd her conqueringe ancestors, fyrst when
subdewd by Romes ould Troyan progenie, and now when
forcd, through Turquish in-solencie

Approachinge the Imblosure of those rivers, I
observed the foundation of a solide and statelie
mould, whereon 3 chartes might goe abrest, the
rather imaginige it to soe be, because it stands
uppon a directe line, with the frontspice of a
ruined pallace, being of a kind of a white stone,
and verie entire consideringe the age thereof.

In the ruins I washt my hands, and then
bethought mee of the vertue, that river formerlie
had to converte the wolfe of the sheepe that drunke
thereof to bee of the coller of yellowe, and in
Scamander remembered that unfortunate Scamander the
virgin that drowned there her selfe, from whence the
Troyan virgins that were to be married came hither
the night befor to bath themselves, invocatinge her
as a deitie.

Sume o Scamander virginitaton meacy

Those ruins have their sourse on the mountaine
Ida, and afford a great beautie to this plaine, wee
spent the most part of the daie in goeing to and

fro, from one ruine to another, sometimes behoulding
 lyeinge pellars of marble 40 foote longe, and some
 of 20 or 30, then in viewing the tombes which it
 seemes are one stone entire, and some opened as I
 imagine by the covetousnes of some that imagined
 treasure to be hidd therein, and perhapps spedd noe
 better than he that for the same intente digged upp
 in Babilon the monument of Nitocris, the queene of
 the Babilonians and wife to kinge Nabachadnozar, on
 the outside of whose tombe stone was written, an
 Epitaph to delude some covettous wader, but the
 Tombe opened the promised treasure therein was found
 to bee this memorable inscription

Nisi ann insatrabili capiditate fragasses
 nunquam defunctorm cadavera

Seutiam tawm exercaisses

Next we mett with the ruins of a greate wall,
 att least 12 paces broade, being aboute 3 miles from
 the shoare, which I imagine to bee parte of the
 cittie wall haveinge peeces of demollist Towers yet
 standing, built of a blacke hard stone of exquisite
 greatnes. Also there is one tower somewhat entire,
 that hath in a better sorte than the rest of the
 buildings, withstood the enemie of time, as also
 some cesternes for the retaininge of water, which it
 seemes was verie necessary as seated in a verie
 sandie soile.

The walles appeare to be arched within, and doubtles of wonderfull beautie then itt's pride, manie pillers, att least to the nomber of an hundred fixed in the ground, of a large sise there are but I cannot conceive to what purpose there fixed.

Amongst these ruins are found manie tortoises by our dogges, and whereon of a reasonable greatnes, I mett with, which puttinge him uppon his backe, against an old tombe, discharged my peece with a brace of bulletts, but they had noe entrance, only the outward shell somewhat crusht my bullett beaten flatt as a shillinge, some blood gushed out, which my spaniell likeinge of, died within two hours after, imagininge this to be the cause.

I cann now say noe more of that place than that was long agoe said by Ovid:

Iam sges est ubi Troiafuit resecandque falce wast, lie that walls that were soe good and corne now growe where troytown stood.

Gloria Telicrorium, But nowe/ In Iam penre ruind.

The verie ruines thereof ar com to ruins, manie in bread cogitations, I had viewinge the once soe famouse Troie, whose destruction gave life (if stories maie gaine creditt), to manie nations, our owne the ancient Brittain's nott the least, and now

to read what it was, and to see what time, and the adultrie of a woman hath brought it to, is wonderfull.

Thee was first behouldinge to Dardanus, and Ilus for her founders and repairers next to priamus and Hector her famous mantainers, but most to worthie homer, the survivor of her glorie and fame, who did more with his penn than Hector with his sword. Thus left wee this ancient ruind reliques for that daie, which for the space of six daies, was visitied by manie of us, partlie out of curiositie and partlie to pass the time in huntinge and foulinge, but cheeflie to recreate our selves in those vallies under the broad spreadinge boughes of vines, serapins, ciprus trees, there plentifull growinge.

Here I did intend to have left the Trojan ruins, had nott a mariner presented mee with some verses, and an oration made by that famous Odcompe Coriatte, when 2 or 3 years he had been here, and by a marchant in his Compo. was knighted by the name of the fyrst english knight of Troie. The mariner was one of the spectaters and wittnesses of this noble action, wherefore will now satisfie you with some mirth, for certaintie amongst the manie uncertaine suppositions, which I am constrained to use in the relation of thes antiquities.

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Matthew Coriatte, beinge bound for
Constantinople, and desirous to have a sighte of the
Trojan Ruines, intreated some factors to accompanie
him, amongst the rest one meerielie desposed, bade
him kneele, and drawinge out his sword knighted him,
and the knighthood pronounced those wittie verses,
extempore,

Coriate noe more, but now a knight of Troie,
Odcompe noe more, but henceforth Englands joie brave
brate of our best english witts comended, True
troians from Eneas vace decended/ rise toppe of
witte, the honour of our nation and to ould Illium
make a new oration.

The knighthood was seconded by the discharge of
there muscetts, and Coriatte answered the same,
extempore,

Soe have with prostarate knee I doe imbrace the
gallant title of a Trojan knight, in Priams Court,
which time shall nere deface, a grace unknowne to
anie brittish wighter this noble knighthood shall
fame trumps resound to Odcompe honor, mangre so
ennie fell once famous albion throughout the iland
round till that my mournfull frends shall ringe my
knell.

After his verses followed his oraation mounted
 uppon the merchants and mariners his auditorio,
 which was -

Mr. Coriats oration at Troye.

My worthie Comillitones, that which in the
 whole race of my life, hitherto I never wished nor
 hoped for, much less expected, soe nowe by the
 Decree and Ordinance of the fates that hath most
 fortunatlie hapned unto mee, I am awaire with the
 rest of deare Countrimen after soe manie bitter
 storms and cruell conflicts of the winds in the most
 renowned place of the whole world (onlie gods sacred
 cittie of Jerusalem excepted) antient Troye and ould
 Decaied Illium the Ladie or rather queene of all
 Asia, yea, the principall and most noble part
 thereof, is the most noble place which our Brittish
 feet do tread uppon mee thinks, wee Beeinge
 conducted here by our good genius, gave ouer aspired
 to the eminent degree of happiness which Thousands
 of our countriemen that have passed alonge this
 coast, beinge carried awaye with a prosperous gale
 of winde, have wished to attaine to, but have beene
 frustratd of oportunitie to enjoy these noble ruins
 that you here see, have had the attractive vertue,
 like the adamant or loadstone to draw hither some of
 the most famous persons of the world, to contemplate
 the same.

Here came the greatest and most victorious monarch that ever lived, Alexander the Greate, who haveinge erected an alter to the honor of Achilles from whose stock he was lineallie descended, by his mother Olimpia, to the end to offer sacrifice uppon itt to his goste, hard by his tombe, which to this Daye remained, he pronounced him happie, who that after his Death, he had gotten so noble a poet as Homer to amblason and cellebrate his invincible couredge.

Here came the learned Emperour adrian, our emperor Septimus Suerus, after he had destroyed Bisantium his sonne and successor in the Empire, Antonius Bassiamis Cavacalla, with manie thousand worthie peeres, I dare confidentlie affirme, that from time to time came hither to survaie those that I may speake with the prince of latine poettes.

Campos ubi Troia fuit.

Behould my loveinge Comillitones that lamentable rubbish of stones, which hath beene honoured by the most ellegant and singuler poette, that ever handled quill, this ruinous pallace which you shee here, was the place (without all guests) of the royall courte of the most ancient troyan kings, as by the magnificentie of those arches, goodlie squared stones, and other remarkable steppes of venerable antiquities is verie infallible to bee

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gathered, namelie king Ilus whom I take to be the first founder thereof, Laomedon and his unfortunate sonne Priamus, the last Troyan kings, there you see those loste and statelie walles which though they were foure thousands of years since subverted, fyrst by hercales, and afterward by the hostile force of all the warrlike grecians, yett you see the foundation thereof, were not rooted out of the ground, but that to this daie most notable ruins thereof, observe I praie you, with an exact and accurate view the thicknes, the height of them, the good lines of the squared stones doe present themselves as woefull spectacles to all strangers and are objects of simpathy and comisseration to the most adamantine hearts in the world, there you may see decayed castles and fortifications, there also in another place, subteranean cripts and vaults, which I beleeeve served partelie for Granaries, and magasins of corne, in the time of the decemail seige of the cittie, and partlie to containe cesterne of water for the publique use of the cittizens, beneath also you may see a great multitude of greate marble pillars standinge uppon the ground, and dispersed over manie parts of the ould cittie.

Cast your eies againe uppon other parts where you maie behould a greene wheate, growinge amongst

out fragments of stone, and then remember the
nottable speach of the poet Ovid:

Iam seges est ubi Troia fuit

By all this pittiefull rudera I find the
memorable sence of the Greeke poet heisodus to be
verified/

Thunder jumpinge joue can make the loftiest
matters the most lowe and despicable.

Alas my Comillitones can you behould those
things with irrelentinge and drie eyes lett mee tell
you as the poandringe part of Troy (noble Aeneas)
tould the punique queene Dido in his harrangue unto
her concerninge the destruction of this cittie/

- Quis talia fando - Mirmidonum dulopumue aut
duri miles vlisses Temperet a lachrimis -

Certainlie the consideracon of this queenes
desolacon may instlie draw both sorrow from the
heartes, and tears from the eies of all those as are
endued with a true instincte of humanitie for what
more tragicall example may you find, in the whole
universe of the inconstancie and mutabilitie of
fortune, then in the quondam gallant cittie; It
florished once in as greate glorie as anie citie, in
the earth did her time, and his glorie was
untainted, and unstained for the space of three
hundreds years wantinge one, beinge governed by six

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potent kinges, the fyrst of which being Dardanus
raigned 36 yeares; Erictanius 78; Tros 60; Ilus
greate amplifier and enlarger of the cittie 55;
Laomedon 35; Priamus the last prince 40; in all
which time fortune shined as meeriellie uppon her as
uppon anie other cittie, then extent in the world,
saveinge for these tenn years of Priamus, in which
it was beseiged from the greekes but at last after
the revolucion, and period of that 10 years seige,
it suffered such a rufull devastation, by the meanes
of that fatall horse of armed men, that was convaied
within the walles of the cittie, the merciale rage
of the fire that was started everie where by the
hostile hand, and carried to and fro by wings of the
winde, spoyleinge and depopulatinge all it mett
withall, that after that time never was there found
anie man that would vedifie, anie parte thereof this
hapned; 1183 years before the incarnation, and 430
yeares before the foundinge of Rome by romulus, and
in the time that Jephtha judged Israell, the like
elsewhere was happned to manie other antient and
noble citties, that now lie buried in ther own
ruins, as to Nineve, Babilon, Tirus, Charthage,
Sagunton and Numantia, Athens, Thebs, Lacedemon, and
Corynth, Greece, Protolomais, now called Acon in
Sirria, and divers other notable citties, non of
those I believe doe yeeld those statelie ruins that

you now behould in this part of the Troyan territories.

You may also observe in a clear lookinge-glass, out of the most pregnant examples of luxurie that ever was in the world in those confused heape of stones that lie before your eies, for adultery was the principall cause of the ruins of this cittie, which is well known to all that have a superficial skill in historie by the remembrance whereof I will now take occasion to wish one charitable wish to the metropolitan cittie of mine own countrie, and with the same as with an Epilogue I conclud my speech, that as luxurie destroyed the citie of ould Troye, to which most ardent petitions uppon my prostrate knee, I beseech the greate Jehova which as the rewarder of chastitie and sever punisher of incontinence, to avert the punishment from our new Troye, for indeed london was in former time called Troynonant, which I think a much poluttet and contaminated with extraurgent lusts as ever was this ould Troye.

Felix quem faciunt aliena percula cautam/

It is time for me to end here with Coriatt, least a Troyan complaine of a second tedious tenn years seige and proceed uppon my journie towards the cittie of Constantinople/

The 28 of October wee sett saile againe,
leavinge on our left hand the Island lembro and
Lemnes, famous for the fabulous fall of Vulcan/

Gainst Juno once makeinge head he caught me by
the foote, and flunge me from the profound sloe all
daie I was in fallinge and at night on Lemnes fell,
life had forsooke me quite.

Whereuppon and noe marvaill he ever after
halted here is also found and taken upp the Terra
Sigillata and here onlie gathered good for racinge
of woundes, stoppinge of fluxes, and expulsinge of
poysons it is gathered with greate ceremonie by the
greeke colonies or friers, and sent in litle baggs
to the greate Turque.

Thence passed by Cape Ianiserie, with the
enclosure of Simois, and Scamander, now comonlie
called the channels of Constantinople- Europe
lieinge out our left hand, and Asia on our right, in
sundrie praces not above a mile over, and 40 longe,
a swifte current out of the Blacke Sea, here alwaies
runninge, the hills heige of each side, forceth
alwaies a trade winde, eyther upp and downe,
which coming against the current doth make it verie
boysterous.

The hills of each side beautifull with pines in greate abondance all the yeare greene from which they exacte greate quantitie of pitch.

About 3 leagues above the entrance, and at the narrowest of the straights stands these two famous castles, Sestos and Abidos, opposite each to other renowned formerlie for the unfortunate loves of Hero and Leander drowned in the sea incompassionat surges.

Here did I trie my skill in swimminge, whether ever I should be able to doe so such for another hero in some such place, haveinge my boate to attend me, I found the current to be so violent that I could not obtaine the other shore with out difficultie, howsoever the season was here somewhat warme, yett a virgins naked embrace would be needfull to revive a man after that toylesome laborious navigation.

Here Xerxes whose great armie dranke winers drie, and made mountains circumnavigable passe over into greece on a bridge of boates which when broaken by the furie of the tempests, he caused the sea to be beaten with 30 strippes (as is sencible) and fetters to be thrown therein for biddinge anie to sacrifice to Neptune the god of the sea.

Abidos stands in Assia on a plaine levell, taken by the turques some years befor

Constantinople, though the treason of, the
governours daughter was inamored on Abdurachman,
Capt. of the Turques.

Sestos stands in Europe, once the principall
cittie of Thracia Cheronosus now a strange castle,
yett inferior to Abidos being comanded by an
emminent hill, the former is foure square, the other
triangular both comeinge to the water side, terrible
towards the sea, in regard of the infinite number
and huge proportion of there murthringe ordnance,
laid leuell with the water, herein all shippes are
suffered to enter though in the night, showinge out
a light and dischardging a peece, or whose nomber
threaten not invasion, but att returne to be wholie
searched, and bring permission from the citie of
Constantinople for everie particaler vessell and
each mariner, but haveinge anie of quallitie must
procure a pass from the princes, all Bashawes or the
greate Turque himself, the forme whereof I will here
inserte beinge the same that I had at my depture out
of Turquie from the duano under the greate turques
hand/ beinge englished thus/

His Imperiall comand to all Begglorbegge and
Beggs and to all kings, princes, cap and generall,
by sea and land, and to all the militie and

souldiers under our Dominions in the provinces and
kingdomes of Algir and Tunes, and other maritime
ports.

Then this our Sublimate and Imperiall Signe
shall come to you; know that the most illustrious
lord the Ambassador of his sacred nation of greate
Brittaine, hath presented to our mightie porte a
pettician, sayeing that the magnificent Lewes
Robertes, English merchant who for some yeares was
resident in this our impereiall part of
Constantinople, traficeinge by way of merchandiz in
these our kingdoms and Empire, and desireing now to
returne into his native countrie of England,
beseeching that there might be granted an Imperiall
comandement which may serve him both by land and
sea, in all partes and places, accordinge to the
tenner of the Imperiall Cappitulacions, that as
well, his person, as his merchandiz, slaves and
servants may be saved and kept from the
mollestations or troubles, whattsoever wherefore
accordinge to the tenner of the said Imperiall
capitulation, granted to the subject and slaves of
his Majestie of Great Britaine, that it maie be
allwaies observed, we have given this our Imperiall
commandement and due command

That whom anie of you shall meette with the
above named Lewes Roberts whether it be by land or
sea, or in anie of our territorries and dominions,

being about the years of twenty eight, haveing a
ruddie countenance, with light yellowish long haire,
a small Blacke spotte on the left side of his nose,
and of a midle stature, that then he the said
merchant, his goods, faculties, servants and slaves,
shall passe quietlie accordinge to our Imperiall
Capitulacous, to whom you shall give noe
molestations nor damadge whatsoever, but in all his
occations, protecte, defend and conserve him, his
goodes, and lands, and all you Beggs, and Capts.,
both privat and publique, masters of shippes that
navigate the seas, meetinge with the merchant, you
shall lett him passe, sound and free, without tole,
tribute or head money, and shall not doe him nor
cause to be done unto him, his merchandiz and
slaves, mollestation, damadge or hindrance
whatsoever.

And in summe, know that the said sacred kinge
of great Brittaine, is in scinces, and perfect
amitie with us.

DOCUMENT NO. 2

DOCUMENT NO. 2 is a letter written by Nicholas Revett, dated from Athens, 12th June, 1751, and is held by the Norfolk Record Office in Norwich, Ref. WKC 7/67/7. It is a manuscript copy of the original document, describing a tour made by himself and James Stuart in the company of Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Wood (of Palmyra fame) to Marathon, Negropont, Thermopylae, Livadia, Mount Parnassus, Salona and Galaxithi, crossing the Gulf to Corinth, Megara and Eleusis to Athens, giving them materials for their map. It indicates some relief from anxieties about funding their work.

Nicholas Revett was a member of an old Suffolk family, the second son of John Revett of Brandeston Hall, near Framlingham. He was born c.1721 and studied to be an artist in Rome. He joined an expedition on foot to Naples with James Stuart and Gavin Hamilton in 1748. They decided to publish an

A sample of the copy of Revett's letter is included.
The transcription of the document has been checked.

Copied of H. Green's letter, dated 10th March, 1841, to
1751 U.S.

Howard, Sir. The letter is more than a fortnight
ago, since I received yours by Mr. Dunning, yet we are
obliged to write to Mr. James Gray & Mr. Smith.
I would not let pass this opportunity without giving
you advice on two. If

I told you in my last the visit we had from Mr.
Dunning & Wood: we had the honor to make it over with
them to Mr. Nathan Mearnsport. "Other meetings", from
thence back a gain to the present, state of the affairs,
Acadia, Mount Pleasant, St. John's, & the other

'Honour'd Sir,

Tho it is little more than a fortnight ago since I answ'd yours by Mr. Dawkins, yet as we are oblig'd to write to Sr. James Gray and Mr. Smith, I would not let pass this opportunity without giving you a Line or Two.

I told you in my last the Visit we had from Msrs. Dawkins and Wood: we had the Honr. to make a Tour with them to Marathon Negropont, Thermopylae; from thence back again to Negropont, Lake of Copaeis, Thebes, Livadia, Mount Pernassus, Salonica, Galacsithi; Here we crossed over the Gulf to Corinth and Sycion; from Corinth we return'd by way of Megara and Eleusis to Athens. This run took us up near twenty days, but this time was not spent useless, for we got in this Journey a great many Materials for our Map. We saw a great many beautiful scenes in our way, and Towns in the most romantick situations in Nature. But above all, Mount Pernassus is the most delightfull spot I ever saw. We were about eight hours mounting up to the Town of Castri, the Antient Delphos. There remains yet many Fragmts. of Buildings, among wch. we discover'd part of the Temple; the walls are built of large irregular Stones, entirely cover'd with Inscriptions, Many of wch; Mr. Wood copied; This no Modern Traveller ever saw before us. The Situation of this little Village is fine beyond Expression;

the Rocks on one hand rear up their heads to the skies in a Thousand different shapes; at the foot of wch. is the Fountain of Castalia; but at a little distance on the other hand is a vall'y so deep beneath that the Trees are dwindl'd to the sight less than pitiful shrubs; thro' which the Stream of Castalia flows to the Gulf of Crissa, after tumbling down the craggy Rocks many hundred Feet. Crissa appears at a distance terminat'd by the Mountains of Corae, wch. are little inferior to Pernassus in height; at Megara are several Inscriptions, some scraps of Architecture, and two fine Statues, that lie half buri'd in a Field. The Temple at Eleusis is entirely thrown down; but among the Stones that are lieing there we shall be able to pick out most of the Members and Ornamts.; There are also some Fragmts. that are curious, we did not see the pedestal of the Statue that Wheeler mentions, wch. makes me afraid it is destroy'd.

We are much oblig'd to Messrs. Dawkins and Wood for their Civility and Good Nature, during their stay with us, wch. was about a Month. I told you Mr. Dawkins is Subscriber to 20 Sets, wch. in case of Death, he has given us a Note of Payment from his Executors upon publishing the Books. Mr. Wood five etc. We have such favours from Mr. Dawkins that we could by no means require or expect, and nothing but his Generosity and good heart cou'd suggest, as it

seames he was pretty well acquaint'd with our affairs, he offer'd to advance to Mr. Smart, 600 Dollars, wch. he except'd and besides that, has given us Credit upon a Merchant in Smirna, for 2000 more, in case we want any Money. This piece of fortune has put us into a Condition, that I shan't put you to any farther Trouble upon that Article. I am sorry you did not concur with me in my Resolution to come here, but if you know all the Reasons, I believe you would be of another Opinion, The old proverb says Nothing Venture, Nothing have. Merchants venture their Money, with a great deal more Risk, without expecting a tenth part of the profit, but this is not my Case; I did not set out upon a mere Venture, I know that if I could succeed here, there was no danger to the contrary in England. And I think we are in so fair a way at present that if it pleases God to preserve us, our Health and Lives, we shall conduct this undertaking to a happy Conclusion. The Turks have treat'd us hitherto, with a great deal of Civility and Respect, and have grant'd us whatever we have demand'd; We have dug down to the Foundation of their Magazine in the Acropolis, without their repining at it, and have done several Things, did we believe Travellers, would have been so many Impossibilities.

