

War in Travel Literature

War in Travel Literature

Edited by

Jeanne Dubino, Orkun Kocabıyık,
Elisabetta Marino and Andrew J. Smyth

**Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing**



War in Travel Literature

Edited by Jeanne Dubino, Orkun Kocabıyık, Elisabetta Marino
and Andrew J. Smyth

This book first published 2023

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2023 by Jeanne Dubino, Orkun Kocabıyık,
Elisabetta Marino, Andrew J. Smyth and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without
the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-0482-4

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-0482-0

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contributors.....	vii
-------------------	-----

Introduction	xii
Jeanne Dubino	

The Nineteenth Century: Imperialism and Nation-Building

Chapter One.....	2
------------------	---

The Gunner as Author, Artist, Tourist: Mercer's <i>Journal of the Waterloo Campaign</i>	
Donna Landry	

Chapter Two	27
-------------------	----

Imperial Designs, Military Pageantry, and Traveling Menageries:	
Emily Eden in India, 1837-1840	
Jeanne Dubino	

Chapter Three	51
---------------------	----

Lady Nurse or Lady Tourist? <i>Ismeer, or Smyrna and Its British Hospital in 1855. By A Lady</i>	
Orkun Kocabıyık	

Chapter Four	63
--------------------	----

Through British Eyes: The Italian Risorgimento in the Travel Narratives of Amelia Louisa Vaux Gretton and Theodosia Garrow Trollope	
Elisabetta Marino	

The First and Second World Wars

Chapter Five	88
--------------------	----

Friends and Foes: British Travelers among the Kurds, 1900-1919	
Gerald MacLean	

Chapter Six	115
The Establishment of Balkanist Discourse on Montenegro in Italian Travel Accounts	
Olivera Popović	
Chapter Seven.....	142
Secular Pilgrimages to First World War Memorials on the Soča/Isonzo Front: A Travel Diary of the 1st Battalion of the 269th Infantry Regiment	
Petra Kavrečič	
Chapter Eight.....	172
War in the Kitchen: <i>Some Favorite Southern Recipes of the Duchess of Windsor</i> as Travel Narrative	
Tanfer Emin Tunç	
From the Cold War to the Present	
Chapter Nine.....	192
Eating with the Enemy: Cold War Travelers in the Soviet Union	
Nicholas J. Barnett	
Chapter Ten	216
“For God and Country”: The American Legion, the Soldier, the Veteran, and Battlefield Tourism during the Vietnam War (1956-1975)	
Annessa Ann Babic	
Chapter Eleven	238
The US War against Migrants: Luis Alberto Urrea’s <i>The Devil’s Highway: A True Story</i>	
Meldan Tanrısıl	
Chapter Twelve	260
Travel and Trauma for Women at War: Ryan Leigh Dostie’s <i>Formation: A Woman’s Memoir of Stepping out of Line</i> and the Rape Culture of the US Military	
Andrew J. Smyth	
Index	275

CONTRIBUTORS

Annessa Ann Babic is a freelance writer, adjunct professor, and lecturer in New York. She specializes in Women's Studies, American social and cultural history, public health narratives, and Transnational Studies, emphasizing modern Middle East and US-Turkish relations. She is the author or coeditor of several books and has produced numerous book chapters, reference entries, book reviews and journal articles. Her publications deal extensively with nationalism, women's rights, women's liberation, Turkish-US relations, transnational feminism and travel literature. Her latest monograph is *America's Changing Icons* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2018). She has also guest-edited a special edition of the *Journal of American Studies in Turkey* focusing on travel narratives; previously, she coedited an issue of *Food and Foodways* (with Tanfer Emin Tunç). Recent book chapters on Chinese American takeaway dinners, travel narratives, war, and literary icons (i.e. *Anne of Green Gables*); and co-written pieces on food narratives and activism (with Tunç) have populated her publishing landscape. She has won teaching fellowships as well as writing and research awards. Aside from discursive teaching and looking at the popular culture venues of food and food products, Dr. Babic has also published on the manifestation, evolution, and incorporation of modern cultural artifacts into our daily lives. In addition, she has an active publishing career outside of academia, as she writes travel and lifestyle pieces alongside fiction and works as an activist for women's and social causes. Currently, she is finishing a discursive project on travel literature and the perceptions of place and space (looking at Greece and Turkey) and working on a travel narrative book for the popular press.

Nicholas J. Barnett is Lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Salford, Salford, Greater Manchester, UK. He is the Politics/Programme Leader for the honors BA program in Contemporary History and Politics, and the honors BA program in Politics. He supervises dissertations or PhDs on Post-Second World War Two social and cultural history and specializes in the post-Second World War Two period. His current projects focus on cultural encounters between people from different nations during the Cold War, including official exchanges and the role of

tourism as cultural diplomacy. His previous work has focused on British culture and the Cold War, social movements and espionage culture. He edits the book series, Routledge Studies in Espionage Culture.

Jeanne Dubino is Professor of English, Global Studies and Animal Studies at Appalachian State University, Boone, North Carolina, USA. She has been a visiting assistant professor of literature and Women's Studies at Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey; a Fulbright Scholar/Researcher at Egerton University, Njoro, Kenya; Fulbright Specialist at Northeastern University, Shenyang, China; and visiting scholar at Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt. She has taught courses in literature, Cultural Studies, writing and speech, Women's Studies, and Animal Studies. Some of her most recent publications include the edited volume *Virginia Woolf and the Literary Marketplace* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and the coedited *Representing the Modern Animal in Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), *Virginia Woolf: Twenty-First-Century Approaches* (Edinburgh University Press, 2014), *Politics, Mobility, and Identity in Travel Writing* (Routledge, 2015), *Virginia Woolf: Critical and Primary Sources* (Bloomsbury 2020), and *The Edinburgh Companion to Virginia Woolf and Contemporary Global Literature* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021); and essays, articles, and reviews on Woolf, popular culture, travel and Animal Studies. She is currently working on a book on stray/street/free-ranging dogs in literature.

