Caribbean-British Travel Writing, 1958-2018

Sofia Aatkar

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 2019

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to thank my supervisory team, Professor Tim Youngs, Dr Jenni Ramone, and Dr Nicole Thiara, who, with patience and generosity of time and thought, have guided me throughout the last three years. Thanks also to Dr Anna Ball, who encouraged me to pursue postgraduate study after completing my undergraduate course, and to Professor Phil Leonard, Dr Sharon Ouditt, Dr Amy Rushton, and Dr Rebecca Butler all of whom offered support and advice throughout the PhD application and beyond.

The warm and friendly atmosphere within Nottingham Trent's department of English, Communications, and Philosophy helped me find and develop my voice (on both an academic and a personal level). The English Literature lecturers at this institution represent one of the main reasons I wanted to continue with academia after I completed my undergraduate course. Additionally, the Inter-Library Loans team at Nottingham Trent are fantastic and they aided my research greatly. Thanks also to Dr Jeremy Poynting and Hannah Bannister at Peepal Tree Press for all the resources on Edgar Mittelholzer.

On a more personal note, I want to thank my parents, grandparents, and brothers for encouraging me to pursue something I am passionate about. I have made wonderful friends in Nottingham, including Veronika Schuchter, Hannah Wilson, Amy Longstaff, Connor Murphy, Kelsi Delaney, Sabrina Moro, the members of 'Tum's Organisation Group', Alison Fox, Riane Amraoui, and Charlie Flint – a big thanks to all of you for making my time in Nottingham so enjoyable. Finally, thank you to Nathan Tomlinson for making me laugh, even on the difficult writing days.

My research has been generously funded by Midlands4Cities and the Arts and Humanities Research Council, to whom I am grateful. Part of Chapter Three formed the basis of my essay, 'Postcolonial *Flânerie* in Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound* and Ferdinand Dennis's *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain*', which was published by *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* (2019), DOI: 10.1080/17449855.2019.1678061.

Contents Page

Abstract

This thesis examines anglophone Caribbean-British travel writing published between 1958 and 2018. The texts it discusses reflect on and shape the Caribbean-British relationship as their authors represent Britain from a Caribbean perspective, articulate a Caribbean-British identity, and depict Britain's presence in the Caribbean. Focussing predominantly on travel narratives which are out of print or have received scant scholarly attention, the thesis combines approaches from postcolonial and travel writing studies to analyse how Caribbean-British travel writers engage with Western understandings of travel writing.

Chapter One considers how, in his *With a Carib Eye* (1958), Edgar Mittelholzer writes back to exoticised representations of the Caribbean perpetuated by English travel writers. Chapter Two examines the dual position of insider and outsider that Amryl Johnson articulates in her *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (1988), and how she attempts to achieve a sense of belonging through cultural performativity and by writing herself into a Caribbean literary tradition. Chapter Three introduces and explores the relationship between postcolonial *flânerie* and counter-mapping in Ferdinand Dennis's *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (1988) and in Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound* (2000). Chapter Four discusses the representation of colonial education in Jamaica Kincaid's 'On Seeing England for the First Time' (1991), V.S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987), and Stuart Hall's *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (2017). It argues that, in Caribbean contexts, this colonial pedagogy represents a form of armchair travel because of the intense engagement with place that it encourages. Chapter Five attends to the relationship between ethnicity and travel blogging and inspects how the Caribbean bloggers Patrick and Steve Bennett, Savita Ragoo, and Francesca Murray represent the region in their work.

By examining a range of Caribbean-British travel writing, the thesis shows how

travel writers use the genre, which is often associated with empire and colonialism, for their own purposes to explore or arrive at a sense of identity.

Caribbean-British Travel Writing, 1958-2018: An Introduction

> Journeying had been written about by CLR James, Jean Rhys, George Lamming, VS Naipaul, Samuel Selvon, in fact by the greater number of my Caribbean literary antecedents, all of whom understood what a profound contribution travel – often in the form of migration, forced or voluntary – had made to their own sense of themselves in the world.
>
> –Caryl Phillips, 'Necessary Journeys', 2004

Travel has immeasurably impacted the Caribbean. International movements have irreversibly altered the social, cultural, and economic fabric of the region, and as Caryl Phillips points out, different forms of mobility have powerfully affected Caribbean identities and influenced Caribbean peoples' relationship to place, too.[1] It is no surprise, therefore, that travel features prominently in literature written by Caribbean people, and by those of Caribbean descent. Many forms of Caribbean literature have been well-studied, but the attention paid to Caribbean travel writing is scant in comparison. This thesis investigates how Caribbean authors work within and against the conventions of travel writing; whether they remain somewhat confined by or trapped within them, and the extent to which they challenge them. For example, as I discuss in Chapter Five, travel blogs represent a new form of travelogue and yet their authors often reproduce imperial discourses within their posts.

The main body of this introduction outlines the long and difficult history of travel to and from the region and the literature which illustrates such movement. Before I do so, it is important to define my terms because both 'Caribbean' and 'travel writing' have been – and continue to be – subject to debate. What constitutes 'the Caribbean' is not straightforward to determine. The region is comprised of a multitude of nations, each with

[1] Caryl Phillips, 'Necessary Journeys', *The Guardian*, 11th December 2004 < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/dec/11/society2 > [accessed 18th December 2017] (para. 7 of 21).

its own idiosyncratic locale, distinct history, and linguistic and cultural traditions. Furthermore, the area's borders are not fixed but rather fluid and undetermined. Indeed, the term 'Caribbean' sometimes refers to nations that share a litoral border with the Caribbean Sea; however, Peter Hulme notes that the 'extended Caribbean' stretches over two continents 'from what is now southern Virginia in the USA to the most eastern part of Brazil […] this was the area where, broadly speaking, the native population was replaced by slaves brought from Africa.'[2] Likewise, Joshua Jelly-Schapiro emphasises that historical context is an important factor in determining the region's perimeters when he writes: '"the Caribbean" may also include […] nearby nations that don't touch the Caribbean sea but share its colonial past (like Guyana, Surinam, Bermuda).'[3] The contexts of slavery and colonisation are significant in assessing how the imperial sentiment associated with travel writing lingers in the work of Caribbean travel writers, and consequently I have selected texts by authors born within the (soft and porous) perimeters of the extended Caribbean.

Like the Caribbean, travel writing's borders are difficult to define; in fact, Tim Youngs remarks that '[n]o discussion of travel writing seems complete without critics remarking on the difficulty of determining their object of study'.[4] This dissertation follows the tradition. Certainly, the genre is notoriously slippery and cannot be stringently defined. As Carl Thompson notes, the term 'travel writing' 'is a very loose generic label, and has always embraced a bewilderingly diverse range of material.'[5] In this vein, Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan observe the heterogeneous quality of the genre: 'travel narratives run from picaresque adventure to philosophical treatise, political commentary, ecological parable, and spiritual quest. They borrow freely from history, geography, anthropology,

[2] Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.4-5.
[3] Joshua Jelly-Schapiro, *Island People: The Caribbean and the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2016), p.12.
[4] Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.1.
[5] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p.11.

and social science'.[6] Similarly, Michael Kowalewski states that travel writing 'borrows freely from the memoir, journalism, letters, guidebooks, confessional narrative, and, most important, fiction.'[7] Evidently, travel writing represents a literary bricolage; it is not only diverse in the type of content it can encompass, but it straddles a range of textual forms, too.

Because of the genre's hybrid and vast nature, some travel writing scholars begin their work by delimiting what they mean by 'travel writing' to narrow down what would otherwise be a very broad scope. A common definition is derived from the one Paul Fussell offers in *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (1980), and one which Thompson notes is still 'widely used' today.[8] Fussell writes:

> Travel books are a sub-species of memoir in which the *autobiographical narrative* arises from the speaker's encounter with distant or unfamiliar *data*, and in which the narrative – unlike that in a novel or a romance – claims *literal* validity by *constant reference to actuality*.[9]

If, for Fussell, travel books resemble an autobiographical narrative, then they are likely to be written in the first person. In addition, his mention of 'data', 'literal' and 'constant reference to actuality', together with the care he takes to distinguish the travel book from the novel or romantic narrative, suggests that travel books should be factual and describe the travels of the author which take place in the 'actual' or real world. Correspondingly, Youngs notes that the texts he makes reference to in *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (2013) consist 'of predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator.'[10] While this definition is used by many

[6] Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbour: University of Michian Press, 1998), p.8.
[7] Michael Kowalewski (ed.), 'Introduction: The Modern Literature of Travel', in *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp.1-16 (p.7).
[8] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p.14.
[9] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp.234-235. My emphases.
[10] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction*, p.3.

travel writing scholars, myself included, it has been problematised by some who focus on postcolonial travel writing.[11]

Critics such as Tabish Khair have highlighted the Eurocentric nature of common conceptualisations of the genre. In his introduction to *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing* (2006), he states:

> Current definitions of travel and travel writing are embedded in a distinctive cultural and historical experience: that of the European age of expansion and colonization stretching from the fifteenth century to the twentieth. It is not surprising, then, that much of what is considered travel writing is attributed to Europeans writing in exactly that period.[12]

Aedin Ní Loingsigh in her *Postcolonial Eyes: Intercontinental Travel in Francophone African Literature* (2009) echoes Khair when she suggests that African literature which describes travel is understudied because of the policing of the genre's borders. Here she argues that these borders 'need to be probed and tested' to consider fictional prose by African writers:

> The history of African literature's relationship to travel writing illustrates better than most how the borders of genre operate not only to exclude others but also to prevent these others from seeing themselves as contributing to a literary category even when they most clearly are. The authors discussed in *Postcolonial Eyes* all combine accounts of individual journeys to the West with observations on culture. As such, their narratives, be they fictional or non-fictional, deserve to be considered within the critical framework used for other texts of cultural encounter, including most obviously travel writing.[13]

---

[11] This definition has also been criticised from a feminist perspective. Sidonie Smith's discussion of women's travel writing, for example, demonstrates how Fussell's emphasis on real rather than imagined travel favours men over women: 'Ever in the process of becoming "men," travelers affirm their masculinity through […] bodily movements displayed on the road, and through the narratives of travel', but in contrast, 'the "home" that is identified as feminine, feminized, and equated with woman becomes that which must be left behind in the pursuit of agency.' Sidonie Smith, *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women's Travel Writing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp.ix-x.

[12] Tabish Khair, 'African and Asian Travel Texts in the Light of Europe: An Introduction', in *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing*, ed. by Tabish Khair, Martin Leer, Justin D. Edwards, and Hanna Ziadeh (Oxford: Signal Books, 2006), pp.1-30 (p.5).

[13] Aedin Ní Loingsigh, *Postcolonial Eyes: Intercontinental Travel in Francophone African Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), p.17.

Although my thesis is firmly situated within a postcolonial framework, I have chosen to analyse texts which fit within the widely used (Europeanised) definition of travel writing offered by Fussell. I am sympathetic to the inclusion of fictional journey literature on the grounds that Ní Loingsigh argues and because the relationship between travel writing and fiction is indeterminate as the quotation from Kowalewski indicates. However, Caribbean travel writing in the non-fictional form does exist, and perhaps because of the imperial accusations levelled at the genre, has not received as much critical attention as Caribbean literature which describes a fictional journey. I assess how Caribbean travel writers work within this Europeanised form and how they stretch, although do not necessarily break, the boundaries laid out by critics such as Fussell. Indeed, I draw on Caribbean-British travel poetry, discuss a travelogue which uses the second-person address, give space to texts which sit on the border between travel writing and the novel, and in Chapter Four I challenge what the term 'travel' in 'travel writing' constitutes by considering armchair travel and imaginary engagement with place. As such, this thesis demonstrates the diverse ways in which Caribbean travel writers challenge the genre's conventional borders from within.

In the context of this project, the term 'Caribbean-British travel writing' denotes the textual representation of journeys with a Caribbean or a British focus by Caribbean-born authors. This includes journeys from the Caribbean to Britain or from Britain to the Caribbean, journeys around the Caribbean region or journeys around Britain. My research is concerned with the specific and tense relationship between the two geographical locations, and therefore the texts examined here focus on the wide-ranging and complex corpus of anglophone Caribbean-British travel writing. I take post-World War II decolonisation as a point of departure and examine texts published from 1958 until 2018. This span allows me to examine how Caribbean travel writers represented their region of origin and Britain in the years following the passage of the 1948 SS. Empire Windrush,

and the issues of representation associated with newer modes of travel writing, such as blogs. By using this timeframe, I do not mean to contribute to the false perception that a Caribbean (or, indeed, black) presence in Britain began with the Windrush generation.[14] Accounts such as James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw's *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, As Related By Himself* (1770), Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), and Mary Prince's *The History of Mary Prince A West Indian Slave* (1831), along with critical texts such as Peter Fryer's *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (1984), and David Olusoga's *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (2016), make the point that black people were present in Britain well before 1948, even as early as the Roman era according to Olusoga.[15] However, my starting point is the development of what is seen (often pejoratively) as the mass migration of people of colour to Britain.

The remainder of the introduction is divided into five sections. The first, 'The Caribbean and Travel', provides historical context regarding the formative effect travel has had on the Caribbean region. The second section, 'The Caribbean-British Relationship', establishes the colonial connection between Britain and the Caribbean to illustrate that Caribbean-British travel writing narrates an already contested and canonised passage of travel. Here, I discuss the British colonial presence in the Caribbean and the presence of Caribbean people in Britain following the 1948 Nationality Act. The third and fourth sections, 'Exploration Literature' and 'Postcolonial Travel Writing' respectively, are dedicated to setting up the historical and literary contexts into which the Caribbean travel

[14] 'Windrush generation' is a term generally applied to those near half a million Caribbean migrants who arrived in Britain between 1948 and 1971.

[15] James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, As Related By Himself* (eBook: Project Gutenberg, 2004); Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 2003); Mary Prince, *The History of Mary Prince A West Indian Slave* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004); Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984); David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2016), p.29.

authors I examine are writing. By discussing the links between travel writing and European colonisation in 'Exploration Literature', I do not mean to create a binary between European travel writing and postcolonial travel writing; I only consider them here to demonstrate both the racial attitudes Caribbean authors have to contend with and the kind of imperial ideology some Caribbean-authored travel writing has inherited. 'Postcolonial Travel Writing' outlines the origins and critical trends of this area of travel writing studies, demonstrating its importance within the field and how my approach differs from, and aligns with, those of other postcolonial travel writing scholars. The final section provides a brief overview of the forthcoming chapters. It describes their overarching arguments and the texts which illustrate them.

The Caribbean and Travel

More so than most regions, the Caribbean has a long and formative relationship with the phenomenon of travel. According to William F. Keegan and Corrine L. Hofman, the region's 'earliest inhabitants', now referred to as '"Paleo-Indians"', arrived in the region 'in the fifth millennium BC', and were followed two thousand years later by the 'Meso-Indians'. [16] Both groups, it is thought, migrated from South America. Jan Rogoziński makes the point that the people Christopher Columbus encountered migrated from the same continent as the Paleo- and Meso-Indians: 'when the Spanish reached the islands in 1492, they found three major groups of people. All had come to the islands from South America in the relatively recent past.'[17] Clearly, the history of travel to and from the region – and the history of the Caribbean in general – did not begin with Columbus's voyage at the end of the fifteenth century, as Europeans have often proclaimed.

[16] William F. Keegan and Corrine L. Hofman, *The Caribbean Before Columbus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp.23-24.
[17] Jan Rogoziński, *A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the Present* (New York: Penguin, 1999), p.14.

The landing of the Spanish fleet in 1492, though, greatly impacted the development and history of the region. Paradigmatic of this, the geographical locale is known by two names, 'The West Indies' and 'The Caribbean', both of which have their origins in this voyage. When Columbus commenced his journey, he planned to chart a new route to India, but instead landed on an island in the Bahamas (known to the local population as Guanahani); hence the name 'West Indies': an India to the West of Europe.[18] The term 'Caribbean', however, has its roots in Columbus's *Diario* (1492), the travel journal which details his first journey to the region. In this text, Columbus uses the word 'Carib' or a derivation ten times. Keegan and Hofman observe that he uses the term in separate contexts, one of them being 'the name for the subjects (*gente*) of the Grand Khan (*Caniba*)', and another being 'the enemy of the communities he encountered in the Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola (*Cannibales*)'.[19] Columbus also referred to the place in which the Caribs lived as 'island "Carib"', which, he noted, 'is inhabited by a people who are regarded in all the islands as very fierce and who eat human flesh'.[20] Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead discuss the etymology of the term 'Carib', noting that

> For many centuries, outsiders have imposed a cultural schema on the native Caribbean, separating the 'peaceful' Arawaks of the larger islands to the west and north from the 'fierce', in fact 'cannibalistic', Caribs of the south and the east. 'Carib', or some variant such as 'Caniba', was taken as so clearly synonymous with the practice of man-eating that the word 'cannibalism' (and its cognates) replaced 'anthropophagy' in most European languages.[21]

[18] Columbus renamed the island San Salvador by which it is known today.
[19] Keegan and Hofman, *The Caribbean Before Columbus*, p.240.
[20] Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. by Cecil Jane, ed. by L. A. Vigneras (London: Anthony Blond and The Orion Press, 1960), p.200.
[21] Peter Hulme and Neil L. Whitehead, *Wild Majesty: Encounters with the Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p.3. The dichotomy Hulme and Whitehead observe between Caribs and Arawaks is reinforced in later travel narratives, such as Charles Kingsley's *At Last! Christmas in the West Indies* (1869), in which Kingsley refers to 'Caribs of the northern islands, who had a habit of coming down in their canoes and carrying off the gentle Arawaks to eat them at their leisure'. Charles Kingsley, *At Last! Christmas in the West Indies* (London: Forgotten Books, 2015), p.68.

The phonetic resemblance of the words 'Caribbean' and 'cannibal' are plain. Although there is no concrete evidence to suggest that Caribs did engage in the practice of cannibalism – in fact, Tony Martin suggests that 'evidence' of this behaviour can be attributed to 'the preservation of skulls and other body parts of beloved ancestors' rather than the remains of victims – the term Carib nevertheless came to signify 'the most extreme form of savagery […] opposed to all the tenets of Christian and civilized behaviour'.[22] As Hulme and Whitehead suggest, the term took on a greater significance and came to symbolise an acute form of otherness, but in the present-day, the same term represents the entire geographical region. The names by which the region is still known – 'The West Indies' and 'The Caribbean' – then, are rooted in imperialism; the former represents a cartographic mistake of a European explorer, and the latter is grounded in imperial or othering ideologies.

In addition to the region's names, its demographic mix also represents a legacy of Columbus's travel. Throughout *Diario* and in his letter to the Spanish Court announcing the results of his voyage, Columbus describes the region's potential for civilisation and commerce. He repeatedly describes the people he encountered (apart from the Caribs) as 'very mild and very timorous, naked, […] without arms and without law', and notes that they would be 'very inclined' towards 'conversion to our holy faith'.[23] Highlighting the inhabitants' gentle nature and their willingness to learn about Christianity provided justification for a benevolent kind of colonialism, whereby Spanish fleets could approach the islands without local resistance to 'help' civilise native Caribbean people and provide religious guidance. Furthermore, Columbus whets the appetites of potential invaders by depicting the Caribbean islands as 'fertile to a limitless degree' and rich in natural resources.[24] Subsequent to Columbus 'tak[ing] possession of all for their Highnesses', the

[22] Tony Martin, *Caribbean History: From Pre-Colonial Origins to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2016), p.25.
[23] Columbus, *The Journal*, p.52.
[24] Columbus, *The Journal*, p.192.

Caribbean became a Spanish colony.[25] However, Spain's possession of the region did not go unchallenged for long. According to Martin, '[i]nformation diffused rapidly throughout Europe and the vastness and enormous wealth of Spain's new empire became quickly apparent', and thus other European nations, including England (which I return to in more detail below), France, and The Netherlands, challenged 'Spain's claimed monopoly. The sixteenth century in the Caribbean quickly became a race between Spanish efforts to consolidate their control and Northern European efforts to encroach on Spain's new empire.'[26]

It was not solely the presence of European people in the Caribbean which altered its demographic. The diseases Europeans brought with them – to which native Caribbean people had no immunity – and their weaponry killed many of the islands' inhabitants.[27] Furthermore, after it was realised that profit could be made from the production of sugar, slave colonies were established in the region. It is estimated that 9.6 million West African people were transported to the Caribbean and America by European ships for this purpose.[28] The abolition of slavery in Britain in 1833 saw the introduction of the indentured labour system in the region, whereby approximately two million Indian people migrated to the Caribbean as substitutes for African slave labour. Evidently, travel, both forced and voluntary, shaped the Caribbean as we know it in the twenty-first century.

[25] Columbus, *The Journal*, p.198.
[26] Martin, *Caribbean History*, p.33.
[27] Peter Hulme, writing in 2000, notes that a small number of Caribs survived 'on St Vincent and Dominica until the present day'. Peter Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.6.
[28] The National Archives, 'Abolition of Slavery' < http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/about.htm > [accessed 28th May 2019] (para.7 of 9).

The Caribbean-British Relationship

Colonisation

As is inevitable with all coloniser-colonised relationships, travel has determined the connection between the Caribbean and Britain. The records by English privateers and explorers such as Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, Robert Dudley, and Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Martin refers as 'the "big four" of English sixteenth-century privateers attacking Spanish interests in the Caribbean', illustrate the fact that English people have been present in the region since the sixteenth century.[29] Between 1562 and 1596, the cousins Drake and Hawkins, 'together and separately, traded enslaved Africans in the Caribbean'.[30] The British colonisation of the region began early in the seventeenth century. According to Sally Tomlinson, the 'first British empire' is considered by some to be 'the island of Bermuda following the British shipwreck there in 1609', but over the next two centuries it would expand to include the nations St Kitts and Nevis, the Cayman Islands, Barbados, Antigua, Anguilla, Tortola, Jamaica, Montserrat, the British Virgin Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia, the Turks and Caicos Islands, St Vincent, Montserrat, the Grenadines, and Guyana.[31] Caribbean islands were of interest to British colonial administrators, not only because they hoped to replicate or exceed the wealth gained by Spain in the region through the extraction of valuable natural resources such as pearls and gold, but also because the islands were seen to be agricultural investments and ideal places to establish sugar plantations. Overall, it is estimated that Britain was responsible for transporting 3.5 million West African people across the Atlantic Ocean.[32]

---

[29] Martin, *Caribbean History*, p.42. I discuss Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discovery of Guiana*, along with Kingsley's *At Last* and James Anthony Froude's *The English in the West Indies; Or the Bow of Ulysses* (1888) in the next section.
[30] Martin, *Caribbean History*, pp.42-43.
[31] Sally Tomlinson, *Education and Race from Empire to Brexit* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019), p.8.
[32] David Lammy, 'Foreword', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing Group, 2018), pp.xii-xxi (p.xix).

The nineteenth century saw the publication of several British-authored Caribbean travel narratives, including Charles Kingsley's *At Last! Christmas in the West Indies* (1869) and James Anthony Froude's *The English in the West Indies; Or the Bow of Ulysses* (1888). Simon Gikandi concludes that, to a greater or lesser extent in texts such as these, 'The West Indies functions as an alter ego for Englishness'.[33] In other words, the Caribbean provided a space within which these travel writers could question and think about Englishness and English identity. The Caribbean's landscape and climate which is so different from that of Britain, and more particularly, the supposed alterity of Caribbean people to British people, allowed British travel writers to forge a national identity by defining themselves in opposition to what they were not, 'making the cultural spaces of Englishness real and attractive through contrast'.[34] Therefore, the Caribbean and the travel writing concerning it helped to shape a collective British identity in the Victorian era.

While most islands which were once under British rule are now independent nations, some, such as the Cayman Islands, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, the Turks and Caicos Islands, and Anguilla, remain British territories. In addition to this present, literal form of colonialism, colonial legacies resonate throughout the region in cultural forms, too. For example, one of the main languages used in the Caribbean is English, or is derived from English in the form of patois, and traditions such as the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day in Montserrat and abandoned plantations and slave forts are powerful reminders of the violent and asymmetrical relationship between the Caribbean and Britain.[35]

[33] Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p.113.
[34] Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, p.113.
[35] I discuss the celebration of Saint Patrick's Day and the legacies of slavery in Chapter Five.

'Colonisation in Reverse'

The Caribbean-British connection became more prominent (to British citizens) in the 1940s when Caribbean people began to migrate to Britain on a large scale – a phenomenon that Louise Bennett playfully and pointedly dubs 'colonisation in reverse'.[36] Their migration to Britain was facilitated by the 1947 Commonwealth Conference on Nationality and Citizenship, and the subsequent 1948 Nationality Act which gave all former 'British subjects' the status of 'Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies', and with it the right to migrate to Britain. After its participation in two world wars, Britain faced a labour shortage due to a diminished workforce. On this subject David Lammy, a British Labour Party politician of Guyanese descent, writes: the 'Labour government had a dream of healthcare for all, but no way of making it happen, and hopes for functioning trains and buses, but not enough people to drive them.'[37] Many of the Caribbean people who migrated in this era filled these vacancies. Ships carrying Caribbean passengers, such as the Ormonde and the Almanzora, docked in 1947; however, the SS. Empire Windrush which carried approximately 492 passengers and docked on 22nd June 1948 'is often viewed as the most symbolic moment in the history of West Indian immigration to the UK.'[38] In the three decades following the arrival of the Windrush, it is estimated that nearly half a million Caribbean people migrated to Britain, and after the 1971 Immigration Act, Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies had the right to remain there.

This large-scale migration is attributed to the propaganda that encouraged

---

[36] Louise Bennett, 'Colonisation in Reverse', in *Writing Black Britain 1948-1998: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. by James Procter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.16-17.
[37] Lammy, 'Foreword', p.xiv.
[38] James Fitzgerald, 'The West Indies Ships that Arrived Before the Windrush', *Londonist*, 15th April 2017 < https://londonist.com/london/history/the-west-indies-ships-that-came-over-before-the-windrush > [accessed 12th February 2018] (para.1 of 19). One way passages to England were advertised at £28 in *The Daily Gleaner* (a Jamaican newspaper) on Tuesday 13th April 1948; however, J. Stanley notes that women were required to pay £48 to travel above deck 'for the sake of seemliness'. J. Stanley, 'Women of Windrush: Britain's adventurous arrivals that history forgot', *The New Statesman*, 22nd June 2018 < https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/06/women-windrush-britain-s-adventurous-arrivals-history-forgot > [accessed 4th June 2019] (para.6 of 17).

Caribbean citizens to come to Britain. In her ethnographic study of Caribbean migration, Karen Fog Olwig demonstrates how this propaganda was steeped in imperial mythology: '[t]he hyperbolic tales of money on trees and streets paved with gold reflected Caribbean perceptions of England as the fabulously wealthy country of origin of the upper-class plantation owners – and hence, as a place of unimaginable riches available for the picking of immigrants.'[39] These hyperbolic tales painted England as a place of prosperity, in which prospective migrants could get a job and become wealthy, and thus, as Amanda Bidnall notes, '[m]any of the West Indians who migrated to London between 1945 and the early 1960s came with a feeling of imperial affinity to Great Britain and optimism about their prospects.'[40] While the possibility of good employment represented a 'pull factor' to England, Bidnall notes that 'the most important "push" factor was the deteriorating economy of the British Caribbean islands. […] employment was scarce and poorly paid.'[41] This economic hardship is confirmed by Lammy who states that '[i]n Jamaica, searing unemployment ravaged society, after Britain closed sugar plantations in favour of cheap labour elsewhere.'[42] Similarly, Wallace Collins in his travel memoir *Jamaican Migrant* (1965), likens unemployment and the struggle to find work in Jamaica to being in a 'dead "corner"'.[43] Collins's narrative recounts his migration to Britain where he found employment as a cabinet maker, amongst other occupations, but the text also describes Collins's experience of being harassed and assaulted in the mother country:

> We saw a crowd of English people shouting, and a big fellow with side-burns and blood oozing from his forehead, shouting abuse at us; "You blacks, you niggers, why don't you go back to the jungle?" […] he surged towards us wielding a knife.[44]

[39] Karen Fog Olwig, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.182.
[40] Amanda Bidnall, *The West Indian Generation: Remaking British Culture in London, 1945-1965* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), p.22.
[41] Bidnall, *The West Indian Generation*, p.23.
[42] Lammy, 'Foreword', p.xx.
[43] Wallace Collins, *Jamaican Migrant* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), p.52.
[44] Collins, *Jamaican Migrant*, p.57.

While Collins retains an appreciation of England and English people throughout his memoir, the example he provides of hostility towards Caribbean migrants illustrates why the optimism Caribbean migrants had was, in many cases, crushed after arrival.[45] Similar instances of aggression are portrayed in fictional texts which depict Caribbean migrants' experience in Britain, such as Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), Joan Riley's *The Unbelonging* (1985), and Andrea Levy's *A Small Island* (2004).[46] Evidently, imperialism has dominated the Caribbean-British relationship since the connection was forged in the sixteenth-century. In the postcolonial present, it is vital to examine how Caribbean travel writers use a textual form traditionally aligned with the coloniser, how they write into the genre and challenge its legacies.

Travel Writing and Colonialism

The colonial legacy within travel writing is significant, as it is with other literary and cultural forms; however, it is important to acknowledge that there were European travelogues published in the era of high imperialism which challenge colonial rhetoric. According to Gikandi, Anthony Trollope's *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* (1859) uses ironic discourse to 'reject the colonial sublime', to question English identity, and to 'undermine the binaries [such as 'self' and 'other'] that define the colonial relationship'.[47] Furthermore, my discussion of Kingsley's *At Last* below demonstrates that some travel writers who are opposed to race-based oppression in some contexts, such as slavery, still follow the tropes of imperial discourse in their travel writing.[48] This is, to some extent, an

[45] The hostility Caribbean migrants experienced at the hands of white Britons is reiterated by the narratives published on the BBC's website, particularly those by John Richards and Vince Reid. John Richards, 'John Richards', 'Windrush – Arrivals', *BBC* < http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/arrival_01.shtml#top > [accessed 10th May 2019] (para.3 of 7); Vince Reid, 'Vince Reid', 'Windrush – Arrivals', *BBC* < http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/arrival_01.shtml#top > [accessed 10th May 2019] (para.7 of 7).
[46] Sam Selvon, *The Lonely Londoners* (London: Penguin, 2006); Joan Riley, *The Unbelonging* (London: The Women's Press, 1985); Andrea Levy, *A Small Island* (London: Review Books, 2004).
[47] Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, p.95.
[48] Gikandi, for example, describes Kingsley as 'a strong advocate of emancipation and the establishment of a "moral bond" between employers and employees.' Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness*, p.116.

inevitability because of what Raymond Williams terms the 'complex interlock' of residual, dominant, and emergent forms within literature.[49] He notes that residual forms which 'still command a majority readership among a given formed public, [but] are beginning to be written less', are found alongside dominant forms which reflect contemporary ideas and outlooks, and that these are further layered with 'still-forming' or emergent forms which potentially foreshadow future doctrines.[50] By acknowledging that ideologies, themes, and styles are always inconsistent and hybrid entities, he makes the point that 'new' thought never represents a clean break from the old; the ghosts of past ideologies are always present within new literature. The idea that residual, dominant, and emerging forms do not always sit comfortably alongside one another is apparent in *At Last* and in Edgar Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye* (1958), the second of which I discuss in Chapter One. The outlook of past travel writers may seem contradictory to a present-day audience, and the opinions they present in their work might be better understood as a negotiation of the prevalent attitudes at the time in which they were writing.

In his introduction to *Island People: The Caribbean and the World* (2016), Jelly-Schapiro emphasises the links between the Caribbean, colonialism, and literature:

> The Caribbean – and its literature – were for many centuries tied to imperial endeavour. From the diaries and strivings of conquistadors seeking El Dorado, straight through the fierce panoply of glossy websites and guidebooks depicting the islands as unchanging places of smiling natives and eternal sun – the Caribbean has long been figured as a place to be consumed, like the sugar it brutally produced, as a commodity.[51]

I examine the link between neo-colonialism, consumption, and the modern-day tourist industry in Chapter Five, but this section explores the 'imperial endeavour' which, as Jelly-Schapiro points out, is a prominent characteristic in travel writing about the Caribbean.

---

[49] Raymond Williams, 'Forms of English Fiction in 1848', in *Writing and Society* (London: Verso, 1983), pp.150-166 (p.151).
[50] Williams, 'Forms of English Fiction', p.152; p.151.
[51] Jelly-Schapiro, *Island People,* pp.7-8.

Below I discuss the accusations levelled at travel writing in this regard and how British authors implemented othering strategies in their work. I discuss Raleigh's *The Discovery of Guiana* (1596), Janet Schaw's *Journal of a Lady of Quality* (1921), Kingsley's *At Last*, and Froude's *The English in the West Indies* (1888).[52] These authors describe the Caribbean people they encounter as lacking in intelligence and articulacy, and portray them as inferior. Therefore, I mention them here to emphasise the significance of Caribbean authors' engagement with travel writing, particularly the fact that they are writing into a genre which was an imperial tool and one which was once used to subjugate them.

The link between European travelogues and colonialism is a topic frequently discussed by travel writing scholars. For instance, Percy G. Adams writes that '[a]s propaganda for international trade and for colonization, travel accounts had no equal', and similarly, Barbara Korte uses the term 'imperialist travelogue' to describe the writings of renowned explorers such as David Livingstone, Sir John Franklin, and Richard Burton, which signals the extent to which exploratory travel writing is bound to colonial practices.[53] In the same vein, Sara Mills observes that travel writing studies and the study of colonial discourse grew in correlation to one another, indicating that these areas of research overlap.[54] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund, who view the link between travel writing and colonialism through a postcolonial lens, note that: 'Critics have, at times, aligned travel narratives with other textual practices associated with colonial expansion – mapping, botany, ethnography, journalism and so on – to suggest that travel writing disseminated discourses of difference that were then used to justify colonial

[52] Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana* (eBook: Gutenberg, 2006); Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, ed. by Evangeline Walker Andrews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922). Schaw's narrative is based on a journey which took place between the years 1774 to 1776 but it was first published in 1921; James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies; Or, the Bow of Ulysses* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1888).
[53] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), p.77; Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. by Catherine Matthias (New York: Palgrave, 2000), p.92.
[54] Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p.2.

projects.'[55] Evidently, travel writing is conceived of by some as a colonial textual practice because, much like the novel, journalism, and other forms of writing, it disseminated othering discourses to evoke and sustain imperial sentiment.[56]

As Gikandi, Edwards and Graulund suggest, travel writers with an imperial agenda contributed to the rhetoric of empire by presenting the peoples and places they were travelling to as greatly distinct from their domestic society. Thompson dedicates a chapter of his *Travel Writing* (2011) to discussing 'othering' in the context of the genre. He helpfully defines this term as

> the process by which the members of one culture identify and highlight the difference between themselves and members of another culture. In a stronger sense, however, it has come to refer more specifically to the processes and strategies by which one culture depicts another culture as not only different but also inferior to itself.[57]

Using the latter definition, he considers the othering strategies employed in John Ross's *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North West Passage* (1835) and in Henry Morton Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1878). In both texts, Thompson observes how Ross and Stanley make clear differentiations between themselves as 'representatives of supposed "civilisation"' and the Innuit people or African people they encounter.[58] Depictions of Other people as inferior endorsed a British presence because such depictions allowed British readers to imagine that they would be improving the Others' lives through economic intervention and religious and moral guidance, and therefore othering strategies

[55] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (eds.), 'Introduction: Reading Postcolonial Travel Writing', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-16 (p.1).
[56] Novels such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1882), for example, are popular novels which encourage the kind of masculinity associated with adventure and exploration, and frame male identity through the lens of colonial ideology. For an insightful discussion of this subject, see Bradley Deane, 'Imperial Boyhood: Piracy and the Play Ethic', *Victorian Studies*, 53.4 (2011), 689-714. Additionally, Wendy R. Katz discusses imperial figures in Rider Haggard's fictional works. See Wendy R. Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[57] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp.132-133.
[58] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p.132; p.133.

provided justification for intervention through the so-called 'civilising mission'.

Othering techniques are apparent in British-authored travel writing about the Caribbean. For example, both Raleigh and Schaw characterise Caribbean people as savage and sub-human. For instance, Raleigh describes Trinidad as 'a nation of inhuman cannibals', and often substitutes the word 'people' for 'cannibal' – 'those cannibals of Dominica' – which implies that the practice of cannibalism is inherent to their identity.[59] Schaw, on the other hand, uses animal imagery to describe the people of St Kitts and Antigua. On more than one occasion, she describes black children in animalistic terms. Paradigmatically, she characterises 'mullatto' children as 'a spurious and degenerate breed, neither so fit for the field, nor indeed any work, as the true bred Negro', and writes: 'what I took for monkeys were negro children'.[60] Although she does not directly compare Caribbean children to animals in the first example as she does in the second, she nevertheless employs a bestial rhetoric through the use of the word 'breed'. Similarly, Schaw divests the slaves she sees of their humanity, when, after describing the whiplash marks on their skin, notes:

> It is the suffering of the human mind that constitutes the greatest misery of punishment, but with them it is merely corporeal. As to the brutes it inflicts no wound on their mind, whose Natures seem made to bear it, and whose sufferings are not attended with shame or pain beyond the present moment.[61]

Schaw's summation is pernicious in several ways. Indeed, by describing slaves as sentient but psychologically unscathed by brutal and painful punishments, she insinuates that their capacity to suffer is limited and thus they are suited to servitude. The extreme and overt othering strategies used by writers like Raleigh and Schaw not only serviced the notion of the British empire and its involvement with the slave trade, but also contributed to the link present-day critics make between travel writing and colonialism.

---

[59] Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana*, pp.124-125; p.59.
[60] Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, p.112; p.78.
[61] Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, p.127.

As I suggest above, Kingsley in his *At Last* simultaneously displays an anti-slavery stance while exhibiting othering strategies. While, on one hand, he refers to the era of slavery as 'evil days' and 'baneful', and describes it as a 'hasty, irreverent, wasteful, semi-barbarous mercantile system, which we call (for the time being only, it is to be hoped) civilization'.[62] On the other hand, however, he shrouds the majority of the Caribbean people he meets in derogatory description. Like Ross and Stanley, Kingsley observes the physical differences between Caribbean people and European people in a way which makes the Caribbean people seem savage in comparison. For example, he observes that the incisors of Caribbean people are stronger than those of the British ladies on his boat, and differentiates Trinidadian eating habits from those of Europeans: 'though they will eat as much and more than a European, if they can get it, they can do well without food; and feed, as do the Lazzaroni, on mere heat and light'. [63] Together, these descriptions suggest that Caribbean people are almost supernatural in their physiological difference from European people, and that they are primitive in their gluttony, too. Another way in which Kingsley others Caribbean residents is by infantilising them, drawing comparisons between their communication and child-like noises. Indeed, on separate occasions he portrays them 'screaming and jabbering', 'shrieking', and making 'savage shouts and laughter'.[64] This depiction goes some way to explaining why twentieth-century Caribbean travel writers such as Mittelholzer employ a formal and austere literary style which confounds any residual notions of brutishness, and why Mittelholzer takes care to differentiate his own manner of articulation from what he describes as 'the broad drawl and the atrocious syntax' of the Creole English he hears in Barbados.[65]

Froude's *The English in the West Indies* has the reputation of being a 'notoriously racist text' because, on several occasions, the author describes what he sees as the benefits

[62] Kingsley, *At Last!* p.360; p.34; p.16.
[63] Kingsley, *At Last!,* p.16; p.86.
[64] Kingsley, *At Last!*, p.32; p.56; p.64.
[65] Edgar Mittelholzer, *With a Carib Eye* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1958), p.179.

of English colonial intervention and speculates as to why Caribbean people are, in his opinion, an 'inferior race'.[66] Froude advocates for an English interference in the Caribbean when he writes of the supposed happiness that it has brought to Caribbean inhabitants:

> Under the rule of England in these islands the two million of these poor brothers-in-law of ours are the most perfectly contented specimens of the human race to be found upon the planet. […] [U]nder the beneficent despotism of the English Government, which knows no difference of colour and permits no oppression, they can sleep, lounge, and laugh away their lives as they please, fearing no danger.[67]

Here, Froude not only characterises Caribbean colonised subjects as content, naïve, and appreciative of English rule, but also as lazy. In this way he portrays colonialism as a benevolent deed because, according to his description, it gives Caribbean people security and the luxury of an easy life. This quotation further highlights the importance of Caribbean travel writers, particularly Jamaica Kincaid, who in her 'On Seeing England for the First Time' (1991) writes back to the perception that the English government was 'beneficent' by demonstrating the immensely oppressive nature of the English presence in the Caribbean.[68]

Postcolonial Travel Writing

Travel writing's association with colonialism means that it 'has often been demonized' within postcolonial studies; however, like many that have come before it, this study demonstrates that the two fields can intersect in thought-provoking and fruitful ways.[69] I use the term 'postcolonial' here with caution. The temporal implication of the prefix 'post'

[66] Gautam Premnath, 'Lonely Londoner: V. S. Naipaul and "The God of the City"', in *Imagined Londons*, ed. by Pamela K. Gilbert (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp.177-192, (p.180); Timothy Rommen, *Funky Nassau: Roots, Routes, and Representation in Bahamian Popular Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p.15; Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, p.252.
[67] Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, p.70.
[68] Jamaica Kincaid, 'On Seeing England for the First Time', *Transition,* 51 (1991), 32-40.
[69] Edwards and Graulund, 'Introduction', p.1.

suggests that the era of colonialism is now in the past.[70] This feels somewhat inappropriate when writing about Caribbean literature given that, as I mention above, there are many Caribbean islands still under European colonial authority, and because of the neo-colonial dynamics inherent in the Caribbean tourist industry which I consider in Chapter Five. Therefore, much like C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, I use the term 'postcolonial' to refer to a 'position against imperialism, colonialism and Eurocentrism, including Western thought and philosophy'.[71] Perhaps, then, the texts discussed throughout this thesis can be characterised as Caribbean-authored travel writing which, to varying degrees, exhibit an anticolonial or decolonial stance. I draw on many of the ideas and theories relating to postcolonial travel writing, and thus it is necessary to provide an overview of the field, to map its origins and its critical trends.

Origins and Overview

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is considered a 'foundational' text within the scholarly field of postcolonial travel writing.[72] Orientalism, as both a discourse and an ideology which positions the Orient in sharp contrast to the Occident, is subsequently understood as 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient'.[73] Said examines 'not only scholarly works but also works of literature, political tracts, journalistic texts, *travel books*, religious and philosophical studies' to trace representations of the East in Western cultural texts over the past two millennia.[74] Since the publication of *Orientalism*, some travel writing scholars have turned their attention to marginalised or lesser-studied travel experiences that are sensitive to questions of race, representation, and

[70] Nicholas Harrison has also problematised the term 'postcolonial' in this manner: 'To talk of a culture as "postcolonial" may then carry misleading implications concerning the cessation of imperial influence and interference after the formal acquisition of independence by former colonies.' Nicholas Harrison, *Postcolonial Criticism: History, Theory and the Work of Fiction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003), p.8.
[71] C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.3.
[72] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p.134; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).
[73] Said, *Orientalism*, p.3.
[74] Said, *Orientalism*, p.23. My emphasis.

imperial legacies. Hulme's *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (1986) did much to initiate this postcolonial turn because it highlights the Eurocentrism within, and the imperial nature of, narratives of 'discovery' (including Columbus's log book), and in other colonial narratives such as *Robinson Crusoe* and in the texts which contribute to the myth of Pocahontas. Mary Louise Pratt's influential *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992) was one of the first critical texts to display an interest in how colonised or formerly colonised travel writers engage with the genre of travel writing.[75] In *Imperial Eyes*, she explores how travel writers from South America challenge Eurocentrism, appropriate metropolitan systems of representation, and begin to establish methods of self-representation. Pratt also coins the terms 'travelee' and 'contact zone': 'Travelee' to refer to both 'the position of the people and places traveled *to*' and 'persons traveled to (or on) by a traveler, receptors of travel', and the term 'contact zone' to denote a social space 'where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.'[76] Both 'travellee' and 'contact zone' have been important in establishing a postcolonial travel writing discourse and I draw on both terms throughout the present thesis, particularly in Chapters One, Two, and Four.

Subsequent to the work of Said, Hulme, and Pratt, a plethora of creative travel writing and scholarly works interested in ex-centric perspectives has emerged. For instance, in addition to single-authored, individual pieces of postcolonial travel writing, anthologies containing black and brown peoples' experiences of travel have been published. *Always Elsewhere: Travels of a Black Atlantic* (1998), for example, is comprised of extracts from travelogues which narrate African diasporic experiences from

[75] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008).
[76] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.225. Original emphasis; p.258 (note 42); p.7. I will use the British English spelling of the term 'travelee' – travellee – throughout the remainder of this thesis.

the 1800s to the end of the twentieth century, and similarly, *Voices of the Crossing* (2000) contains travel narratives by writers from Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa.[77] Additionally, texts such as *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing* (2006) and *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (2011), challenge 'the fact that human mobility came to be seen and continues to be seen as a predominantly European prerogative'.[78] In the former, Khair writes that the earliest travel epic 'can be traced back 5,000 years: *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, incidentally a text from outside Europe', and in the latter, Xiaofei Tian makes the point that it was not just Westerners who travelled for trading purposes and to satisfy curiosity, but that the medieval era Chinese elite did so too.[79] While literary evidence of black and brown people travelling before the colonial era should not be surprising, the upsurge in recent scholarship relating to such narratives only highlights the lack of it before the publication of *Always Elsewhere*.

Postcolonial travel writing is now given a place in texts which provide a critical overview of the field, and volumes of scholarship dedicated solely to this topic have been published. Exemplary of this, Youngs's *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (2013) includes a chapter titled 'Travelling B(l)ack', and *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (2019) includes a section titled 'Travel Writing in a Global Context' which encompasses essays on Arabic, Chinese, Indian and African travel writing alongside chapters on European travel writing.[80] Further to this, postcolonial travel writing has been the principal topic of critical studies such as *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (2010), which contains essays that deliberate the extent to which postcolonial

[77] Alasdair Pettinger (ed.), *Always Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 1998); Ferdinand Dennis and Naseem Khan (eds.), *Voices of the Crossing* (London: Serpent's Tail, 2000).
[78] Khair, 'African and Asian Travel Texts', p.7.
[79] Khair, 'African and Asian Travel Texts', p.3; Xiaofei Tian, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2011), p.2.
[80] Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction*, pp.115-130; Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

travel writing can be decolonised.[81] This is also apparent in *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing* (2018) which highlights the genealogy of emerging themes and traditions – such as return journeys – within that which is now an established body of journey literature, and points to topics which, at present, exist on the periphery of critical discussion within the field, such as the relationship between travel writing and the internet.[82] Evidently, more postcolonial travel writing is being published, and travel writing scholarship in the critical sphere has become more sympathetic to postcolonial subjectivities; however, as the 'Peripheries' section of *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing* indicates, there are still plenty of as yet unexplored – and as yet unpaved – avenues within this field of study. There is always more work to be done.

Critical Trends

Texts such as *Always Elsewhere*, *Other Routes*, and *Visionary Journeys* demonstrate that the genre of travel writing has always been diverse and that people outside of Europe have been travelling and writing about their journeys for centuries. Therefore, the fact that travel writing is associated with imperialism is Eurocentric in itself because it ignores the vast number of narratives which bypass the West and its imperial endeavours. Despite this, there is a branch of postcolonial travel writing scholarship which focusses on the relationship between travelogues by authors from formerly colonised countries or their diasporas and European imperial travel writing. Indeed, the extent to which postcolonial travel writers can 'counter' the genre's imperial inheritance is a question that divides travel writing scholars. The concept of 'counter-travel' is attributed to Charles Sugnet who in 1991 criticised *Granta* for 'recycling imperialist clichés about race and geography'.[83]

[81] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (eds.), *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (New York: Macmillan, 2011).
[82] Robert Clarke (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
[83] Charles Sugnet, 'Vile Bodies, Vile Places: Traveling with Granta', *Transition*, 51 (1991), 70-85 (p.72).

Sugnet accused the British publication of platforming pieces of travel writing, such as Bruce Chatwin's 'A Coup' and Martha Gellhorn's 'White into Black', which rehashed 'the tropes Joseph Conrad deployed in *Heart of Darkness*'.[84] He goes on to note that, 'for *Granta*, travel too often means a […] writer making a foray out from the centre (usually London or Oxbridge) to the peripheries', and one who 'arrogates to himself the rights of representation, judgement, and mobility that were the effects of empire.'[85] Almost as an antithesis to the Conrad-esque travel writing published in the magazine, Sugnet recommends *A Small Place* (1988), in which Kincaid records a return visit to Antigua (her island of origin). He describes the text as 'a kind of counter-travel book' because, 'by showing the tourist how Antigua looks to its own residents, it provides the kind of information *Granta* travel writing almost never provides.'[86] Sugnet's description of Kincaid as one of Antigua's 'own residents' is questionable as she migrated to the United States of America in 1966, but nevertheless, his point is important as it began the conversation surrounding the potential that postcolonial travel writers have to challenge the imperial and European perspective which has come to be associated with the genre.

In *Tourists With Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (1998), Holland and Huggan broaden the counter-travel concept when they propose that the work of Kincaid and Phillips 'might be described as a kind of *counter*travel writing insofar as it pits itself against the dominant Eurocentric model'.[87] They go on to note that *A Small Place* and *The European Tribe* (1987) can be labelled '*counter*travel writing' because they 'interrogate the privileges' of travel and travel writing, and direct 'specific hostilities' against their readers who are assumed to be 'white Euro-Americans, of the kind that might read travel writing for the consolations it brings.'[88] Similarly, María Lourdes

[84] Sugnet, 'Vile Bodies', p.72. Bruce Chatwin's 'A Coup' and Martha Gelhorn's 'White into Black' were published in 1983 in issue 10 of *Granta*.
[85] Sugnet, 'Vile Bodies', p.72.
[86] Sugnet, 'Vile Bodies', p.75.
[87] Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters,* p.21. Original emphasis.
[88] Holland and Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters*, p.21; p.49.

López Ropero makes the point that counter-travel writing needs to unsettle the reader's prior 'knowledge' or assumptions: '*countertravel writing* aims at shaking the reader's complacency through the "unmapping" of "mapped" world views […] In doing so, it dismantles the Eurocentric views that gave rise to the genre.'[89] Although Holland, Huggan, and Ropero seem to assume that the readers of counter-travel narratives do not share the same subject position as their authors, the critics' remarks nevertheless illustrate the fact that there is a branch of scholarship keen to witness the genre's liberation from its imperial and Western-centric associations, either by highlighting postcolonial travel writers' adversarial stances, or by positioning their work as separate from, or actively resisting, European influences.

On one hand, then, some critics advocate for an approach to postcolonial travel writing which views it in opposition to the genre's colonial past, but on the other, critics such as Gareth Griffiths and Korte suggest that this is unfeasible and declare postcolonial travel writing an impossibility. For example, Griffiths remarks that 'travel writing itself may now have become so deeply imbricated with the idea of the colonial that even the most oppositional texts [are still] problematic.'[90] Likewise, Korte describes travel writing as 'an essentially imperialist mode of representation' and writes that '[the modes of the European travelogue] can be modified or inverted, but on the whole postcolonial travelers and travel writers, just as their colonial predecessors, appear not to stray very far from the established, Western paths.'[91] She makes the point that postcolonial travel writing is usually tied to the imperial centre by way of publication and readership. Exemplifying this, Korte cites V.S. Naipaul's *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Societies, British, French and Dutch, in the West Indies* (1962) and Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye* as

[89] María Lourdes López Ropero, 'Travel Writing and Postcoloniality: Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound*', *Atlantis*, 25.1 (2003), 51-62 (p.54). Original emphasis.
[90] Gareth Griffiths, 'Postcolonialism and Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature*, ed. by Ato Quayson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.58-80 (p.77).
[91] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.153; p.156.

examples of travel texts by writers from former colonies that are published in London and were intended for a British audience.[92] In addition, Korte observes that even travellers who reverse the colonial direction of travel (from the imperial centre to the periphery) are 'unable to escape the imperialist gaze while in the mother country itself – especially when they were visibly foreign', and that they experience racism, or fall back on the imperialist trope of placing the travellees on an evolutionary ladder.[93] In contrast to those who promote the possibility of counter-travel, Griffiths and Korte make the point that the genre is now too imbued in colonial structures and Western hegemony for postcolonial travel writers to establish, in Korte's words, 'an entirely new line of the travel account.'[94] This conclusion is a pessimistic one because it implies that travel writers will always be confined within the colonial constrictions now associated with the genre. To be sure, it is difficult for any author to establish an entirely new branch of the genre into which they are writing, but it does not follow that postcolonial travel writers' resistive efforts are futile or that they cannot be understood through a postcolonial lens.

Edwards and Graulund offer a middle ground to the counter-travel debate when they caution against the binary that the concept erects between white European travel writing and the travel texts produced by authors from formerly colonised countries. In their introduction to *Postcolonial Travel Writing*, they argue that the counter-travel paradigm 'is not just an oppositional or a "writing back"; it offers frames of reference that exist outside the boundaries of European knowledge production.'[95] It is unsurprising, therefore, that the essays published within *Postcolonial Travel Writing* explore how travel writers adapt the themes and tropes traditionally associated with imperial travel writing to suit their own agenda. For example, Zoran Pećić suggests that Kincaid, in her *Among Flowers: A Walk in*

[92] *The Middle Passage* was originally published by Andre Deutsch and *With a Carib Eye* by Secker and Warburg.
[93] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.160.
[94] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.159.
[95] Edwards and Graulund, 'Introduction', p.3.

the Himalaya (2005), appropriates 'the Western institution of botany to voice untold stories of exploitation' in Nepal, and posits that Kincaid's own garden 'functions not only as a trope of imperialism, remembrance and mourning but also as a site of hybridity, liminality and ambivalence'.[96] Far from cementing the binary between counter-travel or postcolonial travel narratives and exploratory travel narratives, critics such as Edwards, Graulund, and Pećić suggest that texts can be both critical of the genre's past and employ some of the themes and characteristics which are bound up with the problematic nature of that past.

In *Mobility at Large: Globalization, Textuality and Innovative Travel Writing* (2012), Edwards and Graulund move away from the counter-travel paradigm and towards what they term 'a progressive politics of mobility'.[97] They state that these new mobilities are 'revealed in contemporary travel texts wherein the travel writer is self-reflexive about the genre (and his or her participation in it), as well as through textual experimentation with language, stylistics and form.'[98] Although they note that travel writing is bound historically to colonialism, their optimism that postcolonial travel writers can still produce innovative and subversive literature is valuable. Their advocacy of new forms of expression and different ways of recording experiences is emphasised when they note that

> Innovative textual practices explore new ways of […] circumvent[ing] the domains of travel practice by repositioning and destabilizing the travelling, writing subject in relation to the people and places encountered. Audience expectations are, then, often subverted through surprising juxtapositions, non-linear narratives, multiple voicing and complex configurations of documentation, memory, fact, fiction and fantasy.[99]

[96] Zoran Pećić, 'Floral Diaspora in Jamaica Kincaid's Travel Writing', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.138-155 (p.139).
[97] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund, *Mobility at Large: Globalization, Textuality and Innovative Travel Writing* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), p.4.
[98] Edwards and Graulund, *Mobility at Large*, p.4.
[99] Edwards and Graulund, *Mobility at Large*, p.10.

Their emphasis on the 'writing' part of 'travel writing' is important because it suggests that postcolonial travel authors can reconcile some of the tension between travel and colonialism through literary creativity. There has been a move away from assessing how postcolonial travel writing differs from its colonial counterparts, or the extent to which it counters the perspectives, ideology and 'knowledge' found within exploration narratives. Instead there is a trend towards viewing postcolonial travel writing as in negotiation with, rather than in opposition to, travel writing's imperial history. I apply the approach Edwards and Graulund adopt here and in *Postcolonial Travel Writing* to the Caribbean-British travel narratives I examine. An appropriation of themes and characteristics associated with imperial travel, together with innovative textual practices, foregrounds the agency of the authors I discuss and reflects the fact that the effects of colonisation are still being experienced across the globe today. Chapters Three, Four, and Five of this thesis illustrate the aftermaths of colonialism, as the texts discussed in these chapters map colonial legacies in British cities, the impact of the British colonial education on Caribbean children, and the imperial sentiment which still lingers in travel writing that is published online.

Caribbean Travel Writing

As I mention above, the Caribbean islands were (and some, of course, still are) occupied by different European nations. Consequently, scholarship on the subject of Caribbean travel writing has focussed on francophone, hispanophone, and anglophone travel narratives from the region. Charles Forsdick's *Travel in Twentieth-Century French and Francophone Cultures: The Persistence of Diversity* (2005), in which the work of Édouard Glissant is discussed, is an example of a critical work which pays attention to francophone writers in Caribbean contexts.[100] Similarly, Claire Lindsay's 'Hispanic Travel Writing' traces the travel narratives produced by the first Spanish explorers and colonisers in the

[100] Charles Forsdick, *Travel in Twentieth-Century French and Francophone Cultures: The Persistence of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Caribbean through to twentieth century journey literature written in Spanish.[101] In an anglophone context, Hulme's works which span from pre-Columbian times to the mid-twentieth century are foundational. Likewise, the chronological scope of Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert and Ivette Romero-Cesareo's *Women at Sea: Travel Writing and the Margins of Caribbean Discourse* (2001) concludes in the twentieth century, which is the starting point for this thesis.[102] Tobias Döring's *Caribbean-English Passages: Intertextuality in a Postcolonial Tradition* (2001), also focusses on anglophone texts and examines the relationship between Caribbean and English literature, including travel writing.[103]

In *English Travel Writing*, Korte notes: 'even if travel writers from Britain's former colonies have, on the whole, not subverted the traditional generic patterns, they have certainly added a range of "other" sensitivities, perspectives and attitudes which enrich the genre and make a significant contribution to keeping it alive.'[104] This comment is somewhat patronising. Korte's use of the phrase 'keeping it alive' and 'enrich' imply that postcolonial travel writing represents merely an addition to the genre, which subsequently keeps such texts on travel writing's literary periphery. Postcolonial travellers and travel writers have significantly augmented the genre in a way that has been – and continues to be – influential and meaningful, but I am less concerned with what 'addition' Caribbean travel writers make to travel writing and instead approach their work as important not because it represents a 'gain', but rather, because such texts are significant in their own right. With this in mind, the present thesis sees itself as contributing to the already rich areas of Caribbean and postcolonial travel writing studies in three ways. Firstly, through the selection of primary texts discussed throughout. I prioritise Caribbean travel writers

[101] Claire Lindsay, 'Hispanic Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. by Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.221-235.
[102] Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert and Ivette Romero-Cesareo, *Women at Sea: Travel Writing and the Margins of Caribbean Discourse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
[103] Tobias Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages: Intertextuality in a Postcolonial Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002).
[104] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.178.

who have not received much scholarly attention, such as Edgar Mittelholzer, Amryl Johnson, and Ferdinand Dennis, and my final chapter focusses on travel blogs, a burgeoning area of travel writing studies which has not previously been discussed in a Caribbean context.[105] Secondly, instead of working to assess the extent to which my examples of Caribbean-British travel narratives can be read as counter-travel writing, I analyse how their authors grapple and engage with Eurocentric understandings and conceptualisations of the genre. Thirdly, following on from the previous point, I examine how Caribbean travel writers embody and employ concepts, such as the travellee polemic, armchair travel, and *flânerie*, which are not usually discussed in the context of postcolonial travel writing. The application of these concepts to postcolonial travel writing is not only necessary because the narratives often reshape the initial concept, but vital because such an application reveals the one-way vision with which these concepts have often been viewed.

Structure

This thesis focusses on lesser studied examples of Caribbean-British travel writing rather than the much discussed *The Middle Passage* by Naipaul, a text which describes a return journey to the Caribbean.[106] Perhaps because of its controversial and provocative nature, *The Middle Passage* has been the subject of scholarly discussion since its publication.[107] Indeed, in 2000 Korte noted that '[i]f travel is of special pertinence to Britain's former colonies, the travel *writing* produced in these parts of the world has been practically

[105] I discuss this in more detail in the 'Structure' section below.
[106] V.S. Naipaul, *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Societies, British, French and Dutch, in the West Indies* (London: Picador, 1995).
[107] In *The Middle Passage*, Naipaul is dismissive and scathing about the Caribbean region, famously writing: 'History is built around achievement and creation; nothing was created in the West Indies'. This quotation caused critics such as Derek Walcott to comment that Naipaul had undertaken a Caribbean grand tour with 'his Victorian spectacles on'. Similarly, Bruce King notes Naipaul's Victorian approach when he likens *The Middle Passage* to the work of James Anthony Froude. Naipaul, *The Middle Passage*, p.20; Derek Walcott, 'History and Picong… in the Middle Passage (1962)', in *Critical Perspectives on Derek Walcott*, ed. by Robert D. Hamner (Boulder: Lynne Rinner, 1997), pp.18-19 (p.18); Bruce King, *V.S. Naipaul*, 2nd edn (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp.55-56.

ignored by scholars until recently – with the prominent exception of V.S. Naipaul.'[108] I make passing references to *The Middle Passage* in Chapter Four, but I have chosen to focus on texts which have not yet received the same level of critical interest so that Naipaul's text might become less emblematic of postcolonial travel writing as a whole, but more specifically, less emblematic of postcolonial travel writing about the Caribbean or travel writing produced by Caribbean authors.

