“The World Outside”: Images of the Balkans in British Travel Narratives, 1903-1907

“Beyond those lofty mountains which rise on either side of the carriage road...There are towns far away, unconnected by any road, to reach which the traveller must journey wearily by horse and on foot, over boulder-strewn paths, by the side of roaring torrents, through the cool depths of primeval forests, and over the snow-clad spurs of rugged mountains. There he will find men accustomed to face death at any moment, who delight in giving hospitality, and who talk of other lands as the world outside.”[1]
— Reginald Wyon, *The Land of the Black Mountain*

Introduction

When English journalists Harry de Windt and Reginald Wyon wrote about their Balkan voyages in the early-twentieth century, their published travelogues contributed to the increasing tide of information about Southeastern Europe flowing to Britain. Throughout the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, more Brits than ever before began to engage with the Balkans, changing how domestic audiences learned about this region on Europe’s periphery.[2] In large part, this uptick in information stemmed from travel literature: as a more diverse British population ventured to the Balkans, more also recorded and published their experiences. In newspapers, magazines, and full-length travelogues, written accounts of the Balkans brought the region closer to Britain.[3] As representations of the Balkans appeared with greater frequency, growing infrastructure shrunk the Balkans’ physical distance from Britain. Furthermore, these advances in transportation made the region more accessible to British citizens for purposes beyond military

[1] Wyon, 1903, xiv-xv.

[2] James Buzzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture’ 1800-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

[3] Andrew Hammond, *Through Another Europe* (Oxford: Signal Books Limited, 2009), viii.

service.[4] Increasing links between Britain and the Balkans, as well as internal infrastructural development, allowed journalists like Wyon and De Windt to travel both efficiently and extensively in the region.

Reginald Wyon's two full-length travelogues, *The Land of the Black Mountain* and *The Balkans Through Within,* and Harry De Windt's *Through Savage Europe* present a fascinating and complex snapshot of interactions between British writers and the Balkans in the early-twentieth century. As pieces of travel literature, all three books provide insight into contemporary definitions of Europe, Britain's role in the world, and understandings of the "other" in the early-twentieth century. By casting the travel writer himself—the narrator—at the center of an Eastern European scene, these books created a picture of the Balkans that evolved around Western European perspectives, events, and comparisons. Although both men began their Balkan trips in Montenegro and went to many of the same places, their journeys varied in scope. Wyon's *The Land of the Black Mountain* focused on the titular "Black Mountain," Montenegro, while *The Balkans From Within* explored the territory of Albania, the former Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. De Windt's *Through Savage Europe* spanned more broadly geographically, taking De Windt from Southeastern Europe to "European Russia."[5]

Although the two men traveled separately and several years apart, Wyon and De Windt's journeys mirrored each other in many ways: they traveled through similar territory, encountered the same nobility, and wrote about many of the same cities. Also, as journalists, each man wrote

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[4] Before this point, many people who ventured to the Balkans were merchants who viewed the region as a waypoint connecting Western Europe and the East, came in the service of a diplomatic mission, or were military advisers. See, for example, St. Clair and Brophy's *A Residence in Bulgaria.*

[5] Although De Windt's *Through Savage Europe* included stories from Romania and the Caucasus Mountains, this paper exclusively discusses his time in the Bulgaria, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia. "European Russia," however, appeared in his subtitle.

concurrently for British publications while traveling. Their three books, however, carry distinct tones, motivation, and agendas. These variations existed both from text to text and within each individual work. In this way, Wyon and De Windt's work captured divergent approaches to the Balkans and to the various definitions of "Europe." In spite of these significant differences, however, their books also capture the ubiquitous language of expectations and hierarchical interactions with this new environment. As such, in the early-twentieth-century, vexed and unclear understandings of the Balkans translated into layers of representation in writing, in politics, and in imagining any sort of shared "European" space or identity. A study of these three texts not only invites comparisons between the two journalists, but also provides insight into the political and cultural climate of British-Balkan interactions in the early 1900s. Accordingly, studying these travel writers allows for the examination of expectations and inconsistencies in "imagining the Balkans,"[6] charting definitions of Europe, expectations of incivility, the implications of modernity, and the employment of imperial attitudes. As a result, Wyon and De Windt's works become representations of both broad Edwardian outlooks towards the Balkan region and of persistent trends in discussing Europe's Southeastern periphery.

The authors' stereotypes, perceptions, and interactions created a complicated portrait of an equally complicated region—one which included inconsistencies in defining what was "Balkan" and assumptions that shaped how these British travelers interacted with their Southeastern European environs. This paper engages with the authors, their texts, and the lands that alternately frightened and inspired them. However, as true representations of the places these journalists traveled through, travelogues prove fickle sources. Accordingly, in many ways these

[6] Phrase borrowed from Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

travel narratives are a better reflection of Britain and the British than of the Balkans. Therefore, this paper focuses upon the mechanics of and contradictions within the Balkan imagery found in these works. Contemporary travel literature created, manipulated, perpetuated, and, occasionally, challenged accepted narratives of the Balkans. Thus, the region's place within an early-twentieth-century definition of Europe was complicated and imperfectly defined, the product of a broader imperial mindset that permeated many British interactions with the peripheral world.

Understanding the climate in which Wyon and De Windt wrote necessitates a measure of knowledge about Britain, tourism, and the Balkans in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. The first decade of the twentieth century marked an interesting time for travel and tourism culture. By the Edwardian era, contemporary British tourism—bookended by decline the Grand Tour and the onslaught of WWI—was no longer a nascent industry.[7] The nineteenth century witnessed the explosion of mass travel, and, in this climate, the legacy of the Grand Tour inspired travelers to look outside the bounds of traditional tourist destinations.[8] For some, this meant venturing south or east, where Asia, Eastern Europe, and the British colonies proved possible—if not entirely *popular*—alternative destinations.[9] Travel narratives chart these changes, capturing how and where people traveled as they recorded their journeys. As travelers ventured beyond Parisian boulevards and Swiss alps, their travelogues helped solidify far-flung places by capturing the authors' experiences and observations in print. For the Balkans in particular, literary scholar

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[7] Buzzard, 16.

[8] Buzzard, 16-17.

[9] Even many who remained in Western Europe tried to set apart *their* version of travel as "real." Some, like alpine climbers in Switzerland, for example, maintained that physical exertion and vertical space separated them from the common tourist; their additional struggle of climbing created important distance between themselves and the masses. Buzzard, 34.

Andrew Hammond credited travel journals with creating and reinforcing Southeastern Europe's image as a "peripheral zone of barbarism and conflict" in the British imagination."[10]

In large part, the Victorian era also marked the Balkan's evolution from a point of transience to a destination worth visiting in and of itself.[11] In the 17th and 18th centuries, "the peninsula was regularly traversed by consuls, diplomats and merchants" traveling from Western Europe to Istanbul/Constantinople.[12] Although early Balkan visitors rarely stayed in the region, some depictions of the Balkan peninsula filtered into their work. Even those who arrived when the region was still a waypoint described it as "quite different," "extremely dangerous," "remote," and a whole host of other adjectives that isolated and exoticized the Balkans.[13] It is, however, worth noting that similar representations remained present as the region shifted in British consciousness from traversable to travel-able.

While James Buzzard, a scholar of literature and tourism, argued that distaste for mass tourism pushed some writers South and East, Hammond had several other explanations for the uptick in British presence and interest in the Balkans during the Victorian and Edwardian eras. "During the late nineteenth century," he wrote, "a series of political and economic crises added native unrest to the region's allures."[14] Thus, in addition to the region's already extant air of intrigue as an East-West crossroads, late-nineteenth-century violence became an alluring

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[10] Andrew Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism: Representations and Power in British Travel Writing, 1850-1914," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 82, no. 3 (July 2004): 602.

[11] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, viii.

[12] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, iii. Hammond here doesn't mention soldiers and members of the military, the other group that ventured to Southeastern Europe and recorded their experiences.

[13] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, iii.

[14] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, ix.

spectacle, as did "armed conflict between rival imperial powers."[15] The dangers of Balkan life, therefore, attracted a specific type of British traveler—one drawn to sensational, adventure-driven travel experiences.[16] While Wyon and De Windt exemplify this impulse and, accordingly, made great use of violent Balkan imagery in their writing, they were also drawn to the idea of escaping Western European tourist haunts. Indeed, in their interactions with other foreign visitors, both journalists belittled their own compatriots and fellow travelers alike.[17] Naiveté, fragility, and surface-level exploration provided three of the most-mocked characteristics of other tourists. Thus, for Wyon and De Windt, their Balkan aspirations were multifold, stemming from their desire to go somewhere new, venture to a place with which their peers were unfamiliar, and explore a region that still retained a bit of mystery and an air of incivility.[18]

Some scholars, including Hammond, have observed a correlation between British travelers who sought to leave the beaten path and those drawn to political upheaval further afield. Late-nineteenth-century nationalist revolts, for example, elicited "for a certain kind of Victorian…compassion of the colonised peoples"—a desire to fight for the underdog.[19] Wyon himself did this in the newspaper pieces he published.[20] In his article "What I Saw in

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[15] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, ix.

[16] Although this paper approaches a male-dominated attitude of Balkan exploration, female travelers made up a significant amount of Victorian and Edwardian travelers (and, arguably, even a greater amount of the scholarship). Diplomats, wives,

[17] See, for example, Wyon, 1904, 24-5 and De Windt, 95.

[18] Ironically, the British were better represented in the Balkans at this time than either Wyon or De Windt would have cared to admit. As an example of this, Wyon attempted to obtain an interview from King Peter of "Servia" when he visited Belgrade. His request, however, was initially refused, on account of the king "having received two other journalists within the last few days." Even though persistence ultimately earned Wyon his interview, the implication remained that journalists were such a present phenomenon in the Serbian capital, the monarchy was weary of them. (Wyon, 1904, 15).

[19] Hammond, *Through Another Europe,* 32.
Note: in this case, "colonised" refers to the Bulgarians under Ottoman occupation.

[20] See, for example, Wyon's "What I Saw in Macedonia," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in Oct. 190

Macedonia," for example, Wyon viscerally and explicitly depicted the plight of Bulgarian refugees in Macedonia. Here, Wyon assumed a vehement anti-Turkish position as he depicted the rape, pillage, and mutilation committed by soldiers of the Ottoman Empire.[21] He was neither the first nor the only to do so. Viscountess Emily Strangford was another, earlier example of a British traveler who found an emotional cause in the Balkans. In 1877, Strangford—a traveler, philanthropist, and wife of an embassy official—wrote home about her charitable work, describing a desperate scene in Bulgaria. "Christmas will come soon, and the English will be gladdening the hearts of their own people in prosperous, happy England," she wrote, "will they not spare something for the yet far poorer, suffering, sorrow-stricken, crushed down creatures here in this country, which is as cold, and colder, than any fell or more at home?"[22]

By the time De Windt and Wyon reached the Balkans in the early 1900s, there was a clear precedent for Balkan travel. These two journalists arrived with their own expectations of Balkan society and both sought out and created the conditions to meet them—sometimes in contradiction to the region's realities. The trend of seeking to confirm priorly-formed expectations also predated them. A large part of the Balkans' appeal in the nineteenth century was in tracing (or recreating) a romanticized version of Lord Byron's travels. Many travelers romanticized Byron's Balkans, although their reimaginings were quite specific and limited geographically. Victorian travelers molded Byron's causes to fit their own needs and personal political beliefs. Future British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, for example, visited Greece

[21] Wyon, "What I saw in Macedonia," 553-5.