We have a great deal to do yet in the Acropolis; the Temple of Erectheus, is such an

irregular piece of Architecture, that it takes up as much Time to Measure etc: as four regular built Temples. It is of the Ionich Order the Capitals as well as other Members, are quite singular, but fine and the Ornamts. of Excellent Taste and Workmanship; the Cariatides belong to part of this Building, they are beautiful Statues and support a fine Architecture and Cornice, both fronts of the Propylum are Doric, as are also the Buildings to the right and left of it, and much in the Taste of that of the Temple of Minerva (of which I gave you a short Description in my first from hence) but the Roof of the Loggia within was support'd by six Ionic Columns. It is enough I mention'd that Pausanius says it is the most Magnificent Fabrick he ever saw of the Kind. Besides the Buildings above mention'd ther's the Statue of Bacchus of three orders of Arches; wch. as it is a part in the Acropolis, will take place among the others. The Buildings with the Basso-Relievos will make a Compleat Volume. The Buildings in the City are as follows: Temple of Theseus, Doric, of Jupiter Olympus, Corinthian, of Pan and Apollo, pillasters with a Doric Entablature, of Augustus, Doric, of Ceres, Ionic, of Diana Agrotera, an Antient Temple, now a Church, Doric, pillars of Hadrian, Corinthian, Gate of Hadrian, Corinthian, Aqueduct of Hadrian, Ionic. The Stadium Bridge on the Illissus, Temple of the winds, with Basso-Relievos, Lanthorn of Demosthenes, Corinthian,

with Basso-Relievos. Monument of Philopappus, Corinthian with a large Basso-Relievos. Statues, The Odeum, The Fountain of Callertion. Besides several Basso-Relievos etc. To give a discription of these Buildings would take more Time than I am Master off at present, therifore I shall begg leave to defer that till another Time.

The Ambassador (Mr. Porter) has honour'd us with a very polite letter, accompany'd with a Strong Letter of Recommendation to the Vaivode of this place, who professes himself very much our Friend; and says he is ready to serve us in whatever it is in his power.

DOCUMENT 3

Document 3 is an extract from the travel diary of John Hawkins, held at the West Sussex Record Office, Chichester, in the Hawkins papers (Bundle 19). Loose sheets were enfolded in the notebook and appear to be in preparation for another written work. There are many alterations and amendments. The diary itself is hand written in a hard-backed small notebook. It is much faded with age. The notebook, which is undated, describes plants found at each port of call. Hawkins and Dr Sibthorp, who was accompanied by his artist, Mr Bauer, and their servants, sailed on a Venetian Merchantman bound for Cyprus. Plants at the Dardanelles were collected, also from the coast of Lycia and at several places in Cyprus. At Patmos they shot birds and serpents as specimens, then travelled back to the mainland and Mt Parnassus, and onward to Piraeus.

John Hawkins' letters to his mother, 1786 - 1798, are in a bound volume. They deal with the difficulties of the journey, the ladies of the houses where he stayed and their fashions, the antiquities, the trade and language, the attitude of

the Turks and the Christians and described the scenery through which he travelled.

The papers included a notebook written by the valet of John Hawkins, who travelled with him, describing the travel arrangements. A poor opinion was expressed of the Turks and their lack of cleanliness, the poor ruined state of Athens, and the miserable lodgings. Many thanks were offered to God Almighty for their safe return on 9 October 1798.

John Hawkins was born at Trewithen, Cornwall (where the family still resides), on 6 May 1761. He was the fourth son of Thomas Hawkins, educated at Helston, Winchester and Trinity College Cambridge. He was made a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1791, the Geological Society in 1808, and was one of the founders of the Royal Horticultural Society in 1804. He was elected a member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1799.

John Hawkins travelled extensively in Greece, and was a companion of John Sibthorp, collecting material for *Flora Graeca*. Sibthorp died in 1796, and Hawkins supervised publication of his work. He was greatly influenced by Greek architecture, and he employed Henry Harrison, the architect, to rebuild his mansion, Bignor Park, in classical style. He had a great interest in the Ionian Isles, formed

into an independent state under the protection of Great Britain in 1815, and wrote of conditions in the islands, accompanying his work with sketches.

A sample of Hawkins' handwriting is included. The transcription has been checked.

of the Temple of Theseus for the use of his seraglio, were it not for the gratifying nature of his enemies the Didaskalos would make no scruple to dispose of some of the best sculptures of the Acropolis. ^{Attendants with the} One of them ^{in a} most exquisite style ^{representing a combat of the Amazons} that Stuart supposed to have belonged to the temple of Victory above mentioned, ^{has long excited the eyes of collectors} ~~had been such long since~~. It is small and carefully encaused in a wall but its situation is too conspicuous to avoid detection and a detection of such a proceeding would occasion the loss of the ^{in the Acropolis} head. There was a small column of Porphyry for which I had bargained it was to have been conveyed to the Piræus by night but ~~for some~~ ^{the} ~~reason~~ ^{circumstances} I ~~reverted~~ ^{reverted} the execution of the contract.

It were needless to attempt a description of the remains of Antiquity at Athens after the delineations which Mr Stuart has published of them. Mr Fovell a very ingenious French artist whom we met here assured me that nothing could be more exact. His testimony will have more weight when I mention that he ~~was~~ ^{had been long} employed ^{at the expense of} Mr de Choiseul Gouffier in measuring the proportions of each ruin and in taking off impressions in Gypsum of their mouldings, their capitals and the sculptures of their metopes and friezes. A report had reached us before our arrival of his having been forced at when employed ^{about} this work on the top of the Parthenon but the circumstances of this adventure had been greatly exaggerated. It turns having arisen on another pretence in the Acropolis. The want of discharge of a musket had obliged him hastily to descend with some risk of his neck from a position so conspicuous. Even this gentleman confessed the glaring inaccuracy of his countryman Le Roy an artist who after spending over as many months as Stuart years at Athens had the effrontery to publish a full description of the antiquities. I was surprised however to find that Mr Fovell had adopted Le Roy's opinion respecting the Temple of Jupiter Olympius & the Propylæum notwithstanding the ^{judicious} additions by Mr Stuart to prove the contrary. ^{For without} ^{recourse} to architectural or archaeological demonstration the magnitude of these remains would decide the question with a common sense.

[Fragments from papers, Bundle 19] .. of the Temple of Theseus for the use of his seraglio. Were it not for watchful malice of his enemies, the Disdar Aga would make no scruple to dispose of some of the best sculptures of the Acropolis. One of these in a most exquisite style representing a combat of the Amazons that Stuart supposes to have belonged to the Temple of Victory above mentioned, has long excited the avidity of collectors. It is small and carelessly immured in a wall but its situation is too conspicuous to avoid detection and a detection of such a proceeding would occasion the loss of the Disdar's head. There was a small column of Porphyry in the Acropolis for which I had bargain'd, it was to have been conveyed to the Piraeus by night but want of a proper vehicle prevented the execution of the contract.

It were needless to attempt a description of the remains of Antiquity at Athens after the

delineations which Mr. Stuart has publish'd of them. Mr. Favell a very ingenious French Artist whom we met here assured me that nothing could be more exact, his testimony will have more weight when I mention that he had been long employed at the expense of Mr. de Choiseul Gouffier in measuring the proportions of each ruin and in taking off impressions in Gypre of their moulding, their capitals and the sculptures of their metopes and friezes. A report had reached us before our arrival of his having been fired at when employed about this work on the top of the Parthenon but the circumstances of the adventure had been greatly exaggerated. A tumult having arisen on another pretence in the Acropolis the wanton discharge of a musket had obliged him hastily to descend with some risk of his neck from a position so conspicuous. Even this gentleman confessed the glaring inaccuracy of his countryman le Roy, an artist who after spending merely as many months as Stuart years at Athens had the effrontery to publish a full description of its antiquities. I was surprised however to find that Mr. Favel had adopted Le Roy's opinion respecting the Temple of Jupiter Olympus and the Pretaneum notwithstanding the evidence adduced by Mr. Stuart to prove the contrary, for without recurring to architectural or archeological

demonstration the magnitude of the remains would decide the question with a common observer.

Their present state must forcibly excite the sensibility of every beholder. It is not the effect of age; for the simplicity of their construction and the durability of their materials were such as bid defiance to the natural courses of decay. But it is to the modern art of war to which we must ascribe it, and to engines of destruction which the Ancients foresaw not and could not guard against. What Lover of Art is there that deprecates not the unlucky boom which blew up the Parthenon and the unfeeling hand which directed it against such a wonder of Architecture and who that has read Pausanias's account and traced its existence to the period of Sir George Wheeler's journey grieves not at the reflection that he was born only a century too late to view that toast of Athens, the Hecatompidon.

There are various causes of dilapidation of the Ruins of Grecian Architecture. Earthquakes against which the Ancients guarded by cramps of Iron. The mistaken zeal of the primitive Christians. The idea of there being refectories of hidden Treasures, the want of ready materials for building and lastly the mischiefs of a modern seige. The Little Temple of Victory without Wings perished in the explosion of a Gunpowder magazine during the same seige as

witness'd the fall of the Parthenon. Since the time of Stuart all that remain'd of the aqueduct of Hadrian has been taken down to construct the new Wall and just before our arrival the Governor of Athens had removed part of the Pavement of the Peristyle.

(End of loose sheet)

Thebes having so little to engage our attention about midday we set out for Livadia. When we had

descended into the plain of Thebes our course was at W. by W, Parnassus right a head.

We travelled for more than two hours over a perfect flat bounded on the left by the superior champain country before described and on the right by a tract of low rocky hills. The breadth of this plain nowhere exceeded two miles, its surface was so level and its soil so fertile as to warrant a conjecture that it had once been the bed of a lake. Several villages were observed crowning the heights on our left. When we had reached the extremity of this plain we passed over a low isthmus into the Copaic Marsh, and were struck with astonishment at the grandeur of the Landscape which immediately presented itself. It was a flat of immense extent bounded by hills and mountains. A high steep ridge rearing itself on the left as a foreground and Parnassus crowning the centre of the view as a distant horizon. This I soon realised what I had hitherto contemplated only on the canvas of a Poussin or a Wilkon for it wanted wood for a composition of Claude. The ridge on the left formed the southern border of the flat. As we coasted along its base, we observed many a rocky promontory boldly shooting into the marsh on our right and striking into its stagnant levels. We had also a Glimpse of the lake at a great distance beyond. The road side were Flags rushes and water, contrasted

with rocks and sterility and before us stood a ruined tower crowning a rocky Promontory, where we soon arrived. In the cliff beneath there was a large cavern. The resort of the neighbouring herds and near the base of this cliff a fountain at which we watered our cavalry. Not long after we crossed a small plot of rocky ground projecting into this flat on which were a number of large squared stones and some foundations of buildings nearly erased. The ruins of an ancient town. The ridge on our left rose considerably as we advanced, it extended eight or ten miles in a very straight direction towards Livadia and then after a very quick turn to the south appeared to coalesce with Helicon, its present name is Martino and I conceive it to be the ancient Libithrius. We passed by another copious spring this evening gushing out of the base of a rock and overshadowed by some wild fig trees, but the sun sat behind Parnassus before we could reach Livadia and after a toilsome march of many hours we pitched our tent near the road side and passed the night in some dread of the marsh miasma.

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Thebis, itague pingues Thibani.

In a climate so excellent what remains of antiquity is still in the best preservation, I mean that which has escaped the havoc of War and religious Fanaticism or the suggestions of Avarice and wanton Brutality. From the choice of their materials and from their mode of construction it is plain that the Greeks paid uncommon attention to the principle of durability. They overlooked it in some of their architectural works, but they trusted allso in some measure to the dryness of the climate and have thus been enabled to transmit to us examples of a delicacy of finishing which is not to be surpass'd. The Traveller struck with the sharpness of the sculpture and the smooth immaculate surface of the blocks of marble finds some difficulty in combining therewith ideas of such remote antiquity. As for the native of Britain he expects to see in Greece the same effects of a damp and corroding atmosphere as in his own country. The figure to himself, the mouldring walls overhung with ivy, or cloath'd in moss, or perhaps overspread with a thick incrustation of liverwort, but here every thing is the reverse; the white marble column still glitters in the sun after a lapse of two thousand years and looks allmost as fresh as when it first issued from the finishing hands of the sculptor, for even the marks of the chissel are not yet obliterated.

Perhaps no circumstance can be mentioned which could give a more favourable idea of the climate of Attica.

There is one defect however in the materials which the Ancients foresaw not. The Pentelican marble which is chiefly used contains like the Free Cipollino stripes of mica interspersed in its mass which occasion it to scale.

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The surface of the ground at Athens as may be supposed like that of Rome is considerably raised by the accumulation of ruins in the lapse of so many centuries. There are places in the City where it has been sunk through to the depth of 7 or 8 feet of rubbish, a circumstance which has suggested to the inhabitants many a golden dream of hidden Treasures and has led to the discovery of many a curious work of sculpture. This digging of mural foundations and sinking of wells has allso contributed to the latter and those who reside long at Athens and are discreet are likely to profit thereby, let them beware however of Greek Craft. The same tricks are practised here on collection as at Rome. Our Vice Consul one day hinted at a great discovery of this nature which had just been made and after raising our curiosity by the mysterious air with which he announced it and the injunction of profound secrecy conducted us a few days afterwards to the house of a Greek where we saw a fragment of sculpture of very indifferent merit and the rubbish of a well in which it was said to have been found. Our Guide and his countryman appeared to be equally disappointed by the indifference with which we regarded it.

Travellers at this period of Antiquarian research find much difficulty in procuring Greek Medals even in Greece. We had passed over some of the richest numismatic ground in the world and in

spite of our enquiries had collected but a few insignificant pieces. A large parcel of counterfeit medals of Athens composed of a sort of bell metal were tendered for sale, but the imposition was easily detected. The fact is that all the Greeks who enjoy the protection of the foreign ministers at the porte are commissioned by their patrons to collect whatever they can procure in the districts where they reside and the Consuls, Vice Consuls and Missionaries have found it their interest to do the same.

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The next morning we dressed ourselves in our best apparel and accompanied by Procossies the Vice Consul we proceeded to the palace of the Musselim or Governor of Athens to deliver our Firman and solicit his protection during our stay. We arrived in time at the gate to see him return in all the pomp of an eastern procession from a formal visit to the Cadee. There is nothing in the west of Europe that in point of grandeur can be compared with these exhibitions and scarcely anything in the East that makes a deeper impression on a Traveller. What are the manners of the Manege in comparison with that ease and majesty of deportment which is displayed by a Turk of distinction on horseback, even the horses seem to be animated by the same spirit as their riders. In this procession the adopted son of the Musselim, an infant 3 or 4 years old rode alone and without any symptoms of intimidation on a Lead Charger. As soon as the Musselim was seated in his Divan we were admitted to an audience. He was a comely man rather enclined to corpulancy and had been Selector or Sword bearer to the Kislal Aga from whom he had received his present appointment. He was represented to us as a monster of iniquity. It was not long since he had been guilty of an act the particulars of which excited our horror and detestation. The cruel abuses of his power had provoked a spirit of insurrection even among the Mahometan inhabitants of Athens. He was moreover on

ill terms with the Disdar Aga or governor of the Acropolis when the other son of that officer, a youth of great spirit, was placed at the head of the disaffected and proceeded to open hostilities against him. The Disdar, although insignificant as to his power was indebted of the Musselim. The Acropolis therefore became the refuge of the dissaffected and gave rise to a state of warfare which continued for some time untill the Mussilim made overtures of conciliation. The language upon this occasion was so cloathed with dissimulation as to disarm the suspicions of his enemies and their young leader was induced to descend from his strong hold to enter into a personal negociation with him, but no sooner was this unhappy youth within his power than ordering his hands to be tied behind his back he had him thrown headlong down a steep staircase where he broke his neck.

We were received with a sort of morose gravity which tended to increase our dislike of our Host, therefore abridging our stay as much as was compatible with decency, we took our leave and payed a visit to the French Consul, Mr. Gaspar. We were received by him with more civility than we had reason to expect a countryman of ours, a Member of his Majestys Privy Council having not long before made but an ill return for his hospitality. This right honourable gentleman together with his

attendants had been his guest for months and had shewn the sense he entertained of the obligation by debauching his wife. The remainder of the day we continued our investigation of the ruins of Athens.

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that even the Turkish Inhabitants had joined with the Greek in a petition to the Porte for the permissive use of arms and further urging it by answering for their fidelity and allegiance.

Much trade is carried on here with Corn, Rice and Cotton, the produce of the rich grounds which lie eastward of the City and contiguous to the great Marsh. The place of exportation is the bay of Aspriti. The principal landed Proprietor in this neighbourhood was a Pasha whose Pallace we saw at the eastern end of the city. He was never abused but much beloved and respected. The houses are of wood jutting over the lowest constructed by the Albanians mostly rebuilt. The streets narrow and intricate as usual. At the bottom of the town were

a few very mutilated fragments of columns. We could collect no medals nor hear of any inscriptions.

July 8th at 6 in the morning we bid a final adieu to our kind hosts and set out on our return to Athens. We coasted along the southern borders of the marsh as before but turn'd on the right before we reached the tower and crossing the ridge of Martino which was in this part very low halted at a Village of Albanians where we dined and soon after arrived at a place of ruins called Erinocas, supposed to be the ancient Thespiae, distant about 12 miles S.W. from Thebes. This situation was remarkable for several very powerfull sources which gush out of the plain at the distance of a few hundred paces from each other and mingling their streams form a considerable river. After this we directed our course toward Citheron over a fruitfull corn country and towards evening pitched our tent in a small Chiflik or Farm at the foot of that ridge near the site of Platea and about eight miles from Thebes. The Inhabitants of a neighbouring Albanian Village were here celebrating their harvest home. We were saluted in our arrival by their barking dogs and were surveyed at first with distrust being unwilling to disturb their innocent festivity we pitched our tent at a respectfull distance, from whence we heard the sound of their rustic music and observed the arrival of a sturdy priest to bless the produce of their industry

and partake of their homely fare. Scarcely one of this rustic group could converse in Greek or one of our retinue in the Arnantis or Albanian a circumstance which prevented all intercourse of good offices.

We struck our tent at day break the next morning and soon after ascended the ridge by our former road. We suffered extreme heat both this and the preceding day, speedily quenching our thirst at every fountain and well. On our arrival at the Ruined Monastery of Daphne we were overtaken by Turkish Courier from Constantinople. This man alighted at the side of the well where our Guides were watering their horses and gasping with thirst made signs for a pitcher of water. One of the Greeks inadvertently reached him one which was nearly empty. The fainting Turk lifted the long jug to his parched lips but baulked in his expectation of water drew his schymitar and darted like a Tiger at the timid Greek who escaped by his superior agility with all the horror of death painted in his countenance. I mention this incident, trivial as it appears to be, because it is characteristical. Our Greek Guides through the whole of this fatiguing Journey had attended us patiently on foot, two bearing muskets on their shoulders. In form, strength and agility perhaps they were not degenerated from their ancestors of this at least I am certain that each

would have been a good model at the Royal Academy. Servile to their Turkish Oppressors they had retained a portion of the old Athenian democratical pride in their conduct towards us; and in this attempt to procrastinate our stay on the road we too plainly perceived a collusion between them and our vice Consul an artfull character of a mongrel Greek and Italian origin and quixotic Figure whose poverty in some measure pleaded his excuse. As to our travelling pace it was at the rate of 3 miles the hour or a slow walk but still less if I include the frequent interruptions occasioned by the pursuits of Natural History. So far this slow progression answered our purpose well enough but such a long exposure to the sun rendered us weak and languid and we were often glad to be releived from the fatigue of dismounting by the officiousness of our pedestrian guides one of whom from his expertise in gathering Plants we named Botanicos. If the circumstances of meeting few Travellers on the road be a sign of desolation, the most unfavourable conclusion may be drawn respecting the actual state of this country for we met none. In a country so little visited by strangers, we should think the sight of so many European Travellers suspicious either nervousness and curiosity, but never observed that it provided these, generally regarded with their most frigid indifference as in Cyprus and Anatoli, the Turks being either wrapp'd up in their

national pride, or fortified against such impressions by their system of religious quietism, while the Christian inhabitants debased by habitual servitude are become the mere creatures of want and instinct.