The first and second chapters examine texts which describe a return journey to the Caribbean. Chapter One discusses Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye*, a travel narrative which details the author's journey around the region. From the outset of the narrative, Mittelholzer makes it clear that *With a Carib Eye* is a response to other travel narratives about the Caribbean written by English authors who portray the region as 'distinctly primitive, backward and exotic'.[109] Consequently, I interpret *With a Carib Eye* as a travellee polemic – a form of travel writing 'in which travelees responded angrily to outsiders' accounts of their societies' – and discuss how travellee polemics unsettle the conventional relationship between the travel writer and the place and people they are representing because they offer a view of the writer's own society.[110] I analyse the literary devices Mittelholzer employs, such as intertextuality and anecdotes, to award himself a higher ethnographic authority than the 'outsiders' who wrote travel accounts of the Caribbean. I evaluate the success of *With a Carib Eye* in its capacity as a travellee polemic, arguing that, while Mittelholzer effectively counters specific claims made by English travel writers about the region, the text fails to alter wide spread (mis)perceptions of the region on a large scale; a failure I attribute, in part, to the limited circulation of *With a Carib Eye* and the imperial sensibilities Mittelholzer articulates throughout the narrative

[108] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.152.
[109] Mittelholzer, *With a Carib Eye*, p.11.
[110] Wendy Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke: Authority, Laughter and Savage Breasts in an 18thC Travel Polemic', *University College London* < http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1341903/1/1341903_Lovrich%27s%20Joke%20amended-1.pdf > [accessed 18th June 2018], p.2.

which undermine his initial resistive stance.

Amryl Johnson's *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (1988) is the main focus of Chapter Two, but I also make reference to her poetry collection *Long Road to Nowhere* (1985).[111] Both texts recount Johnson's return journey to the Caribbean after she migrated away from it. In the first half of this chapter, I examine Johnson's ambivalent identity when she travels in the Caribbean, as she occupies the dual position of being both a native and a tourist upon her return. I interpret Johnson's behaviour, such as participating in Carnival and distinguishing herself from tourists, as a form of cultural performativity and as a way to rid herself of the 'symbolic whiteness' which Robert B. Potter and Joan Phillips suggest is characteristic of Caribbean returnees.[112] Ultimately, I suggest that her performance is undercut by the Caribbean residents who still identify her as an outsider, and that these moments interrupt the traditional power dynamics of the contact zone, as Johnson portrays Caribbean travellees as figures with agency. The second section of Chapter Two discusses Johnson's encounters with spirits and a female ghost. I discuss the significance of ghostly figures in a travel writing and a Caribbean literary context, suggesting that Johnson uses the spectral figures as a device to align herself with a Caribbean collective history.

The third and fourth chapters are concerned with travel narratives which exhibit an engagement with England. In Chapter Three, I assess the extent to which Dennis and Phillips can be read as postcolonial *flâneurs* in their respective travel narratives and how their representation of the former imperial centre challenges cartographic normativity. Dennis in his *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (1988) and Phillips in his *The Atlantic Sound* (2000) recount journeys around metropolises in Britain, and implicitly question the notion of imperial centres by showing impoverished, marginalised, and

[111] Amryl Johnson, *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (London: Virago Press, 1988); Amryl Johnson, *A Long Road to Nowhere* (London: Virago Press, 1985).
[112] Robert B. Potter and Joan Phillips, 'Both black and symbolically white: the "Bajan-Brit" return migrant as post-colonial hybrid', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29.5 (2006), 901-927 (p.914).

peripheral areas and communities within the so-called centre.[113] I suggest that, in their capacity as postcolonial *flâneurs,* Dennis and Phillips appropriate the practice of cartography which was once, in Lindsay's words, 'an elitist, imperial affair', to create literary counter-maps of the imperial centre as they record their experiences from black, diasporic subject positions.[114]

Kincaid's 'On Seeing England for the First Time' (1991) represents the primary text of Chapter Four, but I also discuss Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987) and Stuart Hall's *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (2017).[115] I use these texts to demonstrate how the colonial education system that was implemented in British-ruled Caribbean islands can be understood as a form of armchair travel, and how it revises the 'distanced observation' form of this stationary travel practice. I explore the anglocentric attitude that this form of pedagogy encouraged in Caribbean students; how it simultaneously estranged them from their local contexts and gave them intimate knowledge of a place over four thousand miles away. I further propose that the authors' engagement with England from a position of stasis in the Caribbean leads to what I have named an 'uncanny return' when Kincaid, Naipaul, and Hall travel to the mother country as adults.

Chapter Five is explicitly concerned with the travel blog form and how the Caribbean is represented by Caribbean bloggers. I build on recent and current work regarding this understudied form and contribute to discussions centring on the relationship between the literary practice of travel blogging, representation, and the racial diversity of travel bloggers. Drawing on travel blogs such as Patrick Bennett and Steve Bennett's *Uncommon Caribbean,* Savita Ragoo's *Travel and Treatz*, and Francesca Murray's *One*

---

[113] Ferdinand Dennis, *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988); Caryl Phillips, *The Atlantic Sound* (London: Vintage, 2001).
[114] Claire Lindsay, 'Cartography', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.34-36 (p.36).
[115] V.S. Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival: A Novel in Five Sections* (London: Picador, 2002); Stuart Hall, *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands*, with Bill Schwarz (London: Allen Lane 2017).

Girl: One World, I examine how bloggers, much like travel writers, both contest primitivising depictions of the region but also reproduce some of the stereotypical exoticising images of the Caribbean, similar to the kind which provoked Mittelholzer to write *With a Carib Eye*.[116]

[116] Patrick Bennett and Steve Bennett, *Uncommon Caribbean* < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/about/ > [accessed 25th January 2017]; Savita Ragoo, *Travel and Treatz* < https://travelandtreatz.com > [accessed 16th January 2019]; Francesca Murray, *One Girl: One World* < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com > [accessed 13th December 2018].

Chapter One

The Travellee Polemic and Edgar Mittelholzer's With a Carib Eye

> Mention the Caribbean today and most people think of beaches and poverty.
> –Joshua Jelly-Schapiro, *Island People*, 2016

It is often assumed that travel writing will portray the traveller's encounter with unfamiliar places or peoples; indeed, texts in which the traveller-author undertakes a journey to a destination outside of their place of origin and describes the people they encounter in the 'other' place for their domestic readership are common. On this note, Jonathan Raban remarks that 'the essential condition' of the travel book 'is the experience of living among strangers away from home'.[117] Similarly, Loredane Polezzi suggests that travel writing is marked by 'distance' and 'alterity', and Charles Forsdick comments that travel literature is characterised by the representation of a journey 'through places with which those undertaking them are unfamiliar—or with which they had thought were familiar, but through travel discover they no longer are.'[118]

In *Mobility at Large: Globalization, Textuality and Innovative Travel Writing* (2012), however, Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund posit that it is possible for travel authors to enact a 'progressive politics of mobility' through 'repositioning and destabilizing the travelling, writing subject in relation to the people and places encountered.'[119] For Edwards and Graulund, then, one way in which travel writing can present itself as a radical textual practice is when a travelogue complicates the binary

[117] Johnathan Raban, 'The Journey and the Book', in *For Love and Money: Writing, Reading, Travelling, 1969-1987* (London: Collins Harville, 1987), pp.253-260 (p.257).
[118] Loredane Polezzi, *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.1; Charles Forsdick, *Travel in Twentieth-Century French and Francophone Cultures: The Persistence of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.xii.
[119] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund, *Mobility at Large: Globalization, Textuality and Innovative Travel Writing* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), p.4.

between self (traveller) and Other (travellee). This process can be observed in Edgar Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye* (1958) in the sense that the author describes a journey in Guyana – the country of his birth – and other Caribbean nations in which he stays for extended periods of time.[120] Mittelholzer's narrative responds, in part, to other travelogues written about the Caribbean, and thus *With a Carib Eye* can be interpreted as what Wendy Bracewell has termed a 'travellee polemic': a text in which a travellee answers back to accounts of their own nation and people written by a foreigner.[121] In this chapter I examine specific instances in *With a Carib Eye* where Mittelholzer counters what he considers to be inaccurate representations of the region. I approach Mittelholzer and his travelogue by adapting and blending postcolonial and travel writing approaches and seeing how they apply to a text written by someone with an ambivalent subject position.

Edgar Mittelholzer

Edgar Austin Mittelholzer (1909-1965) was born in British Guiana (now Guyana) but moved to England in 1948 with the ambition of becoming 'rich and famous by writing novels for the people of Britain to read.'[122] He was among the generation of male Caribbean writers, including Stuart Hall, Vic Reid, Sam Selvon, Andrew Salkey, and George Lamming, who migrated to London after the end of the Second World War. Mittelholzer was a prolific author and his oeuvre is astonishing in its volume and scope. He self-published his first text, *Creole Chips,* in 1937 and by the time he died twenty-eight

[120] Edgar Mittelholzer, *With a Carib Eye* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1958). Further references to this text will appear in parenthesis. I am grateful to Peter Hulme and John McLeod for bringing *With a Carib Eye* to my attention.
[121] Wendy Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke: Authority, Laughter and Savage Breasts in an 18thC Travel Polemic', *University College London* < http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1341903/1/1341903_Lovrich%27s%20Joke%20amended-1.pdf > [accessed 18th June 2018], p.2.
[122] From the unpublished second part of Mittelholzer's *A Pleasant Career*, cited in Michael Gilkes, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', in *West Indian Literature,* ed. by Bruce King (London: Macmillan, 1979), pp.95-110 (p.95). Guyana achieved independence from Britain in May 1966 (eight years after the publication of *With a Carib Eye*). Mittelholzer died by his own hand in Surrey, England; a suicide that some of his novels, such as *Corentyne Thunder* (1940), foreshadow.

years later he was the author of twenty-six published works which span the genres of the novel, short story, ghost story, poem, fable, autobiography, and travelogue.[123] Despite the size of his body of work, J. Dillion Brown notes that Mittelholzer is 'a largely overlooked figure', and this is reflected by the fact that much of it is out of print, as Salkey observes in his *Georgetown Journal* (1972).[124] Correspondingly, Juanita Anne Westmaas notes that 'Mittelholzer's novels have failed to attract a wide range of serious in-depth critical attention', and that '"silences" […] exist around the Mittelholzer canon'.[125] Jacqueline Mittelholzer (Mittelholzer's second wife) adds to the discussion regarding Mittelholzer's critical unpopularity when she reveals that her husband's 'views, and his uncompromising way of expressing them, were what made it so difficult to publish two of his later novels, *The Pilling of Clouds* and *The Aloneness of Mrs Chatham*.'[126] *The Pilling of Clouds* was one of Mittelholzer's most controversial novels because, according to Jacqueline Mittelholzer, it advocates for criminals to be put to death using cyanide and refers to paedophilic acts.[127] Furthermore, James Procter notes that Mittelholzer's 'controversial themes, which flirted with fascism, the occult and sadomasochism, effectively alienated his reading public.'[128] Mittelholzer's opinions certainly contributed towards his 'reputation of being "a problem author,"' and may also account for the unavailability of much of his

[123] James Ferguson provides a useful overview of Mittelholzer's life and precarious literary career in 'Edgar Mittelholzer – the dark one', *Caribbean Beat,* 100 (2009) < http://caribbean-beat.com/issue-100/edgar-mittelholzer-dark-one#axzz4cWohjTR1 > [accessed 27th March 2019].
[124] J. Dillon Brown, *Migrant Modernisms: Postwar London and the West Indian Novel* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), p.42; Andrew Salkey notes: 'I saw in A.J.'s excellent library the only copy of Edgar Mittelholzer's *Corentyne Thunder* I had ever seen.' Andrew Salkey, *Georgetown Journal: A Caribbean Writer's Journey from London via Port of Spain to Georgetown, Guyana, 1970* (London: New Beacon Books, 1972), p.115.
[125] Juanita Anne Westmaas, 'Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965) and the Shaping of his Novels' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013), p.3.
[126] Jacqueline Mittelholzer, *The Idyll and the Warrior (The Recollections of Edgar Mittelholzer)* (Online: The Caribbean Press, 2014), p.91.
[127] Mittelholzer, *The Idyll*, p.8; p.71. Similarly Victor L. Chang notes that Secker and Warburg – the publishers of *With a Carib Eye* – 'refused to publish [*The Pilling of Clouds*] because it was "pornographic"' and contained controversial viewpoints regarding the punishment of criminals. Victor L. Chang, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', in *Fifty Caribbean Writers: A Biblipgraphical Critical Sourcebook*, ed. by Daryl Cumber Dance (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp.327-340 (p.330).
[128] James Procter, 'London Calling: the BBC and Caribbean Literature', *BBC* < https://www.bbc.co.uk/historyofthebbc/people-nation-empire/london-calling > [accessed 12th July 2019] (para.11 of 15).

work today.[129]

Despite the difficulty Mittelholzer had in publishing his later work, and the fact that he has previously been left out of scholarly discussions centring on Caribbean literature, Westmaas observes that '[a] resurgence of interest in Mittelholzer has taken place since the one hundred year anniversary of his birth'.[130] Indeed, in the first decade of the present century, critics began to commend Mittelholzer and recognise the importance of his literary output: John Clement Ball describes him as one of the 'major English language novelists' from the Caribbean region; Stuart Hall remembers him as one of the 'creators of the West Indian novel'; and Brown cites him along with V.S. Naipaul, Selvon, and Lamming as one of the writers who contributed to 'the founding moment of the Anglophone Caribbean literary tradition.[131] Furthermore, some of Mittelholzer's novels, namely *Corentyne Thunder* (1940), *A Morning at the Office* (1950), *Shadows Move Among Them* (1951), *The Life and Death of Sylvia* (1954), and *My Bones and My Flute* (1955), have been re-published by Peepal Tree Press in recent years. Although this leaves the majority of his works out of print, it nonetheless indicates a renewed interest in them.[132]

According to F. M. Birbalsingh, '[t]here are three main themes running through the whole body of Mittelholzer's fiction – social reform, sexual love and transcendentalism'.[133] Building on Birbalsingh's observation, I suggest that protest and identity – now established themes and urgent concerns in contemporary British-Caribbean

---

[129] Chang, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', p.330.
[130] Westmaas, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', p.4.
[131] John Clement Ball, *Imagining London: Postcolonial Fiction and the Transnational Metropolis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p.109; Stuart Hall, *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands*, with Bill Schwarz (London: Allen Lane, 2017), p.136; Brown, *Migrant Modernisms*, p.12.
[132] Colin Rickards praises Peepal Tree Press for the recent renewed interest in Mittelholzer's work. See Colin Rickards, 'Remembering Edgar Mittelholzer: Part 1', *Stabroek News*, 15th November 2010 < https://www.stabroeknews.com/2010/features/11/15/remembering-edgar-mittelholzer-part-1/ > [accessed 9th November 2016] (paras. 2-6). The Caribbean publishing house is also praised in Colin Rickards, 'Remembering Edgar Mittelholzer: Part 2', *Stabroek News*, 29th November 2010 < http://www.stabroeknews.com/2010/features/in-the-diaspora/11/29/remembering-edgar-mittelholzer-part-ii/ > [accessed 9th November 2016].
[133] F. M. Birbalsing, 'Edgar Mittelholzer: Moralist or Pornographer?', *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 4.1 (1969), 88-103 (p.88).

literature – are central to his travel narrative, *With a Carib Eye*.[134] Although the text was published during the late 1950s, some of the journeys that the travelogue describes were undertaken significantly earlier than the publication date implies. Indeed, Mittelholzer visited Trinidad in 1941 and Grenada in 1947 or 1948; he briefly stayed in Jamaica on his way to England in 1948; he visited St Lucia in 1954; and he travelled back to his birth country, British Guiana, in February 1956. Mittelholzer offers a detailed commentary on the history, economy, society and topography of the individual Caribbean islands and countries listed above, with the addition of Barbados, and he intermittently discusses the Caribbean region in a more collective sense, particularly in the final chapter in which he deliberates on the possibility of a unified Caribbean culture, and assesses the literary scene in the region. As far as it is possible to tell – Mittelholzer never explicitly states the date he arrived in Barbados – it appears that the islands are discussed in chronological order.

In her 1958 review of *With a Carib Eye*, Mary Proudfoot describes it as a 'short, lively, and readable little book for the casual traveller in the British West Indies' but goes on to note that '[t]here is nothing here for the scholar'.[135] This chapter offers a response to Proudfoot's assessment by suggesting that *With a Carib Eye* is one of the first 'postcolonial' travel narratives from the region, not only because its publication date corresponds to the era of decolonisation following the end of the Second World War, but also because of the sensibilities it displays. Certainly, the ways in which Mittelholzer responds in his own travelogue to earlier travel accounts or artistic (mis)representations which exoticise or primitivise the Caribbean is symptomatic of the criticism that eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and early twentieth-century European exploratory travel writing

[134] Barbara Lalla uses V.S. Naipaul's travelogue, *The Middle Passage* (1962), among other texts, to interrogate the link between language and Caribbean identity, and H. Adlai Murdoch discusses the representation of Caribbean identity in literature and film. Barbara Lalla 'Creole and Respec': Authority and Identity in the Development of a Caribbean Literary Discourse', in *Caribbean Literary Discourse: Voice and Cultural Identity in the Anglophone Caribbean*, ed. by Barbara Lalla, Jean D'Costa and Velma Pollard (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014), pp.101-112; H. Adlai Murdoch, *Creolizing the Metropole: Migrant Caribbean Identities in Literature and Film* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2012).
[135] Mary Proudfoot, 'With A Carib Eye. By Edgar Mittelholzer', *International Affairs,* 34.4 (1958), 562.

would receive within and following the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) – a text which is described by Edwards as 'one of the most influential works of postcolonial theory'.[136] In addition, Mittelholzer constructs his Caribbean identity in a way that foreshadows the sense of confusion and unbelonging in more recent Caribbean travel narratives, such as Amryl Johnson's *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (1988). Consequently, *With a Carib Eye* is an apt place to begin a scholarly exploration of Caribbean-British travelogues, as it exhibits characteristics now considered to be typical of Caribbean travel writing and raises issues which are the subject of discussion within contemporary postcolonial travel writing scholarship.

In this chapter, I discuss how *With a Carib Eye* can be read as a travellee polemic and its success in this regard. I deliberate how Mittelholzer employs some of the literary conventions associated with travel writing and postcolonial literature, such as intertextuality, writing back, and anecdotes, to make his narrative sound more authentic than those he denounces. The following section introduces some of these concepts before I apply them to *With a Carib Eye*.

Travellee Polemic

Intertextuality – the relationship between literary texts, or more specifically, when a text engages with one or more of its literary predecessors – is a narrative device often employed by travel writers.[137] The fact that *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies* (2019) dedicates one of its entries to the literary practice is indicative of its wide-spread use within the genre. Betty Hagglund, the author of the entry, suggests that the use of intertextuality can make a travel author appear trustworthy: it can 'establish the travel writer as an

[136] Justin D. Edwards, 'Postcolonial Travel Writing and Postcolonial Theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.19-32 (p.22).
[137] Chris Baldick, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.171.

authoritative figure, one who has done his research before leaving home and whose information can be trusted.'[138] Similarly, on the subject of intertextuality and woman-authored travel narratives, Indira Ghose comments that '[a]n important role in […] constructions of reality is played by an intertextual exchange between texts', and likewise, Thea Pitman in her discussion of the practice within Mexican travel writing notes that '[t]he use of intertextuality is often a way of corroborating the truth value of the text – someone else has done or seen or said the same thing, even in nigh-on virgin territory.'[139]

The observations made by Hagglund, Ghose, and Pitman can be applied to British travel writing, too. For example, in *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (1596), Sir Walter Raleigh comments on the fabled men who have 'their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts' reported on in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1356) – an influential and popular text which inspired early explorers such as Christopher Columbus to undertake international expeditions.[140] Raleigh notes that Mandeville was not the first travel writer to describe the men, but in fact, 'the fable is borrowed from older writers, Herodotus &c'. Raleigh adds: 'for mine own part I saw [the fabled men] not, but I am resolved that so many people did not all combine or forethink to make the report.'[141] The fact that Mandeville also used other travel narratives to construct his own establishes further an intertextual tradition within travel writing, and in addition, Raleigh's commentary demonstrates how the fable's appearance in multiple texts grants it verisimilitude. In a similar vein, Evelyn Waugh in his travelogue *Ninety-Two Days* (1934) which describes his journey through Guyana and Brazil, uses a previous traveller's account to affirm his own: 'I came upon a local mission magazine in

[138] Betty Hagglund, 'Intertextuality', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley, and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.133-135 (p.133).
[139] Indira Ghose, *The Power of the Female Gaze: Women Travellers in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.2; Thea Pitman, *Mexican Travel Writing* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), p.49.
[140] Sir W. Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, ed. by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p.85; Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, in Raleigh, *The Discovery*, p.85 (footnote 2). Sir John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 2005). See C. Moseley, 'Introduction', in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 2005), pp.9-41 (p.12).
[141] Raleigh, *The Discovery*, p.85.

which were extracts from the diaries of Father Carey-Elwes, […] I was enchanted to discover a description corresponding almost exactly to my own experience.'[142] Evidently, then, referring to other travellers' accounts, or to the information found in them, is a way in which travel writers enhance the credibility of their own narratives. It is important to note, though, that this method of authentication is not one-way; by referring to the travelogues of others, Raleigh and Waugh add credibility to their own accounts and the accounts they reference because they solidify the 'information', the ideologies, and the perceptions that the former text offers, and they grant it exposure and further publicity.

Hagglund, Pitman, and Ghose highlight one function of intertextuality within a travel writing context; however, travel writers also include references to previous travel accounts in their own in order to challenge them, or to reclaim a representation of a place or peoples. It is in this light that Bracewell refocuses the topic of intertextuality within travel writing studies when she examines how a travel text is received by the readers who live in the place featured in the narrative. Drawing on Mary Louise Pratt's term, 'travelee', which denotes 'persons traveled to (or on) by a traveler, receptors of travel', Bracewell coins the phrase 'travellee-reader' to refer to the people who read 'foreign travel accounts of [their] own society.'[143] She makes the important point that the first-person narrative often found within travel writing demands that the travellee-readers view themselves and their society from outside, and thus travellee-readers are 'doubly written into these texts: first as projected readers being invited to share the narrator's position (and opinions) as he surveyed a country and second, recognizing themselves as the object of his gaze.'[144] Some travellee-readers answer back to foreign travel accounts by publishing what Bracewell

[142] Evelyn Waugh, *Ninety-Two Days* (London: Penguin, 2011), p.113.
[143] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), p.258 (note 42); Wendy Bracewell, 'The Travellee's Eyes: Reading European Travel Writing, 1750-1850', in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, ed. by Paul Smethurst and Julia Kuehn (New York: Palgrave, 2015), pp.215-225 (p.216).
[144] Bracewell, 'The Travellee's Eyes', pp.216-217. On her use of the male pronoun, Bracewell explains: '(I use the male pronoun deliberately, not just because the majority of travel writers in this period were men, but since the closest analogy to the travellee-reader is that of a woman looking at paintings of female nudes, where the depiction implies and invites a male gaze.)' Bracewell, 'The Travellee's Eyes', p.217.

terms ‘travellee polemics’ or ‘travel polemics’: a view of their society from the inside.[145] She notes that the travellee polemic ‘is a genre that appears as early as the sixteenth century’, and ‘in which travelees responded angrily to outsiders’ accounts of their societies’.[146] Arguably, travellee polemics exhibit the ‘progressive politics of mobility’ that Edwards and Graulund describe because they automatically destabilise the conventional relationship between the author of the travel text and the people and place described, and instead portray the writer’s place of origin and domestic society.[147] In this sense, travellee polemics refute the assumption that travellers and travel readers always share a nationality, and furthermore, they provide an insight into the reception of travel texts outside of the readership they were intended for.

Bracewell draws on Giovanni Lovrich’s *Observations on ‘Travels in Dalmatia’ of Abbot Alberto Fortis* (1776) which, as its title suggests, refers to Fortis’s *Travels in Dalmatia* (1774), as an example of a ‘travelee answering back in the eighteenth century’.[148] Fortis (a traveller of Italian origin) ascribed to the women of Lovrich’s native land (Morlack women) the ability to throw ‘their breasts over their shoulders to keep them out of the way’, and the skill to ‘feed their young over their shoulders’ – physical traits European travellers had previously ascribed to ‘Hottentots, Tierra del Fuegans, Greenlanders and Tasmanian aborigines’, but by the mid eighteenth century the image had become ‘commonplace in descriptions of primitive humanity’.[149] According to Bracewell, Lovrich ‘was determined to correct’ Fortis, and did so by ‘describing the Morlacks from an indigenous perspective.’[150] In addition, Bracewell suggests that Gjuro Ferrich’s poem, *Description of the Coast of Ragusa*, can be labelled a travellee polemic because it responds

[145] Bracewell, ‘The Travellee’s Eyes’, p.218; p.221. I will use the term ‘travellee polemic’ rather than ‘travel polemics’ because the former better captures the fact that the text is a response made by the receptor of travel.
[146] Bracewell, ‘The Travellee’s Eyes’, p.218. Bracewell, ‘Lovrich’s Joke’, p.2.
[147] Edwards and Grulaund, *Mobility at Large*, p.4.
[148] Bracewell, ‘Lovrich’s Joke’, p.2.
[149] Bracewell, ‘Lovrich’s Joke’, p.1; p.2.
[150] Bracewell, ‘Lovrich’s Joke’, p.1.

to Francesco Maria Appendini's *Notize* (a two-volume history of Ragusa).[151] In a letter to Stefan Racicevich, Ferrich explains why he wrote the poem: '"The foreigner who has written our history and who has disfigured it […] he has made a hash and a confusion of things […] first because exaggerated to the highest degree, and then corrupted by stomach-turning praises."'[152] Ferrich further accuses Appendini of '"prostitute[ing] his pen"', believing his motives for praising Ragusa lie 'in his hope of a reward from the Senate (to which [Appendini] had dedicated his work)'.[153] Although Ferrich's poem is unusual in the sense that it was prompted, in part, by indignation at falsely positive rather than negative characterisations, it nevertheless raises interesting questions about who has the authority to represent a place or people and then circulate that representation in the public, literary domain.

The term 'counter-travelogue' is used by Bracewell to describe travellee polemics. For example, she refers to Ferrich's poem as 'a polemical "counter-travelogue", one of many such works written in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by local "travelees" in order to challenge the confident judgements of their own cultures and societies made by foreigners.'[154] Likewise, she notes that Lovrich's *Observations* is a 'polemical counter-narrative attacking Fortis'.[155] Although the phrases 'counter-travel' or 'counter-narrative' effectively encapsulate the resistive politics inherent in travellee polemics, the introduction to this thesis demonstrates that the terms bear a strong association with postcolonial travel writing. Despite this, Bracewell provides concrete examples of travellee polemics within a Croatian context, and only discusses the practice within the perimeters of Europe: 'there are many examples of travelees answering back in the eighteenth century – from readers in Spain, Ireland, Scotland, Italy, Poland, Wallachia,

[151] Wendy Bracewell, 'Gjuro Ferrich's *Periegesis Orae Rhacusanae* (1803) as a Travel Polemic', *Dubrovnik Annals*, 19 (2015), 99-121.
[152] Ferrich's letter to Raicevich, cited in Bracewell, 'Gjuro Ferrich's *Periegesis Orae Rhacusanae*', p.104.
[153] Bracewell, 'Gjuro Ferrich's *Periegesis Orae Rhacusanae*', p.105.
[154] Bracewell, 'Gjuro Ferrich's *Periegesis Orae Rhacusanae*', p.106.
[155] Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', p.1.

and Greece, among others.'[156] This chapter extends Bracewell's travellee polemic paradigm by applying it to a travelogue about the Caribbean region written by an author of Caribbean origin.[157] I examine how Mittelholzer responds to previous travel accounts about the Caribbean written by 'Northerners' – a term he uses to refer to people from Europe or North America, and which, in a Caribbean context, also refers specifically to the perpetrators of colonialism and the slave trade.[158]

Before I begin to analyse *With a Carib Eye* as a travellee polemic, it is important to acknowledge that a form of intertextuality has received critical attention in postcolonial studies of other literary forms, too. Indeed, the term 'writing back' is applied to postcolonial literature that deliberately engages with earlier, authoritative texts with the purpose of contesting the importance awarded to them. On this note, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin propose that, in the context of anglophone literature, Eurocentric viewpoints can be decentred by texts that rewrite 'particular works from the English "canon" with a view to restructuring European "realities" in post-colonial terms'.[159] Tiffin observes the subversive potential of revisionary literature when she writes of Sam Selvon's *Moses Ascending* and J.M. Coetzee's *Foe* that neither is 'simply "writing back" to an English canonical text [*Robinson Crusoe*], but to the whole of the discursive field within which such a text operated and continues to operate in post-colonial

[156] Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', p.2.
[157] An earlier example of a travellee polemic in a postcolonial Caribbean context would be J.J. Thomas's *Froudacity* (1889) which responds to James Anthony Froude's *English in the West Indies or the Bow of Ulysses* (1888); however, this is outside the temporal scope of this thesis.
[158] The idea that the term 'northerners' refers to perpetrators of colonisation and the slave trade in a Caribbean context is implied by critical texts with a Caribbean focus. For instance, Leah Rosenburg writes: 'The conquest of the New World, the governance of colonies, and the plantation system […] are all part of a complex of history and economy of "robbery and theft" in which northerners poached the people and the land of warmer climates. The northerners enslaved people, settling them in colonies governed by greed rather than justice.' Leah Rosenburg, *Nationalism and the Formation of Caribbean Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), p.22.
[159] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* (London: Routledge, 1989), p.33. Salman Rushdie gave currency to the term 'writing back' when he used it to refer to postcolonial authors who 'wrote back' to the metropolis in the English language, but subsequently, the term has been used to refer to a more direct writing back whereby an author offers a response to a specific text(s). Salman Rushdie, 'The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance', *The Times*, 3rd July 1982, p.8.

worlds'.[160] Thus, by engaging with a specific text, postcolonial authors can also offer a counter-discourse to the wider structures that facilitate and support the text to which they are responding.[161] That said, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin critique the practice (in a manner that foreshadows Korte's and Griffith's problematisation of counter-travel writing) when they suggest that postcolonial cultures can never completely purge themselves of the influence of imperialism, and thus narratives that write back can never truly break free from the pre-text(s) or set of conventions they are adapting or to which they are offering resistance.[162] Similarly, John Thieme, on the subject of writing back within Caribbean literature, takes this a step further by suggesting that not only is this appraisal of counter-discourses realistic because of the impossibility of total emancipation from the West, but to stress otherwise risks promoting 'a reductive, essentialist version of Caribbeanness' which would exclude Creole identities and mixed race subject positions.[163] While these points are important, it should be noted that postcolonial authors do not always write back with the intention of finding a pre-colonial literary voice or a voice free from imperial influences; instead, the appropriation of canonical narratives, demonstrating the exclusive and exclusionary nature of the canon, and the re-writing of texts from an ex-centric perspective

[160] Helen Tiffin, 'Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse', *Kunapipi*, 9.3 (1987), 17-34 (p.23).
[161] Some postcolonial texts refer to previous postcolonial texts and offer a response to them without subversive intent. Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) and Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981), for example, produced their own postcolonial literary traditions which other postcolonial authors draw upon. On this note, Brian Doherty suggests that Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie offers a gentle critique and is highly respectful of Achebe's work. Brian Doherty, 'Writing Back with a Difference: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's "The Headstrong Historian" as a Response to Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart'*, *Matatu*, 45 (2014), 187-201.
[162] The idea that an author can never escape the conventions of previous works within their field has been a popular argument within many literary discourses throughout the twentieth century. For example, T. S. Eliot, in his essay 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1919), recognises that poets and the work they produce are always and inevitably influenced by their predecessors. This is clear when he writes '[n]o poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone.' This line of thought is echoed by Audre Lorde in a discussion concerning race relations: '*the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.* They may allow us to temporarily beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change.' T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', *Perspecta*, 19 (1982), 36-42 (p.33); Audre Lorde, 'The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle The Master's House', in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Colour*, ed. by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table: women of colour press, 1983), pp.98-101 (p.99).
[163] John Theime, 'Pre-Text and Con-Text: Re-writing the Caribbean', in *(Un)writing Empire*, ed. by Theo d' Haen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp.81-98 (p.97).

is often the goal.

The practice of writing back has been popular among writers of Caribbean origin. One of the most widely cited examples is Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) which writes back to Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847).[164] Rhys re-imagines the classic British text through a postcolonial lens when she creates the back story of Bertha, Mr Rochester's wife. In *Jane Eyre* (the pre-text), Bertha is characterised as violent and mad, and is shrouded in highly racialised description: 'It was a discoloured face – it was a savage face. I wish I could forget the roll of the red eyes and the fearful blackened inflation of the lineaments', and in addition, Bertha's lips are characterised as 'swelled and dark'.[165] Rhys, however, narrates the story of Antoinette Cosway, an affluent creole woman who marries an anonymous English gentleman, is renamed Bertha, and taken from her home in the Caribbean to live in England. Hence, *Wide Sargasso Sea* highlights the latent racism in a British canonical text, gives a voice to a racialised character who is marginalised in the pre-text, and addresses issues associated with the postcolonial condition, such as migration. Rhys is not the only writer of Caribbean origin to employ a counter-discursive rhetoric. Hall observes that, '[o]f the West Indian writers who migrated in the 1950s, some developed the extraordinary bold ambition to create a new indigenous kind of literature by rewriting the English novel, or English literature more generally from a Caribbean perspective.'[166] Indeed, Derek Walcott's *Pantomime* (1978) represents an adaption of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and Hall praises George Lamming's *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960) and *Water With Berries* (1971) for 'radically re-reading Shakespeare's *The Tempest*', and marvels at 'the rage to appropriate, to turn a colonial inheritance inside out, to make it reverberate with other stories and histories which made

[164] Jean Rhys, *Wide Sargasso Sea,* ed. by Angela Smith (London: Penguin, 2000); Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, ed. by Richard J. Dunn, 3rd edn (New York: Norton, 2001).
[165] Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, p.242.
[166] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.137.

the great creolizing project possible, or even conceivable'.[167] Evidently, writing back is a prominent motif in Caribbean literature.

Postcolonial texts that write back and travellee polemics are in dialogue with each other and share some underlying principles: they are both a form of literary protest, are concerned with rectifying and undermining the authority of more dominant narratives and are usually written from a peripheral subject position. However, the aspects of the pre-text that travellee polemics aim to rectify tend to be more concrete. While writing back is primarily concerned with offering a different perspective, travellee polemics are more interested in answering back to inaccurate representations which are presented as factual, such as the breastfeeding abilities of the Morlack women in Fortis's *Travels in Dalmatia*. Arguably, though, these literary labels are not mutually exclusive and *With a Carib Eye* can be interpreted as both a text that writes back and as a travellee polemic. Indeed, Mittelholzer writes into both literary traditions because he responds directly to travel accounts written about his region of origin in a manner similar to Lovrich and Ferrich; however, the postcolonial politics inherent in an author of Caribbean origin correcting travel narratives by English authors suggests that Mittelholzer engages with the practice of writing back, too. Furthermore, the fact that Mittelholzer demonstrates how stereotypes of the region have been created suggests that *With a Carib Eye* 'writes back' not only to specific travel narratives, but 'to the whole of the discursive field' within which these stereotypes operate.[168] I now discuss Mittelholzer's considered and purposeful engagement with other travel narratives in his own.

[167] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.137. The counter-discursive relationship between *The Tempest* and postcolonial texts is discussed in the following: Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, pp.189-192; John Thieme, *Postcolonial Con-Texts: Writing Back to the Canon* (London: Continuum, 2001), pp.127-154; Peter Hulme, 'Reading from Elsewhere: George Lamming and the Paradox of Exile', in *'The Tempest' and its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp.220-235.
[168] Tiffin, 'Post-colonial Literatures', p.23.

Travellee Polemics and Authority

In her analysis of *With a Carib Eye*, Barbara Korte observes that 'Mittelholzer is writing for an audience in Britain and with a somewhat defensive attitude. It is for British readers that he constantly emphasizes how the Caribbean has been misrepresented […] and for whom he wishes to correct this view'.[169] Likewise, Tobias Döring observes that Mittelholzer is writing with the intention of challenging existing perceptions of the Caribbean when he notes that the opening of *With a Carib Eye* is 'clearly counter-discursive', as Mittelholzer grounds 'his own book in the need to rewrite common clichés perpetuated by the tourist industry'.[170] Certainly, during the Foreword and first chapter, Mittelholzer makes it explicit that *With a Carib Eye* is a response to other travel narratives written about the Caribbean by Northerners, which identifies him as a travellee-reader, and his text as a travellee-polemic. His counter-discursive stance is evident from the outset of the travel narrative, as he begins his Foreword by making the point that Northern travel writers do not spend enough time in the region in order to gain an understanding complete enough to write an authoritative account of the place: 'Northerners who have written books about the Caribbean colonies are people who have generally set out intentionally to "cover" the area. They have spent perhaps a week or two in, say, British Honduras, Cuba, […] touching briefly at Grenada, St. Kitts' (p.7). Mittelholzer's use of 'scare quotes' around the word 'cover' – a word which could refer to the writer's coverage of terrain or their reportage – suggests that they have, in his opinion, done neither sufficiently. He goes on to note that the same authors 'made notes, took photographs of palm-fringed beaches, calypsonians, smiling black girls and voodoo worshippers […] [T]he resulting book has been one strongly influenced by the writer's preconceived notions of tropical countries.

[169] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. by Catherine Matthias (New York: Palgrave, 2000), p.158.
[170] Tobias Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages: Intertextuality in a postcolonial tradition* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2003), p.44.

The strange and the "exotic" have always been high-lighted' (p.7). In his opening paragraph, therefore, Mittelholzer suggests that Northern travel writers have approached the task of representing the Caribbean in a way that would make their resulting account incomprehensive and inaccurate; the picture they create is incomplete because of the short amount of time they spend in each island, and they do not look beneath the stereotypical aspects associated with the region.

In her discussion of Lovrich's polemical *Observations*, Bracewell asks '[w]hat textual devices authorize the claims made?'[171] This inquiry is an important one within travel writing studies. Indeed, Thompson dedicates a chapter of his *Travel Writing* (2011) to tracing from the medieval to the modern era 'the various strategies by which travellers have tried to present themselves as reliable sources of information', and similarly, Geraldine Heng makes the point that the relationship between truth and travel writing is such that 'narrative traditions' in the genre now 'habituate an audience/readership to expect authenticating devices that attest the truthfulness of the observer's account.'[172] That said, Bracewell's inquiry is particularly admissible in discussions concerning travel narratives that refute the claims of their literary predecessors; why should the readers of a travellee polemic believe it to be a more authoritative or accurate source of information than the travel account it is responding to?

After bringing the shortcomings of Northern-authored accounts to the attention of his readers, Mittelholzer takes care to state why his travelogue should be considered more accurate than those he denounces. One of the techniques he uses to gain the trust of his readership matches the one Lovrich and Ferrich use in their respective travellee polemics. Lovrich's and Ferrich's narratives rest on the assumption that they should be granted higher ethnographic authority than the foreign travel writers who describe their country

[171] Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', p.13.
[172] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p.64; Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), p.294.

because of their stronger connection to, and more intimate knowledge of, the place. Lovrich, for example, 'stress[es] that "before judging a people, one must have the precise particulars of their customs"', and eventually Fortis 'conceded that Lovrich, as a Morlack "co-national", ought to be trusted more'.[173] Likewise, Ferrich 'emphasizes Appendini's foreign origins' as a reason why Appendini's account should be discredited, and in turn, his own travelogue believed.[174] Mittelholzer follows this tradition by emphasising the link between himself and the Caribbean to give himself a greater authority than his Northern counterparts to represent the place. For instance, he writes in his Foreword: 'I was born and brought up in British Guyana, spent six years in Trinidad, three in Barbados, and have visited St. Lucia and Grenada and passed through Jamaica' (p.7). This quotation not only demonstrates that he has spent significantly longer in various Caribbean islands than the typical Northern travel writer, but also underscores that he is indigenous to the region he is representing in his travel narrative. The fact that Mittelholzer characterises his time in Jamaica as 'passing through' is interesting considering his criticism of Northern travel writers for doing the same thing. It should be noted, though, that his account of this island lasts approximately two pages, and that he admits that his 'memory-pictures are few' (p.110) of this island; he never claims to represent Jamaica in an authoritative or comprehensive way.

Mittelholzer further affirms his status as a Caribbean writer through the title of his travelogue, *With a Carib Eye.* It directly contrasts with Pratt's title, *Imperial Eyes*, and thus emphasises the fact that he is surveying the region with an 'insider's' or indigenous gaze, as opposed to what John Urry and Jonas Larson describe as 'the tourist gaze': a socially constructed way of seeing which tends to focus on 'features of the landscape or townscape which separate them off from [the tourist's] everyday experience.'[175] Moreover,

[173] Lovrich, in Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', p.4; Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', p.6.
[174] Bracewell, 'Gjuro Ferrich's *Periegesis Orae Rhacusanae*', p.106.
[175] John Urry and Jonas Larson, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2011), p.4.

Mittelholzer characterises his travelogue as 'an attempt to present a picture of the British Caribbean scene as viewed specifically through the eye of one born and bred in the region.' (p.8). Writing on this specific quotation, Brown notes that 'Mittelholzer explicitly articulates the importance of a West Indian viewpoint that is fundamentally different from a European one'.[176] Certainly, it is reasonable to suggest that Mittelholzer's gaze might be more nuanced because he is surveying a geography of which he has an in-depth knowledge. This not only establishes the authenticity of his travelogue, but also hints at its exclusivity; Mittelholzer's 'Carib eye' can see past aspects of the region which appear 'exotic' to Northern travel writers, and thus, it is likely that his account will contain information about elements of the region that previous, foreign travel writers have not recorded. Evidently, ideas of authenticity and indigeneity are interlinked in discussions concerning travellee polemics and representation.

In addition to acknowledging the general clichés and broad romanticised perceptions of the Caribbean, Mittelholzer, like Lovrich and Ferrich, defends his region of origin against 'facts' that foreign travel writers included in their travel accounts. Mittelholzer provides specific examples of written misrepresentations of the region by English travel writers, framing them within an anecdote:[177]

> When I was a boy my uncle, who was of an inventive turn, made me a little ship equipped with paddle-wheels worked by an arrangement of elastics. Ships in the old days, he told me, were propelled by paddle-wheels. This piece of information came as a revelation to me, for at that time I had never even seen the picture of a paddle-wheel ship. The ferry steamer that plied between New Amsterdam and Rosignol, the train terminus, on the western bank of the Berbice River, was of the conventional modern type […] In February, 1933, I made the 120-mile trip up the Berbice, and […] learnt that only three weeks before a distinguished English novelist had done the same journey, on the first leg of a long itinerary that included the Rupununi Savannah. The rancher told me his name […] About a year later, however, what appeared was a travel book. […] the writer of the book stated that he had travelled up the Berbice in an antiquated paddle-wheel steamer. (p.10)

[176] Brown, *Migrant Modernisms*, p.60.
[177] Mittelholzer's use of anecdotes is something I address below.

Mittelholzer provides enough information for us to determine that he is, more than likely, referring to Waugh's *Ninety-Two Days*. This is a strong possibility because Waugh is considered to be an eminent novelist of English origin, the date Mittelholzer undertook the trip in the ferry steamer corresponds to the time Waugh was travelling in British Guyana, and because in *Ninety-Two Days* Waugh writes of '[a] lazy, uneventful day in the paddle steamer up the Berbice River.'[178] Evidently, Waugh presents Guiana in a way which suggests it is a country untouched by modern transport technology. This is a trope found within examples of exploratory travel writing whereby the authors refuse to represent Other places as coeval to Western society, and thus create an implicit dynamic through which the travelling, Western subject (and their domestic readership) can, in Carl Thompson's words, 'subtly claim a superiority over the others they describe' on account of the others' supposed 'backwardness'.[179] Although he never explicitly accuses the 'distinguished English novelist' (p.10) of fabrication, Mittelholzer nevertheless contests the veracity of this particular part of *Ninety-Two Days*; firstly by noting that the steamer 'was of the conventional modern type' (p.10), and secondly by noting Waugh's English origin whereas he himself, in contrast, is of Guyanese origin and had never seen a ship of the type Waugh describes on the Berbice River.

Following his partially disguised reference to Waugh's *Ninety-Two Days*, Mittelholzer refers to a different English-authored travelogue, but one which describes travel in the island of Trinidad:

> [A]nother English novelist – well known rather than distinguished – […] spent a few weeks in Port of Spain. For much of his stay he was the guest of a free-lance writer, a man who came from one of the best French-creole families in the island but who was no longer received in polite company, [because] anyone who refused to buy a copy of the little magazine he edited […] was subjected to a flaming tirade of drunken abuse. In the company of this man, the well-known English novelist made frequent trips to the slum districts at the eastern end of Port of Spain, attended a few political meetings, then went back to England and wrote his travel book. It was a great

[178] Waugh, *Ninety-Two Days*, p.42.
[179] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p.147.

> success; it received excellent reviews and sold well. In its pages only the slum districts […] were described, so that the city was depicted as one vast shanty town of hovels, a disgrace to the British government. And in the whole of Trinidad there was only one citizen of any worth […] The author's host. (pp.10-11).

Westmaas identifies the travel account Mittelholzer alludes to here as *Glory Dead* (1939) by Arthur Calder-Marshall, and this seems likely given that Calder-Marshall dedicates *Glory Dead* to Tony de Boissière, a Trinidadian-based writer from a renowned French creole family.[180] *Glory Dead*'s identity is further affirmed by the circumstances surrounding a feud between Calder-Marshall and Mittelholzer. Mittelholzer suspected (correctly, as it turns out) that Calder-Marshall was publishing unfavourable reviews of his books anonymously, and Mittelholzer incorporated jibes aimed at Calder-Marshall within his writing as the above quotation from *With a Carib Eye* demonstrates.[181] In his travelogue, Mittelholzer uses Calder-Marshall's account to demonstrate how a primitivized picture of the region is created and reinforced by partial travel accounts. Indeed, he makes the point that Calder-Marshall only travelled to the places in Port of Spain that conformed to his own (and probably to his British readers') expectations of the socio-economic conditions of a Caribbean island. This kind of description would be interpreted as 'information' or 'knowledge', and when read in conjunction with other travel accounts like Waugh's – both texts would have circulated among the British reading public – creates the perception that the Caribbean is a poor place, and one which exists outside of modernity.[182]

Mittelholzer does not respond directly to Calder-Marshall's claims in the same way

---

[180] Westmaas, 'Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965)', p.68. Gerard A. Besson, 'The de Boissières', *The Caribbean History Archives* < http://caribbeanhistoryarchives.blogspot.com/2011/08/de-boissieres.html > [accessed 12th July 2019] (para.9 of 11). Calder-Marshall wrote in *Glory Dead*'s acknowledgements page that de Boissière's 'company made it a pleasure' to write. Arthur Calder-Marshall, *Glory Dead* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1939).

[181] See Westmaas pp.59-61 and pp.67-69 for a discussion of Mittelholzer's and Calder-Marshall's antagonistic relationship.

[182] We can speculate that the issues Mittelholzer raises regarding Northern travel writers who do not spend enough time in the region to write a comprehensive and informed account were aimed at Calder-Marshall, who wrote in *Glory Dead*: 'I was only in the island for about three months, but by the end of that time I think that I had come to an understanding of the place and people as good as any outsider could achieve.' Calder-Marshall, *Glory Dead*, p.12.

that he informs against Waugh's description of the paddle-wheel steamer; however, he implicitly addresses them in his later chapters when he visits Trinidad himself. Having stated in the Foreword that travel accounts of the Caribbean are 'strongly influenced by the writer's preconceived notions' (p.7), Mittelholzer makes it clear that his travelogue presents a departure from this convention. While approaching Trinidad by ship, he acknowledges what his predetermined ideas of the place are – 'I felt sure I was bound for "a mere island", and that Port of Spain could not possibly be as up-to-date and civilised in tone as Georgetown' (p.28) – but then takes care to articulate how Port of Spain did not conform to his expectations. Although he does pay some attention to the 'slum district of Laventille Hill' (p.33), he also comments on the city's modern and industrial character: 'I gazed past towering warehouses and saw heavy lorries and motor vehicles – sleek-looking cars – zooming past on a smooth, asphalted roadway […] This was definitely not what I expected of "a mere West Indian island"' (p.32). Furthermore, he notes that the cafés in Port of Spain 'were no different to those I went into in London and New York' (p.43). By demonstrating the transformation of his own perception of Port of Spain, Mittelholzer offers an exemplary approach to travel writing, perhaps in the hope that Northern travel writers will emulate him when journeying to the Caribbean.

Moreover, his comparison between the cafés in Port of Spain and those in major Western metropolitan centres certainly writes back to Calder-Marshall's depiction of the same city. Comparing the Caribbean with England is a technique Mittelholzer adopts when describing landscapes, too. This is evident when he observes of rural Barbados: 'The land is rising, and the prospect takes on the look of Devonshire […] Passing through these northern districts is like travelling from Reading to Torquay' (pp.101-102). This is a recurring trope throughout Mittelholzer's description of Barbados, as he frequently compares its rural areas to other parts of southern England, including: areas of London, Surrey, Brighton and Eastbourne, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset, Teignmouth, and in one

instance he simply likens rural Barbados to 'southern England on a fine July day' (p.79). One exception to this is when, after describing the Scotland District of Barbados, he adds: 'I have never seen the Scottish Highlands, but if they are really [like the Scotland District] I don't think I'd like to visit them' (p.102). Although Korte notes that 'Mittelholzer is writing for an audience in Britain', we could be more specific and say that he is writing for a southern English audience – certainly not a Scottish one – because he writes his observations into a frame of reference easy for readers in the south of England to understand.[183] Döring criticises the comparisons Mittelholzer draws between aspects of the Caribbean and the mother country, writing that such descriptions are 'decisively anti-localizing', and create the impression that the region is 'void of culture'.[184] Döring's points are accurate because Mittelholzer, in flattening the differences between the two geographical locales rather than emphasising their individuality, reduces areas of the Caribbean to their commonality with England; however, given the fact that Mittelholzer wrote *With a Carib Eye* with the intention of challenging previously exoticised or othering representations of the region for Northerners, it is in keeping with his agenda that he delocalises the Caribbean so that it might appear familiar and unexotic to a British readership.

Mittelholzer makes reference to another travel narrative about the region by an English author: Patrick Leigh Fermor's *The Traveller's Tree: A Journey Through the Caribbean Islands* (1950). Instead of denouncing Fermor's travel narrative as he does with Waugh's and Calder-Marshall's, he openly praises it, describing it as 'the most authentic book on the West Indies, that I know of, written by an *outsider*' (p.11, my emphasis). The use of the phrase 'most authentic' implies that not many accounts about the region are authentic, and Mittelholzer's characterisation of Fermor as an 'outsider' reminds his readership that the partial and inaccurate accounts of the region have been penned by

[183] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.158.
[184] Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages*, p.44.

English travel writers, rather than 'insiders' like himself. This notion is reiterated when he goes on to note that Fermor suffered from 'the blind spots' of a writer who made his judgements based on 'a series of brief visits rather than on a sojourn of many years in the region' (p.11). To be sure, pointing out the blind spots or falsities in other travel accounts does not mean that Mittelholzer's is more accurate per se, but he convincingly makes the point that Waugh's and Calder Marshall's experiences do not correspond to his own. Moreover, he emphasises how, even when a writer like Fermor does not deliberately falsify his account, a text can still fall short of being accurate because of the amount of time the author spent in the region.

In addition to emphasising his indigenous gaze to authenticate his account, Mittelholzer also uses anecdotes to the same effect. Anecdotes in travel writing have been received and regarded differently depending on the agenda and audience of the account, and the era in which the account was published. As Thompson notes, nineteenth-century travel accounts aimed at a scientific audience strove for 'objectivism in style and structure, so as to distinguish themselves from more anecdotal, impressionistic forms of travelogue', and their authors used rhetorical devices such as graphs, tables, lists, and adopted a 'dispassionate, disembodied', and 'impersonal style' to give their travel narratives an 'air of greater objectivity, and so of increased authority.'[185] However, many critics including Thompson note that self-reflexive textual devices which grant readers more 'aesthetic pleasure' are common in modern travel writing.[186] Similarly, Debbie Lisle comments on the anecdote as a self-reflexive device in travel narratives: 'many cosmopolitan travel writers are happy to augment their travelogues with personal anecdotes, memories and experiences in the hope of providing a context for their interpretations of cultural

[185] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp. 83-84. Thompson draws on John Barrow's *Travels into Southern Africa* (1801) to make his point.
[186] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p.63.

differences.'[187] Although it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the use of anecdotes within travelogues, Mittelholzer's use of them provide some insight into the position from which he is writing.

Unlike the travel writing Lisle refers to, Mittelholzer is not reflecting on how his encounter with the Other in a foreign country influenced him; instead, he uses anecdotes to demonstrate his intimate connection to the places he describes. Mittelholzer incorporates childhood memories into his discussion of Waugh's misrepresentation of the Caribbean region by beginning his critique with the phrase 'when I was a boy' (p.10), and then goes on to recount the memory of himself and his uncle playing with a model ship. Using this anecdote, he writes himself into Guiana's landscape because this rhetorical device localises him and reiterates the fact that he grew up in the place he is representing. Not only do childhood memories add warmth to the narrative and personalise it, they also implicitly explain why Mittelholzer feels defensive of the region, and why he finds it difficult to excuse a writer who 'visits the region and then deliberately falsifies the picture for the sake of creating the impression on his fellow countrymen that he has returned home after an adventure among a "primitive" people' (p.13).

Again, in the form of an anecdote, Mittelholzer recounts his experience as a painter to demonstrate how erroneous perceptions of the Caribbean can be created and circulated. He writes: 'In my painting days, just before the war, a Canadian lady making a short stay in my home town, New Amsterdam, commissioned me to do some water-colours for her depicting scenes in and about the town' (p.9). According to Mittelholzer, the Canadian lady was unhappy with his work which depicted buildings such as the town hall and the police station:

> "[T]hese are not quite what I want […] I want to take these pictures back home to show my folks, and these buildings don't – well, they don't look *native* […] something with native huts – grass roofed huts and palms and jungle trees.

[187] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.94.

> Something looking really *native*! That's what I want! *That's* what I'm after!" (p.9, original emphases)

There is a clear disjuncture between the New Amsterdam depicted in Mittelholzer's paintings and the New Amsterdam the Canadian visitor wants to remember and display. Presumably, she expected to see 'native' huts and palm trees but was instead confronted with familiar signs of development and modernity, such as the police station. By demanding that her souvenirs reflect what she had anticipated seeing rather than what she actually saw, the Canadian visitor would be able to construct an image of the Caribbean as an undeveloped space and perpetuate this perception by showing the paintings to her 'folks' (p.9). This anecdote adds authenticity and authority to *With a Carib Eye*. Certainly, it serves as a testament to Mittelholzer's honesty because it demonstrates that he has previously attempted to produce a faithful representation of the Caribbean in the form of paintings, which suggests that his readers can – and should – trust his representation of the region in prose form, too.

The Success of Travellee Polemics

With a Carib Eye effectively answers back to previous travel accounts which present the Caribbean as a deprived and exotic space. Mittelholzer purposefully engages with specific travel narratives by English authors both to contest the authority awarded to them and to offer an alternative representation of the region of which he is a native. However, whether Mittelholzer succeeds in significantly altering clichéd perceptions of the region like those perpetuated by Waugh and Calder-Marshall is debatable. Joshua Jelly-Schapiro's observation that beaches and poverty are still strongly associated with the region is

indicative of the fact that these views are still alive today.[188]

Bracewell voices a similar misgiving when she questions the effectiveness of travellee polemics: 'how successful were [the travelee-writer's] efforts? Some rebuttals extracted corrections from the original travellers or later writers, but this was unusual. Often these ripostes simply advertised their opponents' works. […] Few responses circulated as widely as the texts they attacked.'[189] Unlike Lovrich who includes his opponent's work in the title of his own, Mittelholzer does not actively advertise the texts he is 'attacking' because he never explicitly names Waugh, Calder-Marshall, or their respective travel narratives. While it is difficult to determine the 'success' of any text in this regard, Proudfoot's review of *With a Carib Eye* provides some insight into how the text was received during the year it was published. She writes that: 'some of [Mittelholzer's] conclusions are questionable, as, for instance, his statement that "illiteracy in the Caribbean is no higher than it is in many parts of America or even England."'[190] Proudfoot's doubt indicates that Mitteholzer's alternative representation of the region was not taken as seriously as he might have hoped, and further suggests that his use of anecdotes and his assertion of his Caribbean identity did not necessarily grant him a higher ethnographic authority than Waugh or Calder-Marhsall. It is also significant that *With a Carib Eye*, like much of Mittelholzer's work, is out of print and has been for several decades, whereas Waugh's *Ninety-Two Days* is readily available. For instance, *Ninety-Two Days* is part of the 'Waugh Penguin Classics' series: a selection of Waugh's work published in 2012 in hardback with uniform Penguin dust jackets. This not only illustrates that Waugh's Caribbean travel narrative was – and, crucially, still is – circulated more widely than Mitteholzer's, but that it is also awarded more authority and literary merit

[188] Joshua Jelly-Schapiro, *Island People: The Caribbean and the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2016), p.6. In Chapter Five, I discuss how these views are bolstered by the modern-day tourist industry and travel bloggers.
[189] Bracewell, 'The Travellee's Eyes', p.223.
[190] Proudfoot, 'With A Carib Eye. By Edgar Mittelholzer', p.562.

because it has been bestowed with the status of a 'classic'.

The way in which Mittelholzer articulates his relationship to the Caribbean region could be an additional factor in the limited success of his travellee polemic. To be sure, throughout the Foreword and first chapter of *With a Carib Eye*, Mittelholzer asserts his Caribbean identity and connection to the region, but as the travelogue progresses, he works to distance himself from his place of origin. Before I discuss and exemplify this, it is important to note that Mittelholzer had a complicated relationship with his racial identity – an ambivalence which critics such as Victor L. Chang suggest is 'one of the main thematic concerns' in Mittelholzer's novels.[191] On the topic of Mittelholzer and race, Michael Gilkes notes that the author's awareness of his complicated subject position as '[p]art African slave, part white slave-owner' contributed to his fascination with the subject of identity.[192] Here, Gilkes emphasises the significance of Mittelholzer's mixed racial background – Swiss, German, French, English, and a 'ripple of black blood' – which was a source of anxiety and questioning for him.[193] In addition, it is likely that Mittelholzer's family further influenced his interest in race; Mittelholzer describes his immediate family – his father, mother, and siblings – as 'fair complexioned', whereas he inherited a dark complexion and his father treated him differently because of it.[194] Mittelholzer notes that his father was a 'confirmed negrophobe', and Jacqueline Mittelholzer states that William Mittelholzer 'used to put [his son] through some kind of quiz […] to show off the little boy's knowledge and intelligence – his "compensatory side" to make up for his "swarthy"

[191] Chang, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', p.328.
[192] Gilkes, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', p.106.
[193] In his autobiography, Mittelholzer writes of his great grandfather, Jan Vincent Mittelholzer, in a way that suggests that his own ancestry is one of slave and slave owner, although not directly. He writes: 'it was Jan Vincent on his plantation eight miles up-river who, in the early parts of the nineteenth century, dropped the pebble that started the ripple of black blood in the family. I have seen a photograph of him, and the picture was clear enough to show that he was pure European'. Edgar Mittelholzer, *A Swarthy Boy* (London: Putnam, 1963), p.11.
[194] Mittelholzer, *A Swarthy Boy*, p.17.

complexion'.[195] Certainly, mixed racial heritage, presenting differently to immediate family members, and growing up in a racist household would have heightened Mittelholzer's racial consciousness, and may explain why he might feel simultaneously defensive and dismissive of the Caribbean region.