[22] Viscountess Strangford, *Report on the Bulgrian Peasant Relief Fund*, in *Through Another Europe: An Anthology of Travel Writing on the Balkans,* ed. Andrew Hammond (Oxford: Signal Books Limited, 2009), 36.

and Albania to trace *Childe Harold*'s route in 1826 and 1830.[23] Although Disraeli, among others, glorified—and attempted to mimic the route of—Byron's Balkan trip, he also inserted his own politics into the story. Contrary to his poet-hero, Disraeli "remained unapologetically anti-Hellenist and anti-Albanian," even "lament[ing] having missed the opportunity to volunteer for service in the Turkish army."[24] This, of course, defied Byron's own objectives in writing about the Balkans. Disraeli biographer Robert Blake called this Balkan malleability—the shaping of a Balkan cause to fit one's own expectations or desires, regardless of actual conditions—the "paradox of a disciple of Byron adopting such an unByronic attitude in 1830."[25] Furthermore, as Buzzard stated, Disraeli believed in the "profound irrelevance of politics to the poet's aura."[26] This sort of fictionalization of the Balkans—and the willingness of the marauding Brit to adapt facts to serve his own needs—remained true for Wyon and De Windt almost eighty years after Disraeli's voyage.

The overall "Balkan" image conveyed in these early-twentieth century travel narratives was reliably violent, backwards, and inferior. Wyon and De Windt felt as though they could count upon the region to exhibit these qualities and, throughout their books, consistently sought confirmation of their expectations. Thus, consumers of Edwardian travel literature—largely, middle class Britons[27]— read that anyone who dared to travel beyond the bounds of Western

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[23] Buzzard, 123.
Disraeli was enough infatuated by Byron's persona to go to great lengths to mimick his journey. A friend even "hired Byron's servant Tita as valet, of whom Disraeli wrote rapturously, 'Byron died in his arms.'" B.R. Jerman, *The Young Disraeli* (princeton, nj: Princeton University Press, 1960), 124.

[24] Buzzard, 124.

[25] Robert Blake, *Disraeli's Grand Tour: Benjamin Disraeli and the Holy Land, 1830-1831* Oxford Oxford university Press, 1982, 29-33.

[26] Buzzard, 124.

[27] David Scott Kastan, *The Encyclopedia of British Travel Literature*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 118.

Europe's civilized comforts "will find men accustomed to face death at any moment, who delight in giving hospitality, and who talk of other lands as the world outside."[28] This summation of Balkan travel, taken from Reginald Wyon's 1903 *The Land of the Black Mountain*, introduced several tropes that arose again and again in late–nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century travel literature—sentiments that these books not only captured, but also created, reinforced, and perpetuated.[29] These include the violence and the worthlessness of life, the provencialization of local customs, the amalgamation of land and character, and the isolation of what was "Balkan" from the rest of the European continent.

As travel literature helped to solidify an image of the Balkans "in the British geographical imagination," a great deal of attention focused on barbarism and conflict.[30] Both Wyon and De Windt, for example, dedicated significant space in their respective works to recounting uncouth behaviors, untamed spaces, and incivility. From these books, readers saw violent eruptions in marketplaces, savage mountains, and provincial treatment of guests. The sheer abundance of these anecdotes seemed to suggest that the Balkans existed solely outside of Europe's civilized borders. However, such a one-note assessment of the information British travelers disseminated to audiences at home cannot capture the full story hidden within these accounts. Despite perpetuating the idea that the Balkans were foreign, wild, and isolated from the rest of Europe, these travel narratives also emphasized their increasing proximity to Britain.[31] References to the multiplying railway links and developed roads, for example, abound as symbols of Balkan

[28] Wyon, 1903, xiv-xv.

[29] And, arguably, continues to dominate today.

[30] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 602.

[31] De Windt, 78.

"progress," and ultimately allowed explorers like De Windt to penetrate deeper into the region.[32]

The malleability of the region's geographic position was, in particular, rhetorically useful to writers like Wyon and De Windt. When it behooved them to situate the Balkans as Europe's savage but still European corner, they did so.[33] When they wished to distance their British respectability from what they encountered, the flexibility of Europe's geographic and cultural parameters allowed them to do this, too.[34] Thus, representations of the Balkans were often unfathomably foreign, but also occasionally reminiscent of home.

And yet, despite the consistent subjugation of Balkan land, people, and traditions in these works, travelogues also revealed a complicated portrait of Balkan statehood and agency. While belittling many Balkan habits, Wyon and De Windt found some local customs to be charming. When they encountered cities, the writers conveyed their intense surprise at finding a cosmopolitan scene in the middle of the barbaric Near East and even compared these "civilized centers" to Paris or London.[35] At other times, they described the terrain they passed through as similar to or even surpassing the beauty of common Grand Tour destinations like Lake Como in Italy[36] or the Alps in Switzerland.[37] Thus, though Wyon and De Windt consistently emphasized the superiority of British custom, country, and society (and the British traveler), their narratives

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[32] See, for example, De Windt, *Through Savage Europe,* 18.

[33] Wyon, 1903, 210.

[34] De Windt, 82.

[35] De Windt, 114.
It is, however, important to note that especially for Wyon, cities reminiscent of Western European urban centers were not "authentically" Balkan.

[36] De Windt, 1907, 18.

[37] Wyon, 1903, 2, 211.

lacked a clearly defined or cohesive understanding of what it meant to be Balkan and what it meant to be European. They also did not define how or if these two parameters could coexist.

All of this played into a complicated picture of what was European and what was not. The idea of "Europeanness" was complicated; both the British Isles and the Balkans existed at opposite ends of Europe geographically. Katarina Gephardt, a nineteenth-century literature specialist, employed David Spurr's work on colonial discourse in *The Rhetoric of Empire*, saying:

> British writers had to satisfy two contradictory imperatives: In competition with continental powers, British writers needed to assert the superiority of their national culture and institutions and thus emphasize the 'otherness' of peripheral Europeans. However, writers also needed to uphold the idea of Europe based on shared religion, political ideals, and civilization, or values that justified overseas colonization.[38]

In a way, however, Britain was *also* a European periphery—at least geographically.[39] Although Gephardt did not pursue this idea of mutual peripheries, she further explored the paradox of fluid definitions of Europe that these travel narratives represent. The writers, she posited, were motivated to display "a distinctive type of intra-European identification that [kept] nineteenth-century constructions of the southern periphery from being merely negative."[40] Rather than "othering" the region entirely, she argued, British travel writers in Southeastern Europe realized that defining the space was essential to understanding Britain's own role in the world. Thus, this peripheral region became a "parallel space"—one that could "either confirm Britain's centrality or expose its failure to measure up to perceived European norms of

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[38] Gephart, 7.

[39] Although Wyon and De Windt's lenses as Brits (and their resulting use of Britain as a focal point) make this "mutual peripheries" argument less indicative here, Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drake-Francis flip the relationship in their book. Instead of Western Europe, looking East, their book is titled: *A Bibliography of East European Travel Writing on Europe*, East Looks West, vol. 3 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2008).

[40] Gephardt, 12.

civilization and progress"[41] Though an interesting analysis of why British travelers expected to find decay, antiquation, and incivility in the Balkans, neither Wyon nor De Windt's texts reflected this alone. For these Edwardian journalists, the idea of self-realization for Britain—at least in terms of "intra-European identification"—was never expressed explicitly.

Gephardt continued by saying that travel on the continent "both confirmed and challenged the assumed centrality of Britain during the age of Empire…The opportunity to observe and compare Britain and European peripheries could lead travelers to question their country's perceived progress."[42] In this, perhaps, her premise feels more sound. The Balkans provided a region where British travelers and their audiences could reliably exert superiority. It is also interesting to consider how their exploits in Europe's peripheral space situated both Britain and the Balkans on the edges of a European sphere. This idea significantly complicated Wyon and De Windt's frequent comparisons between the Balkans and Western Europe (excluding Britain). As more allusions surfaced between the Balkans and France, Switzerland, or Italy than those to Britain, perhaps these comparisons were less flattering to the Balkans and more insulting to the Continent.

From the outset, Wyon and De Windt's travel narratives highlighted one of the key contradictions in British discussions of the Balkans. Both addressed the lack of Balkan knowledge an average Edwardian Brit possessed—while simultaneously insisting upon systematically applying tropes of violence, savagery, and incivility. In doing so, these travelogues exemplified one of the central tensions in external representations of the Balkans:

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[41] Gephart, 12.

[42] Gephardt, 6-7.

although dark and unknown, the Balkans were, simultaneously, reliably "terrible."[43] Even today, this contradiction remains. Hammond explained that, as "'little known' [as] it may be, the region has received a steady stream of literary responses," yet its status as a "little known region" remains relevant.[44] At what point, one might ask, could the Balkans finally become "familiar" to a foreign audience?

In selecting works for his anthology *Through Another Europe*, Hammond looked for authors who were "success[ful] in evoking what it feels like to be an unexceptional foreign subject adrift in an imposingly alien environment."[45] While this criteria is admirable in travel literature, this representation is antithetical to how many Victorian or Edwardian travel writers constructed themselves in relation to their "alien" Balkan environment. Instead, Wyon and De Windt were centers, stars, even—to use a literary term—protagonists in their books. On the page, these men appear to have been far from "unexceptional" in their own eyes. Their status as Englishmen, as journalists, and as experienced travelers in relation to the people they met and the lands they traveled through afforded them this role. As such, both Wyon and De Windt perpetually constructed themselves as superior to their surroundings, and nothing about their texts portrays unexceptionality. Furthermore, they acted with an attitude of superiority that extended beyond local Balkan inhabitants; Wyon and De Windt also frequently assumed a superior tone in interactions with foreign travelers and other expatriates, as well. At no point in

[43] Wyon, 1903, xiii.

[44] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, ix.

[45] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, x.

their works did Wyon or De Windt ever present themselves as "an unexceptional foreign subject [s]."[46]

In charting both the consistencies and differences contained within two distinct Balkan trips, these three texts provide an access point to early-twentieth-century perceptions of the Balkans through British eyes. At the surface, the two men purportedly approached the Balkans with different perspectives and wrote with varying objectives. However, the ways in which Wyon and De Windt conceptualized, subjugated, and interacted with the Balkans were, in many ways, fundamentally *the same.* After spending more time with the texts, similarities in their approaches shine through. Differences became semantic and, within these similarities, important windows to the early-twentieth century emerged. Especially because the men professed such oppositional outlooks, their strikingly comparable conclusions reveal a great deal about Britain and the world —or, at the very least, Britain and the Balkans.