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At the same time that Dr. Sibthorpe and Mr. Bauer with our three domestics departed for the Piraeus, from there to proceed by sea to C. Colonna, Capn. Imrie myself and the Vice Consul attended by a Pedestrian Muleteer pursued our way thither on horseback. The interposition of Hymettus occasion'd a very considerable deflection from the strait route to that promontory, travellers being obliged to wind round the base of the mountain. The southern road is usually preferr'd but as we were desirous of visiting an antiquity on the other side we chose the northern. We struck into our old road to Pendeli and gradually approached the base of Hymettus as we proceeded. Soon after we had turned its northern extremity we left the beaten road and made an excursion of about a mile to a spot with a few ruins where stood the colossal statue of a Lion sedent in a good stile of sculpture but ill preserved insomuch that all the sharper and more prominent parts were worn away. We returned from here to the road which now quitted the base of the mountain and lead across the plain of the Missogea, or the Paralia of the Ancients. The most extensive area of level ground in all Attica and nearly encircled by hills and mountains. We observed several patches of arable ground in this tract but no appearance of verdure or fertility, towards evening we reached a few low hamlets called Marcopulis, where we halted for the night. An Albanese widow acquaintance of our Vice

Consul provided us some cheese milk and honey at the close of the evening we stretched our mattresses before the door of her cottage and laid down to rest. We rose with the sun the next morning and pursued our journey turning for some time to the right untill we had gained a vale between two parallel ridges, of which that on the right was the highest and bore the name of Paric, at the farther end of this vale was a considerable village call'd Keratia where we halted without being able to procure any refreshments for ourselves. The vale was well watered by rivulets which sprang from Paric and ran towards the eastern coast. Silk and cotton appeared to be great objects of cultivation. We now approached the extremity of the Attic peninsula on the district of the Athenian mines. The ridge of Paric extended a mile or two farther on our right, gradually attaining at this extremity a considerable elevation which I conceived to be Mount Lauriam. As soon as we turned its eastern base we entered a very rugged and barren tract of country which extended as far as the cape but had not proceeded about $\frac{3}{4}$ s. of a mile before I perceived considerable quantities of old slags near the road side and interspersed among these the faint traces of the ancient mines. I could trace no order or design in the relative position of the shafts but I observ'd slags near each a circumstance which considering the position of the ground and a total

want of water furnished us with some idea of the simplicity of the ancient process of smelting the silver ores here raised. Age and decay have filled up the shafts nearly to a level with the sod. Their sites are marked out by shallow pits and by the surrounding rubbish. I searched here in vain for traces of silver ores but found only Iron stones and the nature rock a micaceous slate. From this spot which is about midway between the two seas we descended to the small plain of Thyseo at the head of Porto Mandria and thence coasting along the eastern shore in many parts of which we obtained vast heaps of ancient slags arrived early in the evening at the Cape where we found our Companions. There we took leave of the Consul who returned towards Athens. Our boat a Caique single masted - 8 men lay in a small creek on the east of the Cape. We visited the ruins of the Temple before we embarked and about one o'clock at night unmoored and stood up the channel, between the main land and Macaronisi. After numerous tacks in a fresh breeze we anchored at 4 in the afternoon in Porto Mandrio an uncommonly good harbour. Among some low mistics my companions observed the remains of a Temple here first discovered by Le Roi and in the Plain the ruins of the ancient Thoricos.

when I overheard the sound of rude festive music and turning round on my left observed several black men and women at the door of a barn or warehouse which on a nearer inspection appeared to be filled with a crowd of the same complexion. I was immediately beckoned to approach and then very civilly conducted to the upper end of the apartment where a very jovial Thespian male and female entertained, bid me wellcome, squatted on their hams some smoking others wrangling and intoxicated but most surveying with looks and admiration and noisy marks of applause a man and woman who were dancing in a very small space in the midst of them. These dancers displayed great activity but gestures so savage and attitudes so distorted I have never seen. The music consisted of the Turkish Pipe Cymbals and a drum. Nothing in general could be clearer and more light than the air of Athens. The inhabitants of the lurid regions of the North have a very imperfect idea of the purple distances so common in the southern part of Europe. We observed one evening a very singular effect of this kind produced by the setting sun on Mount Hymettus which best accounts for Horaces term of the purple Hymettus. The whole mountain gleamed with the richest purple dye that the art of a painter could imitate vanishing with the reflection of the setting sun is remarkable that this beautifull phenomenon of Light was not observable again during our stay. There

were indeed some faint approaches to each succeeding evening but were never more gratified by its renewal (although the atmosphere was apparently in the same state). The air of Attica still reckoned eminently salubrious several causes seem to contribute to prduce this happy effect. Its maritime situation, the dryness of its soil and the position of its mountains. It had an exhilarating effect on the spirits for its genial warmth and its dryness not only enabled us to dispense with accommodations deem'd necessary in countries more removed from the tropics but the unsullied azure skies gave a brightness to near and a distinctness to distant objects which we had never before witness'd. Cicero says Athenian(Latin)

On our arival at Athens was found Osman the favourite Janissary of our Ambassador who had been despatch'd with letters to the chief Archon relative to the disgrace and banishment of the present Archbishop. The Courier who had overtaken us at Daphne brought the Order which consigned him without delay to Mount Athos and appointed his successor. This event produced the effect of triumph or dejection in every inhabitant of Athens and added new stimuli to that restless intriguing and vindictive spirit which still characterises the modern Athenians. It is necessary to observe here that Athens enjoys particular privileges in respect

to its commerce and to its internal government, it is ruled by municipal officers of its own appointment but still torn by intestine divisions, two parties the one aristocratic the other democratic struggling for power and by means of agents at Const. and pecun. influence occasionally overthrowing each other. The Democrats who were now in power had worked in this instance the downfall of one of their most decisive enemies and procured the appointment of his predecessor their avowed partizan. Whatever might be the message of the case we could not help feeling a lively regret at the ruin of a Prelate whose personal qualities had shown interested us in his favour and who had been the means of rendering us with essential services at Livadia. But we particularly lamented the interference of our Ambassador who had procured his disposition in favour of a man whose character was detestable. His Excellency had probably been induced to this extraordinary measure by the misrepresentations of a favourite dragoman under pecuniary influence. Our situation at this period was particularly embarrassing and unpleasant we dared not avow our disapprobation of the conduct of a Minister whose protection we enjoyed and we had scarcely him to convey in a private manner expressions of condolence before this unfortunate Ex prelate was hurried away with indecent precipitation on board a Caique and transported to Mount Athos

where in the course of a few weeks we were doomed to meet as we conceived his just reproaches.

The Ramadan during which the Mahometans neither eat nor drink from sunrise to sunset fall in this season of the year and at a time when the weather was unusually sultry at the close of this oppressive fast and on the eve of the Beyram we paid our respects inform to the Musselim or Governor of Athens.

We followed a crowd of the courtiers and dependants up stairs and were immediately ushered into the presence chamber which was open to the south and fronted the Acropolis. It was now twilight and the apartment highly illuminated. The Musselim dressed rather effeminately sat smoking his hooka at the upper end in expectation of the signal for commencing. The Beyram and other officers sitting near him. We were bid to seat ourselves and our dragoman. Asfador squatting on his hams in the middle of the room made a complimentary speech to which the great man swelling with self importance graciously nodded approbation a few short questions on the Musselim's part now interrupted the solemn silence of the company during which we contemplated the demure looks of the smoking Turks and the affected austerity of the courtly Greeks. Having sat a proper time we retired to the antichamber. The Begram was announced by a discharge of Cannon by

rockets and by a sudden illumination of all the Mosques an Imam in the presence chamber chanted a prayer of some length with an audible voice and each Turk threw himself into an attitude of profound devotion. At the conclusion every countenance cleared up on this festive occasion. The Turks forgot the sufferings of their long Abstinence and were inspired with a degree of gaiety. We had now a rich collation served up of which several Turks sociably partook and afterwards had a sight from the windows which much amused us. A Firebrand blazed in the middle of the court below, around which a string of Turks and Albanians danced to a shrill melancholy music, not unlike that of the bagpipes, The martial Macedonian Dance. This Phalanx of warrior dancers was led on by the Selehtar of the Musselim a person uncommonly handsome and although not slight very active. The spirit with which he conducted it could not well be surpassed. The two wings advanced while each of the dancers was alternately reversed and animated slowly turning round the centre of illumination by this Champion of Grace and Agility. Each figure wore his usual Armour and most of them the Albanian Dress, the picturesque effect of which was heightened by the catching reflection of the Blaze.

The Selehtar retiring to our apartment the dance was continued for some time longer during

which we had an opportunity of conversing with him. He displays a cheerfull open temper and easy manners and seems much flattered by our attention, danced once more to oblige us. This circumstance led to an acquaintance and to mutual civilities during our stay at Athens. The two chief Archons sat with us this evening smoaking their pipes in the Antichamber. The second well recollected our countryman Stuart and related some instance of the violence of his temper which had occasioned his final departure from Athens.

The next morning we received a present of five lambs from the Musselim. We were now busily employed in surveying the ruins of ancient Athens and in investigating its topography, but being aware of the excesses usually committed during the Begram prudently avoided appearing in those quarters most frequented by the Mahometans that we might not be exposed to their insolence during this time accident furnished me with an opportunity of observing the effects of this festivity on a national character of a very different stamp.

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DOCUMENT 4

Extracts of Volume 4, one of 23 volumes probably written by J. BERNERS (no name appears in the volumes), concerning travels in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Egypt, the Mediterranean, Greece and Austria, 1790 - 1793, held at the Suffolk Record Office, Gatacre Road, Ipswich, under the Reference No. HE7;2608, with the papers of the Berners family of Woolverstone, Suffolk.

The Record Office holds the Berners Genealogy, 1616, Reference No. HD 169, showing that Hugh de Bernerys was a Norman who came to England with William the Conqueror, the 'y' was deleted in the reign of Henry III and the 'de' in that of Edward III.

The Record Office also holds the Accounts of Woolverstone, 1829, under Reference No. HD 169/2, showing that the rents received amounted to £2,2283. 18. 54d. and the Expenses of the Household between 1830 and 1831 were £5,852. 16. 6d. This was a family of some substance, and the traveller himself

- at the bottom of the hill we observed the remains of the foundation
 of a very strong building, probably from its situation, of a fortress.
 Moved from hence to the house where I mentioned we had stopped
 to rest ourselves here we passed the night, as the preceding, a Shaw
 being affording us the luxury of a bed of down. The next morning, we
 started at day break - in order to be able to reach Marathon that evening -
 description that I have already given of the country from Athens to
 Colonna, with fully answer for those parts which we saw today, except
 we were very now & then agreeably surprised with the appearance
 of small villages, in the neighbourhood of which there were signs
 of happier cultivation than any we had before seen, & some herds of
 - bespoke a greater degree of ease & plenty. We arrived about Sun-
 at a small Greek farm most delightfully situated at the foot of
 hills, & commanding an extensive view over the plain of Marathon -
 was an appearance of comfort in this place which we had not
 witnessed in either of the others that we had stopped at - Nevertheless
 the chamber proved the most agreeable room to repose in. The next
 morning we descended into the Plain, & paid our just tribute of admiration
 to the memory of those brave Grecians, who immortalized Marathon by their
 valour. This famous Battle, the greatest glory of the Athenian annals,
 fought on the sixth day of the Month Budromion, in the third year
 of the sixty second Olympiad - which answers to the 29th of September, 490
 before Christ. On that day the Athenians to the number of 10,000
 in the command of Miltiades, resisted only by a 1000 Plataeans, fought
 against above 120,000 Persians headed by Mardonius, & delivered by
 their own valor at Greece from the fear of the Yoke of Darius - 6400
 Athenians fell in the battle, of the Athenians only 192 heroes, for deservedly
 & all those be distinguished by that honourable name, who thus nobly
 in defence of the liberties of their country. Miltiades was wounded,
 the Tyrant Spicaris was slain - In the center of the Plain is a large

a man without financial restrictions during his journey.

The journal itself is written in ink in 23 hard-backed exercise books.

A sample of Berner's handwriting is included. The transcription was sent to Ipswich and checked by the Archivist.

Milo. Sept. 24th, 1791

[continued from the previous book describing Athens] consisting of cards, bits of Bacon fried and such like trifles, they were placed in different parts of the passage by the clothes, they struck us as being intended for offerings to the dead, though we could not gain any satisfactory answer to our enquiries upon the subject, but were told that during the plague which had raged at Athens the year before, many people had retired and died in that spot. The Emperor Hadrian gave a show of wild Beasts here in which we are told, there were above a thousand slain, this was a sight entirely novel to the Grecians, whose polished and refined manners had never permitted such spectacles, and whose Stadia and circuses instead of being stained with blood were destined for the celebration of noble Games in which the emulation and improvement

of their youth were consulted, rather than a gratification of a barbarous pleasure.

[Latin and Ancient Greek quotations]

Pococke mentions a small beautiful temple of Ceres Chloe not far from hence and almost entire, at present no vestiges of this building can be discovered.

[Quotation from Pausanius]

Mons. Le Roy makes mention also of a temple dedicated near this place to Diana, in which was a beautiful pavement of Mosaic and that it was converted into a Greek chapel, this however as well as the temple of Ceres exists no longer.

[Quotation from Pausanius]

The present Governor has surrounded the city with a wall, which was built in 46 days. It not only comprehends the Town, but a considerable space beyond the houses in the whole about 3 miles and 1/2 - what it could be built for, I cannot conceive, as the Gates are never shut, and it is so slight that a single four pounder would batter it down.

On the left hand of the Ilissus, as one ascends the view is the Mount Anchesmus, its modern name is San Georgio from a chapel upon its summit dedicated to that Saint. At the foot of this Hill were to be seen a few years ago two Ionic Pillars supporting their entablature, and which were supposed to have been the remains of a reservoir. There was an Inscription but imperfect. It is thought to signify that Antoninus Pius finished the aqueduct in New Athens, which was began by Hadrian. The Stone on which the Inscription is has been placed over a modern gate of the Town.

Having thus examined with attention all the Antiquities and our Artist having taken views of each, we left Athens after dinner on the 25th September. Our road led us out of the city by the Gate of Hadrian, across the Ilissus and along the plain at the foot of Mount Hymettus, the celebrity of whose honey seems to be the only thing in this country which has preserved itself uninjured. The foundations of Ancient buildings that laid scattered everywhere over the plain, contrasted with a few miserable huts scarcely sufficient to protect their Inhabitants from the storm, reminded us in a most forcible manner of the calamities this country had suffered, and the revolutions she had undergone, these reflections when suggested by the immediate appearance of the objects themselves, leave an

impression upon the mind that time can hardly efface, and I can venture to say that many years may pass over my head and the recollection of these scenes will remain unimpaired. Quitting however these more melancholy features, let us turn our eyes to the noble prospect that we enjoyed across the Gulf to the shores of the Morea, whose lofty mountains are broken into a variety of forms, and were gilded with the rays of the setting sun. As we advanced the country seemed gradually to soften, the Ground was covered with a great diversity of aromatic plants, Mastic Bushes, and a species of dwarf Fir of a very light Green. About 7 o'clock we arrived at a small farm belonging to a Greek convent, it was pleasantly situated in a little valley not far from the sea, the Accommodations were none of the best - some of the party slept upon the Ground by the side of a fire in a small hovel where the only issue for the smoke was the door, and where upon first entering it was almost impossible to discover there were any human beings. Graves and I made choice of a straw chamber and our Janizary reposed in the open Air. As we had neglected to bring any provisions from Athens, we were contented to sup upon dry bread. The next morning we were mounted before sunrise, as we had a long day's journey to make. Our road led us among the hills, which were in many places very picturesque, the productions of the vegetable world were the same as

those we had observed the preceeding day, with this difference only that they were more abundant and more vigorous, there is scarcely any appearance of population. We here and there saw a labourer in the fields, but the want of hands and the continual oppression of the Turks prevents all cultivation. In order to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, they clear a small spot of ground, by burning the Mastic bushes, the ashes serve instead of manure, and the want of hands not permitting them to take up the stumps of the shrubs, they have just sufficient time to get in their scanty harvest before the Ground is recovered with fresh Bushes. The Janizary who had never been this road but once when he attended Mons. Choiseul, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, began to distrust his knowledge of the Path and as might be expected, we soon found ourselves bewildered. After wandering about to no purpose for some time, we ascended a high hill from whence we might command an extensive prospect and might discover our right road, which we were fortunate enough to do, and soon arrived at a small House similar to that where we had rested the night before - having refreshed our horses at this place, we continued our journey along a narrow valley to the sea and then crossing a rocky Hill, came in sight of the temple of the Suniad Minerva, the situation of this building is very fine and the columns of the temple elevated upon the point of a

high Cape produce a most admirable effect. This like the other monuments of the Athenians is built of white marble, it is of the Doric order and very much in the style of the temple of Theseus. It is very much ruined probably the effect of earthquakes but there are still 9 columns of the Eastern lateral front standing and three of the Western with 2 belonging to the Portico and a Pilaster. The Metopes are plain without bas reliefs, but we observed a very pretty ornament under a fragment of the frieze that was on the ground and also under the Capitals. Pausanius mentions this temple without giving any description of it. We were much astonished of the extraordinary whiteness of the marble. It was entirely free from all those stains and tints that one is accustomed to see in Ancient buildings, and in regard to the purity of the colour it look'd as if fresh from the hands of the sculptor. I can attribute this singularity to nothing but its being so immediately exposed to the Sea Air. We enjoyed a fine view from it of the neighbouring Islands. Mons. Le Roy has given a description and drawing of this temple, but he is so inaccurate, making only seven instead of nine columns, and some other mistakes of the same nature, that I am much inclined to think he never visited this place and particularly so, as he mentions that he came by water in a small boat from the Piraeus in three hours - a circumstance which I believe

absolutely impossible. This promontory from the distinguished situation of the temple, the columns of which are visible a considerable distance at sea is called by the moderns Cape Colonna. There were many other considerable buildings in the neighbourhood of this place as we conjectured from the fragments of the marble and broken Pillars that were scattered about, and at the bottom of the hill we observed the remains of the foundation of some very strong building, probably from its situation, of a fortress. We returned from hence to the house where I mentioned we had stopped to refresh ourselves, here we pass'd the night, as the preceeding, a straw chamber affording us the luxury of a Bed of Down. The next morning, we set off at Day break - in order to be able to reach Marathon that evening - The description that I have already given of the country from Athens to Cape Colonna, will fully answer for those parts which we saw today, except that we were every now and then agreeably surprised with the appearance of some small villages, in the neighbourhood of which there were signs of a happier cultivation than any we had before seen, and some herds of cattle bespoke a greaater degree of ease and plenty. We arrived about sun set, at a small Greek farm most delightfully situated at the foot of the hills, and commanding an extensive view over the plain of Marathon - there was an appearance of comfort in

this place which we had not been witness to in either of the others that we had stopped at - nevertheless the straw chamber proved the most agreeable room to repose in. The next morning we descended into the Plain, and paid our just tribute of admiration to the memory of those brave Grecians, who immortalized Marathon by their valour. This famous Battle, the greatest glory of the Athenian annals, was fought on the sixth day of the Month Bredromion, in the third year of the sixty second Olympiad - which answers to the 29th of September, 490 years before Christ. On that day the Athenians to the number of 10000, under the command of Miltiades, assisted only by a 1000 Plataeans, fought and conquered above 120,000 Persians headed by Mardonius, and delivered by their own valour all Greece from the fear of the Yoke of Darius - 6400 Persians fell in the battle. Of the Athenians only 192 Heroes, for deservedly may all those be distinguished by that honourable name, who thus nobly bled in defence of the liberties of their country. Miltiades was wounded, and the Tyrant Ippias was slain - In the centre of the Plain is a large tumulus supposed to have been erected over the dead bodies of those who fell in the battle, probably over the Plataeans and the slaves. As Pausanius makes mention that there were buried apart from the Athenians, whose monument was adorned with Pillars, having the names of the dead and of the

tribes to which they belonged engraved upon them, the remains of these pillars, as we were afterwards told, are still visible not far from the sea. The plain of Marathon is very extensive, it is in the form of a crescent, the soil is rich, and it appeared to be well cultivated.

[Descriptions of valley and plants]

Having rode a considerable way across the hills, we descended into the plain at the further end of which we discovered Athens, but turning immediately to the lefthand we again mounted for some time till we came to a small Greek house where we hired a Guide to conduct us to the Grotto of Mount Pentelicus. We were obliged to dismount at the foot of the Hill, the path was very steep and bad and the Grotto, being at the top, it required some time and fatigue before we reached it. This Cavern presents a spacious Arched entrance, covered in a most romantic manner with Ivy.

[Description of the cave]

During this excursion, I had several opportunities of remarking the fear which the Greeks have of Turkish oppression. Whenever we stopped to refresh ourselves, the Inhabitants seeing the Janizary generally hid themselves, and it was not till after we had remained some time and they found we were not inclined to do them harm that the family

ventured to appear. Upon inquiring the cause of this dread, we were told that when a Turk enters a poor Greek house, not content with obliging the inhabitants to furnish him Gratis with whatever he wants, he often abuses their women and treats them in a very improper manner, and we ourselves were eye-witnesses several times with what little concern our Janizary took whatever pleased him.

Having rested the next day at Athens, the morning after we hired Horses to go to Corinth. We went out by the Gate that answered to what was formerly called 'ierai pulai' or the Sacred Gate, because it led to Eleusis. We passed through a most beautiful and extensive Grove of Olive trees.

[quotations from Pausanius]

The plain of Eleusis is very extensive and appeared to be fertile. [...] the only building that appeared to us in the least satisfactory was a stone aqueduct that extended across the plain to the Hills, and which in many parts was still tolerably perfect. According to Mons. Le Roy and Pococke we passed over the ruins of many considerable edifices, time however had so effaced them, that we could only regard them as heaps of stones. While contemplating its ruins we were treading upon Ground formerly the most holy in all Greece and where the

most sacred and most mysterious solemnities had been celebrated.

[Reflections on the Mysteries]

We soon after entered into the district of Megara, crossing a mountain covered with a small kind of Pine of which I have before observed. Here we met a Peasant who told us that the plague was at Corinth - Not choosing to trust to such information, we resolved to go on to Megara where we might learn particulars. We never had conceived a very favourable idea of this Town, but upon our nearer approach it appeared to us a heap of Mud, and so in fact it is, for all the houses are composed of such materials and the Inhabitants in their appearance seemed perfectly adapted to the place they lived in. The Town is built up the side of a hill somewhat in the form of a sugar loaf, on the top stands an old ruined Tower. There are some old Inscriptions and they brought us a great quantity of small medals, but they were so effaced that we did not think them worth buying, these coins are I should suppose the only things they find, for we sent the Crier about the Town to say that some travellers were arrived who wished to purchase any antiquities they could meet with. At the bottom of the Hill we were shown the statue of a Woman, without Head or Arms, it was in white marble of the Heroic size and appeared/ as well as we could of it as it was lying on the

ground/ to be well draped. Ceres had a temple at Megara and some people have ventured to pronounce it a statue of that Goddess, for the truth of this I will not vouch.

[Here follows a history of Ancient Megara]

We were considerably obliged to the Turkish Governor of the Town, to whom we brought a letter from one Dragoman at Athens, for showing us much civility and procuring us a room - but the next morning he sullied the whole by taking a small present in money, which we thought was too trifling to offer him, but one Greek servant who knew the Turks much better than we, insisted that it was proper and sufficient. Having been assured that the report of plague at Corinth was false, we set out early the next morning but a quantity of rain having fallen during the night, we found it so cold in the morning/ though only 1st October/ that we were glad to put on great Coats, it is true we were entirely dressed in Linnen. Upon quitting the territory of Megara and entering that of Corinth we passed a Guard placed here for the protection of Travellers, they were all Albanese except their chief, who was a Turk. The remainder of our Journey was much diversified.