Petra Kavrečič is Associate Professor at the University of Primorska in the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Koper/Capodistria, Slovenia. She has published a scientific monograph and scientific articles in national and international journals; and has coedited volumes. Her work focuses on the development of modern tourism in contemporary Western Slovenia, the relationship between tourism and political ideology and the commemorative practices of First World War battlefields. She participates in domestic and international scientific conferences. She teaches courses at the undergraduate and graduate levels on the history of tourism, the history of everyday life, and regional and oral history, among other subjects.

Orkun Kocabıyık is Associate Professor at Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey, in the Department of English Language and Literature. His research interests and publications focus on nineteenth-century British travel writing, Turkish literature in English, Translation Studies and cultural encounters. He is on the editorial board of the *Mediterranean Journal of Humanities*. He has translated several travelogues, most recently *Ismeer, or Smyrna and Its British Hospital in 1855. By a Lady* into Turkish (*Bir İngiliz Hemşirenin İzmir Hatıraları*). He is currently

working on an edited volume, *Turkish Writers in English: Turkish-Anglophone Voices in Literature*.

Donna Landry is Emeritus Professor of English and American Literature at the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK, and a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society. She is the author, co-author, or coeditor of eight books, including *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking, and Ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (2001), *Noble Brutes: How Eastern Horses Transformed English Culture* (2008), and *Cosmopolitan Animals* (2015, coedited with Kaori Nagai et al). Her current monograph project is a study of Waterloo and its aftermaths from the point of view of the horses. With Gerald MacLean, she plans a book to bring the great Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611-ca.1687) to new audiences across the disciplines. They are founding members of the Evliya Çelebi Ride and Way project to promote equestrian tourism and knowledge of Ottoman history (<https://research.kent.ac.uk/the-evliya-celebi-ride-and-way-project/>).

Gerald MacLean, Emeritus Professor of the University of Exeter, Exeter, UK, is a literary and cultural historian specializing in Anglo-Ottoman relations and a founding member of *The Evliya Çelebi Way Project*, which established a UNESCO-approved equestrian Cultural Route in Western Anatolia. He is author, most recently, of *Abdullah Gül and the Making of the New Turkey* (2014), *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (2007; Turkish 2009), and *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (2004; Turkish 2006). With Nabil Matar he is co-author of *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (2011; Turkish 2021). Edited works include *Britain and the Muslim World: Historical Perspectives* (2012), *Writing Turkey: Explorations in Turkish History, Politics and Cultural Identity* (2006), and *Re-Orienting the Renaissance* (2005).

Elisabetta Marino is Associate of Professor English literature and head of the Asia and the West research center at the University of Rome “Tor Vergata”, Italy. She is the author of four monographs: a volume on the figure of Tamerlane in British and American literature (2000); an introduction to British Bangladeshi literature (2005); a study on the relationship between Mary Shelley and Italy (2011); and an analysis of Romantic dramas on a mythological subject (2016). In 2006 she published the first Italian translation of poems by Maria Mazziotti Gillan. Between 2001 and 2023 she has edited or coedited twelve collections of essays (three more are forthcoming) and a Special Forum of the *Journal of Transnational American Studies* (2012). In 2022, she coedited a special

issue of *De-Genere: Journal of Postcolonial, Literary and Gender Studies* (March, 2022), and she is currently acting as guest editor for a special issue of *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* (JAST) focused on Italian American material culture (to be released in 2023). She has just translated the novel *Parkwater* (1876) by Ellen Wood (for the first time in Italy).

Olivera Popović is Assistant Professor at the University of Montenegro, Podgorica, Montenegro, where she teaches Italian language and literature. She has participated in several research projects and published articles on trans- and inter-Adriatic literary and cultural relations. Her main research interest focuses on Italian travel accounts of Montenegro. She collaborates with the Inter-University Centre for the International Study of Adriatic Travels, which collects and analyzes travelogues related to various Mediterranean countries. She translated several archival documents, books and studies in the field of Italian-Montenegrin relations. She is one of the editors of the scientific journal for language and literature studies, *Folia Linguistica et Litteraria*.

Andrew J. Smyth is Professor of English at Southern Connecticut State University. He specializes in Secondary English Education, Early Modern English Literature and Animal Studies. Recent publications include articles on Animal Studies in conjunction with comics, young adult literature, Maria Edgeworth and Edmund Spenser. He coedited *Representing the Modern Animal in Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). He is currently developing a project on the intertextual relationship between Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Philip Pullman's *Book of Dust* series. He has taught in Kenya, Egypt, and China, with the latter two placements funded by a Fulbright Specialist grant.

Meldan Tanrısal is Professor at Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey in the Department of American Culture and Literature. Her areas of specialization are Native American, Hispanic American and Asian American Studies. Her research interests lie in ethnic literatures and culture, literary nonfiction, biography, autobiography and the American novel, on which she has published numerous articles and book chapters. In 1993, she was awarded a Fulbright visiting scholarship to study Native Americans in Albuquerque, New Mexico. In 2016 she spent the spring semester in the same place studying Hispanic American culture. She coedited the 26th issue of the *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* in 2007 and edited the 54th issue on Native American Studies in 2020. "Borrowed Visions: American Indian and Anglo American Uses of Each Other's Visions", appeared in the *Journal of the West* (Fall 2007). Her

book on the novels of Amy Tan, *Gizem dolu Yaşamlar: Çinli Amerikalı Edebiyatı ve Amy Tan* (Lives of Mystery: Chinese American Literature and Amy Tan), was published in 2012. She served as Vice President of the European Association of American (EAAS) in the years 2012-2014 and has been serving as the President of the American Studies Association of Turkey (ASAT) since 2012.

Tanfer Emin Tunç is Professor of American Studies at Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey. She specializes in American social and cultural history, Women's and Gender Studies, and Transnational American Studies. She has published extensively on food and war in journals such as *Home Cultures*, *War and Society*, *War in History*, *Cold War History* and the *Journal of Social History*. In 2017, she coedited a special issue of *Food and Foodways* on the Second World War and the American diet. Her ninth book, the coedited volume *Chop Suey and Sushi from Sea to Shining Sea: Chinese and Japanese Restaurants in the United States*, was published by the University of Arkansas Press in 2018. She is Vice President of the American Studies Association of Turkey (ASAT) and a Board Member of the European Association for American Studies (EAAS).