This sense of liminality or of a wavering cultural and racial allegiance chimes with the work of Mittelholzer's contemporary Frantz Fanon, who in his *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) writes of the 'psychoexistential complex' caused by 'the juxtaposition of the white and black races'.[196] Likewise, writing from the subject position of an African-American, W.E.B. Du Bois captures something of the duality Mittelholzer experiences in his discussion of what he terms 'double consciousness': 'It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness […] One ever feels his two-ness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body.'[197] Such an identity conflict is not unique to *With a Carib Eye* but is evident in the work of later postcolonial travel narratives, too. For instance, fluid rather than fixed racial or national identities are articulated by other Caribbean travel writers such as Johnson, who undertakes a return journey to the region and feels out of place when she arrives.[198] Gary Younge records a similar sensation when he travels back to Barbados: 'I had gone to Barbados […] hoping to find a sense of security, a warm national welcome where the racial response in Britain had been frosty. […] Barbados […] was indifferent. I had not expected bunting, but nor had I anticipated ambivalence.'[199] The expression of a complex identity is common in many examples of postcolonial travel writing to the extent that it is almost a theme within

[195] Mittelholzer, *A Swarthy Boy*, p.17; Mittelholzer, *The Idyll and the Warrior*, p.80. Mittelholzer also recounts the racist behaviour of his father: '[he] would stroke our heads and murmur: "Goat-hair." Then with a glance towards the [black] nurses: "Not sheep-wool." […] and he would stroke his own hair and smile as add "We have goat hair."' Mittelholzer, *Swarthy Boy*, p.42.
[196] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), p.5.
[197] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), p.2.
[198] I discuss this in more depth in Chapter Two.
[199] Gary Younge, 'My mother's small island taught me what independence really means', *The Guardian*, 26th November 2016 < https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/26/mothers-small-island-independence-barbados-50 > [accessed 28th November 2016] (para.8 of 14).

the field. On this note, Alasdair Pettinger, writing on national identities and allegiance in black diasporic travel narratives, suggests that '[t]here is rarely an unambiguous declaration of allegiance to a single country […] More common is a bi- (or perhaps tri-) national identity.[200] In this sense, Mittelholzer's articulation of an allegiance to the Caribbean – demonstrated by his defending it against claims made by English travel writers – and his attempt to distance himself from it foreshadows the sense of internal conflict other postcolonial travel writers experience when undertaking a return journey.

The fact that Mittelholzer held adverse opinions about the Caribbean has been observed by Gilkes: 'Mittelholzer saw himself as belonging naturally to the Old World culture of Europe and considered his Caribbean background too restrictive and limiting.'[201] Likewise, Döring states that, '[l]ike Naipaul, Mittelholzer is unrelentingly dismissive of anything identified as West Indian culture'.[202] The allegiance and protective attitude Mittelholzer displays towards the Caribbean in the Foreword and first chapter is contradicted when he describes Calypso and Carnival in Trinidad, for example. Although Mittelholzer admits that '[t]he magic of Carnival is infectious' (p.64), he belies himself a few pages on:

> [T]he non-Trinidadian like myself is inclined to wonder at the point in it all. […] [T]he clang and clash of metal upon metal struck me, after a time, as monotonous. […] [T]hink of the amount of tissues these thousands of bodies must be burning up, and the amount of perspiration that must be draining out of their pores taking valuable minerals from their blood! I enjoyed watching it for a few hours, but that was enough. (p.67)

The fact that Mittelholzer considers only the practical and physiological effects of participating in Carnival, and infers that it is nonsensical and wearying, suggests that he

[200] Alasdair Pettinger (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Always Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic* (London: Cassell, 1998), pp.viii-xix (p.xvii).
[201] Gilkes, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', p.107.
[202] Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages*, p.43.

does not grasp – or chooses to reject – the historical and cultural value of the practice.[203] Carnival draws on West African dances and rhythms and originated as a slave-led rebellion, but after slavery was abolished it came to symbolise the oppressive power dynamic between the colonial, ruling classes and slaves and their descendants in the Caribbean; hence it has high cultural and political significance in a postcolonial world. Mittelholzer's dismissal of something so intimately related to slave resistance is one way in which he attempts to distance himself from the apparently restrictive and limiting new world and begins to convey a Eurocentric outlook.

In line with Korte's assertion that postcolonial travel writers 'appear not to stray very far from the established, Western paths', Mittelholzer describes some of the Caribbean people he encounters throughout his journey in a way that echoes the derogatory tone adopted by colonial-era travel writers.[204] For instance, after describing the diversity of races among the hucksters and tradesmen in Barbados, Mittelholzer comments on their use of the English language: 'only one language can be heard. English. Creole English. But still recognisably English despite the broad drawl and the atrocious syntax' (p.179). Instead of acknowledging the British colonial history inherent in the use of the English language in Barbados or the appropriation of it as a potentially subversive anticolonial strategy, Mittelholzer expresses contempt. Writing for a British readership, his comment serves to distinguish his presumably more authentic English syntax and to further the distinction between the Caribbean and himself. Furthermore, Mittelholzer displays a reverence for the Union Jack. Again, in relation to his visit to Barbados, he writes:

> I have always thought it a pity that the Union Jack which flies on the flag-staff of the clock-tower could not have been less ragged and washed-out. I trust that by now it has been replaced by a new one. All through the Coronation celebrations this disgracefully mangy Union Jack kept fluttering conspicuously aloft. (p.94)

[203] Mittelholzer's interpretation and description of Carnival contrasts to that of Amryl Johnson in *Sequins for a Ragged Hem*. Johnson is an active participant in Carnival festivities and also refers to her sweat in her capacity as a partaker rather than an observer. I discuss Johnson's participation in Carnival in Chapter Two of this thesis.
[204] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.156.

This quotation reveals that Mittelholzer not only wishes the Union Jack – a symbol of British colonialism in this context – was in a better condition, but also that he was present for and participated in the Coronation celebrations, an event which reinforces the power of the British monarchy, an institution which upholds colonial politics and asymmetrical power relations.

In addition, Mittelholzer distances himself from the Caribbean geographically as well as culturally. Towards the end of *With a Carib Eye* he describes a recurring nightmare that implies he has outgrown his country of origin, British Guiana:

> I had returned, at last, to my home town, […] as I moved on into the streets and tried to make my way home, I would begin to feel uncertain; a trapped, claustrophobic panic would gradually take possession of me. […] I had escaped once. This time I would fail… And then, with a shudder, I would awake to find myself in Bagshot, Surrey, or in Montreal, Canada, or on the Maxwell Coast of Barbados, and the relief would be tremendous. (pp.134-135)[205]

Here, by emphasising how the thought of his native country induces claustrophobia, stressing his horror at the thought of returning to Guyana, and by referencing his ability to travel, Mittelholzer highlights his cosmopolitanism which places him firmly outside a static and exclusively Caribbean frame of reference. Mittelholzer's nightmare, together with his belittling of patois in Barbados and the respect he displays for symbols of the British Empire, undermine the protestive stance he cultivates in the Foreword and first chapter of *With a Carib Eye*. It is possible that this inconsistency contributes to his text's limited success as a travellee polemic because Mittelholzer's colonial and Anglophilic opinions erode the resistive agenda which Bracewell implies is integral to a 'polemical counter-narrative'.[206] On one hand, Mittelholzer's stance in the second half of the narrative

[205] In addition, Mittelholzer states that looking at peasant houses and fruit trees in St Lucia makes him feel claustrophobic (p.120).
[206] Bracewell, 'Lovrich's Joke', p.1.

implies that his assertion of a Caribbean identity was not genuine, but rather a strategy to authenticate his account. However, on the other hand, this stance could be symptomatic of Mittelholzer's struggle to disentangle himself from imperial discourse and to navigate an identity position which he feels is both Caribbean and British.

Gilkes, writing on Mittelholzer's novels, observes that they are 'seen as an attempt, at a deeper psychological level, to resolve a "division of self"'.[207] Similarly, in his travel narrative, Mittelholzer displays a moiety; throughout *With a Carib Eye*, he appears to be caught between wanting to defend the Caribbean against claims made by British travel writers, and wanting to be seen as separate from the region. The care Mittelholzer took to write back to stereotypical representations of the region had limited success when *With a Carib Eye* was first published; that said, it seems reasonable to suggest that Mittelholzer's observations and conclusions concerning the Caribbean would be taken more seriously now. Aside from the renewed appreciation of his work I mention in the introduction to the present chapter, since the publication of *With a Carib Eye*, travel writing scholars have come to recognise that European authors highlighted the backward or exotic nature of colonies and omitted the similarities between elsewhere and their home as a method by which they othered the people and place and provided a rational for colonial intervention. Considering this development in travel writing studies, it seems likely that *With a Carib Eye*, if it were to be republished, would be taken more seriously in the contemporary climate than it would have been in the late 1950s, and the postcolonial implications of a Caribbean writer refuting the claims of English authors would be recognised.

Döring takes a rather negative view of *With a Carib Eye*, suggesting that, despite Mittelholzer's attempts to disentangle his narrative from colonial determinations, his 'broadly universalizing vision' means that 'his travel text remains entrapped within the strictures that it set out to break.'[208] For sure, Mittelholzer does not present a radical

[207] Gilkes, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', p.110.
[208] Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages*, p.45.

solution to travel writing's imperial past, as his reverence for England and the way in which he represents Caribbean people and culture echoes the attitudes of earlier colonial era travel writers, such as James Anthony Froude. That said, perhaps *With a Carib Eye* merits more optimism than Döring's conclusion allows as Mittelholzer successfully destabilises 'the travelling, writing subject in relation to the people and places encountered' and answers back to previous, English-authored accounts of the Caribbean, in his capacity as a travellee-reader.[209]

[209] Edwards and Graulund, *Mobility at Large*, p.4.

Chapter Two

Foreign Bodies: Apparitions and Tourists in Amryl Johnson's *Sequins for a Ragged Hem*

> Some people say that Carnival is its own country, and that Carnival has its own citizens, and that those citizens (like me) are not always from Trinidad, and that those citizens (unlike me) are not always human or corporeal. There is a feeling in the country called Carnival that a new kind of space exists, and the space is a generous one. It can accommodate all manner of things – not just the bad behaviour and the wutlessness and the wining – but also jumbies, and the ancestors, and Shango.
>
> –Kei Miller, 'Concerning Bucks and Bacchanal', 2019

In *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (1988), Amryl Johnson (1944-2001) describes her second return journey to the Caribbean after she migrated away from it in the mid-1950s.[210] During her six-month-long visit she travels to several islands including Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada, Barbados, St Lucia, and Dominica. Like Edgar Mittelholzer, Johnson occupies an ambivalent position when she travels in the region. As I observe in Chapter One, Mittelholzer simultaneously distances himself from the Caribbean yet also defends it against claims made by British travel writers within his travelogue, *With a Carib Eye* (1958). Johnson, however, writing approximately thirty years later and from the perspective of one who had lived in Britain for three decades, tries to renew her connection to the region but articulates a sense of loss when she feels – or, sometimes, is made to feel – like a foreigner in her place of origin.

The first section of this chapter examines Johnson's alienation and how she attempts to achieve a meaningful sense of belonging through cultural performativity. I suggest that her actions are undercut by Caribbean residents who see through her performance and identify her as an outsider. I discuss how these interactions disrupt the

[210] Amryl Johnson, *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (London: Virago Press, 1988). Further references to *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* will appear in parenthesis and mentions of it will be shortened to '*Sequins*'.

traditional dynamics between the traveller and the travellees within the contact zone, as Johnson portrays the latter as people with agency who return her gaze. The second section explores one of the most distinguishing aspects of Johnson's travel narrative: the supernatural activity it depicts. I highlight the significance of the narrative's ghosts and suggest that Johnson draws on elements of the supernatural as a means to write herself into a Caribbean literary tradition.

Johnson was born in Trinidad but migrated to Britain with her family when she was eleven years old. Her literary output spans the genres of the travelogue, the novel, the poem, and the essay, and she is primarily concerned with conceptualising nation space and her own place within it. A dual positionality, informed by her migration to Britain, is evident in her writing. Indeed, Stewart Brown remarks that literature by Johnson operates 'in that liminal space between two cultures known but never fully claimed', and similarly, Jane Eldridge Miller writes that '[t]he experience of being a transplant in British society consistently informs her work'.[211] On a different note, David Dabydeen, writing Johnson's obituary, observes that 'the whole of her literary work was a commemoration of the dispossessed'.[212] Dabydeen's comment is readily applicable to *Sequins*, in which Johnson examines her connection with and pays homage to the large number of people who suffered at the hands of slavery and European colonisation within the Caribbean. In her introduction to the text, for instance, Johnson explains:

> The 'ragged hem' of the book's title refers to the rape of slavery and all this has done to my people. 'Sequins' are the colour and sparkle they have woven into the state of being in exile. (p.2)

Exemplifying this, Johnson visits places which represent sites of collective mourning in the

[211] Stewart Brown, 'Amryl Johnson', *The Guardian*, 29th March 2001 < https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/mar/29/guardianobituaries.books > [accessed 10th February 2017] (para. 1 of 6); Jane Eldridge Miller (ed.), *Who's Who in Contemporary Women's Writing* (London: Routledge, 2001), p.158.
[212] David Dabydeen, cited in Tracey J. Prince, *Culture Wars in British Literature: Multiculturalism and National Identity* (London: McFarland, 2012), p.99.

context of slavery, such as the sea and sugar mills, but she also depicts the sense of unity and pleasure she experiences with other Caribbean people at Carnival, a celebration that is rooted in slave resistance and an event which demonstrates resiliency in the face of dehumanisation.

Isabel Hoving suggests that *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* embodies 'the recurring structuring trope of fluidity' throughout the narrative.[213] Fluidity is a recurrent feature of the text, initially prevalent through Johnson's fluctuating sense of belonging when she travels in her region of origin, but it is also evident through *Sequins*' literary motifs, such as water and ghosts, and the text's liminal position between the travel narrative and the novel.[214] Indeed, much like Johnson's diasporic identity which challenges essentialist conceptions of selfhood, *Sequins* is difficult to place in a literary category. On the one hand, critics such as Tobias Döring and Abena P. A. Busia refer to the text as a 'travel book' and a 'travelogue' respectively, whereas on the other hand, Hoving describes it as a 'novel'.[215] Interestingly, Johnson writes in her introduction that '*Sequins for a Ragged Hem* is not a travelogue nor is it a guide for those who wish to visit' (p.2), and yet the book is classified as 'Autobiography-Travel' on its blurb by its publisher, Virago. Jana Gohrisch offers a balanced way to approach the text when she states that *Sequins* is 'both a serious and ironic travelogue which, nevertheless, goes beyond the conventions of the genre'.[216]

In the introduction to this thesis, I draw on the widely used definition of travel writing put forward by Tim Youngs which lays out some of the traditional conventions of the genre. Youngs states that the texts he refers to in *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (2013) consist of 'predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that

---

[213] Isabel Hoving, *In Praise of New Travelers: Reading Caribbean Migrant Women Writers* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p.73.
[214] I discuss the relationship between water and ghosts in the final section of this chapter.
[215] Tobias Döring, *Caribbean-English Passages: Intertextuality in a postcolonial tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.45; Abena P. A. Busia, 'Worlds in Tension', *Third World Quarterly*, 11.3 (1989), 226-229 (p.228); Hoving, *In Praise*, p.68.
[216] Jana Gohrisch, '"Because, Don't Forget, We are Still Emerging." Interview with Amryl Johnson', in *With Open Eyes: Women and African Cinema*, ed. by Kenneth W. Harrow (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997), pp.221-233 (p.223).

have been undertaken by the author-narrator'.[217] One of the reasons why *Sequins* is difficult to classify straightforwardly as travel writing is because Johnson implicitly questions what 'predominantly factual' content constitutes. Indeed, she consistently breaks down the fact-fiction binary in *Sequins* by presenting herself as an unreliable narrator and by recounting the spiritual experiences which occur during her journey.

The limitations of the fact-fiction binary have been the subject of much critical discussion in travel writing studies. For example, Percy G. Adams' *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (1962) is dedicated to teasing out the nuances of truth telling in the context of travel writing.[218] Casey Blanton observes that the truth is only ever partial when she writes that 'as every travel writer knows, maps and books can tell only part of the truth', and likewise, Debbie Lisle questions '*which* truth' or '*whose* truth'.[219] Similarly, Edward Said notes that the truth 'is itself a representation'.[220] In line with the statements from critics such as Blanton, Lisle, and Said, travel writing scholars including Youngs recognise that written records of factual travels are still artfully constructed. For example, Youngs and Peter Hulme note that 'travel writing – because it is writing – is *made* in the sense of it being constructed, but travel writing cannot be *made up* without losing its designation.'[221] Carl Thompson makes a similar observation when he states that the process of turning a 'travel *experience*' into a 'travel *text*' inevitably introduces 'to a greater or lesser degree, a fictive dimension' and gives the travel writer the licence to be

[217] Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p.3.
[218] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 1996).
[219] Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p.1; Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.266. Original emphasis.
[220] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), p.272.
[221] Peter Hulme, *Talking about Travel Writing: A Conversation between Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs* (Leicester: The English Association, 2007), p.3. Original emphasis. In line with the distinction made by Hulme, Gary Younge admits to doctoring his *No Place Like Home* (1999) but draws the line at invention. For instance, Younge stated in an interview that he moved the location of a conversation in his travel narrative and was encouraged to do so by his agent if it meant the narrative 'works better' that way: 'there's one woman in there who I think I spoke to in a bar in New Orleans but I put her on a bus somewhere else'. Tim Youngs, 'Interview with Gary Younge', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 6.1 (2002), 96-107 (p.101).

somewhat 'economical with the truth'.[222] Here, Youngs, Hulme, and Thompson acknowledge that there is a clear distinction between fact and fiction, yet a travelogue about a real journey is always, to a certain extent, manufactured.

Inevitably, written representations of places, people, or experiences will be a subjective re-construction; however, what makes Johnson's travel narrative distinct is the way in which she draws attention to her own unreliability and the frequency with which she does so. As I discuss in Chapter One, many travel writers try to convince their readerships that their accounts are factual and authoritative. In contrast, Johnson, along with a small number of other travel writers such as Robyn Davidson, undercut their own authority by admitting to their partiality, thus inviting their audiences to question their veracity.[223] Unlike Mittelholzer who in *With a Carib Eye* employs a variety of literary techniques to appear trustworthy, Johnson informs us that her memory and her imagination are inseparable. Paradigmatically, we find woven throughout her travel narrative sentences such as 'I was straddling two worlds. One was reality, the other dream state. I was not too sure which was which' (p.68), and '[w]hen your imagination blinks hard enough, it can take you down and you may not be able to sift the possibles from the probables' (p.154). Furthermore, she makes us aware that her memory is inaccurate – or even partial – by regularly writing phrases such as '[s]oon I will lose all memory' (p.33), and 'there was a hole in my memory' (p.53). Johnson further emphasises her unreliability by implying that her account will contain bias. While she is standing in the middle of a full and bustling street in Trinidad, she states that the sound around her is 'sucked into the vacuum' (p.27), and then she enters a kind of reverie:

[222] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp.27-28. Original emphasis.
[223] In her *Desert Places* (1996), Robyn Davidson also invites her readers to question her reliability: 'Memory is a capacious thing. The India I visited in 1978 consists of images of doubtful authenticity held together in a ground of forgetfulness.' Robyn Davidson, *Desert Places* (London: Viking, 1996), p.1.

> My sunglasses had a pinkish tint. Perhaps that was the reason why I could no longer tell the difference between reality and what I imagined I saw. […] Ghost-like figures wafted upwards as if seeking light, reaching for substance. (p.27)

In this passage, Johnson evokes the trope of rose-tinted glasses, and thus implies that her observations will contain nostalgia as she is observing a place which is, for her, tinged with childhood memories. Thus, she indicates to her readership that her representation of the place and its people will be seen through a sentimental lens.

In this way, Johnson experiments with the literary conventions of travel writing and subverts her readerships' expectations in the process. Despite the fact that Johnson attempts to disassociate *Sequins* from the travel writing genre, the emphasis she places on her own subjectivity means that she is participating in some of the traditions associated with women-authored travel writing, and her self-awareness speaks to the 'progressive politics of mobility' which Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund suggest is characteristic of innovative travel writing.[224] Although much male-authored travel writing has a focus on subjectivity too, Claire Broome Saunders makes the point that 'the subjectivity of women's travel writing, although often criticised as sentimentalism, should instead be read as a strategic means to present their accounts as more truthful and reliable.'[225] Indeed, the fact that Johnson is honest about her subjectivity does not mean that her account is any less reliable than those travel writers who try to conceal theirs; to a certain extent, by admitting to her partiality, Johnson paradoxically awards verisimilitude to her traveller-narrator. Johnson's insistence that *Sequins* is not a travelogue, together with her innovative textual practice, suggests that traditional models of travel writing are inadequate for what she is trying to achieve.[226] Even though there is some critical ambiguity regarding *Sequins*'

[224] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund, *Mobility at Large: Globalization, Textuality and Innovative Travel Writing* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), p.4.
[225] Claire Broome Saunders (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Women, Travel Writing and Truth* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.1-10 (p.4).
[226] This contrasts with the opinion of Caryl Phillips, who wrote *The European Tribe* (1987) in the form of a travelogue because fiction was 'too delicate a vessel to hold' the tension he felt between himself and his environment. Caryl Phillips, *The European Tribe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p.xv.

position within the travel writing genre, I interpret it as a travelogue but suggest that the text is written with the same generosity Kei Miller ascribes to the country called Carnival; *Sequins* is crafted to accommodate 'all manner of things', including its author's subjectivity and ghosts.[227]

In addition to *Sequins*, I draw upon Johnson's poetry collection, *Long Road to Nowhere* (1981), which depicts the same return visit to the Caribbean as that described in Johnson's prose travel narrative.[228] Many of the poems bear a strong resemblance to specific events in *Sequins*. For instance, two of Johnson's white English friends join her in Barbados, during which time they are tricked into taking a tour of the island with two men and returned 'penniless and distraught' (p.159). This incident corresponds to the content of 'The Rockley Boys' and 'Tread Carefully in Paradise' in *Long Road*. In the former, Johnson describes 'alert boys / who seize their chances / easy money / easy pickings', and in the latter, she writes of 'stained cheeks and empty purses'.[229] *Sequins* was published approximately seven years after *Long Road*. In her introduction, Johnson alludes to the reason for this hiatus: '*Sequins for a Ragged Hem* came in response to experiences which begged for posterity. The ghosts would not leave me alone. They kept coming back to tease […] I believe I have now laid these ghosts to rest' (pp.1-2). Evidently, Johnson felt the need to expand on the experiences depicted in *Long Road*, or at least, to express them in a different literary form so that she might placate the ghosts which haunt her and assuage their restlessness. The gothic element of her journey is more evident in *Sequins* than in *Long Road*. For instance, in both texts she recounts her visit to the remains of a sugar mill which, in the prose travel narrative, includes her feeling the presence of a pulsing and throbbing 'living force' (p.144) when she is next to the iron wheel of the mill,

[227] Kei Miller, 'Concerning Bucks and Bacchanal', *Pree* (2019) < https://preelit.com/2019/04/25/concerning-bucks-and-bacchanal/ > [accessed 5th June 2019] (para.2 of 14).
[228] Amryl Johnson, *Long Road to Nowhere* (London: Virago Press, 1985).
[229] Johnson, 'The Rockley Boys', in *Long Road*, pp.42-43; Johnson, 'Tread Carefully in Paradise', in *Long Road*, pp.44-45 (p.45).

but this sensation is significantly less explicit in 'The Wheel' in *Long Road*, and is reduced to what Johnson describes as a 'magnetic hold'.[230] Jenny Stringer notes that several of the poems within the collection 'make extensive use of imagery inspired by the Trinidad Carnival', and indeed, many such poems are discussed within this chapter.[231] I focus specifically on the 'J'Ouvert' trio in *Long Road* in my discussion of Johnson's cultural performativity at Carnival in the section below, but I also make reference to 'How Do You Feed the Ghosts' in the second section.

Belonging

Elleke Boehmer suggests that return journeys can represent 'an emotional crisis, the end of a nostalgic dream, or a harsh encounter with a reality of continuing social or political hardship.'[232] In line with Boehmer's observation, Johnson's return journey induces an emotional crisis because her Caribbean identity is frequently called into question during her trip. It is clear that her dual identity will be a consistent concern because, immediately after she arrives in Trinidad, an airport customs officer asks her accusingly: '"[y]ou were born here but you hold a British passport?" (p.10). Johnson's liminality is also evident when she identifies that she is 'still an outsider' (p.2) in the Caribbean, and when she describes herself as a 'moth-eaten traveller plucked from exile back into exile' (p.214). Additionally, in her introduction she notes that she repeatedly asked herself the searching question "'[w]here do you stand in all this?"' (p.1) throughout her journey, which emphasises her internal conflict when she travelled within her region of origin.

The feeling of placelessness which Johnson articulates is common in other

[230] Johnson, 'The Wheel', in *Long Road*, pp.41-42 (p.41).
[231] Jenny Stringer, *The Oxford Companion to Twentieth-Century Literatures in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.341.
[232] Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.143-144. One of the most discussed return journeys in a Caribbean literary context is Aimé Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1939). I am not discussing this text here as this thesis focusses on post-1958 anglophone travel writing.

examples of Caribbean travel writing which describe a return journey. For example, Jamaica Kincaid in her *A Small Place* (1988) uses pronouns to express the same sense of ambiguity when she returns to Antigua after migrating to the United States of America. Kincaid uses the pronoun 'you' to distinguish her narrator from her readership whom she addresses as though they are 'a North American or European – to be frank, white' tourist in Antigua, but she uses 'they' to refer to Antiguans.[233] Therefore, she chooses not to – or perhaps cannot – identify her narrator fully as either a native Antiguan or a tourist. This sense of alienation indicates that the emotional crisis which Boehmer alludes to can be caused by the social and cultural precarity a returnee experiences in addition to the emotional weight of childhood memories and nostalgia a homecoming can engender in a first-generation migrant.

While Kincaid's estrangement is caused, in part, by the Antiguan tourist industry and the political changes that have occurred in the island during her absence, Johnson's sense of alienation is triggered by other Caribbean people who identify her as an outsider. While in-between identities in colonial and postcolonial contexts have received a significant amount of attention within postcolonial studies, Robert B. Potter and Joan Phillips specifically discuss conflicting identities in the context of Caribbean people returning to the region.[234] They note that the Caribbean heritage of the returnee 'is overshadowed by an overt English identity, which inherently invests [them] with "symbolic whiteness"', manifesting itself 'in the use of an English accent, way of dress, work ethic, as well as general patterns of behaviour.'[235] Potter and Phillips observe that, on the whole, symbolic whiteness grants returnees social and economic advantages in the

[233] Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Grioux, 1988), p.4. For a discussion of the counter-discursive features of Kincaid's *A Small Place*, see Janie Beriault, 'Navigating an Unequal World: Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place* as a Counter-Travel Narrative', *Interventions*, 20.3 (2018), 389-405.
[234] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 2008); Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); W.E.B. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994).
[235] Robert B. Potter and Joan Phillips, 'Both black and symbolically white: the "Bajan-Brit" return migrant as post-colonial hybrid', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29.5 (2006), 901-927 (p.914); p.913.

postcolonial Caribbean in the form of employment opportunities; yet, it also has disadvantages as the participants in their study reported 'feelings of alienation' in addition to encountering 'resentment within society at large'.[236] Although Potter and Phillips's study relates specifically to Bajan-Britons returning to Barbados, their observations are reflected in *Sequins*. In her capacity as a visitor rather than a returning migrant, Johnson has a comparable experience to the returnees in Potter and Phillips's study. Johnson certainly recognises the benefits of being perceived as a foreigner in specific situations, such as when she tells her travelling companion, Margo, to '"[a]ct the tourist"' (p.114) to be attended to quicker in hospital; however, she also experiences similar feelings of alienation as the Bajan-British returnees. Johnson's 'symbolic whiteness' or tourist status is inscribed onto her body through her lack of synchronization and her inability to speak French patois. For instance, in addition to her encounter with the airport customs officer, she recalls the moment when, 'out of the blue', a stranger asks her '"[w]here you from, Miss? America?"' (p.72). Furthermore, she makes a mistake crossing a busy road in Trinidad and is called 'blasted tourist' (p.26) by an angry driver. These interactions suggest that the motions of Caribbean life are no longer instinctive to Johnson because people can identify her as a visitor to the region simply by observing her mannerisms and behaviour.[237]

In their discussion of the nation-based politics of postcolonialism, Edwards and Graulund warn that 'without a sufficient connection between citizen and space being "in place" leads to an experience of being out-of-place.'[238] Although the example they provide is an altered national identity as a result of independence, their observation can be applied

[236] Potter and Phillips, 'Both black and symbolically white', p.919.
[237] Madge Spencer makes a similar observation during her return visit to Jamaica. In 'Who are you Calling a Foreigner?' she describes the moment when she is identified as a 'foreigner' by a male observer because she is sweating, and he is not: '"You a thaw out," he said. "Look bou me, me jus cool, cool, look bou you, you a taw out an wet up, wet up. Who man who jus com haff the plane."' Madge Spencer, 'Who are you Calling a Foreigner?', in *Caribbean Journeys: Travel Writing by Nottingham Caribbean Elders*, ed. by Sofia Aatkar and Kelsi Delaney (Leicester: University of Leicester Centre for New Writing, 2018), p.25.
[238] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (eds.), 'Introduction: Reading Postcolonial Travel Writing', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, pp.1-16 (p.7).

to those whose national identity feels abstruse following the transnational journeys of migration and return. Johnson feels distinctively out-of-place while in the Caribbean, and she recognises that her disconnection is, in part, because she does not speak French patois, a language spoken in many islands throughout the region. For example, in St Lucia, Johnson observes that her landlady speaks to her employees in French patois, despite the fact that English is the official language of the island. Reflecting on this, Johnson states that she 'felt isolated. Isolated by words I could not understand. […] the people spoke French patois among themselves' (p.177). In addition to the isolation Johnson feels here, she also constructs herself as separate to St Lucians in *Sequins* through her use of the phrase 'the people' – a collective group of which she does not consider herself a part. Likewise, while on a boat from Dominica to Guadeloupe, Johnson is unable to participate in a conversation because it is also conducted in patois:

> An oldish woman turned from her conversation to say something to me in patois. I smiled and looked away. She repeated what she said, waiting for an answer. Eventually, I had to laugh as I made a confession 'I don't understand patois.' One of the men said something and everyone laughed. (p.211)

In the first instance it is Johnson who considers herself to be an outsider because she cannot understand her landlady, but in the second, it is the group of people on the boat who make her feel isolated. Clearly, Johnson not only feels geographically out-of-place as a visitor to the region, but also culturally incongruous because she cannot speak the same language as 'the people'.

Cultural Performativity

Perhaps in an effort to overcome her symbolic whiteness and sense of being out-of-place, Johnson describes herself performing aspects of Caribbean culture and identity within *Sequins*. Judith Butler discusses cultural performance in the context of gender in her

influential text, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990). After arguing that the characteristics assigned to a gender are only seen as substantive because they have been repeatedly produced, Butler writes: 'identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results.'[239] In other words, how an individual expresses themself, consciously or otherwise, is linked to and helps construct ideas of what it means to be male or female. Since the publication of *Gender Trouble*, the notion that identity is produced through performance has been adapted and applied to other expressions of selfhood. Indeed, Jacqueline N. Font-Guzman's use of the concept pertains to the performance of national identity and citizenship rather than gender. Drawing on interviews and testimonies by individuals who identify as Puerto Rican, Font-Guzman recognises three main methods by which these participants engage in the performativity of nationhood and citizenship. These are, she suggests:

> [A]) spatial formations of cultural and national identity: living citizenship through performativity in public spaces; b) performativity of citizenship through traditions, festivals of belonging, and commemorative rituals; and c) performativity of citizenship by educating others.[240]

Font-Guzman observes that the participants were able to express and affirm their *puertorriqueñidad* (cultural and national identity of Puerto Rican people) by engaging in these activities.[241] Therefore, the spaces which an individual occupies, the events in which they participate, and the behaviour they display can elicit a sense of belonging because

[239] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.34.
[240] Jacqueline N. Font-Guzman, *Experiencing Puerto Rican Citizenship and Cultural Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.145. Similarly, writing about Italian migrants in Britain, Anne-Marie Fortier suggests that the presence of Italian migrants in physical spaces, such as St. Peter's Italian church located in 'Little Italy' in London, and the repetition of activities, such as partaking in the Our Lady of Mount Carmel procession, work to constitute an Italian èmigrè culture and cultivate a sense of an Italian community in Britain. Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Re-membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16.2 (1999), 41-64 (p.42).
[241] Font-Guzman, *Experiencing Puerto Rican Citizenship*, p.171. Font-Guzman offers a brief historical overview of the term '*puertorriqueñidad*' on p.187, footnote 18.

they conform to the collective of which they want to be a part. The concept of performativity has been discussed within tourism studies, too. On this subject, Tim Edensor, in his critical text about tourist behaviour at the Taj Mahal, observes 'four main areas of performance – walking, gazing, photographing and remembering.'[242] In addition, John Urry and Jonas Larson in *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (1990) suggest that the tourist gaze is an 'embodied social practice'.[243] Certainly, although a 'tourist' identity may be a temporary one, there are specific, embodied behaviours associated with this fleeting status because they have been repeatedly performed by tourists.

In *Sequins*, ideas of identity performance in cultural and tourism studies overlap because one of the ways in which Johnson attempts to affirm her Caribbean identity is by distinguishing her behaviour from that typically associated with tourists. In his discussion of *Sequins*, Peter Hulme writes: 'Travel writers never see themselves as tourists. They have different interests and different agendas. They may not behave very differently from tourists, but they are sometimes sharply aware of the difficulty of their position. This is Amryl Johnson.'[244] Despite the fact that Johnson, on occasion, performs typically tourist behaviour such as travelling with a guide and visiting popular tourist sites, she also tries to 'pass for an islander' (p.71) by making disparaging comments about tourists. Phrases such as '[y]ou could, of course, take a taxi but […] who wanted to turn tourist?' (p.111) and '[t]he tourists were for making a quick buck from' (p.109) are littered throughout the narrative and demonstrate how Johnson constructs the tourists' superficial engagement with place and their naivety as separate from her own outlook. Furthermore, *Sequins* compliments Font-Guzman's observation that performances of national identity and citizenship can manifest themselves spatially. Indeed, when Johnson visits parts of the

[242] Tim Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site* (London: Routledge, 1998), p.105.
[243] John Urry and Jonas Larson, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3rd edn (London: SAGE, 2011), p.20.
[244] Peter Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.272.

region she believes to be more authentically Caribbean, she emphasises this to her readership, again through disavowing her tourist status. Exemplary of this, reflecting on a poverty-stricken settlement in Martinique, she writes that 'no tourist would find it except by accident' (p.218), and while at a bar in Trinidad she reflects: 'While it was impossible to get completely away from places frequented by tourists, we largely succeeded' (p.140). Comments such as these indicate that distinguishing oneself from tourists, either through behaviour or through the spaces occupied, is a form of national identity performance when a migrant visits their place of origin.

Although Johnson recognises and witnesses cultural differences between and within the Caribbean islands she visits, like the subjects of Font-Guzman's study, she tries to achieve 'performativity of citizenship through [participation in] traditions, festivals of belonging, and commemorative rituals'.[245] This is evident in *Sequins* during the section dedicated to Johnson's experience at Carnival. Indeed, although the practice originated in Trinidad, Carnival is culturally significant throughout the region and, according to Georgina Chami and Jerome Teelucksingh, it has been 'instrumental in shaping the quality and character of inter-cultural relations while simultaneously raising awareness of one's culture and encouraging social cohesion.'[246] In other words, Carnival not only raises an inter-island Caribbean consciousness, but it has also been vital to the construction of a Caribbean identity on a personal level for Caribbean citizens and to the construction of a Caribbean identity on the world stage, too. The link between Carnival and Caribbean identity is evident in Edwidge Danticat's 2002 travel narrative *After the Dance: A Walk Through Carnival in Jacmel, Haiti*, which describes the author's return journey to her island of origin after she migrated to New York. Danticat reflects:

[245] Font-Guzman, *Experiencing Puerto Rican Citizenship*, p.145.
[246] Georgina Chami and Jerome Teelucksingh, 'Carnival Celebrations in Trinidad and Tobago and Abroad: Cultural Diplomacy in Action/Practice', in *Ideology, Regionalism, and Society in Caribbean History*, ed. by Shane J. Pantin and Jerome Teelucksingh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.265-294 (p.266).

> This is the first time that I will be an active reveller at carnival in Haiti. […] A Haitian writer (me) – even one who'd left the country twenty years before, at age twelve – who has never been to a carnival in her own country? What's that about?[247]

The rhetorical questions within this quotation emphasise Danticat's disbelief at the fact that she can be labelled – and crucially, can identify – as a Haitian writer without having revelled in her own island's Carnival. Danticat's Carnival experience makes her feel 'all the paradoxical elements [she craves]: anonymity, jubilan[ce], community, and belonging'.[248] Similarly, Johnson feels a sense of inclusion when she participates in a Trinidadian Carnival. She dances to 'Mathilda', a renowned calypso song about a woman who took her partner's money and ran away, and recounts the memory as follows: '[n]o longer a tourist, I was being drawn towards the heart of the experience. We were moving onwards in time to the music and singing the words, raucously' (p.42). Here, both the activity of Carnival and the fact that she is harmonising with other Caribbean people through song and dance provides her with a sense of belonging. Evidently, participating in your island's Carnival is a way of affirming a sense of national and regional identity in a Caribbean context, as both Danticat and Johnson feel validated by their experiences.

In addition to participating in the Carnival itself, Johnson describes observing the Queen of the Carnival competition. One of the contestants is dressed as a washerwoman. Johnson feels an intense connection with her and records the encounter as follows:

> [S]he played havoc with my senses. […] I had a strange feeling as if she and I had been removed from that environment to a different setting. There was just the two of us on a dirt road which had canefields on either side. (p.37)

Although the kinship Johnson imagines between herself and the washerwoman is 'shattered' (p.37) by a public announcement, the connection represents a historical affiliation with the Caribbean region. According to C. G. Woodson, the washerwoman

[247] Edwidge Danticat, *After the Dance* (New York: Crown Journeys, 2002), p.12.
[248] Danticat, *After the Dance*, p.147.

represented a figure of significance in slave communities and in Afro-Caribbean communities after slavery was abolished; she was a matriarch, a person of economic influence, often the head of the family and a figure whom people within the community could turn to for advice.[249] Her importance is also evident in literature by Caribbean authors and in photographic representations of the region. For instance, a washerwoman is the protagonist of Sam Selvon's short story, 'The Village Washer', and Krista A. Thompson, in her critical text about marketing and tourism in the Caribbean, notes that '[t]he sheer number of washing scenes and even the interest in staging such a scene in the studio [for the creation of postcards] evinces an investment in these images.'[250] The fact that Johnson establishes a profound, albeit fleeting, connection with a figure so central to Caribbean societies grants her an historical and cultural sense of belonging within the region. In contrast to Mittelholzer who tries to distance himself from his Caribbean origins, Johnson records hers and thus she writes herself into a Caribbean cultural frame of reference.

Johnson's participation in Carnival is also evident in *Long Road to Nowhere*. Indeed, three consecutive poems within the collection are titled '*J'Ouvert*', all of which describe her experience of the celebration.[251] The direct English translation of the French phrase '*J'ouvert*' is 'I open'; however, according to Patricia A. De Freitas, in French patois, '*j'ouvert*' is 'a derivative of the French *jour ouvert* (daybreak)', and refers to the festivities that take place the night before Carnival Monday.[252] Similar to the way in which Johnson records her connection with the Washerwoman to affirm her Caribbean identity,

[249] C. G. Woodson, 'The Negro Washerwoman, a Vanishing Figure', *The Journal of Negro History*, 15.3 (1930), 269-277 (p.273).
[250] Sam Selvon, 'The Village Washer', in *The Sun's Eye: West Indian Writing for Young Readers*, ed. by Anne Walmsley (Essex: Longman, 1968), pp.52-59; Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (London: Duke University Press, 2006), p.71. Plate 10 in *An Eye for the Tropics* is an example of a postcard featuring a washerwoman.
[251] See Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*', in *Long Road*, pp.19-20; Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*' in *Long Road*, pp.20-22; and Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*', in *Long Road*, p.23. The only '*J'Ouvert*' I quote from can be found on pp.20-22.
[252] Patricia A. De Freitas, 'The Masquerader Anthropologist: the Poetics and Politics of Studying Carnival', in *Trinidad Carnival: The Cultural Politics of a Transnational Festival*, ed. by Garth L. Green and Philip W. Scher (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp.48-61 (p.48).

she makes the authorial decision to title her poems in French patois perhaps to make her literature sound – and herself feel – more authentically Caribbean.

Writing about *J'Ouvert*, Ray Allen notes that the celebration 'evolved from nineteenth-century Canboulay festivals, in which ex-slaves gathered to masquerade, sing and dance in commemoration of their emancipation'.[253] Hence, *J'Ouvert* is deeply significant to and ingrained within Caribbean culture, collective memory, and historicity. The second '*J'Ouvert*' in *Long Road* particularly emphasises the 'social cohesion' which Chami and Teelucksingh suggest is characteristic of Carnival.[254] For instance, Johnson writes: 'All shades o' folk in perfec' harmony / De battle groun'? A shared ecstasy', and 'Dis abandon to pleasure is drawin' we / to one conclusion of unity'.[255] These lines indicate that the loss of inhibition during Carnival gives way to an inclusive ethos that allows the participants to transcend social hierarchies grounded in skin colour – or, in Johnson's case, her tourist status – and instead promotes a sense of selfhood based on participation in the celebration.[256] Johnson's frequent use of rhyming couplets within this poem further attests to this, as each line is paired to the next. Thus, the construction of the poem itself symbolises togetherness and unity.

Like Kincaid, Johnson plays with pronouns to articulate her sense of self. Again, in the second '*J'Ouvert*', she uses 'we' over thirty times throughout the poem which consists of sixty-six lines and is divided into three stanzas. This is most notable in the first and final thirds of the poem, particularly during its closing lines: 'dey cahn take dis from we / J'Ouvert is "we ting"'.[257] These lines not only demonstrate that Johnson perceives *J'Ouvert* to be an exclusively Trinidadian event, but also shows that she thinks of herself

[253] Ray Allen, 'Carnival', in *Encyclopaedia of American Folklife*, vol.1, ed. by Simon J. Browner (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp.147-150 (p.149). See also John Cowley, *Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso Traditions in the Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.1.
[254] Chami and Teelucksingh, 'Carnival Celebrations', p.266.
[255] Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*', p.21; Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*', p.22.
[256] This is reflected by Miller when he describes Carnival as a country 'where there is a mix up of people from every nation, and a mix up of races, and a mix up of classes.' Miller, 'Concerning Bucks and Bacchanal', para.4.
[257] Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*', p.22.

as being among the group of people who inherited this cultural practice because she is speaking for Trinidadian people collectively. Her use of 'we' in the first and third stanzas contrasts with the second stanza, where she switches to using the pronoun 'yuh'. For example, Johnson writes: 'Yuh cahn believe de tings goin' on / All sorts ah nice interestin' surprise'.[258] In a similar fashion to Kincaid, she uses the second person pronoun to address the readers directly, and does so in a way that reveals her assumption that they have not experienced Carnival before. Johnson's use of pronouns in the second '*J'Ouvert*' both indicates that she is able to switch voices more readily in her poetry and so can diminish the sense of alienation she conveys throughout *Sequins*, and suggests that Carnival represents a respite from the ambivalence and insecurity she feels as a member of the Caribbean diaspora travelling within her region of origin.

In both her poetry and her prose travelogue, it is clear that Johnson feels a sense of belonging during the Trinidadian Carnival; however, she comes to realise that a true sense of inclusion might not be available to her. Indeed, often her performance fails to convince other Caribbean residents as they still perceive her as an outsider. Such moments are clear in *Sequins* when she attempts to use a Caribbean vernacular in a marketplace in Grenada. Stuart Hall, recalling his childhood in Jamaica, makes the point that marketplaces in this island are highly performative spaces. He states that the Saturday morning market was 'a very Jamaican scene with its high drama, […] exaggeration and caricature, its (often manufactured) sense of outrage – performances which Jamaicans manage to stage on even the most chance encounter.'[259] The Grenadian marketplace in *Sequins* not only represents a performative space, but also a contact zone in the sense that it is a social space in which 'disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other'.[260] In her *Imperial Eyes:*

[258] Johnson, '*J'Ouvert*', p.21.
[259] Stuart Hall, *Familiar Strangers: A Life Between Two Islands*, with Bill Schwarz (London: Allen Lane, 2017), p.9.
[260] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008), p.7.

Travel Writing and Transculturation (1992), Mary Louise Pratt applies ideas of the contact zone to travel writing in which European travel writers construct themselves as dominant and non-European travellees as subordinate. Since the publication of *Imperial Eyes*, however, critics have sought to reconsider some of the central ideas of the contact zone and use them beyond Pratt's Latin American examples.[261] Liz Stanley is one such critic as she seeks to recast the temporality of the contact zone paradigm by expanding it to include 'the place and space in which colonial texts are reread and commented on *now*'.[262] Like Stanley, I seek to expand the concept of the contact zone by highlighting how the power dynamics function within this space when the travel narrative is also a narrative of return. Certainly, when Johnson interacts with Caribbean-born people throughout her journey, she is encountering people with whom she shares a national or regional history, but from whom she has been geographically separated through the diaspora.

Johnson uses Caribbean vernacular while bartering with a market seller in Grenada to try to avoid being overcharged on her purchase. She describes the encounter between herself and the market seller as follows:

> I made my way for a hand of bananas. I suspected that as in Trinidad and a few of the other islands they were called figs. […] 'How much you fig?' I tried hard not to sound conspicuous. She looked up from the basket work on her lap, took me in then went back to her work. […] 'Bananas, three dollars a bunch.' Something, perhaps everything, had given the game away. If she could tell me about 'bananas' then she knew I was a tourist and was charging me accordingly. […] [M]y thoughts went off at a tangent to settle inside a pin prick of depression. (pp.100-101)[263]

[261] See Claire Lindsay, 'Beyond *Imperial Eyes*', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.17-35. This chapter gives a detailed overview of how the concepts in *Imperial Eyes* have been expanded.
[262] Liz Stanley, 'Encountering the Imperial and Colonial Past Through Olive Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket of Marshonaland*', *Women's Writing*, 7.2 (2000), 197-219 (p.200). Original emphasis.
[263] Bananas have been called figs in the Caribbean for several centuries. This is evidenced by Charles Kingsley in his 1869 travel account of the Caribbean when he writes: 'At St Thomas's we had been introduced to bananas (figs, as they are miscalled in the West Indies).' Charles Kingsley, *At Last! Christmas in the West Indies* (London: Forgotten Books, 2015), pp.31-32.

Johnson's use of the word 'fig' here extends Font-Guzman's observations on the performativity of national identity and citizenship, as Johnson uses a local term to try and pass for a Caribbean resident in addition to participating in Carnival and occupying specific spaces. In this instance, however, Johnson's cultural performativity is unconvincing because the market seller, after gazing at her, identifies her as a tourist. The alienation Johnson feels after their interaction exemplifies how the power dynamics in the contact zone can shift when the traveller is seeking acceptance in the host country. Indeed, notwithstanding the fact that Johnson and the market seller share a region of origin, their exchange remains unequal, not in terms of colonial domination and subordination, but of acceptance and cultural authenticity. The market seller has a significant amount of cultural authority because she has the power to grant Johnson the sense of belonging she craves by indulging her use of the word 'fig', but she chooses not to. By recording this in her narrative, Johnson challenges the idea that the travellee is a silent and passive figure, as she portrays the market seller as a person with agency and control – traits which are usually ascribed to the mobile Western subject in travel writing discourses.

An explanation for this shift of power within the contact zone can be attributed to what Darya Maoz terms 'the mutual gaze'.[264] Taking as a point of departure Urry's idea of the tourist gaze, whereby the power of the gaze lies solely with the Western party, Maoz writes of a local gaze that she suggests 'expresses and manifests the agency and power of locals in Third World countries.'[265] The local gaze and the tourist gaze, she proposes, interrelate, 'affecting and feeding each other, resulting in what is termed "the mutual gaze"'.[266] The mutual gaze between Johnson and the market seller is clear, as the market seller, after gazing at Johnson, reinstates the native-tourist dichotomy by letting Johnson

[264] Darya Maoz, 'The Mutual Gaze', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33.1 (2006), 221-239 (p.222).
[265] Maoz, 'The Mutual Gaze', p.228.
[266] Maoz, 'The Mutual Gaze', p.222.

know she can see through her performance. The power of the mutual gaze is again evident when Johnson and Margo, still in Grenada, encounter two women Johnson has met before:

> The younger woman raised her hand. I started to lift mine also in a gesture of welcome. 'No!' […] Her hand came up to hide her face. 'No!' […] I turned to find [Margo] putting the lens cap back on her camera. [Both women] walked past as if I was invisible. (p.124)

The act of gazing is implicit in the practice of photography, as gazing at a photograph helps the photographer to anchor the experience of being 'elsewhere' and will influence how they reconstruct their memory of the place in which they captured the image. In addition, as Endsor suggests, taking photographs is associated with tourists' behaviour and performance.[267] In this light, the travellees not only prevent themselves from being gazed at retrospectively through a photograph, but they disrupt Margo's tourist performance and do not look at Johnson at all, furthering her sense of alienation and rejection in her place of origin. Thus, in *Sequins*, contact zones are represented as places where Johnson can negotiate her identity rather than as spaces of domination and subordination.

The idea that the contact zone represents a site of subversion is also seen within the work of other Caribbean travel writers, and again, this subversion is tied to the mutual gaze. For example, Kincaid emphasises the agency of travellees in *A Small Place*, describing how Antiguan residents laugh at the strangeness of tourists who, in their eyes, appear silly in the way they eat.[268] Similarly, Hall states that English people in Jamaica represented 'a sort of running joke, a constant source of casual humour, even ridicule, which made us feel superior. They appeared to us so foreign in their dress, manners and behaviour, so uptight, so profoundly in the wrong place!' [269] In addition, Mittelholzer in his

[267] Edensor, *Tourists at the Taj*, p.105.
[268] Kincaid, *A Small Place*, p.17.
[269] Hall, *Familiar Strangers*, p.20.

With a Carib Eye exhibits a similar stance with regard to the American occupation of Trinidad, and describes his encounter with American marines as follows:

> One or two of them, we noticed – and chuckled over it – were wearing mosquito nets draped over their caps to protect their faces from the bites of insects [which gave] to their wearers a feminine, Edwardian look. I remember my mother and aunt wearing similar nets when I was a small boy – and not against the mosquitoes but merely because it was the fashion […] "My man, are you in mourning?"'[270]

In contrast to Johnson, the interactions that Kincaid, Hall, and Mittelholzer depict in their travel writing involve the travel writer undermining travellers from the West; however, all four narratives demonstrate the power of the travellees' gaze and how they can covertly and collectively undermine the Western visitors' assumed cultural superiority and authority in the Caribbean region. Evidently, then, travellees can exert their own power to subvert and ridicule visitors' performative behaviour and sometimes avert the tourists' intrusive gaze altogether. In this sense, *Sequins*, *A Small Place*, *Familiar Stranger*, and *With a Carib Eye* illustrate the strength of the mutual gaze and give us the opportunity to re-think the power dynamics of the contact zone from a postcolonial, Caribbean perspective.

Hoving states that *Sequins* 'regards "belonging" as inextricably bound up with knowledge of an area'.[271] Although Johnson feels accepted during the Carnival festivities and possesses 'inside' knowledge of the region, such as her awareness of local rather than tourist spots and her familiarity with the word 'fig', she is unable to find a sense of belonging within the region of her birth. Her cultural performativity fails to convince the Caribbean residents – and herself – that she belongs within the region, and this is the crux of her sense of placelessness throughout the narrative. Her unconvincing performances, coupled with her inability to perform linguistically, suggests that her 'outsider' status is

[270] Edgar Mittelholzer, *With a Carib Eye* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1958), p.37.
[271] Hoving, *In Praise of New Travelers*, p.71.

corporeal as well as emotional and psychological, and thus this alienation represents the 'emotional crisis, the end of a nostalgic dream' which Boehmer suggests is characteristic of diasporic return narratives when the narrator travels to a place they consider their home.

The Ghosts

Given the fact that Johnson feels alien when she travels within the Caribbean, the appearance of supernatural beings throughout her journey seems pertinent. In *Sequins*, Johnson records the presence of a female ghost and spirits which intimidate her and often endanger her physical wellbeing in several of the islands she visits. Sometimes the supernatural manifests itself as a sensation or as a feeling: '[a] force once again threatened to overwhelm me. I could sense a presence in the room' (pp.15-16). On other occasions, however, the presence is more substantial and interacts with Johnson. This often involves Johnson being dragged away from her location to elsewhere, usually somewhere next to the sea or submerged in a body of water. The narrative will cut from the activity or place Johnson is describing to her spiritual experience and will then return to the description of the activity or place with no explanation. This is seen when Johnson is participating in Carnival and she suddenly finds herself in water:

> I felt her presence barely seconds before I was once again taken down. This time it would be death by drowning. No. I came up again. Once. Twice. Three times the weight was lifted from my shoulders. […] It was a baptism of a specific kind. […] It was death with resurrection. (p.52)

Critics have presented diverse interpretations of the ghost in *Sequins*. For instance, Johnson, reflecting on her own narrative, believes the ghost 'to be an ancestral figure' (p.1), whereas Hoving suggests that the female ghost represents a kind of Caribbean sisterhood when she proposes that it 'stands for all women on the island'.[272] Building on

[272] Hoving, *In Praise*, p.71.

these interpretations, I examine the significance of Johnson's spiritual encounters in a travel writing context and in a Caribbean literary context. Much like the way she titles her poems in French patois and uses her connection to the Washerwoman to emphasise her Caribbean identity through her writing, I suggest that Johnson's references to ghostly figures in *Sequins* are a device which allows her to forge a literary and historical affiliation with the region and its other writers.

Ghosts in Travel Writing

Although elements of the supernatural are more commonly associated with fictional genres or mythology, critical works such as Asha Sen's 'Postcolonial Travel Writing and Spirituality', together with the entry 'Ghosts' in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies* (2019), indicates that apparitions are not uncommon within the genre.[273] A.V. Seaton, the author of the entry, identifies four categories of ghost:

> '[E]xperimental ghosts,' who appear present to others at a distance from where they are physically at that time; 'crisis ghosts,' who appear at times of individual or collective trauma, such as war or bereavement; 'post-mortem ghosts,' who appear soon after the death to those whom they have loved or known; and 'true ghosts,' who appear unexpectedly to strangers, years, even centuries, after their death.[274]

Additionally, Esme Coulbert, referring to the ghosts in Mrs Rodolph Stawell's *Motoring in Sussex and Kent* (1926) and Henry Vollam Morton's *The Call of England* (1928), suggests that the appearance of supernatural figures represents 'the final stage towards complete acculturation; a sign that the writers hold a deep sympathy for the place and its former inhabitants.'[275] Combining the readings of Seaton and Coulbert, I suggest that the ghost in

[273] Asha Sen, 'Postcolonial Travel Writing and Spirituality', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.124-138.
[274] A.V. Seaton, 'Ghosts', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.105-107 (p.105).
[275] Esme Anne Coulbert, 'Perspectives on the Road: Narratives of Motoring in Britain 1896-1930' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Nottingham Trent University, 2013), p.105.

Sequins represents both a 'crisis ghost' and Johnson's deep sympathy for the Caribbean region and its former inhabitants. In line with Seaton's suggestion that crisis ghosts appear in the aftermath of trauma, such as war, in her poem 'How Do You Feed the Ghosts?', Johnson asks 'How do you feed those emaciated spectres / which rise from the trenches of near / forgotten battles / hungry for recognition?'[276] Given the Caribbean setting of *Long Road*, it is likely that the battles Johnson refers to in this poem represent the struggle and collective trauma of enslaved African people and native Caribbean people following the colonisation of the region. Complimentary to this reading, Johnson often has supernatural experiences in places which are significant to the histories of slavery and colonisation, such as the sea, sugar mills, and at the Carib Reserve she visits in Dominica.

The sea is a place of collective mourning in the context of slavery. Indeed, thousands of African people lost their lives in the Atlantic Ocean while being transported to the Americas because of disease or injury, because they killed themselves, or because they were jettisoned for insurance purposes.[277] Correspondingly, Johnson's spiritual experiences often involve water or the sea. For example, in 'How Do You Feed the Ghosts?', she describes 'the gorged-out mutilations / which cling to the brackish waters of / restless pools'.[278] Additionally, in *Sequins*, she describes one of her first ghostly encounters as follows: 'A force once again came to overwhelm me […] Lying at the bottom of the well, sounds came like pendants of water' (pp.15-16). Moreover, when she is in Trinidad, the ghost nearly drowns her in the sea (p.52), and she has a similar experience in Tobago while swimming: 'Decapitated. Just head and neck on a shimmering silver platter. Decapitated. Just head an neck. When I inclined my head I could find no reflection. […] I panicked' (p.83). Immediately after her imaginary decapitation, Johnson describes

[276] Amryl Johnson, 'How Do You Feed the Ghosts?', in *Long Road*, p.51.
[277] In 1791, 133 African people were thrown overboard the *Zong*, which was owned by the Liverpool-based slave trading organisation, Gregson, and crewed by British sailors. The incident came to be known as The Zong Massacre. This is just one (known) example of slaves being thrown overboard for insurance purposes, but, according to James Welvin, '[j]ettisoning cargo was commonplace'. James Welvin, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p.112.
[278] Johnson, 'How Do You Feed the Ghosts', p.51.

how she 'made [her] way out of the water, slowly. The brooding shadow followed' (p.84).

Further to this, many of the enslaved people who survived the journey to the Caribbean later died in slave colonies which were established for the production of commodities such as sugar, rum and coffee. It is unsurprising, therefore, a spirit is present in an old sugar mill which Johnson describes as being 'stained with the dried syrup, blood which had been wrung ounce by ounce from African men, women and children' (p.144). Upon approaching the wheel of the mill (which she characterises as an eye), Johnson is once again overcome:

> That eye where veins strung taut at right angles to the pupil pulsed and throbbed inside a living force. […] I was in danger of being drawn so close to the hub I would be sucked into the vortex. (p.144)

The fact that the sugar mill induces another supernatural experience for Johnson gives substance to Denise de Caires Narian's suggestion that, in Johnson's work, 'the present is read through the past'.[279] To be sure, in *Sequins* Johnson experiences her physical, present location through a historical lens and thus recognises that the sea and historical monuments represent sites of mourning as well as tourist attractions.

Although ghosts are often thought of as individuals, Jennifer Lawn recognises that, in postcolonial literature, '[t]he figure of the ghost […] aligns with models of collective history'.[280] Certainly, the female apparition in *Sequins* reflects Lawn's assessment and aligns with the collective history of slavery because of the locations at which Johnson encounters or experiences the ghost.[281] However, it becomes clear that the ghost aligns

[279] Denise de Caires Narian, 'Amryl Johnson: Audacious Poet – and Sister (1944-2001)', *Wasafiri*, 16.33 (2007), 64-65 (p.65).
[280] Jennifer Lawn, 'From the Spectral to the Ghostly: Postcolonial Gothic and New Zealand Literature', *Australian-Canadian Studies: A Journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 24.2 (2006), 143-169 (p.149).
[281] Toni Morrison, writing at a similar time to Johnson, uses a female ghost as a way to interrogate the legacies of slavery in an African-American context in her *Beloved* (1987). Sethe, the female protagonist of *Beloved*, is an escapee slave who is followed by a ghostly presence. When the ghost is exorcised it makes an appearance in the flesh in the form of Beloved. Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987).

with the collective history of the Caribbean more broadly when Johnson encounters the spirits at a Carib Reserve towards the end of the narrative. Indeed, Johnson weaves her supernatural experience into her description of the Reserve and its residents: '[a]lmost by accident, somehow, I could feel myself close to the hub. I was arriving. […] History had come alive, been lifted off the page into the shape of reality. The spectres had been given some form of substance' (p.240). Writing on this quotation, Hulme suggests that the 'disturbance to the narrating self' could have been caused by the expectation that 'the spectres she encountered [would] be the ghosts of slavery, but she finds a different and unexpected history which "lifts off the page" to become reality once she enters the Reserve.'[282] Until this point, the supernatural beings Johnson experiences seem to be aligned closely with the history of slavery, but the fact that the residents of the Carib Reserve give the spirits 'some form of substance' suggests that she holds a deep sympathy for the plight of native Caribbean people, too. As the 'Belonging' section of this chapter indicates, Johnson never achieves the 'complete acculturation' which Coulbert associates with the appearance of ghosts in travel writing; however, Johnson's supernatural experiences in these specific locations nevertheless suggest that she harbours profound compassion for the victims of European exploits in the Caribbean.[283]

Ghosts and Caribbean Literature

References to the supernatural are regularly found in literature about the Caribbean. For example, Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert makes the point that

> The Caribbean […] is a space that learned to 'read' itself in literature through Gothic fiction. […] [W]hether in travelogues, where it was depicted as the site of the

[282] Hulme, *Remnants of Conquest*, p.272.
[283] Coulbert, 'Perspectives on the Road', p.105.