This paper explicitly engages with terminology as used and understood by the travel writers, highlighting inconsistencies in application, presentation, and understanding. In contemporary literature, the terms "European" and "Balkan" expanded and contracted in definition—allowing Southeastern Europe to occupy an imprecise and nebulous space. In a similar way, travel writing occupies a strange middle ground between fiction and nonfiction. I, therefore, alternate between referring to Wyon and De Windt as journalists—their occupation, travel writers—their role throughout these books, and protagonists. This latter word feels especially appropriate when Wyon and De Windt narrate their interactions with locals, as, in these moments, the British writers became a strange mix of both subject and foil. In situating

[46] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, x.

these men within an early-twentieth century context, this paper focuses on the contradictions and inconsistencies that governed their representations of the Balkans. The coming pages will show how these travel narratives allow for an exploration of history, modernity, violence, and distance, demonstrating that Wyon and De Windt's representations were both a product of their time and emblematic of persistent trends in English-language literature on the Balkans. Beginning with these writers and their own personal contexts and progressing into a close reading of their travel accounts, this paper weaves a study of historical narrative, modernity, hospitality, and imperial thought into a broader discussion about expectations and representations of the Balkans in the Edwardian period.

"Strange Foreign Creatures": The Makings of An English Travel Writer[47]

Prior to the trip that inspired *Through Savage Europe,* Harry De Windt's prolific travels brought him from his native Britain to Siberia, India, and the Alaskan frontier. In perhaps his most infamous journey, he twice attempted to travel from Paris to New York by land, crossing the Bering Strait.[48] He referenced the trials and tribulations of these previous explorations throughout *Through Savage Europe*, paying special tribute to the harsh conditions in Siberia.[49] By recording and publishing his travels, De Windt became something of a public figure, and his

[47] Wyon, 1903, 201.

[48] This, indeed, is the title of his 1904 book *From Paris to New York by Land.*

[49] See, for example, De Windt, 1907, 19, 178, 185, and 196.

international exploits earned him notable press coverage in both the US and Britain.[50] He maintained his presence in the press while traveling to the Balkans as a special correspondent for the *Winchester Gazette*, publishing pieces along the way.[51]

Through his publications, De Windt cultivated a distinct persona, evident in his travels to peripheral zones and his style of writing—"remarkable and dangerous" were two emotions he tried to convey throughout his oeuvre of work, both in terms of the destinations he traveled to and how he represented himself once within them. His tone was largely consistent throughout the course of *Through Savage Europe*, despite the fact that he rarely strayed from a railway or telegraph line. As a correspondent, he was responsible for sending dispatches home, but by exoticizing his Balkan exploits and making frequent references to the times he had risked life and limb abroad, De Windt's carefully-cultivated persona feels contradictory to the resources at his disposal.

De Windt also branded himself as an explorer. Adding to his extensive list of exploration-oriented publications and his fellowship in the Royal Geographic Society, he operated "The 'De Windt' Exploration Company, Limited."[52] The company, evidently speculative in nature, concerned mining, water, and infrastructure in the Canadian or Alaskan Klondyke region, and

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[50] Through his previous travels and publications, De Windt was also enough of a well-known figure that newspapers even treated his wife as a person of interest. In 1911, Hilda De Windt was given special mention as one of the participants in a Christmas toy drive for London's poor children. Amongst the list of "LADIES WHO ARE HELPING" was "Mrs. Harry De Windt, the wife of the famous explorer, [who] is dressing some dolls in Arctic costume, illustrating some incidents in Mr. De Windt's remarkable and dangerous journey across Siberia— from Paris to New York overland."[48] This explicit mention of Mrs. De Windt was relevant given the company with which her name appeared; she was included— even singled out— in a list that included a duchess, a marchioness, two countesses, and a host of ladies. *London Evening News*, London, Middlesex, United Kingdom, November 4, 1911, 3.

[51] Wyon even references his main occupation as a journalist in the title of his book, *Through Savage Europe, being the narrative of a journey (undertaken as a special correspondent of the "Westminster Gazette"), throughout the Balkan States and European Russia.*

[52] Announced in the *London Evening News*, February 14, 1898, 1.

grew out of Wyon's explorations in the Alaskan frontier.[53] Significantly, as a consequence of this personal brand, his writings demonstrated the implications of painting Southeastern Europe as a region fit for exploration.[54] In establishing himself as an intrepid explorer, he frequently referenced the "wild, inaccessible nature" of the lands he traveled to and emphasized the difficult conditions of his ventures.[55] At the same time, his particular brand of *supported* exploration required hotels, porters, and the conscription of local servants, and thus revealed inconsistencies between persona and practice. It also highlighted the tensions inherent within De Windt's search for a lawless Balkan wilderness: the adventure was grand as long as the intrepid explorer ended the day with a clean bed and hot meal.

Like De Windt, Reginald Wyon also came to the Balkans with a journalist's purview. While De Windt arrived specifically as a correspondent for *The Winchester Gazette,* however, Wyon did not have a direct affiliation with a single paper. Throughout his years in the Balkans,[56] he published pieces for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Chamber's*, and *Temple Bar,*[57] and ultimately compiled his experiences into two full-length books. The first, *The Land of the Black Mountain*, chronicled Wyon's first impressions of his travels through Montenegro with Gerald

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[53] Also called "The Explorers and Travelers Company, Limited" the enterprise was apparently of a speculative nature and concerned mining, water, and infrastructure in the Canadian or Alaskan Klondyke region. See, for example, *The Economist, Weekly Commercial Times, Banker's Gazette, and Railway Moniter: A Political, Literary, and General Newspaper*, Volume LVI No 2,843 , February 19, 1898, London, 1899, 281. *The Engineering And Mining Journal*, New York Vol LXV, no 2 Richard P .Rothwell, editor, Feb 26, 1898, And *The Statest*, London Feb 19, 1898, 301.

[54] Not excluding possible financial implications, referencing his record of prospecting and investment in regions he first traveled to under the auspices of adventure-driven exploration.

[55] De Windt, 24.

[56] Approximately 1903-1906.

[57] Wyon, 1904, ix.

Prance (ostensibly a fellow Brit and a minor figure who served occasionally as Wyon's foil).[58] His latter book, *The Balkans From Within,* encompassed a much more sweeping account of Balkan life and covered significantly more geographic territory. At the outset, this book also took on an increasingly political tone. As Wyon grew more familiar with the region, he grew into an advocate of "proper" European involvement—at least rhetorically.[59] He occasionally cajoled the British government to meet its Balkan responsibilities (as he saw them), and continued to remind his reader of the atrocities and violence he witnessed there—largely abuse committed at the hands of Turkish forces.[60]

The Land of the Black Mountain, Wyon's first book, was intended as a lighthearted account of backwoods ramblings, shooting expeditions, and adventures in Montenegro. Driven by a commitment to drum up both popular support for and interest in the Balkans, this objective motivated—even censored—the experiences Wyon recorded in 1903. He openly skewed his story to achieve these aims. In his introduction, written in Vienna, he admitted that although "disagreeable episodes happened to us…these we have rightly or wrongly omitted. The good that we experienced certainly outweighed the bad, and that shall be our reason for doing so."[61]

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[58] Note on authorship: Gerald Prance was credited as a co-author of *The Land of the Black Mountain* (1903). While I do not wish to diminish his contributions, Wyon wrote both this book and *The Balkans From WithinThe Balkans From Within* from a first-person perspective, with himself as the narrator. When *The Land of the Black Mountain* referenced Prance at all (which did not happen with overwhelming frequency) he was referred to as "P." or included in a generalized "we" (see, for example, Wyon, 1903, 102). Prance, therefore, played a minor role in a book that was essentially recorded as Wyon's thoughts, opinions, and observations—whatever its co-authorship. Thus, to streamline this discussion of *two* British journalists' recorded perspectives on the Balkans, Wyon and Prance's 1903 work has been treated as representative of the former's views.

[59] In this, he was also explicitly critical of previous European involvement in the Balkans that lacked cohesion or persistency. These indictments largely occurred in *The Balkans From Within* and will be discussed below.

[60] Wyon, 1904, 75-80, for example.

[61] Wyon, 1903, xxi.

His second book, however, took on an entirely different tone. Opening with a bitter and indicting dedication, Wyon wrote that *The Balkans From Within* was "DEDICATED (WITHOUT PERMISSION) TO THE ASHES OF THE BERLIN TREATY."[62] Wyon then offered dire predictions for the future, invoking an all-too-familiar trope: the inextricable, cyclical pattern of Balkan violence.[63] "Whichever way the observer turns," Wyon wrote, "he can find no solution but war; and a retrospective glance into the histories of these turbulent peoples will show an almost exact parallel of the present situation a little more than a quarter of a century ago."[64] Here, however, Wyon blamed the Balkans less and accused the meddling great powers more—an interesting reflection of agency, hierarchy, and the responsibilities of nations within the framework of an informal imperial relationship. Thus, alongside the idea of cyclical violence, Wyon attributed the looming outbreak of conflict to a failure on Europe's part, rather than laying the entirety of the blame upon an inherent flaw within the Balkans themselves.[65]

Balancing the need to sell stories with a professed affection for the region, Wyon carefully styled both his books to educate and appeal to readers in Britain. "For my part," he wrote in 1904, "I love the Balkan people"—though one must wonder who or what he allegedly "loved."[66] In his efforts to make the Balkans tangible to a British audience, he declared in 1904, "I have tried in these pages to show them [the Balkan people] in their habit as they live, believing that

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[62] Wyon, 1904, vi.
The Berlin Treaty of 1878 reversed the Treaty of San Stefano's decision to create a greater Bulgaria (in March 1878). At Berlin, Macedonia was turned over the Ottomans. Wyon felt that Western Europe had abandoned the Balkans to the rapacious Turk at this conference. Richard C. Hall, *The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913: Prelude to the First World War* (Routledge: New York, 2000), 5.

[63] Wyon, 1905, 2.

[64] Wyon, 1905, 2.

[65] Wyon, 1904, 3-4.

[66] Wyon, 1904, ix.

the reader's comprehension of Balkan problems will be materially increased if he can be made to feel at home among the inhabitants of these remote and turbulent countries."[67] Thus, he aspired to inspire affection and interest in the region, hoping that his audience would feel moved to intervene against the Turks on the Balkans' behalf.

As Wyon's second book, *The Balkans From Within* contained a mismatch of writing styles. He alternated traditional travel chapters with stories he had previously published in news outlets like *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. The inclusion of these pieces throughout the book contributed to an inconsistent finished piece—one which often introduced the reader to a character's name long before communicating his story or, alternately, reintroduced the same minor figure several times.[68] These published pieces also contributed to the overarching political tone of *The Balkans From Within.* Wyon's decision to alternate between traditional travelogue and correspondence at times alienated his contemporary audience, however. A reviewer in London's *The Outlook*, for example, summarily dismissed the book, calling it a "collection of journalistic papers penned by a special correspondent in the heat of his daily work and, like all collected journalism, it collects badly."[69] Admittedly, the abrupt transitions were, in fact, jarring; anecdotes of Montenegrin bird-hunting expeditions gave way to reports of abused, violated Bulgarian refugees.[70] Illustrating this, while the title "What I Saw in Macedonia" evokes a description of monasteries, mountain vistas, and tourist haunts—standards of European travel literature—it actually contained an account of the burned villages and displaced people Wyon

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[67] Wyon, 1904, ix.