INTRODUCTION

JEANNE DUBINO

The chapters in this collection were written by authors against the backdrop of war, disaster and travel—indeed, during a period of multiple wars, a disaster that personally affects many of the contributors, and interrupted travel, which has enveloped us all. Some of the conflicts are in somewhat of a holding pattern, including those in Yemen and Ethiopia. The after-effects of the wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan are still very much felt. Other countries are marked by instability, and the conditions there are warlike, including Burkina Faso, South Sudan and Haiti. War continues to rage in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Rival factions are fighting in Sudan. This list is partial. The full-fledged European war, in Ukraine, dominates the news and as of this writing shows no sign of abating. The number of Ukrainians forced to leave their homes—to travel—is 16 million and growing, and that number is on top of the tens of millions of others, including 13 million Syrians alone, who are displaced by war and conflict. As of this writing, millions of Syrians and Turks are displaced by the massive earthquakes that struck Southeastern Turkey and Northwestern Syria in February 2023. Travel, on the most basic level, to this part of the world, which resembles a monstrous war zone, is difficult. In the meantime, the abatement of the global pandemic is opening up much of the world for voluntary travel.

War in Travel Literature consists of twelve chapters on travel writing in which war functions as a subject, theme, impetus—both willing and not—and backdrop. As these chapters show, literature about travel and war in tandem enables readers to rethink both categories. Travel literature is already an *omnium-gatherum* form,¹ drawing all manner of genres and topics into itself. The forms of travel writing about war addressed in this collection, including fiction and cookbooks, along with the standard nonfiction narrative and memoir, reveal how heterogenous travel writing

¹ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 5.

can be. Moreover, a consideration of travel in connection with war expands readers' understanding of the multiple motivations instigating the journey.

The treatment of war in all of the literature discussed in this collection enlarges its definition. In short, war is not only about two or more nations or entities fighting on a battlefield or about the shibboleths associated with war, such as heroism, courage, honor and sacrifice.² War is also about the factors that lead up to it and the aftermath that follows it. In this collection, the temporal scope of war is elongated. The spatial dimensions are increased as well. War does not just take place on a battlefield; its reach is extensive and encompasses the spheres surrounding its battlefields and fronts. The range of actors, agents, and players involved in any conflict attests to the ways war is absorbed into their worlds, infiltrates their thoughts and motivates their actions.

This introduction presents the gamut of participants who traveled because of wars and who narrated their travels, including soldiers and veterans, nurses and journalists, aristocrats and tourists. They wrote about fighting and its aftermath, especially trauma; military nostalgia, memorials and

² War is certainly about those dimensions too, however, and there are a wealth of books on these very topics. See Debbie Lisle, *Holidays in the Danger Zone: Entanglements of War and Tourism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016); Bertram M. Gordon, *War Tourism: Second World War France from Defeat and Occupation to the Creation of Heritage* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018); David William Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1998); Stephen Miles, *The Western Front: Landscape, Tourism and Heritage* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword, 2017) Modern Conflict Archaeology Series; Tiya Miles, *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015) The Steven and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era; Sune Bechmann Pedersen and Christian Noack, eds., *Tourism and Travel during the Cold War: Negotiating Tourist Experiences across the Iron Curtain* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Chris Ryan, ed., *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2007) Advances in Tourism Research Series; and Javier Uriarte, *The Desertmakers: Travel, War, and the State in Latin America* (New York: Routledge, 2020) Routledge Research in Travel Writing series. The 2020 Modern Language Association Convention featured a panel titled "Militourism: Travel Literature and Empire" (Conference Panel for the 2020 MLA [Modern Language Association] Annual Convention, *PMLA* [Publications of the Modern Language Association], Vol. 134, No. 4 [2019]: 792.)

tourism; empire, national identity and cosmopolitanism; and social class and gender. In this collection the main point of origin is Britain, but travelers also hail from the United States, Italy and Mexico. Their destinations are more varied: Waterloo, India, Kurdistan, Montenegro and the Balkans, the Bahamas, the Soviet Union, the United States and Iraq. Their travels fall into roughly three periods, and this collection will address them in terms of the following eras: the nineteenth century, the First and Second World Wars, and the Cold War through to the present day.

In the travelogues featured in this collection one can see the multiple relationships that the writers and the people they write about have to war and conflict. Soldiers like the British Alexander Cavalié Mercer, who served in the Royal Horse Artillery during the Napoleonic wars and the Battle of Waterloo, and US-Americans like Ryan Leigh Dostie, who was deployed to Iraq during Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003-2004), reflect upon their battlefield experiences with their mistakes, mishaps and assaults; Dostie was raped by a fellow US soldier. Donna Landry and Andrew J. Smyth, respectively, explain how Mercer's and Dostie's power of writing draws the readers into their stories. Orkun Kocabiyık writes about a British woman, presumably Martha Nicol, who served not on the battlefield, but as a nurse in an Ottoman hospital that attended to British soldiers wounded in war. Her perspective is that of an insider and outsider. Both Smyth's and Kocabiyık's chapters remind readers that bodies in war are vulnerable and are subject to the violence of patriarchal machine that drives wars. All three of the insider accounts that Landry, Smyth and Kocabiyık analyze do not offer abstract renditions of war but are instead detailed, and sometimes graphic and even gritty.