> mysterious and the uncanny, or in histories that underscored the violent process that led to colonisation.[284]

Although it is unlikely that Caribbean readers were the intended audience for the travel narratives or the gothic fiction Paravisini-Gebert refers to, they nevertheless were exposed to supernatural representations of themselves and their local landscape. Edwards discusses how the gothic aesthetic associated with supposedly cannibalistic Caribbean people inspired other gothic characters in Western narratives, such as the flesh-eating zombie used to incite fear in North American audiences. Edwards makes the point that, in Haitian folklore, 'the zombie is enslaved', and thus the shift from the zombie as victim in the Caribbean to aggressor in the United States of America demonstrates how (mis)representations of the Caribbean and Caribbean people inspired characters closely associated with the horror genre.[285] Further to this, African-derived belief systems – or what Margarite Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert refer to as 'diasporan religions' – such as Vodou (associated with Haiti), Obeah (associated with Jamaica), Quimbois (associated with Martinique), and Santería (associated with Cuba), were depicted in supernatural or gothic terms in European travel writing, which fed the perception that the Caribbean was a place 'plagued by superstition and witchcraft'.[286] Vodou, Obeah, Quimbois and Santería were seen as threatening because they provided 'alternative ways of looking at the world' and because of the myths surrounding their practitioners.[287] For example, Nicholas J. Saunders describes the power of Obeahmen: 'one Obeahman was believed to be able to catch the white man's bullets in his hand and hurl them back at those

[284] Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, 'Colonial and Postcolonial Gothic: the Caribbean', in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.229-257 (p.233).
[285] Justin D. Edwards, 'Mapping Tropical Gothic in the Americas', in *Topical Gothic in Literature and Cultures: the Americas*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Sandra Guardini Vasconcelos (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.13-25 (p.15)
[286] Margarite Fernández Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert (eds.), 'Introduction: Religious Syncretism and Caribbean Culture', in *Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah and the Caribbean* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp.1-12 (pp.2-3); Alison Rudd, *Postcolonial Gothic Fictions from the Caribbean, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), p.234.
[287] Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert, 'Introduction', p.2.

who had fired them.'[288] The alternative outlook these religions advocate, together with the stories of protection they offer, 'emboldened the slaves and made the plantation owners anxious', according to Saunders.[289]

Another spiritual figure associated with the Caribbean is the trickster. Writing on this ambiguous figure, Robert D. Pelton notes that 'the trickster appears in the myths and folktales of nearly every traditional society, sometimes as a god, more often as an animal.'[290] Most cultures have their own trickster or mythical divinity, from Loki in Norse mythology to Kitsune in Japanese folklore; however, in the Caribbean, the most renowned trickster figure is Anansi, or a variation such as Annancy or Nancy.[291] He – Anansi (like tricksters in general) is usually gendered male – takes the form of a spider and is said to have originated in Ghana where he was seen as a deity among Ashanti people.

In the words of Emily Zobel Marshall, Anansi 'is a Trickster extraordinaire'; he 'survived a cultural metamorphosis and became symbolic of the struggle of black slaves. Like Anansi, the slaves worked at overturning the structured hierarchy of their environment'. [292] Marshall further clarifies that Anansi helped slaves in 'establishing a sense of continuity with an African past and offering them a means to transform and assert their identity within the boundaries of captivity'.[293] Thus, Anansi not only represents a means by which to conquer oppressive circumstances in a similar way to Vodou, Obeah,

---

[288] Nicholas J. Saunders, *The Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopaedia of Archaeology and Traditional Culture* (Santa Barbra: ACB-Clio, 2005), p.208.
[289] Saunders, *The Peoples of the Caribbean*, p.208.
[290] Robert D. Pelton, *The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight* (Los Angles: University of California Press, 1980), p.1.
[291] New World Encyclopaedia, 'Trickster' < http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Trickster > [accessed 5th July 2018]. In the same way that different cultures have their own mythical divinities and trickster figures, some Caribbean islands have their own tricksters. For example, in Trinidad, the national trickster is the Midnight Robber. Although he is specifically associated with Carnival, he has much in common with Ananci and other tricksters of West African origin in that he stands for overcoming adversaries. For more information on the Midnight Robber, see Emily Zobel Marshall, 'Resistance through "Robber-Talk": Storytelling Strategies and the Carnival Trickster', *Caribbean Quarterly: A Journal of Caribbean Literature*, 62.2 (2016), 210-226. The significance of Anansi throughout the Caribbean region is evident as he features in literature such as Andrew Salkey's *Anancy's Score* (1973) and his *Anancy, Traveller* (1992).
[292] Emily Zobel Marshall, '"The Anansi Syndrome": A debate concerning Anansi's influence on Jamaican culture', *World Literature Written in English*, 39.1 (2001), 127-136 (p.128); Emily Zobel Marshall, *Anansi's Journey: A Story of Jamaican Cultural Resistance* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2012), p.3.
[293] Marshall, *Anansi's Journey*, p.4.

Quimbois and Santería, he also helps people to form a connection with a homeland from which they have been removed. Babacar M'Baye compliments Marshall's reading by discussing the significance of the trickster in diasporan literature about slavery. Drawing on the work of black diasporan literary pioneers, such as Olaudah Equiano and Mary Prince, M'Baye suggests that these writers 'overcame difficult personal, social, political and economic conditions through appropriation and reconstruction of the resistance strategies of diasporan trickster figures.'[294] 'These trickster characters', he notes, '[a]chieve freedom from alienating circumstances by using dexterous and creative resistance strategies and ideologies'.[295] M'Baye notes that similar strategies and ideologies are visible in the literature of authors like Prince and Equiano, as their work demonstrates that 'wits, kinship, communal support, verbal adeptness, and courage were necessary tools of rebellion against slave owners.[296]

Some Caribbean authors have come to embrace and draw inspiration from the link between their region of origin and the supernatural by incorporating into their literature the very things that made the Caribbean seem backward and savage. On this note, Alison Rudd observes that '[t]he figures of the duppy, the soucouyant and the zombie […] have been disseminated through Caribbean Gothic tales since the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.'[297] In addition, texts by renowned Caribbean authors, such as Mittelholzer's *My Bones and My Flute* (1955) and Jamaica Kincaid's *The Autobiography of My Mother* (1996), both of which are set on different Caribbean islands, contain references to the supernatural or the spiritual.[298] The supernatural, therefore, has become intimately linked

[294] Babacar M'Baye, *Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009), pp.3-4.
[295] M'Baye, *Trickster Comes West*, p.4.
[296] M'Baye, *Trickster Comes West*, p.4.
[297] Rudd, *Postcolonial Gothic Fictions*, p.32. 'Duppy' is the Jamaican word for 'spirit' or 'ghost', and 'soucouyant' is used to refer to a supernatural being (from vampire to spirit to witch) in Caribbean folklore.
[298] Exemplary of this, the characters of Edgar Mittelholzer's *My Bones and My Flute* (1955), after touching a cursed piece of parchment, hear a ghostly figure playing the flute. The flute noises become louder as time passes, and the ghost attempts to seduce the characters into following him with the purpose of leading them to their deaths. In Jamaica Kincaid's *The Autobiography of My Mother* (1996), a schoolboy follows a vision of a naked woman surrounded by fruit into a river, becomes exhausted from swimming, and disappears. In

to the literary identity of the Caribbean as it has influenced how it sees itself, how some of its authors choose to represent it, and in learning how people outside the region see it, too. In this sense, by including her haunting experiences in *Sequins*, Johnson is writing herself into and contributes to the long and developed tradition of gothic Caribbean literature.

Given Johnson's alienation within the Caribbean region, the trickster may be an attractive figure to her because he helps individuals to connect with their homeland and to assert a cultural identity. It is fitting, therefore, that the female ghost in *Sequins* corresponds to the features of the trickster. Indeed, the fact that the context of slavery is shared by both the Caribbean trickster figure and the location of many of Johnson's hauntings indicates that she is drawing on the history of the trickster figure in her representation of the female ghost. Although the trickster is a diverse figure, the characteristics of which cannot be resolutely defined, Barbara Babcock-Abrahams in her influential article '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess": The Trickster and His Tales Reconsidered' (1974) identifies sixteen traits of the trickster, many of which apply to Johnson's ghost.[299] For example, Babcock-Abrahams suggests that tricksters tend to have 'an independence and an ignoring of temporal and spatial boundaries' and possess 'indeterminate' physical stature.[300] Both characteristics are evident in the female ghost as she follows Johnson from island to island and manifests both as a feeling and as a substantial presence. Furthermore, Babcock-Abrahams notes that tricksters are generally 'aggressive' and 'tend to be ambiguously situated between life and death'.[301] These traits

addition, Zora Neale Hurston's *Tell My Horse* (1938) is a travel narrative in which Hurston discusses Haitian voodoo practices, zombies, and African-derived rituals. Edgar Mittelholzer, *My Bones and My Flute* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2015); Jamaica Kincaid's *The Autobiography of My Mother* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1996); Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008).

[299] Barbara Babcock-Abrahams, '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess": The Trickster and His Tales Reconsidered', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 11 (1974), 147-186. William J. Hynes, William G. Doty, and Paul Radin all suggest that humour is a trait of the trickster. William J. Hynes and William G. Doty (eds.), 'Introducing the Fascinating and Perplexing Trickster Figure', in *Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts and Criticisms* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), pp.1-12 (pp.1-2); Paul Radin, *The Trickster: a Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York: Schocken, 1998), p.xxiv.

[300] Babcock-Abrahams, '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess"', p.159; p.160.

[301] Babcock-Abrahams, '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess"', p.160.

are evident in many of the encounters between Johnson and the female spirit, as the former regularly identifies the presence she feels as a ghost and describes the ghost's persistent attempts to drown her. However, the ghost's violent intentions are particularly clear during their final interaction at the narrative's close. On the last page of the text, Johnson concludes *Sequins* by writing:

> See. The sea. The sea – of faces. Ghosts. […] She was now so close, I was wearing a second skin. […] Don't go! Stab. Stay! Stab. Incantation begins to draw blood. The ritual continued. Unspoken. Broken only by the steel point as it cuts through. Stay! Stab. (pp.272-273)

This interaction is especially violent, not only because the ghost makes Johnson bleed in this instance, but also because the short, repetitive, exclamative sentences which mimic the repeating stabbing action of a sewing needle are punchy and impactful. Furthermore, this quotation demonstrates the verbal adeptness that M'Baye observes in tricksters. In addition to the mimesis I mention above, the techniques of word play, repetition and rhyme are all employed in this final passage. For example, Johnson plays with the words 'sea' and 'see', she chooses to use the rhyming words 'unspoken' and 'broken', and the words 'stay' and 'stab' are repeated throughout this encounter. Finally, one of the most important features of the trickster that Babcock-Abrahams observes is that they represent 'a concomitant breakdown of the distinction between reality and reflection.'[302] The ghost causes Johnson (and her readership) to question which of her experiences actually occurred and which of them took place in her imagination. It seems plausible, therefore, that Johnson modelled the ghost after the trickster figure in Caribbean mythology to embed herself more firmly within a Caribbean literary tradition.

Although the meaning of the ghost in *Sequins* is ambiguous, it is clear that the supernatural links to the plight of Caribbean people, both those who were native to the

[302] Babcock-Abrahams, '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess"', p.160.

region before European colonisation and those transported without consent from West Africa. The similarity the ghost bears to the trickster figures in Caribbean mythology implies that Johnson is using the ghost as a device to write herself into a Caribbean literary history, and to forge a connection with the region and its history through her writing. In the same way that Anansi helped enslaved African people to 'assert their identity' and to connect 'with an African past', Johnson's use of the supernatural in *Sequins* not only allows her to make a literary, historical and ancestral connection to her region of origin, but grants her the space to nurture a spiritual one, too.[303] This spiritual connection is an important one, and contrasts with the alienation she experiences at the hands of other Caribbean residents who see through her various cultural performances and identify her as an outsider.

[303] Marshall, *Anansi's Journey*, p.4.

Chapter Three

Flânerie and Counter-mapping in Ferdinand Dennis's *Behind the Frontlines* and Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound*

In Moscow, in the old Strastnaia Square,
I wondered at a frizzly mat of hair,
Gazing upon the image of a man
In whom a nation's flowering began.
The very greatest Russian of his race,
I saw the Negro plainly in his face.
–Claude McKay, 'Pushkin', 1927

It is only in becoming aware of the invisible boundaries of the city that we can challenge them.
–Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse,* 2016

The possibility of a black or postcolonial *flâneur* is the subject of debate. On one hand, Teju Cole is adamant that black *flâneurs* cannot exist. Following the 2018 Starbucks Incident during which two black men were unjustly arrested, he proclaimed: 'you can't be a black flaneur. Flanerie is for whites. For blacks in white terrain, all spaces are charged. […] [W]e are compelled, instead, to practice psychogeography. We wander alert, and pay a heavy psychic toll for that vigilance.'[304] Cole makes the point that black *flânerie* is impossible because the black body is persecuted in the pedestrian space whereas the white body simply blends into the crowd. On the other hand, however, critics such as Liesbeth Minnaard, Alexander Greer Hartwiger, and Mpalive-Hangson Msiska argue that postcolonial *flâneur* figures are present in literature, but suggest that the marginalisation

[304] Teju Cole, 'The Starbucks thing hit me…', *Instagram*, 18th April 2018 <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bht03b5hVkd/> [accessed 26th April 2018] (para. 4-5). The 'Starbucks Incident' refers to the arrest of Rashon Nelson and Donte Robinson in Philadelphia on 12th April 2018. They were arrested in a Starbucks coffee shop on the grounds that they were occupying a table without making a purchase. Cole has since deleted the original post.

which Cole observes is part of the postcolonial *flaneur*'s experience.[305] This chapter extends the questions surrounding the postcolonial *flâneur* by examining how black travel writers record their presence in public, urban space. Ferdinand Dennis in his *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (1988), and Caryl Phillips in his *The Atlantic Sound* (2000) describe themselves walking through British cities.[306] To varying extents, Dennis and Phillips endure the 'heavy psychic toll' that Cole describes, but throughout the first section of this chapter, I argue that the very vigilance which Dennis and Phillips exercise in urban space means that postcolonial *flânerie* and psychogeography are rooted in one another rather than divorced as Cole implies.

Writing on Italian counter-travel writing, Luigi Marfè notes that such texts have 'helped to modify both the literary image of Italy and the representation of travel'.[307] The counter-travel writers' 'foreign viewpoint', he suggests, allows them to 'describe the possibility of *another* Italy: an ex-centric, multiethnic and open-to-dialogue Italian identity'.[308] In the second section of this chapter, I suggest that Dennis and Phillips, much like the Italian counter-travel writers Marfè discusses, produce British cities from an ex-centric perspective by challenging their cartographic normativity. I discuss how Dennis and Phillips, in their capacity as postcolonial *flâneurs*, offer literary counter-maps of British urban space in their respective travel narratives, as both travel writers record how black people read, inhabit, and traverse cities in a different way to their white counterparts.

Dennis was born in Jamaica but migrated to England when he was eight years old.

---

[305] Liesbeth Minnaard, 'The Postcolonial Flaneur: Ramsey Nasr's "Antwerpse Stadsgedichten"', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Country Studies*, 37.1 (2013), 79-92; Alexander Greer Hartwiger, 'The Postcolonial Flâneur: *Open City* and the Urban Palimpsest', *Postcolonial Text*, 11.1 (2016), 1-17; Mpalive-Hangson Msiska, 'Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* and the structure of Black metropolitan life', in *African Diaspora and the Metropolis*, ed. by Fassil Demissie (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.5-27. I return to the work of Minnaard, Hartwiger, and Msiska in the section below.

[306] Ferdinand Dennis, *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1988); Caryl Phillips, *The Atlantic Sound* (London: Vintage, 2001). Further references to these texts will be given in parenthesis.

[307] Luigi Marfè, 'Italian Counter-Travel Writing: Images of Italy in Contemporary Migration Literature', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 16.2 (2012), 191-201 (p.192).

[308] Marfè, 'Italian Counter-Travel Writing', p.197; p.199. Original emphasis.

Behind the Frontlines chronicles his journey around some of Britain's major cities, namely Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bristol, Bath, and London. Barbara Korte observes that Dennis's journey 'rewrites [a] traditional type of travelogue: that of the home tour'.[309] She further notes that his journey 'leads him through cities familiar from other accounts of domestic tourism, but these cities are depicted in aspects normally unperceived by the white traveller.'[310] Indeed, Dennis spends the majority of his time in what Stuart Hall refers to as 'black "colony areas"': the 'run-down areas of the inner city […] which indelibly came to be associated with race.'[311] Hall cites Brixton in London, St Pauls in Bristol, Handsworth in Birmingham, and Toxteth in Liverpool as examples of black colony areas, all of which feature in *Behind the Frontlines*. Dennis acknowledges a commonly cited example of a home tour narrative, J. B. Priestley's *English Journey* (1934), in his own.[312] Towards the end of his chapter titled 'Liverpool: Sins of the Fathers', Dennis offers a response to Priestley's assumption that British-born people of mixed British and African ancestry will migrate to Africa:

> Perhaps in Priestley's time 'half-caste' Britons migrated to their father's home. Not any more. […] The Liverpool-born mixed race person is stuck there. Intimately familiar with but rejected by his mother's culture he is the bearer of an immediate anger. (p.58)

This passage encapsulates the dual purpose of Dennis's narrative: to provide an up-to-date domestic travel narrative and to present Britain from the perspective of one who resides and has grown up there, and yet who does not necessarily feel British. Although Priestley

---

[309] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. by Catherine Matthias (New York: Palgrave, 2000), p.162.
[310] Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.162. Domestic tourism in Britain began in the eighteenth century following the improvement of roads, better transport infrastructure, and the growth of the middle class. This trend grew throughout the nineteenth century as people began to 'go "on holiday"'. Rosemary Sweet, 'Domestic Tourism in Great Britain', *British Library* < https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/domestic-tourism-in-great-britain > [accessed 26th March 2018]. See also Benjamin Colbert (ed.), 'Introduction: Home Tourism', in *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.1-12 (p.5).
[311] Stuart Hall, *Familiar Strangers: A Life Between Two Islands*, with Bill Schwarz (London: Allen Lane, 2017), p.190.
[312] J. B. Priestley, *English Journey* (London: Penguin, 1977).

briefly discusses aspects of the British Empire and 'half-caste' people, his primary focus is the relationship between the British class system and the nation's changing job market and industry.[313] Therefore, Dennis builds on the British home tour narrative by featuring previously undocumented areas in his travelogue as Korte suggests, but also by focusing on a different element of British identity politics: that of ethnicity.

According to Paul Smethurst, the home tour or 'domestic tourism helped to produce […] a more cohesive image of the island of Britain as a whole'.[314] *Behind the Frontlines* certainly contributes to a national narrative or image, but whether it presents the nation as cohesive is questionable as Dennis depicts communities that are divided along lines of race and class. In the years preceding his journey, race relations in Britain were hostile. According to James Procter, events such as the Notting Hill Carnival and a growing number of visibly Rastafari supporters 'embodied anxieties over what was felt to be an increasingly black presence'.[315] This growing tension, coupled with the discrimination young black people suffered at the hands of the police, caused race riots in Southall in 1979 and in Brixton in 1981 and 1984. As such, Dennis's travel narrative captures and was published at a time when the fissures between the black British communities and the white British population were becoming increasingly entrenched.

Phillips was born in St. Kitts but travelled to England by ship with his parents when he was four months old. *The Atlantic Sound* is international in scope and thus reflects Phillips's sense of transnationality as a person with a 'triple heritage of journeying: British, African diasporan, Caribbean', and implicitly problematises the 'black British writer' label

[313] Similarly, George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937), another commonly cited home tour narrative, is highly critical of class inequalities, particularly in relation to the living conditions of working-class people and the attitudes of superiority held by some middle- and upper-class people. George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 2001).
[314] Paul Smethurst, 'Peripheral Vision, Landscape, and Nation-Building in Thomas Pennant's Tours of Scotland, 1769-72', in *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Benjamin Colbert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.13-30 (p.19).
[315] James Procter (ed.), 'Part Two: late 1960s to mid-1980s: Introduction', in *Writing Black Britain 1948-1998* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.95-97 (p.95).

commonly ascribed to him and his work.[316] The journey depicted in *The Atlantic Sound* mimics the pattern of the triangular slave trade as Phillips describes himself travelling between the Caribbean, Britain, Ghana, and the United States of America. María Lourdes López Ropero, writing on *The Atlantic Sound*, suggests that 'the author exploits the formal flexibility that is characteristic of the travelogue.'[317] Certainly, Phillips stretches the formulaic conventions of the travel writing genre by entwining his own narrative with the stories of others, such as Mansour (his driver in Ghana) and John Ocansey (a nineteenth-century West African merchant), and by peppering his narrative with letters, poems, and interviews. The text's non-committal and fluid approach to form reflects what Rae Ann Meriwether has described as Phillips's search for 'understanding in this ostensibly postcolonial world', as questions of African diasporic identities and communities, home, and history are fundamental concerns in the text.[318] I will concentrate on Phillips's time in Liverpool because this is a destination he shares with Dennis.

I begin by examining the concept of the *flâneur* (in its original and postcolonial form), and then discuss how Dennis and Phillips, in their capacity as postcolonial *flâneurs*, record city space from black diasporic subject positions. Some differences between the two writers' experiences emerge because of the different urban space in which they practise *flânerie*: Phillips predominantly occupies, to borrow Cole's expression, 'white terrain', whereas Dennis is interested in black colony areas.[319]

---

[316] Caryl Phillips, 'Necessary Journeys', *The Guardian*, 11th December 2004 < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/dec/11/society2 > [accessed 18th December 2017] (para. 7 of 21). John McLeod draws on Phillips's work to highlight why the label 'black British' can be reductive, misrepresentative, and spatially constrictive, as a lot of the work categorised under this rubric is transnational rather than national. John McLeod, 'Some problems with "British"; In a "Black British canon"', *Wasafiri*, 17.36 (2002), 56-59.

[317] María Lourdes López Ropero, 'Travel Writing and Postcoloniality: Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound*', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.72-84 (p.74).

[318] Rae Ann Meriwether, '"Walking into the face of history": Historical Difference and Diasporic Community in *The Atlantic Sound*', *Obsidian*, 12.1 (2011), 79-93 (p.82).

[319] Cole, 'The Starbucks thing hit me…', para.4.

The *Flâneur* and the Postcolonial *Flâneur*

Keith Tester offers a concise definition of *flânerie* when he describes it as 'the activity of strolling and looking which is carried out by the *flâneur*'.[320] Typically male, wealthy, and with an aptitude for social observation, the *flâneur* is famed for being a man of leisure, a metropolitan connoisseur, and a dandy.[321] Because of its connection to movement, the notion of travel is innate to *flânerie*. However, despite H. Hazel Hahn's suggestion that the *flâneur* and the tourist are comparable figures, the concept is rarely explored within travel writing studies as literary critics tend to focus on the representation of the *flâneur* in fiction rather than non-fiction.[322]

The concept of *flânerie* is attributed to Charles Baudelaire, who, drawing on Edgar Allen Poe's *The Man of the Crowd* (1840), discusses this literary figure in his 1863 essay 'The Painter of Modern Life'.[323] Although Baudelaire's *flâneur* meanders through the streets of Paris, for him, the figure typifies 'the *man of the world*' because of the *flâneur's* desire to 'know, understand and appreciate everything that happens on the surface of our globe.'[324] Baudelaire declares:

> For the perfect *flâneur,* for the passionate spectator, it is an immense joy to set up house in the heart of the multitude, amid the ebb and flow of movement […] To be

[320] Keith Tester (ed.), 'Introduction', in *The Flâneur* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp.1-21 (p.1).
[321] I will refer to the *flâneur* as male throughout because he is male in the writing of Charles Baudelaire and Walter Benjamin, because the narrators of *Behind the Frontlines* and *the European Tribe* are male, and because the scholars I quote later in my discussion of postcolonial *flânerie* all refer to male literary characters. Currently, the concept of the *flâneuse* is being developed by critics such as Lauren Elkin. Elkin challenges the idea that a female *flâneur* – a *flâneuse* – cannot exist, and draws on Jean Rhys and Virginia Woolf to exemplify this in addition to her own experience. She suggests that to exclude women's experience of *flânerie* is to limit human interactions of cities to the male experience, and asks her readership to rethink the gender constraints traditionally associated with the practice, noting that a person's gender determines their how they experience the city: 'From Teheran to New York, from Melbourne to Mumbai, a woman still can't walk in the city the way a man can.' It is significant, though, that Elkin's work is not intersectional as she focuses on the experiences of white women. Lauren Elkin, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2016), p.286.
[322] H. Hazel Hahn, 'The Flâneur, the Tourist, the Global Flâneur, and Magazine Reading as Flânerie', *Dix-Neuf,* 16.2 (2012), 193-210.
[323] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life', in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. and ed. by Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), pp.1-40. Estelle Murail contends that the *flâneur* or a similar figure appears in French and British print culture before it was shaped and made famous by Baudelaire. Estelle Murail, 'Beyond the Flâneur: Walking, Passage and Crossing in London and Paris in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London and Université Paris Diderot-Paris, 2013).
[324] Baudelaire, 'The Painter', p.7. Original emphasis.

> away from home and yet to feel oneself everywhere at home; to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet remain hidden from the world.[325]

For Baudelaire, then, to be a *flâneur* is to possess a chameleonic quality while exploring the urban space; to be distinct from the crowd but simultaneously to rejoice in the sense of community and anonymity the same crowd affords. Similarly, Walter Benjamin suggests that the true *flâneur* will find comfort and a sense of homeliness in the public space when he writes: '[t]he street becomes a dwelling for the *flâneur*; he is as much at home among the facades of houses as a citizen is in his four walls.'[326] This figure, this man of the world who is able to observe the crowd precisely because he slips in and out of it himself unobserved and unremarked upon, evokes the idea of the global or world citizen. Indeed, in addition to characterising this figure as 'the man of the world' who feels at home everywhere, Baudelaire describes the *flâneur* as 'the spiritual citizen of the universe', and '[t]he lover of life [who] makes the whole world his family'.[327] Baudelaire's *flâneur* can wander through any cityscape with ease; the street is his home, everyone is his community.

Cole's commentary on the Starbucks Incident, along with the far longer history of racial segregation in the US of which it was a symptom, suggests that only a white urban wanderer can embody the type of *flâneur* that Baudelaire and Benjamin describe. Although the Starbucks Incident took place in Philadelphia in 2018, the circumstances in Britain are comparable. For example, the sus law which gave police the right to stop, search and arrest anyone who looked suspicious saw black people unjustly targeted, particularly in the 1980s: 'Afro-Caribbeans accounted for 44% of arrests under SUS while they made up only 6% of the London population. In some boroughs such as Lambeth, 77% of arrests for SUS

[325] Baudelaire, 'The Painter', p.9.
[326] Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. by Harry Zohn (London: NLB, 1973), p.37. Benjamin also talks about the *flâneur* in *The Arcades Project*. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).
[327] Baudelaire, 'The Painter', p.7; p.9.

were Black people.'[328] Further to this, Reni Eddo-Lodge states that research undertaken in 2015 revealed that 'black people were seventeen times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people', which demonstrates that racial minorities cannot wander with the same ease as their white counterparts in Britain.[329] To be sure, there is an implicit tension between the image of the cosmopolitan or world citizen Baudelaire and Benjamin evoke in their discussions of *flânerie* and the conceptualisation of the postcolonial *flâneur*. On this note, cosmopolitanism and world citizenship have been problematised by postcolonial studies critics such as Inderpal Grewal and Anna-Leena Toivanen. Grewal outlines the link between selective nomadism, power, and European citizenship, making the point that this kind of worldly acceptance is exclusive to European people: 'cosmopolitanism [has become] associated with the representation of Europeans as "world citizens," that is, as those who are able to wander and travel at will to become "native" in "foreign" lands while retaining their identity and power as Europeans'.[330] Similarly, Toivanen observes that cosmopolitanism is rooted in 'elitist, Eurocentric and universalist' ideas.[331] Cole's criticism of postcolonial *flânerie* aligns with Grewal's and Toivanen's problematisation of cosmopolitanism because both cosmopolitanism and notions of Baudelairean *flânerie* rely on the figure being at ease everywhere – a level of comfort which the black urban wanderer does not necessarily experience in white terrain.

As Cole notes, traditionally, 'flanerie is for whites'; however, to exclude black people from the practice restricts the human experience of urbanity because a person's ethnicity can determine the nature of their relationship with city space.[332] As the Starbucks

---

[328] Lorraine White, 'The History of Blacks in Britain: From Slavery to Rebellion', *Socialist Alternative* < https://www.socialistalternative.org/panther-black-rebellion/history-blacks-britain-slavery-rebellion/ > [accessed 14th November 2019] (para.86 of 108).
[329] Reni Eddo-Lodge, *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), p.36.
[330] Inderpal Grewal, 'Amitav Ghosh: Cosmopolitanisms, Literature, Transnationalisms', in *The Postcolonial and the Global*, ed. by Revathi Krishnaswamy and John C. Hawley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), pp.178-190 (p.178).
[331] Anna-Leena Toivanen, 'Cosmopolitanism's new clothes? The limits of the concept of Afropolitanism', *European Journal of English Studies*, 21.2 (2017), 189-205 (p.190).
[332] Cole, 'The Starbucks thing hit me…', para.5.

Incident makes clear, a citizen's ethnicity can limit which spaces they may safely occupy and influences how they are regarded by the city's other inhabitants or visitors. Therefore, acknowledging the possibility of postcolonial *flânerie* lays the foundation for a more inclusive and accurate representation of urban space.

Although scholarship on postcolonial *flânerie* reiterates Cole's point by acknowledging the hyper-visibility of the black wanderer and the unlikelihood that they will ever feel absolutely relaxed in the public space, critics do not reject the concept. On the contrary, many have sought to expand what *flânerie* constitutes by exploring its potential in postcolonial literature.[333] Minnaard, for example, suggests that the poems Ramsey Nasr produced during his post as City Poet of Antwerp highlight some of the issues faced by the postcolonial *flâneur*. The social hierarchy in Antwerp is predicated on lineage; the citizens whose families have been in Antwerp longest are higher up the societal ladder.[334] Nasr was not born in Antwerp and has Palestinian and Dutch roots. Minnaard argues that Nasr's outsider status is reflected through the polyglossic nature of his poetry and the theme of non-belonging, which replicates the diverse nature of the city. Minnaard makes two important distinctions between postcolonial *flânerie*, which she describes as 'flanerie in the age of globalisation,' and the traditional practice.[335] Firstly, she observes that Nasr's isolation is 'not self-chosen, rather, it results from processes of marginalization and exclusion,' and secondly, she suggests that Nasr's poetry 'opens a discursive space for dialogic exchange,' partly because he 'emphatically pursues moments of encounter and interaction in an urban contact zone'.[336] In his capacity as City Poet and despite the fact that he feels marginalised by the crowd, Nasr seeks to connect and communicate with the citizens of Antwerp.

---

[333] Other ways in which scholars have expanded Baudelaire's and Benjamin's conceptualisations of *flânerie* include examining the *flâneuse* (female *flâneur*) and bicycle *flânerie*. Elkin, *Flâneuse* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2016); Paul Smethurst, 'A flâneur on wheels? Bicycle mobility and the sociological gaze in Edward Thomas's *In Pursuit of Spring*', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 18.3 (2014), 249-263.
[334] Minnaard, 'The Postcolonial Flaneur', pp.80-81.
[335] Minnaard, 'The Postcolonial Flaneur', p.80.
[336] Minnaard, 'The Postcolonial Flaneur', p.84; pp.89-90.

Like Minnaard, Hartwiger suggests that literary representations of postcolonial *flânerie* give a platform to numerous voices: '[t]he contrapuntal reading that the postcolonial flâneur provides […] leads to a polyvocal representation of a city'.[337] However, he builds on Minnaard's idea when he observes that the postcolonial *flâneur*'s 'critical gaze provides a way to read the legacies of colonialism, oppression, and exploitation back into globalization and the economic, social, and political frameworks that shape the global city'.[338] Ironically, Hartwiger uses Cole's *Open City* to make his point, and explains how Cole 'updates the figure of the flâneur to the postcolonial flâneur' by not only exposing the reader to a multiplicity of voices, but also by making marginalised histories, such as Native American history and the history of slavery, visible through the narrator Julius, himself a Nigerian-German immigrant living in New York City.[339] On a different note, Simon Gikandi emphasises the elitism that accompanies the postcolonial *flâneur* by differentiating this figure from those whose movement through the world is not an expression of choice, freedom, or pleasure, such as refugees. He further suggests that the postcolonial *flâneur* is a liminal figure in the sense that he is simultaneously part of the cosmopolitan elite whom he describes as 'the *flâneurs* of our age,' and yet he can also 'walk as one with the crowd' in cities such as Nairobi, Johannesburg and Accra.[340]

In addition, Msiska points out the exclusivity of traditional conceptualisations of *flânerie* when he states that the figure has 'not usually been read in ways that easily extend to the African and Black inhabitants of the metropolis', and he works to redress this oversight by reading the male characters, particularly Galahad, in Sam Selvon's *Lonely Londoners* (1956) as *flâneurs*.[341] He uses the terms 'Black *flâneur*, or *Blaneur* or *Afraneur*' to describe these characters, as he feels these terms better reflect the 'tension between

[337] Hartwiger, 'The Postcolonial Flâneur', p.7.
[338] Hartweiger, 'The Postcolonial Flâneur', p.7.
[339] Hartweiger, 'The Postcolonial Flâneur', p.2.
[340] Simon Gikandi, 'Between Roots and Routes: Cosmopolitanism and the Claims of Locality', in *Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millennium*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Cristina Sandru, and Sarah Lawson Welsh (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), pp.22-35 (p.32); p.22.
[341] Msiska, 'Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*', p.8.

[their] racialised metropolitan identity and [their] universal claim to an identity beyond [their] racial collectivity.'[342] Msiska argues that Galahad's opinion of the city as a utopian place of freedom steadily diminishes as he realises that he is the crowd's Other and he subsequently experiences painful self-abjection. In turn, Msiska concludes that, for the *blaneur*, the metropolis becomes a place of physical and mental confinement because Galahad is physically restricted to his place of work, his home, and parks, and he is mentally entrapped because the racial intolerance of London's white inhabitants makes him feel uneasy and apprehensive while he moves through the public space. The 'heavy psychic toll' a postcolonial *flâneur* endures and the alertness he must exercise, as noted by Cole, is apparent in Msiska's reading.

Although Minnaard, Hartwiger, and Msiska all focus on works of fiction, their observations of postcolonial *flânerie* may be applied to and extended by travel writing. Despite the fact that each critic uses the term 'postcolonial *flâneur*' (or a variation) with a different emphasis, they all identify this literary figure as occupying an oppositional stance, and as one who has the power to contest univocal, dominant representations of the metropolis, even if sometimes from within a position of relative privilege as Gikandi suggests. The postcolonial *flaneur*'s ability to write back to dominant depictions of the urban represents the link between postcolonial *flânerie* and psychogeography. Indeed, in his 1955 essay 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography', Guy Debord describes psychogeography as the 'specific effects of the geographical environment, whether consciously organized or not, on the emotions and behavior of individuals', and similarly, Merlin Coverley notes that one key characteristic of psychogeography is the practitioner's ability to generate 'new ways of apprehending our urban environment'. [343] As the term

[342] Msiska, 'Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*', p.9. I have not adopted Msiksa's terminology of *blaneur* or *afraneur* because many of the postcolonial *flâneur*'s experiences occur because of their hypervisibility – a plight that would extent to anyone racially or ethnically Other within European space, not just black wanderers.
[343] Guy Debord, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Georgraphy', in *Situationist International Anthology*, ed. and trans. by Ken Knabb (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), pp.23-27 (p.23); Merlin Coverley, *Psychogeography: The Pocket Guide Essential* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2006), p.13.

implies, psychogeography represents the relationship between the subjectivity of the urban wanderer and the environment they are wandering in, and thus, the postcolonial *flâneur*'s heightened attention in white terrain is one of the reasons why he can engender 'new ways of apprehending' city space because he portrays it from a racialised subject position. In other words, the scholarship by Minnaard, Hartwiger, and Msiska suggest that psychogeography is integral to the practice of postcolonial *flânerie*.

I read *The Atlantic Sound* and *Behind the Frontlines* with the purpose of discussing the important observations Phillips and Dennis make in their capacity as black urban wanderers who endure the 'heavy psychic toll' that Cole identifies.[344] Like the fictional postcolonial *flâneurs* discussed above, Phillips and Dennis wander alert in white terrain. Perhaps because of their vulnerability in this space or because they are travelling with an agenda, prowling for material with which to write their travel narratives, both writers walk with purpose in a way which contradicts the aimless wanderings of the traditional *flâneur*. Phillips, for example, consults a 'rudimentary map' (p.82), and Dennis knows precisely where he wants to wander: behind the frontline. I argue that, although both travel writers experience discomfort in white terrain and walk with intent, their narratives make a significant contribution to the criticism surrounding the postcolonial *flâneur*, as both writers alter the dominant representation of the British cities in which they wander. Further to this, I suggest that their identity as black travel writers allows them access to spaces such as black colony areas which perhaps would not be as accessible to a white *flâneur*. The observations Phillips and Dennis make and their experience within the urban space is intimately linked to their subject position as black men, and therefore, the link between postcolonial *flânerie* and psychogeography may be applied to and extended by their work. Not only do Phillips and Dennis write marginalised histories and people into their travel narratives as the assessments by Minnaard, Hartwiger and Msiska suggest that they might,

[344] Cole, 'The Starbucks thing hit me…', para.5.

but they also demonstrate that black people read, inhabit and traverse the city in a different way to white urban wanderers, often to preserve their own safety. Below I suggest that Phillips's and Dennis's ability to perform *flânerie* is conditional as it is inhibited by temporal and spatial constraints. Indeed, Phillips convincingly re-imagines city space at times when it is nearly deserted, whereas Dennis primarily wanders in spaces in which he is not visibly Other: black colony areas.

The Postcolonial Flâneur in White Terrain

While in Liverpool, Phillips predominantly occupies what Elijah Anderson terms 'white space', which Anderson describes as 'settings in which black people are typically absent, not expected, or marginalized when present'.[345] Anderson suggests that, typically, black people approach white space 'with care', and within it, 'reflexively note the proportion of whites to blacks'.[346] Such observations are applicable to Phillips who, immediately after arriving in Liverpool's Lime Street Station, notes that 'there was a distinct absence of black faces' (p.75), and who, after spending the morning walking around the city rhetorically asks, '[w]here on earth is Liverpool's black population?' (p.85). Much like the postcolonial *flâneurs* Minnaard, Hartwiger and Msiska discuss, Phillips does not feel at one with the crowd in Liverpudlian white space. His visible otherness is evident when he describes being eyed suspiciously by two businessmen in a bar who stop playing their video game to stare aggressively at him each time he passes by. When this happens, Phillips's companion and guide, Stephen, who identifies as a 'Liverpool-Born Black', makes the comment: '"You'd think they'd never seen black people before." […] "They were staring at us like we're gunna nick something"' (p.78). Similarly, Dennis records the hostility he encounters when he, on occasion, enters white terrain. For example, while

[345] Elijah Anderson, 'The White Space', *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1.1 (2015), 10-21 (p.10).
[346] Anderson, 'The White Space', p.10.

waiting at Gloucester train station, he feels 'encased' by the 'curious eyes' of people passing through the station on other trains (p.145), and in Cardiff he documents 'an unpleasant experience': '[o]n my way to the docks, a van load of white workers shouted at me: "Right nigger"' (p.159). Evidently, in contrast to Baudelaire's *flâneur* who observes the crowd, Phillips and Dennis are observed. Writing the animosity they encounter into their travel narratives is one way in which these travel writers demonstrate how their experiences as black men in British cities differ from that of white men. In white terrain, neither author is forgotten nor camouflaged by the crowd.

It is worth noting that other black travel writers have recorded feeling ostracised within European cities, too. Exemplary of this, Johny Pitts in his *Afropean* (2019) describes being followed by a 'skinhead' driver in Moscow when his 'Afro was out' after forgetting to wear a hat.[347] Likewise, in *The European Tribe* (1987) Phillips is unable to blend seamlessly into the crowd. For instance, he describes being called a 'nigger' by a female beggar in Ireland, in Moscow he recalls being pursued by a group of Soviet youths, and he is the subject of unsolicited attention in Munich: '[t]he cold Germanic faces snapped round in the street to look at me. They gazed as though I had just committed an awful crime, or was about to cannibalize a small child.'[348] *The Atlantic Sound* and *Behind the Frontlines,* together with *Afropean* and *The European Tribe*, affirm that black male urban wanderers cannot 'rejoice in [their] incognito'.[349]

After the incident in the bar, Phillips sets out to explore Liverpool, but only when he believes the city will be quiet and the crowd will be modest. He sets out early 'before the day stirs', and takes care to emphasise the lack of people by describing the atmosphere with phrases like: 'In the bleak morning haze, the odd pedestrian slouches by' (p.80).

---

[347] Johny Pitts, *Afropean: Notes From a Black Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), p.257. I draw on Pitt's travel narrative further in the 'Counter-Mapping' section of this chapter.
[348] Caryl Phillips, *The European Tribe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987), p.82; p.109; p.83. Phillips wrote a reflective piece on *The European Tribe* in 2014 – nearly thirty years after the book was first published – emphasising how little he thinks European attitudes have changed towards black individuals. Caryl Phillips, 'Revisiting *The European Tribe*', *Wasafiri*, 29.3 (2014), 4-7.
[349] Baudelaire, 'The Painter', p.9.

Meriwether asserts that Phillips's 'desire to subvert history permeates [*The Atlantic Sound*]'.[350] Much like how Claude McKay interprets the statue of Pushkin in Moscow through a black historical lens, Phillips engages specifically with the legacies of slavery and colonisation, or what he refers to as Liverpool's 'hidden history' which, to him, is overt within the city.[351] On this quiet morning en route to Liverpool's Town Hall, Phillips observes a fountain. Again, taking care to characterise the atmosphere as 'abandoned' and 'deserted', he describes the fountain as decorated with 'four semi-clad and chained men,' and notes that it 'was built to celebrate Admiral Nelson's victories at sea' (p.83). Although Admiral Nelson is celebrated as a 'national hero' by some, his statue evokes haunting memories of racial subjugation for Phillips as he finds it 'impossible to look at this fountain and its sculpture and not think of the slave trade' (p.82).[352] Here, Phillips makes visible aspects of history that he suggests are 'so glaringly absent from people's consciousness' (p.93), despite the fact that they have been inscribed onto some of Liverpool's most prominent buildings, and demonstrates that Nelson's monument signifies something different to him as a black wanderer.

Phillips ceases to describe the fountain when his 'solitude is interrupted' by a woman, and only resumes his observation of the city space when the woman has made 'her hasty way across the square' (p.83). He recommences by depicting the exterior of the Town Hall, recognising the building's colonial aesthetic. For instance, he notes:

> [H]igh up near the roof there is a frieze that 'subtly' depicts the images that were central to the development of Liverpool's trading empire: llamas, cocoa pods, a Native American woman with a bow, an elephant, an African face, a rhinoceros and so on. (p.83)

[350] Meriwether, 'Walking into the face of history', p.80.
[351] Claude McKay, 'Pushkin', in *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, ed. by Joyce Moore Turner and W. Burghardt Turner (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005); Phillips, *The Atlantic Sound*, p.87.
[352] BBC, 'Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson (1758-1805)', 2014 < http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/nelson_admiral_horatio_lord.shtml > [Accessed 22nd August 2018] (para.1 of 6).

Phillips's use of quotation marks around the word 'subtly' suggests that the images and their historical weight are not subtle to him as a black urban wanderer. By interpreting the decoration of the fountain and the town hall through a black historical lens, Phillips, like the protagonist of *Open City*, writes 'the legacies of colonialism, oppression, and exploitation back into' the urban space.[353] Like Julius, Phillips makes astute observations about city space and writes the city's marginal histories back into his literary representation of it. However, he only wanders and makes these observations with ease when he is alone; a solitude which occurs either because of the early hour at which he practises *flânerie*, or because he waits to be alone before continuing his observation. This presents a departure from the postcolonial *flâneur* which Minnaard and Msiska describe because they suggest that the figure's isolation occurs because they are ostracised by the crowd. Although Phillips does experience this involuntary alienation in the bar, for example, on this particular morning he chooses to be alone. Evidently, it is difficult to draw neat conclusions about this complex and ambiguous figure.

The Postcolonial Flâneur in Black Colony Areas

The purpose of Dennis's journey is 'to write a travelogue about black Britain' (p.xi), and therefore, it is no surprise that he chiefly wanders within the black colony areas Hall identifies. Gikandi suggests that the postcolonial *flâneur* can 'walk as one with the crowd' in the capital cities of Kenya, South Africa, and Ghana, and correspondingly, Dennis blends in with the crowd in black colony areas because he, like them, represents an ethnic minority in Britain.[354] Exemplary of this, Dennis describes Cardiff's black colony area, Tiger Bay, as being home to 'an incredible mixture of peoples from all over the world, a genuinely multi-cultural neighbourhood' (p.146), and likewise he notes the diversity

[353] Hartwiger, 'The Postcolonial Flâneur', p.7.
[354] Gikandi, 'Between Roots and Routes', p.22.

within Liverpool's black colony area, known as Toxteth or Liverpool 8, which includes people from Sierra Leone, Uganda, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, Liberia, and from various Caribbean islands, among other nations, and Liverpool-born black people. In a similar fashion to Phillips, Dennis also interprets some of the buildings he sees during his journey through a black historical lens, but he does so while within black colony areas. For instance, when in Brixton, Dennis writes:

> I was made aware of Brixton's historical connection with the Caribbean by a familiar building. The Tate Library, […] is named after the Tate in Tate and Lyle, the sugar company which for centuries ran sugar plantations in the Caribbean. (p.189)

As Dennis is wandering in spaces in which he is not necessarily Other, he does not seek solitude or abandonment when making these observations as Phillips does within white terrain.

Further to this, *Behind the Frontlines* invites us to consider the likelihood that the access Dennis has to Britain's black communities, his ability to gain their confidence and to make astute observations about the urban space in which they reside, is only possible because he shares their otherhood or heritage. This is clear when, after entering Toxteth, Dennis has a conversation with one of its residents, Lenny, and reflects: 'Maybe it was his discovery that we were both Jamaicans' which made him talk 'non-stop' (p.20). Furthermore, other important conversations recorded in *Behind the Frontlines* rely on Dennis's Caribbean heritage. This is clear in Dennis's interaction with Ron – a Barbadian – who strikes up a conversation with him about saltfish:

> '"They telling me that saltfish over here taste the same as back 'ome. I can't agree with that. What do you think?"
> I told him that because I left Jamaica at a young age I couldn't say.
> "Oh, I see," he said, disappointed. "So you can't really talk 'bout saltfish with any authority. Shame. Shame."' (p.28)

Although, in these spaces, Dennis blends into the crowd like the *flâneur* Baudelaire and Benjamin describe, this visual inclusivity does not necessarily equate to a feeling of belonging. Indeed, the quotation above calls attention to some of the nuances within black British communities. Ron's repetition of the word 'shame' and his disappointment in Dennis illustrates that hierarchies and tensions exist within diasporic groups relating to one's knowledge of and connection to their place of origin, and thus, Dennis is an outsider in this sense.

Another tension within the Toxteth community includes the conflict between first-generation migrants and Liverpool Born Blacks. For example, Ron, a first-generation migrant, implies that a large proportion of the group are unemployed and characterises them 'as lacking in ambition, lazy' (p.28). Similarly, in a discussion with Stephen, Phillips captures the antagonism but from the perspective of a Liverpool Born Black. Speaking on behalf of the group, Stephen suggests that they are '"a slightly different breed"' from other black Britons, a distinction predicated on their 'long and continuous history in Liverpool as evidence of a certain authenticity' (p.87). We might speculate that Dennis's and Phillips's blackness means that they are in a unique position to reveal the fissures within the Liverpudlian black community, as such details and information might not have been as apparent nor as readily available to them if they were white *flâneurs*.

In addition to making observations about Toxteth's crowd, Dennis and Phillips record their impressions of the urban area. Both authors describe it, as they do much of Liverpool, as in decline. Dennis characterises Toxteth as a 'gloomy, dark area' with 'boarded up' and 'burnt-out houses' (p.33), and likewise, Phillips observes that 'the neighbourhood is dominated by boarded-up houses and general convenience stores encased in large metal grills. The sidewalks are peopled with scruffy individuals who loiter aimlessly' (p.88). Although the two writers' descriptions correspond to one another, their engagement with the area differs. Phillips chooses to 'cruise the streets of Toxteth' (p.88)

in Stephen's car, and thus his relatively superficial experience of the area contributes to pre-existing perceptions of black people. To be sure, his scornful description of Toxteth's residents as 'loitering aimlessly' feeds into the highly racialised image of black men idly yet threateningly occupying street corners – a stereotype which, according to Procter, was 'pathologised as a specific form of black "anti-social behaviour"' in the 1970s and 1980s.[355]

Dennis, on the other hand, performs what Pitts refers to as 'on the ground reportage' within the black colony area, and consequently encounters many of Toxteth's residents and, much like Nsar does in Antwerp, attempts to engage with members of the crowd in a meaningful way.[356] In addition to Ron and Lenny, Dennis records his conversations with residents such as Holy Joe, Jonah, and Asha, all of whom detail the race-based violence they have experienced in Liverpool and the hardship of unemployment and poverty: Holy Joe, for instance, describes being 'beaten unconscious and robbed' (p.80). Furthermore, Dennis takes care to portray many of Toxteth's residents, particularly those who might otherwise be dismissed as participating in anti-social behaviour such as drug dealers and gang members, as personable. He records how a group of drug dealers aided his search for Gaddafi, the leader of a gang called The Frontline Posse, and once he finds Gaddafi, Dennis describes him as having 'an easy laugh' and as a person who 'exuded charisma' (p.34). Similarly, while in Birmingham, Dennis describes Captain, the spokesperson for the Rastafarian group, Twelve Trees, in a kindly way, noting how Captain's 'bright eyes smil[ed]' (p.103) when he talked. Further to this, Dennis takes care to educate his readership on tenets of the Rastafarian religion. This is significant in a text published in the 1980s given that, at that time, black parents, British courts, and British police believed that 'Rastafarian ideas and practices were opposed to law-abiding

[355] James Procter, *Dwelling Places: Postwar Black British Writing* (Manchster: Manchester University Press, 2003), p.78.
[356] Pitts, *Afropean*, p.6.

behaviour' (p.93).

While Phillips presents a fuller picture of Liverpool as a whole in the sense that he records both the white terrain and Toxteth, his representation of the black colony area contributes to unfavourable perceptions of its residents, whereas Dennis platforms the voices of Toxteth's residents in his travelogue, acknowledges the hardship they have endured, and portrays them in a sympathetic light. Throughout *Behind the Frontlines*, he humanises people who might be dismissed or subject to institutionalised discrimination. Dennis, because of the way in which he traverses black colony areas, offers more nuanced depictions of the area's residents in his capacity as a postcolonial *flâneur*.

Like the postcolonial *flâneurs* that Minnaard, Hartwiger and Msiska discuss, and in line with Coverley's description of psychogeography, Phillips and Dennis present alternative perspectives of British cities. Certainly, both authors record metropolises through a black historical lens and successfully expose some of the legacies of slavery and colonisation present in mainstream urban space, subsequently revealing their covert omnipresence. In addition, Phillips and Dennis describe the hostility they encounter in white terrain which further underscores the difference between themselves as hyper-visible wanderers and the traditional Parisian *flâneur*, and both authors acknowledge the tensions within a marginalised community in Liverpool. However, Phillips cannot perform *flânerie* to the same extent that Dennis can, as the way in which he chooses to traverse Toxteth and his decision to wander, for the most part, in white terrain does not allow him the ease to stroll and observe in the same way. Correspondingly, because Dennis practices *flânerie* in spaces where he is not visibly Other, he is able to draw more nuanced conclusions about Toxteth and can discuss the subtleties of the people he observes and interacts with. Perhaps, then, it is not a question of whether a postcolonial *flâneur* can exist, but rather, which spaces allow black people to perform *flânerie* best.

Counter-mapping

While there are parallels between psychogeography and counter-mapping in the sense that the practitioners of both display 'new ways of apprehending our urban environment', Alasdair Pettinger writes of the former: 'psychogeography would seem to be at least open to the suggestion that […] places might be imaginatively inhabited in different ways'.[357] Pettinger's comment highlights one of the main differences between psychogeography and counter-mapping. Indeed, while psychogeography suggests that places are imaginatively inhabited and conceptualised, counter-maps represent how space is actually – not imaginatively – inhabited and traversed by diverse groups of people, and thus counter-maps write back to normative distributions of space. In this section, I suggest that *Behind the Frontlines* and *The Atlantic Sound* represent literary counter-maps, as Dennis and Phillips demonstrate that an informal racial segregation exists within British cities and that black people move through and navigate the city along alternative frontiers.

Drawing on Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners*, Procter states that the male characters' pedestrian movement 'is part of a symbolic recolonisation of London, a means of establishing new viewpoints and perspectives that intersect, compete with and appropriate the dominant imaginative mappings of the metropolis.'[358] The link Procter creates between colonisation, literature, and mapping, here, is significant as it illustrates the importance of counter-mapping in postcolonial travelogues. I begin this section by discussing the link between colonialism and cartography and the subsequent postcolonial potential of counter-mapping, and then proceed to discuss how Phillips and Dennis challenge cartographic normativity in their travel narratives.

[357] Coverley, *Psychogeography*, p.13; Alasdair Pettinger, 'Psychogeography', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.208-210 (p.209).
[358] Procter, *Dwelling Places*, p.100.

Mapping and Literature

European travel writers have influenced map-making for centuries: from helping to construct spaces on the world map that were supposedly *terra incognita,* to (re-)naming streets, cities and sometimes entire countries after places or people in their country of origin. As I indicate in the introduction to this thesis, the idea of mapping is particularly pertinent in discussions concerning Caribbean literature because the region's alternative designation, 'The West Indies', is rooted in European exploration. Furthermore, in his journal, Christopher Columbus describes re-naming the places he visits in the Caribbean: 'To the first island which I found I gave the name "San Selvador," […] To the second, I gave the name the island of "Santa Maria de Concepcion," to the third, "Fernandina," to the fourth, "Isabella"'. [359] The claiming and naming of territory was not unique to the islands which Columbus encountered, for, as Lenny Henry points out, in Antigua it is possible to stand on a hill overlooking the island's coastline and see a place named Falmouth, a place named English Harbour, and another called Nelson's Dock Yard.[360] The claiming and (re)naming of places in the era of high imperialism was not just restricted to the Caribbean; it was a world-wide phenomenon and a way of demonstrating ownership and domination over newly acquired land. Paradigmatically, the Philippines inherited its name from King Phillip II of Spain (1527-1598), and areas of Africa are referred to by the products they exported to Europe, such as The Gold Coast and The Coast of Ivory. By counter-mapping British city space in their travel narratives, then, Dennis and Phillips are continuing this cartographic tradition but with a postcolonial agenda.

Claire Lindsay observes that, 'since the 1980s and 1990s, there has been a shift

[359] Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. by Cecil Jane, ed. by L. A. Vigneras (London: Anthony Blond and The Orion Press, 1960), p.190.
[360] Lenny Henry, *Lenny Henry: The Commonwealth Kid*, BBC, dir. by Andy Mundy-Castle < https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b09yj9pd/lenny-henry-the-commonwealth-kid > [accessed on 28th April 2018] (06:14). I discuss the naming of places in Antigua in more detail in Chapter Four with reference to Jamaica Kincaid's 'On Seeing England for the First Time'.

towards a "critical cartography"'.[361] Indeed, texts such as Brian Friel's *Translations* (1980) began to question the validity of maps, and towards the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, critics started to challenge the integrity and objectivity awarded to maps and mapmakers. The concept of counter-mapping is part of this intellectual turn. Counter-mapping is defined as a way of 'mapping against dominant power structures' and is attributed to Nancy Lee Peluso who coined the term in reference to the mapping strategies used to protect the rights of Dayak people in a dispute about forest access with the Indonesian government.[362] Since Peluso's work on the subject, R. Rundstrom has sought to broaden the definition of counter-mapping by applying it to case studies outside the context of indigenous rights, but maintains that it is a technique utilised by those – or for those – who occupy minority subject positions. Rundstrom states:

> Counter-mappers […] seek to represent places in a manner that not only counters the maps made by the state and corporate authorities but also reveals the hegemonic politics inherent in those maps they are countering. Counter-mapping is widely understood as a part of postcolonial politics.[363]

Certainly, the information on 'official' maps is often interpreted as resolute, objective and legitimate, but Rundstrom advises that the practice of counter-mapping reveals the extent to which such maps are bound up with state control. Correspondingly, Peter Barber and Christopher Board emphasise that '[m]aps are one of the greatest illusions known to man' because mapmakers have always manipulated cartography for their own benefit.[364]

The notion that cartography is open to interpretation is a key idea in the counter-mapping paradigm because it exposes the fact that maps are subjective, which in turn

[361] Claire Lindsay, 'Cartography', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.34-36 (p.35).
[362] Dorothy L. Hodgson and Richard A. Schroeder, 'Dilemmas of Counter-Mapping Community Resources in Tanzania', *Development and Change*, 33 (2002), 79-100 (79); Nancy Lee Peluso, 'Whose Woods are These? Counter-Mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia', *Antipode*, 27.4 (1995), 383-406.
[363] R. Rundstrom, 'Counter-Mapping', in *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, ed. by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (London: Elsevier, 2009), pp.314-318 (p.314).
[364] Peter Barber and Christopher Board, *Tales from The Map Room: Fact and Fiction about Maps and their Makers* (London: BBC Books, 1993), p.8.

encourages us to consider the possibility that space and place can be understood in plural, diverse, and potentially inconsistent ways.[365] If we accept the idea that human conceptualisations of place are always a construction – not concrete or universal, but in fact abstract and imaginary – then it follows that maps are a form of narrative, and thus it is possible to write back to the interpretation and representation of place displayed on putative maps.

Although the technique of counter-mapping is generally employed in geo-political and socio-political circumstances as a tool of contestation, the concept is gaining traction in literary studies, too. [366] For instance, Kei Miller openly condemns maps and mapping in his creative work and critics such as Estelle Murail and Sara Thornton recognise the counter-mapping potential in the work of Charles Dickens. Throughout his poetry collection *The Cartographer Tries to Map a Way to Zion* (2014), Miller performs a sustained critique of mapmaking by pointing out that cartographic documents are biased. In part 'vi' of 'The Cartographer Tries to Map a Way to Zion', Miller notes: that 'the rastaman' is 'himself slighted by [the map's] imperial gaze', and concludes the poem with the lines 'maps which throughout time have gripped like girdles / to make his people

[365] The term 're-mapping' is employed by some scholars in a similar context to Peluso's use of 'counter-mapping'. For example, Caroline Knowles and Sarah A. Radcliffe suggest that re-mapping is needed to undo the calculated erasure of certain cultural landmarks and communities from maps, and use the term to describe the process of rethinking space and ethnicity in the contexts of religion and multiculturalism respectively. In addition, Paul Giles uses the term 're-mapping' to advocate a national repositioning of North America on a global scale through re-examining literary histories. Re-mapping appears to be an overarching conception which pertains to the link between individual identity, citizenship, and national identity. Counter-mapping also achieves this, but additionally involves a reconceptualisation of how people traverse and move though space. For this reason, I have decided to discuss *Behind the Frontlines* and *The Atlantic Sound* in terms of counter-mapping rather than re-mapping. Caroline Knowles, 'Nigerian London: re-mapping space and ethnicity in superdiverse cities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36.4 (2013) 651-669; Sarah A. Radcliffe, 'Re-Mapping the Nation: Cartography, Geographical Knowledge and Ecuadorean Multiculturalism', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 42.2 (2010), 293-323; Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

[366] In line with this, Carl Thompson notes that 'one might plausibly include maps in the travel writing genre' insofar as they are 'artfully constructed representations of the world that are often ideologically charged and laden with larger cultural meanings', and thus maps are texts. Therefore, there is no plausible reason why, in reverse, travel writing cannot be part of the literary counter-mapping movement. Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), p.25.

smaller than they were.'[367] Due to the Mercator projection, world maps are less accurate away from the equator as places are distorted; stretched and squeezed to allow the spherical globe to be represented in a two-dimensional form. For instance, on a standard world map, Greenland appears almost the same size as Africa, but in reality it is approximately one fourteenth of the continent's surface area.[368] However, when Miller's narrator states that maps have been used 'to make his people smaller than they were', it is likely that he is referring not only to the Mercator projection, but also to a patronising belittlement: the weaponization of cartography in the context of colonialism.[369] This is made clear as the rastaman draws links between mapping and imperialism and states that mapping is a Western practice – or 'Babylon conspiracy' – which prioritises Europe.[370] Miller, here, is questioning and subsequently undermining the authority of maps, and implicitly discourages his readership from seeing maps as veracious documents by demonstrating that they are not accurate.