[68] This was most common with the servants Wyon conscripted along the way.

[69] "Correspondence Style," *The Outlook in Life, Politics, Finance, Letters, and the Arts*, June, 11, 1904, 481.

[70] Wyon, 1904, 232-41 contrasted with Wyon, 1904, 75-8.

encountered while traveling through Turkish-controlled regions of Macedonia. Ultimately, however, these minor inconsistencies and continual shifts between idyllic travelogue and violent scenes reflected broader, endemic patterns found in Edwardian presentations of the Balkans. The vacillations only mirrored the larger traditions of alternating between peace and violence, security and fear, civilization and savagery, throughout these turn-of-the-century travel narratives.

In addition to the vacillations and inconsistencies recorded in the text, what these travelogues left out was also significant. Wyon made these omissions explicit, but his claim of conscious self-censorship stood out amongst contemporary works of travel literature. In a genre known for its sensationalism and for highlighting the differences between the foreign and the familiar, Wyon's espoused choice to present a favorable Balkan image also deviated from common rhetorical approaches to discussing "the other" in general and the Balkans more specifically.[71] Though Wyon claimed to have glossed over unpleasant scenes,[72] De Windt's *Through Savage Europe* seemed to revel in opportunities to depict unflattering Balkan images. He, for example, took a grotesque sort of pleasure in reporting that casual street murders were greeted with "a smile and a shrug of the shoulders" in Montenegro.[73] Significantly, however, Wyon and De Windt's reports often met the same ends. Namely, Wyon's professed intention to display the Balkans in a positive light often failed to manifest as such—even within *The Land of*

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[71] Edward Said, "Introduction," *Orientalism* in *The Modern Historiography Reader*, ed. Adam Budd (New York: Routledge, 2009), 445.
David Cannadine, "Beginnings," *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, in *The Modern Historiography Reader*, ed.Adam Budd (New York: Routledge, 2009), 451-2.
Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Personality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts?" *Representations* No. 37 (1992), 1-2.

[72] Wyon, 1903, xxi. (though whether he actually did so is questionable)

[73] De Windt, 45.

the Black Mountain, his first book which claimed to have skipped the "disagreeable episodes."[74] In all three books, many anecdotes and stories cast the people and lands of the Balkans as wild and uncivilized, reflecting inherent tensions throughout Balkan representations in these travel narratives.[75]

De Windt, a serial explorer, had visited the Balkans once before, two decades prior to the trip that ultimately became *Through Savage Europe*. For De Windt, however—despite this prior introduction—the Balkans provided just another region fit for exploration. Already having such titles as *The New Siberia, A Ride to India*, and *From Paris to New York by Land* under his belt before publishing *Through Savage Europe* in 1907, De Windt's travels were far-ranging; the Balkans were undeniably a temporary destination. Contrarily, both Wyon's words and the length of time he spent in the Balkans reflected a deeper regional commitment.[76] Wyon's self-described "love"[77] and De Windt's diffidence reveal a good deal about their respective motivations: De Windt approached the Balkans as a way-point and wrote about a short-term adventure; Wyon's books represented several years of regional focus and study. If, therefore, one could deem De Windt a serial explorer, Wyon could conversely be termed a Balkanphile.

Despite these initial and surface-level distinctions, however, the two men approached the Balkans with remarkably similar attitudes. Both glorified and romanticized Balkan backwardness and violence, seeking out experiences that fulfilled their pre-formed understanding of what "Balkan" meant. With this in mind, Wyon and De Windt's works reflected tensions between the

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[74] Wyon, 1903, xxi.

[75] See, for example, his discussion of the vendetta. Wyon 1903, 204.

[76] Wyon, 1904, viii-ix.

[77] Wyon, 1904, ix.

desire, on one hand, to romanticize the provencial backwardness of Balkan life and, on the other, to condemn it for its lack of civility. Furthermore, although Wyon styled himself as a journalist and an advocate of regional causes more than an explorer, he still used the Balkans as his playground—even while writing himself into the role of their champion. Thus, these two journalists—the explorer and the Balkanphile—often ended up at the same superior and imperial-tinged representations of the lands through which they traveled.

Despite the myriad inconsistencies that permeated these texts, Brits at home and Brits abroad could and often *did* cling to the same stereotypes. Both *The Land of the Black Mountain* and *Through Savage Europe* opened with dialogue—and an example of how a lack of information did not prevent many Europeans from forming opinions about the region. Take, for example, the opening of Wyon's 1903 *The Land of the Black Mountain*. He began: "What a terrible country!" said a lady tourist to me once in Cetinje, "nothing but barren grey rocks; and what poverty! I declare I shan't breathe freely till I am out of it again."[78] Mirroring this woman's use of "terrible" and "barren" within the same breath, De Windt's 1907 *Through Savage Europe* opened on a similarly pessimistic note. Before his journey even began, the explorer defended his invocation of the word "savage" in the very title of the book:

> "Why 'savage' Europe?" asked a friend who recently witnessed my departure from Charing Cross for the Near East.
> "Because," I replied, "the term accurately describes the wild and lawless countries between the Adriatic and Black Seas."[79]

In doing so, his book opened with a prime example of how Brits at home and travelers abroad both clung to the wild, terrible, and lawless stereotypes. His passage also exemplified the idea of

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[78] Wyon, 1903, xiii.

[79] De Windt, 1907, 15.

"knowns and unknowns." When his friend inquired about the "savage" designation, De Windt felt capable of judging the region before his trip began. Thus, from De Windt, readers could see the peripheralization of the Balkans even prior to a traveler's departure, while Wyon's introduction highlighted the repetition of such tropes even upon arrival. These words—terrible, barren, and savage—became a reader's first introduction to these journalist's representation of the Balkans.

As inaugural lines, both quotations set the tone for later discussions of violence, savagery, and stereotypes. From a rhetorical standpoint, it is interesting that both of these books opened with dialogue, but these excerpts offer even more towards the goal of understanding the Balkan's place within (or outside of) Europe's borders. The particular circumstance behind each quotation becomes especially relevant. In the former, Wyon's Balkan traveler—a woman who has, presumably, seen the region firsthand—parroted the same negative stereotypes that these writers expected the British public, though further away, to have held through their exposure to the Balkans in print. In this way, these travelogues demonstrated early on that familiarity with the Balkans did not always elicit positive feelings. Furthermore, when De Windt's friend questioned the use of such a word as "savage," the journalist-explorer used colorful, stigmatizing language to reinforce the air of mystery—and danger—that permeated his imminent travel plans.

Subsequently, in the introduction to *Through Savage Europe*, De Windt continued in largely the same tone. In discussing the "wild and lawless countries" and "political crimes of mediaeval barbarity," he reinforced his justification of the term "savage."[80] Conversely, Wyon's *The Balkans From Within* immediately provided a counterpoint. Here, the author challenged the

[80] De Windt, 15-16.

Balkan's "terrible" reputation and also commented upon how (wrongfully) ubiquitous this opinion was. Such an assessment was, he wrote, the "common opinion of travellers to Montenegro, and one that is spread by them all over Europe."[81] Though De Windt presented wilderness and brigandry, Wyon disagreed, at least rhetorically. He dismissed this perpetuation of negative stereotypes, declaring of the woman's comments, "*And yet how unjust!*"[82] Nevertheless, this "terrible country" quotation opened his text, functioning as the reader's introduction to the version of the Balkans that Wyon would construct throughout the book. Furthermore, Wyon's (espoused) rhetorical support for and advocacy of Balkan causes did not actually translate into depictions of the Balkan land and people as anything more than opportunities for Western involvement and entertainment.[83]

Accordingly, though both Wyon and De Windt referenced negative associations with the Balkans, the discrepancies between their two introductions simultaneously highlighted the inherent complexities—and, indeed, the impossibilities—of efforts to paint a solitary picture of what was "Balkan." When Wyon commented upon the Balkans' maligned reputation and De Windt defended his titular use of the word "savage," their books became reflective of the inconsistencies within "imagining the Balkans," to repurpose a phrase from Maria Todorova.[84] Thus, from the beginning, these travelogues revealed a great deal about the conceptualization of the Balkans in the British imagination—and the lack of clarity thereof. While both *The Land of the Black Mountain* and *Through Savage Europe* began with a conversation about the Balkans,

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[81] Wyon, 1903, xiii.

[82] Wyon, 1903, xiii. [emphasis added]

[83] Involvement, vis-à-vis stymying the Ottoman Empire's Balkan atrocities, and entertainment through literature and, for example, as hunting ground.

[84] Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

the subsequent pages only demonstrate the complexities of trying to establish one unified picture of "Near Eastern" expectations.

"No History…No Fatherland": Representations of Historical Agency[85]

In his article "The Uses of Balkanism," Andrew Hammond used a travelogue from 1869 to discuss how the removal of a national narrative discredits its a country or a people's sovereignty: "no history...no fatherland."[86] In this way, travelers who recorded their experiences had immense power in representing the past. By dismissing the collective past of a country or a nation, their travel narratives could also trivialize the region's present and future. Though Hammond implied that this practice was nearly universal in Victorian and Edwardian travel literature, Wyon and De Windt's texts revealed a more complicated story. Their books show it is erroneous to claim that travelogues *never* identified or gave due credit to Balkan history. Rather, by looking at the specific invocations or disavowals of local historical trajectories and historiographical traditions, these books provide insight into how opinions and definitions of what was "Balkan" formed in the late Victorian era and were reinforced and refined in the Edwardian.

Histories of the Montenegro, Serbia, and the Dalmatian Coast each, for example, earned acknowledgment from the authors. While in Dalmatia, De Windt lauded the length and depth of Ragusan history,[87] reporting that "a detailed description of the historical and artistic treasures of

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[85] St. Clair and Brophy, *A Residence in Bulgaria,* quoted in Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 623.

[86] St. Clair and Brophy, *A Residence in Bulgaria,* quoted in Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 623.

[87] Ragusa was modern Dubrovnik's city-state predecessor.

Ragusa would take volumes."[88] To Serbia, he dedicated several chapters about dynastic history and recent events (namely, the murder of King Alexander in 1903).[89] At the same time, however, De Windt did not give an equal amount of credit to every place he passed through; often, he seemed to find it possible to give a cursory yet (in his mind) thorough enough survey of a region's history in a few short lines, paragraphs, or pages.[90] Thus, although Serbia and Ragusa were exceptions to De Windt's usual historical consideration, they show that Edwardian journalists did not summarily dismiss *all* Balkan narratives.

Yet even while acknowledging some native historical tradition, not all elements were given equal credit. In the first chapter of *The Land of the Black Mountain,* Wyon laid out regional Montenegrin history, beginning with the Romans in the 3rd century. He lamented, however, that "when the Western divisions fell under the weight of barbarian invasions in 476 AD, it [Montenegro] was finally incorporated in the East. This was a momentous decision, for the manners and habits of the people still remain tinged with Eastern life."[91] He continued, recording how that legacy manifested itself in the modern Eastern Church and left an indelible mark on the country.[92] History here was thus a sad thing—one that revealed the root of Balkan backwardness. On the other hand, Wyon also wrote that "the fighting instincts of that brave [Montenegrin] race, their love of freedom, and the possession of their most glorious histories appeal to us all."[93] He also gave Montenegro a history by acknowledging its national heroes—

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[88] De Windt, 75.