[Quotations from Pausanius]

As we entered upon the Isthmus, the History of the robber Sinis occurred to us, and the barbarous manner in which he treated all travellers. At present this road is perfectly free from all dangers of that sort, though it is not possible to travel over the Morea without a Guard. We saw the traces of the Canal that was begun in order to connect the two Seas, it was attempted so often, and always without success, that it became a proverb, when one wished to express anything impossible. It did not appear to have been dug down to any considerable depth - but so many years may possibly have brought an increase of soil over the rocky foundation of the Isthmus.

[A description of the Isthmian Games]

We arrived at Corinth about sunset and having delivered our letter were very well received by the Greeks and treated with great attention and Hospitality during our short stay. This city is even more depressed than Athens, it is at present divided into three separate distinct districts, two of which form small villages. We were lodged in that situated at the foot of Acro Corinthus. The news that we heard upon our arrival was not of the most agreeable kind. We were informed that two men had died the day before of a violent malignant fever

and although not known for certain to be the plague, yet it was strongly suspected. Our Greek host was particularly cautious not to have any connection with the people of the lower town. The plague had raged here with great violence, and out of the small number of Inhabitants had swept away 800 of whom 500 were Turks, who being Predestinarians, never take any precautions, it had ceased four months and a half before our arrival, but as at this time it was raging in the Morea, and particularly at Napoli di Romania [Navplion] between which place and Corinth there was a constant intercourse, there was certainly ground for a suspicion of this time. Upon hearing this we were very earnest to hasten our departure, and the Greeks in whose house we were, were equally desirous to join their families, whom they had sent into the country. As our intention was to return by sea, we despatched a man early the next morning to a small port in the Gulf of Athens to endeavour if possible to procure us a boat, they fortunately found one, which carried three men. Had we not been so lucky we must either have written to Megara for a boat to come from that place, or have waited four days at Corinth till a messenger was sent to a small Town near Tripolizza in the heart of the Morea where the plague was raging very violently, in order to obtain us a Passport from the Pacha of that Province without which it is not possible to go by land from Corinth to Athens - an

absurd regulation that appears utterly useless/ as the communication by sea is left open/ calculated only to give Travellers much trouble and make them lose time. The Boatmen knowing our situation profitted of it, in making us pay most exorbitantly. The next day we went to see the remains of a very ancient temple in the lower Town. The drawing given of it by Mons. Le Roy makes it a handsome building, but we were unanimous in our opinion that it was not worth the trouble.

[Quotations by Strabo and Pausanius]

Having thanked our Greek hosts for their civilities, we took our leave of them early on the 3rd October and rode across the Isthmus to the opposite Gulf where our boat was. The Master of her a Turk and two Greek sailors, were unwilling to set sail as the wind was contrary and it appeared likely to rain. We did not augur much good from this tardiness and apprehension. At length however, by dint of reasoning and menacing to return to Corinth and there wait for a Passport, we prevailed upon them to depart. In less than an hour the wind freshening and rain coming on, they bore up for a little retired Bay - where we lay near four hours with an awning stretched over the boat, it raining hard all the time - the wind which had been contrary

hitherto, veered about to the N.W. and the sky soon promised us a fine afternoon and a good passage - but the Turk was immoveable, was determined not to stir till he himself thought proper: in vain we urged the wind being fair and the sky clear - that the sea being quite smooth, no apprehensions of danger could be entertained for the boat, finding our solicitations of no effect, we threatened him with the displeasure of the Governor of Athens - this however did not succeed better than the other. At length thinking it was probable that we should remain there all night we insisted upon being set ashore - and conducted to a village they had mentioned to us as distant about a quarter of an hours walk - before we arrived there it proved a full hour and we were thoroughly wet, as it rained the whole time. Our Greek servant made known to the Inhabitants our wish of having a room and a fire, but they were in such a consternation at our dress/ never having seen anything of the kind before/ that they begged we would not stay. Upon repeated assurances on our part, that we had no evil intentions, we were permitted to enter a miserable cottage and the whole village followed us with fear and astonishment. In the interim our Turk having considered of the matter, came along the shore opposite to the village and we embarked with a favourable breeze. Unfortunately about sun set it died away and we had a comfortable prospect of

passing the night, wet as we were, in an open Boat where we had not sufficient space to lie down. What little room there was being occupied with skins of stinking oil and other merchandize, a circumstance that gave us some uneasiness in respect to the chance of their being infected. About 3 o'clock in the morning we came to the port of Megara, and on sunrise quitted the Boat with the hopes of being able to procure Horses at Megara to convey us to Athens. Not finding any we were obliged after the loss of 2 hours to return to the port and embark again on board the Turk's boat, here we had fresh difficulties to encounter and our boatmen were resolved to make us wait their pleasure and we should have been forced to yield had not a Greek boat offered to convey us; Instead of setting sail we were obliged to row there not being any wind, but as the day promised to be fine we were less impatient. We had now entered the famous Streight of Salamis where the Persians received so signal a defeat by the Grecian fleet under the command of Thermistocles.

[Quotation from Pausanias]

We were obliged to row almost the whole of this narrow passage, till at last a breeze sprang directly ahead and so strong that we could no longer

proceed with our oars, after 4 or 5 hours spent in this manner and in sight of the entrance of the Piraeus, from whence we were distant about a mile, the wind suddenly freshened to such a degree that our timid boatmen alarmed immediately bore up/ notwithstanding all our entreaties/ for a small desert Island that lies before Salamis, and came to anchor in a little cove. Here we had again the comfortable Idea of passing another night in the same disagreeable manner, but circumstances combined together to render it still more intolerable. We were within sight of our port and not more than a mile distant from our vessel. We expected a violent thunderstorm every moment, and to crown the whole had nothing to eat but dry bread and a few hard Eggs for the last two days, ever since we had entered upon this happy expedition. As we expected, it rained hard the whole night, there was however no other remedy than patience and the hopes of a calm the next morning - In this wish we succeeded and arrived on board soon after sunrise on the 5th of October.

As the wind was fair to sail out of the Piraeus we dropped down that same morning to a small harbour called Poro, situated before Aegina and adjoining to the Peloponnese - Its ancient name I am ignorant of, but should suppose it too small ever to have been of any consequence. Here we remained 2 days

and on the third morning set sail, though the wind was by no means fair, the reason of this precipitate departure we were not made acquainted with till some time after. Our Captain contenting himself with saying that he was in hopes of being able to make either the Island of Kea Thermia or Paros and we on our part were perfectly satisfied to make the experiment. After however a stormy night and the wind continuing to blow with great violence from the N. we found the next morning that the only port we could make was Milo, accordingly we were obliged to bear away for that place and on the 8th before dinner, we cast Anchor in the Bay, for the third time. We found here an armed french Brig and 11 or 12 other Vessels of different nations, all of whom had been driven in by distress of weather. The Wind however soon moderating we all weighed Anchor late at night on the 10th and the next morning found ourselves clear of the harbour. The Captains of the Merchantmen, alarmed at the report of a number of Pyratrical Boats, had requested the Commander of the french armed Vessel to convey them to Smyrna, and our Captain was very urgent with us to profit of the same protection. These Banditi are outlaws from the Morea Albania, who associating together to the number of Thirty or forty - equip a Boat and rove about the seas endeavouring to surprise any Vessel that they find off their Guard, if they succeed, they murder the crew, take out which valuables they

please and sink the rest together with the Ship, but as they are armed only with Sabres and pistols, a Vessel with Cannon provided they are watchful has nothing to fear from them - After beating about for three days, we cast anchor in the harbour of Kea, the same day we heard the report of several Guns, and a fisherman who came into the port in the evening brought us word that the armed Brig had been in chace of one of the above described Boats, but that the wind dying away she had not been able to come up with her and during the chace had fired several Guns. As these Pyrates were on the coast, we kept a good look out that night - and the next morning a Venetian Frigate of 36 Guns coming into the harbour relieved us from all apprehensions.

Nothing was worth visiting and a fair breeze we set sail for Smyrna.

DOCUMENT 5

This document consists of manuscript letters of Randle Wilbraham to his mother, covering the period 1794 to 1797, held at the Cheshire Record Office, Chester, Ref. DBW/N/E/D, describing his journey from Vienna to Constantinople, Cyprus, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt, returning through Greece. During part of this journey he accompanied John Hawkins, see Document 3.

Randle Wilbraham was Deputy Arch-Master of the Society of Dilettanti in 1787.

A sample of one of his letters is included. The transcript has been checked.

I find by Mr. Morris's circular letter that either of the letters are his and I think it would be as well to address all my letters to them by the letters of credit & by this means there will be less to be concerned with.

37th

At sea off the island of Lesbos
April 27th 1847

My dearest Madam,

In my last letter dated the 5th of this month I expressed my intention of quitting Constantinople as soon as good weather would permit. Accordingly on the morning of the 12th we weighed anchor & set sail for the Dardanelles where we arrived the next day. Although sorry to leave Toke (whom by the bye I hope we shall see one day in England, as I have spared no pains to recommend to her that plan) yet my companion Mr. Hawkins & myself were delighted to adieu to a life of idleness, which we had both led for some time. I rejoiced at finding ourselves fairly embarked in a new and both interesting & amusing voyage. The only event which marred our first day's sail was, that our vessel ran aground & threw in pieces an unfortunate Oyster boat which came on our way. We picked up the crew as well as we could, and gave them what assistance we could; as for the oysters, they returned to their native element & (if they have any gratitude) no doubt drank each a bumper of salt water to the health of their deliverers. From Kium Kade a Fort on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont we began our tour of the plain of Troy which we had very completely employed us 6 days in the course of which we had time to examine every part of it worth visiting & some of the most celebrated by any particular circumstance during

Extracts of letters of RANDLE WILBRAHAM to his mother, 1794 - 1797, held at the Cheshire Record Office, Chester.

Aleppo, March 31st, 1795.

[Irrelevant material]

..... On Saturday evening the 28th of February we set sail from Smyrna and cleared the gulph, but the wind then proving contrary we were obliged to put into the bay of Foglari, a name corrupted from Phocaea as it is still called by the Greeks. This is not the ancient Phocaea, so famous in Grecian history (and the mother country of Marseilles) which is situated opposite Mitylene, and of which there are scarcely any vestiges. On Tuesday March 3rd we weigh'd anchor and in the evening cast anchor amongst the Spalmadores small uninhabited island at the mouth of Sciothas, where we staid untill the morning. With English Sailors we might easily have continued our course but our crew being very fearfull and ignorant of navigation voted it stormy

and put into Scio Harbour. This I was sorry for having before seen the little there is deserving of attention. March 6th about noon we put to sea and passed the next morning by Staneho formerly Cos where we did not stop. The island is considerable and apparently fruitfull and the town makes a respectable figure. This being the 7th of March, Dear Bootle's birthday, the same was kept in due form and his good health was drunk with the greatest sincerity. In the evening we passed by Rhodes, not however near enough to see the town, the fortifications of which are said to be strong. The inhabitants of this island and especially the Christians are greatly oppressed by the Pachas or Governors. This is sometimes a place of exile for disgraced Vizirs and Pachas, and it was here that Kırım Ghervy the Khan of the Crimea was strangled in 86 or 87. On Monday the 9th we arrived at Larnica the principal port of the island of Cyprus for which we were bound. Upon the whole we had great reason to be satisfied with the quickness of our passage from Smyrna, having perform'd our voyage in rather less than 9 days. We stay'd at Larnica 4 or 5 days, waiting an opportunity of crossing over to Syria, during which time we received great civilities from the different Consuls and inhabitants of the place. Cyprus when under the Venetian government was in a flourishing state and contained as we were here inform'd above 200,000 inhabitants carrying on a

great trade in silk, wine, salt and cotton, which last is of the best quality. Since the conquest of the island by the Turks the appearance of things is changed and the country bears evident marks of poverty and misery. Numbers of the inhabitants have at different times emigrated, unable to support the oppressions exercised by the conquerors, nor are there enough to till the ground, in consequence of this all the low grounds round Larnica are covered with stagnant waters which in summer produce dangerous fevers. The Kharrach/or tribute paid by Khan subjects/ which still remains at the same sum as formerly, presses very hard upon those who continue in Cyprus and who amount to scarcely more than one quarter of the original number, so that many of the Greeks are tempted by the prospect of an exemption from this tax, and from other vexations to renounce their religion and embrace that of Mahomet.....

Beirut, June 1st, 1796

.....I have been under the necessity of giving Bootle several commissions for people of this country to whom I have been under obligations but who were too great to receive any pecuniary recompense. This is a great bore, for example, you lodge in the house of an Oriental for some days, he

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would be affronted were you to offer him money but makes no scruple of desiring (gifts) from England double in value to what you purposed giving him (in money).....From Athens I shall have no more difficulties to encounter as in this season the wind is always favourable for Italy.

Naxos, August 1st, 1796

.....I mentioned that I was waiting the arrival of my servant and baggage from Aleppo after which I should sail towards the Archipelago in a Ragusean Vessel, with the Captain of which I had made an agreement. Accordingly I waited till the 7th when upon the appearance of a ship from Alexandria, which amongst other Egyptian merchandise was suspected to contain the plague, my Captain very naturally took the alarm and set sail the same night for Cyprus which we reach'd after a tedious passage of 5 days. Here we stopt, merely to take in provisions and water for the voyage and during this time I settled with the British Agent a plan for the safe conveyance of my servant from Aleppo to Cyprus and from thence to Leghorn the only port on the Western Coast of Italy which has much connection with the Levant and from whence he will easily transport himself to Naples or wherever else I may direct. On the 14th we weigh'd anchor and continued our voyage

which proved uncommonly long and disagreeable for the wind blowing hard from the North West we could not proceed straight forwards but were obliged to tack towards the coast of Barbary (which at one time we were within 50 miles) and then back again to Caramania. Accordingly we advanced very slowly and at the end of a fortnight had made scarcely 100 leagues. To add to the pleasure of this trip our stock of water began to fail for we had on board between 40 and 50 people, Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics, nor did the Captain dare to send his boat on shore the coast of Caramania being inhabited by a savage race of people amongst whom moreover it was said that the plague was then raging. In this situation we remained several days at short allowance when fortunately we fell in with 2 Turkish Frigates who supplied us with water. At length on the 5th of July we passed Rhodes (where the plague has destroy'd 4000 people this year) and on the tenth arrived at Staneho which island fortunately for me not being infected I landed there after a passage of 34 days from Beirut which were more disagreeable and of course seemed to me longer than the 32 days we passed in the Desert, such is my aversion to the Sea. Staneho contains little or nothing worthy of remark excepting a plane tree of an astonishing age and size, the trunk is of such thickness that it would require 4 men to grasp the circumference and the branches which extend very far

on every side are supported by pillars of stone. Almost immediately upon landing I hired a boat to convey me here and set sail on the next morning. In this last expedition my ill luck still accompanied me, for although the distance between the 2 islands is inconsiderable, nevertheless, thanks to the contrary wind, I remained 9 days in the passage and during that time was frequently well washed, the sea being very rough and my boat very small. On Tuesday the 19th of July, my boatmen finding [it impossible] to make the Port of Naxos (which is exposed to the N.W.) landed me on the Eastern part of the island, where having hired 2 fourlegg'd animals for self and baggage and one twolegg'd one to show me the way, I passed along an execrable road amongst high mountains and after an 8 hours ride having crossed the whole island, arrived here, where I have taken up my quarters at a Convent of Capuchins of whom there is only one here at present and he one of the pleasantist and best men I have met with for a long time. I availed myself of the first opportunity to visit the famous Grotto of Antiparos, which is really well worth seeing, the entrance resembles very much that of the Peak in Derbyshire, the descent was extremely dirty and rather difficult especially to me encumbered with the Turkish dress. At the bottom is a large Cavern full of Petrifications as white as Alabaster and form'd into curious shapes, these have a singular

and pleasing effect when the Cavern is well illuminated with torches. I am now detain'd here by the North West Wind which prevents me from passing to Athens, but hope to be released having engaged a boat and being ready to set off at an hours warning. From Athens on from Patras I shall probably sail either to Malta, Sicily or Italy, but which of the three I know not as that will depend upon circumstances.....

Constantinople, November 21st, 1796.

My dearest Madam, By the last Courier I wrote you a few lines in order to quiet all apprehensions you might have respecting my health. I am now happy to be able to confirm the good account I then gave you of my recovery, which is nearly completed, the only things wanting at present are some additional strength, which will come by exercise and some additional flesh, which will come by the help of mutton, potatoes etc. and country air, which we should have enjoy'd sometime ago had not Mr. Tooke been detained by business here. As you often wish me to write about myself, I will (after giving you some account of my journey from Athens) give you also an account of the progress of my illness, this I shall do because there have been some curious circumstances attending in which will I trust prevent the history from boring you. I arrived at Athens about the end of August having visited in the way Mycone and Tino at the former of which I was detained 10 days by contrary winds. At Athens I received a very large packet of letters which by the bye I acknowledged from Salonica. Finding here that the state of affairs in Italy, where the French were then successfull, would not allow me to execute my proposed plan, I resolved to follow the advice of Mr. Tooke and return to Constantinople as he press'd me much to do. Accordingly after having well

examin'd the beautiful antiquities of Athens and the most remarkable places in the neighbourhood, (as Marathon, Eleusis, Corinths etc.) I took my departure for Salonica with a very worthy French emigrant whom I had known before at Smyrna, and whom I invited to accompany me. Heaven surely inspired me with this notion for, as you will find afterwards, without him I never should have reach'd this place alive. We had a very pleasant journey together as far as Salonica passing by Livadia where is the famous Grotto of Trophonius and the water of Lethe. We entered Thessaly by the Straits of Thermopylae where 300 Spartans stopp'd the progress of the Persians and rode by Moonlight along the celebrated Valley of Tempe, which is in many parts as romantic a scene as a beautiful assemblage of wood, water and rocks can form, indeed all Thessaly is fine country and my companion being a good tempered and well inform'd man nothing was wanting to complete the pleasure of our trip. After staying a very few days at Salonica we continued our route towards Constantinople purposing to visit the Plain of Troy. This was intended to have been a party of pleasure, it however turned out very differently. On the 4th day we arrived at Cavale a small sea port where we took a boat purposing to cross to the Dardanelles and to land in the way upon the island of Thasos where there are some remains of antiquity and especially many ancient sepulchres and a wall of

the finest white marble, which seems to have belonged to some great city. Here I fell ill, attempted at first to drive away my indisposition by exercise, my sovereign recipy, accordingly I took a walk of 3 or 4 hours amongst the mountains, this however was so far from having the desired effect that at my return I could neither eat nor sleep, 2 bad symptoms for me, who have in general a very knack at both of those operations and whose only complaint during the whole tour had been (to use Bootle's expression)" an emptiness before dinner and a fullness after." We remained at Thasos about 24 hours for fear of the equinox storms which threatened us, as it was then the 21st of Septr. Instead of ...- in 24 hours more, we were detained by contrary weather either at sea or upon almost desert islands (as Imbros and Samothrace) nearly a week. during which time I lay at the bottom of an open boat, exposed to the wind and rain, burning with a violent fever, and neither able to eat nor to help myself. Had I not had the constitution of an horse, I could not have withstood what I then suffered, nor would ever the strength of my constitution have sufficed had it not been for the extreme care and attention of my kind companion, who exerted himself to the utmost in order to render everything as little uncomfortable as possible. On the 26th or 27th, we reach'd the Dardanelles but finding there no effectual assistance were obliged

to proceed to Constantinople. In this voyage my ill fate again pursued me. When the weather is good it may be perform'd in 36 or at most 48 hours, by hiring a rowboat with 8 or 10 men, this is expensive but expeditious. My companion accordingly engaged one, but rain and bad weather succeeding we remain'd 5 days in our boat, excepting one when the storm becoming violent they landed us at a miserable kind of village where we pass'd the night in a wretch'd Turkish coffee house. On Monday Octr. 3rd we arrived here at 1 o'clock in the morning and having procured men, lanthorns and a machine like a bier to put me on (for there are neither coaches nor chairs) we march'd in --- to the house of Mr. Tooke who receiv'd me with the greatest kindness, and indeed seemed more afflicted at my illness than I was myself. He took wonderfull care of me and you will see in the sequel that it is to him and him only that I am indebted for my life and quick recovery. I recollect nothing that pass'd for several days after my arrival, excepting that the night that my fever increased and I became delirious. I then dreamt horrible things such as, that I was attacked by robbers, taken as a slave and suchlike. Once I had a dream which affected my spirits and made me quite melancholy for some time. It was this, I thought that after a long absence I was return'd to England, and called at your house. You however sent me word that you were busy and could not see me.

From thence I went to Bootle's where I was received with a great deal of formality, this so mortified me that I declared I would not put my foot in either of your houses again. This idea occupied me while I had any sense remaining, which was not very long, for on the 11th at night I was stretched out with my eyes fixed and my mouth shut fast, in short I had every symptom of a person who is at the point of death. My hands and feet were cold and I was perfectly senseless. The 2 Physicians and the Surgeon who attended me and who had been quarelling and disagreeing in opinion ever since the beginning of my illness, united for once in giving me over and asserted that it was not probable that I should live until the morning. Tooke had recommended James's Powder to them which they had rejected, as ignorant of its composition. However when he found that I was left there to dye he wisely thought that every thing was to be attempted and accordingly gave me 1/2 a dose of medicine which had the desired effect and so far reliev'd me in the course of the night that when my Doctors arrived in the morning they found instead of the corpse they left the evening before, a person sitting up in bed and talking to somebody or other. Upon this they began to exclaim "Miracolo" and immediately ascribed it to something of his own ordering. However Tooke soon undeceiv'd them all by stating the case, and the best of the Physicians has proved the most candid by owning

since to me and others that Tooke really sav'd my life.[torn]..... I have at last been fortunate enough to assemble here all my baggage which I left at different places and also my servant who had a most tedious journey from Basra with the Great Caravan remaining in the desert 106 days, so that I began to be very anxious about him...[family messages]....