In addition to highlighting some of the limitations of maps, Miller's collection demonstrates the need for counter-maps. In one of the collection's most astute poems, 'Place Name: Shotover', Miller makes the point that dominant maps are complicit in erasing black people's history. The poem is comprised of a conversation between a character called Mr Backra, who we can infer is from a family of slave owners given that 'Backra' is often used to refer to a white person with great authority or a slave owner, and an 'old man' who is likely black on account of his use of the pronoun 'we' when speaking in Creole. Mr Backra and old man disagree about the name of a place and argue that the name is *Château Vert* and Shotover respectively. According to Mr Backra, *Château Vert*

[367] Kei Miller, 'vi.', in *The Cartographer Tries to Map a Way to Zion* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2014), p.21. Interestingly, this poem is dedicated to Kai Krause, a German graphic interface designer, who produced a map titled 'The True Size of Africa'. Krause's map shows how large the continent is by filling it with other large, powerful countries. See Kai Krause, 'The True Size of Africa' < http://kai.sub.blue/en/africa.html > [accessed 29th June 2018].
[368] Vsauce, 'What Does Earth Look Like?', < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2lR7s1Y6Zig > [accessed 10th February 2018] (4:50-7:07).
[369] Miller, 'vi', p.41.
[370] Miller, 'vi', p.41.

acquired its name because of its '"Green and fresh"' aesthetic, but according to the old man the building is called Shotover because '*bucky-master had was to catch back the runaway slaves, so him would draw for him long musket and buss gunshot over dere, and gunshot over dere*'.[371] 'Place Name: Shotover' thus demonstrates how maps prioritise one culture or group of people over another and how they expunge violent and uncomfortable histories. Within this poem, Miller highlights how places are far more nuanced and complex than the cartographic form allows. As such, when read in conjunction, the poems call for counter-maps to be drawn from postcolonial perspectives to write back to the misinterpretation of place or bias found on standard, accepted maps.

Murail and Thornton discuss counter-cartography in Dickens's fiction. They suggest that Dickens enacts a 'skewed form of seeing' which enables him to depict the 'hidden truths of society'.[372] For example, they draw on *Bleak House* in which Little Jo cannot read street signs on account of his illiteracy, and instead uses alternative indicators, such as texture, smell, and sound, to locate himself. Furthermore, in their discussion of *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, Murail and Thornton identify De Quincey's unconventional methods of navigation, such as the stars and his instinct, when he traverses unlit parts of London at night. They suggest that 'Dickens crumples the official map of the city' which is a 'gesture that creates new and unexpected connections, and draws past, present and future together.'[373] Like the counter-maps described by Rundstrom and Peluso, and like Miller's poetry, Dickens is able to offer a response to standard and accepted designations of space in a way that questions dominant ways of seeing, and from the perspective of those disenfranchised by an oppressive societal structure: the British class system. In the context of this chapter, it is significant that Dickens often appears in

[371] Miller, 'Shotover', in *The Cartographer,* p.41.
[372] Estelle Murail and Sara Thornton (eds.), 'Dickensian Counter-Mapping, Overlaying, and Troping: Producing the Virtual City', in *Dickens and the Virtual City: Urban Perception and the Production of Social Space* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.3-32 (p.5); p.10.
[373] Murail and Thornton, 'Dickensian Counter-Mapping', p.12.

discussions of *flânerie*, and thus, much like Dickens who counter-maps London from the perspectives of working-class individuals, Phillips and Dennis counter-map British cities from the perspectives of ethnic minorities in their capacity as postcolonial *flâneurs*.[374]

Postcolonial Flânerie and Counter-mapping

The Atlantic Sound and *Behind the Frontlines* are highly topophrenic texts as they both are narratives 'in which the persistence of place and the subject's relation to it must constantly be taken into account'.[375] As I discuss in the first section of this chapter, Phillips and Dennis examine British cities through a black historical lens, and in the process, draw past and present together by pointing out the legacies of slavery and colonisation which are etched onto landmark buildings in the twenty-first century. Additionally, like Dickens, they also crumple the map in a way that creates new and unexpected connections. However, both travel writers crumple the world map, not a map of London, as they create connections between geographically disparate spaces. Phillips, for example, observes the connection between Liverpool and South Carolina, particularly Charleston, which was home to a famous slave auction facility. This is seen when Stephen takes Phillips on a tour of Liverpool's Georgian neighbourhood, but, when they arrive, Phillips sees 'the evidence of a southern history' (p.86). Indeed, one of the buildings Stephen shows Phillips is 19 Abercromby Square. According to Phillips, the building's aesthetic displays symbolism relating to the Confederate States of America, a republic comprised of southern slave-holding states and was founded in an attempt to maintain the legality of slavery in those territories. Phillips notes: 'Eight stars representing the eight rebel states are embossed

[374] Efraim Sicher, 'The "Attraction of Repulsion": Dickens, Modernity, and Representation', in *A Mighty Mass of Brick and Smoke: Victorian and Edwardian Representations of London*, ed. by Lawrence Phillips (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp.35-60 (p.54).
[375] Robert T. Tally Jr, *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019), pp.22-23.

around the twin columns which flank the door' (p.86).[376] Similarly, in Rumford Place, Phillips observes 'the various doors that are decorated with the flag emblems of the different southern states', and he draws connections between the British maritime city he is physically present in and Charleston:

> Like Liverpool, the city of Charleston also possesses a hidden history that is centred on the slave trade. While eighteenth century Liverpool was the most important slave port in Europe, Charleston occupied the same position in North America. Discovering Charleston in Liverpool is strange, although the logic of this discovery is, of course, perfect. (p.87)

By highlighting the historical connection and the aesthetic similarities between the Confederate States of America and Liverpool, Phillips imaginatively challenges cartographic normativity, drawing distant places physically closer through their shared involvement with the slave trade.

In a similar fashion to Phillips, Dennis makes connections between different areas of the globe; however, his experience at Brixton market forges multiple, transnational connections between the former imperial power and its colonies. This is evident in his description of foods within the market which range from 'spuds to yellow yams imported from Ghana, from cabbages to callaloo, from beef and lamb to salted pork and dried fish imported from Nigeria […] and dasheen yams on which the earth of Africa or the Caribbean still clings' (pp.188-189). While Phillips identifies a historical connection between the southern states and Liverpool, the connection which Dennis identifies is one in the present and one which is renewed regularly. Indeed, not only does he observe that the food produced by and on African and Caribbean land is physically present in London on a daily basis, he additionally makes the point that a small part of the African or

[376] The Editors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* consider there to be eleven rebel states in total: South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas. The Editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'Confederate States of America', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* < https://www.britannica.com/topic/Confederate-States-of-America > [accessed 16th September 2019].

Caribbean region – the soil – is present in the former mother country. Both travel writers crumple the world map as they demonstrate how elements of elsewhere are evident in London, bringing the global into their local.

Further to this, another way in which Phillips and Dennis perform counter-cartography is by demonstrating how British cities are racially divided. Such segregation is also implicit in Anderson's use of the phrase 'white space', Cole's use of 'white terrain', and Hall's description of 'black colony areas'. This terminology suggests that city space is separated and is navigated differently by people of different skin colours. This unofficial apartheid is evident in *The Atlantic Sound* when Stephen describes Liverpool as '"a segregated city. The whites have their bit, and we have our bit, and that's it"' (p.79). Exemplary of this spatial tribalism, Phillips describes Toxteth as 'the district in which most black people in Liverpool live' (p.87), and observes that '[t]he white population has withdrawn to other parts of the city' (p.88). Dennis also documents the ostracisation of the black colony areas he visits. For instance, he observes in Sheffield that '[t]he authorities […] have given Afro-Caribbeans a venue on the edge of the city' (p.72). However, he notices a particularly sharp distinction between white space in Cardiff and Tiger Bay: 'the city council placed a sign on a bridge spanning the road leading into Tiger Bay. It read: "Whites and Europeans enter at their own risk." The sign has been removed, but the stigma remains' (p.148). The division of space which Dennis describes here significantly contrasts to the border between England and Wales, which Dennis suggests is unnoticeable when travelling between the countries by train: '[I] only realised that the train had crossed the border when it stopped' (p.145). The fact that the division between a black colony area and white space is more pronounced than the national border between England and Wales invites us to believe that racial divisions are perhaps deeper than national ones in Britain.

Interestingly, this urban racial division is something both Phillips and Pitts notice in Paris. For example, in *The European Tribe* Phillips describes the division between the

Belleville district and the mainstream Parisian space: 'I took the Metro out to the Belleville district of Paris […] The white passengers began to disappear as the train drew nearer to the black area showing demographic apartheid in action.'[377] Pitts notes a similar division in his *Afropean*, but the division he observes excludes immigrant populations more generally: 'today, beyond the periphery, the "banished ones" still reside, now often immigrants from West and North Africa, as well as Roma travelling communities who are cut off from the centre of the city geographically and imaginatively.'[378] Clearly, this race-based spatial phenomenon which numerous black travel writers observe is not unique to British cities, but is also evident in some cities in continental Europe, too.

Dennis elaborates on urban racial divisions through his discussion of 'the frontline'. This term is often used in a military context, immediately evoking ideas of combat or a struggle between an 'us' and a 'them', and suggests that anyone who occupies or crosses this line is in danger. Fittingly, in a black British context, Railton Road in Brixton was referred to as 'the frontline' during the race riots because it was 'the front line of defence against the police'.[379] Dennis's explanation also speaks to this combative distribution of space, but he employs the term outside of its original Brixton context and applies it to other British cities, too:

> Most black communities have a physical space which is commonly known as the 'frontline', or simply 'the line'. These are usually the flashpoints for conflicts with the law. Frontlines, though, are also vital creative places, and an important influence on the frontline is Rastafarianism. (p.ix)

For Dennis, then, not only does the term 'frontline' refer to a space of conflict, it also holds the potential for creative resistance and marks the boundary between black colony areas and mainstream urban space.

---

[377] Phillips, *The European Tribe*, p.62.
[378] Pitts, *Afropean*, p.43.
[379] Michael Keith, *After the Cosmopolitan?: Multicultural Cities and the Future of Racism* (London: Routledge, 2005), p.71.

Dennis predominantly describes the frontline between black colony areas and white terrain while in London and Liverpool, and his portrayal of both captures the artistic resistance that is characteristic of this liminal space. In Brixton, the artistic resistance that Dennis refers to takes the form of a public mural. For example, on one of the walls along the Britxon frontline is a mural titled 'The Dream, the Rumour, the Poet's Song'. It was painted by Gavin Jantjes (a South African artist) and Tom Joseph (a Dominican artist) to memorialise the victims of the New Cross Massacre and to commemorate the Jamaican dub poet, Linton Kwesi Johnson, who wrote 'New Craas Massakah' about the incident (p.199).[380] In 1981, a fire located near Brixton killed thirteen black Britons. Although the cause of the fire is unknown, according to Dennis, 'political figures in Brixton blamed the National Front. Their suspicions were confirmed by official reaction – silence' (p.199).[381] He describes the artwork as follows:

> One of the walls enclosing this frontline space contains a mural. […] The mural tells a story. It starts with pictures of people migrating, followed by pictures of children caught in a terrible fire. It ends with the poet reading his works under a spotlight. (p.199)

In this way, the mural not only memorialises the thirteen victims of the New Cross Massacre, its position at the edge of the frontline space additionally represents a visual and poignant reminder to black people that they are leaving the black colony area and entering into the more dangerous white space.

Dennis's description of the Toxteth frontline in Liverpool confirms that frontline space can simultaneously be a site of immense creativity as well as a place of resistance and subversion. For example, Dennis observes the graffiti on the street signage around the

---

[380] Linton Kwesi Johnson, 'New Craas Massakah', in *Linton Kwesi Johnson Selected Poems* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp.54-59. Following the New Cross Massacre, poems and reggae songs which memorialised the victims were written by artists other than Johnson, such as Benjamin Zephaniah's '13 Dead' and Johnny Osbourne's '13 Dead and Nothing Said'.

[381] According to Black History Studies, the National Front were known to be active in the area of New Cross. Black History Studies, 'The New Cross Fire' < http://www.blackhistorystudies.com/resources/resources/the-new-cross-fire/ > [accessed 5th April 2018] (para. 1 of 3).

area: ‘A street-name plaque was coloured red, gold and green over the black lettering. So was the next and the next’ (p.24), and he comments that ‘it seemed to begin at the boundary of Liverpool 8, as if intended to distinguish it from the rest of the city’ (p.26). Dennis learns that the graffiti was executed by a poet called Leroy Cooper, and he enlists members of the black British community in Toxteth to help him locate the poet, including the associates of The Frontline Posse.[382] Dennis records the following conversation when he finds the poet:

> ‘Why did you paint the Toxteth street signs red, gold and green?’ […]
> ‘Well since the riots, people passing Liverpool 8 in their nice cars always stare as if they’re passing a zoo. So I thought I’d give them a little clue about Toxteth. The red, gold and green.’
> ‘But most people haven’t got a clue what those colours mean,’ I said. ‘But you have,’ he said. ‘That’s why you were looking for me. Anyway, it helps to liven up the place. It’s so dull around here.’ (pp.64-65)

This quotation gives us an insight into the demographics of Toxteth. For example, the colours red, gold and green are associated with the Rastafarian movement and therefore suggest that there is a high proportion of Rastafarian people living in this area, or at least, people who might identify more closely with the Rastafarian colours than they do with the red, white, and blue of the Union Jack. Furthermore, Cooper’s reference to ‘nice cars’ indicates that people who live in Toxteth do not own a vehicle that might be considered desirable, and the fact that they are driving past the area instead of walking implies that people who own nice cars either live a great distance from the area or do not consider it safe to walk through. Both of these descriptions imply that Liverpool’s society is divided along lines of race and wealth, and this is emphasised through Cooper’s use of the word ‘stare’ – a verb that implies the subject of the stare represents a deviation from the norm or a spectacle, and consolidates the idea of ‘us’ and ‘them’ through its implied hostility – a

[382] Leeroy Cooper is accused of sparking the riots which took place in Toxteth in 1981. Marc Waddington, ‘Leroy Cooper: The Toxteth Riots were a wake-up call and did some good’, *Liverpool Echo* (2011) < https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/leroy-cooper-toxteth-riots-were-3369244 > [accessed 5th April 2018].

mentality which seems to characterise the frontline space.

In addition to portraying urban space as racially divided like Phillips and Pitts, Dennis also makes the point that the frontline space represents a navigational tool for black inhabitants of the metropolis. The idea that standard maps are not necessarily the most effective way to conceive of space from a minority's perspective is reflected by Hugh Brody in his *Maps and Dreams* (1981). Brody describes the alternative cartographies used by the members of a Native Indian reserve in Northwest British Columbia, Canada, which include the use of 'dream-trails', the routes taken by people in their sleep, such as movement on the ground in surrounding territories and pathways to heaven. Brody documents a conversation between himself and members of the reserve, one of whom, Astin, remarks:

> Indians made maps. You would not take any notice of them. You might say such maps are crazy. But maybe the Indians would say that is what your maps are: the same thing. Different maps from different people – different ways.[383]

Although Brody's work was undertaken before the term 'counter-mapping' was popularised, it nevertheless illustrates that standard maps do not accurately capture the relationship between minority groups and space.

In a similar fashion to *Maps and Dreams*, *Behind the Frontlines* suggests that minorities conceive of and inhabit space in a different way to the dominant demographic. This is most prominent when Dennis is in Liverpool and Sheffield, as in these cities he observes that certain areas belong to certain groups of people. For example, in Toxteth, Dennis records the following conversation:

> One Frontline Posse member, Selassie […] asked if I'd spent any time in the city centre and how many black people I'd seen there. I said I had but couldn't recall seeing many. […] Selassie suggested that black Liverpudlians only went to the city

[383] Hugh Brody, *Maps and Dreams* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), pp.45-46. Brody anonymises the reserve he spends most of his time with, referring to it as 'the Reserve' throughout *Maps and Dreams*.

> centre out of necessity. He compared Liverpool to South Africa. 'They don't call it apartheid,' he said, 'but it is in a way.' (p.36)

Dennis notes that this unofficial apartheid is the result of the hostile reception The Frontline Posse receive in the centre of Liverpool: 'The city-centre shops regarded them with suspicion. Store detectives invariably saw them as potential shop lifters' (p.36). In addition, Dennis captures how, in certain areas of Liverpool, black people are physically threatened: 'Gaddafi warned me never to be caught in the North End after dark. A white working-class area, its inhabitants had a reputation for attacking black people' (p.37). This unofficial racial segregation is also evident when Dennis visits Sheffield. He meets a young boy of Jamaican and English descent whom he anonymises in the narrative as 'The Sheffield Kid' or 'the Kid'. The Kid reveals to Dennis that the police discourage black youths from venturing into the city centre on weekend nights to prevent fights with their white counterparts, and states: '"It's like the police saying that white boys and girls can use the city centre. But not us"' (pp.80-81). In this way, Dennis broadens the idea that informal frontiers such as the frontline exist by exemplifying that certain areas of the city are off-limits to the black inhabitants of Liverpool and Sheffield, and that they have to traverse the city more mindfully than white inhabitants or visitors. The comments made by Gaddafi and The Kid suggest that temporal constraints exist in addition to spatial ones, as the safety of the black urban wanderer is more highly compromised at night.

Dennis and Phillips re-conceptualise urban space from black diasporic subject positions. Indeed, both authors crumple the world map to demonstrate the international connections between Britain and its former colonies, and they re-map the contours of British cities, revealing their racially segregated natures. Dennis delves deeper into the idea of racially divided urban space by revealing the furtive frontline and the danger black people are in while traversing white terrain. The frontline is key in reading *Behind the Frontlines* through the concept of counter-mapping. Certainly, by detailing these contact

zones as forms of informal territorialisation with histories in their own right, Dennis makes plain otherwise hidden frontiers within British cities, and thus highlights the unwritten conduct black people of these cities abide by, often for their own safety. Although Dennis's counter-map of British urban space aligns with Cole's proclamation that '[f]or blacks in white terrain, all spaces are charged', it is important to note that Dennis can only record his observations about the separateness of black colony areas and the restricted movements of the people who occupy them because he can practise postcolonial *flânerie* in these spaces. Thus, he is able to reveal an alternative spatiality, demonstrating how counter-mapping, psychogeography, and postcolonial *flânerie* are interlinked in the process.[384] Despite the fact that frontlines are not visible on official maps, Dennis makes the point that this racialised cartography exists in the minds of black urban wanderers and that the frontline space has clear and stringent perimeters to those people.

In their capacity as postcolonial *flâneurs*, Dennis and Phillips contest univocal, dominant representations of European cities, as their alternative ways of seeing shed light on erased histories and unofficial racial segregation. The authors' literary counter-maps of urban spaces and frontiers allow them to contest the representation of cities in literature, and on official maps. To paraphrase Marfè, their foreign viewpoint allows them to modify both the literary image of Britain and its cartographic representation.[385] While Dennis does this more successfully than Phillips because of his sustained engagement with black people and black spaces, both *The Atlantic Sound* and *Behind the Frontlines* represent an informal *vade mecum* with which to navigate the white terrain and black colony areas in British cities.

[384] Cole, 'The Starbucks thing hit me…', para.4-5.
[385] Marfè, 'Italian Counter-Travel Writing', p.197.

Chapter Four

Flight of Fancy: Armchair Encounters and Uncanny Returns in Caribbean-British Travel Writing

> I met the world through England, and if the world wanted to meet me it would have to do so through England.
>
> –Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place*, 1988

> The cane was like a whip, and it had some joints in it, and they were imported from England.
>
> –Joyce Estelle Trotman, 'Homecoming: Episode 1', 2019

An armchair traveller is someone who has acquired an intimate knowledge of a place they have never visited through media such as literature. Writing about the history of the practice, Bernd Stiegler characterises it as 'travelling without budging an inch, and yet setting a great deal into motion at the same time.'[386] Certainly, armchair travel necessitates that such travellers remain sedentary – there are no actual points of departure or of arrival, only figurative ones – and yet, they undertake a journey in the confines of the room in which they are stationed. In this sense, armchair travel is a different mode of journeying from those discussed in the previous chapters as the practice is concerned with the type of travelling that happens in-situ rather than ex-situ; the type of engagement with place that occurs while the traveller is in the original place rather than out of it. As Stigler implies, this type of travel typically involves an inner journey through the traveller's imagination, memory, or through a process of self-questioning. Although, as Charles Forsdick notes, 'the travelogue invariably describes – in its most pared back definition – the passage of the human body through space and place', the present chapter is concerned with journey literature which describes engagement with elsewhere through imagination rather than

[386] Bernd Stiegler, *Traveling in Place: A History of Armchair Travel*, trans. by Peter Filkins (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), p.1.

corporeal movement.[387] The link that armchair travel creates between mobility, thought, and emotion offers us a new way to approach pieces of travel writing that foregrounds imaginative engagements with and responses to place.

I seek to expand the scope of armchair travel by making the point that colonial education in the Caribbean encouraged children to travel 'without budging an inch' through the ideology of place and the engagement with the imperial centre that this type of pedagogy promoted.[388] I draw primarily on Jamaica Kincaid's 'On Seeing England for the First Time' (1991) but I also make significant reference to V.S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival: A Novel in Five Sections* (1987) and use Stuart Hall's *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (2017) as a supporting text.[389] The three travel narratives invite comparison because Kincaid, Naipaul, and Hall discuss their childhoods in the colonial Caribbean, the British cultural hegemony they experienced in educational and domestic spaces, and reflect on how the colonial context of their upbringings influenced their reception of the mother country when they travel there as adults. However, Kincaid's travel essay discusses this in significantly more detail and more directly than do *The Enigma of Arrival* and *Familiar Stranger*, which is why I have given it precedence here.

Kincaid was born in Antigua in 1949 but migrated to the United States of America in 1966 where she now works as a professor of African and African American Studies at

[387] Charles Forsdick, 'Body', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.22-24 (p.22.)
[388] Stiegler, *Traveling in Place*, p.1.
[389] Jamaica Kincaid, 'On Seeing England for the First Time', *Transitions*, 51 (1991), 32-40. I will abbreviate this text to 'On Seeing England' throughout this chapter. V.S. Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival: A Novel in Five Sections* (London: Picador, 2002); Stuart Hall, *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands*, with Bill Schwartz (London: Allen Lane, 2017). I refer to *Familiar Stranger* only a few times throughout this chapter because this text is more concerned with political parties and the effects of their power rather than with Hall's journey; however, he expresses the same sentiments as Kincaid and Hall in a neat and concise fashion. I explain below why I draw upon Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival*, despite the word 'novel' being in the title of the text.

Harvard University.[390] 'On Seeing England' is a short travel essay – it is only nine pages in length – and it was originally published in *Transition*, a North American periodical of Ugandan origin.[391] Wole Soyinka edited the issue of *Transition* in which 'On Seeing England' was published in 1991. In the issue's foreword he expresses his hope that the new century will usher in 'new relationships between state and state, between state and communities, between state and the individual.'[392] A relationship between a state and an individual is one of the primary concerns of 'On Seeing England', but it does not depict the positive new beginning to which Soyinka alludes. Indeed, the essay is described by Marla Brettschneider as 'a scathing article', and J. Brooks Bouson comments that 'Kincaid takes obvious pleasure in settling old scores […] by talking behind the backs of and writing back to the authorities.'[393] To be sure, Kincaid represents England as an omnipresent and oppressive force, and as a significant influence on her ontological development. This is evident in the first half of the essay which captures her childhood in Antigua and particularly her experience of growing up under colonial rule. She emphasises that she had many encounters with England, primarily through the colonial education system that she experienced in school, but also through day-to-day activities, such as reading English literature, and in a more immersive sense as she is confronted by objects of English origin in the public space of Antigua and in her familial home. The second half of 'On Seeing

[390] Unlike any other primary text discussed in the present thesis, Kincaid's narrative describes a journey from the United States of America to England. I have decided to include on the basis that it describes the British colonial education in the Caribbean and its psychological and emotional impact in more detail than any other example of travel writing I have encountered. In the second half of the narrative in which Kincaid describes her journey to England, the fact that her point of departure is the United States of America feels almost inconsequential.

[391] 'On Seeing England' was published in the same issue of *Transition* as Charles Sugnet's 'Vile Bodies, Vile Places: Traveling with Granta' in which, drawing on Kincaid's *A Small Place*, Sugnet coins the notion of counter-travel which heavily influences discussions of postcolonial travel writing to this day. Charles Sugnet, 'Vile Bodies, Vile Places: Traveling with Granta', *Transition*, 51 (1991), 70-85.

[392] Wole Soyinka, 'A Time of Transition', *Transition,* 51 (1991), 4-5 (p.5).

[393] Marla Brettschnneider, *Jewish Feminism and Intersectionality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), p.157; J. Brooks Bouson, *Jamaica Kincaid: Writing Memory, Writing Back to the Mother* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), p.111. My discussion of Kincaid's essay develops ideas I first presented in a conference paper titled 'Motivity and Mobility in Jamaica Kincaid's "On Seeing England for the First Time" (1991)'. I presented this paper at 'Magazines on the Move: North American Periodicals and Travel' in September 2017.

England' depicts Kincaid's first physical journey to England when she is an adult. It becomes clear that the cultural hegemony and anglocentrism she experienced in Antigua as a child causes her to resent the former colonial power and her anger towards the place is evident when she recounts her visit and remarks: 'I wished every sentence, everything I knew, that began with England would end with "and then it all died, we don't know how, it just died"'.[394] As such, 'On Seeing England' can be read as an intensely personal and political travel essay, in which Kincaid performs a sustained critique of England's presence in Antigua and its influence on her early life.

Naipaul's family migrated from India to Trinidad in the 1880s, and he was born in 1932 into what he describes as 'an immigrant Asian community on a small plantation island in the New World'.[395] Although Naipaul has been awarded several prestigious literary prizes, including the Booker Prize (1971) and the Nobel Prize in Literature (2001), he is renowned for his disparaging descriptions of the Caribbean. David Shaftel likens the writer's relationship with the region to 'a bad marriage', and Naipaul's contempt for the place is plain in texts such as *The Middle Passage* (1962) in which he controversially wrote that '[h]istory is built around achievement and creation; nothing was created in the West Indies'.[396] *The Enigma of Arrival: A Novel in Five Sections*, however, is a first-person narrative that records a journey undertaken by a Trinidadian migrant to the rural county of Wiltshire in south-west England. Given the text's subtitle – *A Novel in Five Sections* – my choice to read it as travel writing requires some justification and raises the question of form. Like Amryl Johnson's *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (1988), *The Enigma of Arrival* plainly occupies the liminal space between fiction and travel writing. On this note,

---

[394] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.40.
[395] V.S. Naipaul, *Reading and Writing: A Personal Account* (New York: The New York Review of Books, 2000), p.10.
[396] David Shaftel, 'An Island Scorned', *New York Times*, 18th May 2008 < https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/18/books/review/Shaftel-t.html > [accessed 7th November 2018] (para. 2 of 10); V.S. Naipaul, *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Colonial Societies* (London: Picador, 2001), p.20. See the introduction to this thesis for a discussion about *The Middle Passage*. For more information regarding the controversy surrounding Naipaul, see Bruce King, *V. S. Naipaul*, 2nd edn. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), pp.1-3.

Serafín Roldán-Santiago observes that in *The Enigma of Arrival*, like many of Naipaul's later travel narratives, '"travel" and fictional elements and strategies have coalesced, perhaps vulcanized', and the text is commonly referred to by critics such as Bruce King as an 'autobiographical novel'.[397] At the beginning of the text it is unclear whether the 'I' of the narrative refers to Naipaul or a fictional character. However, King makes the point that, although specific elements of the text such as figurative representations of a decaying imperial centre 'makes it unlikely that the people and world observed by the narrator is always factually real', we nevertheless 'become aware that the narrator is Naipaul'.[398] To be sure, the narrator's life and Naipaul's are closely aligned: they both migrated from Trinidad to England and pursued careers as authors, lived in Earls Court, studied at the University of Oxford, undertook return visits to Trinidad, and their published works share the same titles. Almost as a confirmation of the narrator's identity, in the final section of the text, Naipaul reveals that *The Enigma of Arrival* was written after the death of his sister, Sati: 'And that was when, faced with a real death, […] I laid aside my drafts and hesitations and began to write very fast about Jack and his garden'.[399] At least to a significant extent, then, we can be sure that the text is autobiographical, but perhaps Simon Cooke puts it best when he suggests that *The Enigma of Arrival* demonstrates 'fluid relations between autobiography, fiction and fictions imagined in the account of a journey'.[400]

Stuart Hall (1932-2014) was born in Jamaica three decades before the island achieved independence from Britain. He migrated to England in 1951 after winning a

[397] Serafín Roldán-Santiago, 'V.S. Naipaul's Vulcanization of Travel and Fictional Paradigms', in *V.S. Naipaul: Travel Writing and Fiction,* ed. by Rajeshwar Mittapalli and Michael Hensen (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2002), pp.77-144 (p.79); King, *V. S. Naipaul*, p.139.
[398] King, *V. S. Naipaul*, p.145; p.138. Simon Cooke also notes that *The Enigma of Arrival* 'is widely regarded as the most autobiographical of Naipaul's books.' Simon Cooke, *Travelers' Tales of Wonder: Chatwin, Naipaul, Sebald* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p.101.
[399] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.387. The first section of the text is called 'Jack's Garden'. Jack is an elusive figure whom Naipaul sometimes encounters on his daily walk.
[400] Cooke, *Travelers' Tales of Wonder*, p.113. See Chapter Two for a discussion of the porous boundary between fact and fiction in a travel writing context.

Rhodes Scholarship to Merton College at the University of Oxford.[401] *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* traces this journey as Hall recounts his childhood and adolescent years in Jamaica throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and the narrative ends in the 1960s when he is living in the United Kingdom.[402] Colin Grant suggests that *Familiar Stranger* is 'a hybrid of memoir and meditation, a spirited voyage around the complexities of race, colour and class.'[403] Certainly, Hall explores different facets of identity in both a Caribbean and a British context. As the subtitle *Between Two Islands* implies, Hall experiences the sensation of splitting shared by other migrants who also possess a diasporic identity: 'I experienced my life as sharply divided into two unequal but entangled, disproportionate halves.'[404] The entanglement between Jamaica and Britain and the subsequent entwined sense of self that Hall identifies, I suggest, is facilitated by a form of armchair travel which occurs through the kind of remote engagement with England that Kincaid, Naipaul and Hall experienced in the Caribbean.

Like 'On Seeing England' and *Familiar Stranger*, this chapter can be read in two parts: the first, longer section discusses the concept of armchair travel in a broad sense and then explores the extent to which the term can be revised through a consideration of 'On Seeing England', *The Enigma of Arrival*, and *Familiar Stranger*. The second, shorter section interrogates how the authors' remote engagement with England as children

---

[401] Cecil Rhodes, who founded this postgraduate scholarship, is a highly contested colonial figure. The protest movement in South Africa, Rhodes Must Fall, called for statues of Rhodes to be removed from The University of Cape Town, and similar movements in Britain saw calls for the statue of Rhodes to be removed from the Oriel College of Oxford University.

[402] The text began as an interview between Hall and Bill Schwarz to 'illuminate the major contours of [Hall's] intellectual life.' During the two decades between when the manuscript was commissioned and when it was published it underwent major revisions at Hall's hand. However, Hall died in 2014 and the document was attended to by Schwarz who had worked closely alongside Hall for much of the editing process. Although the published material is based on the original interviews, Schwarz decided to write the narrative in the first-person. Consequently, as he cautions in the preface, 'in these circumstances the book can't represent a pure or innocent rendition of Hall's words. […] Some parts are verbatim, while others have been constructed from fragments.' As a result, the text should be read as a memoir co-authored by Hall and Schwarz, but one that is written from Hall's perspective. Bill Schwarz, 'Preface', in *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), pp.xiii-xvii (p.xiii); p.xv.

[403] Colin Grant, 'Familiar Stranger by Stuart Hall review – from Jamaica to the New Left and Thatcherism', *The Guardian*, Friday 31st March 2017 < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/mar/31/familiar-stranger-a-life-between-two-islands-by-stuart-hall-review > [accessed 26th September 2018] (para. 7 of 17).

[404] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.11.

influences their perception of the country when they travel there in later life, and how such an engagement with place leads to what I have termed in my chapter title as an 'uncanny return'.

Armchair Travel

There are many benefits associated with the practice of armchair travel, most of which centre on the fact that the traveller is stationary. In his *The Art of Travel* (2002), Alain de Botton reminds us of the more bothersome aspects of physical journeys that travellers do not – or do not want to – think about before they depart, such as the inconvenience of sleeping somewhere unfamiliar or in a climate they are unaccustomed to, flies, and the trouble of digesting different foods. On a more psychological level, de Botton identifies 'anxiety, boredom, free-floating sadness and financial alarm' as factors which may contribute to an underwhelming experience.[405] As such, he concludes that anticipation – or thinking about elsewhere – is 'the finest aspect of travel', and not the travel experience as we might expect.[406] By its very nature, armchair travel is devoid of many of the bodily and psychological difficulties that de Botton identifies. Similarly, writing in the nineteenth century, Xavier de Maistre in his *A Journey around my Room* (1829) praises static locomotion in his characteristically jocular tone:

> It cost me nothing […] Furthermore, what a grand resource this way of travelling will be for the sick! […] As for the cowardly, they will be safe from robbers; they will encounter neither precipices nor quagmires. […] Let all the unhappy, sick and bored people of the whole world follow me! – Let all the lazy arise en masse![407]

[405] Alain de Botton, *The Art of Travel* (London: Penguin, 2002), p.20.
[406] De Botton, *The Art of Travel*, p.27. De Botton draws on the travel-related activities of Duc Des Esseintes, who 'filled an aquarium with seaweed, bought a sail, some rigging and a pot of tar and, with [his servants'] help, was able to experience the most pleasant aspects of a long sea voyage without any of its inconveniences. Des Esseintes concluded […] that "the imagination could provide a more-than-adequate substitute for the vulgar reality of actual experience."' De Botton, *Art of Travel*, p.28.
[407] Xavier de Maistre, *A Journey around my Room*, trans. by Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Press, 2004), p.4.

Although de Maistre is neither sick nor afraid of travelling (he undertook many 'real' journeys during his lifetime, including trips to Italy and Russia, and briefly sampled hot air balloon travel at the age of twenty-five), he makes the important point that armchair travel validates the experiences of people who do not have the capacity or the means to undertake physical journeys.[408] His point has been reiterated recently by individuals such as Samantha Leal and Kayla Whaley, who, in their opinion pieces in *Bustle* (an online women's magazine), explain some of the ways in which the experience of travel is different for working-class people or wheelchair users: Leal states that she went to the library and 'took trips in her imagination' when finances were 'too tight', whereas Whaley explains that, for her, 'travel comes with a near-constant sense of disconnection' as her journey is often limited or partial because of the inaccessible nature of many travel experiences.[409] The idea that one can travel for pleasure can be exclusionary and elitist, but de Maistre, Leal, and Whaley argue that armchair travel can be a liberating experience for people who cannot travel but who still harbour a desire to undertake a journey.[410]

In addition to highlighting the drawbacks of physical journeys, de Botton attempts to classify types of travel. Drawing on the writings of Alexander von Humboldt, a Prussian explorer who physically travelled to South America, and de Maistre, a renowned armchair

---

[408] De Botton describes de Maistre's attempt at hot air balloon travel and his other travel-related plans, such as the intention to fly to America using a pair of paper wings. De Botton, *The Art of Travel*, p.244.

[409] Samantha Leal, 'You Don't See Poor People In Travel Memoirs Because You've Already Assumed We Don't Travel', *Bustle*, 12th June 2018 < https://www.bustle.com/p/you-dont-see-poor-people-in-travel-memoirs-because-youve-already-assumed-we-dont-travel-9368740 > [accessed 13th June 2018] (para. 4 of 7); Kayla Whaley, 'Travel Memoirs Are All About Immersive Experiences – But How Do You Write That When You Use A Wheelchair?', *Bustle*, 12th June 2018 < https://www.bustle.com/p/travel-memoirs-are-all-about-immersive-experiences-but-how-do-you-write-that-when-you-use-a-wheelchair-9190849 > [accessed 13th June 2018] (para. 5 of 7). In addition, 'Armchair Travel: A Sensory Experience For Seniors' promotes a service which provides 'seniors' with armchair travel experiences if they cannot physically travel. Golden Carers, 'Armchair Travel: A Sensory Experience For Seniors' < https://www.goldencarers.com/armchair-travel-a-sensory-experience-for-seniors/4256/ > [accessed 8th October 2018].

[410] In a similar vein, Charles Forsdick acknowledges that, with its emphasis on 'the body, physical exploits and access to remote locations', travel writing 'has long manifested implicitly disablist tendencies, marginalizing or even excluding those whose physical mobility is limited or whose sensory capacities are impaired.' Charles Forsdick, 'Disability', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley, and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.72-74 (p.72).

traveller, he determines that there are '[t]wo approaches to travel: *Journey to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent* [and] *Journey around my Bedroom*'.[411] I believe that de Botton's statement needs expanding because the practice of armchair travel cannot be limited to nor fully epitomised by de Maistre's text. Indeed, *Journey Around my Room* represents a form of armchair travel which is concerned with travel at a microcosmic level; a journey undertaken through a small space and a practice which Stiegler helpfully characterises as 'room travel'.[412] However, another branch of armchair travel exists which pertains to vicarious movement, whereby the traveller undertakes a journey through their imagination and one which is often stimulated by media about elsewhere. I elaborate on the distinctions between the two branches of armchair travel and then demonstrate how the type influenced by media can be applied to and expanded by travel narratives which describe remote engagement with the imperial centre from the 'periphery'.

The purpose of room travel is epitomised in a statement made by Pierre Bourdieu, who writes that a 'touristic attitude' simply means 'escaping one's inattentive familiarity'.[413] For example, Stiegler writes of room travellers:

> They don't explore exotic, far-off places, but instead remain in intimate surroundings […] Yet these spaces can transform themselves whenever the observer begins to travel around them, transforming and turning them into genuine realms of experience that have been previously hidden or consumed by the gray mildew of the everyday.[414]

For Stiegler, room travellers explore their immediate vicinity through an alienated gaze; they possess the skill of estranging themselves from familiar spaces 'in order to explore them as if stepping into them for the first time'.[415] The objects that the traveller would ordinarily encounter in day-to-day life fuel their room exploration as their alienated gaze

[411] De Botton, *The Art of Travel*, p.244.
[412] Stiegler, *Traveling in Place*, p.2.
[413] Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, trans. by Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p.35.
[414] Stiegler, *Traveling in Place*, p.3.
[415] Stiegler, *Traveling in Place*, p.2.

means that these everyday objects provoke new thought patterns which transcend their familiarity. In this sense, the room (or the place the traveller is exploring anew) almost becomes a country in its own right because room travel writers often provide their readership with a 'pseudogeographic' depiction of the objects and of the space they are contained within: their dimensions, their appearances, sounds and smells, the room's climate and topography.[416]

It was de Maistre who made this branch of the practice famous when he initiated a 42-day long journey around his bedroom. *A Journey around my Room* recounts this domestic expedition. Although his entire journey takes place in a space which is 'thirty-six paces in circumference if you hug the wall', de Maistre feels far from confined.[417] On the contrary, he describes his surroundings as 'that delightful country that holds every good thing' and as a 'rich land' in which he finds ample material for observation.[418] As Stiegler suggests, de Maistre endeavours to see past 'the gray mildew of the everyday' as his narrative is comprised predominantly of thoughts and memories that are induced by the objects he encounters on his journey, such as paintings, his bed, and other furniture: 'the idea of [poor people's] misery has often come along to distract me en route. Sometimes, […] my room would seem to be prodigiously embellished. What useless luxury! Six chairs, two tables, a desk, a mirror, – what ostentation!'[419] De Maistre is primarily concerned with the near-at-hand which is, to him, transformed throughout the course of his journey as he experiences his familiar possessions afresh. His narrative serves as a reminder of the potent reflections that travelling – even as short a distance as from an

[416] Stiegler, *Travling in Place*, p.3; p.44.
[417] De Maistre, *A Journey*, p.7.
[418] De Maistre, *A Journey*, p.67; p.51.
[419] Stiegler, *Traveling in Place*, p.3; De Maistre, *A Journey*, p.44.

armchair to a desk – can provoke.[420]

In contrast, Carl Thompson identifies a different type of armchair traveller from that personified by de Maistre when he writes: '[a]rmchair travellers today can indulge their taste for the exotic, or for adventure, […] by drawing on a vast array of both contemporary and historical travel books'.[421] For Thompson, an armchair traveller is not necessarily someone who has undertaken a room journey, but rather, it is the reader of a travel text who is the armchair traveller; a person who, while remaining static, uses books or other means to engage with new places and cultures outside of their own. Thompson's summation is the standard definition of armchair travel and it corresponds closely to the description offered by Pierre Bayard, who characterises an armchair traveller as '[a] person keen to know other cultures but who chooses to explore the world by staying at home and using their imagination.'[422] In his book *How to Talk about Places You've Never Been: On the Importance of Armchair Travel* (2007), Bayard exemplifies what he calls 'travel[ling] by proxy' by drawing on Édouard Glissant's static journey to Easter Island and about which Glissant published *La terre magnétique. Les errances de Rapa Nui, l'île de Pâques* (*The magnetic earth. The wanderings of Rapa Nui, Easter Island*) (2007).[423] For health reasons Glissant was unable to travel so his wife, Sylvia Séma, travelled in his place 'and

[420] De Maistre later published *A Nocturnal Expedition around my Room* (1825), in which he describes his journey around his room during the course of one night. In this text he again emphasises the link between imagination and travel: 'as I make my imagination travel as far beyond [the stars'] sphere as my gaze travels to reach them from here, I am effortlessly conveyed to a distance which few travellers before me have reached'. Xavier de Maistre, *A Nocturnal Expedition around my Room*, trans. by Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Press, 2004), p.94. Since the end of the eighteenth century, others such as Arthur Mangin, Daniel Spoerri, and Gaston Chaumont who published *A Scientific Journey around my Room* (1861), *An Anecdoted Topography of Chance* (1966), and *Journey to My Window* (1865), respectively, have followed in de Maistre's carpet-cushioned footsteps.

[421] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p.1.

[422] Pierre Bayard, *How to Talk About Places You've Never Been: On the Importance of Armchair Travel*, trans. by Michele Hutchison (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p.183. Writing about travel journalism in the digital age, Brian Creech also makes the point that travel journalists encourage their readers to undertake armchair travels by reading their work when he writes: 'Vivid imagery, compelling narrative, and rich cultural context all give audiences the textual clues they need to guide their own imagined engagement with the locales travel journalists encounter.' Brian Creech, 'Postcolonial Travel Journalism and the New Media', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.157-172 (p.159).

[423] Bayard, *How to Talk About Places*, p.33.

furnish[ed] him with the information he needed to write about [the island].'[424] Séma carried a small camera with her and regularly sent photos to Glissant for his commentary and she returned with 'notes, impressions, drawings, films and photos' which Glissant used together with other travelogues and other sources of information about Easter Island to construct his narrative.[425] Bayard also cites François-René de Chateaubriand (1768-1848) as an armchair traveller who wrote travelogues about places he never visited by drawing on a combination of other travel narratives, classical or humanist texts, and his imagination, and thus Chateaubriand's 'encounter with countries', Bayard concludes, 'is fundamentally intertextual'.[426] According to Bayard and Thompson, then, armchair travellers are interested in places which are foreign to them; they are not concerned with the immediate and the intimate, but with the distant and the unfamiliar.[427] Bayard uses the term '*distanced observation*' to describe this type of stationary engagement with place, and I will use this term henceforth to distinguish it from the branch of armchair travel that

[424] Bayard, *How to Talk About Places*, p.33.
[425] Édouard Glissant (in collaboration with Sylvia Séma), cited in Bayard, *How to Talk About Places*, p.33.
[426] Bayard, *How to Talk About Places*, p.51. Similarly, Daniel Defoe in *The Complete English Gentleman* (1890) declares '[The English Gentleman can] make the tour of the world in books, […] He may make all distant places near to him in his reviewing the voiages of those that saw them.' Daniel Defoe, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, ed. by Karl D. Bülbring (London: David Nutt, 1890), pp.225-26.
[427] Jacqui Kenny and Olivier Hodasava also embody the type of armchair traveller that Bayard and Thompson describe. Kenny suffers from agoraphobia but manages to travel the world through Google Streetview. She has created a business by selling the screenshots she captures on her computer, and has an Instagram account on which she publicly documents her travels. Similarly, Hodasava, who had never set foot in North America, undertook a journey through the continent using Google Maps in 2014. He took screenshots of his travels and published them in the form of a blog, *Éclats d'Amérique* (*Shards of America*). Jacqui Kenny, 'The Agoraphobic Traveller' < https://www.theagoraphobictraveller.com > [accessed 9th October 2018]; Jacqui Kenny, @streetview.portraits, *Instagram* < https://www.instagram.com/streetview.portraits/ > [accessed 9th October 2018]; Olivier Hodasava, *Éclats d'Amérique*, 2014 < http://eclatsdamerique.blogspot.com > [accessed 4th October 2018].

Stielger denominates 'room travel'.[428]

The two branches of armchair travel are united in the sense that the person undertaking the journey remains stationary, and they both share the benefits that de Maistre, de Botton, Leal, and Whaley identify as they can be practised regardless of the traveller's financial circumstance, level of mobility or health, and are devoid of the bodily or psychological difficulties of corporeal journeys. Furthermore, both branches fulfil many of the traditional expectations of physical travel that is undertaken for recreational purposes.[429] Indeed, Mary Bryden asserts that 'the aim of travel [for pleasure] is to broaden or refresh the mind, to encounter new modes of living, new places, new experiences'. [430] Both room travel and distanced observation represent this form of escapism and entail encounters with the unfamiliar through the estranged perspective or the exploratory attitude that they respectively encourage. The crucial difference between them is rooted in their varying regard to the physical and cultural distance between the travellers and the places they are travelling to; room travel necessitates that the traveller embarks upon a

[428] Bayard, *How to Talk About Places*, p.77. Original emphasis. Several terms are connected to this comparatively more outward-facing branch of armchair travel that Thompson and Bayard identify, such as 'motivity' and '*Robinsonner*'. For example, in his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) John Locke conceptualises how a person can move by way of their imagination, thoughts, and spirit. He makes a neat distinction between bodily movement – mobility – and movement though mentality – motivity: 'Mobility, or the power of being moved; by which our senses we receive from the body […] Motivity, or the power of moving: by which reflection we receive from our minds'. The concept of motivity is employed in a Caribbean context by critics such as Huon Wardle, Giuseppe Troccoli, and Molly Rosenbaum (all from the University of Saint Andrews) from a sociological and anthropological perspective. They presented panels called 'Motivities' and 'Motivity: Individual Stories of Urges and Movements' at the Society for Caribbean Studies' 2017 conference and the Caribbean Studies Association's 2018 conference respectively. Similarly, the term *'robinsonner*' or 'Robinson', which was allegedly coined by Arthur Rimbaud, was inspired by Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and means to 'let the mind wander – or to travel mentally'. Merlin Coverly notes that the term reflects *Robinson Crusoe*'s 'themes of the imaginary voyage and isolation', and consequently, a *robinsonner* can be typified as a 'mental traveller' who undertakes 'armchair travels'. It is appropriate that these two terms should be considered together because, according to John Richetti, Defoe would have encountered Locke's *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* – and therefore the idea of motivity – because he attended Charles Morton's Academy, as opposed to Oxford University where Locke's work was banned. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001), p.226; John Sturrock, *Celine: Journey to the End of the Night* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.37; Merlin Coverly, *Psychogeography: The Pocket Essential Guide* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2006), p.59; John Richetti, 'Introduction', in *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Penguin, 2013), pp.ix-xxxii (p.x).

[429] I am specifying that this applies only to travel undertaken for recreational purposes because, in the words of bell hooks, '[t]ravel is not a word that can be easily evoked to talk about the Middle Passage, the Trail of Tears, the landing of Chinese immigrants, the forced relocation of Japanese Americans, or the plight of the homeless.' bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p.173.

[430] Mary Bryden, *Gilles Deleuze: Travels in Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.2.

journey through their close surroundings (even limited to the room they occupy at that moment), whereas distanced observation insists that the traveller is interested in the wider world but chooses to explore it from the comfort of their own home.

Although Thompson and Bayard discuss distanced observation in a way that highlights its light-hearted, amusing, and pleasurable side, it must also be acknowledged that the armchair traveller's consumption of information concerning distant and unfamiliar places had imperial implications during the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On this note, Charles Sugnet writes that any travel writer who adopts 'an imperial position' inevitably 'constructs a discourse that invites the reader, flying around the world in an armchair, to assume a similar position.'[431] In addition, Jeffery Richards in his *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (1989), notes that popular fictional accounts of travel such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and 'factual travel works' were 'infused' with 'the ethos and attitudes of empire', and thus, such texts functioned as 'an active agency constructing and perpetuating a view of the world in which British imperialism was an integral part of the cultural and psychological formation of each new generation of readers'.[432] Moreover, in *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (1957) Albert Memmi makes the point that the images transmitted to the imperial centre helped to construct an idea of the foreign other: '[the colonizer] even had some idea of the colonized from his childhood books; he had seen a documentary movie on some of their customs, preferably chosen to show their peculiarity.'[433] Therefore, not only did texts about elsewhere help to embed imperial sentiment in the national psyche by consolidating the idea that colonial conquests were a fundamental part of a British identity, they also

[431] Sugnet, 'Vile Bodies', p.73.
[432] Jeffery Richards (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp.1-11 (p.3); p.2.
[433] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. by Howard Greenfield (London: Souvenir Press, 2016), p.51. At the 2018 Borders and Crossings conference, Charles Forsdick presented a paper about how children's toys and board games, such as Jeu des échanges (a game about colonial administration), fostered imperial sentiment in France. Although toys and board games are not literary travel accounts as such, Forsdick's research furthers our insight into the sentiment that was being encouraged, particularly in children, in imperial centres such as France and England in an interactive sense.

constructed the travellees (both real and fictional) in a way that emphasised their difference. Writing about the broader category of European travel writing, Justin D. Edwards notes that such narratives performed a similar function:

> Travel writing […] became an increasingly popular genre for audiences back home who wanted to read about how European colonial powers were engaging in 'discoveries,' missionary projects, military conflict, and trade. These travel narratives included seemingly objective accounts of 'other' places and peoples that constructed distinctions between 'the Orient' and 'the Occident', which supported imperialist expansion through depictions of 'the East' as inferior.[434]

Evidently, travel writing that portrayed nations outside of Europe as places to be ruled over, controlled, and influenced, and travel writing that encouraged readers in the imperial centre to envisage themselves as superior to the people in these nations demonstrates how factual travel texts were saturated with, in Richards's words, 'the ethos and attitudes of empire'.[435] For the majority of readers within the imperial centre, their encounter with 'the Orient' would be purely literary, formed only through what they had read. In this way, the distanced observation branch of armchair travel contributed to what Corinne Fowler describes as travel writing's reputation as an 'always ethically compromised and problematic' genre.[436]

As I discuss in the introduction to this thesis, Henry Morton Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1878) is commonly cited as a piece of travel writing that explicitly attempts to further British expansionism.[437] One of the ways in which Stanley – and many others who participated in exploratory travel – attempted to achieve this is through the practice of othering, which Thompson usefully defines as 'the processes […] by which one

[434] Justin D. Edwards, 'Postcolonial Travel Writing and Postcolonial Theory', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.19-32 (p.22).
[435] Richards, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, p.2.
[436] Corinne Fowler, 'Travel Writing and Ethics', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Carl Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.57-67 (p.57).
[437] Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (eds.), 'Introduction', *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-35 (p.2).

culture depicts another culture as not only different but also inferior to itself'.[438] In the context of travel writing, othering often entails depicting the people the travel writer encounters in bestial terms; describing them as hostile, only attuned to their baser urges, improvident, and primitive. Stanley regularly characterises the people he encounters on his journey through central Africa as 'cannibals' – for example, he describes the people who live by Stanley Falls as 'perverse cannibals and insensate savages' – or as engaging in acts that would offend his home readership's sensibility, such as when they force him to burn his 'much worn and well thumbed' copy of a Shakespearian volume in place of his notebook.[439] These images travelled to the imperial centre through Stanley's text, simultaneously constructing and feeding the idea that 'elsewhere' was uncivilised and therefore in need of educating in both an academic and religious sense. Further, the Others' disregard for and destruction of Stanley's copy of a Shakespearian text symbolises the threat the Other posed to British culture. Consequently, such depictions of Europe's Others were used to justify colonial and civilizing missions, fostered the idea that colonialism was a benevolent act, helped to engender scientific racism, bolstered colonial ideology, and were used to uphold colonial policy.

Thompson remarks of *Through the Dark Continent*, othering 'functions as a subtle endorsement of the British presence in the region'.[440] While othering does indeed serve this function, it also leads to the idea that armchair travellers practising distanced observation undertake an inner journey insofar as they undergo a transformative process of self-discovery – or at least, what they perceive to be a deeper understanding of who they are and their place in the world – by learning about other people, places and cultures. On this note Bayard writes:

---

[438] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp.132-133. Thompson provides an informative discussion about othering in John Ross's *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North West Passage* (1835), in which Ross constructs the Inuit population as Other. Thompson, *Travel Writing*, pp.130-134.
[439] Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1878), p.255; p.386.
[440] Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p.134.

> Nontravel doesn't mean remaining immobile. On the contrary, the places we conjure up in our imaginations can allow us to travel within ourselves, and it is this journey to the inside of the self […] that mobilizes the armchair traveler.[441]

Certainly, receiving images or information about the colonized, which, as Memmi notes, were chosen to emphasise their supposed peculiarity, helps recipients in the imperial centre to gain a better understanding of their own identity: 'they are not like me'. In his introduction to *Unravelling Civilization: European Travel and Travel Writing* (2005) Hagen Schulz-Forberg remarks that encounters 'with the foreign fosters development of the self. Difference enhances identity'.[442] In this sense, travel writing creates a literary contact zone as the readers have a removed encounter with their racial and cultural Other through the travel text, and consequently create an image of themselves in relation to what they are not: the foreign, cannibalistic, peculiar Other. The idea that texts about elsewhere can influence the distanced observer's sense of self and place in the world is a point I return to in my discussion about the type of armchair travel implicit in Kincaid's, Naipaul's, and Hall's remote engagement with England. Before I turn to the texts, I briefly introduce the educational system that was implemented throughout the British colonies and then explore how the representation of it and English hegemony more generally speaks to and revises the concept of armchair travel, particularly the distanced observation branch of the practice.[443]

Bill Ashcroft emphasises the influential effect the colonial school system had on its students when he writes:

> Displacement was caused by an educational system and a cultural hegemony that suggested that real life occurred elsewhere. The ideology of place that such

[441] Bayard, *How to Talk About Places,* p.178.
[442] Hagen Schulz-Forberg (ed.), 'Introduction: European Travel and Travel Writing. Cultural Practice and the Idea of Europe', in *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2005), pp.13-40 (p.13).
[443] Simon Gikandi observes that Anthony Trollope (author of the 1859 travel narrative *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*) dismisses armchair philosophy in an effort to defend slavery: 'Trollope strikes the Achilles' heel of all forms of armchair discourse by noting, in regard to the Anti-Slavery Society, that people who have not lived in the colonies do not have the authority to interfere with their economy'. Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p.91.

> education carried led […] to Caribbean children writing essays about 'snow on the cane fields' (Brathwaite 264) and to the deep familiarity, the sense of arrival, that V.S. Naipaul felt when he first set foot in England and saw that countryside familiar to him from all his reading.[444]

Ashcroft's observation illustrates how the anglocentric and dogmatic nature of this education system yielded a unique relationship between place and pupil, as it simultaneously promoted a sense of disconnection between the pupils' tangible, present location in the Caribbean, and an understanding that reality happened in a place that existed outside of their frame of reference.[445] Similarly Prem Misir, writing about the education system in colonial Guyana, notes that: 'Colonial education modelled itself after the British school system, espousing British values and devaluing anything local. Local schools related to the British environment and ignored their local contexts and needs.'[446]

---

[444] Bill Ashcroft, 'Reading Post-Colonial Australia', in *Postcolonial Issues in Australian Literature,* ed. by Nathanael O'Reilly (New York: Cambria Press, 2010), pp.15-40 (p.20). British colonial education is a focal point in postcolonial texts such as George Lamming's *In the Castle of My Skin* (1953), which is an autobiographical novel set in Barbados where Lamming grew up. Colonial education is also a prominent theme in Tsitsi Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* (1988), which is set in Rhodesia during the 1960s. George Lamming, *In The Castle of My Skin* (Essex: Longman, 2000); Tsitsi Dangarembga, *Nervous Conditions* (London: Ayebia Clarke Publishing, 2004).

[445] *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by Daniel Defoe is often held up as a fictional representation of the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, power, and education. The English protagonist finds himself shipwrecked and stranded on an unspecified island near Trinidad. He encounters a Carib whom he re-names Friday and describes as a 'savage', and as a 'poor wild wretch'. Crusoe tells Friday about 'the country of *Europe*, and particularly *England*', teaches him to speak English, explains the 'true knowledge of religion […] the Christian doctrine' to him, and thus claims to have 'open'd [Friday's] eyes'. As a result, Brett C. McInelly notes that the Crusoe-Friday relationship 'encapsulate[s] the colonial myth and the dynamics of colonial relationships in general' through Friday's 'transformation [which] is achieved in large part through education'. In addition, Peter Hulme makes the point that the meeting of Crusoe and Friday 'marks the second stage of "beginning", the true colonial encounter when the complex matter of the European/native relationship must be negotiated'. Hulme suggests that Friday's education – not only in the English language and Christianity but also his schooling of navigation, sailing, and particularly the use of firearms – as integral to this colonial encounter. Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Penguin, 2013), p.170. Original emphasis; p.165; p.174; p.175. Original emphasis; p.174; p.171; Brett C. McInelly, 'Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and "Robinson Crusoe"', *Studies in the Novel*, 35.1 (2003), 1-21 (pp.1-2); p.16. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492-1797* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.200-201.

[446] Prem Misir, 'Guyana: Quality and Equity in Education', in *Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean and Netherland Antilies*, ed. by Emel Thomas (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp.199-220 (p.201). Simonti Sen reiterates this point with reference to Rabindranath Tagore's contemporary writings. Sen notes that, in Tagore's work, 'the distinction between the English system of education and the colonial system was a recurring theme. In Europe, [Tagore] would write, people grew up within their society, the schools only helping to facilitate their integration. The education that the people received there was not cut off from their lives – it was rendered meaningful through their everyday practices. […] On the other hand, as [Tagore] saw it, the present educational enlightenment that India was being graced with was pouring down its showers at places that were far removed from where the actual Indian life had its roots.' Simonti Sen, *Travels to Europe: Self and Other in Bengali Travel Narratives 1870-1910* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2005), pp.121-122.

The dismissal of anything 'local' and the promotion of anglocentrism through the colonial education system functioned as an instrument of social control and as a display of the coloniser's power over the colonised. It instilled the idea that 'local' knowledge was not worth knowing and that information about Britain was more important – an ideology which upheld the colonial power structure in the sense that it fed the illusion that British entities were superior to 'local' entities. Furthermore, not only was such an education impractical because it provided students with information that was, to them, out of context, but it also encouraged the belief that it was the students, not the education, which was out of place.