The stories written in *The American Legion Magazine*, published by the American Legion, an organization for US veterans that began in 1919, were not by the veterans themselves, but were fictionalized wartime accounts of the experiences of white, middle-class, family-centered men. These stories, written by professional writers, did not address trauma but rather, as Annessa Ann Babic writes, glorified military exploits of the veterans and the lives they returned to after the war. Even during the Vietnam War (1956-1975), when returning veterans were not always celebrated by the public at large, *The American Legion Magazine* upheld their image as stalwart and strong. Louis Alberto Urrea is a contemporary, award-winning US-American author whose writing crosses over into journalism and fiction. He too, like the writers of *The American Legion Magazine*, writes about war and travel from an outsider's perspective, but

rather than fictionalizing the accounts, he undertook extensive research to make his narrative as factual and realistic as possible. Urrea does not write about soldiers returning from the battlefield, but rather Mexican immigrants trying to cross the border into the US at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In her chapter on Urrea, Meldan Tanrisal makes the argument that the mid-nineteenth-century US-Mexican War never really ended and, today, takes on a different form. Even now, the US is declaring *de facto* war on those who would attempt to reclaim territory that was, historically, theirs. Soldiers are not the only victims of war; Tanrisal shows how Urrea includes would-be immigrants to be among those who are caught up in the sweep of war.

The mid-nineteenth-century narrative of Emily Eden's travels in India is but one instance of how war takes place in a more-than-human world. Jeanne Dubino explores the way nonhuman animals are used in the lead-up to war. Emily Eden traveled during the years preceding and during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842), with her brother George Eden, the 1st Earl of Auckland, in India, where he was the Governor-General, and an entourage of more than 10,000 people and hundreds of animals, who were part of the military pageantry of the expedition. As the consort to her unmarried brother, Eden played an important role, as an imperialist abroad attempting to establish the legitimacy of the British presence in India. Though Eden gently mocked and satirized her fellow British imperialists, she was, still, counted among their number. Like Dubino, Elisabetta Marino also writes about the way nineteenth-century British women served to legitimate imperialism. War does not just entail Althusser's "repressive state apparatus",³ one part of which is the army, but an entire ideological state apparatus, and women, as Dubino and Marino write, play in important function in the cultural dimension of this apparatus. Marino addresses the travel writing of Theodosia Garrow Trollope and Amelia Louisa Vaux Gretton, who wrote about Italy just before the Risorgimento, the unification of Italy in 1861. Leading up to the unification were a series of wars and revolts. While sympathetic to the Italian cause—just as, from time to time, Eden was sympathetic to the plight of the Indians she encountered on her travels—Trollope and Gretton, writes Marino, also upheld the dominant British view that Italians lacked the capacity for self-government. One can make the case that in her role as a nurse, Martha Nicol, the putative author of *Ismeer, or Smyrna and Its British Hospital in 1855. By a Lady*, is, like Eden, Trollope, and Gretton, part of the

³ Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970).

ideological state apparatus, as is Wallis Simpson, the Duchess of Windsor, who wrote a cookbook while she was accompanying her husband the Duke of Windsor, who was appointed as the Governor of the Bahamas during the Second World War. This appointment was, in fact, a form of exile; both the Duke and Duchess, who had cozied up too closely to Nazi Germany, had become liabilities in the UK during the war effort. Simpson's cookbook served to show her allegiance to her adopted home of Britain. Writing a cookbook also became a creative way of coping during war time. But not all the women writers featured in this collection were pro-war or pro-imperialism. Though Ryan Leigh Dostie served as a soldier in one of the US's imperial wars, her account, *Formation: A Woman's Memoir of Stepping out of Line* (2019), becomes, itself, an act of resistance, as the second part of the title indicates.

Thus it is that the travel accounts of and by soldiers and veterans, nurses and journalists, immigrants and women, not to mention nonhuman animals, attest to the manifold ways that war assumes manifold dimensions. The very topics the contributors address provide more evidence of war's many elements. For example, even as Smyth addresses the major traditional activity of war, his main focus is on trauma. Critics such as Babic and Petra Kavrečič also address soldiering, but not as it takes place on the battlefield. Babic not only homes in on fictional representations of the lives of soldiers when they return home but also on the role that the *American Legion Magazine* played in creating a culture of memory and voyeurism for its readers. Kavrečič discusses *lieux de memoire*, or sites of memory; more specifically, she examines First World War memorials placed in the area marking the Soča/Isonzo front line (1915-1917) between Austria-Hungary and the Kingdom of Italy.

Donna Landry writes about the perspective of a soldier—or rather of a military officer. Her emphasis is on the cosmopolitanism of Alexander Cavalié Mercer, who was multilingual, well-read, and intensely curious about all he encountered. While Mercer's point of view was a catholic one, the other travelers whose work is under discussion in this collection held other political positions. Theodosia Garrow Trollope and Amelia Louisa Vaux Gretton, and Emily Eden, though to a lesser extent than Trollope and Gretton (if only because she represented her fellow imperialists in a spirit of wry bemusement), were imperialists abroad. The trip Eden took with her brother was an intentionally colonial and militaristic one, with one of its goals, for example, to strengthen relationships with British allies, especially Ranjit Singh, the Maharaja of the Sikh kingdom. By the time Trollope and Gretton went to Italy, it had become a "favourite destination

of travelers and a privileged object for travel writers”,⁴ yet these two women elected to make the Risorgimento their object of study. Roy Bridges remarks on the way travel writing from 1720-1914, especially British travel writing, “became increasingly identified with the interests and preoccupations of those in European societies who wished to bring the non-European world into a position where it could be influenced, exploited or, in some cases, directly controlled”.⁵

The year 1914 marks a key end date of this imperial era. In his chapter, focusing on the first two decades of the twentieth century, Gerald MacLean explains how British travelers—in MacLean’s case, those writing about the Kurds—showed uncertainty about their own position; were they administrators or were they tourists? Near the beginning of the twentieth century in the US, the aftermath of war was politicized as entities like the American Legion sought, through its publication, to celebrate it as the ultimate form of heroism. Louis Alberto Urrea, on the other hand, does not celebrate conventional war. He explicitly represents himself in his account of subaltern travel to oppose the imperialism of the US as he exposes the cruelty of its border policies—namely, those designed to stop would-be immigrants from crossing over into its territory. By characterizing US policy as a border war, Tanrisal also reveals one of the forms that war now takes in the contemporary era.