[89] De Windt, 163-166.

[90] De Windt, 88, for example.

[91] Wyon, 1903, 15-16.

[92] Wyon, 1903, 16.

[93] Wyon, 1903, xvii-xviii.

the story of Voivoda Marko, for example, who was "a wonderful character; a great athlete, perfect rifle-shot, and a military warrior and a leader of men…a refined gentleman, a true poet, and merciful to his enemies."[94] The subtext, however, remained: had Montenegro not fallen to the East many centuries ago, its past might have been more worthy of study and mention. Furthermore, though the Balkans had laudable "national heroes," their characteristics reflected stereotypical Balkan qualities and were mired in rhetoric of racial characteristics.[95]

Although complicit in recording a filtered, selective history, Wyon and De Windt were not oblivious to the inherent hypocrisy of doing so. Furthermore, although their journeys were most often guided by their search for places that fulfilled their Balkan stereotypes, they occasionally admitted that conditions did not meet their expectations. In some instances, the journalists' interactions on the ground actually led them to step away with more positive opinions of a place. Of Ragusa, for example De Windt reported that

> until I came here, I had pictured a squalid, Eastern place, devoid of ancient or modern interest; most of my fellow-countrymen probably do likewise, notwithstanding the fact that when London was a small and obscure town Ragusa was already an important center of commerce and civilisation.[96]

This excerpt encompassed the most standard of Balkan stereotypes: he had imagined the city-state to be a "squalid" place—one simultaneously substandard to and dismissed by Western European audiences. This passage also described how once he discovered that the city-state possessed a rich history, his opinion changed. Improving his knowledge of Ragusa's past forced De Windt to confront the Balkan stereotypes that persisted despite a dearth of actual information.

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[94] Wyon, 1903, 84.

[95] Wyon, 1903, 297.

[96] De Windt, 70.

Lastly, this example complicated De Windt's presentation of the Balkans, showing why looking closely might have been both alarming and difficult for a twentieth-century Brit. In doing so, he might have been forced to admit that certain places in the Balkans not only predated modern London, but excelled as modern, sophisticated civilizations long before Britain ever did.

Importantly, there were two types of history at play here, though both represented by and filtered through the traveler writers. The first consisted of the histories that the travelers themselves collected and set down for their readers. The second encompassed local history and historical tradition. According to Wyon and De Windt, recorded history in the Balkans was ad-hoc and emotional. Implicitly, Wyon and De Windt contrasted this with the historical accounts with which they were familiar, suggesting that they believed British history was carefully planned, recorded, and vetted. For Wyon, Balkan history was written by local troubadours, the gusla players, who were "the history books, the legend tellers of the country."[97] These instrumentalists "fan[ned] the fire of patriotism and loyalty by songs of the deeds and accomplishments of their Prince, of dead heroes and past glorious battles."[98] In a way, the gusla players and their instruments' doleful tone became the physical embodiment of history. Thus, the past was not only preserved orally, but with an air of mystery—one that, when handed down from generation to generation, also fell victim to the trappings of oral history. Namely, it captured a sensational and unrefined narrative that kept the past very much alive in the present. Although this was intriguing for the British visitor to witness, neither Wyon nor De Windt appeared to put much faith in its practice. Historical preservation through the gusla also meant that history in the Balkans was physically and auditorily present; it was not relegated to long-

[97] Wyon, 1903, 39.

[98] Wyon, 1903, 39.

forgotten books or dusty shelves. Through the troubadour and his song, an emotional past factored into the daily lives of many in the Balkans.[99] Thus, these works revealed a multifaceted historical hierarchy, one that encompassed both the stories themselves and the provincial methods through which they were told, providing one example of the hierarchical relationship Wyon and De Windt constructed with their surroundings. As an uncivilized instrument, the gusla could not capture a dignified history—which, in a way, fit perfectly with Wyon and De Windt's depiction of the Balkans. More often than not, the authors did not consider regional history itself to be worthy of inclusion or discussion.

Representations of the gusla and historical record-keeping also provide insight into British perceptions of their own modernity in relation to Balkan society. In this way, the Balkans continually provided Britain's antithesis. This type of emotional, artistic historical record forged, according to Wyon, "another link with the mediaeval world of which the traveller is so strongly reminded at every step in Montenegro."[100] While this paper is not by any means arguing that British historical tradition involved a smooth, uncontested, and refined collection of events and information, that was the impression afforded by these travel narratives. Whereas one was calculated, refined, and mature, the other was wild, ad hoc, and medieval—as here represented, at least, if not in reality.

In addition to discussing historical record-keeping, inclusion of the gusla also revealed a distinct dose of paternalism and certain beliefs about Balkan temperament. De Windt, for example, described a breakfast he ate in Niégoutch, a village "which resembled some squalid

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[99] For other references to the guzla see Wyon, 1903, xiv, 8, 39, 247, 268 and De Windt, 40.

[100] Wyon, 1903, 39.

hamlet in the far north of Scotland…[with houses] more like cattle sheds than human habitations."[101] He wrote:

> "The meal was accompanied (but not improved) by the doleful strains of a *guzla*, a kind of elongated violin with one string, played by a blind beggar in the road. This is the national instrument of the Servian race, which is said to have inspired the latter in its most glorious deeds of patriotism. If this be so, I can only admire and envy the facility with which the enthusiasm of the Servian race is aroused!"[102]

Here, De Windt extrapolated from historical preservation to comment upon the national character. De Windt's "Servians" were simple people—all it took were a few "doleful" notes on a strange guitar-like instrument, and they could be whipped up into a frenzy of violent, passionate patriotism. In Bosnia, however, the gusla provided a different reflection. De Windt described the gusla as "sad and monotonous, like the country which produced it. I only once saw a group of Bosnians look in any way cheerful, and that was at a funeral."[103] Finally, in terms of the veracity of recorded history, neither travel writer considered the gusla a quality or civilized tool for preserving the past. Even as a musical device, they painted unflattering portraits of the instrument. Considered a poor substitute for a melodious piano, Wyon and his companion Prance openly mocked the Scotsman they met at a club in Podgorica who thought some gusla music would, perhaps, complement the sunset quite nicely.[104] Accordingly, for these two travel writers, both the instrument and the history it recorded became indicative of an uncouth musical culture and an unreliable historical tradition.

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[101] De Windt, 1907, 40.

[102] De Windt, 41.

[103] De Windt, 104.

[104] Wyon, 1903, 267.

Through the melodious gusla, provincial customs, and medieval Eastern streets, Wyon and De Windt found the past to be very present in the Balkans. In many ways, this negated the legitimacy of historical record-keeping. Even while acknowledging the age of cities, lands, and streets they traveled through, the Balkans were still too mired in their medieval ways to merit real historical study. They were not alone in this assessment. In 1880, E.F. Knight, an earlier British traveler, wrote a book called *Albania* based upon his travels there. His experience at a bazaar in Scutari provides an ideal example of the tensions between the presence of history and the dearth of acknowledgement represented in Wyon and De Windt's work above. Within his description, Knight invited his readers to "imagine a labyrinth of narrow lanes, paved with large round blocks, polished from *the feet of many generations*."[105] Thus, Wyon, De Windt, and other travel writers acknowledged that the Balkans had existed—even thrived—for a long time. Although this realization might have elsewhere implied a rich and varied history, in the Balkans this was not so. By critiquing how this history was recorded, acknowledging it selectively, and conflating the past and present, Balkan history was often reduced to a convenient aside rather than an important point of discussion.

"But This is a Land of Surprises": The Balkans as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy[106]

Among the genre's inconsistencies, travel literature often painted the Balkans as simultaneously known and unknown. The shaky grounds of stereotype and hearsay largely shaped the attributes and characteristics of what, for the journalists, fit under the broad category

[105] E. F. Knight in Hammond *Thorough Another Europe*, 19-20. [emphasis added]

[106] De Windt, 39.

of "Balkan." De Windt, for his part, both acknowledged this contradiction and perpetuated it. The very title of his book—*Through Savage Europe*—exemplified the phenomenon to the extreme. He here presented a Balkan picture that was alternately savage and European—the image of a dark and mysterious European "other"—within European borders, but isolated from all its civilized implications. At other times, however, De Windt himself admitted the erroneous nature of clinging to such stereotypes: "Whenever I visit a new country (which has occurred pretty often during the last twenty years)," he wrote, "I generally try to picture beforehand what the place will be like. But I seem fated to discover with unerring certainty, that the reality is as far removed from my preconceived notion of it as can well be."[107] Thus, the relationship between known and unknown—between expectation and surprise—proved far more complicated than what can be summarily displayed by any sort of titular "savagery" or other negative vocabulary.

After one particularly long and difficult leg of his journey, De Windt was relieved—and even astonished—when the day's destination met his Balkan standards.[108] After several days of inadequate accommodations, De Windt reported of his hotel in Kotor that "this is a land of surprises pleasant and otherwise and, much to my astonishment, the 'Hotel' mysteriously hinted at by our driver proved one well worthy of the name."[109] Although De Windt declared that surprises in the Balkans were both "pleasant and otherwise," neither he nor Wyon recorded their positive and negative experiences with equal incredulity. Instead, a pattern emerged within the types of events that actually caused these men to pause. When situations exceeded expectations, the travelers were invariably *more* astonished than if situations fell below standard. Each time De

[107] De Windt, 42.

[108] i.e., preconceived expectations of incivility.

[109] De Windt, 39.

Windt and his companions were presented with clean accommodations, pleasant company, or beautiful scenery, the experience merited mention.[110] De Windt's happy astonishment after learning of his accommodations provided just one example of the traveler's expectations. At his hotel in Niégoutch, De Windt expected the worst, but instead found "a civilised repast," "a savoury meal and snowy linen."[111] Yet his glee was not fated to last; all three travelogues portrayed unpleasant scenes, including nighttime visits from rats and other vermin, as much more reliably commonplace.[112] Furthermore, although the travelers discovered conveniences like those at Niégoutch with relatively frequency, they still denied that such comforts could regularly be found in the Balkans.

De Windt also provided concrete anecdotes in which he admitted to reversing or, at the very least, *adjusting* negative Balkan stereotypes. Of Cettigne, Montenegro, for example, he elaborated:

> I had pictured Cettigne as a fiercely guarded stronghold, buried in the heart of the mountain— a town of frowning arches and dark, precipitous streets, swarming with armed men and bristling with fortifications, for somehow or other Montenegro is a name suggestive of grim places and people. Of course I was wrong, as usual, for Cettigne stands on a dreary plain— surrounded, it is true, by mountains, but they more resemble hills and are some miles distant.[113]

Even alongside De Windt's disappointment with Cettigne, this quotation reveals much about his approach. The adjectives especially exemplify how De Windt's expectations for Balkan savagery didn't compare to Cettigne's dull, on-the-ground realities. Thus, his image of dark, precipitous,

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[110] De Windt, 39-40
De Windt, 36.

[111] De Windt, 39.