The sense of displacement that colonial education and European cultural hegemony caused is captured by Hall when he writes:

> I came to understand that, as a colonized subject, I was inserted into history […] upside down – like all Caribbean peoples, dispossessed and disinherited from a past which was never properly ours. We were condemned to be out of place or displaced, transported to a phantasmic zone of the globe where history never happened as it should. [447]

Hall recognises that a disjuncture between colonised subjects and their place of origin means that they develop a conception of their home as existing outside of reality and history; its lack of representation or its representation through the colonisers' gaze lends an otherworldliness to the everyday surroundings of the colonised. The psychological impact of this has been examined by critics such as Memmi, Walter Rodney and Frantz Fanon, who focus on the trauma it can induce. Although their observations are in reference to the school systems implemented in colonial Africa, their insights are apposite in a Caribbean context, too. Rodney comments that colonial schooling created 'mental confusion', and similarly, Memmi states that such systems were contextually inappropriate and psychologically damaging: 'far from preparing the adolescent to find himself completely,

[447] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.61.

school creates a permanent duality in him'.[448] Memmi further suggests that the cultural hegemony 'the colonized' is exposed to (including in educational spaces) causes internal 'catastrophes' in the colonized's psyche.[449] Correspondingly, to combat what he terms the 'traumatisation' of children who are subject to a colonial education, Fanon advocates for 'the publication of history texts especially for [black children], at least through grammar-school grades', as he believes this psychic trauma occurs during those years.[450] The work undertaken by critics such as Rodney, Memmi and Fanon on the psychosis of colonised individuals points to the idea that pupils' engagement with the imperial power is no less 'real' because it is conducted from a position of stasis; on the contrary, it is formative and powerful.

'On Seeing England', *The Enigma of Arrival*, and *Familiar Stranger* echo Ashcroft's and Misir's point that the colonial education system reflected the ideology and values of the coloniser, and gave their authors an intimate knowledge of England, even though over four thousand miles physically separate the Caribbean from the imperial metropole. For example, it is immediately apparent to the reader of 'On Seeing England for the First Time' that Kincaid frequently encountered representations of England in school as the opening line of her travel essay reads: 'When I saw England for the first time, I was a child sitting at a desk. The England I was looking at was laid out on a map.'[451] In addition to learning about the geography and cartography of England, she is obliged to learn about the country's history, too:

> I knew the names of all the kings in England […] I knew the details of the year 1066 (The Battle of Hastings, the end of the reign of the Anglo-Saxon kings) before I knew the details of the year 1832 (the year slavery was abolished).[452]

[448] Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2012), p.241; Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, p.150.
[449] Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, p.162.
[450] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 2008), p.115.
[451] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.32.
[452] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.34.

Similarly, in the *Enigma of Arrival*, Naipaul describes his education in Trinidad as 'abstract' five times throughout the text, and as a 'learning quite separate from everyday things.'[453] He gives a concrete example of the hypothetical nature of his education when he writes that he had

> Studied classical French drama without having any idea of the country or the court that had produced this drama; […] These things were too removed from my experience […] I had prepared essays on the French and Soviet cinema simply by reading books and articles.[454]

Likewise, the passing reference that Hall makes to his schooling in Jamaica resonates with Kincaid's and Naipaul's representations of colonial education. Hall likens his experience in Jamaica to that depicted in George Lamming's *In the Castle of my Skin* (1953), writing that the experience of the Barbadian protagonist, G., 'is certainly not far removed from my own memories of the Jamaican situation.'[455] One main theme within *In the Castle of My Skin* is education and intellectual development. This is particularly evident during the third chapter in which G. and his school peers have a parade in celebration of the Queen's birthday, discuss how the King's face is imprinted onto coins, and learn about 'the Battle of Hastings and William the Conqueror' in place of slavery: 'nobody knew where this slavery business took place. The teacher had simply said, not here, somewhere else'.[456] Evidently, the colonial education system taught Kincaid, Naipaul, and Hall histories, geographies and cultures outside of their own, and prioritised this knowledge over what Misir terms 'local contexts', including slavery.[457]

Although Kincaid's, Naipaul's and Hall's experiences of colonial education take place on different Caribbean islands, they resonate with one another in the sense that all three authors note the anglocentricism – or in Naipaul's case, eurocentrism – of the

[453] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.126; p.129; p.142; p.146; p.165; p.126.
[454] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.129.
[455] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.116.
[456] Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin*, p.36; p.53; p.58.
[457] Misir, 'Guyana: Quality and Equity in Education', p.201.

educational space. Initially, it may appear that the authors' experiences of colonial education speak directly to the distanced observation branch of armchair travel because each author represents a person in stasis engaging with a foreign place; however, it is important to note that, in the texts, the direction of armchair travel is reversed. Both Thompson and Bayard give examples of armchair travel whereby images of a non-European place or people are transmitted to the imperial centre, but Kincaid, Naipaul and Hall engage with the imperial centre from the Caribbean.

Another difference centres on the regulation of the images and information being transmitted. As Memmi notes, the images of the colonised which travelled to the imperial centre through media such as books, documentaries, and military epics were chosen to emphasise the Other's peculiarity; the travellee – in this case, the non-European Other – being depicted in such media did not have any jurisdiction over the images that were conveyed to the imperial metropole. However, in 'On Seeing England' and *The Enigma of Arrival*, the colonising power controls and manufactures the images of and information about themselves that appear in the Caribbean through channels such as the education system. In the same way that travel writers with an imperial agenda selected aspects of the Other to purposely emphasise the Other's difference in relation to themselves, imperial authorities had the power to represent themselves – their culture, their natives, their landscape – in a positive way to inspire awe and to sew the idea in the minds of Caribbean people that Britain was superior.

This ideology and its effects are evident in *The Enigma of Arrival* when Naipaul recalls admiring the paintings of popular English landscape artists such as Rowland Hilder and John Constable, and when he writes about a colouring competition he entered as a school child, whereby he was given a picture of a condensed milk label which featured the English countryside to colour. He recollects the thrill of seeing images of England which, at that point, was a place unknown to him: '[w]hat landscapes came to the mind of a child

to whom cattle like those in the picture and smooth grassy hillsides like those in the picture (clearly without snakes) were not known!'[458] Naipaul's exclamation of '[w]hat landscapes' suggests that the image on the label stirred a sense of admiration and wonder in him. Furthermore, this passage brings to light the distinction between the Trinidadian countryside in which the wanderer must be mindful of snakes and the English countryside in which one can passively wander through 'smooth' landscapes and only encounter cattle. In *Familiar Stranger*, Hall makes the point that he too encountered idealised depictions of the English countryside while in Jamaica. This is clear when he migrates to England and sees 'proper, well-fed, black-and-white cows munching away contentedly in their neatly divided, hedge rowed fields surrounded by enormous, spreading sycamore trees', and notes: '[e]verything I had read had prepared me for that. I knew, after all, the novels of Thomas Hardy.'[459] Hall's use of the word 'proper' implies that this is how English cows should look and that any deviation from this image is less valid or somehow erroneous, which demonstrates how the anglocentric cultural materials in the Caribbean gave way to the view that representations of British entities – including cattle – represent the reality from which everything else is derived.

Kincaid also encounters an idealised British countryside in an educational setting.[460] In 'On Seeing England for the First Time', she recounts singing the Anglican hymn 'All Things Bright and Beautiful' in the school's auditorium with 'portraits of the Queen of England and her husband' which '[look] down' on her and the other students from the wall.[461] The words 'bright' and 'beautiful' in the title of the hymn have positive connotations centring on success and appeal, but the lyrics also portray a pleasing image of the British countryside by referencing 'meadows', 'summer sun', 'ripe fruit', 'little

[458] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.361.
[459] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.150.
[460] In *A Small Place*, Kincaid reveals that she 'attended a school named after a Princess of England'. Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), pp.32-33.
[461] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.36.

flow'r[s]', 'little birds', and in the older, traditional verse there is also a reference to 'castles'.[462] In this scene, Kincaid not only makes the point that her remote encounters with the imperial power extend beyond the formal curriculum and the confines of the classroom as she encounters it in assemblies too, but she also exemplifies how the educational space itself is designed to ingrain the notion of British supremacy in its students. Indeed, the fact that images of the British monarchy look down on her and other Antiguan school children is highly symbolic. The phrase 'looking down' both encapsulates the inequality which upholds a sovereign and implies an omnipresence in the sense that the portraits are located high on the wall and thus the British monarchy can figuratively watch and preside over the students. Furthermore, approximately one page of Kincaid's nine-page essay is dedicated to describing her perception of England which she, like Hall, obtained from reading English literature. She covets the 'moors over which people took walks for nothing but pleasure' which contrasts with her own experience of the activity: 'where I lived a walk was an act of labour, a burden'.[463] In addition, she admires the softer English weather which sits apart from the comparatively harsher climate of the Caribbean that is prone to abrupt atmospheric changes: 'the rain fell gently […] and when it rained at twilight, wonderful things happened […] the mere weather caused plots'.[464] Evidently, she conceives of England as a fairy-tale-like place that inspires literature, and in a similar way to Naipaul, understands it as a place removed from her reality.

Naipaul and Kincaid react differently to the idealised depictions of England they encounter. Indeed, Naipaul finds them appealing and describes the images on the milk labels as 'pictures of especial beauty'; however, Kincaid's response is considerably more critical and adversarial, and exemplifies Fanon's statement that 'books, newspapers, schools and their texts […] shape one's view of the world of the group to which one

[462] Cecil F. Alexander, 'All Things Bright and Beautiful', *Timeless Truths: Free Online Library* < https://library.timelesstruths.org/music/All_Things_Bright_and_Beautiful/ > [accessed 29th November 2018].
[463] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.35.
[464] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.35.

belongs'.[465] In 'On Seeing England' Kincaid reveals that her colonial education and the English literature she read instilled in her a sense of deep-rooted inferiority. While she declares that, as a child, she 'did like so much' learning about Alfred the Great and was 'in awe' of England, she also notes that learning about the country had a negative effect on her.[466] For example, she states that phrases she read such as '"When morning touched the sky"' made her 'really feel like nothing' because she lived in a place where day and night 'came and went in a mechanical way: on, off'.[467] She further reports that the tasks she was asked to perform in school, such as drawing a map of England, made her feel 'small' because the country provided 'our sense of what was meaningful, our sense of what was meaningless – and much about our own lives and much about the very idea of us headed that last list'.[468] Although he does not recount his personal experience of being made to feel 'small' or 'meaningless', Hall talks about the phenomenon in a more detached manner as 'being defined from the beyond', whereby a person or place is constituted by 'its absence, because it is what they – we – are *not*.'[469] In my discussion of the imperial implications of distanced observation, I noted that literature about elsewhere and the othering of colonised peoples it contained led the readers in the imperial centre to feel superior, gain a better understanding of their own identity, and reach the self-determining conclusion 'they are not like me'. However, for Kincaid and Hall, their encounter with England through literature gives them a feeling of inadequacy or the sense that the place

[465] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, p.118. Additionally, see the interview between Adrian Rowe-Evans and Naipaul, in which Naipaul clearly sees the Caribbean as inferior: 'you must accept so many things as coming from a great wonderful source outside yourself and the people you know, outside the society you've grown up in', and he further describes the island as 'imperfectly made'.[465] His opinion that Caribbean islands are somehow incomplete or simply the recipient of things rather than a source in their own right is symptomatic of the British cultural hegemony that pervaded the colonial Caribbean. V.S. Naipaul and Adrian Rowe-Evans, 'V. S. Naipaul', *Transitions*, 75/76 (1997), 192-203 (pp.195-196); p.194.
[466] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.34.
[467] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', pp.34-35.
[468] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.34; p.32. Kincaid reiterates this sentiment in her essay 'The Little Revenge from the Periphery', in which she states that her mind had 'been firmly formed by the thing known as the "British Empire"'. Jamaica Kincaid, 'The Little Revenge from the Periphery', *Transitions*, 73 (1997), 68-73 (p.70).
[469] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.150. Original emphasis.

they are from is less important, less desirable, less powerful, less civilised than England: 'we are not like them'.

Armchair travellers who practise distanced observation, like Glissant, Chateaubriand, and readers of travel texts, can disengage from the place they are reading about or exploring from afar by closing the book or by ceasing to write; however, for Kincaid, England is inescapable.[470] On this note, she states plainly that she encountered England many times when she writes: 'I was being shown these views of England for the first time, for the second time, for the one-hundred-millionth time'.[471] Another, more subtle way in which Kincaid demonstrates England's omnipresence is through her writing style, whereby she uses the word 'England', or a variant pertaining to it such as 'Englishness', approximately eighty-six times (including the title) throughout the nine-page essay. Her frequent repetition of the word creates a similar experience for the reader, as the reader encounters England many times in a literary sense by reading the repeated word. Furthermore, Kincaid conveys the constant visibility of the imperial power by describing how it encroaches into the public space of Antigua and into the private, domestic space of her familial home. For example, she makes reference to the British-made cars, such as 'a Hillman or a Zephyr', which crawl along the Antiguan roads and how the street names, such as 'Rodney Street' and 'Hawkins Street', commemorate British seamen or, as Kincaid puts it, 'officially sanctioned criminals', particularly John Hawkins who established the slave trade.[472] In addition, she is haunted by the three words 'Made in

[470] The contrast between Kincaid's experience and that of other armchair travellers is highlighted during Charlotte Pamment's interview with Jacqui Kenny, during which Kenny remarks that her static journeys are 'a great thing' and a 'luxury'. Charlotte Pamment, 'How an agoraphobic woman travels the world using Google Streetview', *BBC*, 4th October 2017 < https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-41487857/how-an-agoraphobic-woman-travels-the-world-using-google-streetview > [accessed 9th October 2018] (02:42 and 00:12).

[471] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.36. Similarly, in his article 'In Praise of the Fat Black Woman and Volume' (2018), the Jamaican-born poet Kei Miller writes: 'My early encounters with England and with Englishness had been through literature. There were of course many Englands that I met on the page.' Kei Miller, 'In Praise of the Fat Black Woman and Volume', *PN Review* (2018) < https://www.pnreview.co.uk/cgi-bin/scribe?item_id=10209 > [accessed 11th July 2018] (para. 3 of 39).

[472] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.33; Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.36.

England' as they are imprinted onto 'almost everything that surround[s]' her, including the metal cans which contain the food that sustains her, and they are sewn into the clothes she dresses in, which creates the image of her consuming aspects of English culture in order to survive and of England always touching her, rubbing against her skin.[473]

Throughout the narrative it becomes apparent that, to Kincaid, 'England' is not just a place and 'English' or 'Englishness' is not merely a cultural imposition, but she must embody aspects relating to the imperial power, too. For example, she describes how her behaviour is monitored by her mother, who polices her manners and the way that she eats until they are carried out in 'the English way'.[474] She is made to eat a 'proper breakfast' – which she identifies as an English concept – even though she and everyone she knows disliked 'eating so much food so early in the day'.[475] Further, Kincaid recalls being a member of the Brownies, an organisation which perpetuates ideas of English pride and patriotism: 'At each meeting we would form a little group around a flag pole, and after raising the union jack, we would say "I promise to do my best, to do my duty to God and the Queen."'[476] Although Kincaid has not actually seen England at this point, it is clear that she is intimately acquainted with the place as she feels its ubiquitous presence. Her consistent encounters with aspects of the country suggests that her distanced observation is more active than someone undertaking a traditional armchair journey. Indeed, she behaves – or is forced to behave – how a British child might and participates in activities that are available to children in Britain which means that her relationship with England is performative as well as academic.

For Kincaid, then, England and Englishness are omnipresent; ideologies that pervade her lived reality and etch themselves onto her consciousness. The fact that the ideology of England is inescapable highlights another way in which her remote experience

[473] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.33.
[474] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.33.
[475] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.33.
[476] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.36.

of the place revises the distanced observation branch of armchair travel. Indeed, readers or writers who engage with 'elsewhere' for pleasure decide to undertake armchair travels of their own volition; however, Kincaid is not offered this choice. This discontinuity is evident when she likens her encounter with the colonial power to someone looking at it through a window:

> If I give the impression of someone on the outside looking in [at England], nose pressed up against a glass window, that is wrong. My nose was pressed up against a glass window all right, but there was an iron vise at the back of my neck, forcing my head to stay in place.[477]

Her use of violent language in this quotation, such as the verb 'forcing' and the metaphor of the iron vice furthers the idea that her engagement with England is involuntary. Like a piece of material clamped in an iron vice, Kincaid is also being moulded into becoming more English. This forced interaction with the imperial power is also reflected in *Familiar Stranger*, as Hall emphasises how innate a colonial identity is for people growing up under British rule in the Caribbean: 'for my generation of Jamaicans, "colonial" was not something you chose to be. It was an attribute of being, formative because it framed your very existence.'[478] For the people who want to undertake journeys from a position of stasis, like Leal, Whaley, and Glissant, distanced observation can be an expression of freedom, a form of amusement and a source of gratification, but the opposite holds true for people growing up under colonial rule like Kincaid and Hall: England is imposed onto them.

When read in conjunction, 'On Seeing England', *The Enigma of Arrival* and *Familiar Stranger* exemplify how cultural impositions which uphold colonial ideology, such as education and literature, create a relationship between the colonised subject and the imperial power which is both imaginative and immersive. Kincaid's, Naipaul's, and Hall's affiliations with England emphasise the complicated emotional relationships that can develop between the colonising power, as an ideal and as a place, and the colonised or

[477] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', pp.35-36.
[478] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.21.

formerly colonised individual through remote engagement. Before she writes about her physical travel to the mother country, Kincaid reflects: 'I had never seen England, really seen it, I had only met a representative, seen a picture, read a book, memorized its history. I had never set my foot, my own foot, in it.'[479] The second part of this chapter examines how the authors' distanced observation of England has an impact on their experience of the place when they 'set foot' in it as adults.

Uncanny Returns

Below I explore how 'On Seeing England', *The Enigma of Arrival*, and *Familiar Stranger* depict what I have termed in my chapter title as 'uncanny returns'. I begin by explaining the concept of the uncanny and how it has already been applied in a travel writing context, and then proceed to explore how Kincaid, Naipaul and Hall present their journeys to England as a return to a setting with which they are already intimately acquainted, rather than as a journey to a place they have never been before.

In his 1919 essay 'The Uncanny', or 'Das Unheimliche', Freud explains that the uncanny is when the familiar and the unfamiliar converge: 'the uncanny is that species of the frightening that goes back to what was once well known and has long been familiar'.[480] Furthermore, he suggests uncanny feelings stem from childhood memories or experiences, and thus an encounter or occurrence which might initially present as something fresh 'is in reality nothing new or alien, but something which is familiar and old-established in the mind'.[481] In other words, what gives an unsettling experience an uncanny quality is the very fact that it is not so strange after all, but vaguely recognisable, and thus, the uncanny is commonly characterised as 'something that is strangely familiar'.[482] In his critical

[479] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.37.
[480] Sigmund Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. by David McLintock (London: Penguin, 2003), p.124.
[481] Sigmund Freud, 'The Uncanny', *Art and Literature* 14 (1990), 336-376 (p.363).
[482] Katherine Withy, *Heidegger: On Being Uncanny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), p.9.

introduction to Freud's essay, Hugh Haughton notes that Freud treats the 'issue of foreignness and familiarity […] as integral to the logic of uncanniness', and that he 'interprets the uncanny as a return'.[483] As I discuss in Chapter Two, the phrase 'narrative of return' is commonly used in postcolonial literary studies to describe texts which depict a physical or spiritual return of a person to their homeland, or to a place they consider to be the beginning of their diaspora; such a journey is often imbued with nostalgia and with emotional magnitude. Indeed, Russel King and Anastasia Christou use the term 'return mobilities' to describe a journey 'to a "homeland" to which [the traveller has] an emotional and historical connection', and similarly, Elleke Boehmer suggests that a return journey can represent 'an emotional crisis, the end of a nostalgic dream.'[484] I use the phrase 'uncanny return' to describe the specific type of physical journey the authors undertake as colonial subjects travelling from a colony to the mother country because it reflects the link that Freud creates between the foreign, the familiar and the concept's origin in childhood. Furthermore, the term hints that a journey to a place the traveller has not visited before nor has an ancestral connection to can feel like a return, and it acknowledges the emotional weight of a return journey in a postcolonial context.[485]

While Psychoanalysis is an effective framework by which to analyse travelogues, Robert Burroughs and John Zilcosky state that the critical approach has been influenced by travel writing.[486] Indeed, Burroughs notes that 'travel writing is an important source material in Sigmund Freud's theories of the workings of the mind and its effects on

---

[483] Hugh Haughton, 'Introduction', in *The Uncanny* (London: Penguin, 2003), pp.vii-lx (p.xliv); p.xliii.
[484] Russell King and Anastasia Christou, 'Of Counter-Diaspora and Reverse Transnationalism: Return Mobilities to and from the Ancestral Homeland', *Mobilities*, 6.4 (2011), 451-466 (p.452); Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp.143-144.
[485] The term 'uncanny return' in this chapter expands the application of the uncanny in postcolonial contexts. Homi K. Bhabha also refers to Freud's conceptualisation of the uncanny in reference to the sensation of 'inbetweeness' or 'doubling' experienced by some postcolonial subjects, whereas I am using the concept to demonstrate the strength of English cultural imposition in the context of the colonial Caribbean. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.194.
[486] Dennis Porter applies psychoanalysis to travel writing, for example. Dennis Porter, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

behaviour.'[487] Similarly, Zilcosky proposes that European travel writing about faraway lands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not affected by the psychoanalytic turn of the *fin de siècle*, but rather, the reports of uncanny encounters 'contributed to stimulating the conjectures' of psychoanalytic theorists such as Otto Rank, Ernst Jentsch, and Freud.[488] He illustrates this point by drawing on examples of German-authored travel writing from this period, observing that European travellers experienced the 'new global world as a shocking series of "uncanny encounters." At the ends of the earth, they found not primitive savages but "civilized" natives or, even worse, European doppelgängers'.[489] Journeying to places they believed to be terra incognita, European travellers in fact 'discovered Europe everywhere, resulting in a new kind of fear, *not of difference but of similarity*'.[490] Among the examples Zilcosky cites are Norbert Jacques's *Hot Land: A Journey to Brazil* (1911) and Hermann Hesse's *Robert Aghion* (1913) – both of which were published before Freud's essay. Based on the author's 1907 journey to Brazil, Jacques's narrator encounters German men, female German prostitutes, beer, newspapers, places that bear the names of German cities, and he hears his native tongue. Similarly in India, Hesse describes Europeanised theatres, European furniture, and Dutch books.[491] One thing that Jacques and Hesse discover, then, is that distance does not guarantee difference. Europe's presence in unfamiliar or 'new' places, Zilcosky suggests, caused European travellers to confront unsettling questions about their own identity: if the Other is just like me, then '[w]ho, the European asked, am I not?'[492] Zilcosky's analysis is primarily concerned with European travel writing, whereby the travellers depart from a

[487] Robert Burroughs, 'Psychoanalysis', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.205-207 (p.205).
[488] John Zilcosky, *Uncanny Encounters: Literature, Psychoanalysis and the End of Alterity* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2016), p.18.
[489] Zilcosky, *Uncanny Encounters*, p.9.
[490] Zilcosky, *Uncanny Encounters*, p.10. Original emphasis.
[491] Zilcosky, *Uncanny Encounters*, pp.31-38 and pp.51-58. Hesse's and Jacques's narratives which emphasise the familiarity of their destinations stand in contrast to Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* in which he purposely constructs his destination and the travellees as Other.
[492] Zilcosky, *Uncanny Encounters*, p.26.

European metropolis to places outside Europe; however, I am concerned with texts which describe a journey from the periphery to the imperial centre.

All three titles – 'On Seeing England', *The Enigma of Arrival*, and *Familiar Stranger* – have an uncanny quality. Indeed, 'On Seeing England for the First Time' implicitly questions whether you can 'see' a place before visiting it.[493] For example, Kincaid initially writes that the first time she saw England was in Antigua when she 'was a child in school sitting at a desk'; however, in the second half of her essay, she makes the distinction that she only 'saw England, the real England […] for the first time' when, as 'a grown-up woman', she physically travelled there.[494] Similarly, the first clause of Naipaul's title – *The Enigma of Arrival* – suggests that 'arriving' is not a straightforward process but is instead multifarious and paradoxical for the arrivee, particularly if they have already encountered the destination remotely. Whereas Hall's title – *Familiar Stranger* – is a juxtaposition which links the often estranging and alienating process of migration to Freud's conception of the uncanny: that which is strangely familiar.

In his statement regarding the impact of colonial education, Ashcroft references 'the deep familiarity, the sense of arrival, that V.S. Naipaul felt when he first set foot in England and saw that countryside familiar to him from all his reading'.[495] Likewise, upon their arrivals, Kincaid and Hall are able to identify the 'mother country' from the images that were transmitted to them in the Caribbean.[496] For example, Kincaid pronounces an uncanny acquaintance with parts of England when she drives through country villages 'the names of which [she] somehow knew so well even though [she] had never been there

[493] Kincaid uses the phrase 'seeing England' or similar phrases such as 'saw England' or 'views of England' approximately eleven times throughout the short essay (including in the title).
[494] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.37. Zoran Pećić also discusses Kincaid's travel writing in the context of the uncanny, but he applies it to *My Garden (Book)* and *Among Flowers: A Walk in the Himalaya*. See Zoran Pećić, 'Floral Diaspora in Jamaica Kincaid's Travel Writing', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.138-155.
[495] Ashcroft, 'Reading Post-Colonial Australia', p.20.
[496] In this sense, 'On Seeing England', *The Enigma of Arrival* and *Familiar Stranger* differ from post-Windrush narratives (both fiction and non-fiction) produced by Caribbean migrants such as George Lamming's *The Pleasures of Exile* (1960) and Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* (1956), in which the authors emphasise their or their characters' sense of bewilderment upon their arrival in England.

before.'[497] In the same vein, when describing her journey to Bath, she states:

> The landscape was almost as familiar as my own hand, but I had never been to this place before, so how could that be again? […] the streets of Bath were familiar, too, but I had never walked on them before. It was all those years of reading, starting with Roman Britain.[498]

The comparison Kincaid makes between England and her hand further illustrates the extent to which her colonial education influenced her identity formation, because, to her, England is as recognisable as a part of her body. Like Kincaid, Hall plainly states that England is familiar to him upon his arrival: 'On the boat train to London, I kept feeling I'd seen this place somewhere before, as in a screen memory. It provoked a deep psychic recognition, an illusory after-effect.'[499] Furthermore, he describes his journey to the University of Oxford as follows:

> The whole experience was eerily familiar and disconcertingly strange at the same time. One can attribute this to the sense of déjà-vu which assails colonial travellers in first encountering face-to-face the imperial metropole, which they actually know in its translated form through a colonial haze.[500]

These quotations from 'On Seeing England' and *Familiar Stranger* epitomise what I mean by the phrase 'uncanny return' as both authors immediately recognise a place they have never visited before.

Similarly, we can infer from *The Enigma of Arrival* that Naipaul recognised parts of England too; however, his sense of familiarity is mediated through references to English and European literature. Paradigmatically, while on a walk to a viewpoint of Stonehenge, Naipaul passes a shed full of hay which made him 'think of the story about spinning straw into gold and of references in books with European settings to men sleeping on straw in

[497] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.39.
[498] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.39.
[499] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.150.
[500] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, pp.149-150.

barns.'[501] It is clear that his idea of what England 'should' look like was influenced by literature when he inadvertently writes literary characters and references into the landscape. On this note, Cooke observes that the title of the first section of *The Enigma of Arrival* – 'Jack's Garden' – 'recalls fairytale' in the sense that it brings to mind 'Jack and Jill' and 'Jack and the Beanstalk', and '[t]he suggestion of "Little Red Riding Hood" is there too, at Stonehenge, seen from a distance, where there was "always someone in red, among the little figures."'[502] In addition to evoking children's fairy tales, Naipaul suggests that the appearance of Jack's father-in-law resonates with the poetry of William Wordsworth: 'Once I saw him actually with a load of wood on his bent back: Wordsworthian, the subject of a poem Wordsworth might have called "The Fuel-Gatherer."'[503] In this way, Naipaul simultaneously conveys his intimacy with English literature and creates a literary scene around himself and the life he builds in Wiltshire. Furthermore, Naipaul describes the view while on one of his walks in the county which encompassed 'cattle stood against the sky'.[504] Reflecting on this view, he writes:

> [T]here was a corner of my fantasy in which I felt that some minute, remote yearning – as remote as a flitting, all-but-forgotten cinema memory from early childhood – had been satisfied, and I was in the original of that condensed-milk label drawing.[505]

Naipaul takes pleasure in the sense of recognition he feels upon seeing pastoral scenes in England. However, the satisfaction he gets from being 'in' the idealised pictures, coupled with the idea that he writes literary characters into the landscape around him, suggest that *The Enigma of Arrival* represents Naipaul's attempt to write himself into the scenes that are, in his mind, inextricably related to the mother country.

Although England is visibly recognisable to all three authors, in their narratives they also point out that there are elements of the place which either fall short of or do not

[501] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.10.
[502] Cooke, Travellers' Tales of Wonder, p.108.
[503] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.22.
[504] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.362.
[505] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, pp.361-362.

align with their expectations. On this note, critics such as King and Cooke observe that Naipaul's perception of England was over-determined by his distanced observation of the place. Indeed, King writes that, although 'the estate and the lands [near where Naipaul resides bring] to the narrator's mind a range of English writing from medieval English literature to the present', Naipaul realises that his associations of the English countryside and Englishness 'have been wrongly influenced by his colonial education and readings in English literature.'[506] And similarly, Cooke declares that one theme of *The Enigma of Arrival* includes 'the limitations of perceptions wrought by a literary horizon of expectations.'[507] This sense of disappointment is evident when Naipaul recalls living in Earls Court:

> I grew to feel that the grandeur belonged to the past; that I had come to England at the wrong time; that I had come too late to find the England, the heart of empire, which (like a provincial, from a far corner of the empire) I had created in my fantasy.[508]

In Naipaul's eyes, the imperial centre is decaying as he describes it in a way that suggests it is past its prime: still recognisable to him from the fantasies he created of it as a child, but not quite how he pictured it. In this sense, it is clear that his journey to England represents 'the end of a nostalgic dream' which is something that Boehmer suggests is common in return journeys.[509] His longing for England's 'grandeur', his description of it as 'the heart of empire' and the idea that he 'had come too late' imply regret, not only at his lateness but at imperial decline more broadly. Naipaul's disappointment at the lack of grandeur in England, coupled with his pleasure to be included in the English countryside,

---

[506] King, *V. S. Naipaul*, p.145; p.138.
[507] Cooke, *Travelers' Tales of Wonder*, p.106.
[508] Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, p.141. Similarly, Sen describes Prafulla Chandra Ray's disappointment after Ray travelled from India to Edinburgh in 1882 after winning a scholarship to Edinburgh University. Sen writes that Ray 'harboured the dream of studying in Edinburgh, "immortalised" by its association with such names as Carlyle's. But being physically present there he found to his dismay that the "holy and austere" atmosphere in which Carlyle had spent his youth no longer existed. The Highlands were no longer the sequestered nooks. Thanks to ever-expanding business enterprise they had been turned into tourist spots with railways and motor buses, carrying swarms of tourists, incessantly ploughing through them.' Sen, *Travels to Europe*, pp.112-113.
[509] Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature*, p.144.

demonstrate how his sentiment towards the imperial power differs from that of Kincaid and Hall, both of whom take care to emphasise their separateness from it.

The foreign and the familiar also sit side by side in *Familiar Stranger* and in 'On Seeing England'. In contrast to Naipaul, Hall and Kincaid are not regretful but are instead disenchanted and angry. For instance, Hall states that 'phantasms' of England were 'swollen with – as it happened – false promise' and goes on to note that 'what [he] really knew about Britain turned out to be a bewildering farrago of reality and fantasy.'[510] His illusion was shattered by what he terms 'post-war austerity London, with its bombed-out sites, rubble and gaping spaces', and the alienating atmosphere he experienced as one of the few black students at Oxford University. Hall's description certainly evokes the same image of decay and decline as Naipaul's, but he also alludes to the attitudes of the British people which contributed to his underwhelming experience. Likewise, Kincaid acknowledges that some parts of England are unfamiliar. She concludes her essay with a description of the White Cliffs of Dover which were the subject of the hymns and poems she recited as a child, and were revered in the Caribbean to the extent that people were buried 'facing a direction that would allow them to see the white cliffs of Dover when they were resurrected.'[511] She writes: 'They were not white; you would only call them that if the word "white" meant something special to you, they were dirty'.[512] Her characterisation of the cliffs as 'dirty' speaks to Naipaul's and Hall's descriptions of the imperial centre as tainted, deteriorating and damaged, and thus the cliffs are not as impressive as she was led to believe. The antipathy Kincaid feels towards England translates onto the place itself; unlike Naipaul who voices his pleasure at being 'in' the pastoral scenes, Kincaid wants to destroy them. Exemplifying this, she expresses the desire to 'take [England] into [her]

[510] Hall, *Familiar Stranger*, p.149.
[511] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.40. Caryl Phillips also references the significance of the White Cliffs of Dover for 'West Indian emigrants of the fifties and sixties' in *The Atlantic Sound*. Caryl Phillips, *The Atlantic Sound* (London: Vintage 2001), p.15.
[512] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.40.

hands and tear it into little pieces', and the last words of her essay convey her hope that all views of England would 'jump and die and disappear forever.'[513]

Reading Kincaid's, Naipaul's, and Hall's static engagements with England as a form of armchair travel revises the distanced observation branch of the practice. Certainly, by applying the principle to texts not usually read in this context, the first section of this chapter highlights the extent to which the practice has only been discussed in Eurocentric terms. Kincaid's, Naipaul's and Hall's narratives foreground thought, education and emotion as means by which to engage with a place, and subsequently allow us to recognise modes of travel that are not necessarily restricted to corporeal movement. Moreover, these texts highlight a unique emotional geography between postcolonial subjects and the mother country. This emotional geography is further emphasised through my discussion of the authors' uncanny returns to England. The sense of familiarity Kincaid, Naipaul, and Hall experience when they arrive in England, despite the fact that they have never visited the country before, illustrates the immersive and potent nature of their distanced observation.

[513] Kincaid, 'On Seeing England', p.37; p.40.

Chapter Five

'Lingering colonial tensions'? Blogging, Race, and Caribbean Travel

> [V]isitors to the Caribbean must feel that they are inhabiting a succession of postcards.
>
> –Derek Walcott, 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory', 1992

In his preface to *When the Going was Good* (1946), Evelyn Waugh remarks that he did 'not expect to see many travel books in the near future.'[514] His comment was a product of his belief that the age of 'real' travel was coming to an end due to the rise of mass tourism which occurred after the end of the Second World War.[515] It would have been nearly impossible for Waugh to foresee that tourism would encourage what Carl Thompson has described as a 'new form' of travel writing, namely, the travel blog, which flourishes alongside print-based travel books in the twenty-first century.[516]

Travel blogging is a literary practice whereby people undertaking (or who have undertaken) journeys write a short piece about their experience and publish it on a website.[517] The written content of a blog is often accompanied by personal pictures which correspond to the events and activities the blogger describes. Although blogs tend to document recreational or business-related journeys, the entries on *The Diary of a Refugee Mother* present an exception to this. *The Diary of a Refugee Mother* records the life of

---

[514] Evelyn Waugh, *When the Going Was Good* (London: Penguin, 2011), p.xii.
[515] Waugh's nostalgia for 'real' travel is evident when he writes: 'Never again, I suppose, shall we land on foreign soil with a letter of credit and a passport (itself the first faint shadow of the cloud that envelops us) and feel the world wide open before us', and when he expresses his admiration for travellers such as Charles Montagu Doughty (1843-1926), an English explorer and author of *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1888). Waugh, *When the Going Was Good*, p.xii-xiii.
[516] Carl Thompson (ed.), 'Introduction', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.18-23 (p.19).
[517] According to Andy Crestodina, the average blog post is 1151 words in length. Andy Crestodina, 'Blogging and Trends: The 2018 Survey of 1000+ Bloggers', *Orbit Media* < https://www.orbitmedia.com/blog/blogging-statistics/ > [accessed 6th June 2019] (para.13 of 45).

'Helen' who was imprisoned in Ethiopia for political activity and migrated to Britain in 2003 for her own safety. Her blog documents the harsh reality of life as a refugee in Britain.[518] Scholarship centring on travel blogs, though, almost unanimously concentrates on the narratives which depict a journey undertaken for pleasure under the traveller's own volition. For example, Deepti Ruth Azariah focusses on how the supposed tourist-traveller dichotomy manifests itself in travel blogs, while others such as Felix Magnus Bergmeister, Stefano Calzati, Kylie Cardell and Kate Douglass either examine blogs produced about countries in Asia or direct their scholarly attention at travel blogs by white authors.[519] The present chapter adds to this burgeoning area of travel writing studies by discussing the relationship between travel blogging and race, and by examining the work of travel bloggers with a Caribbean connection who are representing the region in their narratives.[520] This focus will allow me to assess whether the imperial attitudes present in earlier travel narratives, such as those I observe in Edgar Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye* (1958), linger in this 'new form' of travel writing.

Throughout the chapter I refer to a variety of blogs, but *Uncommon Caribbean* (ongoing), *Travel and Treatz* (ongoing), and *One Girl: One World* (ongoing) represent my main texts.[521] *Uncommon Caribbean* was established in 2010 by Patrick and Steve Bennett, brothers from St. Croix, who now reside in the United States of America. The

---

[518] Helen, *The Diary of a Refugee Mother* < https://diaryofarefugeemother.wordpress.com > [accessed 19th December 2018].

[519] Deepti Ruth Azariah, 'The Traveler as Author: Examining self-presentation and discourse in the (self) published travel blog', *Media, Culture and Society*, 38.6 (2016), 934-945; Deepti Ruth Azariah, *Tourism, Travel, and Blogging: A Discursive Analysis of Online Travel Narratives* (New York: Routledge, 2016); Felix Magnus Bergmeister, 'Shaping Southeast Asia: Tracing Tourism Imaginaries in Guidebooks and Travel Blogs', *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 8.2 (2015), 203-208; Stefano Calzati, *Beyond the Genre: Approaching Travel (and) Writing through Interviews with Authors and Bloggers* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019); Kylie Cardell and Kate Douglass, 'Travel Blogs', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Carl Thompson (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.343-352.

[520] I use the term 'travel bloggers' to refer to authors who upload their narratives to online platforms, whereas I use the term 'travel writers' to refer to authors whose work appears in a physical and tangible print format. By employing this deliberate linguistic distinction, I do not mean to contribute to or reproduce a literary hierarchy which places travel books above travel blogs, but rather, I use these terms to distinguish which form a travel author has used to publish their work.

[521] Steve Bennett and Patrick Bennett, *Uncommon Caribbean* < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com > [accessed 27th January 2017]; Savita Ragoo, *Travel and Treatz* < https://travelandtreatz.com > [accessed 16th January 2019]; Francesca Murray, *One Girl: One World* < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com > [accessed 7th December 2018].

former is the blog's creative director and the latter is the blog's editorial director. Their site offers information about fifty-four destinations within the Caribbean and has been featured in widely-circulated publications such as *USA Today*. *Travel and Treatz* was founded by Savita Ragoo who identifies as 'a 30-something year old female from the Caribbean islands of Trinidad and Tobago'.[522] Her blog contains articles about her islands of origin and Barbados and her content focusses on travel and food. The layout and visual nature of the blog form means that her gastronomic focus is immediately apparent. For example, her logo features an aeroplane, the contrails of which form the icing imagery of the cupcake below it, and her tag line situated underneath her logo reads: 'take the trip, have a mango & eat the cake'.[523] *One Girl: One World* is authored by Francesca Murray, who describes herself as 'a California girl who's got an incurable case of the travel bug!'[524] According to her 'About Me' section, she studied abroad in 2009 and since has lived in various countries and has travelled extensively. Her blog includes posts about Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, Barbuda, Grenada, Montserrat, Anguilla, Guadeloupe, Dominica, St Lucia, and Puerto Rico, but a large proportion of them concern Martinique. Her focus on Martinique is unsurprising given that she migrated to the island in 2015 to work as an English assistant for the French Ministry of Education, and because she is the author of *Your Ultimate Guide to Martinique* (2016).[525]

Like the previous chapters, this one is concerned with how Caribbean travel writers challenge and write into a genre associated with imperialism, but it extends this focus by discussing how such writers respond to the neo-colonial practice of Western tourism in the Caribbean. Similar to many other critics, I interpret Western tourism in areas which were

---

[522] Savita Ragoo, 'About', *Travel and Treatz* < https://travelandtreatz.com/about-savita/ > [accessed 16th January 2019] (para.2 of 11).
[523] Ragoo, *Travel and Treatz*, under logo.
[524] Francesca Murray, 'Francesca Who?', *One Girl: One World* < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/author/ > [accessed 15th January 2019] (para.1 of 5).
[525] Francesca Murray, 'My First Impressions of Martinique – p.s. I MOVED ABROAD', *One Girl: One World*, 5th October 2015 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/my-first-impressions-of-martinique-p-s-i-moved-abroad/ > [accessed 30th January 2019] (para.1 of 5).

once under colonial rule as a contemporary or renewed form of colonialism. On this note, Louis Turner and John Ash make the point that '[m]ost Third World countries have only recently gained their political independence from the old imperial powers. Yet tourism is an industry they want so badly that they are welcoming back their old masters with open arms', and touristic practices thus become 'an agency for the consolidation of empire.'[526] Similarly, C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker write that tourism 'both reinforces and is embedded in postcolonial relationships', and Edward M. Bruner states that '[i]n replicating the colonial experience, tourism is conservative and even reactionary, frequently retelling outmoded stories, reproducing stereotypes, replicating fantasy, or stimulating a discarded historical version.'[527] Anthony Carrigan in his *Postcolonial Tourism: Literature, Culture, and Environment* (2010), observes that 'mass travel practices frequently exploit uneven distributions of wealth, remapping colonial travel patterns as increasing numbers of citizens from rich nations choose to visit much poorer states.'[528] Caribbean islands' economic dependence on foreign capital and Western tourists is apparent in Jamaica Kincaid's 1988 travel narrative, *A Small Place*, in which Kincaid records how Antiguan taxi drivers quote prices '"[i]n US currency"'.[529] Evidently, Western tourism echoes European colonialism through direction of travel, through the power dynamics inherent in cross-cultural encounter, and through the mythology and discourse surrounding touristic destinations. This link between tourism and colonialism is particularly pertinent in discussions relating to the Caribbean, given that it is 'the most tourism-dependent region of the world'.[530]

---

[526] Louis Turner and John Ash, *Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable Company Limited, 1975), p.15; p.58.
[527] C. Michael Hall and Hazel Tucker, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.2; Edward M. Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), p.21.
[528] Anthony Carrigan, *Postcolonial Tourism: Literature, Culture, and Environment* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p.xi.
[529] Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), p.5.
[530] Stefan Gössling, *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2003), p.4. Although Gössling was writing in 2003, his statement is still applicable. According to *World Atlas*, in 2017 6 out of the top 10 countries most reliant on tourism were

Carrigan suggests that Kincaid in her *A Small Place* and Derek Walcott in his *Omeros* (1990) respond to touristic discourses surrounding their islands of origin by 'deconstruct[ing] the referential credibility of representations of island environments in brochure discourse, and destabiliz[ing] dreamy, asyndetic clichés.'[531] I extend Carrigan's assessment of counter-paradisal discourses in Caribbean literary responses to tourism by examining the extent to which his observations can be applied to the work produced by Caribbean travel bloggers. I begin by introducing the travel blog form, focussing specifically on its association with accessibility, and then proceed to discuss the relationship between contemporary travel, blogging, and race. I then examine whether Bennett and Bennett, Ragoo, and Murray present fresh, counter-paradisal depictions of the Caribbean in their posts or whether their representations of the region reproduce imperial discourses and reinforce the 'postcard' imagery Walcott alluded to in 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory', his Nobel prize acceptance speech.[532]

Travel Blogs

According to Jeff Greenwald, the first travel blog was written by himself and published on 6th January 1994 for *O'Reilly's Global Network Navigator*. Greenwald recalls writing the one thousand six hundred-word post and how it 'uploaded for three hours on a glacially slow fax-modem'.[533] The term 'blog' did not come into common currency until five years after Greenwald's initial project; but, as Carmela Bosangit, Sally Hibbert and Scott

---

Caribbean islands. Although they state that the *country* most reliant on tourism is Macau, the number of Caribbean islands mentioned in the list suggests that it is still the *region* most reliant on tourism. World Atlas, 'Top 10 Countries Most Reliant on Tourism', 1st August 2017 < https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/top-10-countries-most-reliant-on-tourism.html > [accessed 5th June 2019].

[531] Carrigan, *Postcolonial Tourism*, p.45.

[532] Derek Walcott, 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory', *The Nobel Prize* < https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1992/walcott/lecture/ > [accessed 4th June 2019] (para.18 of 50).

[533] Jeff Greenwald, 'The Tale of the World's First Travel Blog, Born 20 Years Ago Today', *Wired*, 1st June 2014 < https://www.wired.com/2014/01/20-years-of-travel-blogs/ > [accessed 7th December 2018] (para.16 of 21).

McCabe noted in 2015, '[b]logging is now a well-established tourist practice'.[534] Certainly, websites that are specifically designed to host blogs, such as *Wordpress* and *Blogspot*, along with 'microblogging and social networking sites like Facebook, Instagram, Tumblr, Twitter, and Snapchat', have made it easy for bloggers to create a record of their journeys.[535]

Ben Cocking has made the point that the practice has grown to the extent that two distinct types of travel blog have emerged: 'digital nomad' and 'travel hacking'.[536] According to Cocking, a 'digital nomad' blog is written in prose, uses uplifting language, is grounded in self-promotion, and endorses *wandervogel* ideals in the sense that the authors are against having a fixed address or job; whereas 'travel hacking' blogs are advisory, tend to appear in a list-based format with catchy, enticing titles – 'the ten best things to do', 'five ways to save money while travelling', 'two breaks in one' – and are grounded in aspirations of luxury breaks and all-inclusive packages. Furthermore, Azariah notes that there are differences surrounding blog post authorship. Indeed, some blogs are written or commissioned by guidebook publishers such as Lonely Planet, some are 'published on travel-specific web hosts sponsored by commercial advertising' and thus posts by different authors all appear on the same website, while others are 'independently hosted travel blogs' whereby the blog creator(s) generates their own content and is responsible for the site.[537] The Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murry author a mixture of digital nomad and travel hacking posts and their blogs are all independently hosted. I have decided to concentrate on independently hosted blogs because, like print-based travel writing, you can follow the travels of the author-narrator from the beginning of their blog to the end (or to the most recent post) without the addition of posts by other bloggers.

---

[534] Carmela Bosangit, Sally Hibbert and Scott McCabe, '"If I was going to die I should at least be having fun": Travel blogs, meaning and tourist experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 55 (2015), 1-14 (p.12).
[535] Kylie Cardell and Kate Douglass, 'Visualising Lives: the "selfie" as travel writing', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 22.1 (2018), 104-117 (p.105).
[536] Ben Cocking, 'Competing forms of travel writing in print based and user generated journalism', unpublished paper presented at 'Borders and Crossings', 13h-16th September, 2018, Pula, Croatia.
[537] Azariah, *Tourism, Travel, and Blogging*, p.11.

Although there are some consistencies between travel blogs and travel texts, such as the use of the first-person narrative and serialisation into individual posts or chapters, there are also some notable disparities. For example, the more informal editorial process of the blog form, along with its polyphonic, intangible, and visual nature, alternative chronology, and the hashtag and check in functions mean that it offers a different writing and reading experience to the printed travel text.[538] The similarities and differences between travel books and travel blogs have been discussed in depth by critics such as Azariah, Cardell and Douglass; however, the accessibility of the blog form in comparison to that of the printed travel text needs exploring here because the relationship between travel blogging and race challenges the form's supposed openness.[539]

Blogging, Travel, and Race

The accessibility of the blog form, for both readers and bloggers, theoretically reflects the utopic 'e-democracy' (or 'digital democracy') associated with internet usage. Although these terms are often employed in a political or a policy making context, they view the internet and the platforms it supports, such as websites, weblogs, and podcasts, as inclusive in the sense that they are 'relatively low cost and [are] (somewhat) globally accessible'.[540] Putatively, the internet enables a wider range of people to participate in debates and discussions because access to it is less restricted by factors such as geography, disability or

[538] By 'alternative chronology' I am referring to the fact that, while travel texts in a print format tend to open with the traveller's departure and conclude at the end of their journey, most blogs are a work in progress whereby the blogger appears to continually add to them throughout their journey or whenever they undertake their next trip. Furthermore, blogs tend either to show the most recent post first or to categorise the posts according to the region of the destination, which means that a reader is unlikely to view every individual article in the same way that they might read a piece of travel writing from beginning to end while following the narrative of the traveller-narrator; instead, they have the flexibility to pick which information is most relevant to them.

[539] Azariah, 'Introduction', in *Tourism, Travel, and Blogging*, pp.1-19; Cardell, and Douglass, 'Travel Blogs', pp.343-352.

[540] Lincoln Dahlberg and Eugenia Siapera (eds.), 'Introduction: Tracing Radical Democracy and the Internet', in *Radical Democracy and the Internet: Interrogating Theory and Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp.1-16 (p.3).

class compared to other forms of communication or sources of information.[541] Anyone with an internet connection – which is approximately 56.8% of the world's population – can read or create a travel blog for free.[542] Its self-publishing aspect means that online travel writing has the potential to accommodate a more diverse range of writing styles, and people who historically have been marginalised within the print-based travel writing sphere, such as women or travellers of colour, can utilise the form to document their travelling self.[543] Digital travel writing is also more democratic in the sense that it eradicates the need for what Jenny Walker describes as an 'in-road' into the print based travel writing industry through good contacts, although bloggers will sometimes endorse and promote another blog to their followership through 'shout outs' or tagging.[544]

Critics have been quick to commend the inclusivity of the blog form. For example, Azariah writes that 'blogs are, for the most part, participatory rather than exclusive and democratised rather than elitist', and likewise, Cardell and Douglass suggest that one positive feature of the form is that it allows 'a broader demographic of writer' to be heard.[545] Similarly, Brian Creech, ignoring the lengthy tradition of non-Western travel writing, notes that digital technologies such as blogs have expanded 'the discursive and imaginative work of media representation, so that it is no longer just Westerners

---

[541] 'The Queensland Government's e-democracy agenda', cited in Matt Qvortup, *The Politics of Participation: From Athens to e-democracy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p.68.
[542] Internet World Statistics, 'Internet Usage Statistics: The Internet Big Picture', 20th May 2019 < https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm > [accessed 4th June 2019] (graph titled 'World Internet Usage and Population Statistics March, 2019 – Updated'). Although a blog can be created for free, most websites which host blogs offer their users the option to 'upgrade' their blog for a small monthly fee. The benefits of upgrading include: a larger selection of 'themes' which exhibit a cleaner and sharper design; the improvement of the user-friendliness of the website (for example, if a reader is accessing a blog through a device other than a computer, the upgraded site translates the content into a format that is more compatible with that device); the absence of adverts and clickbait articles; and the chance to rid the blog's URL address of the name of the host (the URL of a non-upgraded Wordpress site would end in .wordpress.com, whereas an upgraded version would end with .com).
[543] Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan describe the field of travel writing as 'still primarily *white*, *male*, heterosexual, middle class.' Patrick Holland and Graham Huggan, *Tourists with Typewriters: Critical Reflections on Contemporary Travel Writing* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p.x. My emphases.
[544] Rebecca Butler and Sofia Aatkar, 'From "colour and flair" to "a corporate view": evolutions in guidebook writing: an interview with Jenny Walker', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21.2 (2017), 208-220 (p.209).
[545] Azariah, *Tourism, Travel, and Blogging*, p.2; Cardell and Douglass, 'Travel Blogs', p.348.

experiencing the rest of the world and representing their experiences'.[546] While the blog is regarded by some to be a progressive platform, others such as Christopher Kevin Oldfield have observed that the racial demographics of travel blogging do not reflect the inclusivity attributed to the form. Oldfield makes the point that the practice is dominated by white bloggers, like himself, when he writes:

> The overwhelming majority of people on this planet can't just quit their shitty job(s) and buy a plane ticket to some remote destination […] Being able to do that shit is a privilege, and one that is decidedly white.[547]

In a similar vein, Ben Groundwater writes that 'the vast majority of successful travel bloggers and influencers […] are skinny, good-looking white people'.[548] Groundwater's comment implies that the photo aspect of the form creates other problematic power dynamics which are perhaps less present in print-based travel writing, such as the appearance of the travel author. Despite the form's reputation of being 'globally accessible', then, the authoritative voices in the travel blogosphere remain racially homogenous.[549]

The correlation between the whiteness of the blogger and the blog's esteem is confirmed through an example provided by Oneika Raymond, who discusses the absence of brown and black faces at the invitation-only White House Travel Blogger Summit. Raymond, who identifies as 'Jamaican-Canadian', notes the irony that this summit, 'whose purpose was to promote diversity, cross cultural education, and foreign

---

[546] Brian Creech, 'Postcolonial Travel Journalism and the New Media', in *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing,* ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.157-172 (p.161).
[547] Christopher Kevin Oldfield, 'The Whiteness of Travel: Privilege in the World of Travel Blogging', *Lessons Learned Abroad,* 3rd August 2015 < https://www.lessonslearnedabroad.com/blog/2015/7/11/the-whiteness-of-travel > [accessed 11th December 2018] (para.7 of 7).
[548] Ben Groundwater, 'Travel bloggers and social influencers: Is the travel community "too white?"', *Traveller,* 14th November 2017 < http://www.traveller.com.au/travel-bloggers-and-social-influencers-is-the-travel-community-too-white-gzk931 > [accessed 11th December 2018] (para.4 of 16).
[549] Dahlberg and Siapera, 'Introduction', p.3.

exploration, only tapped one demographic (white bloggers)'.[550] Further to this, in 2018 *The Expeditioner* put together a list entitled 'The Top 50 Travel Blogs' which ranked the sites according to the amount of traffic they received.[551] Only ten blogs on this list are authored by visibly non-white bloggers, the majority of whom are of East Asian descent; there are no black-authored blogs on this list.[552] Evidently, white is the dominant demographic among high-profile travel bloggers. Arguably, then, the power dynamics which the blog form theoretically challenges are reproduced in critical and commercial contexts, such as when blogs are ranked in terms of popularity, or when white bloggers are invited to prestigious events.

Raymond suggests that the lack of racial diversity within travel-related media is symptomatic of an assumption that brown and black people do not travel for pleasure. She recognises the selective and systematic exclusion of people of colour from travel- and tourist-related media content and this is evident when she writes: 'the quintessential globetrotter [is painted] as white', and 'despite the fact that [black people] are going places […] the media would have you believe the only people playing Christopher Columbus are of the melanin-deprived variety.'[553] This assumption is also reflected by writers such as Elliott Neal Hester who recalls being rebuked by his black friends when he expressed excitement at the prospect of skiing and visiting a foreign country: '"why do you want to go and do all that white boy shit?"'[554] Similarly, Farai Chideya makes the point that black travellers in Greece suffered 'unprovoked harassment and violent attacks' because their

[550] Oneika Raymond, 'The Lack of Black in Travel Blogging and Travel Media', *Oneika The Traveller*, 17th December 2014 < http://www.oneikathetraveller.com/lack-black-travel-blogging-travel-media.html > [accessed 13th December 2018] (para.3 of 13).
[551] The Expeditioner, 'The Top 50 Travel Blogs (2nd Quarter: 2018)', 22nd July 2018 < https://www.theexpeditioner.com/the-top-50-travel-blogs/ > [accessed 14th January 2019].
[552] My assessment that there were ten visibly non-white bloggers was made using the 'About' section of each blog, or from the photos the authors uploaded if they did not disclose their nationality. If I misidentified someone who is white passing, for example, then I apologise.
[553] Raymond, 'The Lack of Black', para.7; para.9.
[554] Elliott Neal Hester, 'Blackpacking', in *Black Travel Writing*, ed. by R. Victoria Arana, *The Sonia Sanchez Literary Review*, 9.1 (2003), 245-249 (p.249).

complexion meant that they were 'perceived to be foreign migrants', not tourists.[555] Although the distorted idea that it is only white people who travel for pleasure disregards the large (and increasing) number of Chinese and Japanese tourists who have received media coverage in recent years, it is important to note that these demographics are often the subject of unfavourable reportage. For example, Chan Yuk Wah notes that 'the Chinese tourist is increasingly depicted in the media as boorish, rude, rough, loud and aggressive', Amy Li observes that Chinese tourists are characterised as rude and omnipresent when she writes that '[t]hey are seen as pushy, loud, impolite, unruly, and they are everywhere', whereas Malcom Cooper refers to the old and patronising stereotype of Japanese tourists 'with a camera blindly following a flag-bearing guide.'[556] Perhaps, then, it would be more prudent to say that the lack of *positive* media representation about non-white tourists is influencing the assumption Raymond references.

As a reaction against this perception, there is an ongoing, online movement which intends to prove that black people travel too. Raymond characterises sites and channels which promote black travel as 'FUBU (for us, by us)', and this collective ethos is exemplified by Instagram accounts such as @travelnoire, @blackandabroad, @blackpassportstamps, @blacktraveljourney, @blacktravelgram and

---

[555] Farai Chideya, 'Traveling While Black', *New York Times*, 3rd January 2014 < https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/05/travel/traveling-while-black.html?_r=0 > [accessed 13th December 2018] (para.14 of 20). Gloria Atanmo, Peggy Teo and Sandra Leong, and Jennie Germann Molz write about other difficulties people of colour face while travelling. Atanmo describes being repeatedly mistaken for a prostitute rather than a tourist and Two and Leong discuss the issue Atanmo highlights in the context of Asian women travelling to Thailand. Likewise, Molz makes the point that it is more difficult for travellers to 'fit in' if they are not 'young, white, middle-class, heterosexual, and able-bodied.' Gloria Atanmo, 'The Worst Part About My Travels as a Solo, Black Woman', *The Blog Abroad: Chronicles of an Adventure Junkie*, 9th November 2016 < https://thoughtcatalog.com/gloria-atanmo/2016/11/the-worst-part-about-my-travels-as-a-solo-black-woman/ > [accessed 18th December 2018]; Peggy Teo and Sandra Leong, 'A Postcolonial Analysis of Backpacking', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33 (2006), 109-131 (p.125); Jennie Germann Molz, 'Cosmopolitan Bodies: Fit to Travel and Travelling to Fit', *Body & Society*, 12.3 (2006), 1-21 (p.15).

[556] Chan Yuk Wah, 'Disorganized Tourism Space: Chinese tourists in an age of Asian tourism', in *Asia on Tour: Exploring the rise of Asian Tourism*, ed. by Tim Winter, Peggy Teo, and T.C. Chang (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.67-78 (p.74); Amy Li, 'Why are Chinese tourists so rude? A few insights', *South China Morning Post*, 1st June 2013 < https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1251239/why-are-chinese-tourists-so-rude > [accessed on 6th June 2019] (para.1 of 32); Malcom Cooper, 'The Japanese Gaze on the World', in *Japanese Tourism: Spaces, Places, and Structures*, ed. by Carolin Funck and Malcom Cooper (Oxford: Bergham Books, 2015), pp.139-159 (p.145).

@blackgirltravelmovement.[557] These are not private, personal accounts on which the account *creator* documents images of their own journeys, but rather, an account *curator* collates and shares pictures of different black people travelling. Evita Robinson and Dianelle Rivers-Mitchell contribute to this communal mission in the sense that they both founded travel groups aimed at people of colour. Robinson founded Nomadness Travel Tribe to 'represent the underrepresented demographic in mainstream travel', and since its conception in 2011, the brand has facilitated 'nearly thirty international group trips'.[558] During a TED Talk, Robinson stated that she set up the group 'specifically for millennial travellers of colour' and to show 'the world that black people do travel everywhere'.[559] Similarly, Rivers-Mitchell founded the group Black Girls Travel Too. The group began as an Instagram account in January 2015, but has since become a company which 'creates travel experiences that breathe life into Black women' through organised trips.[560]

While Robinson and Rivers-Mitchell are advocates for diversifying the contemporary travel industry, there are still issues of exclusion within their groups. For example, Nomadness Travel Tribe has 'a prerequisite of having at least one passport stamp to enter'.[561] This indicates that, in order to be eligible to join the group, the prospective member must have already undertaken an international trip – a requirement that necessitates a degree of financial and cultural privilege. Correspondingly, the trips that Black Girls Travel Too organise are expensive. One of their organised trips in 2019 is an 8-day experience in Barbados which is priced at $2947 (excluding flights). The travellers

[557] Raymond, 'The Lack of Black', para. 10.
[558] Nomadness Travel Tribe, 'Tribe' < https://www.nomadnesstv.com/about-nomadness-travel-tribe/ > [accessed 13th December 2018] (para.1 of 3); para.2.
[559] Evita Robinson, 'Evita Robinson: Reclaiming the Globe', *TED Residency*, 27th September 2017 < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-aQTOVwtPlY&feature=youtu.be&t= > [accessed 13th December 2018] (01:27); 04:28.
[560] Black Girls Travel Too, 'About BGTT' < https://www.blackgirlstraveltoo.com/about/ > [accessed 17th December 2018] (para.3 of 14). Similarly, Festival At Sea is a company which specialises in African-American cruises, or 'cruising with an African-American twist'. Their 2019 Caribbean cruise, for instance, includes activities such as Gospel Brunch, African-American Idol, and African Attire Evening and Fashion Show. Festival At Sea, 'Caribbean 2019', < https://www.festivalatsea.com/caribbean-19 > [accessed 2nd December 2018].
[561] Nomadness, 'Tribe.', para.3.

have the option of paying the full amount upfront or through interest-heavy payment plans – $1033 over three months or $542 over six months – which means that those who opt for a payment plan spend significantly more than those who can afford to pay the full amount when they make the initial booking.[562] In addition, Nomadness Travel Tribe and Black Girls Travel Too are based in North America, which reinforces the perception that the individuals who can travel for pleasure reside in the 'West' or the Global North. Although Robinson and Rivers-Mitchell might be trying to prove that there are wealthy black travellers, the financial and geographical elitism that accompanies these groups undercuts the sense of comradery and solidarity they appear to be founded on.