The very origins and destinations of the travelers reveal the geopolitics of the world from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day. The overall pattern of movement that is studied in all the chapters is, generally, that from the more powerful to the less powerful countries of the planet. Mary Louise Pratt describes the way

travel books written by Europeans about non-European parts of the world created the imperial order for Europeans “at home” and gave them their place in it. . . . [T]ravel writing made imperial expansion meaningful and desirable to the citizenries of the imperial countries. . . . Travel books . . . gave European reading publics a sense of ownership, entitlement and

⁴ Sharon Ouditt and Loredana Polezzi, “Introduction: Italy as Place and Space”, *Studies in Travel Writing*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2012): 97.

⁵ Roy Bridges, “Exploration and Travel outside Europe”. In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 53.

familiarity with respect to the distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized.⁶

Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan remind readers that the “connection between travel writing and imperial conquest is a long-standing one”.⁷ Of the works featured in *War in Travel Literature*, this connection is most clearly evinced in Eden’s *Up the Country*, where we see Eden traveling with her brother in the late 1830s through the early 1840s, when India was a de facto British colony, during the two decades before Britain assumed direct political control over it. Wallis Simpson served in a similar role in the Bahamas, at the time a colony of Britain’s. Her husband, the Duke of Windsor, was appointed the Governor there from 1940-1945. Theodosia Garrow Trollope and Amelia Louisa Vaux Gretton assumed an imperialist stance, as Marino writes, in their writing about Italy’s Risorgimento.

Kristin Lozanski argues that this colonial mindset persists into the present day: “Independent travel as an alternative form remains embedded in the implicit hierarchies of colonialism that persist in a neo-colonial global setting”.⁸ It is noteworthy that, in this collection, the dominant point of origin is Britain; seven chapters are on British travelers. Two chapters are on US-American travelers, two on Italian, and one on Mexican (from the perspective of a Mexican-American author). This last point of origin, however, is a reminder of one of the earliest motives for travel: those who are compelled to seek another life. The Mexicans who hope to work in the US do not resemble the British, several of whose quests are for adventure, especially adventure related to war. MacLean writes about British adventurers who went to the Kurdish areas of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Nicholas J. Barnett about Britons who traveled to the Soviet Union following the Second World War. For the nurses, soldiers and officers writing about their experiences, such as the nurse-author of *Ismeer, or Smyrna and Its British Hospital*; the soldier-linguist Ryan Leigh Dostie; and the captain and later general Alexander Cavalié Mercer, the demarcation line between travel that is driven by need and travel that is taken in a spirit of wanderlust—or, as Lozanski would argue, neocolonial travel—is not as marked. For the travel motivated by

⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* [1992], 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 3.

⁷ Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 15.

⁸ Kristin Lozanski, “Independent Travel: Colonialism, Liberalism and the Self”, *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (2011): 466.

the First World War, especially that of the those visiting the former battlegrounds of the First World War, one can, as Popović and Kavrečić write, detect the assumption of an imperial outlook. All of the writers in this collection show, in summary, the difficulty of disentangling travel literature about war from the geopolitics that drive it.

Structure of the Collection

Starting with the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century and ending with the US's war against Iraq in the early twenty-first century, this collection is set up chronologically. The two hundred years represented in this collection are separated into the nineteenth century, the First and Second World Wars, and the Cold War to the present day. The wars that form the occasion, impetus, or backdrop for travel are not just global in scope but are also civil, regional, proxy (as in the US-USSR Cold War), and border (as in the US declaring a border war on Mexico). What follows is a brief background on these three time periods, and the wars that took place within them and that are featured in *War in Travel Literature*.

From a European perspective, the nineteenth century was a time of imperialism and nation-building. The Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) were fought between the short-lived French Empire and other European countries, including, above all, Britain; the Duke of Wellington, still considered to be one of Britain's greatest national heroes, is thought to be largely responsible for defeating Napoleon in the Battle of Waterloo (1815). The Napoleonic Wars inform Mercer's *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* (1870), discussed by Donna Landry in "The Gunner as Author, Artist, Tourist: Mercer's *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign*". All of the works that are discussed in this first section on the nineteenth century are by British authors, and, indeed, this century is marked by Britain's ascent to superpower status. Along the way, it fought or had a hand in a number of wars. The next one featured in this collection is the "Great Game", a series of generally low-level confrontations that took place over the course of the nineteenth century between Britain and Russia over Afghanistan and spilling over into other regions, including South Asia. Emily Eden's brother George, Lord Auckland and Governor-General of India from 1836-1842, was part of the Great Game and was in fact considered responsible for one of Britain's earliest setbacks. It was Lord Auckland's decision to oust one of the rulers of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammad Khan, during the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-1842), that led to the "Disaster in Afghanistan". This war is in the background but never explicitly addressed in Eden's *Up the*

Country, which Jeanne Dubino analyzes in “Imperial Designs, Military Pageantry, and Traveling Menageries: Emily Eden in India, 1837-1840”. The conflicts of the Great Game rarely rose to the level of full-fledged war, with the exception of the Crimean War (1853-1856), in which Russia lost to an alliance whose major constituents were Britain, France and the Ottoman Empire, which Orkun Kocabiyik addresses in “Lady Nurse or Lady Tourist? *Ismeer, or Smyrna and Its British Hospital in 1855. By A Lady*”. The soldiers tended by Martha Nicol, the putative author of *Ismeer*, fought in Crimea. Though the authorship of *Ismeer* has not been entirely confirmed, it is interesting to note that the book was dedicated to Robert John Eden, the 3rd Baron of Auckland, who happened to be a younger brother of Emily and George Eden. The wars that took place during the nineteenth century were not all imperial; many were part of the process of the building of nation-states. The final conflict that took place within this century and that is discussed in this collection, the Risorgimento, involved a series of small and proxy wars. As is the case of other national struggles, Britain was involved, and the British largely feted the hero of the founding of Italy, Giuseppe Garibaldi, in 1861. However, as Marino indicates in “Through British Eyes: The Italian Risorgimento in the Travel Narratives of Amelia Louisa Vaux Gretton and Theodosia Garrow Trollope”, many British doubted whether Italians had the capacity for self-rule.⁹