At sea off the island of Imbros, April 27th 1797.

My dearest Madam, In my last letter dated the 8th of this month I expressed my intention of quitting Constantinople as soon as wind and weather would permit. Accordingly on the morning of the 12th we weigh'd anchor and set sail for the Dardanelles where we arrived the next day. Although sorry to leave Tooke (whom by the bye, I hope we shall see ere long in England, as I have spared no pains to recommending to him that plan) yet my companion Mr. Hawkins and myself were delighted at bidding adieu to a life of idleness, which we had both led for some time, and rejoiced at finding ourselves fairly embarked in a tour likely to prove both interesting and amusing. The only event worth recording on our first day's sail was that our Vessel ran down and shivered in pieces an unfortunate Oyster boat which came in the way. We picked up the crew as well as

we could, and gave them what assistance we could, as for the oysters, they returned to their native element and (if they have any gratitude) no doubt drank each a bumper of salt water to the health of their deliverers. From Koumkale a Fortress on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont, we began our tour of the plain of Troy which we made very completely; it employed us 6 days in the course of which we had time to visit and examine every part of it worth visiting and examining, that is, celebrated by any particular circumstance during the Trojan war, an event of the Truth of which I am myself fully persuaded altho' as you have very justly observ'd some have thought proper to doubt of it. This I do not wonder at, as Scepticism seems to be the Order of the Day and many hope by it to show their wit and ingenuity without much trouble to themselves as it is always easier to doubt than to prove, especially when the fact in dispute is of such high antiquity as the siege of Troy, since which a period of more than three thousand years has elapsed. One circumstance which in my opinion affords very strong presumptive proof of its reality is that Homer has specified with considerable accuracy many points respecting the situation of the city and that of the Plain. Whether he ever was there is not my business to determine, if not, he must have procured very exact information respecting the spot, a trouble, I should conceive, perfectly needless had the whole

history been merely a fable of his own invention, calculated for the purpose of amusing the public. I do not however wish by stating my sentiments to bias any body nor to prevent any body or Gentleman, who may like to doubt, from doubting still, on the contrary I shall be very happy to contribute to their amusement by pointing out other passages in the Grecian History relating to events much more improbable than that in question. Having finished this pleasant expedition we return'd to our Vessel and sail'd to Tenedos which is one of the most unpicturesque places I ever had the pleasure of seeing, being bare of trees and verdure and abounding in stony mountains, from one of which however we had an extensive view of the whole island and of the opposite coast of Asia. The Greek who officiated as our Cicerone offered at last to show us what he term'd "the Gardens", this having a rural sound we accepted his offer with pleasure, and rode to a considerable distance through bad roads comforting ourselves with the hopes of arriving at last a spot like the Elysian fields at least, when to our great disappointment he conducted us to a small inclosure full of weeds with a dirty fountain and three trees which he shew'd to us with great exultation, and well he might by the bye for I believe it was the only clump in the whole island. Three days ago we left Tenedos but have not been able to advance as we wish'd having been compelled

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to take shelter under the S.W. coast of Imbros from a very violent North Wind which however subsided this morning and we are now proceeding as well as we can towards the island of Samothrace and Thasos, at both of which we purpose touching in our way to Mt. Athos. [torn]..... I have been fortunate in meeting with an agreeable and sensible companion. We have both been fortunate in meeting with a comfortable Vessel which we have entirely at our disposal and hire ... the month. We have all our comforts with us and I ... (very differently from my custom in my first tour) sleep always between sheets, upon a thick mattrass, which I begin to find rather a better plan, than lying in the open air, upon the ground and in my cloaths as formerly; Neptune seems no longer to have any spite against me, the sea air agrees with me perfectly and the only thing I have to complain of is that which, if I recollect right, tormented Bootle and Parkinson so much during their tour viz a strange emptiness before breakfast and dinner...[family messages]....

Volo, May 18th 1797

My dearest Madam, You have I hope received my 37th letter dated the 27th of the last month from sea near the island of Imbros. We were then in our way to Samothrace where we intended to touch, the spot

having been little frequented by Travellers.

Unfortunately however an hard gale of wind which sprung up the next day prevented our design and drove us by the island (which has no harbour) to Thasos. This place which I had visited before about 8 months ago and where by the bye my illness began, is one of the most beautiful and romantic scenes imagineable and appeared to great advantage in this season, the Sun having as yet had no effect upon the verdure, which usually disappears here before the end of June; in Syria and Palestine much earlier. Thasos was formerly celebrated for its mines and quarries neither of which are work'd at present, nor would the inhabitants give us precise information of their situation, apprehensive probably that we were sent by the Porte to survey them and might encourage the Sultan to open them again in which case the ruin of the poor Christians (who are now much oppressed) would be soon completed. On the 2nd of May we crossed to Cavala from whence we rode to Philippo, here are but few ruins and those few in a bad taste, [state?] the plain is memorable as being the field of battle in which Octavius ... and M. Antony defeated Brutus and Cassius. From Cavala I sent my letters to be forwarded by way of Salonica to England. We then continued our course Westward coasting the gulph of Contessa (as it is put down in the Venetian Maps) and on the 9th arrived at the isthmus which joins the Peninsula of Mt. Athos to

the Continent. This Peninsula is the most singular spot in all the Ottoman empire with respect to its position and its government, in both of which but chiefly the latter it bears a strong resemblance to Mt. Lebanon as Mount Athos is peopled almost entirely by monks belonging to 24 Convents who purchase pretty dearly the privilege of governing this small tract of land, where they enjoy peace and repose, excepting indeed when occasionally visited by pirates which abound in that part of the Archipelago. Altho' I had heard much of the beauty of the country, it exceeded even my expectations, nor is there any part of the Levant, which I have seen, more picturesque and delightfull than this if equally so, it is very mountainous abounding in water and wood presenting sometimes the appearance of a wild forest but more frequently that of a shrubbery but such a shrubbery as would puzzle Mr. Keston to plan, notwithstanding that I regard him as a man of great taste. Unluckily for travellers there is only one harbour in the whole peninsula where Vessels of any size can anchor. This is on the N.E. side opposite a large Convent called Vatopedi. Here to our great joy we met Mr. Hope with whom we had been living very pleasantly at Constantinople and who at our departure had agreed to meet us at another part of Mr. Athos. From him we learnt divers pieces of news and amongst others the beating we had given the Spanish Fleet. Two

days passed away quickly and agreeably, we all continued our tour round the peninsula, landing in our boats at the places which we wish'd to see and purposed to ascend to the summit of the mountain [torn]... course of our expedition. But see how vain are all [torn]... when fate opposes! This is a little moral reflection *a la Turque*, applicable to our case, for on the 3rd day we landed to see a [torn]... called Ivvi and to take a beautiful ride to a neighbouring village. At our departure the weather was calm and our ships kept under [torn]... but at our return we found that a violent swell occasion'd by the south wind had driven them about 10 or 12 miles out to sea; in about 3 hours we reach'd them (having risk'd by the bye to be run down) and as the weather appeared threatening we agreed instead of dining together to retire to our respective vessels; very luckily; for at night an hard gale sprung up and drove us very far eastward to near Lemnos then the wind chang'd we parted company with Hope's ship of which we have neither seen nor heard since, but which being larger than ours probably, as our Captain supposes, was able to reach Lemnos. We however were driven back to the south of the gulph of Salonica. Finding ourselves thrown at so great a distance from our object and seeing the impracticability of a return to it with the present weather we submitted like heroes to the disappointment and pursued our plan which was to

come to Volo. We shall establish our Headquarters here for some days leaving our heavy troops behind and shall make some incursions into the country with the light Horse. I will not tell you exactly where we are going for fear of another disappointment in this plan as in our last.....

June 14th, 1797

I write to you now, my dearest Madam, from sea between the island of Euboea and the continent of Greece. We return'd the day before yesterday to our Vessel after an expedition in Thessaly, of which I gave you notice in my 38th dated Volo May the 18th. From Volo we began our tour by traversing the whole plain of Thessaly from S. to North. We avoided Larissa on account of the plague which raged there and proceeded strait to a place called Ambelakki situated on the side of Mt. Ossa within sight of the Vale of Tempe, which I was glad to visit again having only past it *en courier* last autumn. Ambelakki within the memory of many residing there was a poor and inconsiderable village upon the same footing as most of those inhabited by the Greeks. About 30 or 40 years ago the inhabitants who have the true Greek spirit of enterprise taking advantage of their situation and especially of a course of water favorable to their purpose, establish'd a

dyery of red yarn which flourishes in an extraordinary manner, notwithstanding the oppression of the Turks. This Yarn forms a very considerable article of commerce with Germany, the Ambelakkiotes have commercial houses at Vienna, Prague, Leipsig, and several other parts of Bohemia, Moravia and Saxony, where they reside some years in turns and then retire to their native country. In consequence of this we had a society perfectly German during our stay which lasted 5 days, the mornings being employed in Tempe of which my companion Hawkins took several drawings. The Pass of Tempe is very much in the same stile as Dovedale in Derbyshire but upon a much grander and more magnificent scale. The Mountains Olympus and Ossa are immensely high and rugged, bearing every appearance of having been formerly separated by an earthquake according to the idea entertain'd by the ancients. The river Peneus which runs between them is rather wide and winds in some parts very picturesquely, its banks are well wooded and numerous Plane trees add much to the beauty of the scene, which is not to be exceeded by anything I have seen in the Levant and to be equalled only by few. The whole length of the Pass is about 1 hour or 3 miles. On Sunday we took leave of our friends at Ambelakki who had behaved with great politeness to us and especially the good Bishop who had insisted upon our lodging at his house. We proceeded to Kisserli a Turkish village

at the foot of Ossa show'd our Firman or Passport, and desired guards to mount to the summit with us. The Agha, a very good sort of man but timid, like most of the Turkish nation, alledg'd danger but finding we had made up our minds at last made up his, and gave us men to a village high up from whence we were to take an additional escort if necessary. Accordingly we proceeded to the very top of the mountain which terminates in a point and commands a very extensive view. We rose long before day light purposing to arrive by Sunrise but were prevented by the length and badness of the road which was not to be attempted in the dark. We had with us about 10 arm'd men of whom however we had no occasion to make use as we met with no alarm of any kind. The morning was rather hazy which prevented us from enjoying the prospect so much as we otherwise should have done. We had the whole plain of Thessaly under our feet as in a map, and to the East saw as far as Mt. Athos. Descending from the mountain we found about half way down, another detachment from the village, who had been amusing themselves (according to our directions) with roasting lambs and preparing divers things for which the sharp air of the mountain had given us an excellent appetite, so that our *Fete Champetre* pass'd off extremely well. Mt. Ossa has not much to recommend it, it abounds neither in sources nor trees the chief of which are pines, its scenery is

more in the grand and terrible, than in the pleasing stile. We return'd to Kisserli thank'd the Agha and gave him an account of our expedition. By the bye here I must not omit to inform you of the opinion which all the Oriental nations have of us, it is as follows, that we do not travel (as we profess) some for curiosity, others to make observations of different kinds and so forth, but that the object of us all in visiting the East is to find treasures, which we have even the power (according to their idea) to conjure out of stones. This notion as you will immediately perceive takes its rise from the anxiety with which travellers enquire after ancient buildings, it has however occasionally produced a bad effect, for the inhabitants have been known in more than one instance to break and destroy columns in hopes of finding gold in the inside. The ignorance, credulity and avarice of the Eastern Nation, are inconcievable to those who have had no intercourse with them, and disgusting to those who have, this I speak from experience of the Turks, Arabs, Greeks, Persians and Armenians, who if not equal in ignorance and credulity are certainly upon a footing with respect to their avarice or rather rapacity. From Kisserli we cross'd the Plain of Thessaly S.W. to Fersala formerly Pharsalia, near which the famous battle was fought between Caesar and Pompey. We staid 3 days here and in the environs endeavouring to find out some traces of

fortifications or entrenchments whereby to ascertain with precision the field of battle. Our researches were not crown'd with success notwithstanding the pains we took. My companion however made an exact plan of the country which may enable us to accomplish this point more at our leisure and with the assistance of more books than it is possible to lug about with us on a tour in this country, where the use of carriages is as yet unknown and the only methods of travelling are on Camel, horse, Mule or ass back. The Mountains of Thessaly are much infested by robbers as well Christians as Turks who unite in gang, take possession of some pass, and lay the neighbouring country under contribution attacking the villages and making prisoners of all such travellers who are imprudent enough to expose themselves in dangerous places without an escort. Their method of treating the prisoners they take is, as you will allow, more singular than agreeable to those upon whom the experiment is tried. When they seize any body whom they know or suspect to be rich, they oblige him to write to his friends for a certain sum as his ransom, if his friends refuse or demurr, they send a 2nd letter with increased demands, inclosing also the prisoner's ear or more according to their fancy. If the ransom comes, well and good, if not, the unfortunate man soon falls a victim to the cruelty these scoundrels composed of rebels, outlaws, the outcasts of society. I have

often lamented and I believe remark'd to you the wretched state of the Kayaks or Christian subjects, in Asia and in the Asiatic parts of the Ottoman empire subject to the insolence and barbarity of their haughty and rapacious Masters but never in the course of my tour do I think to have seen more [torn]... than in part of Thessaly where the Christians experience a plague worse than the oppression of the Turks or the attacks of the robbers, this is the Protection of the Albanians who under pretence of guarding and defending the [torn] ... more intolerable and committ greater extortions [torn]... who themselves are afraid of them, the state of government or rather of Anarchy in Turk [torn]... The Greeks are longing for an opportunity of [torn]... by the expulsion of their tyrants and wait for the [torn]... of the Russians north as much impatience as they [torn]... for that of their Messiah. On the 6th of June we returned to Volo but set off the next morning for Zagora situated on the Eastern side of Mr. Pelion, which itself is [torn]... of Volo. Zagora is a very flourishing village abounding in silk by which it has enrich'd itself as also by a manufactory of stuff used in this country and in Italy for great coats. We met there with great civility from the Arkhontes or chiefs many of whom have travelled not indeed to Europe but to Egypt so that Arabic was spoken here by a great many as German at Ambelakki. The

situation of Zagora is remarkably romantic and Picturesque as indeed are many other parts of Mt. Pelion which abounds in springs of the finest water and in various kinds of trees, especially plane trees, chesnuts, and Beech with which latter the mountain is covered almost to the very summit where we ascended; the view tho' perhaps not so extensive was in my opinion much pleasanter than that from Mt. Ossa. Pelion contains 24 Christian villages chiefly large, most of which by the nature of these tenure are dependant immediately upon Constantinople and more liable to the extortions of petty governors, at least, not in so great a degree as the generality. Of Turks there are few or none upon the mountain, and the Greeks enjoy a greater share of personal freedom than in almost any other part of the Empire being upon the same footing with the inhabitants of Mt. Athos and some few more places which have obtained particular privileges, either by force of arms or of all powerfull Money. On Sunday 11th we return'd to our Ship after an absence of 3 weeks during part of which the heat was violent in the plain which however was refresh'd on the 3rd of June by a hard day's rain, which cooled the air very much. Our residence upon the mountain was very agreeable especially at Zagora where we were as cool at night as if we had been in England, but without any dew. This little tour has done me a great deal of good. I felt myself as capable of bearing either

heat or cold as I was before my illness, which circumstance gave me much pleasure tho' I did not presume upon it, but was very cautious in every aspect. I shall write to you again from Zante where I hope to arrive in 10 days or a fortnight at furthest. At Zante I shall regulate myself according to circumstances respecting my future plans. In the mean time Adieu. With kindest love to all I remain my Dearest Madam, Yr. Dutiful and Affectionate Son, R. Wilbraham.

Livadia June 16th. We arrived here last night. I was disappointed at not finding letters from Constantinople which I had reason to expect were waiting for me, as Tooke had promised to write to this place. Tomorrow or the day after I shall proceed to Patras and Zante, though sorry to quit my companion (who returns to his Vessel and will remain for some months longer in the Archipelago). I am heartily glad to quit this part of the world and return to Christendom after an absence of very near 3 years, for it was in the end of June or beginning of July 9th that I entered the Ottoman dominions, since which time I have been, as it were, running wild.

Zante, June 30th, 1797

I wrote to you last, my dearest Madam, from sea on the 14th of this month. We landed on the following day at a village called Talanda (a name corrupted from Atalanta) I proceeded on horseback to Livadia, where as you may recollect I passed a day or 2 last Autumn in my way from Athens to Constantinople. From hence I sent my letters to London by Salonica. I hope you will ere this have received yours. At Livadia Mr. Hawkins and I dissolv'd partnership after a pleasant tour of 2 months together, he had been so kind as to put himself considerably out of his way in order to accompany me there. We quitted each other with regret but not without hopes of meeting in a few months at Rome or Naples. I have been very fortunate in having such a companion. From Livadia I visited Delphos to consult the Oracle respecting my future plans, and to drink the water of the Castalian Fountain which by the bye tho' very cold and refreshing did not, I own, inspire me with a single poetic idea. Delphos is at the foot of Mt. Parnassus (which is here divided into 2 heads) in a wonderfully romantic situation, owing on one side to the vast heights and cragginess of the rocks; on the other to the beauty and fertility of the plain of Salona, the chief part of which is covered with olive trees, the Oil of this place is esteem'd the best in the Levant. I staid a night at the Village of Crissa in the house of the Bishop a well inform'd and polite man apparently as free from the

prejudices of his religion as any Greek I ever met with. At the Port of Salona I took a Vessel to convey me to Patras but the West Wind which in this season prevails in the Gulph of Corinth prevented me from advancing as I could have wish'd. I landed therefore at Vostitza upon the coast of the Morea and called upon the Weywode to desire his assistance in procuring horses and to enquire into the state of the road which is sometimes unsafe. During my visit we felt the shock of an earthquake, tho' rather slight. Earthquakes are not unfrequent in the Morea and this island is much subject to them. The Coast of Achaia from Vostitza to Patras is in general extremely picturesque and romantic, the road runs at the foot of the mountains frequently upon the seashore and must be rendered impassable in winter by the torrents which rush from the interior of the country with great impetuosity as far as may be judged from the marks they leave behind them. Patras is like other Turkish towns, dirty and stinking, the air remarkably unwholesome so that I made no stay but took the first opportunity of hiring a boat for this place, which I reached on Monday last. You can better conceive that I can express my satisfaction in quitting the Turkish Dominions and returning to Xtendom, I now begin to feel myself as near England and every step which brings me still nearer will give me additional pleasure. The rest of my tour will probably be

attended with little trouble or difficulty, at all events I am perfectly well able to undertake it, being at present in good health and excellent spirits, well taken care of here in the house of our Consul, Mr. Foresti, one of the best men in the world, whose merit is well known and acknowledged by all Englishmen who have passed here Adieu

Zante Thursday July 6th 1797

Although, my dearest Madam, I wrote to you under cover to Bootle, a very few days ago by a Vessel bound from hence to Venice, yet as in the present state of affairs there it may be uncertain whether English letters are suffered to pass freely, I take advantage of an opportunity which offers itself for Trieste in order to inform you of my safe arrival here in perfect health. I will not recapitulate the circumstances of my journey from Livadi, they are little interesting and probably you will receive my letter from Venice, tho' perhaps not so soon as you will this. The chief motive which induces me to write at present is, in order to quiet any apprehensions which you may entertain respecting the state of this island. The French are arrived at

Corfu and have taken possession of the most impregnable fortress there, the Commander made no resistance as the order came to him ostensibly from the new Venetian Government which (it is needless to observe) is considerably under the influence of Buonaparte and Co. The French General has published a Manifesto in which he proclaims 'liberty and equalization' to all the inhabitants of Corfu, Cephalonia and Zante. This is not however gratis, as in return for the aforesaid inestimable gift, he has already claimed the revenues of the Customs in the 3 islands. There are now at Corfu several thousand troops and several Ships of war both French and Venetian. Our Consul Mr. Foresti is resolved to stay there and wait the event, he has written a full account of the whole transaction to Lord Grenville. Our Resident at Venice ran away like a _____ without leaving any instructions for the islands, it is a pity that some of our foreign Ministers disgrace the British nation. The People of Zante who are particularly partial to the English long for the appearance of a British Squadron. I wish it would appear as a few Vessels would be sufficient to secure the tranquillity of these seas and to protect our commerce here which is considerable, as from hence and from the gulph of Corinth are imported into England all the Currants used in that admirable composition, a Plum pudding. We have had for 2 or 3 days past some trifling disturbances here but they

were of very little consequence and soon quelled without bloodshed. All is perfectly quiet and likely to continue so. The People though much averse to the French are rejoiced at their deliverance from the cursed Venetian Oligarchy. I rejoice sincerely with them; it is impossible without being upon the spot, to conceive the abominable corruption of the former government under which the most horrible crimes were committed with impunity by the rich and noble. I have received this morning a letter from the Captain of the Ragusean Vessel which I expect from the gulph of Corinth, he will be here probably in 2 or 3 days and purposes performing his Quarantine at Malta which will be very convenient for me as in that case I can remain on board in harbour and have all my comforts about me. Adieu

At sea between Zante and Messina, August 2nd, 1797

I wrote to you from Zante on the 6th of the last month mentioning that I was in daily expectation of a Ragusean Vessel which was to arrive there from the Gulph of Corinth in order to convey me to Malta, when lo and behold a few days after came a Venetian Frigate having on board a man in the service of the French, who immediately took possession of the island in the name of that nation, arrested the

Consul and sent your humble servant about his business. Upon my arrival at Patras I wrote an account of this business to Bootle who if he has receiv'd the letter will no doubt have communicated the contents to you. At Patras I staid a fortnight, continually flattered with the hopes of meeting with a Vessel bound Westward and as often deceived, at last hearing of 2 Greeks who were to sail the one to Hamburg and the other to Leghorn from Missolongia a town on the coast of Roumeli nearly opposit to Patras, I cross'd there and made my agreement with the Captain of the latter to give me the Cabin and to set me on shore at Messina where I purpose performing Quarantine. Missolongia is singularly situated, the country being flat and low as in Holland, the water is so shallow that Vessels cannot come within 4 or 5 miles of the town by lye out in an open road. The inhabitants subsist chiefly by their Fishery (which yields them a very considerable profit) and are tolerably civilised by occasional voyages to Leghorn, Genoa and other ports in the Mediterranean, sometimes even (but seldom) they venture beyond the straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic. Their knowledge of navigation is so very superficial that I should be very loth to trust myself in their Vessels during the winter; at this season however nothing is to be apprehended, as the weather is generally calm with light N. West breezes. About Missolongia is a considerable plain

back'd by high mountains, the country is but thinly inhabited and the inhabitants retain the character of the ancient Aetolians, they are rough, uncivilized and brutal to the greatest degree. On Saturday evening we weigh'd anchor and sail'd to Zante where the Captain was to receive his Charterparty, he had promised me to continue under sail and to go on shore with the boat, however business detaining him there 2 days we were obliged to cast anchor opposite the town, of which the French had the command, this was no very delightfull circumstance for me who was not I confess without some apprehensions of being sent for and perhaps detained for returning to this place after having been sent away before, I however remained quietly on board and tho' the Captain was question'd about his cargo and passengers no further notice was taken. We set sail on the 31st and hope in 3 or 4 days to reach Messina, from whence I will take the first opportunity of sending this.