By drawing on *Uncommon Caribbean*, *Travel and Treatz*, and *One Girl: One World*, the present chapter seeks to raise the platform of what Raymond calls the 'Black Travel Movement', as all three sites are authored by black bloggers, all of whom specify their Caribbean connection.[563] It is worth noting that finding a travel blog about the Caribbean by a person of colour who lives in the Global South was a difficult and lengthy process. Although Ragoo lives in a nation which is generally categorised under the label 'Global South', it is important to acknowledge the likelihood that she is among the Trinidadian and Tobago elite. Indeed, factors such as her degree from the University of the West Indies, her ability to 'escape to a beach in Barbados', to sample an array of desserts at the Hilton Trinidad, and the fact that she describes her life as 'western' and 'fairly privileged', suggest that she is more fortunate than other residents in her place of origin.[564] Evidently, blogging is usually undertaken from a position of privilege, whether it be racial,

[562] The price of the trip ($2947) includes a 7-night stay at a hotel on Accra Beach, some meals, an airport transfer, and the price of a few activities. In comparison, a package deal through British Airways for £1417 (approximately $1789) includes a 7-night stay at Accra Beach Hotel and return flights.
[563] Raymond discusses and explains the Black Travel Movement here: Oneika Raymond, 'For us, by us: 5 black-owned travel groups you should know about', *Oneika the Traveller* < http://www.oneikathetraveller.com/5-black-travel-groups-you-should-know.html > [accessed 21st January 2019].
[564] Ragoo, 'About', para.2; Savita Ragoo, 'Oh! The Desserts of Luce!', *Travel and Treatz*, 3rd December 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/oh-the-desserts-of-luce/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]; Ragoo, 'About', para.7.

financial, or geographical (or all three).[565] The scarcity of bloggers of colour and the lack of media representation of black bloggers may help us to understand why Bennett, Bennett, Ragoo, and Murray all, to varying extents and in different ways, conform to stereotypical representations of the region.

Imperial and Brochure Discourse in Travel Blogs

On the twentieth anniversary of his post, Greenwald reflected that his work 'was the beginning of an art form, or obligation, or plague'.[566] His allusion to the proliferation and pervasive nature of blogging is not unfounded. Certainly, although there has been reference to the practice as new and innovative, it has faced similar criticism to imperial travel writing. For example, Creech suggests that travel writing or travel journalism published on digital platforms can exhibit 'lingering colonial tensions that are often expressed in new ways', as 'agency-limiting portrayals of the postcolonial world' are uploaded onto photo and video sharing sites, along with blog posts which commodify travellees' culture.[567] In addition, Bergmeister observes that 'the encoding of social macro-structures (e.g. ideologies of colonialism and Western hegemony) into textual micro-structures by means of strategic linguistic choices' is one of the ways in which Orientalist tropes are reproduced in blogs and guidebooks.[568] Drawing on independently-authored travel blogs about Singapore, Vietnam, and Cambodia, he notes that bloggers tend to fall back on the stereotypical notion that Asian cities are chaotic, express their appreciation that the English language is widely used, represent places of significance by referencing European discovery, and exclude 'local voices in favour of a colonial persona'.[569]

---

[565] Hannah McGregor and Tara Robertson discuss how the internet is not open and available to everyone, the impossibility of net neutrality, and the digital colonialism of Facebook. Hannah McGregor, 'Not Nice, Not White, and Not a Lady with Tara Robertson', *Secret Feminist Agenda*, 3.12 (2018) < https://secretfeministagenda.com > [accessed 24th January 2018].
[566] Greenwald, 'The Tale of the World's First Travel Blog', para.16.
[567] Creech, 'Postcolonial Travel Journalism', p.161; p.165.
[568] Bergmesiter, 'Shaping Southeast Asia', p.204.
[569] Bergmeister, 'Shaping Southeast Asia', pp.206-207.

Likewise, Richard White and Justine Greenwood make the point that blogs about Australia echo many of the themes found in their print-based predecessors:

> There remains a multiplicity of ways that Australia has featured and evolved in travel writing over more than two centuries. Yet some themes reoccur: nature is awe-inspiring yet harsh; the people are friendly yet prejudiced; and the culture is never quite as sophisticated as the 'old world'. As Australian travel writing, like all travel writing, enters the blog age, it is clear that these tropes endure. Many blogs […] document the search for the 'real' Australia in the outback and bush, often consciously following the footsteps of explorers.[570]

Although travel blogs represent a new form within the genre, the analysis by Creech, Bergmeister, White and Greenwood indicate that their newness does not guarantee fresh or innovative ways of representing people or places, as the blogs they refer to reiterate already established narratives and fall back on – and thus contribute to – stereotypical depictions.

The first stage of analysing how the Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murray follow this pattern is to identify the stereotypes, or to borrow Rob Shield's term, the 'place-images' associated with the Caribbean. According to Shields, place-images are a 'a widely disseminated and commonly held set of images of a place or space'.[571] The place-images associated with the Caribbean are influenced by what Ian Gregory Strachan terms 'brochure discourse'. According to Strachan, brochure discourse not only reduces the region to 'captivating aerial shots of rocks; deep blue-green waters; […] a white sandy beach without footprints; lush green landscapes; and smiling black "natives" […] ready to serve, ready to please', but also commodifies 'carnivals and folk festivals, often the sites of grassroots cultural resistance' by marketing them as 'sources of exotic entertainment'.[572]

---

[570] Richard White and Justine Greenwood, 'Australia', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing,* ed. by Carl Thompson (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.457-468 (p.466).
[571] Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991), p.60.
[572] Ian Gregory Strachan, *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* (Charlottesvile: University of Virginia Press, 2002), pp.1-2.

The place-images and brochure discourse through which the Caribbean is represented to the rest of the world has seen its islands become 'among the most exoticized worldwide'.[573] This is confirmed by Ragoo when she notes: '[w]hen you think of the Caribbean, the first thing that comes to mind is the beach', and by the photographs and entries on blogs such as *Caribbean Travel Blog, RumShopRyan*, *Ordinary Traveler*, and *Y Travel Blog*.[574] The content of these blogs construct the Caribbean as a pristine island paradise, comprised predominantly of luxury hotels and tropical beaches in which tourists can relax and indulge.

In 'The Antilles', Walcott highlights the fact that brochure discourse encourages a homogenous perception of Caribbean islands when he describes these recurring images as: 'that high-pitched repetition of the same images of service that cannot distinguish one island from the other'[575] Although Walcott's frustration is directed at tourist brochures, his point can be applied to blog entries about the region, too. Indeed, a search for '#Caribbean' on microblogging sites such as Instagram produces images which conform to the brochure discourse Strachan describes, with white sand beaches, sea and sky in varying but bright shades of blue, palm trees, and luxurious looking resorts dominating the search results. In these images, Caribbean islands appear relatively anonymous in the sense that the seascapes and hotels could belong to any of the islands; often, it is only a hashtag or a check in label which identifies the photo's location. Clearly, when it comes to the

---

[573] Carrigan, *Postcolonial Tourism*, p.xiii.
[574] Savita Ragoo, 'Things to do in Barbados', *Travel and Treatz*, 22nd December 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/things-to-do-in-barbados/ > [accessed 16th January 2019] (para.2 of 13). For examples of articles on these topics, see: Michael and Nicole, 'Top 5 Wedding Destinations in the Caribbean', *Caribbean Travel Blog* < http://caribbeantravelblog.com/top-5-wedding-destinations-in-the-caribbean/ > [accessed 22nd January 2019]; Michael and Nicole, 'Most Beautiful White Sand Beaches in the Caribbean', *Caribbean Travel Blog* < http://caribbeantravelblog.com/beautiful-white-sand-beaches-caribbean/ > [accessed 21st January 2019]; SJacob, 'Aruba: A Real Life Daydream', *RumShopRyan*, 1st April 2016 < https://www.rumshopryan.com/2016/04/01/aruba-a-real-life-daydream/ > [accessed 22nd January 2019]; Christy Woodrow, 'Maho Beach Resort: A Destination Within a Destination', *Ordinary Traveler* < https://ordinarytraveler.com/maho-beach-resort-st-maarten > [accessed 22nd January 2019]; Craig Makepeace, '7 things to do in the Bahamas that will make your Bahamas vacation unforgettable', *Y Travel*, 13th October 2018 < https://www.ytravelblog.com/things-to-do-in-the-bahamas-vacation/ > [accessed 22nd January 2019].
[575] Walcott, 'The Antilles', para.43.

representation of Caribbean islands in the contemporary travel blogging industry, their culture and history which make them distinct are rarely foregrounded. I now turn to *Uncommon Caribbean*, *Travel and Treatz*, and *One Girl: One World*. I examine the extent to which the Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murry puncture place-images and adopt an anti-paradisal discourse similar to the one Carrigan identifies in *A Small Place* and *Omeros*, or whether they conform to Caribbean brochure discourse and repeat some of the problematic issues associated with imperial travel writing.

Uncommon Caribbean

The branding of *Uncommon Caribbean* gives the impression that Bennett and Bennett promote unique and innovative travel experiences. Certainly, the name – *Uncommon Caribbean* – signifies the authors' desire to move away from the familiar brochure discourse associated with the region. This aim is reiterated by their tagline which describes the blog as '[t]he ultimate resource for authentic, off-the-beaten-path Caribbean travel and culture', and by their mission statement, visible at the end of every *Uncommon Caribbean* webpage, which states that the blog seeks to change 'the way people think about travels to the Caribbean by putting authentic aspects of the island life and the region's unique cultural heritage in the spotlight ahead of the glitzy, one-size fits all tourist trap image popularised over the years.'[576] Bennett and Bennett's use of the phrase 'one-size fits all' echoes Walcott's frustration with the homogenising depictions of the region; however, the phrase 'off-the-beaten-path', together with their promise to highlight the region's 'unique cultural heritage', suggest that they want to provide an antidote to the prevailing brochure discourse and place-images associated with the region.

One of the ways in which the Bennetts counter the homogenising, collective gaze

[576] Patrick Bennett, 'The Real Caribbean Less Traveled', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 11th May 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/about/ > [accessed 6th December 2018] (at the foot of the page under the social media logos).

levelled at the Caribbean is by referring to a wide variety of its islands. On their blog, the reader can choose between fifty-four destinations including the larger Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad, but the smaller, less-known islands, such as St. Thomas, Bequia, and St. Eustatius are also listed. The inclusion of smaller islands is significant in a Caribbean context because of what Matthew Roberts refers to as '"big island – small island" syndrome'.[577] This syndrome manifests itself as a mentality which sees Caribbean residents who come from a 'big island' looking down on Caribbean residents who come from a 'small island'. There is a perception that those who come from a 'small island' are parochial in comparison to 'big islanders' who, because they reside in one of 'the region's more developed states', see themselves as more cosmopolitan and world-wise.[578] In his discussion of international news coverage within the region, Roberts notes that big islands – he refers to 'Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Barbados' – are more likely than small islands to receive media attention.[579] His summation is applicable to blogs about the Caribbean, too: 'big islands' or islands which are seen as typical holiday destinations feature heavily on *Oneika the Traveller*, *Travel and Treatz*, and *One Girl: One World*. Perhaps because they come from a 'small island' themselves, Bennett and Bennett do not see the small islands within the region as somehow less significant or less worthy of coverage than the big islands. Thus, by including entries about them in *Uncommon Caribbean*, they work to shed light on the more marginalised islands within the region, and they create original blog content in the process.

The reader of *Uncommon Caribbean* can browse the blog either by 'Destination' or

[577] Matthew Roberts, 'Small Islands, Big Media: Challenges of Foreign Media in Covering the Caribbean', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 40.2 (1994), 8-22 (p.15). Lynda-Louise Burrell refers to the rift between people who originate from 'big' islands and those who come from 'small' islands: 'Mum had to endure my dad's teasing about her coming from a "small island" […] You see my dad's a Jamaican and as far as Jamaicans are concerned, as most Caribbean islands are smaller than theirs, they refer to people from the other islands as "small islanders."' Lynda-Louise Burrell, '"Do You Want it Real Caribbean Style?"', in *Caribbean Journeys: Travel Writing by Nottingham Caribbean Elders*, ed. by Sofia Aatkar and Kelsi Delaney (Leicester: University of Leicester Centre for New Writing, 2018), pp.27-30 (p.27).
[578] Roberts, 'Small Islands, Big Media', p.15.
[579] Roberts, 'Small Islands, Big Media', p.15.

'Topic'. Some of the topics listed, like 'Beaches', 'Boutique Hotels', 'Luxury', and 'Beach Bars', align with the more stereotypical content found on *Caribbean Travel Blog, RumShopRyan*, *Ordinary Traveler*, and *Y Travel Blog*. Nevertheless, Bennett and Bennett also fulfil their mission statement and put 'the region's unique cultural heritage in the spotlight'.[580] 'How To Blow a Conch Shell, Part One' is a good example of how they use their blog to platform Caribbean culture. Indeed, Steve Bennett informs his readers that the noise of a conch shell serves a wide range of purposes across the region, including as an 'alert to approaching ships in Saba, a notice from fishermen in The Bahamas that the catch of the day was up for sale, a call to Vodou spirits in Haiti.'[581] Here, Bennett simultaneously educates his readers about one facet of Caribbean culture and counters the homogenising view of the region. By making the point that the connotations of the conch shell noise differ between the islands, he emphasises rather than flattens the region's diversity.

Furthermore, 'Carnival' is one option under the list of 'Topics' available on *Uncommon Caribbean*, and Bennett and Bennett's many entries on this subject represent another way in which they foreground the region's culture. The posts about Carnival vary in style and content: from recommending the talents of a face painter in St. Martin to a playlist of Soca music to exercise to.[582] The practice is typically associated with the islands of Trinidad and Tobago where the event originated; however, one of the 'uncommon' aspects of the Bennetts' blog is that they consider how Carnival is celebrated across the region, not only in Trinidad and Tobago. For instance, they discuss the Spicemas Carnival Festival in Grenada, and the Jacmel Carnival, the Mardi Gras Carnaval, and the Carnaval

[580] Bennett, 'The Real Caribbean Less Traveled', at the foot of the page under the social media logos.
[581] Steve Bennett, 'How To Blow a Conch Shell, Part One', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 13th July 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/caribbean/blow-conch-shell-part-one/ > [accessed 24th January 2018] (para.2 of 10).
[582] Steve Bennett, 'Getting All Made Up For St. Martin Carnival', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 27th October 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-martin/st-martin-carnival/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]; Steve Bennett, 'Saturday Soundtrack: Soca Jams to Help You Keep Your New Year's Fitness Resolutions, *Uncommon Caribbean*, 6th December 2016 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/saturday-soundtrack-soca-jams-to-help-you-keep-your-new-years-fitness-resolutions/ > [accessed 24th January 2019].

des Fleurs, all of which take place in Haiti.[583] In addition to expanding traditional conceptualisations of Carnival, they ensure their readers understand the significance behind the celebrations, too. For example, Patrick Bennett highlights the historical weight of Kambules (or Canboulay), the event from which Carnival was born, by observing how Kambules began. He notes how, in response to being banned from the celebrations put on by the French colonial powers, slaves in Trinidad created their own celebration which 'gave over time to mimicking and mocking their oppressors, while also incorporating aspects of rituals and folklore brought with them from Africa. […] The whole thing was part ancestral ritual, part protest against enslavement.'[584] Thus, Bennett writes back to the commodification of Carnival in brochure discourse by emphasising its origin in slave-led resistance against European oppression.

Moreover, Bennett takes care to document that the widely used spelling – Canboulay – is 'colonial inspired' in the sense that it is 'derived from a French patois of "cannes brulées" meaning "burnt cane", whereas Kambules is derived from a Kikongo word from West Africa meaning "procession"', and he appropriately adopts the latter spelling throughout his blog entry.[585] The detail Bennett goes into is unusual in a travel blog post about Carnival. Indeed, blog posts such as 'Trinidad and Tobago Carnival 2015: The Experience' by Shivi Ramoutar and 'Trinidad and Tobago Carnival – Calypso, Masquerade and Steel Pan' by Earnell Brown, only focus on the authors' personal experience of the event.[586] In comparison, the posts about Carnival on *Uncommon*

---

[583] Steve Bennett, 'The Unbridled Joy of Spicemas J'ouvert 2015, Grenada', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 11th August 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/grenada/the-unbridled-joy-of-spicemas-jouvert-2015-grenada/ > [accessed 25th January 2019]; Steve Bennett, 'The Smiling Faces of Haiti's Carnaval des Fleurs', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 29th July 2014 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/haiti/the-smiling-face-of-haitis-carnaval-des-fleurs/ > [accessed 25th January 2019].

[584] Patrick Bennett, 'Witness Kambule/Canboulay And The Dawn of Trinidad Carnival', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 2nd March 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/witness-kambulecanboulay-and-the-dawn-of-trinidad-carnival/ > [accessed 24th January 2019] (para.14 of 24).

[585] Bennett, 'Witness Kambule/Canboulay', para.9-11.

[586] Shivi Ramoutar, 'Trinidad and Tobago Carnival 2015: The Experience', *Contemporary Caribbean Cooking*, 23rd February 2015 < http://www.shiviramoutar.com/blog/2015/2/23/trinidad-carnival-2015 > [accessed 6th December 2018]; Earnell Brown, 'Trinidad and Tobago Carnival – Calypso, Masquerade and Steel Pan', *Travel and Enjoy Magazine*, 10th August 2011 < http://travelandenjoymagazine.com/wordpress/carnival-in-trinidad-and-tobago-the-greatest-show-on-earth/ >

Caribbean are outward facing and committed to giving readers a greater understanding of the practice through culturally and historically intelligent content.

The posts on *Uncommon Caribbean* do not shy away from the region's difficult history. For example, Steve Bennett recommends museums about slavery within the region, such as 'La Savane des Esclaves' in Martinique, and Patrick Bennett debunks the dominant historical narrative surrounding the Caribbean's 'discovery'.[587] Patrick Bennett recalls learning through the colonial education he received in St. Croix that Christopher Columbus discovered the region, but then adds: 'as I got older […] the glossy veneer of ol' Chris didn't hold up'.[588] He goes on to note 'the paradox of "discovering" a land that already has a population', and lists Columbus's crimes such as: 'the enslavement, torture, mutilation and murder of *thousands* of indigenous people in the Caribbean islands [and] the establishment of institutionalized slavery in the West Indies.'[589] Unlike the blogs that Bergmeister analyses which use European discovery as a framework to represent places of significance, Bennett contests the notion that explorers such as Columbus should be celebrated by detailing the destruction and suffering caused by his 'discovery'. Bennett and Bennett's blog entries about the memorials of slavery and the Caribbean's 'discovery' certainly alter the place-images associated with the region because the posts are a sharp reminder to *Uncommon Caribbean*'s readers that the region is far more than a holiday destination; to some it is a site of mourning and of ancestral trauma.

On the whole, Bennett and Bennett's content exhibits an anti-colonial politic and the range of topics they cover goes far beyond the clichéd posts about Caribbean beaches.

[accessed 7th December 2018]; See Chapter Two for a discussion about Amryl Johnson's experience of Carnival.

[587] Steve Bennett, 'Lest We Forget – La Savane des Esclaves, Martinique', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 9th February 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/martinique/savane-des-esclaves-martinique/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]; Patrick Bennett, 'Top 5 Reasons NOT to Celebrate Columbus Day (And 1 Reason To)', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 15th October 2013 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/caribbean/top-5-reasons-not-to-celebrate-columbus-day-and-1-reason-to/ > [accessed 24th January 2019].

[588] Bennett, 'Top 5 Reasons NOT to Celebrate Columbus Day', para.3.

[589] Bennett, 'Top 5 Reasons NOT to Celebrate Columbus Day', para.12; para.10. Original emphasis.

That said, there are a few blog posts and visual aspects of *Uncommon Caribbean* which juxtapose their otherwise fresh and nuanced representation of the region. For instance, there is an imperial undertone in the entry entitled 'Princess Diana Beach at Cocoa Point, Barbuda – A Love Story' and in the *Uncommon Caribbean* logo. In the entry, Steve Bennett asks his readers to '[i]magine the entire West Indies archipelago as a blank canvas', and goes on to state that the beauty of the beach made him understand why the tourism developer, William Cody Kelly, wanted to 'plant his flag here'.[590] This resonates with imperial discourses because picturing 'peripheral' places as blank contributed to the myth that they were uninhabited before European discovery. Furthermore, the fact that Bennett is sympathetic to the act of planting a flag – an act symbolic of colonialism in the sense that it connotes claiming ownership of a piece of land for one's country of origin – is reminiscent of Columbus's first landing in the Caribbean. Indeed, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus* (1492) documents how Columbus sailed to the shore of the first island he encountered in a boat baring 'the royal standard' and how he 'took possession of the island' in the name of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain.[591]

Moreover, the *Uncommon Caribbean* logo resembles a navigational compass. This image simultaneously reiterates the sentiment of the blog's tagline and mission statement – that the blog offers information about lesser documented parts of the Caribbean – but also leans on the symbolism associated with exploratory travel. Arguably, then, the logo epitomises Creech's statement that blogs display 'lingering colonial tensions that are often expressed in new ways'.[592] On one hand, the image blatantly adopts an imperial discourse, but on the other, Bennett and Bennett appropriate this image to engage with an audience who want to see themselves as travellers rather than tourists, and to market their blog as

[590] Steve Bennett, 'Princess Diana Beach at Cocoa Point, Barbuda – A Love Story', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 21st August 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/barbuda/princess-diana-beach-barbuda-love-story/ > [accessed 24th January 2019] (para.1 of 10); para. 10.
[591] Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. by Cecil Jane, ed. by L. A. Vigneras (London: Anthony Blond and The Orion Press, 1960), p.23.
[592] Creech, 'Postcolonial Travel Journalism', p.161.

one which contains unique material.

Bennett and Bennett's pictorial content seems to reinforce the brochure discourse they denounce in their tagline and mission statement. The main image on their home page, for example, is a candid photo of one of the Bennett brothers with his back to the camera walking across a white sand pathway in the sea's shallow water towards a lush green island dense with foliage; a typical island paradise.[593] In addition, 'Photography' is one of the topics listed on the website, and the majority of images available to view feature beaches and sunsets.[594] In her discussion of the 'tropicalization' of Caribbean islands in postcards and photographs, Krista A. Thompson observes that some postcolonial subjects in the Anglophone Caribbean 'reconstructed their identities and histories – for better or worse – precisely through these colonial representations.'[595] Drawing on the photographs taken by Father Reese to accompany his song, 'Miss Jamaica', the lyrics of which praised the beauty of the island, Thompson notes that these images 'would be at home on any postcard of Jamaica'.[596] Thompson's observations indicate that the postcard imagery associated with the Caribbean region has been internalised by its residents. While this internalisation could be a contributing factor to the glossy, tropical images Bennett and Bennett foreground on their website, the presence of these images could also be explained by the dynamics of the blog form.

Certainly, one of the reasons why the Bennetts might reiterate typical place-images associated with the region is evident in their post, 'Get 10% Off The Best Caribbean Prints and More', in which they announce that some of the photographs featured on their

[593] This has been the main photo on the homepage since December 2018.
[594] For example, see Steve Bennett and Patrick Bennett, 'St. Croix Beach Update 2017-2018', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 21st March 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-croix/st-croix-beach-update-winter-2017-2018/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]; Steve Bennett, 'The Sweetness Beyond the Sunsets in St. Lucia', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 10th December 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-lucia/the-sweetness-beyond-the-sunsets-in-st-lucia/ > [accessed 24th January 2019].
[595] Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (London: Duke University Press, 2006), p.255.
[596] Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*, pp.252-253.

Instagram page are for sale. In reference to the thousands of images they have shared on this micro-blogging platform, they write:

> Through your feedback, we've realized that you *really*, *really* like a few of those photos more than others. […] Our first collection of photos are the top 10 most popular photos posted during 2018.[597]

In other words, the ten images which received the most attention through comments or 'likes' on the *Uncommon Caribbean* Instagram profile are available for readers to purchase. The most popular photographs depict the Caribbean coast, which tells the Bennetts that these are the scenes their followership are interested in seeing. Part of the discussion in the 'Blogging, Travel, and Race' section of this chapter notes that one of the ways in which blogs are valued is by the amount of internet traffic they receive: the more traffic a site receives the more successful it is deemed to be. The fact that conventional images of the Caribbean receive the most positive interaction means that Bennett and Bennett are likely to use them to draw traffic to their blog, which might explain why the images they display are not of an 'uncommon Caribbean', but rather, a Caribbean that harmonises with their readers' expectations.

Despite the fact that the visual elements of *Uncommon Caribbean* tend to conform to the place-images and brochure discourse associated with the region and are somewhat imperial in tone, there are several aspects of Bennett and Bennett's written content (aside from 'Princess Diana Beach') which are anti-imperial, emphasise the varying histories, features, and traditions of different islands, and thus counter homogenising representations of the region.

[597] Patrick Bennett, 'Get 10% Off The Best Caribbean Prints And More', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 6th December 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/caribbean/caribbean-prints-and-more/ > [accessed 24th January 2019] (para.1-2 of 15). Original emphasis.

Travel and Treatz

Travel and Treatz documents Ragoo's world-wide travels and contains eight articles about the Caribbean, specifically Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados. Similar to Bennett and Bennett, Ragoo offers a response to the tropical rhetoric associated with the region in some posts, but in others she conforms to it. Indeed, her posts concerning Trinidad and Tobago, the place of her birth, convincingly challenge Caribbean brochure discourse, whereas this same discourse is evident in her posts concerning Barbados.

'A Visit to the Temple in the Sea at Waterloo', in which Ragoo describes her visit to a Hindu temple, exhibits anti-paradisal content. One of the ways in which she achieves this is by describing commonplace activities in her opening sentence: 'One rainy day after a dental appointment and some errands'.[598] The mundane tasks she lists here represent an antithesis to the exoticising and sensationalist language which Strachan suggests is used in Caribbean brochure discourse. Furthermore, the subject of Ragoo's article – a Hindu temple – highlights a marginal element of the region's history. She refers to the temple's creator, Sewdass Sadhu, whom she describes as an 'indentured labourer' from India.[599] While slavery dominates historical narratives about the Caribbean, the attention paid to the migration of predominantly Indian and Chinese labourers under the indenture system is minimal by comparison. On this note, David Dabydeen, Maria del Pilar Kaladeen, and Tina K. Ramnarine write that indentureship 'has remained largely absent from public discourses', and similarly, Lomarsh Roopnarine takes care to emphasise the lack of research undertaken on the resistive strategies used by indentured workers and suggests that they are often portrayed as 'social victims' in Indian Caribbean historiography.[600] By

[598] Savita Ragoo, 'A Visit to the Temple in the Sea at Waterloo', *Travel and Treatz*, 9th November 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/a-visit-to-the-temple-in-the-sea-at-waterloo/ > [accessed 16th January 2019] (para.1 of 5).
[599] Ragoo, 'A Visit to the Temple in the Sea at Waterloo', para.3.
[600] David Dabydeen, Maria del Pilar Kaladeen, and Tina K. Ramnarine (eds.), 'Introduction', in *We Mark Your Memory: writings from the descendants of indenture* (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies,

referencing the indenture system and by acknowledging the Indian presence in the region, Ragoo places this 'absent' history in the public eye.

Bennett and Bennett also discuss indentureship, Indian culture and Hinduism in a small number of their posts, most notably in 'Taste of the Caribbean: Sweet Trini Kurma Treats', but uphold the image of indentured labourers as social victims by describing them as 'suppressed by the ruling colonial powers'. [601] Ragoo, on the other hand, portrays Sadhu as a resilient figure when she notes that the first temple Sandhu built was 'demolished when the courts ruled in favour of the sugar company that owned the land' on which the temple was situated, but, undeterred, Sandhu decided to build the temple in the sea instead.[602] According to Ragoo, the construction of the second temple took twenty-five years and was completed by Sandhu's 'bare hands, his bicycle and buckets'.[603] In this post, then, Ragoo not only brings the narrative of an indentured labourer into the spotlight, she also writes back to the narratives which portray indentured labourers as an oppressed class with little agency.

In another article about Trinidad and Tobago, Ragoo discusses the danger mass tourism presents to wildlife. 'Prehistoric Reptilian Leatherbacked Nocturnal Beach Layers in Trinidad & Tobago' is an informative post about leatherback turtles that use the nation's beaches to nest between March and August. One of the subheadings of this post is 'Threats and Conservation' in which Ragoo highlights the hazards tourists pose to the turtles, such as 'noise, light and trash'.[604] Similarly, in 'Spoiled to Death – The Sad Story of The

---

2018), pp.ix-xii (p.ix); Lomarsh Roopnarine, 'Indian Migration During Indentured Servitude in British Guiana and Trinidad, 1850-1920', *Labor History*, 52.2 (2011), 173-191 (p.175).

[601] Steve Benentt, 'Taste of the Caribbean: Sweet Trini Kurma Treats', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 21st May 2014 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/taste-of-the-caribbean-sweet-trini-kurma-treats/ > [accessed 29th January 2019]; Steve Bennett, 'Uncommon Attraction: La Divina Pastora, Transcending Trinidad's Religions for Centuries', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 29th August 2013 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/uncommon-attraction-la-divina-pastora-transcending-trinidads-religions-for-centuries/ > [accessed 29th January 2019] (para.8 of 11).

[602] Ragoo, 'A Visit to the Temple', para.4.

[603] Ragoo, 'A Visit to the Temple', para.4.

[604] Savita Ragoo, 'Prehistoric Reptilian Leatherbacked Nocturnal Beach Layers in Trinidad & Tobago', *Travel and Treatz*, 10th May 2018 < https://travelandtreatz.com/prehistoric-reptilian-leatherbacked-nocturnal-beach-layers-in-trinidad-tobago/ > [accessed 16th January 2019] (para.18 of 25).

Swimming Pigs of The Bahamas', Steve Bennett notes that irresponsible tourists caused the death of seven swimming pigs that are a common attraction in the Bahamas.[605] Bennett advises that, if you pay the pigs a visit, 'pack your common sense and compassion', and Ragoo lays out guidelines for turtle watching which includes a bullet point list of 'dos' and 'don'ts'.[606] By presenting the Caribbean as a site to be protected and by encouraging tourists to take responsibility for their behaviour, Bennett and Ragoo work against the idea that the region is a beach paradise for tourists to absent-mindedly enjoy. However, Ragoo offers her readers more concrete advice in comparison to Bennett in the sense that she presents suggestions of how to practise considerate tourism: 'Flash photography is prohibited', 'Don't leave ANY trash on the beach'.[607]

In contrast to her posts about Trinidad and Tobago, Ragoo's entries about Barbados tend to conform to stereotypical representations of the region. For example, in 'Things to do in Barbados' she either recommends activities typically associated with tourism like a party bus bar crawl, swimming with turtles, and beaches, or she recommends sugar mills and churches but shies away from discussing their historical significance.[608] Indeed, after recommending a visit to Morgan Lewis Sugar Mill, she writes that the mill is 'representative of a time when sugar production was the backbone of the Barbados and Caribbean economy', without any reference to the slave and indentured labour which this economy relied on.[609] '5 Reasons to Visit Barbados', on the other hand, represents a post in which Caribbean brochure discourse is simultaneously contested and reinforced. Her list

---

[605] Steve Bennett, 'Spoiled to Death – The Sad Story of The Swimming Pigs of The Bahamas', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 12th June 2017 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/bahamas/spoiled-swimming-pigs-bahamas/ > [accessed 29th January 2019]. It is worth noting that Patrick Bennett wrote an article recommending swimming with pigs as something to do in the Bahamas in 2015, which indicates that Bennett and Bennett are becoming more aware of the environmental impacts of tourism in the region. Patrick Bennett, 'Uncommon Attraction: The Swimming Pigs of Big Majro's Spot in The Exumas', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 7th November 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/exuma/uncommon-attraction-the-swimming-pigs-of-majors-spot-cay-in-the-exumas/ > [accessed 29th January 2019].
[606] Bennett, 'Spoiled to Death', para.6.
[607] Ragoo, 'Prehistoric Reptilian', para.23.
[608] Savita Ragoo, '5 Reasons to Visit Barbados', *Travel and Treatz*, 3rd December 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/5-reasons-to-visit-barbados/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]; Ragoo, 'Things to Do in Barbados'.
[609] Ragoo, 'Things to Do in Barbados', para.13.

of five reasons to visit the island consists of five different beaches; however, like 'A Visit to the Temple in the Sea', the article begins with a counter-paradisal content as she describes her domestic routine which consists of studying, working, and going to the gym. She further notes that, with the Trinidad and Tobago Carnival approaching, she 'wound up on Expedia checking out packages for other Caribbean destinations to get away', and subsequently decided to visit Barbados.[610] This statement is revealing in several ways. Firstly, it makes the point that Caribbean residents, not just returnee Caribbean people like Amryl Johnson, are sometimes tourists within the region; secondly, it challenges the link Johnson forges between participation in Carnival and Caribbean identity; and thirdly, it indicates that, for some people who live in the region, Carnival is disruptive and something to avoid: a reason to travel away from rather than to the islands as Bennett and Bennett, Ramoutar, and Brown recommend.

Perhaps because Ragoo was born and currently resides in Trinidad and Tobago, her posts regarding this two-island nation are of a significantly more serious nature and offer a more detailed and engaged reflection than her posts about Barbados. Certainly, Ragoo's post about the Temple in the Sea works to alter the Caribbean's dominant historical narrative and the post regarding leatherback turtles is critical of irresponsible tourism. In comparison, though, her Barbados-related content reproduces the uncritical commodification of place that imagines the Caribbean as a place for tourists, like herself, to consume.

One Girl: One World

Like Bennett and Bennett, Murray expresses a desire to alter the way people perceive the Caribbean. On Twitter, she noted that she has '[b]een working hard to change the narrative on Caribbean travel amongst millennials (and all ages really) and share a diverse

[610] Ragoo, '5 Reasons to Visit Barbados', para.2.

perspective'.[611] However, similar to the Bennetts and Ragoo, Murray both counters and reinforces imperial and brochure discourse throughout her blog.

As I discuss above, Bergmeister observes that travel bloggers fall back on Orientalist and imperialist tropes by: reproducing stereotypes, expressing their relief that the English language is used, by writing what they see back into a European context, and by excluding the perspectives of travelees.[612] We might add 'by exhibiting a white saviour complex' to this list. The notion that affluent Western travellers can 'improve' a community by either boosting their local economy through tourist practices or by participating in voluntourism schemes has been criticised by people like Teju Cole, who wrote on the subject that 'a nobody from America or Europe can go to Africa and become a godlike saviour […] Many have done it under the banner of "making a difference."' [613] This attitude has been lampooned by the Instagram account @barbiesaviour, which typically posts photos of a white Barbie figure enacting voluntourism practices, such as teaching, with satirical captions: 'Who needs a formal education to teach in Africa? Not me! All I need is some chalk and a dose of optimism'.[614] This kind of misguided altruism is rooted in the so-called 'civilising mission' which acted as a justification for colonialism. As I discuss in Chapter Four, throughout the era of high imperialism European states intervened in countries they deemed to be less civilised than themselves, purporting to 'save' the 'natives' by enforcing an education which aligned with their own pedagogical systems and by delivering what they deemed to be truthful religious and moral guidance,

[611] I published a tweet from my personal Twitter account asking for recommendations of travel blogs by Caribbean authors. In response to @featherytravels's recommendation of her, @onegrloneworld (Murray) wrote the quoted tweet on 7th December 2018 at 7:33am GMT.
[612] Bergmesiter, 'Shaping Southeast Asia', p.204.
[613] Teju Cole, 'The White Saviour Industrial Complex', *The Atlantic*, 21st March 2012 < https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/ > [accessed on 31st January 2019] (para.10 of 23).
[614] Barbie Saviour, 'Who needs a formal education to teach in Africa?...', *Instagram*, 16th April 2016 < https://www.instagram.com/p/BERW7Vvsffu/ > [accessed 31st January 2019] (photo caption).

thus enacting a kind of cultural imperialism.[615]

In her post 'What Every American Should Know Before They Visit Martinique', Murray recognises that the white saviour complex still exists in contemporary attitudes, and subsequently titles one section of this post 'They Don't "Need" Your Tourism Dollars"'.[616] She makes the point that '[a] lot of people travel to the Caribbean with the idea that they're "saving" the locals through their tourism dollars', but goes on to cite the strength of the Euro in comparison to the US Dollar and Martinique's 'position as a part of France' as reasons why the island's population does not have to rely on tourists to survive.'[617] Although Murray does not explain why the Euro is used in Martinique and the island's colonial connection with France, she nevertheless highlights the condescending – and sometimes unwarranted – nature of these white saviour attitudes. Towards the end of the section Murray adds: 'Hence the reason why "at your service" is not the average person's mentality.'[618] This is a refreshing representation because it debunks the stereotype of 'smiling black "natives" […] ready to serve, ready to please' which Strachan identifies as part of Caribbean brochure discourse, and it dissembles the power structures of slavery, subjugation, and servitude which accompany the neo-colonial practice of tourism in the Caribbean.[619]

Similar to Patrick Bennett in his posts about Kambules and Columbus, Murray takes care to discuss the violence inflicted by European travellers and settlers in the region. For example, in 'Celebrating Saint Patrick's Day in Montserrat – Caribbean Style!' she details the historical weight of the festivities:

---

[615] See Chapter Four for a discussion about the colonial education system which was implemented by British powers. David Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857) is an example of missionary travel writing in the era of high imperialism.
[616] Francesca Murray, 'What Every American Traveler Should Know Before They Visit Martinique', *One Girl: One World*, 6th November 2017 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/american-traveler-should-know-martinique/ > [accessed 30th January 2019] (para.6 of 10).
[617] Murray, 'What Every American Traveler Should Know', para.6.
[618] Murray, 'What Every American Traveler Should Know', para.6.
[619] Strachan, *Paradise and Plantations*, p.1.

> This year marked the 250th anniversary of a failed slave revolt in 1768 against the slave masters, who were mostly Irish. […] several slaves were killed as a penalty for attempting to overthrow their masters […] I find it really interesting how the island of Monserrat has turned what was once a horrific moment in history into an opportunity to celebrate and educate.[620]

Murray remains uncritical as to why Saint Patrick's Day represents a cause to celebrate rather than to mourn; but the fact that she does not shy away from discussions of slavery points to her desire to change the narrative of Caribbean travel. Much like Bennett, she portrays the region as far more than a holiday destination by highlighting its violent history.

Although there are several ways in which Murray works to alter common perceptions of the region, she also reproduces some of the Orientalist tropes associated with travel writing that Bergmeister identifies. For example, she writes a natural disaster which occurred in the Caribbean into a European historical narrative when she describes the 1995 eruption of Soufriere, Montserrat, as 'a modern day Pompeii', and she excludes the voices of Caribbean people from her blog.[621] Ragoo does not include the voices of the Caribbean people she encounters, and likewise, Bennett and Bennett rarely do either, but we might speculate that this is because they are Caribbean-born themselves, and therefore might see their own perspectives as 'local'.[622]

Furthermore, Murray expresses her suspicion of people who choose not to speak in English. In '4 Things I Wish I Knew Before I Traveled to St Lucia', Murray informs her readers:

---

[620] Francesca Murray, 'Celebrating Saint Patrick's Day in Montserrat – Caribbean Style!', *One Girl: One World*, 15th April 2018 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/st-patricks-day-montserrat-caribbean/ > [accessed 30th January 2019] (paras.2-3 of 7).
[621] Francesca Murray, '5 Reasons Why Montserrat Should Be On Your Caribbean Bucket List', *One Girl: One World*, 24th April 2018 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/5-reasons-visit-montserrat-caribbean/ > [accessed 30th January 2019] (para.4 of 6).
[622] Exceptions to this on *Uncommon Caribbean* includes the short post: Steve Bennett, 'How St. Croix Is Doing Right Now, As Told By Those Who Live There', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 5th January 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-croix/how-st-croix-is-doing-right-now/ > [accessed 20th June 2019].

> English is the official language in Saint Lucia but they also speak Creole. […] we arrived at the airport and were being **swarmed** by about seven different men asking us if we needed a taxi […] As a general rule of thumb, I usually assume something sneaky is going on when people can speak English natively but choose to make themselves incomprehensible.[623]

In the body of the blog post, Murray chose to write the word 'swarmed' in a bold typeface. The visual importance she places on this word conveys the sense that she felt overwhelmed by the taxi drivers' desire for her custom, but it also emphasises her problematic word choice. This is an example of how 'social macro-structures (e.g. ideologies of colonialism and Western hegemony)' are encoded into 'textual micro-structures by means of strategic linguistic choices' as Bergmeister suggests. In this quotation, Murray perpetuates the imperial idea that people who do not speak English are an annoyance or are not human given the fact that the term 'swarmed' is one usually applied to insects.[624] This idea is reiterated when she interprets the taxi drivers' decision to speak Creole as a way to be sly rather than an expression of their identity, furthering the highly racialised idea that people who do not speak English cannot be trusted. Like Bennett and Bennett and Ragoo, then, some of Murray's posts seem committed to re-writing the narrative of Caribbean travel from a contemporary black perspective, whereas others are less critically engaged and display blatant imperial attitudes.

Although Carrigan observes a cogent anti-paradisal discourse in *A Small Place* and *Omeros*, his observation cannot be applied to *Uncommon Caribbean*, *Travel and Treatz*, and *One Girl: One World*. Indeed, the Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murray, far from dislodging paradisal tropes in Caribbean brochure rhetoric all, to different extents, reinforce them. We could, in part, attribute this to the blog form because all three sites rely on tourists' desire to see 'dreamy asyndetic clichés' to sustain them; they need to appropriate exotic pictures

---

[623] Francesca Murray, '4 Things I Wish I Knew Before I Traveled to Saint Lucia', *One Girl: One World*, 20th January 2016 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/4-things-i-wish-i-knew-before-i-went-to-saint-lucia/ > [accessed 30th January 2019] (para.4 of 7).
[624] Bergmesiter, 'Shaping Southeast Asia', p.204.

of the region which conform to brochure discourse and postcard imagery to draw readers to their sites. We could also argue that the 'lack of black' within the travel blogging industry means that bloggers of colour like the Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murray feel the need to conform to the expected version of the Caribbean in order to be successful in critical and commercial contexts. The observation that *Uncommon Caribbean*, *Travel and Treatz* and *One Girl: One World* fall back on imperial tropes associated with travel writing's problematic past and exhibit an anti-colonial stance should come as no surprise. Indeed, the form's association with newness does not mean it is exempt from Raymond William's conceptualisation of residual, dominant, and emergent forms within texts, which sees the ghosts of old ideologies lingering in new literature.[625] It could be argued that the Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murray include different outlooks throughout their blogs to appeal to different kinds of readers; however, like the dual position Edgar Mittelholzer displays in *With a Carib Eye*, it could also by symptomatic of the fact that imperial discourse remains a residual – or even a dominant – ideology within the genre of travel writing.

[625] Raymond Williams, 'Forms of English Fiction in 1848', in *Writing and Society* (London: Verso, 1983), pp.150-166 (p.151).

Conclusion

Caribbean-British Travel Writing, 1958-2018 and Beyond

In 2012 Theresa May, the British Home Secretary at the time, stated that her intention was to 'create here in Britain a really hostile environment for illegal immigration'.[626] In the years leading up to the 70th anniversary of the docking of the SS. Empire Windrush, members of the Windrush generation and their descendants were unjustly targeted by May's hostile environment, despite the fact that their migration to the UK was legal; 2018 saw thousands of Caribbean people wrongly detained, deported, or denied legal rights by the British Home Office.[627] These incidents, which have been given the collective name the Windrush Scandal, are ongoing. The significance and impact of the Windrush Scandal emphasises the fact that the Caribbean-British relationship remains a fraught connection, and one which is still being negotiated in the postcolonial era.

The texts I have examined throughout this thesis are a product of the Caribbean-British relationship. Indeed, they describe travel to either of these geographical locations and movements between and within them. They narrate the diverse ways in which this colonial connection effects the collective and individual identity of Caribbean people, and how it informs their experiences within their region of origin and Britain. For example, Amryl Johnson in her *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (1988) records how her migration to Britain as a child caused her estrangement from the Caribbean when she makes a return journey to it decades later. In addition, the texts discussed both reinforce and challenge the binary implicit in the phrase 'Caribbean-British', and thus they capture the complex and

[626] Jessica Elgot, 'Theresa May's "hostile environment" at the heart of Windrush scandal', *The Guardian*, 17th April 2018 < https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/apr/17/theresa-mays-hostile-environment-policy-at-heart-of-windrush-scandal > [accessed 19th January 2019] (para.1 of 24).

[627] According to The Migration Observatory, approximately 17,694 people who arrived in the UK from the Americas and the Caribbean before 1971 either had a non-UK passport or no passport, which made them vulnerable to detainment and deportation. The Migration Observatory, 'Commonwealth citizens arriving before 1971' < https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/commonwealth-citizens-arriving-before-1971/ > [accessed 16th September 2019] (table titled 'Commonwealth migrants who arrived in the UK before 1971, by place of birth and passports held').

convoluted nature of this relationship. For instance, Ferdinand Dennis in his *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (1988) and Caryl Phillips in his *The Atlantic Sound* (2000) both make the point that this binary remains resolute. Their travel narratives observe and reflect on the racial tensions in the decades preceding May's hostile environment by documenting the discrimination Caribbean people (and other ethnic minorities) encounter in Britain, and the informal racial segregation which separates black British and immigrant communities from those of white Britons. On the other hand, Edgar Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye* (1958), Jamaica Kincaid's 'On Seeing England for the First Time' (1999), V.S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987), and Stuart Hall's *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (2017) blur the binary by recording the strength and pervasive nature of a British presence in the Caribbean. The authors' descriptions of colonial education and Caribbean locations named after places in Britain figuratively shrink the distance between these two disparate locations and illustrate how anglocentric attitudes and ideologies have been ingrained into Caribbean culture and society.

The travelogues I have examined throughout this thesis reveal the variety of literary expressions with which Caribbean travel writers articulate diverse forms of Caribbean-British mobility. Chapter One argued that Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye* can be interpreted as a postcolonial travellee polemic. I suggest that the resistive stance which is characteristic of the travellee polemic is undermined because of Mittelholzer's ambiguous subjectivity. Indeed, the counter-discourse Mittelholzer initially employs when he defends the region against what he considers to be false and exoticising claims made by British travel writers is weakened by the reverence for England he displays at other points in the text. Even though Mittelholzer attempts to authenticate his account by using intertextuality and anecdotes to write back to English travel authors, the success of *With a Carib Eye* in its capacity as a travellee polemic is debatable because of its limited circulation and

unfavourable reception. Certainly, the dual stance which Mittelholzer exhibits throughout *With a Carib Eye* is symptomatic of the ambivalent position of the colonised subject in the Caribbean; however, this duality is mirrored in my discussion of contemporary Caribbean travel bloggers in Chapter Five, who also seek to counter the paradisal tropes associated with the region but ultimately fall back on imperial discourses in their posts. This perpetuity within Caribbean-British travel writing reveals that the postcolonial era does not represent a marked break from the colonial; the literature captures the fact that they are continuous and overlapping.

Chapter Two discussed the performative aspects of Johnson's *Sequins for a Ragged Hem*. Like Mittelholzer, Johnson occupies an ambivalent position when she travels within her region of origin, but I suggested her duality manifests as a feeling of unbelonging as the Caribbean residents she encounters observe her symbolic whiteness and thus identify her as a tourist. I argued that, to counter this feeling of alienation when she travels within the Caribbean, Johnson exhibits cultural performativity throughout her narrative in numerous ways: she disavows herself from tourists, she visits places which are highly significant in Caribbean history such as sugar plantations and a Carib Reserve, she participates in activities strongly associated with Caribbean culture such as Carnival, and she writes herself into the long tradition of gothic literature associated with the Caribbean by describing the female ghost which haunts her throughout her journey.

In contrast, Chapters Three and Four examined travel narratives which engage with England from a Caribbean perspective. Texts which present the former mother country and its colonial legacies from an ex-centric position took on a renewed importance after 23rd June 2016. On this date, approximately 17.4 million British people – 51.9% of those who voted – opted to leave the European Union, an outcome which is commonly referred to as 'Brexit'.[628] Many commentators and critics have suggested that some voters' desire to

[628] The EU Referendum saw a 72.2% turn out. More statistics can be found at BBC, 'EU Referendum Results' < https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/eu_referendum/results > [accessed 2nd August 2019].

leave the European Union was rooted in a British empire complex, xenophobic attitudes towards migrants, and racist attitudes towards minorities.[629] For example, Danny Dorling and Sally Tomlinson observe that some voters 'actually believed the propaganda' perpetuated by the leave campaign, which told the public that '"their" country was being taken over by colonial and EU immigrants, by refugees from anywhere, or even by Islam.'[630] Dorling and Tomlinson go on to predict that 'in the near future the EU referendum will become widely recognised and understood as part of the last vestiges of empire working their way out of the British psyche.'[631] Likewise, Gary Younge observes that British imperial sentiment led to Brexit:

> Our colonial past, and the inability to come to terms with its demise, gave many the impression that we are far bigger, stronger and more influential than we really are. At some point they convinced themselves that the reason we are at the centre of most world maps is because the Earth revolves around us, not because it was us who drew the maps.[632]

Although Younge ignores the thousands of maps (and counter-maps) which have not been charted by British cartographers, the link he makes between British insularity, empire, and Brexit implicitly highlights why travel narratives which portray Britain from an 'outsider's' perspective are important. Indeed, such narratives have the potential to challenge this insularity because they offer the (white) British reading public an opportunity to examine how they and Britain appear in the eyes of Others.

The texts examined in Chapter Three, Dennis's *Behind the Frontlines* and Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound*, hold a mirror up to the face of the British nation. These

---

[629] Sally Tomlinson makes the important point that the Brexit vote 'increased hostilities towards racial and minority ethnic groups and migrant workers' in Britain. Sally Tomlinson, *Education and Race from Empire to Brexit* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019), p.1.
[630] Danny Dorling and Sally Tomlinson, *Rule Britannia: Brexit and the End of Empire* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2019), p.5.
[631] Dorling and Tomlinson, *Rule Britannia*, p.2.
[632] Gary Younge, 'Britain's imperial fantasies have given us Brexit', *The Guardian*, 3rd February 2018 < https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/03/imperial-fantasies-brexit-theresa-may > [accessed 2nd August 2019] (para.5 of 15).

narratives not only capture the hostility migrants and people of colour endure in Britain, but they also record the racial division of city space which may be otherwise invisible to the white urban wanderer. I drew on *Behind the Frontlines* and *The Atlantic Sound* to extend the debate surrounding the possibility of the postcolonial *flâneur* – one usually discussed in the context of fiction – by applying it to these examples of postcolonial travel writing. I discussed how Dennis and Phillips describe themselves occupying and navigating British urban space in their respective travel narratives, and suggested that instead of questioning whether a postcolonial *flâneur* can exist, it might be more productive to question which times of day and which spaces allow black people to perform *flânerie* best. I went on to propose that the very marginality which is characteristic of the postcolonial *flâneur* means that this male figure can document aspects of urban space which may evade the notice of the traditional *flâneur*. Certainly, by depicting British urban space as racially intolerant, by highlighting the legacies of slavery and colonisation present in British cities, and by demonstrating how the British cityscape is divided along racial lines, Phillips and Dennis, in their capacity as postcolonial *flâneurs*, offer their readership an alternative to the dominant, often whitewashed, narratives of the cities they wander through. This, I suggested, means that Phillips and Dennis challenge cartographic normativity because they offer a literary counter-map of British cities in their travel writing; a trope which is particularly interesting to think about at a time when British borders are being re-examined in the wake of the Brexit vote.

Chapter Four concentrated on the remote yet intense engagement with Britain that the colonial education system in the Caribbean encouraged, and subsequently suggested that this form of pedagogy can be understood as armchair travel. I drew on Kincaid's 'On Seeing England', Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival*, and Stuart Hall's *Familiar Stranger* to suggest that the colonial education system revises the distanced observation branch of this stationary travel practice. My analysis of these texts revealed that this form of travel is

rarely discussed in postcolonial contexts, and that the kind of engagement with place that it facilitated through education fostered a unique and formative relationship between Caribbean students and the mother country. I illustrated the latter point further by highlighting how, when they travel to Britain as adults, Kincaid, Naipaul, and Hall experience their journeys as uncanny returns; to them, Britain is strangely familiar, despite the fact that they had never before physically visited the nation. The authors' intimate knowledge of Britain further underlines the intense nature of the Caribbean-British relationship, and their texts provide an insight into the image Britain projected of itself to its Caribbean colonies in the twentieth century.

I began Chapter Five by discussing the invisibility of bloggers of colour within the travel blogging industry. I observed that the e-democracy which is associated with this digital literary form does not apply in critical and commercial contexts, as bloggers of colour are systematically excluded from blogging-related events and rarely appear in promotional lists such as *The Expeditioner*'s 'The Top 50 Travel Blogs'. The second part of Chapter Five analysed how the Caribbean region is represented by bloggers who are either Caribbean-born or by bloggers of colour who live within the region. I drew on the posts by Patrick and Steve Bennett on their *Uncommon Caribbean*, the posts by Savita Ragoo on her *Travel and Treatz*, and those by Francesca Murray on her *One Girl: One World*. I concluded that, much like Mittelholzer's *With a Carib Eye*, all three blogs contain posts which are committed to rectifying the Caribbean's reputation as a beach paradise, but only do so to a limited extent. The Bennetts, Ragoo, and Murray attempt to combat the Caribbean's exotic reputation by using anti-paradisal discourse and by producing historically and culturally engaged content which reminds their readers that, for some, the region is a site of remembrance and mourning. However, the bloggers ultimately conform either to the postcard imagery Derek Walcott referred to in 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory' (1992), or exhibit overt imperial attitudes alongside their otherwise

progressive content.[633] Although the travel blog represents a new form within the travel writing genre, my analysis of Caribbean travel blogs suggested that the genre's imperial inheritance lingers in the work of those who adopt this digital platform to record their journeys. The fact that the bloggers' work reflects and sometimes repeats problematic ideologies is symptomatic of the fact that the effects of colonialism are still being lived out across the world today.

The question surrounding travel writing's longevity has plagued the critical field for decades. Indeed, in 1980 Paul Fussell noted that analyses of 1930s travel writing and beyond 'will resemble a threnody' because 'travel is now impossible and […] tourism is all we have left'.[634] More recently, in the Winter 2017 issue of *Granta*, several travel writers including Robert Macfarlane, Pico Iyo, Mohsin Hamid, and Olivia Laing responded to the question 'is travel writing dead?' In contrast to Fussell, many of the responses in *Granta* determined that travel writing remains an active genre, with Hamid and Laing in particular citing its importance within social and political contexts in the twenty-first century.[635] My inclusion of travel blogs within this thesis is indicative of travel writing's endurance, and of the fact that the literary form with which some travellers choose to document their journeys is changing. Scholarship which discusses contemporary travel writing needs to be receptive to emerging forms such as blogs in the digital age; although they may present different challenges and require different critical frameworks to analyse their content, online travel writing represents an important, modern addition to the genre and makes a significant contribution to keeping it alive.

Evidence of the genre's prosperity extends beyond digital contexts and is palpable in Caribbean-British travel writing in print-form, too. Indeed, travel writing's liveliness is

---

[633] Derek Walcott, 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory', *The Nobel Prize* < https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1992/walcott/lecture/ > [accessed 4th June 2019].
[634] Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Travel Writing Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.37; p.41.
[635] Mohsin Hamid, 'Is Travel Writing Dead?', *Granta*, 138 (2017) < https://granta.com/is-travel-writing-dead-hamid/ > [accessed 27th February 2017]; Olivia Laing 'Is Travel Writing Dead?', *Granta*, 138 (2017) < https://granta.com/olivia-laing-travel-writing-dead/ > [accessed 27th February 2017].

exemplified by the literature recently produced in response to the Windrush Scandal. For instance, *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children* (2018) is an anthology in which Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff collates narratives from members of the Windrush generation and their descendants.[636] Some of the stories collected here, such as 'The Matriarchy' by Nellie Brown, 'Charming for England' by Lazare Sylvestre, and 'Aspiration and Ambition' by Catherine Ross, are travel writing in the traditional sense as they recount a real journey to Britain using the first person narrative.[637] However, others such as 'Women of the Windrush Generation' by Brinkhurst-Cuff and 'A Yorkshire Man' by Howard Gardener recall the Windrush journeys of other people; Brinkhurst-Cuff documents the experiences of multiple women and Gardner records the story of his father's migration.[638] Similarly, Hazel Carby's *Imperial Intimacies: a tale of two islands* (2019) narrates the Carby family's movements between Jamaica and England, and therefore the text is a multi-generational travel account.[639] Evidently, the Windrush Scandal has provoked an urgency in some to record their own travel stories, or those of a relative or of their family, to ensure their voices and experiences are not lost.

Recent years have seen a surge in non-literary texts, such as exhibitions and paintings, which document Caribbean-British travel. For example, The University of Manchester's Whitworth Art Gallery is hosting the work of Pearl Alcock, a member of the Windrush Generation, who migrated from Jamaica to England in 1958.[640] Similarly,

---

[636] Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (ed.), *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children* (London: Headline Publishing, 2018).
[637] Nellie Brown, 'The Matriarch', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.43-50; Lazare Sylvestre, 'Charming for England', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.65-72; Catherine Ross, 'Aspiration and Ambition', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.133-144;
[638] Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (ed.), 'Women of the Windrush Generation', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children* (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.1-32; Howard Gardener, 'A Yorkshire Man', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.33-41.
[639] Hazel Carby, *Imperial Intimacies: a tale of two islands* (New York: Verso, 2019).
[640] The Whitworth, 'Pearl Alcock' < https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/upcomingexhibitions/pearlalcock/ > [accessed 29th July 2019].

Windrush: Songs in a Strange Land was an exhibition hosted by The British Library, and one which invited its visitors to view objects such as stop and search advice leaflets, to listen to audio recordings, and to view documents such as posters or the passports of those permitted to enter the United Kingdom from the Caribbean. The exhibition also showcased the work of renowned authors and dub poets from the region, such as Linton Kwesi Johnson, Sam Selvon and Andrea Levy.[641] *Windrush: Songs in a Strange Land* commenced on 1st June 2018 and concluded on 21st October 2018, but The British Library have since digitised parts of the exhibition. 'Windrush Stories: Explorations of race, migration and culture' can be found on the British Library's website, and this online exhibition welcomes its virtual visitors 'to consider a longer, more complicated and ongoing relationship between the Caribbean and Britain'.[642] Evidently, Caribbean voices, the Caribbean-British experience, and Windrush legacies are being endorsed by some institutions, which presents a contrast to the unsympathetic attitude inspirited by May's hostile environment.

This interest in the Caribbean-British experience is evident on a local as well as a national level. Nottingham, for example, is home to The National Caribbean Heritage Museum, or Museumand. The museum was founded by Catherine Ross – the author of 'Aspiration and Ambition' in *Mother Country* – and her daughter, Lynda-Louise Burrell. Among other events and activities, Ross and Burrell curated the exhibition 'From Caribbean Isles to the British Isles: Home to Home', which told the stories 'of some of the first pioneering Caribbean people who emigrated to the UK during the Windrush era following the Second World War, by exploring some of the items they brought with them in their suitcases.'[643] In addition, Nottingham Playhouse has hosted productions which

---

[641] The British Library, *Windrush: Songs in a Strange Land* < https://www.bl.uk/events/windrush-songs-in-a-strange-land > [accessed 1st August 2019].
[642] The British Library, 'Windrush Stories' < https://www.bl.uk/windrush > [accessed on 1st August 2019] (description at the top of the page).
[643] Catherine Ross and Lynda-Louise Burrell, 'From the Caribbean Isles to the British Isles: Home from Home', *Museumand* < http://www.museumand.org/?exhibition=home-to-home > [accessed 18th September 2019] (para.2 of 3).

speak to the British-Caribbean experience and Caribbean culture. For instance, in 2018 the theatre hosted *Shebeen* by Mufaro Makubika which captures the tensions between the Caribbean migrants who settled in St Ann's, Nottingham, in the late 1950s, and the white residents in the same community.[644] Similarly, 'Rush: a Joyous Jamaican Journey' by Rush Theatre Company is a musical production dedicated to telling 'the story of Reggae music, from the arrival of the Windrush Generation from Jamaica […] through the decades'.[645] It was performed at Nottingham Playhouse on 8th October 2019.