The “war to end all wars”, or the First World War, did not, of course, end all wars, but rather heralded a century filled with them. However, the First World War has, certainly, taken on especial resonance that started immediately upon its conclusion and continues to the present day. Four of the chapters in this collection are about struggles leading up to, accounts of, and the memorialization of this war. Gerald MacLean examines the writing of British travelers to Kurdish regions in the years before and after the First World War in “Friends and Foes: British Travelers among the Kurds, 1900-1919”. The Kurdish struggle for national autonomy—a war in itself—became caught up with the First World War. Some Kurds had thrown their lots in with the Ottoman Empire, which was allied with the Central Powers, while others aligned themselves with Britain and Russia. As MacLean writes, the British traveling among the Kurds found themselves befriending those who took the sides of their enemy. MacLean’s essay also addresses the ways wars affect interpersonal

⁹ See also Peter Clements, “The British and the Risorgimento”, *History Review*, Vol. 35 (1999): 3-7. Accessed January 15, 2022.
<https://www.historytoday.com/sites/default/files/The%20British%20and%20the%20Risorgimento.pdf>.

relationships, including those between travelers and “travelees”.¹⁰ Like MacLean, Olivera Popović, in “The Establishment of Balkanist Discourse on Montenegro in Italian Travel Accounts”, considers conflicts leading up to and related to the First World War: the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), fought by the Ottoman Empire and the Balkan League, of which Montenegro was a part. Italy played an indirect role in the Balkan victory; Italy itself had defeated the Ottoman Empire in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-1912, which set the stage for the Balkan victory to follow. Focusing on the writing by Italians who traveled to Montenegro before, during and after the Balkan Wars, wars which then served as the prelude to the First World War, Popović addresses the construction of Montenegrin identity within the discourse of these Italian travel books. In “Secular Pilgrimages to First World War Memorials on the Soča/Isonzo Front: A Travel Diary of the 1st Battalion of the 269th Infantry Regiment”, Petra Kavrečič focuses on First World War battlefield tourism, especially on the First World War memorials located in the Soča/Isonzo front line between Austria-Hungary and Italy. The accounts that Kavrečič writes about are not celebratory but further serve as acts of remembrance. The battlefield tourism prompted by the First World War runs parallel to the rise of mass tourism in the twentieth century.

If the First World War was enormous in scope, the Second World War surpassed it in terms of global reach, large numbers of battlefronts, and above all, deaths, with estimates ranging from fifty to one hundred million. This war was a truly total one, and swept up most of the world’s nations and its civilian populations within its scope. One of the immediate causes was the rise of Hitler and his quest for world domination. Hitler lies in the background as the instigation of the travels Tanfer Emin Tunç writes about in “War in the Kitchen: *Some Favorite Southern Recipes of the Duchess of Windsor* as Travel Narrative”. After the Duke and Duchess of Windsor visited Hitler, they became associated with him and with Nazism, and were sent, essentially, into exile for the duration of the Second World War to the Bahamas. There the Duchess wrote a cookbook, which became, for her, a form of wartime travel writing. With Tunç’s chapter, one can see the chain of events that both drive and domesticate war travel, and, also, how seemingly remote colonies are also forced into the sphere of war.

¹⁰ Loredana Polezzi, “Did Someone Just Travel All Over Me? Travel Writing and the Travelee”. In *Seuils et Traverses. Enjeux de l’Écriture du Voyage*, ed. Jan-Yves Le Dizé and Jan Borm (Brest: Université de Bretagne Occidentale, 2002), Vol. 2, 303-312.

Wartime travel, including that undertaken by those in the highest echelons of society, such as that of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, is often unwilling; following the Second World War, tourist travel resumed. In *Overbooked: The Exploding Business of Travel and Tourism*, Elizabeth Becker offers a history of the rise of global tourism. In 1950, there were 25 million recorded international trips;¹¹ by the time Becker published her book in 2013, the number was “one billion and growing”.¹² In “Eating with the Enemy: Cold War Travelers in the Soviet Union”, Nicholas J. Barnett writes about the adventure travel writing by British and Anglo-Americans that took place during another form of war: the Cold War, which followed on the heels of the Second World War. These travelers, whose views were shaped by Cold War politics, of West vs. East and capitalism vs. communism, saw the Soviet Union as exotic and very much the “Other”. In “‘For God and Country’: The American Legion, the Soldier, the Veteran, and Battlefield Tourism during the Vietnam War (1956-1975)”, Annessa Ann Babic examines the way *The American Legion Magazine* continued to celebrate the American soldier as a hero even during the Vietnam War, a time renowned for anti-war protests.

As the Cold War abated by the end of the 1980s with the fall of the Soviet Union, it was replaced by other wars, including the US’s war against the Mexican immigrants who were trying to cross its border. This war was intensified by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) of 1994. NAFTA led to significant unemployment in Mexico and to the rise in Mexicans seeking employment in the United States.¹³ In “The US War against Migrants: Luis Alberto Urrea’s *The Devil’s Highway: A True Story*”, Meldan Tanrisal explains how Urrea narrates the horrific trek undertaken by twenty-six Mexican men and the cruelty of the US’s border policy. Tanrisal also locates *The Devil’s Highway* in the history of US-Mexican relations, namely the mid-nineteenth century Mexican-American War. Adam Hochschild, the author of *To End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914-1918*, emphasizes that wars are easy to start, but hard

¹¹ Elizabeth Becker, *Overbooked: The Exploding Business of Travel and Tourism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013), 10.

¹² Becker, *Overbooked*, 1.