Messina Thursday August 20th.

DOCUMENT 6

This document is the draft of a letter written by William John Bankes to Colonel Ross asking him to appraise the British Government of its contents. He reports on a meeting with the Bey of the Maina, which he visited during his extensive travels in Greece in the 1810s. It is but one of a collection of hand-written notes, inscriptions and sketches on small pieces of paper. They are in course of being catalogued among the Bankes papers which have been deposited with the County Record Office at Dorchester, Ref. D/BKL. There is an autograph of Petro Bey Mavromichaelis, and a note of the population and those bearing arms, together with the quantities of oil, raw silk and dyeing materials produced.

William John Bankes was born in 1786. The Bankes family were descended from Sir John Bankes, Chief Justice to Charles I, who purchased the house and lands of Kingston Lacy, Dorset, in 1632, and Corfe Castle in 1635. His elder brother died, and he became heir to the estate. At Trinity College,

Cambridge, he became a good friend to Lord Byron, and they were to correspond for the rest of Byron's life. Bankes was an attractive man who made friends wherever he went. It was he who brought Byron and Hobhouse together when they were at Cambridge. Like his forebears, he entered politics and represented Truro for two years before he embarked upon extensive travels in 1812, after he and Byron had paid unsuccessful court to the same heiress. Bankes began his lifelong acquisition of art in Spain during the Peninsular War, where he conversed with the Duke of Wellington. From there he moved to Greece and Egypt, Syria, Arabia and Italy, collecting many treasures, his love of adventure frequently leading him into dangerous situations.

Several words were indecipherable in his script and these are denoted [...]

A copy of Bankes' handwriting is included. The transcript has been checked.

Draft of a letter from William John Bankes to Colonel Ross, around 1815, held at the Dorset Record Office, Dorchester, under reference D/BKL.

My dear Colonel Ross,

I am going to give you these details respecting Maina which I promised you, especially of my conversation with the Bey himself, who governs the country. There appear to me to be so many points of view under which it may be useful to our government to be appraised by them that you have my full authority for communicating them to Sir Thomas Maitland and putting a copy in his hand if he should desire it. You know that Maina is a district that has never submitted to the Turkish Government upon the same policy as the rest of the Morea, there is not a single Mussulman resident within it, and although a capitation tax is paid (of late years only) it is not to the same amount as in other places. The churches have their Bells. 85 Belfries.

At the same time I need not remind you as it is evident from the very nature of this conversation that it was confidential in the highest degree, that

I want neither [to] have the facts repeated beyond those to whom I feel it a duty to communicate them, nor my name mentioned at all as having given any such information. In communicating this information, thus far I am but acquitting myself of a promise that I made to the Bey himself, should it go further I should not only appear to be acting most dishonourably, but should infallibly be the cause of his being put to death, as most of his predecessors have been. The Bey himself was anxious that our government in the islands [Ionian] should be made aware of his intentions should he come to the [ears] of his own that he had been the man informing them, but was fully sensible that it must cost him his life. I am therefore not betraying a [secret] but acquitting myself of a trust, yet it is with trembling when I consider that a man's life is in my hands.

I am inclined to believe that travellers before me in general have been deterred more by the [...] and exaggerated expectations of danger made to them by the Turks (which in truth it is to keep strangers from communicating with the people [...] or knowing the real state of that province.

When I proposed making that tour myself to the Pasha of the Morea, he not only offered me [...] but opined me that the attempt would probably cost me my life in the very intent, as the Maniotes were a very

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jurisdiction. Whatever might happen to me was upon my own head. My Janissary refused to accompany me, and I believe in this he did right, for I do not suppose that they would have suffered a Turk [...]. But like [...] I rode on and it ended in my making a very complete tour of the whole province, of which I know very little, but that it may concern us one day to know.

Dismissing all his attendants, allowed nobody to remain with us but the Dragoman, who was indispensable, he began by speaking of the internal state of the province, how much he had laboured since the government had been in his hands, and reduce it with order, exacting especially all this strength of his power against the system of feuds and private wars, punishing [...] and violence in its scourge destroying many of the Towers containing men which should [...] and command them. In short, doing all he can to [...] his subjects, as he is well aware that much of the ill blood of generals that have prevailed amongst them are fomented and encouraged by the Turks [...] with a view to weaken the force of the whole body. He is aware of the want of civilization and seems to be much set upon supplying it by the establishment of schools, [...] a difficulty about funds for them, but that the measure appeared to him one of future priority.

He soon quitted these topics of interesting policy to arrive at these which seemed still more unlikely to concern him. Was England contemplating to possess herself of the Morea? She might command every man and every firelock in Maina. He had only to give the word. As it would have been unforgiveable to mislead him with false hopes, I answered curtly to this that I saw no immediate chance of it, that in the case of a venture of Mr. P[...] (of which there appeared to be no great probability), it would be well for them to keep a close eye upon such a [...] which he [...] to them, and to have in mind that if the Englishmen undertook to help them here, he would not at least abandon them, as the Russians had done. He replied that on the other hand he hoped to extend that [...] would see with indifference. An armed population always [...] and serve under, driven out and reduced to nothing almost within sight of our Islands, that he had every reason to believe the Turkish Government were jealous of the neighbourhood of the English, and knowing the temper of the province had at this [...] would upon sending it or ordering it to the same state as the rest of Turkey, so that unless something was done to prevent it in time [...] neighbourhood to them indeed as being their saving might in the cause of their province [...] was not

grounded upon more vague suspicions, he perceived in every thing a systematic design.

First of all, very soon after his appointment the Captain Pasha regained of him his two sons as hostages, and carried them with him to Constantinople (where they are held in a sort of honourable confinement in the house of the [...]), are furnished with the best masters, but so short an undertaking upon them that they are not supposed to quit the house. This method of attack is levelled against his friends. It is only of late years the monies are paid, and the Pasha at the Capitulation [...] a revenue of 17,500 piastares annually, no further demands have now been made until the present years.

There is a District especially - Cape Matapan called L[...] D[...] where there are whole villages of towers. A poor family will spend half its sustenance to erect one of them. It is an edifice of from four to six stories high, entered wither the ground floor by a drawbridge from a flight of steps. The uppermost stories are lighted by windows. This tower on the ground having loops for pushing through or even ascend in the interior made as difficult and perplexed as possible to embarrass an enemy who should have found the door. Often only stones left standing out from the wall as in the tunnel of a

well. The upper floors have ladders and there is one on the roof which has a high parapet of loose stones. These Towers are for other purpose. Here for waging war against one another, sometimes village against village but often if a neighbour have a grand house. There are instances of these sieges lasting for a very long time. Never was such a [...] every dispute amongst them is determined by a system of feuds and bloodshed. The Bey impressed me that I should be estimated wise. I could have shot on command, and gunpowder every year in Maina, and there is certainly nothing that was so frequently and urgently as a present, for never was any people who fight so poorly provided with the implements of war [...] But such a race may be [...] on account of their spirit more rightly directed. They have a high opinion of their own force and frequently told me that with their [...] and the instances defended, they themselves could expel the Turks from the Morea. It is with this [...] that they cast their eye wistfully on the English in the Islands.

[There follow several more pages concerning the cession of Parga to Ali Pasha, the most cruel tyrant, and Bankes' opinion of the English government who could possibly give away loyal Greeks' homes and vineyards to such a man.

He begged the Bey for a list of productions and their average quantities - the list is noted on another paper. He suggested that any Merchant who wished to enter into this trade had only to write in Romaic.]

Being at Christmas in Maina.

Whatever I have given upon this paper is not from recollections but from memorandum made on the spot.

Wm. J. Bankes.

DOCUMENT 7

The following is Bankes travel itinerary; the route from Cadiz to Seville, Malta, Sicily, Athens, Egypt and Syria, in the form of a suggested plan, by an unknown hand, with recommendations of places to visit and comments on how Bankes should do the journey. The document is held with the Bankes papers at the Dorset Record Office, Dorchester. The transcript has been checked.

[The document is handwritten and unheaded and begins...] Land at Zante, because I did so, and because I should wish to do so if I was to go again and if you land anywhere else, you will easily adapt my hints to your own course.

At Zante, hire a Greek boat, with an awning, oars and sails, go to Cefalonia, land at Argostoli, and send your boat round to Samo, where meet it, crossing the island on mules. Proceed to Ithaca.

Gell's book may serve to point out places here.

From Ithaca sail by the Leucad [...] rise steep to the town of the Maura (Mante) sail on to Preveza and there dismiss your boat. At Preveza see the ruins of Neapolis. I need not mention the scene of the battle of Actium.

From Preveza to Arta, and thence to Yannina, where you will see the famous Ali, by which flows Acheron. From Yannina, go through the glorious pass of Pindus, by Metzovo to Tricala. Between Metsovo and Tricala, see a curious Greek Convent at Calabaca - proceed across the plains of Thessaly to Pharsali.

It would be better to secure Tempe by proceeding to Larissa through the pass of Thermopylae to Levadia Convent of St. Luke .. to Thebes .. to Athens. At Athens and in its environs I conclude you want no directions.

You must see the Temple of Minerva at Sunium by an excursion from Athens.

When you have done with Athens, you had better take the tour of the Morea (by the bye do not miss Aegina) - go by Megara to Corinth whence by Basilico to Vertitza, near which is a Greek Monastery worth visiting ... so to Patras... to Pirgo... visit the Olympiad, see the Temple of Apollo Epicurios on the top of an adjacent mountain. This is a magnificent Temple and its situation very striking. Go to

Adritsena or Caritena, and proceed to Tripolitza, the modern capital of the Morea... to Calimata. If you like to see much of Maina, you must get guides and information at Calimata, and proceed for some way along the shore of the Gulf of Coron, crossing over the mountain to Mar^athonisi... to Sparta (near Mistra). If you did not wish to make acquaintance with the Maniotes, cross the mountains from Calimata, at once to Mistra. From Mistra return to Tripoliza and go on to Argos... See the ruins of Mycena, Agamemnon's tomb etc. ... to Napolid Romania, where from Napoli [Navplion] see the baths and theatre of Esculapius at a place now called Liguria. From it take a boat to transport you to the Island of Hydra. At Hydra you will see Greeks in a less oppressed state. A commercial spirit and a ray of something like liberty has wonderfully enriched and advanced the Hydriotes in the course of a few years. Their newly built little city is one of the best and most flourishing in Greece. There will find and may engage any sort of vessel and hence you had better start for the voyage of the Archipelago. During the summer, which is the best season for this part of your tour, the Northern winds are so prevalent that you must arm yourself with great patience as your progress up the Archipelago will frequently be impeded... the latter end of spring or quite the beginning of Summer would be the best month of all, as the weather is then

fine and the North wind does not set in with so much determination till towards July. Paros, Antiiparos, Santorin, Naxia (or Cos), Delos, Myconos, Io, Patmos, Samos and Schio are the most interesting islands. Stanpalia had a considerable city and has been little visited. If you go to Cos it would be worth while to sail by the Gulf land see Milasso, near which is a curious temple, Boudrom, supposed to be Halicarnassus... to Smyrna and Constantinople... Bergama. I consider this is the termination of your Grecian travel.

In the first place, in Greece you must have a Greek servant to serve as Interpretor. You will probably find one at Malta or Zante. Trust him little. My servant proved honest but he was an exception to the general rule. Make it a rule whenever you enter a new Pashalique to visit the Pasha as soon as possible - Make him some little present and some fine speeches. Ask of him and he will give you an order for horses and safe conduct through his territories. This order of a Pasha is much more useful than the Sultan's Firman and indeed is quite essential. It ensures your attention and respect and prevents squabbles with interior Governors etc.

Get a good Factor as soon as you can after you enter the Country and retain him as long as he will

remain. The only good Factors are to be found at the Courts of the great Pashas.

We requested Ali Pasha to let one of his men attend us... A Factor provides everything and without him you want everything.

As a general rule when you are in Greece, trust to a Turk in preference to a Christian. The Christians will promise much, but are such complete slaves that they are able to perform little.

DOCUMENT 8

This document consists of manuscript letters written by the Reverend Charles Green while in Corfu, held at the Cambridge Record Office, Ref. 57/24/13 (e) 1. The Reverend Green was appointed Chaplain to the Army stationed in the Ionian Islands, under British protection. He finds some difficulty in adjusting to his changed circumstances and the problems of poverty. His health of mind and body suffered, and the letters gradually become illegible and written over each other at 90 degrees.

Charles Green was born in 1813 at Chesterford, Cambridgeshire. He was ordained in 1838, and appointed Chaplain to the forces at Corfu in 1842 where he served for four years. His career continued at Chatham, at Malta, at Dover, and at Shorncliffe. He survived until the age of 70 years.

Other members of his family, who adopted the name de Freville, owned Hinxton Hall in Hinxton, Cambridgeshire; it is from the de Freville collection that the documents come.

A copy of the handwriting is included. The transcript has been checked.

The unreadable or doubtful words have been signified by [...]

[The page contains dense, illegible handwritten cursive script.]

My dear Mother, I shall endeavour to give you a history of what is happening before me, and therefore to preserve the thread I must put down things as they are before me as they turn up. My time is occupied in waiting upon people and in ascertaining whence people live, which the schools and any Hospitals. The Hospital is an excellent one and [...]

There are two regiments 38th and 77th besides the Artillery and Engineers, Sappers, Miners, etc. There are barracks building out of the Citadel which will soon be ready to receive the 42nd at present at Zanti. At [...] there are 2 or 3 companies of the 42nd To these I preach 8 oclock in the morning and sometimes in the open air, depending on the weather. There is at present no accommodation. We are obliged to stand. They have lately fortified [...] it is about 1 1/2 miles from the Island. The country is certainly beautiful, but the olive trees which cover the Island are not [...] of their fulness, something like willows. To pick a fresh orange off the tree is pleasant. Lemons here in abundance, trees literally bending under them. There are also Japan Medlars. At 11 o'clock there is service in the Garrison Church when the soldiers are marched in and the band plays. The civilians also attend for they have no Civil Chaplain at the present time. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie have

been very attentive. Their eldest daughter has been exceedingly ill and in consequence there is no parade music or any thing else that makes a noise. One of the officers died suddenly the other day and we had a long and slow procession. The Chaplain walking before and the sun glaring and falling on my pate rather too strong to be comfortable. I officiated at the Palace (for the Governors abode is called a Palace and it well deserves the name) on Sunday Evening. Expanded a little to the Mackenzies aide de camp [...] servant to them. The Mackenzies have the character for being religious. I dine there every Sunday until the Civil Chaplain arrives. I have had three funerals and yesterday I was applied to to bring a child baptized in the Greek Church which I refused to do without certificate of baptism and permission from the Greek Bishop. The fellow said that it would be a charity for the expenses of burial in the Greek Church are very high. I have been into two of their Churches and I never felt more disposed to laugh in my life. They were chanting the scriptures but the main part of the service consisted in taking the Virgin Mary, snuffing incense and embracing a piece of the true Cross. The Greek Church is indeed in a fallen state if what I have seen is a specimen of its present condition. There are Priests in abundance. There is also a Roman Catholic Bishop and the Irish and other Roman Catholics in the Citadel are regularly

marched in to attend Mass every Sunday morning. Mr. Mackenzie tells me that the Corfiots are in a hopeless state and he despairs of their improvement either in a [...] or religious sense. You cannot imagine what a lazy lot they are. I have commenced learning Italian. Mr. Zessini is my Master. He was a Catholic Priest but rather too fast for the Ministry and cashiered for misconduct but this is some time ago. Colonel Dawkins is a very pleasant man, married a daughter of Sir Howard Douglas. I have not seen any Ladies yet who are not all captivating. The Greek women are no [...] The men nothing to speak of. I have taken a House in a place called the [...] Wall fronting the sea. 10 dollars a month. Houses and servants are very dear. I take possession the 1st of May. I am at the Club Hotel until that time. I pay 15 a week for a room with a bed in it, a large room for Corfu and I have the use of a little room taken by a Gentleman and I have become very intimate with a Mr. Smart. He has the same complaint Mr. E.Green had and this obliges him to stop at Corfu. His intention was to have gone to Athens. I have taken a servant for a month but whether I shall kick him I dont know. We have beautiful weather now. I have become honorary member of one of the Riper Artillery and Engineers.

[...]. Letters I believe are experienced whether persons are disposed to lay a shilling I dont know.

I have two other Islands committed to my charge, Santa Maura and Paxos. I have not visited them yet. They are some distance. There are two government steamers for the Islands, at present they are undergoing repair. I have had a great many officers and civilians calling on me. The widow of Bishop Miker is living here. Lady Valhimachi (I have called on her) Lady Minharday also married or living with [...] is also here but not visited, rather too fast. There is a good library and reading room. I have plenty to do in the summer. I shall be melted [...]

Corfu, June 7th 1842

My dear Mother, I received your letter on the 3rd June and am glad to hear that things seem to be going on pretty well. George's fine voice well modulated will astonish even the imperterbable George [...] Here I am seated opposite the Albanian coast having a splendid view before me. My servant Georgio below who as far as cleverness goes and tolerably cleanly habits very well to speak of but Georgio has been so great a traveller that I am constantly hearing some one saying Well George, and these friends of George may bring the conversation of a traveller at my cost. Does George actually think of becoming a Divine or Church Parson. I

almost doubt whether he would be able to get through so many examinations. He would be an aged Deacon and his sermons would make people laugh. Conned over a pipe and a pint of ale they would at all events be mild and good humoured. [...] and to tell you the truth Hell is no joke. We must keep clear of the Devil. Now the devil [...] what he would say next I know not. There I must leave him to finish the sentence.

We have had the Church travellers here lately. Mr. Holman. I have met him two or three times and he is certainly a wonderful man. I go out with Sir James Read in his yacht and seeing the Island to great advantage. These Yachts visit the islands and some of them nicely fitted up. We have had a Lady Hi[...] birthday, a stupid affair. It is getting now very hot and though I go to [...] at 1/2 to 8 in the morning so as to be there at eight for duty. I find it exceptionally moist. Perspiration almost running down. The Island is stark and rocky. I get back about 1/2 past nine and then commence again at 11 o'clock. I believe a Civil Chaplain is expected this next Month, but I have nothing to do with him. He hopes some arrangement will be made as to deciding the services. If I take part of his in the Afternoon he may take part of mine at 11 o'clock but this is mere conjecture for there is great jealousy between the Civilians and Military. Miss MacKenzie

is getting better. She has been at death's door for a long time. I believe the Governor has written for a steamer to take himself and family to England for a short time. There will be some pickings in China I should fancy. You enjoy bathing here. Garrison parties are not very edifying. Very few of the officers musically inclined. Some play on the Piano and to my sorrow one is located just over me and I have every day for hours the benefit of his voice and his strumming. I dont think Garrison Ladies are the best specimens of the sex. One Lady whose husband threw in the Commisssion apparently godly in his request for her best of friends (as she called him) I found to be desperately attracted to Brandy and water. I have no one but God I can assure you to support me. This God I found out was Brandy. [...]

great credit for acting out the saint as well but things will out. What would human nature come to if the Parsons were not! They keep it from going quite to the bottom of the hill as George will say when he holds forth to the amusement of this flock! I should be inclined to wager that he does not get through both profane and divine studies, but I have no voice. Methinks a farm is much more suited to his habits. A Parson nowadays who is nothing is looked upon as an incumbrance - as a joke and thats but a bad one. There! the Russian Schooner has just fired a gun - 9 o'clock and the Steamer leaves tomorrow. The Commencement will be going on by the

time you get this letter. You must not expect much subtlety in my letters. The weather begins to melt me. I have just finished dinner. Dr. Lentan and I have clubbed to-day. I furnished [...] and Ale and a pudding and he the [..]. I am pretty well. I have seen much of the Island, the views are magnificent. The Greeks are very low set. I could tell you some odd tales already and yet with all their dirt and profligating of your name, tell them that kissing pictures and crossing and Saint Spiridon is all of no avail, they would give you the most tremendous ducking you ever experienced. Things assume an odd form here. Our dinner hour at Mess is eight now. Some contend for 1/2 past 3 or 4 but the majority incline to 8. I think after all I prefer eight. But as an Honorary member I of course only dine at Mess when I feel inclined. The expense emerges about 4s. 6d., 2s. 6d. dinner, wine, subscription and a few drams make up the rest. Very few persons drink the wines of the Islands. English habits are not easily superseded. The Thermometer here last summer in the shade was as high as 98. This is rather too much to be comfortable. 75 you think quite enough. Latitude after all has not so much to do with heat. This Albanian Coast presents a free current of air. I enjoy jumping off a yacht with an awning and everything so when you come out. Well all countries I suppose have their advantages. I really think I should prefer this Island to

Gibraltar or Malta. The walks are beautiful. Shooting good if you can stand the fatigue in Albania. Cover very thick and steep hills. All our flour comes from [...] sea. Our productions are oranges, lemons, olives, wine barrels, Japan Medlars, almonds, currants in Zante and so on, I cannot enumerate all. The Greek Church here presents religion in a form such as no reasonable man can look upon with approbation. The Liturgy is good, but none of the Priests understand the ancient Greek. They read it and that is all. Well I must conclude. Wishing you all well, and remain, Your affectionate Son, C. Green.