This thesis is indebted to the critical field of postcolonial travel writing and contributes to it with this in-depth examination of travel writing by Caribbean authors. Some of the texts, until now, have been critically overlooked and I have applied travel-related concepts not usually discussed in postcolonial contexts – such as armchair travel and *flânerie* – to Caribbean-British travel writing. Despite postcolonialism's importance within travel writing studies, the term 'postcolonial' is absent in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (2019); instead, the editors have opted for entries which relate to some of the topics and themes postcolonial travel writing studies attends to, such as 'Colonialism', 'Counterpoint', 'Diaspora', 'Ethnicity', 'Home', 'Identity', 'Margins', 'Migration', Minority', 'Orientalism', and 'Traveller/Travellee'.[646] This editorial decision implies that speaking of a singular 'postcolonial travel writing' is problematic because the rubric encapsulates all of these entries which are in themselves multiple and complex. The texts discussed throughout this thesis interrogate the subject of the entries listed above or their legacies; however, to label the texts 'postcolonial travel writing' feels awkward because it places them in opposition to exploratory or colonial

[644] Nottingham Playhouse, *Shebeen*, < https://www.nottinghamplayhouse.co.uk/whats-on/drama/shebeen/ > [accessed 18th September 2019]. *Shebeen* exists in text form too: Mufaro Makubika, *Shebeen* (London: Samuel French, 2018).
[645] Nottingham Playhouse, 'Rush: A Joyous Jamaican Journey', < https://www.nottinghamplayhouse.co.uk/whats-on/music/rush/ > [accessed 9th August 2019] (heading under 'details')
[646] Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester (eds.), *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (London: Anthem Press, 2019).

travel writing, whereas my analysis has demonstrated that residual colonial discourses and European influences, much like other forms of postcolonial literature, are evident in them. Certainly, the previous chapters have highlighted how Caribbean travel writers view and depict Britain and the Caribbean in ways which challenge Western representations of these places and Western conceptualisations of travel, but the diverse ways and the differing extents to which each author engages with European travel writing traditions and imperial discourses mean that it feels reductive to compress and flatten them under the phrase 'postcolonial travel writing'. Although the question of counter-travel is an influential one within contemporary postcolonial travel writing studies, I hope that my discussion has shown that the ways in which Caribbean travel writers respond to colonial discourses – or the ways in which this discourse unconsciously manifests – in their writing is just as interesting as the possibility of a travel narrative free from imperial implications.

Much like a journey, this thesis will conclude where it began, and, much like a traveller, it returns to its point of departure with a different outlook. I close this thesis by re-visiting the Introduction's epigraph, in which Phillips makes the point that travel has profoundly contributed to Caribbean authors' 'sense of themselves in the world'.[647] While Phillips's point remains an important one, the previous chapters demonstrate that this formative influence is not one way: the Caribbean travel writers I have examined here contribute to a richer understanding of the genre in which they participate. Indeed, at their narrative core, the texts demonstrate the diversity and complexity of the voices within Caribbean-British travel writing, and contribute to a broader sense of what travel writing can look like; from exhibiting different forms of mobility and ways of engaging with place to experimenting with and challenging the literary form of travel writing in creative and imaginative ways.

[647] Caryl Phillips, 'Necessary Journeys', *The Guardian*, 11th December 2004 < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/dec/11/society2 > [accessed 12th January 2019] (para.6 of 21).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bennett, Louise, 'Colonisation in Reverse', in *Writing Black Britain 1948-1998: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. by James Procter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.16-17

Bennett, Patrick, 'Get 10% Off The Best Caribbean Prints And More', *Uncommon Caribbean,* 6th December 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/caribbean/caribbean-prints-and-more/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Patrick, 'The Real Caribbean Less Traveled', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 11th May 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/about/ > [accessed 6th December 2018]

Bennett, Patrick, 'Top 5 Reasons NOT to Celebrate Columbus Day (And 1 Reason To)', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 15th October 2013 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/caribbean/top-5-reasons-not-to-celebrate columbus-day-and-1-reason-to/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Patrick, 'Uncommon Attraction: The Swimming Pigs of Big Majro's Spot in The Exumas', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 7th November 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/exuma/uncommon-attraction-the-swimming pigs-of-majors-spot-cay-in-the-exumas/ > [accessed 29th January 2019]

Bennett, Patrick, 'Witness Kambule/Canboulay And The Dawn of Trinidad Carnival', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 2nd March 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/witness-kambulecanboulay-and-the dawn-of-trinidad-carnival/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Patrick, and Steve Bennett, *Uncommon Caribbean* < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/about/ > [accessed 25th January 2017]

Bennett, Steve, 'Getting All Made Up For St. Martin Carnival', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 27th October 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-martin/st-martin-carnival/ > [accessed 24th January 2018]

Bennett, Steve, 'How St. Croix Is Doing Right Now, As Told By Those Who Live There', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 5th January 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-croix/how-st-croix-is-doing-right-now/ > [accessed 20th June 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'How To Blow a Conch Shell, Part One', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 13th July 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/caribbean/blow-conch-shell-part-one/ > [accessed 24th January 2018]

Bennett, Steve, 'Lest We Forget – La Savane des Esclaves, Martinique', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 9th February 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/martinique/savane-des-esclaves-martinique/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'Princess Diana Beach at Cocoa Point, Barbuda – A Love Story', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 21st August 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/barbuda/princess-diana-beach-barbuda-love story/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'Saturday Soundtrack: Soca Jams to Help You Keep Your New Year's Fitness Resolutions', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 6th December 2016 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/saturday-soundtrack-soca-jams-to help-you-keep-your-new-years-fitness-resolutions/ > [accessed 24th January 2018]

Bennett, Steve, 'Spoiled to Death – The Sad Story of The Swimming Pigs of The Bahamas', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 12th June 2017 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/bahamas/spoiled-swimming-pigs-bahamas/ > [accessed 29th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'The Smiling Faces of Haiti's Carnaval des Fleurs', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 29th July 2014 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/taste-of-the-caribbean-sweet-trini-kurma-treats/ > [accessed 25th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'The Sweetness Beyond the Sunsets in St. Lucia', *Uncommon Caribbean,* 10th December 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-lucia/the-sweetness-beyond-the-sunsets-in-st-lucia/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'The Unbridled Joy of Spicemas J'ouvert 2015, Grenada', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 11th August 2015 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/grenada/the unbridled-joy-of-spicemas-jouvert-2015-grenada/ > [accessed 25th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'Taste of the Caribbean: Sweet Trini Kurma Treats', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 21st May 2014 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/taste-of-the-caribbean-sweet-trini kurma-treats/ > [accessed 29th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, 'Uncommon Attraction: La Divina Pastora, Transcending Trinidad's Religions for Centuries', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 29th August 2013 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/trinidad/uncommon-attraction-la-divina pastora-transcending-trinidads-religions-for-centuries/ > [accessed 29th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, and Patrick Bennett, 'St. Croix Beach Update 2017-2018', *Uncommon Caribbean*, 21st March 2018 < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com/st-croix/st croix-beach-update-winter-2017-2018/ > [accessed 24th January 2019]

Bennett, Steve, and Patrick Bennett, *Uncommon Caribbean* < https://www.uncommoncaribbean.com > [accessed 27th January 2017]

Brinkhurst-Cuff, Charlie (ed.), *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children* (London: Headline Publishing, 2018)

Brinkhurst-Cuff, Charlie (ed.), 'Women of the Windrush Generation', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children* (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.1-32

Brontë, Charlotte, *Jane Eyre*, ed. by Richard J. Dunn, 3rd edn (New York: Norton, 2001)

Brown, Earnell, 'Trinidad and Tobago Carnival – Calypso, Masquerade and Steel Pan', *Travel and Enjoy Magazine*, 10th August 2011 < http://travelandenjoymagazine.com/wordpress/carnival-in-trinidad-and-tobago-the greatest-show-on-earth/ > [accessed 7th December 2018]

Brown, Nellie, 'The Matriarch', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.43-50

Burrell, Lynda-Louise, '"Do You Want it Real Caribbean Style?"', in *Caribbean Journeys: Travel Writing by Nottingham Caribbean Elders*, ed. by Sofia Aatkar and Kelsi Delaney (Leicester: Leicester University Centre for New Writing, 2018), pp.27-30

Calder-Marshall, Arthur, *Glory Dead* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1939)

Carby, Hazel, *Imperial Intimacies: a tale of two islands* (New York: Verso, 2019)

Césaire, Aimé, *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*, ed. and trans. by A. James Arnold and Clayton Eshleman (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2013)

Collins, Wallace, *Jamaican Migrant* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965)

Columbus, Christopher, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus*, trans. by Cecil Jane, ed. by L.A. Vigneras (London: Anthony Blond and The Orion Press, 1960)

Dangarembga, Tsitsi, *Nervous Conditions* (London: Ayebia Clarke Publishing, 2004)

Danticat, Edwidge, *After the Dance* (New York: Crown Journeys, 2002)

Davidson, Robyn, *Desert Places* (London: Viking, 1996)

de Maistre, Xavier, *A Journey around my Room*, trans. by Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Press, 2004)

de Maistre, Xavier, *A Nocturnal Expedition around my Room*, trans. by Andrew Brown (London: Hesperus Press, 2004)

Defoe, Daniel, *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Penguin, 2013)

Defoe, Daniel, *The Compleat English Gentleman*, ed. by Karl D. Bülbring (London: David Nutt, 1890)

Dennis, Ferdinand, *Behind the Frontlines: Journey into Afro-Britain* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1988)

Dennis, Ferdinand, and Naseem Khan (eds.), *Voices of the Crossing* (London: Serpent's Tail, 2000)

Equiano, Olaudah, *The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 2003)

Froude, James Anthony, *The English in the West Indies; Or, the Bow of Ulysses* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1888)

Gardener, Howard, 'A Yorkshire Man', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.33-41

Gronniosaw, James Albert Ukawsaw, *A Narrative of the Most Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, As Related by Himself* (eBook: Project Gutenberg, 2004)

Hall, Stuart, *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands*, with Bill Schwarz (London: Allen Lane 2017)

Helen, *The Diary of a Refugee Mother* < https://diaryofarefugeemother.wordpress.com > [accessed 19th December 2018]

Henry, Lenny, *Lenny Henry: The Commonwealth Kid*, BBC, dir. by Andy Mundy-Castle < https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b09yj9pd/lenny-henry-the-commonwealth kid > [accessed on 28th April 2018]

Hodasava, Olivier, *Éclats d'Amérique*, 2014 < http://eclatsdamerique.blogspot.com > [accessed 4th October 2018]

Hurston, Zora Neale, *Tell My Horse* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008)

Johnson, Amryl, *A Long Road to Nowhere* (London: Virago Press, 1985)

Johnson, Amryl, *Sequins for a Ragged Hem* (London: Virago Press, 1988)

Johnson, Linton Kwesi, 'New Craas Massakah', in *Linton Kwesi Johnson Selected Poems* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp.54-59

Kenny, Jacqui, '@streetview.portraits', *Instagram* < https://www.instagram.com/streetview.portraits/ > [accessed 9th October 2018]

Kenny, Jacqui, 'The Agoraphobic Traveller' < https://www.theagoraphobictraveller.com > [accessed 9th October 2018]

Kincaid, Jamaica, 'On Seeing England for the First Time', *Transition,* 51 (1991), 32-40

Kincaid, Jamaica, 'The Little Revenge from the Periphery', *Transition*, 73 (1997), 68-73

Kincaid, Jamaica, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988)

Kincaid, Jamaica, *The Autobiography of My Mother* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1996)

Kingsley, Charles, *At Last! Christmas in the West Indies* (London: Forgotten Books, 2015)

Lamming, George, *In the Castle of My Skin* (Essex: Longman, 1970)

Levy, Andrea, *A Small Island* (London: Review Books, 2004)

Makepeace, Craig, '7 things to do in the Bahamas that will make your Bahamas vacation unforgettable', *YTravel*, 13th October 2018 < https://www.ytravelblog.com/things-to-do-in-the-bahamas-vacation/ >[accessed 22nd January 2019]

Makubika, Mufaro, *Shebeen* (London: Samuel French, 2018)

Mandeville, Sir John, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 2005)

McKay, Claude, 'Pushkin', in *Caribbean Crusaders and the Harlem Renaissance*, ed. by Joyce Moore Turner and W. Burghardt Turner (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005)

Michael and Nicole, 'Most Beautiful White Sand Beaches in the Caribbean', *Caribbean Travel Blog* < http://caribbeantravelblog.com/beautiful-white-sand-beaches caribbean/ > [accessed 21st January 2019]

Michael and Nicole, 'Top 5 Wedding Destinations in the Caribbean', *Caribbean Travel Blog*< http://caribbeantravelblog.com/top-5-wedding-destinations-in-the-caribbean/ > [accessed 22st January 2019]

Miller, Kei, *The Cartographer Tries to Map a Way to Zion* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2014)

Mittelholzer, Edgar, *A Swarthy Boy* (London: Putnam, 1963)

Mittelholzer, Edgar, *My Bones and My Flute* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2015)

Mittelholzer, Edgar, *With a Carib Eye* (London: Secker and Warberg, 1958)

Morrison, Toni, *Beloved* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987)

Murray, Francesca, '4 Things I Wish I Knew Before I Traveled to Saint Lucia', *One Girl: One World*, 20th January 2016 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/4-things-i-wish-i-knew-before-i-went-to-saint lucia/ > [accessed 30th January 2019]

Murray, Francesca, '5 Reasons Why Montserrat Should Be On Your Caribbean Bucket List', *One Girl: One World*, 24th April 2018 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/5-reasons-visit-montserrat-caribbean/ > [accessed 30th January 2019]

Murray, Francesca, 'Celebrating Saint Patrick's Day in Montserrat – Caribbean Style!', *One Girl: One World*, 15th April 2018 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/st-patricks-day-montserrat-caribbean/ > [accessed 30th January 2019]

Murray, Francesca, 'Francesca Who?', *One Girl: One World* < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/author/ > [accessed 15th January 2019]

Murray, Francesca, 'My First Impressions of Martinique – p.s. I MOVED ABROAD', *One Girl: One World*, 5th October 2015 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/my-first-impressions-of-martinique-p-s-i -moved-abroad/ > [accessed 30th January 2019]

Murray, Francesca, *One Girl: One World* < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com > [accessed 13th December 2018]

Murray, Francesca, 'What Every American Traveler Should Know Before They Visit Martinique', *One Girl: One World*, 6th November 2017 < http://www.onegirl-oneworld.com/american-traveler-should-know-martinique/ > [accessed 30th January]

Naipaul, V.S., *The Enigma of Arrival: A Novel in Five Sections* (London: Picador, 2002)

Naipaul, V.S., *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Societies, British, French and Dutch, in the West Indies* (London: Picador, 1995)

Naipaul, V. S., *The Middle Passage: Impressions of Five Colonial Societies* (London: Picador, 2001)

Orwell, George, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin, 2001)

Phillips, Caryl, *The Atlantic Sound* (London: Vintage 2001)

Phillips, Caryl, *The European Tribe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1987)

Phillips, Caryl, *The European Tribe* (New York: Vintage, 2000)

Pitts, Johny, *Afropean: Notes from a Black Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2019)

Priestley, J. B., *English Journey* (London: Penguin, 1977)

Prince, Mary, *The History of Mary Prince A West Indian Slave* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004)

Ragoo, Savita, '5 Reasons to Visit Barbados', *Travel and Treatz*, 3rd December 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/5-reasons-to-visit-barbados/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Ragoo, Savita, 'A Visit to the Temple in the Sea at Waterloo', *Travel and Treatz*, 9th November 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/a-visit-to-the-temple-in-the-sea-at waterloo/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Ragoo, Savita, 'About', *Travel and Treatz* < https://travelandtreatz.com/about-savita/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Ragoo, Savita, 'Oh! The Desserts of Luce!', *Travel and Treatz*, 3rd December 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/oh-the-desserts-of-luce/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Ragoo, Savita, 'Prehistoric Reptilian Leatherbacked Nocturnal Beach Layers in Trinidad & Tobago', *Travel and Treatz*, 10th May 2018 < https://travelandtreatz.com/prehistoric-reptilian-leatherbacked-nocturnal-beach layers-in-trinidad-tobago/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Ragoo, Savita, 'Things to do in Barbados', *Travel and Treatz*, 22nd December 2017 < https://travelandtreatz.com/things-to-do-in-barbados/ > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Ragoo, Savita, *Travel and Treatz* < https://travelandtreatz.com > [accessed 16th January 2019]

Raleigh, Sir W., *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*, ed. by Sir Robert H. Schomburgk (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

Raleigh, Sir Walter, *The Discovery of Guiana* (eBook: Gutenberg, 2006)

Ramoutar, Shivi, 'Trinidad and Tobago Carnival 2015: The Experience', *Contemporary Caribbean Cooking*, 23rd February 2015 < http://www.shiviramoutar.com/blog/2015/2/23/trinidad-carnival-2015 > [accessed 6th December 2018]

Reid, Vince, 'Vince Reid', 'Windrush – Arrivals', *BBC* < http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/arrival_01.shtml#top > [accessed 10th May 2019]

Rhys, Jean, *Wide Sargasso Sea*, ed. by Angela Smith (London: Penguin, 2000)

Richards, John, 'John Richards', 'Windrush – Arrivals', *BBC* < http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/arrival_01.shtml#top > [accessed 10th May 2019]

Riley, Joan, *The Unbelonging* (London: The Women's Press, 1985)

Ross, Catherine, 'Aspiration and Ambition', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing,| 2018), pp.133-144

Salkey, Andrew, *Georgetown Journal: A Caribbean Writer's Journey from London via Port of Spain to Georgetown, Guyana, 1970* (London: New Beacon Books, 1972)

Schaw, Janet, *Journal of a Lady of Quality*, ed. by Evangeline Walker Andrews (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922)

Selvon, Sam, 'The Village Washer', in *The Sun's Eye: West Indian Writing for Young Readers*, ed. by Anne Walmsley (Essex: Longman, 1968), pp.52-59

Selvon, Sam, *The Lonely Londoners* (London: Penguin, 2006)

SJacob, 'Aruba: A Real Life Daydream', *RumShopRyan*, 1st April 2016 < https://www.rumshopryan.com/2016/04/01/aruba-a-real-life-daydream/ > [accessed 22nd January 2019]

Spencer, Madge, 'Who are you Calling a Foreigner?', in *Caribbean Journeys: Travel Writing by Nottingham Caribbean Elders*, ed. by Sofia Aatkar and Kelsi Delaney (Leicester: University of Leicester Centre for New Writing, 2018), p.258

Stanley, Henry Morton, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol.2 (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1878)

Sylvestre, Lazare, 'Charming for England', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing, 2018), pp.65-72

Trotman, Joyce Estelle, 'Homecoming: Episode 1', *BBC*, 21st October 2019 < https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/m0009kxx > [accessed on 22nd October 2019]

Walcott, Derek, 'The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory', *The Nobel Prize* < https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1992/walcott/lecture/ > [accessed 4th June 2019]

Waugh, Evelyn, *Ninety-Two Days* (London: Penguin, 2011)

Waugh, Evelyn, *When the Going Was Good* (London: Penguin, 2011)

Woodrow, Christy, 'Maho Beach Resort: A Destination Within a Destination', *Ordinary Traveler* < https://ordinarytraveler.com/maho-beach-resort-st-maarten > [accessed 22nd January 2019]

Secondary Sources

Adams, Percy G., *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983)

Adams, Percy G., *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 1996)

Alexander, Cecil F., 'All Things Bright and Beautiful', *Timeless Truths: Free Online Library* < https://library.timelesstruths.org/music/All_Things_Bright_and_Beautiful/ > [accessed 29th November 2018]

Allen, Ray, 'Carnival', in *Encyclopaedia of American Folklife*, vol.1, ed. by Simon J. Browner (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp.147-150

Anderson, Elijah, 'The White Space', *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1.1 (2015), 10-21

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Ashcroft, Bill, 'Reading Post-Colonial Australia', in *Postcolonial Issues in Australian Literature*, ed. by Nathanial O'Reilly (New York: Cambria Press, 2010), pp.15-40

Atanmo, Gloria, 'The Worst Part About My Travels as a Solo, Black Woman', *The Blog Abroad: Chronicles of an Adventure Junkie*, 9th November 2016 < https://thoughtcatalog.com/gloria-atanmo/2016/11/the-worst-part-about-my-travels-as-a-solo-black-woman/ > [accessed 18th December 2018]

Azariah, Deepti Ruth, 'The Traveler as Author: Examining self-presentation and discourse in the (self) published travel blog', *Media, Culture and Society*, 38.6 (2016), 934-945

Azariah, Deepti Ruth, *Tourism, Travel, and Blogging: A Discursive Analysis of Online Travel Narratives* (New York: Routledge, 2016)

Babcock-Abrahams, Barbara, '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess": The Trickster and His Tales Reconsidered', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 11 (1974), 147-186

Baldick, Chris, *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Ball, John Clement, *Imagining London: Postcolonial Fiction and the Transnational Metropolis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004)

Barber, Peter, and Christopher Board, *Tales from The Map Room: Fact and Fiction about Maps and their Makers* (London: BBC Books, 1993)

Barbie Saviour, 'Who needs a formal education to teach in Africa?...', *Instagram*, 16th April 2016 < https://www.instagram.com/p/BERW7Vvsffu/ > [accessed 31st January 2019]

Baudelaire, Charles, 'The Painter of Modern Life', in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays,* trans. and ed. by Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), pp.1-40

Bayard, Pierre, *How to Talk About Places You've Never Been: On the Importance of Armchair Travel*, trans. by Michele Hutchison (London: Bloomsbury, 2016)

BBC, 'Admiral Horatio Lord Nelson (1758-1805)', 2014 < http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/nelson_admiral_horatio_lord.shtml > [Accessed 22nd August 2018]

BBC, 'EU Referendum Results' < https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/eu_referendum/results > [accessed 2nd August 2019

Benjamin, Walter, *Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. by Harry Zohn (London: NLB, 1973)

Benjamin, Walter, *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999)

Bergmeister, Felix Magnus, 'Shaping Southeast Asia: Tracing Tourism Imaginaries in Guidebooks and Travel Blogs', *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 8.2 (2015), 203-208

Beriault, Janie, 'Navigating an Unequal World: Jamaica Kincaid's *A Small Place* as a Counter-Travel Narrative', *Interventions*, 20.3 (2018), 389-405

Besson, Gerard A., 'The de Boissières', *The Caribbean History Archives* < http://caribbeanhistoryarchives.blogspot.com/2011/08/de-boissieres.html > [accessed 12th July 2019]

Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Birbalsing, F. M., 'Edgar Mittelholzer: Moralist or Pornographer?', *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 4.1 (1969), 88-103

Bidnall, Amanda, *The West Indian Generation: Remaking British Culture in London, 1945 1965* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017)

Black Girls Travel Too, 'About BGTT', < https://www.blackgirlstraveltoo.com/about/ > [accessed 17th December 2018]

Black History Studies, 'The New Cross Fire' < http://www.blackhistorystudies.com/resources/resources/the-new-cross-fire/ > [accessed 5th April 2018]

Blanton, Casey, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002)

Boehmer, Elleke, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Bosangit, Carmela, Sally Hibbert and Scott McCabe, '"If I was going to die I should at least be having fun": Travel blogs, meaning and tourist experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 55 (2015), 1-14

Bourdieu, Pierre, *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, trans. by Shaun Whiteside (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990)

Bracewell, Wendy, 'Gjuro Ferrich's *Periegesis Orae Rhacusanae* (1803) as a Travel Polemic', *Dubrovnik Annals*, 19 (2015), 99-121

Bracewell, Wendy, 'Lovrich's Joke: Authority, Laughter and Savage Breasts in an 18thC Travel Polemic', *University College London* < http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1341903/1/1341903_Lovrich%27s%20Joke%20amended1.pdf > [accessed 18th June 2018]

Bracewell, Wendy, 'The Travellee's Eyes: Reading European Travel Writing, 1750-1850', in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, ed. by Paul Smethurst and Julia Kuehn (New York: Palgrave, 2015), pp.215-225

Brettschnneider, Marla, *Jewish Feminism and Intersectionality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016)

Brody, Hugh, *Maps and Dreams* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986)

Brooks Bouson, J., *Jamaica Kincaid: Writing Memory, Writing Back to the Mother* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005)

Broome Saunders, Claire (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Women, Travel Writing and Truth* (New York: Routledge, 2014), pp.1-10

Brown, J. Dillon, *Migrant Modernisms: Postwar London and the West Indian Novel* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013)

Brown, Stewart, 'Amryl Johnson', *The Guardian*, Thursday 29th March 2001 < https://www.theguardian.com/news/2001/mar/29/guardianobituaries.books > [accessed 10th February 2017]

Bruner, Edward M., *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005)

Bryden, Mary, *Gilles Deleuze: Travels in Literature* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007)

Burroughs, Robert, 'Psychoanalysis', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.205-207

Busia, Abena P. A., 'Worlds in Tension', *Third World Quarterly*, 11.3 (1989), 226-229

Butler, Judith, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2006)

Butler, Rebecca, and Sofia Aatkar, 'From "colour and flair" to "a corporate view": evolutions in guidebook writing: an interview with Jenny Walker', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21.2 (2017), 208-220

Calzati, Stefano, *Beyond the Genre: Approaching Travel (and) Writing through Interviews with Authors and Bloggers* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019)

Cardell, Kylie, and Kate Douglass, 'Travel Blogs', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Carl Thompson (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.343-352

Cardell, Kylie, and Kate Douglas, 'Visualising Lives: "the selfie" as travel writing', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 22.1 (2018), 104-117

Carrigan, Anthony, *Postcolonial Tourism: Literature, Culture, and Environment* (New York: Routledge, 2010)

Chami, Georgina, and Jerome Teelucksingh, 'Carnival Celebrations in Trinidad and Tobago and Abroad: Cultural Diplomacy in Action/Practice', in *Ideology, Regionalism, and Society in Caribbean History*, ed. by Shane J. Pantin and Jerome Teelucksingh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.265-294

Chang, Victor L., 'Edgar Mittelholzer', in *Fifty Caribbean Writers: A Biblipgraphical Critical Sourcebook*, ed. by Daryl Cumber Dance (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp.327-340

Chideya, Farai, 'Traveling While Black', *New York Times*, 3rd January 2014 < https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/05/travel/traveling-while-black.html?_r=0 > [accessed 13th December 2018]

Clarke, Robert (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Cocking, Ben, 'Competing forms of travel weiting in print based and user generated journalism', *Borders and Crossings*, 13th-16th September, Pula, Croatia

Colbert, Benjamin (ed.), 'Introduction: Home Tourism', in *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.1-12

Cole, Teju, 'The Starbucks thing hit me…', *Instagram*, posted on 18th April 2018 < https://www.instagram.com/p/Bht03b5hVkd/ > [accessed 26th April 2018]

Cole, Teju, 'The White Saviour Industrial Complex', *The Atlantic*, 21st March 2012 < https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior industrial-complex/254843/ > [accessed on 31st January 2019]

Cooke, Simon, *Travelers' Tales of Wonder: Chatwin, Naipaul, Sebald* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013)

Cooper, Malcom, 'The Japanese Gaze on the World', in *Japanese Tourism: Spaces, Places, and Structures*, ed. by Carolin Funck and Malcom Cooper (Oxford: Bergham Books, 2015), pp.139-159

Coulbert, Esme Anne, 'Perspectives on the Road: Narratives of Motoring in Britain 1896-1930' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Nottingham Trent University, 2013)

Coverley, Merlin, *Psychogeography: The Pocket Guide Essential* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2006)

Cowley, John, *Carnival, Canboulay and Calypso Traditions in the Making* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Creech, Brian, 'Postcolonial Travel Journalism and the New Media', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.157-172

Crestodina, Andy, 'Blogging and Trends: The 2018 Survey of 1000+ Bloggers', *Orbit Media* < https://www.orbitmedia.com/blog/blogging-statistics/ > [accessed 6th June 2019]

Dabydeen, David, Maria del Pilar Kaladeen and Tina K. Ramnarine (eds.), 'Indtroduction', in *We Mark Your Memory: writings from the descendants of indenture* (London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 2018), pp.ix-xii

Dahlberg, Lincoln, and Eugenia Siapera (eds.), 'Introduction: Tracing Radical Democracy and the Internet', in *Radical Democracy and the Internet: Interrogating Theory and Practice* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp.1-16

Das, Nandini, and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019)

de Botton, Alain, *The Art of Travel* (London: Penguin, 2002)

de Caires Narian, Denise, 'Amryl Johnson: Audacious Poet – and Sister (1944-2001)', *Wasafiri,* 16.33 (2007), 64-65

De Freitas, Patricia A., 'The Masquerader Anthropologist: the Poetics and Politics of Studying Carnival', in *Trinidad Carnival: The Cultural Politics of a Transnational*

Festival, ed. by Garth L. Green and Philip W. Scher (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), pp.48-61

Deane, Bradley, 'Imperial Boyhood: Piracy and the Play Ethic', *Victorian Studies*, 53.4 (2011), 689-714

Debord, Guy, 'Introduction to a Critique of Urban Georgraphy', in *Situationist International Anthology*, ed. and trans. by Ken Knabb (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2006), pp.23-27

Doherty, Brian, 'Writing Back with a Difference: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's "The Headstrong Historian" as a Response to Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*', *Matatu*, 45 (2014), 187-201

Döring, Tobias, *Caribbean-English Passages: Intertextuality in a postcolonial tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002)

Dorling, Danny, and Sally Tomlinson, *Rule Britannia: Brexit and the End of Empire* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2019)

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994)

Eddo-Lodge, Reni, *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018)

Edensor, Tim, *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site* (London: Routledge, 1998)

Edwards, Justin D., 'Mapping Tropical Gothic in the Americas', in *Topical Gothic in Literature and Cultures: the Americas*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Sandra Guardini Vasconcelos (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.13-25

Edwards, Justin D., 'Postcolonial Travel Writing and Postcolonial Theory', in *The Cambridge Companion to Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.19-32

Edwards, Justin D., and Rune Graulund (eds.), 'Introduction: Reading Postcolonial Travel Writing', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations* (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-16

Edwards, Justin D., and Rune Graulund, *Mobility at Large: Globalization, Textuality and Innovative Travel Writing* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012)

Elgot, Jessica, 'Theresa May's "hostile environment" at the heart of Windrush scandal', *The Guardian*, 17th April 2018 < https://www.theguardian.com/uk news/2018/apr/17/theresa-mays-hostile-environment-policy-at-heart-of-windrush scandal > [accessed 19th January 2019]

Eliot, T.S., 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', *Perspecta*, 19 (1982), 36-42

Elkin, Lauren, *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2016)

Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Pluto Press, 2008)

Ferguson, James, 'Edgar Mittelholzer – the dark one', *Caribbean Beat*, 100 (2009) < http://caribbean-beat.com/issue-100/edgar-mittelholzer-dark-one#axzz4cWohjTR1 > [accessed 27th March 2017]

Festival At Sea, 'Caribbean 2019', < https://www.festivalatsea.com/caribbean-19 > [accessed 2nd December 2018]

Fitzgerald, James, 'The West Indies Ships that Arrived Before the Windrush', *Londonist*, 15th April 2017 < https://londonist.com/london/history/the-west-indies-ships-that came-over-before-the-windrush > [accessed 12th February 2018]

Font-Guzman, Jacqueline N., *Experiencing Puerto Rican Citizenship and Cultural Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015)

Forsdick, Charles, 'Body', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.22-24

Forsdick, Charles, 'Disability', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley, and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem, Press, 2019), pp.72-74

Forsdick, Charles, *Travel in Twentieth-Century French and Francophone Cultures: The Persistence of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Forsdick, Charles, Zoë Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester (eds.), *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary* (London: Anthem Press, 2019)

Fortier, Anne-Marie, 'Re-membering Places and the Performance of Belonging(s)', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 16.2 (1999), 41-64

Fowler, Corinne, 'Travel Writing and Ethics', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. by Carl Thompson (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp.57-67

Freud, Sigmund, 'The Uncanny', *Art and Literature* 14 (1990), 336-376

Freud, Sigmund, *The Uncanny*, trans. by David McLintock (London: Penguin, 2003)

Fryer, Peter, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984)

Fussell, Paul, *Abroad: British Literary Travel Writing Between the Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980)

Ghose, Indira, *The Power of the Female Gaze: Women Travellers in Colonial India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

Gikandi, Simon, 'Between Roots and Routes: Cosmopolitanism and the Claims of Locality', in *Rerouting the Postcolonial: New Directions for the New Millennium*, ed. by Janet Wilson, Cristina Sandru, and Sarah Lawson Welsh (Oxon: Routledge, 2010), pp.22-35

Gikandi, Simon, *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)

Giles, Paul, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011)

Gilkes, Michael, 'Edgar Mittelholzer', in *West Indian Literature,* ed. by Bruce King (London: Macmillan, 1979), pp.95-110

Gohrisch, Jana, '"Because, Don't Forget, We are Still Emerging." Interview with Amryl Johnson', in *With Open Eyes: Women and African Cinema,* ed. by Kenneth W. Harrow (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997), pp.221-233

Golden Carers, 'Armchair Travel: A Sensory Experience For Seniors' < https://www.goldencarers.com/armchair-travel-a-sensory-experience-for seniors/4256/ > [accessed 8th October 2018]

Gössling, Stefan, *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2003)

Grant, Colin, 'Familiar Stranger by Stuart Hall review – from Jamaica to the New Left and Thatcherism', *The Guardian*, Friday 31st March 2017 < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2017/mar/31/familiar-stranger-a-life-between two-islands-by-stuart-hall-review > [accessed 26th September 2018]

Greenwald, Jeff, 'The Tale of the World's First Travel Blog, Born 20 Years Ago Today', *Wired*, 1st June 2014 < https://www.wired.com/2014/01/20-years-of-travel-blogs/ > [accessed 7th December 2018]

Grewal, Inderpal, 'Amitav Ghosh: Cosmopolitanisms, Literature, Transnationalisms', in *The Postcolonial and the Global,* ed. by Revathi Krishnaswamy and John C. Hawley (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), pp.178-190

Griffiths, Gareth, 'Postcolonialism and Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Postcolonial Literature*, ed. by Ato Quayson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.58-80

Groundwater, Ben, 'Travel bloggers and social influencers: Is the travel community "too white?"', *Traveller*, 14th November 2017 < http://www.traveller.com.au/travel bloggers-and-social-influencers-is-the-travel-community-too-white-gzk931 > [accessed 11th December 2018]

Hagglund, Betty, 'Intertextuality', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley, and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.133-135

Hahn, H. Hazel, 'The Flâneur, the Tourist, the Global Flâneur, and Magazine Reading as Flânerie', *Dix-Neuf*, 16.2 (2012), 193-210

Hall, C. Michael, and Hazel Tucker, *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations* (London: Routledge, 2004)

Hamid, Mohsin, 'Is Travel Writing Dead?', *Granta*, 138 (2017) < https://granta.com/is-travel-writing-dead-hamid/ > [accessed 27th February 2017]

Harrison, Nicholas, *Postcolonial Criticism: History, Theory and the Work of Fiction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003)

Hartwiger, Alexander Greer, 'The Postcolonial Flâneur: *Open City* and the Urban Palimpsest', *Postcolonial Text*, 11.1 (2016), 1-17

Haughton, Hugh, 'Introduction', in *The Uncanny*, trans. by David McLintock (London: Penguin, 2003), pp.vii-lx

Heng, Geraldine, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013)

Hester, Elliott Neal, 'Blackpacking', in *Black Travel Writing*, ed. by R. Victoria Arana, *The Sonia Sanchez Literary Review*, 9.1 (2003), 245-249

Hodgson, Dorothy L., and Richard A. Schroeder, 'Dilemmas of Counter-Mapping Community Resources in Tanzania', *Development and Change*, 33 (2002), 79-100

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

hooks, bell, *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2015)

Hoving, Isabel, *In Praise of New Travelers: Reading Caribbean Migrant Women Writers* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001)

Hulme, Peter, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London: Routledge, 1992)

Hulme, Peter, and Neil L. Whitehead, *Wild Majesty: Encounters with the Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992)

Hulme, Peter, 'Reading from Elsewhere: George Lamming and the Paradox of Exile', in *'The Tempest' and its Travels*, ed. by Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), pp.220-235

Hulme, Peter, *Remnants of Conquest: The Island Caribs and their Visitors, 1877-1998* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs, *Talking about Travel Writing: A Conversation between Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs* (Leicester: The English Association, 2007)

Hynes, William J., and William G. Doty (eds.), 'Introducing the Fascinating and Perplexing Trickster Figure', in *Mythical Trickster Figures: Contours, Contexts and Criticisms* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1997), pp.1-12

Internet World Statistics, 'Internet Usage Statistics: The Internet Big Picture', 20th May 2019 < https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm > [accessed 4th June 2019]

Jelly-Schapiro, Joshua, *Island People: The Caribbean and the World* (Edinburgh: Canongate Books, 2016)

Katz, Wendy R., *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Keegan, William F., and Corrine L. Hofman, *The Caribbean Before Columbus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Keith, Michael, *After the Cosmopolitan?: Multicultural Cities and the Future of Racism* (London: Routledge, 2005)

Khair, Tabish, 'African and Asian Travel Texts in the Light of Europe: An Introduction', in *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing*, ed. by Tabish Khair, Martin Leer, Justin D. Edwards, and Hanna Ziadeh (Oxford: Signal Books, 2006), pp.1-30

King, Russell, and Anastasia Christou, 'Of Counter-Diaspora and Reverse Transnationalism: Return Mobilities to and from the Ancestral Homeland', *Mobilities*, 6.4 (2011), 451-466

King, Bruce, *V. S. Naipaul*, 2nd edn. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003)

Knowles, Caroline, 'Nigerian London: re-mapping space and ethnicity in superdiverse cities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36.4 (2013) 651-669

Korte, Barbara, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. by Catherine Matthias (New York: Palgrave, 2000)

Kowalewski, Michael (ed.), 'Introduction: The Modern Literature of Travel', in *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), pp.1-16

Krause, Kai, 'The True Size of Africa' < http://kai.sub.blue/en/africa.html > [accessed 29th June 2018]

Laing, Olivia, 'Is Travel Writing Dead?', *Granta*, 138 (2017) < https://granta.com/olivia-laing-travel-writing-dead/ > [accessed 27th February 2017]

Lalla, Barbara, 'Creole and Respec': Authority and Identity in the Development of a Caribbean Literary Discourse', in *Caribbean Literary Discourse: Voice and Cultural Identity in the Anglophone Caribbean*, ed. by Barbara Lalla, Jean D'Costa and Velma Pollard (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014), pp.101-112

Lammy, David, 'Foreword', in *Mother Country: Real Stories of the Windrush Children*, ed. by Charlie Brinkhurst-Cuff (London: Headline Publishing Group, 2018), pp.xii-xxi

Lawn, Jennifer, 'From the Spectral to the Ghostly: Postcolonial Gothic and New Zealand Literature', *Australian-Canadian Studies: A Journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 24.2 (2006), 143-169

Leal, Samantha, 'You Don't See Poor People In Travel Memoirs Because You've Already Assumed We Don't Travel', *Bustle*, 12th June 2018 < https://www.bustle.com/p/you-dont-see-poor-people-in-travel-memoirs-because youve-already-assumed-we-don't-travel-9368740 > [accessed 13th June 2018]

Li, Amy, 'Why are Chinese tourists so rude? A few insights', *South China Morning Post*, 1st June 2013 < https://www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1251239/why-are chinese-tourists-so-rude > [accessed on 6th June 2019]

Lindsey, Claire, 'Beyond Imperial Eyes', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.17-35

Lindsay, Claire, 'Cartography', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.34-36

Lindsay, Claire, 'Hispanic Travel Writing', in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. by Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.221-235

Lisle, Debbie, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Locke, John, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2001)

Lorde, Audre, 'The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle The Master's House', in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Colour*, ed. by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table: women of colour press, 1983), pp.98-101

Maoz, Darya, 'The Mutual Gaze', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33.1 (2006), 221-239

Marfè, Luigi, 'Italian Counter-Travel Writing: Images of Italy in Contemporary Migration Literature', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 16.2 (2012), 191-201

Marshall, Emily Zobel, *Anansi's Journey: A Story of Jamaican Cultural Resistance* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2012)

Marshall, Emily Zobel, 'Resistance through "Robber-Talk": Storytelling Strategies and the Carnival Trickster', *Caribbean Quarterly: A Journal of Caribbean Literature*, 62.2 (2016), 210-226

Marshall, Emily Zobel, '"The Anansi Syndrome": A debate concerning Ananci's influence on Jamaican culture', *World Literature Written in English*, 39.1 (2001), 127-136

Martin, Tony, *Caribbean History: From Pre-Colonial Origins to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2016)

M'Baye, Babacar, *Trickster Comes West: Pan-African Influence in Early Black Diasporan Narratives* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009)

McGregor, Hannah, 'Not Nice, Not White, and Not a Lady with Tara Robertson', *Secret Feminist Agenda*, 3.12 (2018) < https://secretfeministagenda.com > [accessed 24th January 2018]

McInelly, Brett C., 'Expanding Empires, Expanding Selves: Colonialism, the Novel, and "Robinson Crusoe"', *Studies in the Novel*, 35.1 (2003), 1-21

McLeod, John, 'Some problems with "British"; In a "Black British canon"', *Wasafiri*, 17.36 (2002), 56-59

Memmi, Albert, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. by Howard Greenfield (London: Souvenir Press, 2016)

Meriwether, Rae Ann, '"Walking into the face of history": Historical Difference and Diasporic Community in *The Atlantic Sound*', *Obsidian*, 12.1 (2011), 79-93

Miller, Jane Eldridge (ed.), *Who's Who in Contemporary Women's Writing* (London: Routledge, 2001)

Miller, Kei, 'Concerning Bucks and Bacchanal', *Pree* (2019) < https://preelit.com/2019/04/25/concerning-bucks-and-bacchanal/ > [accessed 5th June 2019]

Miller, Kei, 'In Praise of the Fat Black Woman and Volume', *PN Review* (2018) < https://www.pnreview.co.uk/cgi-bin/scribe?item_id=10209 > [accessed 11th July 2018]

Mills, Sara, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 1991)

Minnaard, Liesbeth, 'The Postcolonial Flaneur: Ramsey Nasr's "Antwerpse Stadsgedichten"', *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Country Studies*, 37.1 (2013), 79-92

Misir, Prem, 'Guyana: Quality and Equity in Education', in *Education in the Commonwealth Caribbean and Netherland Antilies*, ed. by Emel Thomas (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp.199-220

Mittelholzer, Jacqueline, *The Idyll and the Warrior (The Recollections of Edgar Mittelholzer)* (Online: The Caribbean Press, 2014)

Molz, Jennie Germann, 'Cosmopolitan Bodies: Fit to Travel and Travelling to Fit', *Body & Society*, 12.3 (2006), 1-21

Moseley, C., 'Introduction', in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London: Penguin, 2005), pp.9-41

Msiska, Mpalive-Hangson, 'Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* and the structure of Black metropolitan life', in *African Diaspora and the Metropolis*, ed. by Fassil Demissie (London: Routledge, 2010), pp.5-27

Murail, Estelle, 'Beyond the Flâneur: Walking, Passage and Crossing in London and Paris in the Nineteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London and Université Paris Diderot-Paris, 2013)

Murail, Estelle, and Sara Thornton (eds.), 'Dickensian Counter-Mapping, Overlaying, and Troping: Producing the Virtual City', in *Dickens and the Virtual City: Urban Perception and the Production of Social Space* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.3-32

Murdoch, H. Adlai, *Creolizing the Metropole: Migrant Caribbean Identities in Literature and Film* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2012)

Naipaul, V.S., and Adrian Rowe-Evans, 'V. S. Naipaul', *Transition*, 75/76 (1997), 192-203

Naipaul, V.S., *Reading and Writing: A Personal Account* (New York: The New York Review of Books, 2000)

New World Encyclopaedia, 'Trickster' < http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Trickster > [accessed 5th July 2018]

Ní Loingsigh, Aedin, *Postcolonial Eyes: Intercontinental Travel in Francophone African Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009)

Nomadness Travel Tribe, 'Tribe.' < https://www.nomadnesstv.com/about-nomadness-travel-tribe/ > [accessed 13th December 2018]

Nottingham Playhouse, 'Rush: A Joyous Jamaican Journey' < https://www.nottinghamplayhouse.co.uk/whats-on/music/rush/ > [accessed on 9th August 2019]

Nottingham Playhouse, *Shebeen*, < https://www.nottinghamplayhouse.co.uk/whats-on/drama/shebeen/ > [accessed 18th September 2019]

Oldfield, Christopher Kevin, 'The Whiteness of Travel: Privilege in the World of Travel Blogging', *Lessons Learned Abroad*, 3rd August 2015 < https://www.lessonslearnedabroad.com/blog/2015/7/11/the-whiteness-of-travel > [accessed on 11th December 2018]

Olmos, Margarite Fernández, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert (eds.), 'Introduction: Religious Syncretism and Caribbean Culture', in *Sacred Possessions: Vodou, Santería, Obeah and the Caribbean* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp.1-12

Olusoga, David, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2016)

Olwig, Karen Fog, *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks* (London: Duke University Press, 2007)

Pamment, Charlotte, 'How an agoraphobic woman travels the world using Google Streetview', *BBC*, 4th October 2017 < https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk 41487857/how-an-agoraphobic-woman-travels-the-world-using-google-streetview > [accessed 9th October 2018]

Paravisini-Gebert, Lizabeth, 'Colonial and Postcolonial Gothic: the Caribbean', in *The Cambridge Companion to Gothic Fiction*, ed. by Jerrold E. Hogle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.229-257

Paravisini-Gebert, Lizabeth, and Ivette Romero-Cesareo (eds.), *Women at Sea: Travel Writing and the Margins of Caribbean Discourse* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001)

Pećić, Zoran, 'Floral Diaspora in Jamaica Kincaid's Travel Writing', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.138-155

Pelton, Robert D., *The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight* (Los Angles: University of California Press, 1980)

Peluso, Nancy Lee, 'Whose Woods are These? Counter-Mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia', *Antipode*, 27.4 (1995), 383-406

Pettinger, Alasdair (ed.), *Always Elsewhere: Travels of the Black Atlantic* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 1998)

Pettinger, Alasdair, 'Psychogeography', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.208-210

Phillips, Caryl, 'Necessary Journeys', *The Guardian*, 11th December 2004 < https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/dec/11/society2 > [accessed 12th January 2019]

Phillips, Caryl, 'Revisiting *The European Tribe'*, *Wasafiri*, 29.3 (2014), 4-7

Pitman, Thea, *Mexican Travel Writing* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008)

Polezzi, Loredane, *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation* (New York: Routledge, 2016)

Porter, Dennis, *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)

Potter, Robert B., and Joan Phillips, 'Both black and symbolically white: the "Bajan-Brit" return migrant as post-colonial hybrid', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29.5 (2006), 901-927

Pratt, Mary Louise, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2008)

Premnath, Gautam, 'Lonely Londoner: V. S. Naipaul and "The God of the City"', in *Imagined Londons*, ed. by Pamela K. Gilbert (New York: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp.177-192

Prince, Tracey J., *Culture Wars in British Literature: Multiculturalism and National Identity* (London: McFarland, 2012)

Procter, James, *Dwelling Places: Postwar Black British Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)

Procter, James, 'London Calling: the BBC and Caribbean Literature', *BBC* < https://www.bbc.co.uk/historyofthebbc/people-nation-empire/london-calling > [accessed 12th July 2019]

Procter, James, 'Part Two: late 1960s to mid-1980s: Introduction', in *Writing Black Britain 1948-1998*, ed. by James Procter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.95-97

Proudfoot, Mary, 'With A Carib Eye. By Edgar Mittelholzer', *International Affairs*, 34.4 (1958), 562

Qvortup, Matt, *The Politics of Participation: From Athens to e-democracy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Raban, Jonathan, 'The Journey and the Book', in *For Love and Money: Writing, Reading, Travelling, 1969-1987* (London: Collins Harville, 1987), pp.253-260

Radcliffe, Sarah A., 'Re-Mapping the Nation: Cartography, Geographical Knowledge and Ecuadorean Multiculturalism', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 42.2 (2010), 293-323

Radin, Paul, *The Trickster: a Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York: Schocken, 1998)

Raymond, Oneika, 'For us, by us: 5 black-owned travel groups you should know about', *Oneika the Traveller* < http://www.oneikathetraveller.com/5-black-travel-groups-you-should-know.html > [accessed 21st January 2019]

Raymond, Oneika, 'The Lack of Black in Travel Blogging and Travel Media', *Oneika The Traveller*, 17th December 2014 < http://www.oneikathetraveller.com/lack-black-travel-blogging-travel-media.html > [accessed 13th December 2018]

Richards, Jeffery (ed.), 'Introduction', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp.1-11

Richetti, John, 'Introduction', in *Robinson Crusoe* (London: Penguin, 2013), pp.ix-xxxii

Rickards, Colin, 'Remembering Edgar Mittelholzer: Part 1', *Stabroek News*, 15th November 2010 < https://www.stabroeknews.com/2010/features/11/15/remembering-edgar mittelholzer-part-1/ > [accessed 9th November 2016]

Rickards, Colin, 'Remembering Edgar Mittelholzer: Part 2', *Stabroek News*, 29th November 2010 < http://www.stabroeknews.com/2010/features/in-the diaspora/11/29/remembering-edgar-mittelholzer-part-ii/ > [accessed 9th November 2016]

Roberts, Matthew, 'Small Islands, Big Media: Challenges of Foreign Media in Covering the Caribbean', *Caribbean Quarterly*, 40.2 (1994), 8-22

Robinson, Evita, 'Evita Robinson: Reclaiming the Globe', *TED Residency*, 27th September 2017 < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-aQTOVwtPlY&feature=youtu.be&t= > [accessed 13th December 2018]

Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2012)

Rogoziński, Jan, *A Brief History of the Caribbean: From the Arawak and Carib to the Present* (New York: Penguin, 1999)

Roldán-Santiago, Serafín, 'V.S. Naipaul's Vulcanization of Travel and Fictional Paradigms', in *V.S. Naipaul: Travel Writing and Fiction*, ed. by Rajeshwar Mittapalli and Michael Hensen (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2002), pp.77-144

Rommen, Timothy, *Funky Nassau: Roots, Routes, and Representation in Bahamian Popular Music* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2011)

Roopnarine, Lomarsh, 'Indian Migration During Indentured Servitude in British Guiana and Trinidad, 1850-1920', *Labor History*, 52.2 (2011), 173-191

Ropero, María Lourdes López, 'Travel Writing and Postcoloniality: Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound*', *Atlantis*, 25.1 (2003), 51-62

Century China (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2011)

Ropero, María Lourdes López, 'Travel Writing and Postcoloniality: Caryl Phillips's *The Atlantic Sound*', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing: Critical Explorations*, ed. by Justin D. Edwards and Rune Graulund (New York: Macmillan, 2011), pp.72-84

Rosenburg, Leah, *Nationalism and the Formation of Caribbean Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2007)

Ross, Catherine, and Lynda-Louise Burrell, 'From the Caribbean Isles to the British Isles: Home from Home', *Museumand*

< http://www.museumand.org/?exhibition=home-to-home > [accessed 18th September 2019]

Rudd, Alison, *Postcolonial Gothic Fictions from the Caribbean, Canada, Australia and New Zealand* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010)

Rundstrom, R., 'Counter-Mapping', in *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, ed. by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (London: Elsevier, 2009), pp.314-318

Rushdie, Salman, 'The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance', *The Times*, 3rd July 1982, p.8

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003)

Said, Edward, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979)

Saunders, Nicholas J., *The Peoples of the Caribbean: An Encyclopaedia of Archaeology and Traditional Culture* (Santa Barbra: ACB-Clio, 2005)

Schomburgk, Sir Robert H. (ed.), *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

Schulz-Forberg, Hagen (ed.), 'Introduction: European Travel and Travel Writing. Cultural Practice and the Idea of Europe', in *Unravelling Civilisation: European Travel and Travel Writing* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2005), pp.13-40

Schwarz, Bill, 'Preface', in *Familiar Stranger: A Life Between Two Islands* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), pp.xiii-xvii

Seaton, A.V., 'Ghosts', in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoe Kinsley and Katheryn Walchester (London: Anthem Press, 2019), pp.105-107

Sen, Asha, 'Postcolonial Travel Writing and Spirituality', in *Postcolonial Travel Writing*, ed. by Robert Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp.124-138

Sen, Simonti, *Travels to Europe: Self and Other in Bengali Travel Narratives 1870-1910* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2005)

Shaftel, David, 'An Island Scorned', *New York Times*, 18th May 2008 < https://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/18/books/review/Shaftel-t.html > [accessed 7th November 2018]

Shields, Rob, *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* (London: Routledge, 1991)

Sicher, Efraim, 'The "Attraction of Repulsion": Dickens, Modernity, and Representation', in *A Mighty Mass of Brick and Smoke: Victorian and Edwardian Representations of London*, ed. by Lawrence Phillips (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp.35-60

Smethurst, Paul, 'A *flâneur* on wheels? Bicycle mobility and the sociological gaze in Edward Thomas's *In Pursuit of Spring*', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 18.3 (2014), 249-263

Smethurst, Paul, 'Peripheral Vision, Landscape, and Nation-Building in Thomas Pennant's Tours of Scotland, 1769-72', in *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Benjamin Colbert (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.13-30

Smith, Sidonie, *Moving Lives: Twentieth-Century Women's Travel Writing* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001)

Soyinka, Wole, 'A Time of Transition', *Transition*, 51 (1991), 4-5

Stanley, J., 'Women of Windrush: Britain's adventurous arrivals that history forgot', 22nd June 2018, *The New Statesman* < https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2018/06/women-windrush-britain-s adventurous-arrivals-history-forgot > [accessed 4th June 2019]

Stanley, Liz, 'Encountering the Imperial and Colonial Past Through Olive Schreiner's *Trooper Peter Halket of Marshonland*', *Women's Writing*, 7.2 (2000), 197-219

Stiegler, Bernd, *Traveling in Place: A History of Armchair Travel*, trans. by Peter Filkins (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010)

Strachan, Ian Gregory, *Paradise and Plantation: Tourism and Culture in the Anglophone Caribbean* (Charlottesvile: University of Virginia Press, 2002)

Stringer, Jenny, *The Oxford Companion to Twentieth-Century Literatures in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Sturrock, John, *Celine: Journey to the End of the Night* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Sugnet, Charles, 'Vile Bodies, Vile Places: Traveling with Granta', *Transition*, 51 (1991), 70-85

Sweet, Rosemary, 'Domestic Tourism in Great Britain', *British Library* < https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/domestic-tourism-in-great-britain > [accessed 26th March 2018]

Tally Jr, Robert T., *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019)

Teo, Peggy, and Sandra Leong, 'A Postcolonial Analysis of Backpacking', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33 (2006), 109-131

Tester, Keith (ed.), 'Introduction', in *The Flâneur* (London: Routledge, 2015), pp.1-21

The British Library, *Windrush: Songs in a Strange Land* < https://www.bl.uk/events/windrush-songs-in-a-strange-land > [accessed 1st August 2019]

The British Library, 'Windrush Stories' < https://www.bl.uk/windrush > [accessed 1st August 2019]

The Editors of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Confederate States of America', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* < https://www.britannica.com/topic/Confederate-States-of-America > [accessed 16th September 2019]

The Expeditioner, 'The Top 50 Travel Blogs (2nd Quarter: 2018)', *The Expeditioner*, 22nd July 2018 < https://www.theexpeditioner.com/the-top-50-travel-blogs/ > [accessed 14th January 2019]

The Migration Observatory, 'Commonwealth citizens arriving before 1971' < https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/commentaries/commonwealth citizens-arriving-before-1971/ > [accessed 16th September 2019]

The National Archives, 'Abolition of Slavery' < http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/about.htm > [accessed 28th May 2019]

The Whitworth, 'Pearl Alcock' < https://www.whitworth.manchester.ac.uk/whatson/exhibitions/upcomingexhibition/pearlalcock/ > [accessed 29th July 2019]

Thieme, John, *Postcolonial Con-Texts: Writing Back to the Canon* (London: Continuum, 2001)

Theime, John, 'Pre-Text and Con-Text: Re-writing the Caribbean', in *(Un)writing Empire*, ed. by Theo d' Haen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), pp.81-98

Thompson, Carl (ed.), 'Introduction', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.18-23

Thompson, Carl, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011)

Thompson, Krista A., *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (London: Duke University Press, 2006)

Tian, Xiaofei, *Visionary Journeys: Travel Writings from Early Medieval and Nineteenth-Century China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2011)

Tiffin, Helen, 'Post-colonial Literatures and Counter-discourse', *Kunapipi*, 9.3 (1987), 17-34

Toivanen, Anna-Leena, 'Cosmopolitanism's new clothes? The limits of the concept of Afropolitanism', *European Journal of English Studies*, 21.2 (2017), 189-205

Tomlinson, Sally, *Education and Race from Empire to Brexit* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2019)

Turner, Louis, and John Ash, *Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable Company Limited, 1975)

Urry, John, and Jonas Larson, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 2011)

Vsauce, 'What Does Earth Look Like?', < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2lR7s1Y6Zig > [accessed 10th February 2018]

Waddington, Marc, 'Leroy Cooper: The Toxteth Riots were a wake-up call and did some good', *Liverpool Echo* (2011) < https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/leroy-cooper-toxteth-riots-were-3369244 > [accessed 5th April 2018]

Wah, Chan Yuk, 'Disorganized Tourism Space: Chinese tourists in an age of Asian tourism', in *Asia on Tour: Exploring the rise of Asian Tourism*, ed. by Tim Winter, Peggy Teo and T.C. Chang (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp.67-78

Walcott, Derek, 'History and Picong… in the Middle Passage (1962)', in *Critical Perspectives on Derek Walcott*, ed. by Robert D. Hamner (Boulder: Lynne Rinner, 1997), pp.18-19

Welvin, James, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011)

Westmaas, Juanita Anne, 'Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965) and the Shaping of his Novels', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2013)

Whaley, Kayla, 'Travel Memoirs Are All About Immersive Experiences – But How Do You Write That When You Use A Wheelchair?', *Bustle,* 12th June 2018 < https://www.bustle.com/p/travel-memoirs-are-all-about-immersive-experiences-but how-do-you-write-that-when-you-use-a-wheelchair-9190849 > [accessed 13th June 2018]

White, Loraine, 'The History of Blacks in Britain: From Slavery to Rebellion', *Socialist Alternative* < https://www.socialistalternative.org/panther-black-rebellion/history blacks-britain-slavery-rebellion/ > [accessed 14th November 2019]

White, Richard, and Justine Greenwood, 'Australia', in *The Routledge Companion to Travel Writing,* ed. by Carl Thompson (London: Routledge, 2016), pp.457-468

Williams, Raymond, 'Forms of English Fiction in 1848', in *Writing and Society* (London: Verso, 1983), pp.150-166

Withy, Katherine, *Heidegger: On Being Uncanny* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015)

Woodson, C. G., 'The Negro Washerwoman, a Vanishing Figure', *The Journal of Negro History*, 15.3 (1930), 269-277

World Atlas, 'Top 10 Countries Most Reliant on Tourism', 1st August 2017 < https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/top-10-countries-most-reliant-on-tourism.html > [accessed 5th June 2019]

Younge, Gary, 'Britain's imperial fantasies have given us Brexit', *The Guardian,* 3rd February 2018 < https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/03/imperial-fantasies brexit-theresa-may > [accessed 2nd August 2019]

Younge, Gary, 'My mother's small island taught me what independence really means', *The Guardian,* 26th November 2016 < https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/26/mothers-small-island independence-barbados-50 > [accessed 28th November 2016]

Youngs, Tim, 'Interview with Gary Younge', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 6.1 (2002), 96-107

Youngs, Tim, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Zilcosky, John, *Uncanny Encounters: Literature, Psychoanalysis and the End of Alterity* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2016)