¹³ Patricia Fernández-Kelly and Douglas S. Massey, “Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico-U.S. Migration”, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Special Issue, NAFTA and Beyond: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Global Trade and Development, Vol. 610 (2007): 99.

to end; they persist, for decades and even centuries.¹⁴ One can see that to be the case of the protracted wars in the Middle East. The US's imperial war in Iraq can be traced back to 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, a secret treaty which attempted to divide the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵ In "Travel and Trauma for Women at War: Ryan Leigh Dostie's *Formation: A Woman's Memoir of Stepping out of Line* and the Rape Culture of the US Military", Andrew J. Smyth addresses one of the most recent incarnations of the wars taking place in Iraq: Operation Iraqi Freedom (2003-2010). Rape has been an instrument of war since time immemorial. Ryan Leigh Dostie, who participated in this "Operation" as a soldier-linguist, describes her own rape—but not by the enemy; rather, by a fellow soldier. These kinds of assaults are pervasive in the US military: "Rape within the US military has become so widespread that it is estimated that a female soldier in Iraq is more likely to be attacked by a fellow soldier than killed by enemy fire".¹⁶ Smyth's chapter addresses one of the many forms of violence in war: violence against women.

With its range of topics, this collection enables readers to see the many manifestations of war in its connection to travel. Travel books are a form of memorialization; travel books about war do not allow readers to forget why wars are fought, what forms they take, and how participants from all walks of life are affected by them. The travelers represented in *War in Travel Literature* show that war is not simply an arena in which insiders are fighting and outsiders are watching; war cannot be divided into inside and outside. Rather, the range of backgrounds of all the writers shows how both war and travel are manifold in their definition and in their scope.

¹⁴ Hochschild, Adam, "A Century After WWI's End, Adam Hochschild Cautions: 'Think Long and Hard Before Starting a New War'", Interview, *Democracy Now* broadcast (November 12, 2018). Accessed December 7, 2019. https://www.democracynow.org/2018/11/12/a_century_after_wwis_end_adam.

¹⁵ Robin Wright, "How the Curse of Sykes-Picot Still Haunts the Middle East", *The New Yorker* (April 30, 2016). Accessed December 7, 2019. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/how-the-curse-of-sykes-picot-still-haunts-the-middle-east>.

¹⁶ Lucy Broadbent, "Rape in the US Military: America's Dirty Little Secret", *The Guardian* (December 9, 2011). Accessed January 15, 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/dec/09/rape-us-military>.

Bibliography

- Althusser, Louis. 1970. *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Translated by Ben Brewster. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Becker, Elizabeth. 2013. *Overbooked: The Exploding Business of Travel and Tourism*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Bridges, Roy. 2002. "Exploration and Travel outside Europe". In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 53-69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Broadbent, Lucy. 2011. "Rape in the US Military: America's Dirty Little Secret". *The Guardian*. December 9. Accessed January 15, 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2011/dec/09/rape-us-military>.
- Clements, Peter. 1999. "The British and the Risorgimento". *History Review*, Vol. 35: 3-7. Accessed January 15, 2023. <https://www.historytoday.com/sites/default/files/The%20British%20and%20the%20Risorgimento.pdf>.
- Fernández-Kelly, Patricia, and Massey, Douglas S. 2007. "Borders for Whom? The Role of NAFTA in Mexico-U.S. Migration". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 610: 98-118. Special Issue, NAFTA and Beyond: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Global Trade and Development.
- Gordon, Bertram M. 2018. *War Tourism: Second World War France from Defeat and Occupation to the Creation of Heritage*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hochschild, Adam. 2018. "A Century After WWI's End, Adam Hochschild Cautions: 'Think Long and Hard Before Starting a New War'". Interview. *Democracy Now* broadcast, November 12. Accessed December 7, 2019. https://www.democracynow.org/2018/11/12/a_century_after_wwis_end_adam.
- Holland, Patrick, and Huggan, Graham. 1998. *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Korte, Barbara. 2000. *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*. Translated by Catherine Matthias. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Lisle, Debbie. 2016. *Holidays in the Danger Zone: Entanglements of War and Tourism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lloyd, David William. 2014. *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

- Lozanski, Kristin. 2011. "Independent Travel: Colonialism, Liberalism and the Self". *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 37, No. 4: 465-482.
- Miles, Stephen. 2017. *The Western Front: Landscape, Tourism and Heritage*. Barnsley, South Yorkshire, UK: Pen and Sword. Series: Modern Conflict Archaeology.
- Miles, Tiya. 2015. *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. The Steven and Janice Brose Lectures in the Civil War Era.
- "Militourism: Travel Literature and Empire". 2019. Conference Panel for the 2020 MLA [Modern Language Association] Annual Convention. *PMLA* [Publications of the Modern Language Association]. Program. Vol. 134, No. 4: 792.
- Ouditt, Sharon, and Polezzi, Loredana. 2012. "Introduction: Italy as Place and Space". *Studies in Travel Writing*, Vol. 16, No. 2: 97-105.
- Pedersen, Sune Bechmann, and Noack, Christian, eds. 2019. *Tourism and Travel during the Cold War: Negotiating Tourist Experiences across the Iron Curtain*. New York: Routledge.
- Polezzi, Loredana. 2002. "Did Someone Just Travel All Over Me? Travel Writing and the Traveler". In *Seuils et Traverses. Enjeux de l'Écriture du Voyage* [Borders and Crossings: Challenges of Travel Writing], edited by Jan-Yves Le Dizez and Jan Borm, 2 vols. Brest: Université de Bretagne Occidentale. Vol. 2: 303-312.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. [1992] 2008. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.
- Ryan, Chris, ed. 2007. *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*. Amsterdam: Elsevier. Advances in Tourism Research Series.
- Uriarte, Javier. 2020. *The Desertmakers: Travel, War, and the State in Latin America*. New York: Routledge. Routledge Research in Travel Writing.
- Wright, Robin. 2016. "How the Curse of Sykes-Picot Still Haunts the Middle East". *The New Yorker*, April 30. Accessed December 7, 2019. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/how-the-curse-of-sykes-picot-still-haunts-the-middle-east>.

**THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:
IMPERIALISM AND NATION-BUILDING**

CHAPTER ONE

THE GUNNER AS AUTHOR, ARTIST, TOURIST: MERCER'S *JOURNAL OF THE WATERLOO* *CAMPAIGN*

DONNA LANDRY

The genre of military tourism has been little explored within scholarly studies of travel writing. As Jonathan Raban has suggested, there is something distinctive about a soldier's perspective that deserves further scrutiny. In wartime, military personnel have often arrived at a destination without prior knowledge of the place and without previous experience of foreign travel, so that, as Raban puts it, "everything, in its strangeness, insists on attention being paid all at once".¹ Of all the English soldiers' memoirs of the Battle of Waterloo, the most literary is that by Captain (later General) Alexander Cavalié Mercer of the Royal Horse Artillery (1783-1868). Mercer's posthumously published *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* (1870) exemplifies what the soldier's memoir can achieve as military history derived from eyewitness testimony.² It has therefore been repeatedly reissued, translated, and has "virtually never been out of print in

¹ Jonathan Raban, "Belts, Boots and Spurs: Jonathan Raban on his Father's Flight to Dunkirk", *London Review of Books* (October 5, 2017): 36.

² The first edition, published and with a preface by Mercer's son C. A. Mercer, appeared as *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign Kept throughout the Campaign of 1815*, by the late General Cavalié Mercer commanding the 9th Brigade Royal Artillery, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1870), followed by a one-volume edition with an introduction by the Hon. John Fortescue, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* (London: Peter Davis, 1927). All citations here are to the edition containing useful scholarly apparatus: General Alexander Cavalié Mercer, *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* [1870], ed. Andrew Uffindell, new, unabridged, illustrated edition (Barnsley, S. Yorkshire: Pen & Sword Military, 2012). Subsequent references to Mercer's *Journal of the Waterloo Campaign* will be cited parenthetically by page number only.

some version or other” since it was first published.³ Mercer’s descriptions of the retreat from Quatre Bras and the fighting at Waterloo are breathtakingly novelistic. No memoir has equaled his for dramatic action, dialogue or atmosphere. What has been less often noticed, however, is that when not actually engaged in battle, in military exercises, or on the march, Mercer took every opportunity for tourism. Because he was an accomplished amateur artist, Mercer illustrated his journal with drawings, and he described people, landscapes and events with a keen pictorial eye.⁴ Never having visited the European Continent before, he traveled with enthusiasm, eager to test preconceptions derived from books. Mercer appears remarkably receptive to the novel and the foreign—he was frankly curious, observing what he could, recording what he observed, and indeed endeavoring to pay attention to everything “all at once” as it unfolded in its strangeness. Mercer performs being English abroad, but his is an Englishness that is notably open to cultural difference.⁵

Throughout the *Journal*, Mercer significantly reveals details of the cosmopolitan palimpsest that greeted British visitors to the Continent, especially during this historical moment after decades of war and displacements of people. A structuring of the narrative transpires in which figures of “Oriental” romance leap off the page of fiction and into everyday experience. As it was in rural Belgium, so too it was in occupied Paris: the empire of the Ottomans exerts pressure—once a source of military techné, now a site of strategic interest—spectrally generating what will come to be known during the nineteenth century as “the Eastern Question”. At the heart

³ Gareth Glover, ed., “Introduction”, *The Waterloo Archive: Previously Unpublished or Rare Journals and Letters Regarding the Waterloo Campaign and the Subsequent Occupation of France: Volume I: British Sources* (Barnsley, S. Yorks: Frontline Books/Pen & Sword, 2010), xviii. A French translation first appeared in 1933 “with 13 editions published between 1933 and 2010 in French” (OCLC [Online Computer Library Center], “WorldCat Identities: Mercer, Cavalié [1783-1868]”, 2020. Accessed December 15, 2020.

<http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n89640028/>).

⁴ Mercer’s son, Cavalié A. Mercer, described his father as “a very good amateur artist” but did not include the drawings in the 1870 publication (“Preface” in Mercer, *Journal*, 45-46). The drawings were published for the first time in Glover, ed., *Waterloo Archive: Vol. I: British Sources*, 117-128.

⁵ On performing Englishness abroad, see Gerald MacLean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 97-101, 117-19: “Performing begins whenever the practices of acting, those forms of being other that are entailed in any performance, take over from simply being” (97).

of the Enlightenment city of Paris and the cosmopolitan *melee* that was post-Waterloo Europe there stands an enigmatic Turk.

The Novel of Quatre Bras and Waterloo

Mercer's descriptions of the French cavalry charges that occurred during the afternoon at Waterloo may be the most vivid to be recorded,⁶ but it is his description of the retreat from Quatre Bras the previous day, June 17, that most fully displays his gifts of dramatic narration and immediacy. One feature of Mercer's account unmatched by anybody else's is his depiction of Lieutenant-General Henry Lord Paget, Earl of Uxbridge (later Marquess of Anglesey), of the 7th Hussars, Wellington's commander of the British and Allied cavalry, operating with such tactical dash that Mercer cannot comprehend his intentions. When first ordered by Uxbridge to aim his guns at the approaching French to cover the rearguard of Wellington's army's retreat, Mercer has a rare sighting of Napoleon Bonaparte. Time stops for Mercer. The scene he observes taxes his powers of description, so powerful is the feeling accompanying it. The product of an eighteenth-century education, Mercer employs the idiom of the sublime theorized by Edmund Burke:⁷

I had often longed to see Napoleon, that mighty man of war—that astonishing genius who had filled the world with his renown. Now I saw him, and there was a degree of sublimity in the interview rarely equalled. (152)

Watching Napoleon and his staff gallop onto the plateau opposite, Mercer describes a tableau created by dramatic weather effects, “their dark figures thrown forward in strong relief from the illuminated distance, making them appear much nearer to us than they really were. For an instant they pulled up and regarded us” (153)—in this instant spectators and subjects on both sides mutually “regarded” each other, a history painting in the flesh. No sooner had the order been given to fire, and the first shots exchanged, than the heavens opened: “the rain came down as if a waterspout had broken over

⁶ Mercer's is “probably the best description of the French cavalry charges” and of the effects they had “both on his own men in his battery of Royal Horse Artillery and on the Allied army in general” (Ian Fletcher, *Galloping at Everything: The British Cavalry in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, 1808-15: A Reappraisal* [Stroud, Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2008], 298 n. 5).

⁷ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* [1757], ed. Paul Guyer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).