Corfu, Saturday 21st. Line Wall.

My dear Mother, Well good news I hope from your friends are constantly saying some of my flock. No news no letter from England I am sorry to say. My acquaintances wonder that a divine should have no friends. He must have been guilty of some misdemeanor or flagrant crime and his relations of course were glad to get rid of him. Such inferences may be drawn greatly to my injury and annoyance but what care any of you about my feelings or whether I am respected or not. We will sit still (say you) and do nothing. We will not trouble ourselves to write a letter. Good eating and drinking is all we

want and all we care about. Let those who are absent from us take care of themselves and be left to themselves only dont trouble us. Such is the selfishness human nature loves to indulge in. Now any news from Chesterford is extremely agreeable to me. I long to know what is going on and to hear all about those I have lived amongst, how my relations are and what they are doing, how Lord Charles is and what he is about. These little things are great to little men. At present I am not very well having a tendency to fever which is very common in this country. Dr. Linton being next door to me has taken me under his care. Doctors of course you have for nothing. I have furnished my house as well I could considering that things cost money here as elsewhere. My servant Georgis (a Greek) has been of great use to me. He travelled with Lord Claude Hamilton and has from his Lordship an excellent character, but I find I must look uncommonly sharp after him. Everything here is totally different from things in England. Habits, customs are widely differing from those of Englishmen. Italian and Greek the languages spoken and everyone [...] from habit and from love of the thing. The processes here are extraordinarily absurd. Great consumption of wax candles. The Miss Mackenzies are still very poorly, altogether the Governor and his Lady have been very civil. Persons say things are cheap here, climate delightful. They know not what they say.

They know nothing about things here. The climate is far from being a healthy one, that book I read at Chesterford gave a very good description of the country. Meat is from 3 to 3 1/2 d. per pound, but what kind of meat? Breast meat is a thing unknown except with those who have brought out with them gratis packed. All meat is baked and even at the Messes (and these are 3, 77th, 38th Artillery and Engineers) roast meat is unknown. I am cooking now but with a fire such as you would light in the fields at a picnic. One of the Officers of the Artillery Domville has just left a very nice fellow - he returns I believe with a wife. What is £240 a year with every thing to get. A Rice pudding is an ordinary thing. Georgis I must have a rice pudding and some broth - fever is taking hold of me. I must not go to mess and in the way of Temptation. With them here goes - 2 lbs. of mint, Vermicelli 1d. = 8d. Milk for rice pudding 2 1/2, Eggs 1d. rice 1 1/4d. sugar 6d. When every little article is to be bought a decent dinner, such as even saints have no objection to costs a good deal. Dr. Linton and I intend to manage things as well as we can. We are both learning Italian and hope to be a match for the roguery of the Greeks. Judging from appearances, his purse and mine are about the same length. He is the Staff Doctor - a new appointment I believe of late years. Brandy good is about 2d. a bottle. Besides wine good about 1d. a bottle. Marsala 10d.

a dozen. Port, Sherry, Claret etc. of course every kind of wine. I have hitherto dined from two to three days at the Mess the week very quiet and very gentlemanly men. We occasionally give a party, but honorary members are not allowed to invite. Common wine here is 1/2d. a pint and two quarts make the soldiers drunk - for 2 pence you make a fool and a beast of yourself. Sir James Reed one of the judges is also an honorary member of the Mess. The 38th men have been nicknamed Pump and Tortoise, considered a very slow set. One of the Officers knew George King intimately. I have been over with Colonel Dawkins to Albania. A magnificent country to look at, the inhabitants Turks and Greeks savages armed every one of them with two or three pistols and a sword each. It is here the good shooting is during the winter, the cover is very thick. We had a picnic on the Lake Butrinton a very fine lake. Colonel Dawkins is quarter Master General and deputy Adjutant General taking the Command of the Citadel when Sir George Berkeley visits the Islands. He married a daughter of Sir Howard Douglas - the late Lord High Commissioner. Both of them very civil. He offers me a horse whenever I am disposed to ride out. Horses here are to be hired for 4. 4d. Spanish Dollars a day. I give 3d. for a ride. The horses are well tried. Most of them from Barbary and Albania. The Ladies here are not striking. I mean the English, for there is very little

intercourse between the natives and the English. There are two Miss Fords, then of the Engineers, brother is famous for mesmerising. Colonel Gordon has eleven children, lives in the Citadel. No beauties amongst them. There is a Widow [...] her husband I believe is transported. She prefers the name of Widow to Mrs. Dues - I may say with truth that there is not with the exception of the Miss Mackenzies one single Lady worth aspiring to. Money of course they have none. Religion here sits very light upon the heart, a little of it on the Sunday to keep up appearances. I do what I can to awaken the slumbering soul. The place of learning, as the old women say, is very large and requires great exertions. There are five Colonels here, 4 of them are married. The [...] have several daughters who I think will hang on hand. I have not written to any one except Edward, Dr. [...] and Mr.[...] letters I'd. each I fear would make my friends in England look rather black. I wish the fellow would not trouble me with these shilling affairs. I suppose my uncle has visited you. Tell him that I am getting quite at home in a Garrison. His regiment I am told goes to America. I envy not the life of an officer, but when the stomach is out of order and feverish symptoms showing themselves what does a man like - what does he care about. Friendship he knows is but a name - the function of this world [...] away. We have an excellent Library here. I wish

you had my books. They are very little use to me. I am talking of wading through Alisan. My view is certainly splendid. The Vernon Frigate is expected. Albania is before me, birds close to me, the lemon trees yards from me, the harbour before me, all the [...] boats, steamers, yachts all in view. I write exactly what pops into my head. Nonsense of course. A cargo of Ice just arrived from Sicily. I have six rooms in my house. Oh deliver me from fleas, mosquitoes, rats. I have furnished 4 out of the 6. Let no man despise money who to furnish a house. Money is the root of all evil says the Parson on the Sunday, he thinks not so on the Monday.

Corfu, Nov. 22nd, 1845.

My dear Mother, What makes you so nervous, old Lady. What a dreadful blow to your vanity those two last words I, you may rest assured, never omit to mention you in my prayers. Every day I pour out my heart to God in earnest prayer and supplication for My Father, Mother and brothers. My letters may sound to the ear a little severe, but the motive which dictates them is pure and honourable and such as no parents would ever find fault with who are anxious to see their children gaining an honest livelihood and respect [...] and respected by the society they move in. I am not like myself and

well, I shall never be. I have received two letters from Miss Collison and the tone they breathe is evidently that of affection. She wishes me to come to England. She says her only fear is that I am not inclined to lead the [...] life she conceives Christian and bound by a thousand obligations to do. Now are reasons why I am so smitten with her is because I believe her to be a religious Girl. I would not give a straw for a person who has not deep religious feeling. It would give me inestimable happiness to come to England and I am sure you would be too glad to ask her to spend a fortnight or so with you and see what an adept your son Charles is in making love and talking soft nothings. She says she cannot finally decide unless I consent to her notions of religious living. If Lord Linton would allow me three months leave, I should be able to spend at least six weeks in England. I shall therefore tell her that I will do my utmost to obtain leave and shall expect she will accompany me to Chesterford and shake off your nervousness to marry me before I leave England. This sounds beautiful in theory and if I should succeed in getting my duty done for me, I hope theory will be converted into practice. My income would be quite sufficient to live upon and I suppose in the course of time I may look forward to some little property. You I know would give me a lift as far as helping to pay travelling expenses. I have a [...] hundred in

the bank hard by. I suppose Henry is making money fast if I gave him three per cent for his jig money he might think himself lucky. I was quite astonished by your informing me that Mr. Humphrey died so rich, three hundred thousand pounds. Mind you make your best courtesy. How looks the Garden only fancy my walking round and round with you and my dear Henrietta. She calls me her dearest Charles. You must not listen Old Lady, but keep a little behind and not be too curious old woman or I shall take you to task. Mind there are plenty of flowers. You should see my long letters to her. How is Mrs. Rees and Miss Kelly and the Rusts. If my brothers dont take to letter writing, they will never have a friend and be quite unfit for society and active life. How goes farming surely some of my Brothers could write about something. Oh the pangs I endure on their account to see them so unlike all other young men but enough on this subject, I shall never allude to it any more. Farewell My dearest Old Mother, with kindest Love to all at home. Believe me, Your affectionate Son, Charles Green.

Corfu, Oct. 22nd, 1845

My dear Mother,

Nothing like rousing people from their slumbers. Nothing like a good stick over the back

and good smarting in the shoulders or even a [...] behind for you know the old saying If I had a donkey what would'nt go etc.. I have not yet ventured to arrange myself in your new gown. My sermons dont require it. Every eye would be upon me and the new gown would form a topic of conversation for [...] The silk is indeed rich, excellent quality, if you chose it yourself, it speaks volumes for your eyes, but those old ladies get uncommon tough, their insides well seasoned. They take out their lenses for the [...] I suppose you never see or hear of the Rusts. Miss Kelly is writing I suppose some more [...] Philosophy and scolding her maid of all work, small wages, sharp and sour looks, but very spiritually, the maid probably got a sweetheart, the Mistress wondering that young women should think of such things. She bless her never thought of anything of the sort. Oh No!!! Human nature a funny thing to take in hand. You may take a great many spiritual doses and [...] The old Adam puts up his back and joins you in the face. Oh for a nice sunny little vicarage in England. I expect [...] to hear from my young woman L.E. to say if she has not forgotten me, [...] I shall do what is right and fear nought. She encouraged me or I should never have gone to any lengths. Corfu is duller than even I knew it. I care myself very little about parties. I find they quite unfit me for serious work. A parson I conceive is a man set

apart for holy purposes. If he neglect his profession to serve the world, I look upon him as an [...] humbug, a useless person, besides nowadays there are numbers ready at hand to supplant you. Nothing the Roman Catholics here and dissenters like better than to hear of my self seen at balls and places of amusement. Nothing can be more in accordance with their wishes. They are thirsting to crush you. They seize upon the smallest handle and up they rise. They seek now to bow your back for others to walk over your head is surely not sound policy or the art of a sound minded man.

The daughters of the Commandant seldom show. One is alarmingly clever, they say. The Dean of Manchester wrote to me the other day and said I have sent you two brochures, some books I fancy. They have not arrived yet. To read a little of many books, to pick up a smattering of this and that I look upon as most injurious to the mind and of no use whatever to you in the way of getting employment or acquiring respectability in the world. read a little and understand it. Read the bible, read [...] throw novels to the Devil, tell him to his face you dont want their trash, Old Boy. A good one after dinner perhaps. [...] What's the price of wheat, barley, peas, write about any thing Idleness is the devil. Look at his claws, how he longs to take the pen out of your hand and he made

you to go and lie upon the sofa. Love to all at home, right shoulders forward, Your affectionate Son, C. Green.

There are three more letters that are indecipherable indicating probable sickness of body or mind.

DOCUMENT 9

This document is a typewritten copy of a journal of H. M. G. Coore, written during his captivity with the Greek brigands in 1865, held at the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds, under Ref. 941/6S/1. It is the immediate account of his treatment by the brigands, starting with some bravado, but continuing with the account of a man in constant fear for his life. He was successfully ransomed by his friends. Experience by twentieth century hostages would bear comparison with the development of his sympathetic relationship towards some of his captors.

H. M. G. Coore was a man of some substance, as he was one of a party which hired a private yacht for the purpose of shooting game on the mainland of Greece.

The transcript has been checked.

Copy of the Journal of H. M. G. COORE written during his Captivity with the Greek Brigands in 1865, held at the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds.

JOURNAL

Dec.8 and 9. I write this in the strangest and most alarming position I ever found myself in, a prisoner in the hands of Brigands. Time being no object at present, I will write the whole history from the beginning.

We landed in good time with our beaters to drive the coverts for red deer. We penetrated some little way inland and had four drives, several deer were seen, and Hervey and Matteo had shots without result.

About five o'clock we descended the bushy hillside down to the glade at the end of the bay, when we saw John, one of our sailors with the dogs. No sooner had we stopped upon the level ground than John

exclaimed "Oh Gentlemen the Brigands have caught Nicolo!" "Brigands! Where?" exclaimed all of us; and I said: "Now we shall have some sport at last!" We had indeed for as I spoke from all sides, out of every bush, sprung a wild looking figure, shouting to us as Mateo explained, "Down with your arms!" Our cowardly beaters instantly surrendered, we commenced to show fight, two shots whistled past us, one rather near me. With no other feeling than intense wrath, and reckless of consequences, I raised my rifle and pulled the trigger, aiming at a fellow who was approaching pushing Nicolo before him, providentially the rifle was half cock and the catch was on, so I was spared from slaying a man, an act which would certainly have proved fatal to some of us. Three of the brigands rushed upon me, brandishing their guns, which were evidently not loaded, I dropped my gun and closed with them and in a moment wrested two of their guns from them and swinging them round my head kept one or two others at bay. I did not see for some minutes that Matteo, Hervey, and Strutt had put down their arms and were sitting behind the bush, shouting to me to do the same, which in my excitement I took no notice of at first. I then dropped my arms, but the infuriated brigands rushed upon me, striking at me with their guns and one or two threw stones. I was a little hurt but did not feel it at the moment. I once more closed with one fellow and obtained possession of

his gun, and then there was another struggle in the course of which I trod on a round stone and slipped upon one knee. I thought my last moment had come but struggled desperately to my feet again, and once more faced them. The chief, however, now interfered, kept back his men and made signs to me, backed up by words from Matteo; and I sat down with the others, the brigands closing round us. There were eight of them and had our cowardly beaters stood by us we might have made a good fight. Then ensued much palaver, the upshot of which was that they wanted money. We shook hands with the chief as a pledge of our security and I became similarly reconciled with my late antagonists, who were certainly good natured enough about it. Of course we had no money about us, and it was finally decided that two of the brigands should go on board the yacht with John and search for what they could get. In the meanwhile they took us to a sheltered place and lighted a fire and we had plenty of leisure to contemplate our captors. They were all dressed in the Albanian costume, beastly dirty with long hair and longer guns, wild looking and ferocious enough but all their countenances are not positively bad; the second in command has rather a pleasant smile. The Chief is a middleaged man with reddish hair and moustache, a determined looking ruffian with a most hardened expression. They asked us civilly enough to produce whatever knives, watches, etc. we had.

Strutt had fortunately concealed his beneath his coat. Hervey produced his, mine had been left on board; we gave them our knives, but I concealed my opera glass; they did not attempt to search us and were not at all rough. After nearly half an hour the men returned from on board, they had hardly discovered any money but ransacked the cabin generally and brought off nearly all our powder and bread, my little bag, my watch, sundry shirts, etc. and the other guns. They still demanded money, we assured them that we had not much and Strutt was allowed to go on board to get twenty napoleons, which I had and which somehow they had not hit upon. He returned shortly having safely concealed his watch, bringing my little string purse, containing about twenty napoleons and other coins. He very sharply took out the circular notes and put them away. They were not satisfied with this and one of them wrote a letter, directed by our request to Mr. Wood at Patras, which briefly set forth that unless £3000 were paid within a short time two of us should be killed; the other was to convey the letter in the yacht. There was no help for it so we signed the document and drew lots to decide who should go, which fell upon Strutt. After some further consultation they said they would only keep two of us, two must go. This was soon settled, Matteo nobly vowed he would stand by "his gentlemen" and I was resolute not to leave Hervey; and accordingly

they prepared for their departure. I obtained leave to have some things sent off for our comfort, such as rugs, drawing materials etc. to all of which the chief very courteously acceded. I think my voice was the firmest in saying goodbye, poor Hervey was very husky. So I parted from my friends and God grant we may meet again on earth! They were to go to Tragomesti to catch the steamer, which touches there this morning (9th) and then to Patras returning this day week (Thursday) with the ransom. Nicolo came off with plenty of things, which the forethought of my friends had sent; rugs, my air cushion, my sketching knapsack, containing also a Bible (Strutt sent his own mine being rather large) with a little note at the beginning, and this book, bread, coffee, potted meats, and some venison cutlets just cooked, which were excellent. We remained then till, I should think, about nine o'clock and then prepared to move; the brigands made no objection to carrying our things and we marched off in Indian file up the glen, three brigands first, then Matteo and I, then the rest of the band. It was very bad walking over the rocks and thorns and up and down deep ravines. After about an hour they halted, gave me the best place, made me comfortable, and repeatedly assured me of their kind intentions, that they would do the best they could for me and told me to fear nothing. We shook hands all round then became good friends.

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They asked me if I should like to sleep for a couple of hours till the moon rose, to which I had no objection and made myself as snug as possible, but was too much occupied by my thoughts of my strange position to sleep. We proceeded again some time, and again rested, till another start, and about three, I imagine, they said they would halt for the day, which I was glad of, for it was terrible work stumbling over sharp rocks and through thorny bushes. We were then close to the sea and had been going towards the Polestar all the night. The chief was very attentive, hoped I was not much tired and insisted on my taking some refreshment; they had brought off several bottles of our Marsala and Rum, which they had emptied into skins. They lit a fire but it was dreadfully cold, the place being exposed to gusts of wind. I got a little sleep and soon after daylight we moved up the hill to a better place; they cut down brushwood for me to lie upon, lit a fire and Matteo boiled some coffee, which was very refreshing. We are now halted for the day. In the course of the morning a shepherd's dog was heard barking in the neighbourhood, the chief disappeared and shortly returned carrying a fine young goat, which was forthwith killed and roasted whole over the fire, a huge wooden stake being run through the body by way of spit. It was very well roasted, and was not altogether bad, they offered me the first cut. It was rather a horrible mess to look at, but

under these circumstances it does not do to be particular. They have also been dividing the spoil; they have got nearly everything I valued; my watch, my jewellery, my little collection of coins, etc. I forgot to mention that they sent my brechloader on board again, it being of no use to them, nevertheless they kept Strutt's, I suppose they wanted to show me some special favour. I secretly transferred my opera glass to Strutt so the rascals have not got that anyhow. The chief lost Hervey's revolver last night to his great annoyance. The spoil appears to be pretty equally divided without much difficulty; one of them has just bought my watch and chain for seventy dollars. I have made an attempt to recover my little gold studs, which I value greatly, and the chief says he will return them, which I rather doubt. We are to march all night and they say they will then stop; the weather is fortunately fine. I keep up my spirits well, thank God: and the brigands appear kindly disposed, but it is a long time to wait and the nights are terrible.

Dec.10. We set off at sunset yesterday and marched nearly all night, much of it over very bad ground. I got my legs full of thorns and hurt my foot rather, so it was with some difficulty that I kept up. Before we started Matteo made some chocolate. The brigands have completed their division of the plunder. I obtained my little gold studs, which belonged to poor Aunt Mary; I told the possessor that they belonged to a dear relation of mine, a lady who was dead, the man appeared positively affected and gave them me. Before daylight we reached a hollow in the side of the mountains, where a fire was lighted and we had a little breakfast; I tried to get a little sleep. It was very cold last night; it is now, I imagine, by the sun about twelve o'clock. We have just had a terrible alarm, a number of men were seen passing in the valley below not a mile off, I was dozing at the time and did not see them; the chief, whose name is Panno, seems determined to fight and threatens to kill us if we do not help him. God's will be done! I am prepared to face death as a Christian and an Englishman should. I would not for anything that Hervey were here, I fear he could not stand it; but he wanted to come. Matteo behaves nobly. I believe we are to march again tonight.

Dec. 11. We had another narrow escape this morning about two hours ago, a number of soldiers passed at a short distance on the opposite side of the glen, we could hear them talking distinctly; they set about catching brigands in a strange way, laughing, talking and frequently firing off their guns. I believe they really are great cowards and dare not enter the covert. For some time they were quite near us, our lives seemed to hang upon a thread, it was an awful time, but, thank God, they have now gone away and I hope will not return. We marched at sunset last night and after about two hours halted and Panno and another went off to find a shepherd to send to Tragomesti^[Dragomestre] for news. It was about three hours before they returned it seems without success, for they now talk of sending Matteo, which I think would be the best, though Matteo was at first very unwilling to leave me; however I convinced him that it would be the best and I hope they may send him tonight, though they appear rather doubtful about it. On the return of Panno we set off again and turned eastward crossing the mountains at the head of the valley of Dragomestre, there were many very picturesque scenes where we crossed an open glade dotted with fine oaks from which and the dark faces of the men the moon cast long deep shadows and gleamed upon the long barrels of their guns. We halted in a dense thicket on the side of a ravine composed of bay trees and

junipers. They dared not light a fire before daybreak and it was bitterly cold, a considerable frost, but fortunately no wind. I had a short but sound sleep. Most of the men are very good natured on the whole, the best is George, who appears to have authority, with Panno. I imagine it must be now about four o'clock, this has been a long and anxious day. I expect we shall move again tonight, they do not seem to like this place much. I only hope they will send Matteo to Tragomesti; I think Strutt and Hervey must return very soon. We have just had a capital meal off potted meat and bread and cheese and are in good spirits.