[112] "The Hotel Petko swarmed with mosquitoes and an animal that seems to thrive and flourish throughout the Balkan States— the rat...But we became accustomed to rats in Servia, where in some of the wilder districts they almost took possession of our bedroom at night-time." De Windt, 72-3.

[113] De Windt, 42.

swarming, brisling, and warlike Cettigne gave way to a dreary, straggling, and agrarian reality. He continued, noting the absence of Montenegro's notorious (stereotyped) "warlike spirit"—replaced by "an impression of dullness and a certain amount of agricultural life, and that is all."[114] De Windt further compared the unremarkable town to "a straggling French village."[115] Admittedly, not all of the reversals were positive, but De Windt's discovery nevertheless challenged what this Brit assumed he "knew" about the Balkans upon arrival. Cettigne's mundane and familiar atmosphere was far from the exotic Balkan ideal De Windt and his companions envisioned and hoped to find. Even the mountains of his imagination were a disappointment.

Some Balkan discoveries, however, inspired the journalist to adjust his opinions and expectations more favorably. Of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) on the Dalmatian coast, De Windt wrote:

> "a year ago, had anyone suggested Ragusa as a winter resort, I would have first inquired where it was, and, on hearing that it lay in Dalmatia, have strongly suspected the speaker's sanity. The very name of the country conjures up visions of brigands, primitive travel, and squalid fare. We live and learn!"[116]

Here, De Windt first acknowledged that Ragusa in-the-flesh belied his preconceived (negative) impression of what was Balkan or, in this case, *Dalmatian*. He also highlighted, perhaps unintentionally, that a blanket association between "Balkan" and backwardness was not universally applicable throughout the region. In doing so, his description attributed value to Ragusa. It also revealed his acknowledgement of different people, cultures, and "races" within

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[114] De Windt, 42.

[115] We should also take note of the proportion of comparisons to England/Britain and Continental Europe. The number of allusions to the latter vastly exceeds the number of references to Britain.
This allusion to France is also interesting in light of what Balkan travelers sought to escape in Southeastern Europe—the beaten trail of Grand Tour tracks overladen with swarming tourists

[116] De Windt, 69.

the region. This challenged the common and easy route of lumping all the Balkans together under a single umbrella—an approach that denied regional, cultural and linguistic variances in favor of a simple approach that made darkness, mystery, and wildness fundamental "Balkan" characteristics. Second, the language itself was suggestive in its mention of "conjuring" and "visions." Even if De Windt did not choose these words consciously for their air of mysticism, they highlight a predisposition to perpetuating the Balkans as a savage world, a place for "brigands, primitive travel, and squalid fare."[117]

Although De Windt dismissed Balkan stereotypes in certain places, he nonetheless reminded his reader that these were still relevant in most of the peninsula. He cautioned that "the above conditions may still exist in the interior."[118] Ragusa's richness in history and culture, therefore, proved the exception but not the rule. Ultimately, this highlights what travelers (and travel writers) knew when they left Britain, what stereotypes they expected to confirm when there, and what they found on the ground. When in the Balkans, these three things—preexisting knowledge, expectations, and actuality—shaped the information that travel writers disseminated home. Furthermore, the impressions that these men formed before arriving in the Balkans often proved inaccurate or, at the very least, incomplete, placing actuality in direct contrast with expectations. Through time and further travel, their knowledge and perspectives evolved in some ways; the journalists either grew more fond of or disenchanted with a region the more they came to know it. For Wyon, for example, the southern Montenegrin town of Podgorica improved dramatically in his estimation after he and his companions made it their base. He reported the following about his stay in what was then just a small village in southern Montenegro:

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[117] De Windt, 69.

[118] De Windt, 69.

> "How often first impressions are wrong we proved to the full in this instance….It would be difficult to forget that mountain-bounded valley and the town with its bustling streets of picturesque humanity. And then those sunsets!…Over the short, springing grass, that scene at sunset never abated its charms one whit. And we were always glad on entering the town that no one wore plain, ugly European clothes but ourselves. The national costume, so full of colour, blending harmoniously with our feelings, have left behind them an indelible picture."[119]

Podgorica became Wyon's home base, and he reported that the town "saw more of us than any other town during our stay."[120] Although the town still met Wyon's expectations in terms of national dress and displays—fitting his imagination of what was traditionally "Balkan"—Podgorica itself grew on him over time. It is, however, worth speculating that Podgorica's growing appeal stemmed just as much from the expat community Wyon found there as from the town's picturesque mountain sunsets.[121]

De Windt, too, pointed out instances in which his travels challenged his previously-held assumptions. For him, as discussed above, these moments of revised opinion were largely linked to what cities and regions had earned the acknowledgment of an historical past, and were thus quite selective. Positive adjustments in estimation, however, proved an exception. Most often, familiarity with the Balkans—or even simply a closer look—bred contempt. This became one of the most pressing and prevalent themes in representations of distance. For example, from a precipice above Gusinje—a town which Wyon ominously dubbed "the forbidden land"[122]—Wyon and his companions could see that, in the distance, the village

> could just be distinguished, a square and apparently walled-in town. Very picturesque it looked in the bright sunshine, the great green woods in the foreground, the solemn and

[119] Wyon, 1903, 63.

[120] Wyon, 1903, 64.

[121] Wyon, 1903, 264-5.

[122] Wyon, 1903, 216.

> majestic snow mountains and the peaceful valley. *Yet it is inhabited by the most villainous and treacherous cut-throats in Europe, an absolutely untamable tribe, who would die to the last man to preserve their independence.*[123]

Thus, the Balkans were often pretty and pleasant until one looked more closely. For one, the the town in question here confirmed De Windt's overarching estimation of the Balkans. Although Gusinje specifically may have fooled the viewer into imagining a quaint walled village, the "reality" according to De Windt affirmed his foundational stereotypes of wilderness, lawlessness, and savagery. Furthermore, this quotation demonstrated an impressive oscillation in vocabulary between "great," "picturesque," and "majestic" with "villainous," "treacherous," and "untamable." Though the transition from delightful to dangerous was often more figurative and subtle, the change also occurred physically. The quaint walls of the town looked charmingly antiquated from the mountains, but upon passing within those walls and becoming familiar with the local scene, a traveler would discover that Gusinje contained the very paragon of European criminality.

Encounters with witless foreign tourists often served to exemplify the idea of expectations. Of Montenegro's capital, Wyon wrote "there is not much for the tourist to see in Cetinje."[124] However, "unfortunately for the country, the tourist usually contents himself with a look round the little capital and returns the way he came to Cattaro…Thus a very erroneous impression is gained of Montenegro and its people."[125] If a European tourist managed to escape the confines of the Grand Tour and make it to the continent's southeastern periphery at all, a casual Balkans visitor would see only "the most uninteresting district of the whole country" and

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[123] Wyon, 1903, 216. [emphasis added]

[124] Wyon, 1903, 42.

[125] Wyon, 1903, 42.

consequently would gain "no idea of the sturdy inhabitants" found in the interior. As "the handful of more or less well-to-do officials and merchants, all intimately connected with the outside world, round the proximity of Cattaro" presented no picture of a "true" Montenegrin.[126] Similarly, of his experiences in Bulgaria, Wyon invoked the inauthenticity of the Bulgarian capital city Sofia in relation to "the provincial towns, where one sees the inside of a nation far better than in the invariable atmosphere of reserve which pervades a capital."[127] In doing so, he assumed an implicit monopoly on the definition of Montenegrin or Bulgarian authenticity. If rural life was the only *legitimate* Balkan life, this further isolated the Balkans from Britain. Would Wyon have similarly said that a visit to London could not be equated with having seen England? This discussion of Balkan authenticity reveals a great deal about where these travelers expected and hoped to find modern cities and "civilization"—and where they did not. If modern comforts and urban centers weren't representative of the "real" Balkans, the authors' assessments of Southeastern European characteristics contrasted implicitly with urban and industrial Britain. It further distanced the local population from contemporary Europeans and the Balkans from Britain.

Typifying this assessment, Wyon said of the Montenegrin people, "brave, reckless to a fault, with absolutely no fear of death, inured to every hardship, and able to live and thrive on the barest fare, they are typical of the old Viking, chivalrous and courteous, with the purest blood of the Balkans flowing through their veins."[128] Indeed, this idea of purity is important to this discussion of imperial attitudes. On the one hand, purity could have been a positive designation.

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[126] Wyon, 1903, 42.

[127] Wyon, 1904, 169

[128] Wyon, 1903, 196.

Yet, in a more accurate interpretation, pure in this particular invocation also denotes concentration. Accordingly, as the *purest* of the Balkan people, the Montenegrins of Wyon's imagination embodied the warrior-like qualities, the ferocity, and the incivility endemic to the entirety of the Balkans, but to a greater, unadulterated degree.

The goal of finding the "authentic" Balkans—the one far beyond Wyon's carriage road—guided the travelers' exploits, often at the expense or exploitation of the region's inhabitants.[129] The search for purity was, in essence, a search for incivility. It required the rejection of urbanized centers, modern architecture, and European custom. Because they belied what Wyon and De Windt imagined the Balkans to be, urban centers were weak imitations of European cities and thus had no place in either journalist's expectations. Wyon and De Windt viewed modernity, in other words, as an imported custom, one which tainted a traveler's Balkan experience. Wyon paid special attention to discrediting the idea that a traveler could get to know Montenegro through its cities. "The traveller meets with little attention either here [Njeguši] or in Cetinje," he wrote, "It is not till he gets well of the beaten track that he sees the hospitable and courteous Montenegrin as he really is."[130] In other words, a foreigner could not properly know the Montenegrin people until he ventured to far-flung corners of the country. As an accompanying expectation, in these corners the Brit was an oddity to be respected, fawned over, and idealized. Furthermore, by dismissing urban cities in this fashion, Wyon effectively declared rural Montenegrins to be both more legitimate and more authentic individuals than an urban man or

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[129] *"Beyond those lofty mountains which rise on either side of the carriage road...There are towns..."* Wyon, 1903, xiv-xv. See epigraph.

[130] Wyon, 1903, 38.

woman. Once again, in this discussion of expectations, the traveler defined his own representation of authenticity based upon the Balkans he wanted to find.

"The Very Name of the Country": Land, Distance, and Language in Constructing a "European" Balkans[131]

Montenegro is a name suggestive of grim places and people.[132]

Throughout their narratives, Wyon and De Windt demonstrated a varied—and inconsistent—application of cultural and geographic "Europeanness." These floating and contested categories alternately defined and excluded the Balkans from the rest of the Continent, as "Europe" and "European" most often encompassed anything antithetical to the Balkans. Yet these travelogues failed to create consistent, appropriate conditions or parameters for the application of these terms. All three texts—*The Land of the Black Mountain, The Balkans From Within,* and *Through Savage Europe*—occasionally included the Balkans under a European umbrella for literary effect. As De Windt recorded Gusinje's town walls, for example, the reader learned that the town contained *Europe's* most villainous cutthroats.[133] In another case, after hearing a story about a murderous revenge plot, Wyon recorded incredulously, "'And we are in Europe!' I said to myself, as I lay down to sleep."[134]

Using "Europe" as a category also allowed travel writers to exclude people in the Balkans from others on the Continent, revealing the shifting boundaries of who could be European and

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[131] De Windt, 69

[132] De Windt, 42.

[133] Wyon, 1903, 216. [emphasis added]

[134] Wyon, 1903, 210.

who could not. Even within the Balkans themselves, understandings of Euorpeanness between groups fluctuated. Wyon's article "What I Saw in Macedonia" began by telling the plight of Bulgarian refugees and how they were treaded as subhuman by the Turks. In one anecdote from this piece, Wyon set up a very limited definition of "European" that essentially excluded all characters but himself. While walking down the street in Uesküb, Wyon's encounter with an untrustworthy, gun-toting Turkish guard revealed a small glimpse into this limited conceptualization of European borders. The guard , Wyon reported, was ordered to refrain from shooting "Europeans," specifically. In recording this standoff, the Brit's account created an expected and distinct continental separation between himself and the non-European Turkish soldier.[135] However, this separation extended further, encompassing the native Bulgarians who were easy fodder for Turkish bullets in early-twentieth-century Macedonia. Thus, by Wyon's use of "European" here, the members of this Balkan nation were not excluded from inclusion within what was "European."

The assumption that the Balkans were difficult to access—both physically and intellectually—also persisted throughout these books and implied that the average tourist was either unable, unwilling, or too uneducated to reach them. When Wyon left behind the "inauthenticity" of urban life to find the "real" Montenegro in a rural setting, he had "to journey wearily by horse and on foot, over boulder-strewn paths" and "the snow-clad spurs of rugged mountains."[136] In this depiction of Balkan life, he added physical barriers to the list of emotional and intellectual stumbling blocks that isolated the Montenegrin people from Europe. Just as Balkan languages, customs, and habits were foreign to Wyon's British audience, "primeval

[135] Wyon, "What I saw in Macedonia," 555.

[136] Wyon, 1903, xiv-xv.

forests," mountain peaks, obstructed pathways, and rushing rivers kept the British out in a physical, tangible way. In using these topographical and geographical features to bolster Balkan foreignness, he increasingly isolated Montenegro from both the understanding of visiting Europeans and from the definition of "European."[137] Each difficulty he recounted in *The Land of the Black Mountain* and *The Balkans From Within* seemed to encourage his readers to stay away, warning them that their efforts to understand or access the region in person would be both fruitless and futile. All of this discussion was undertaken in direct contrast to the simultaneously shrinking distance between Britain and the Balkans which these travelers freely admitted at other points. De Windt, for example, highlighted that modern infrastructure made Ragusa "but three days' journey from London."[138] Thus, despite references to increasing closeness between either geographic limit of Europe, Wyon and De Windt nevertheless perpetuated the idea of cultural and habitual space between Europe's eastern and western ends.

This, of course, was at odds with Wyon's stated goal of making the region both understandable and accessible to his domestic readership through print. Had these books presented the acquisition of a "true" understanding of the Balkans as an easy feat, the region might have become awash in Edwardian Brits looking for a vacation or a comfortable intercultural experience—thus negating the intrepid nature of what Wyon and De Windt searched for in the Balkans. Instead, writers like Wyon and De Windt assumed the burden of knowledge-gathering on behalf of the domestic public. As such, though Wyon purported to write with the aim of making the Balkans accessible to British breakfast-tables,[139] he needed to maintain the

[137] Furthermore, by informing his readers of the difficulties in accessing the "real" Montenegro, Wyon defended the veracity of his occupation—journalism—and why he wrote.

[138] Wyon, 1904, 78.

[139] Wyon, 1904, 78-9.

veil of mystery to some degree in order to make his books interesting and his job meaningful. In other words, Wyon and De Windt braved Balkan incivilities so that their British readers would not have to.

These travelogues also displayed a distinct tendency to reflect the landscape in the character of the people (and vise versa). Wyon was especially guilty of this, despite (or perhaps because of) his purported love of the people. In describing a typical Montenegrin in *The Land of the Black Mountain*, he observed that "the character of the people has been formed by their surroundings. Hardy and frugal, capable of subsisting on the smallest amount of nourishment, lithe and active, open and fearless *as their native mountains*."[140] This description, however positive or poetic Wyon may have intended it, actually increased the distance between the readers and the Montenegrins by creating and sustaining an archetype of Montenegrin character.

While Wyon's 1903 *The Land of the Black Mountain* was not without references to "barren" space, these were most often in reference to actual, tangible geographical features, not people.[141] Here, he put less emphasis on the relationship between landscape and human characteristics. He also described what he saw using words like "green,"[142] "idyllic,"[143] and "fertile."[144] Even his visit to Cetinje's prison was "pleasant"—despite (or perhaps because of) the companionship of the "quarrelsome gentlemen" prisoners.[145] Occasionally, Wyon found even

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[140] Wyon, 1903, 3. [emphasis added]

[141] Wyon, 1903, 2.

[142] Wyon, 1903, 112.

[143] Wyon, 1903, 34.

[144] Wyon, 1903, 38.

[145] Wyon, 1903, 50.

Balkan views to be "magnificent and unsurpassed in Europe."[146] Interestingly enough, however, although it was common for authors to attribute harsh and foreboding landscapes to the character and physiogamy of a region's inhabitants, these picturesque vistas were not treated the same way. Thus, when Wyon compared the bay of Kotor to "a consummate blending of the Norwegian fjords and the Swiss lakes," he commented solely on the beauty of the landscape and made no efforts to describe the Montenegrins through this particular aspect of their environs.[147]

Distance also played a key role in the journalists' engagement once they reached the Balkans. The picture presented in these travel narratives was often that the Balkans could be admired from afar, but proved repulsive upon closer examination.[148] Wyon, for example, wrote in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, that "viewed from a little distance, Monastir presents a smiling picture of green trees…an occasional glimpse of a red-tiled roof and little blue spirals of smoke."[149] Yet upon closer examination, he could see the ravages of the Turk. Amidst the "great hills" and "clear mountain atmosphere," the quaint scene was disrupted by "lurid flames [that] leap up, burning fiercely and vividly against the sombre background, betraying the beloved handiwork of the Turkish soldier."[150] Not only, therefore, did Turkish brutality loom forebodingly on the horizon, it also marred the quaint Balkan scene—creating a backdrop of

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[146] Wyon, 1903, 37.

[147] Wyon, 1903, 33.

[148] The one notable exception to this was Wyon's growing fondness for Podgorica (as quoted above). Despite the town's pleasant sunsets, however, in Podgorica Wyon and his traveling companion Prance found a "Club" to join, leading to speculation that his interactions with this expat community contributed significantly to his ameliorating impression.

[149] Wyon, "What I Saw in Macedonia," 549,

[150] Wyon, "What I Saw in Macedonia," 549.

rape, pillage, and torture committed against both the Bulgarian people and the Macedonian landscape.

In both describing the land and employing description as rhetorical tools, Wyon and De Windt's books highlight inconsistencies within the inclusion of geographic and topographical features. At some points, the wild mountains and dangerous forests reminded our travel writers how far they were from Britain. At other points, scenic vistas met or surpassed similar scenes of beauty in Western Europe. Andrew Hammond saw such comparisons to civilized centers and beautiful Western European scenes as "an intrinsic part of the Victorian and Edwardian denigration of the region [the Balkans]."[151] However, Wyon and De Windt's Edwardian tomes did not support such assertions of denigration. Rather, for these Edwardians, comparisons between the familiar and the foreign arose frequently and, presumably, naturally. These comparisons became an integral component of how the authors solidified the Balkan space in their readers' imaginations, relating far-flung and foreign place to familiar ones. Furthermore, even though Hammond considered such comparisons "denigrations" of the Balkans, they often emerged in positive associations between the Balkans and more familiar sites in Western Europe. Rather than insults, these moments of connection reflected the authors' surprise when a place so foreign and unfamiliar occasionally reminded them of more well-known scenes. Furthermore, these allusions to Western Europe were often actually flattering for the Balkans. As Wyon situated Montenegro geographically, for example, the reader read that "to the east lies Brda, mountains vying with Switzerland in beauty"—an undoubtedly complementary comparison.[152] In making this and other connections, Wyon and De Windt employed sites that their audiences

[151] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 611.

[152] Wyon, 1903, 2.

would have been familiar with, contrasting the foreign with the familiar and simultaneously reminding reader that these locations were becoming more accessible than he or she might assume.

Thus, in making comparisons between geographic features in Europe's periphery and in its heartland, Wyon and De Windt often elevated Balkan scenes. In a different sort of comparison, however, parallels between landscape and Balkan inhabitants nearly always proved unflattering. Although Montenegro's lofty peaks met or even surpassed Swiss beauty, Wyon's interactions with Albanians presented a different story. He provided the following description of the mountains around Scutari: cold, harsh, and foreboding, "these mountains seem symbolical of the land they border, that savage and unknown Albania."[153] Just as Albanian mountains were stark and unwelcoming, "the Albanians" themselves, Wyon scoffed "are not beautiful to look upon."[154] In a world of travel literature that utilized evocative words like "savage" and "terrible," such comparisons between the character of a nation, its inhabitants, and the lands they inhabited created a predictable progression of negative imagery in depictions of the Balkans. Additionally, Wyon's divergent assessments of Montenegrin and Albanian mountains demonstrated once again that British travelers were, in fact, distinguishing between the national groups they encountered in the Balkans. It also hinted at where their loyalties lay. Although Wyon provincialized all the Balkan people he encountered, the "hardy" Montenegrin and his Swiss-like mountains possessed a *superior* sort of inferiority when compared to his southern, "wild" Albanian neighbor.[155]

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[153] Wyon, 1903, 56.

[154] Wyon, 1903, 191.

[155] Wyon, 1903, 56.

Breaking down depictions of these national groups within a European periphery even further, Wyon and De Windt created archetypes of Balkan inhabitants in other ways. For one, other external actors exercised power in the region and, understandably, these Brits were not the only foreign presence. In fact, their Balkan footprint was negligible compared to both Austrian and Turkish involvement in Southeastern Europe. Both countries were colonial powers, with Austria claiming Bosnia and Kotor and the Ottoman Empire ensconced Macedonia and the Eastern Balkans.[156] The travelers encountered these colonial presences on a variety of levels. They operated within Turkish and Austrian jurisdiction, dealt with officials and expatriates of both countries, and Wyon at least ran afoul of both nations' goodwill.[157] In gauging political events, travel narratives often employed language that illuminated two camps: a cast of good characters and another of bad or untrustworthy figures. In Wyon's article "What I saw in Macedonia," the Balkans—both the people and the land—took on the role of the oppressed: the war-ravaged land matched the refugees' abused bodies and burn victims in Monastir's hospital evoked the burning lands of their hometown, Smilevo.[158] In this construction, the Ottoman Turk assumed the position of brutal occupiers of land and people. Although Wyon conceded that the Macedonian landscape was beautiful, he did so to emphasize the fact that it was, nevertheless, unfairly marred by an Ottoman presence. In this way, the land became a sort of character—a stand-in for the Bulgarians themselves—as it was enslaved to the Ottomans in a way mirroring the subjugation of the Bulgarian people (who were at least sympathetic and pitiable, if not altogether comely). Breaking the narrative apart in cut-and-dry opposing camps revealed a

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[156] Hall, 7-8.