Dec. 12. It appears that Panno lied when he said he could not find a shepherd, for when we moved about sunset last night, he and three men set off in another direction; we went with George, but only a short distance, and halted under an oak, when he made me very comfortable and said that Panno had gone to get news of the shepherd. We awaited his return, which was not till about four o'clock in the morning, and in the meantime I got a pretty good sleep. Panno had been to Tragomesti or close to it and ascertained that the yacht had not yet returned, but had left for Patras the morning after we were taken and was expected yesterday. It was said that one of the gentlemen had remained at Tragomesti; it

is possible that Hervey may have stayed to get the first news. Panno brought back a lamb and some good bread. We moved a short distance about sunrise to a snug spot in a ghyll overshadowed by rocks and trees, where we now are. They lit a large fire, beginning at the top and blowing downwards which prevents smoke. There has been a good deal of rain all the morning but we have kept quite dry under the waterproof sheet. The lamb was killed and roasted in pieces on ramrods. I had a piece of the leg, which was excellently cooked. A curious performance took place with the flat transparent shoulder blade, Panno carefully cleaned one and then holding it up to the light pronounced from the red streaks at the top of it that he should soon receive the money; other marks at the side indicated that the soldiers were out, but a long way off, all in one band and would not come near us. This process of taking the omens was observed very anxiously by the band, who all evidently firmly believed it. Matteo said they did the same with the goat the other day when George pronounced that we should see two bands of soldiers, who would come very near us. The weather is much warmer on account of the rain, there is hardly any wind; last night was very still, the silence only broken by the dismal screech of an owl, the sharp bark of a wolf or the wild yells of a jackal. The youngest of the band was not well this morning and so feverish that he could not eat anything. I gave

him some quinine, a tremendous dose, which however seems to have had a pretty good effect for he has just eaten lamb sufficient for four respectable Christians. I believe this is Sunday, I have read the service and feel generally well, mentally and boldly, thank God! The brigands play cards a good deal for money, but never quarrel over it. We are now not more than twelve miles from Tragomesti.

Dec. 13. Mateo was sent off last night, he was to remain outside Tragomesti all night and go in in the morning. They wrote a letter in which was named a place of meeting, in a contrary direction to the real one. He is to return tonight either with the money or without it. God grant it may be all right, but I have all kinds of misgivings, it would seem almost too great happiness. Matteo cried on leaving me! God bless him! The rain ceased about sunset, and we remained here all night; they were very kind, made me coffee, etc. I slept pretty well. Today is very bright and warm, but my anxiety for tonight is great; even if Matteo brings the money it may not satisfy them. I do not even know that the yacht has arrived at Tragomesti but it surely must have by this time. This has been a long day but it is now drawing to a close, I only trust it may be the last!

Dec. 14. We left our retreat at sunset but only moved a short distance and then lay down among the bushes. Panno and two men went off to meet Matteo, until they returned was a time of intense anxiety to me, more than any other. It was long past midnight when Matteo at last came and brought good news at least, though not the money. On reaching Tragomesti he found the yacht had never left the place at all, but Hervey and Strutt had gone to Patras by steamer, procured the money in a day, and returned in an English Man of War, the Chanticleer, I suppose. Mr. Lalas, a Patras tradesman, a sort of broker, had come with the money, and accompanied Matteo from Tragomesti with also some Government official, which was a mistake; but he was afraid to bring the money last night lest he should be robbed on the road, which stupid idea, as it turned out, was as well, for on learning that £1000 of the money was paper, Panno refused to receive anything but gold. They had, it seems, a conference for about three hours and it resulted in a place of meeting being appointed and two "Government Men" are to bring the money tonight. Strutt and Hervey have therefore been at Tragomesti two days, and as it appears from a note they sent by Matteo made an attempt to communicate with us, which however failed. Matteo also brought some provisions for this, I trust, our last day. We started soon after Matteo arrived and marched till daylight, going first straight away

from Tragomesti and then turning round again and ascending a very steep hill, a regular scramble, on the summit of which we are now. Panno took alarm at the appearance of the Official last night, and so thought it prudent to change the position. However I do now think that there is a definite prospect of my release, this is the sixth day. The fellow, to whom I gave the quinine, at all events shows some gratitude, for he has been unremitting in attention to me ever since, covering me up and making me comfortable in various little ways. They wanted to send Matteo back to Tragomesti last night but he vowed he would stay with me, if they cut his throat and Panno at last allowed him. Continued want of sleep has now begun to tell upon me, and I was very tired last night, otherwise, thank God, I am quite well. Panno insisted on having another watch, and Matteo was obliged to bring him that of our Captain instead of Strutt's, which is now worth half as much. Of course we shall give him another. I trust my troubles are now nearly at an end.

It is now six o'clock, the money has not come, they will wait here no longer. They have sent Matteo to Tragomesti, he is to return tonight to meet Panno somewhere, should there be no money then, Almighty God have mercy upon me!

Dec. 15. Free at last, thank God! even when I least expected it, though not before much mental suffering. Matteo returned about ten o'clock and embraced me with a flood of tears, saying "All right now!" He had met Mr. L alas with the money just outside Tragomesti and returned with him immediately. He himself went on to meet the brigands, leaving L alas someway behind to be sent for. Panno in the meantime had disappeared. I still however refused to believe the good news, having been so often disappointed. Panno shortly returned with one or two others of the band, and very angrily asked Matteo why the money was not here. Matteo answered that it was ready in waiting below. He violently swore he would wait no longer, forced Matteo away with blows and ordered me to follow. Matteo implored him to say what he was going to do, he refused and we were separated without being able to hardly speak a word of farewell. Then at last I almost gave way, not knowing what was going to happen, but remembering his threat that if the money did not come he would go away into the mountains and not be heard of for some months. We marched off and continued moving nearly all night though with frequent stoppages. Once we got among a flock of sheep and they carried off a lamb amid great confusion and noise, sheep and goats rushing in all directions, dogs barking, etc. We halted before sunrise. My misery was extreme, I

saw no hope whatever. At last they assured me it would be all right, the money was coming today. I did not believe it but it was a faint ray of hope. About nine o'clock one of the lookouts came in with a cry of "Erchontai!" Several of them immediately grasped my hands with smiles and reassuring words and the next minute Matteo and Mr. Lalas appeared. Then there was no doubt that all was right. Lalas had brought with him a Greek gentleman, an officer it appeared, who very soon seemed to be on the best of terms with the brigands; also a tremendously sharp little shepherd boy, who had discovered the brigand lookout at a great distance. He had a horse behind with the money. It was then explained that the chief had really communicated with Lalas last night and told him to come on the following morning and he would find them somewhere. Matteo met Lalas and they slept out all night under the trees. Then there was a long delay while the money was counted out. The chief, whose real name is Spiro Delis, examined every piece and was most particular, Lalas did very well and kept him in good humour. In the meanwhile the lamb was killed and a huge fire was lighted. The money was found satisfactory and then according to custom they made us presents, £3 to me and Lalas each and thirty dollars to poor Matteo, who was almost beside himself with happiness but quite worn out. Then the lamb was roasted and there was a feast and I heard all the history from Lalas.

The original delay was owing to some of the money being in paper. Gold could not be procured in Tragomesti so Captain Fenwick took Hervey over to Ithaca in the Chanticleer and returned in a few hours with the money. About two o'clock they allowed us to depart. George, whose real name was Vasili, made me a present of his knife; Spiro insisted on embracing me and then we left the ruffians, I hope for ever, unless it is my good fortune ever to see Spiro Delis hung. Of Vasili and one or two others I think it a pity they cannot give up this life and become respectable again, for they are very good sort of fellows. Vasili communicated to Lalas his indignation at the unfair proceedings of Spiro, who, he said, acted contrary to the code of honour of the profession in seizing small things when a heavy ransom was obtained. Lalas contrived to get returned to us a good many of our coins, Strutt's barometer, etc. We saw the brigands start off towards the North East immediately on our departure. I found we were not above ten miles from Tragomesti. We passed on the way the ruins of two small temples, several fragments of columns were lying about and the foundations were very distinct. At a village about two miles from Tragomesti the Demarch met us with a captain and some other men to whom on our approach he instantly gave some written instructions to send out men from all the villages to hunt the brigands. He was delighted to see us,

brought us into his house and coffee was served. He then with the others accompanied us to Tragomesti, where the whole population speedily assembled and we were taken up to the Demarch's room, where that gentleman, a strikingly handsome and very gentleman-like young man, received me with great cordiality. The room was crammed with people, most of whom were determined to shake hands with me. Coffee was brought of course. We had already hailed the yacht, but Hervey and Strutt were on board the Chanticleer. After a short time a noise was heard on the stairs, and the crowd gave way for my friends; the joy of that meeting may be imagined. We soon went on board the yacht with Lalas and had a capital dinner and the late calamities were soon forgotten. Poor dear old Matteo was completely exhausted and fell asleep immediately. In about an hour the Demarch came on board with Colonel Zanis, the commander of the troops at Misolonghi, who had been sent to look after us, an excellent old gentleman; also Mr. Carolato, an old gentleman residing at Tragomesti, who is very anxious to be made English Consul there, and six or seven other people; our little cabin was crammed. The chief object of the visit was that Colonel Zanis might obtain information to make arrangements for the capture of the brigands. I forgot to mention that almost immediately after our arrival Captain Fenwick of the Chanticleer came on board and welcomed me with the greatest heartiness.

He appears to be a first rate fellow and has been of the greatest service. The conduct of the Greek Bank at Athens was most disgraceful and shabby. Mr. Erskine begged them to telegraph to their branch at Patras to advance the money, and the following was their telegram: "Advance the money but get the best terms you can." Also when Mr. Wood applied to the bank at Patras for gold, they said they had only fourteen napoleons, which must have been a lie: so it was obtained by contribution from all the people here. Mr. Wood's office was besieged all day by people bringing a few napoleons or sovereigns. Captain Fenwick sent 700 sovereigns from the Chanticleer's chest.

DOCUMENT 10

This document is a manuscript letter written by Fairfax Cartwright from Constantinople on Wednesday, 26 April 1887, held by Northamptonshire Record Office, under Ref. ZA 4693.

Cartwright was on his way to a diplomatic post and visited Corfu. He describes the ceremony at Easter when the body of the patron saint of the island, St. Spiridon, is carried about the town. He did not enjoy the food at Patras and found Athens a dull place. The steamer to Constantinople was filled with 'damned Cook's tourists'.

A copy of his letter is included. The transcript has been checked.

Letter from FAIRFAX CARTWRIGHT dated April 26th, 1887, held by the Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton.

Constantinople, Wednesday, April 26/87.

Dear Uncle Fred,

I arrived here on Saturday morning having been very lucky in having a calm sea all the way.

On my way to Rome I stayed a night in Milan to hear Verdi's "Otello." I was very much disappointed with it. From Rome I went to Naples. Prince Henry of Battenburg^e was at the hotel travelling incognito. He came up and spoke to me and at first I could not make out who he was as I had not seen him for two years. From Naples I went to Taranto and stayed a day with Sir James Lacaita who has a house near there. It is a curious and arid country, with masses of splendid olive trees. I shipped on board an Italian steamer at Brindisi which took me to

Corfu where I stayed two days. It is a beautiful island and the hotel is good. I left on the Saturday before the Greek Easter which this year was a week later than ours, and saw a curious ceremony which I believe is peculiar to Corfu. On the day before Easter the body of the patron saint of the island, St. Spiridion, is carried about the town in solemn procession, the bishop of the place in splendid robes and all his clergy following. About half past ten in the morning they get back to the Cathedral when mass is celebrated. At the moment of elevating the host a gun is fired from the citadel which is immediately followed by the slaughter of lambs before the house doors and a cross is made with the blood on the door posts. Great earthenware vases are then thrown from the balconies or broken at the house doors, firearms, pistols and cannons are let off in every direction.

From Corfu I took a Greek steamer to Corinth. Weather beautiful, sunrise near Patras splendid; food greasy and not good. From Corinth there is a narrow gauge railway to Athens. It winds along the coast and one has beautiful views of the Morea and the islands. I was four days in Athens and saw a good deal of our Minister there, Sir Horace Rumbold. Athens is a dull place; I would not care for it as a post. The Acropolis is soon seen. I left by the French Messagerie Steamer for Constantinople.

Beautifully calm passage but a lot of damned Cook's tourists on board who filled the whole steamer. The Dardanelles in the evening and the approach to Constantinople in the early morning were beautiful. Hotels here crammed. I have been made a member of the Circle d'Orient, the best club here, for the ten days I shall be here. Dinner there excellent. Chauncey left today for a week in the Crimea; he seems to me far from well. I have dined with Sir William White and lunched with him several times. He took me up the Bosphorus in his launch on Sunday to show me the summer house at Therapia. There are fine gardens there. I leave for Batoum early next week. Yours Fairfax Cartwright.

DOCUMENT 11

This document is the diary of Helen Caddick, a traveller who availed herself of the services of Mr. Thomas Cook, held by Birmingham Library, Chamberlain Square, Birmingham, under Ref. MS 908/1. It was a neatly written account of her tour from Birmingham to Jaffa, Jerusalem, Damascus, Constantinople, Athens, Paris and London. She left New Street Station, Birmingham on 30 January 1889.

The Archive Department at Thomas Cook Group Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, were able to supply a copy of Cook's Excursionist and Tourist Advertizer, 12 November 1888, describing the tour taken by Miss Caddick. This would have cost her about £200. In 1888 the match-girls of Bryant and May's formed a union, adults received 8s. a week and young girls 4s. The dock strike of 1889 saw the dockers demanding 6d. an hour. Miss Caddick would, therefore, be a member of a family of substance.

The transcription has been checked.

Diary of Travel by HELEN CADDICK, 1889 - 1896.
Held by Birmingham Public Libraries, Archives
Department.

30 Jan, 1889 - New St. Station Birmingham,
departure. Cooks five week party in Palestine and
on through Constantinople and then back to London.
Sailed on the 'Ganges.'

April 22nd, Monday. Went on board the Hungaria (an
Austrian Lloyd) at 4. Lovely view of
Constantinople.

April 23rd. Passed the Dardanelles about 6. Came
on deck at 5.30. Past Abydos (Nagara Point just a
little before reaching the two castles from
Constantinople is the site of Abydos) where Leander
and Byron swam across (also Lewes Robertes in 1620,
Author's note) and Xerxes made the Bridge of Boats
(Hellespont). Saw the Plain of Troy, mount Ida with

snow on it, tomb of Ajax, tombs of Achilles and Patroclus (all small hills). Troy is now called Hissarlik. The island of Tenedos on our right, then Besika Bay, Mitylene etc. Lovely day, the sea most beautifully calm, hardly seemed to move. The Rev. Handford from Cardiff very interesting. Pleasant to talk to - the Oppenheims very pleasant too.

April 24th. Got up at 5 - splendid morning. Entrance to Piraeus very narrow. Landed and had just to unfasten each thing at the Custom House. Nothing was opened - then drove to Athens. Such curious frescoes on the houses as we drove along. A good road but very dusty and white. Saw the Acropolis a long way off. Went to the Hotel d'Angleterre - nice hotel and good rooms - close to the Palace. Had coffee and set off at 9 with a guide. Went first to the Stadium, where the races used to be - tiers of the seats can be seen on the hills each side. Then to the Temple of Jupiter Olympus - 15 columns still stand and one lies on the ground just as it fell. Close to it is the Arch of Hadrian, very well preserved - all the ruins of white marble. Went to see the fountain of Callirrhoe - then passed the 'Lantern of Demosthenes', a small building really like a lantern, with six Corinthian columns and a roof made of a single stone. Byron once stayed near there. From there we went to the Theatre of

Dionysius, a very interesting place, three rows of seats can still be well traced, and the first row of armchairs in white marble for the priests are nearly perfect and very comfortable. Just beyond it was a place belonging to Aesculapius. Went into a sort of cave in the rock where there was a good spring. Then came the Theatre of Herod Atticus, very good, but not as well preserved as Dionysius Theatre. Went back to lunch at hotel and set off again with the guide at 3.30 to the Acropolis. Ruins most grand, picturesque and interesting, but I feel in a muddle and must see them again. Went up what must have been a grand flight of steps to the Propylaea, at the side a lovely little temple to Athene Nike, then across a wide space to the Parthenon, the Erechtheon, the Hall of Caryatides (Maidens). We went into the Museum where there is an interesting collection of sculpture, part of the frieze of the Parthenon (the Elgin Marbles) is still there and lots of statues. From the Acropolis we went to Mars Hill and stood on the place where Paul preached - it is not much of a hill, but a good place from which to address a crowd. The old market was just below it. Then across to the Pnyx where Demosthenes used to hold forth. While we were out we saw the Queen and her daughter and the Russian Prince who is engaged to the daughter, driving in a carriage and pair of greys - coachman and footman in blue liveries, and white facings - no outriders. The Queen and her

daughter both fat and pleasant-looking. From my window at the hotel, I see the Palace, a large stone building. At the back of it, the Hymettus Hills and at the side the Lycabettus, a high pointed hill with a church on top. From Mar's Hill we looked across at the prison of Socrates, three square holes in the side of the hill - the tomb of Cymon is near it.

April 25. Started at 8.30 with the Guide. Went first into the new Greek Church - very beautiful - the pulpit had a dove for a Book rest. Then to the old Cathedral close by, very small and curious, built in 12 hundred and something entirely out of ancient fragments! Then to the Tower of the Winds. The market gate with the stone still up on which the price of oil was written. Then to the Stoa of Hadrian, passed a building that used to be a Mosque, but now there is no Mosque in Athens, along a Bazaar, but did not see much to buy except some leather purses and belts - passed the clock Tower given by Lord Elgin in return for the sculptures he took from the Parthenon. To the temple of Theseus in splendid preservation, older than the Parthenon, supposed to have been built by Cymon B.C.470. To the old Burial Ground, where some splendid monuments have been discovered - a magnificent bull, several sculptured stones representing parting scenes etc. Home to lunch, and afterwards drove to the Academy and to what were called the 'Olive Groves' where

philosophers walked and talked, but now no trees exist there! Then to the Museums which were very interesting, but most fatiguing. My old guide is the one who went with the Vyners to Marathon about 10 years ago - they were attacked and taken prisoner by brigands. The guide was sent to Athens to demand a ransom, but in spite of the guide's entreaties, troops were sent instead of money. Consequently when the brigands found they were pursued, they killed their prisoners and made off. Most of them were captured. The old guide was imprisoned for two years on suspicion of aiding the brigands - he cant bear to talk of it. Heard nightingales singing.

April 27. Glorious day - the white streets and houses are almost blinding. So struck with the modernness of Athens. Walked by Lycabettus. An easy walk and splendid view. As we came back, the guard was being changed at the Palace - at the garden entrance we saw the Royal carriage waiting. The Queen soon came down and got in, attended by a lady and gentleman. After lunch, went to the Acropolis again - thoroughly enjoyed a good look at the ruins, the Propylaea, the Temple of Nike on the right - Pinocathea on the left - then inside a great space covered with broken columns the huge Parthenon on the one side and the Erectheum - Hall of the Caryatides adjoining on the other. Went up to the top of the Parthenon and got a splendid view. On

the way back to the hotel, went into the Palace Gardens and walked about - very wild and pretty - lovely roses, lavender hedges in full bloom and orange trees in full blossom. The public allowed to walk in the gardens every day from 2 until 6. Met Count Thun and his party again at the hotel and had some lovely music in the evenings. The two Whattons came yesterday.

April 27. Started at 8 in a carriage for Marathon with the two Whattons, Mr. Scott and Mr. Mitchell, Scotch Ministers (one of them Chaplain to the Queen). Just as we were in the carriage the King drove by - pleasant looking man, slight and a fair moustache. Enjoyed the drive to Marathon extremely - very pretty - nice views of the mountains and the sea. Changed horses near the place where the brigands took the Vyners. Reached Marathon at 12 - a good road but hilly. Walked to the sea shore and then to the Mount and made out where the Persians landed and where the Greeks came down on them and drove them into the sea and the marsh. Had lunch (which we took with us) at a little sort of Inn. Got back at 6. Lovely day - saw large tortoises on the way - passed near the mountains where the Pentelion Marble Quarries are - looked so white and glistening - Hymettus always has such a lovely

purple glow on it - the honey from there is delicious and very celebrated.

April 28. Went to English church. Walked in the afternoon to the Acropolis, Mars Hill, Philopappus, and to the Palace Gardens. Heard the nightingales again. Geraniums trained like standard roses.

April 29. The two Whattons and I wanted to go to Nauplia, Tyryns etc. After a little persuading I got Cooks man to agree to stay at Athens till the next boat, if I would make it right with Cook in London, so off I set - it seemed a shame to miss seeing such interesting places.

Started by 7.15 train to Corinth with the two Whattons, Mr. Scott, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Handford (he has been staying at the Grand Hotel, which he says is cheaper and better than ours). Passed Elefsis, but dont see the ruins - very mountainous - sea lovely - saw Island of Salamis well and the mountain where Xerxes sat to watch the battle. Megara, a large place on a hill, no trees or chimneys, close to the sea. Crossed the Canal across the isthmus of Corinth. No one at work now, looks as if it would not answer well, the sides are so straight and it is a great depth, looks as if the current would soon wash some of it down when the water is let in. Waited at New Corinth till 3 for a train on to Nauplia - mountains all round the Bay -

sea deep blue. Saw Parnassus with snow on. Passed some queer windmills near Megara. Journey from Corinth to Nauplia very wild and mountainous - great plain of Argos. Nauplia beautiful, situated on the sea - fortifications on a high rock just over the town - houses coloured blue, yellow and white - mountains all round - lovely sunset. Hotel full, so got rooms near, clean but very simple. Had meals at a funny Restaurant. Hotel Mycenae. Proprietor very obliging - he has good French - has arranged a carriage for us, put up a good lunch - given the man all directions. The man only speaks Greek so we cannot talk to him!

April 30. Had breakfast at 6.30 out of doors on the top of some steps, as the rooms were all full. Splendid day. Started at 7 in a carriage and three horses. Stopped first at Tiryns - very interesting old ruins of a building 600 years B.C. (Homer speaks of the place) - such curiously made pointed arches - stones not cut, but arranged to formulate arch. From there we went on to Argos, but there is very little left to see except a theatre. The rows of seats cut in the rock in a semi-circle, with flights of steps up from top to bottom - an old Roman ruin near it. The Museum has nothing special in it. From there we went to Mycenae and there we found plenty to see. We left the carriage at Charvati and took a boy as guide. We walked a good way over a

and he seemed quite disappointed I did not care to
buy it.