[157] Wyon, 1904, 48.

[158] Wyon, 1904, 79-80.

tendency to simplify a complicated region, reducing its past and present divisions into neatly-packaged narratives that suited the needs, desires, and assumptions of an English-speaking audience.

Wyon's first book *The Land of the Black Mountain* also cast the Turk as a barbarian and not European. Specifically, he contrasted the Austrian occupier's civilizing role with the Turk's corrupting one. Efforts to tame and reclaim the wild Balkan land augmented these distinctions between two different groups of Balkan outsiders. While the Turks burned and pillaged, Austria earned ample credit for creating infrastructure. For example, on his journey from the Austrian-controlled port of Cattaro (Kotor)[159] into the Montenegrin interior, Wyon reported that "the high road to Cetinje was built by the Austrians, and it is a marvel of engineering skill."[160] This contrasted explicitly with his distrust of Turkish-built roads and bridges, as well as his fear that the impending threat of a Turkish-made bomb or explosion would tumble the already fragile Balkan infrastructure.[161]

In addition to revealing the authors' political bent, representations of the land also illuminated inconsistencies in the journalists' approach to the Balkans. In Wyon's train journey from Uesküb to Salonica, the land itself was not mysterious or threatening. In fact, he recorded that "there are few trips so grandly beautiful…beside the rushing Vardar, towards Salonica, vast gorges, deep ravines, bridges and never-ending tunnels."[162] Here, however, his writings also revealed a deep distrust for modernity—or at least the corrosive influence of Turkish (Eastern)

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[159] Kotor is now part of Montenegro

[160] Wyon, 1903, 36-7.

[161] Wyon, 1904, 86.

[162] Wyon, "What I saw in Macedonia," 558.

backwardness upon the Balkan's development.[163] While the land was admirable, what was man-(Turk-) made posed the greatest threat. Wyon reported that the traveler "can speculate at every bridge whether the train will successfully cross; and in the darkness of each tunnel, if he is on an imaginative turn of mind, he can fancy that he hears the sudden roar of dynamite and the collapse of the mass of rock and earth above him."[164] This, however, was different from the now-familiar trope of stark, craggy mountains matching a rough and violent people. Instead of *nature* shaping or corrupting the Balkan spirit, the sickly threat of Turkish "modernity" had seeped into a region that would have been beautiful, pure, and untainted (albeit inaccessible) without its influence. The contradictions here clearly abound, in much the same way as these men both decried and desired modern conveniences throughout their travels. On one hand, Wyon lamented the encroachment of modern infrastructure. On the other, he and De Windt both relied upon it to reach the Balkans. Thus, "naming" a Balkan country became quite a complicated task. As Wyon and De Windt's travel narratives used fluctuating, malleable definitions of Europe, the books simultaneously displayed various comparisons between Western European and Balkans and reflected divergent influences at play upon the peninsula.

A "Queer Mixture of Medievalism and Modernity": Diverging Desires Between Comfort and Authenticity[165]

[163] This, it should be noted, was not a distrust for modernity in general. Indeed, Austrians were mostly commended for their civilization-building. Instead, it's a distrust for specifically Turkish-brought (or Turkish-corrupted) modern infrastructure.

[164] Wyon, "What I saw in Macedonia," 558.

[165] De Windt, 77.

As Wyon and his traveling companion Prance explored Montenegro in *The Land of the Black Mountain*, the pair eventually settled into Podgorica, making the southern city their home base.[166] Of the city's two districts, Wyon reported that the "most picturesque [was] the old Turkish quarter," although it was crumbling as things moved to the new side of town.[167] This newer section, however, did not suit the traveler's needs for "Near Eastern" mystery or exploitative amusement.[168] "The modern town," Wyon wrote, "is painfully plain and uninteresting. Montenegrins have no knowledge or love of architecture…The town is laid out with broad streets, all planted with trees, exactly like a South African township."[169] For Wyon, the saving grace of this plain and uninteresting urban scene was the national dress: though Podgorica itself was disappointing, the proliferation of traditional clothes in its streets redeemed the city.[170] Thus, this assessment of Podgorica demonstrated Wyon's quest for the Balkans that he *expected* to find. Instead of embracing the Balkans as they *were* at the beginning of the twentieth century, he instead sought out experiences that confirmed the Balkans of his imagination.

Discussions of modernity—namely, what constituted modern and what did not—also revealed a great deal about the subjugation of Balkan inhabitants and stereotypical representations within travel literature. The "modernity issue" also complicated what Wyon and De Windt attempted to do in venturing to and writing about the Balkans. To these travel writers,

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[166] Wyon, 1903, 66.
Podgorica, now the capital, was considered too close to the Albanian frontier (and thus vulnerable) at the time to be Montenegro's capital city (66).

[167] Wyon, 1903, 67.

[168] "Near East" was a phrase used to describe the Balkans by both Wyon and De Windt in *The Balkans From Within* and *Through Savage Europe*.

[169] Wyon, 1903, 71-2.

[170] Wyon, 1903, 73-4.

creature comforts—hot meals, clean sheets, quick transportation—were welcome (and, arguably, expected), but too much ease upon the road often caused disenchantment. For De Windt in particular, the journalist's increasingly persistent demand for modern comforts felt inherently at odds with his cultivated aura of adventure and self-styled title of explorer.[171] On this front, creature comforts and infrastructure went hand in hand. References to transportation—to the increasing railways and developing roads, for example—abounded. These growing linkages allowed explorers like De Windt to penetrate deeper into the region,[172] but at the same time, such modern conveniences softened the real "exploratory" nature of the journeys these men undertook. Furthermore, although both Wyon and De Windt sought out the modern for the sake of their personal comfort, they were simultaneously uncomfortable *and* disappointed when they found it.[173] Although they reveled in comforts when they found them, their displeasure was nearly tangible when the on-the-ground, urban realities did not match their mental image of what constituted "Balkan" lands; concrete buildings and modern clothes had no place in the Balkans of their imagination.

At these points, their two sets of expectations clashed, and Wyon and De Windt were thus reluctant to admit modernity when they encountered it. Although neither De Windt nor Wyon acknowledged the tension here, the dark, mysterious Balkans that they allegedly sought was at odds with their expectations as travelers. In this way, what fit under the umbrella of modernity was the antithesis of the Balkan ideals that De Windt and Wyon "knew" they would find before leaving England, the region that they expected to find. Demonstrating these preconceived ideas,

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[171] Found in both *Through Savage Europe* and in the attitudes and adventures captured in his other works. See, for example, *Siberia As It Is* (1882).

[172] See, for example, De Windt,*Through Savage Europe,* 18.

[173] Wyon, 1903, 72. De Windt, 21.

De Windt justified his titular use of "savagery" in his title at the *outset* of his book—just one of the continual references throughout all three texts to the thoughts a travel writer formed before he left Britain. Ultimately, along the lines of Wyon's distaste for Podgorica's modern architecture, the journalists rejected modernity because it countered the specific preconceived notions of Oriental, Eastern, backwards, and medieval Balkan lands and culture.[174]

Discussions of modernity aptly demonstrate the side effects of having expectations without possessing real knowledge. Anticipating the dark and traditional, but finding modern buildings disappointed both Wyon and De Windt, yet their books contained many other contradictions. For one, they espoused a desire for Western involvement (and leadership) in the Balkans, but lamented the product of this influence.[175] At times, Europe's influence upon the Balkans was even represented as Europe's regrettable *encroachment* onto an untamed yet pure and authentic place beyond the bounds of civilization. Austria-Hungary's colonization of Bosnia exemplified the tension here quite well. While admiring Austria's road-building, De Windt reported that "little paths like great white snakes" were more romantic than the empire's naval fortifications.[176] At the same time, he mourned the loss of "authenticity" in the planned streets and modern, unromantic concrete buildings that marred towns like Cetinje and Podgorica. These expectations also factored into assumptions about the Balkan's place within a hierarchy of civilization. As alternately on the periphery of or excluded entirely from the "European" family of nations, modern buildings, planned streets, and drab, "civilized" concrete had no place in a

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[174] That is, of course, a *limited* definition of modernity, as their condemnation of all things modern existed outside the bounds of increasing the traveler's creature-comforts.

[175] See, for, example, Wyon's introduction to *The Land of the Black Mountain* coupled with his distaste for fellow adventure-seeking tourists.

[176] De Windt, 36, 18.

world that, by reputation, swarmed with winding alleys, dark streets, and exotic sounds and smells.

If the definition of modernity opposed a British understanding of "Balkan," it even more explicitly excluded all things "Eastern." When De Windt visited Austrian-controlled Herzegovina, he reported that, in spite of Austria's influence, the city of Mostar "still retain[ed] much of its ancient and Oriental charm."[177] Yet, "elsewhere in Mostar," he recorded,

> you are in Turkey, and are jostled in the dark, narrow streets by the same, Jews, infidels, and heretics as in the bazaars of Stambul…Everything is purely Eastern, from the mud and filth underfoot to the mangy street curs, and from the chink of metal water-goblets to that subtle Eastern odour…which permeates every bazaar from Rangoon to Ragusa.[178]

De Windt presented a clear picture of the East's most intrinsic characteristics—at least as he imagined them. The idea of a "purely Eastern" Mostar implicitly contrasted the city with qualities of the European West. Bluntly, the East was dirty while the West was not; the East smelled, while the West did not. Dark and mangy, mud and filth: these words represented Wyon's understanding of the East, contrasting his definition of European modernity and typifying a foreign medievalism. Furthermore, in this particular example, De Windt equated the Dalmatian coast more with modern-day Myanmar (more than 7,500 kilometers away) than with London (only 2,200 km).

Wyon and De Windt also mistrusted modern conveniences when they found them in places where they neither sought or desired them. Though once again praising Austria's forays into rail and infrastructure development, local efforts to the same end were much less appreciated. Although Wyon lauded Prince Nicolas of Montenegro's "fatherly care" in

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[177] De Windt, 82.

[178] De Windt, 82.

attempting to strengthen Montenegrin infrastructure, De Windt dismissed this assessment.[179] The latter called Nicolas' endeavors "a hobby" and his penchant for road-building a "mania."[180] In doing so, *Through Savage Europe* vocalized the belief that modernity stemmed from Western European infrastructure and imitation. Once again, what Southeastern Europe itself produced resembled, in De Windt's estimation, a weak imitation.

While De Windt dismissed Balkan infrastructure-modernization initiatives as quaint activities for royalty, Wyon saw those of the Turk as downright unsafe. These bridges were not trustworthy enough to linger on and served as tangible and metaphorical reminders of the journalists' antipathy toward the Ottoman Turk.[181] Connecting Turkey with the bad and Austria with the good, such examples and biases reveal a great deal about whom these British journalists supported and condoned as actors in the Balkan region. Thus, when West (with Austria standing in for civilized Europe) collided with the East (here, savage Turkey) over the Balkans in infrastructure creation, it was as if modernity itself was coming to a head with backwardness. The Balkan states themselves were almost irrelevant in this battle between Europe and the Turks.

Wyon also worried about the clash of modernity with the traditional as he predicted impending war for Montenegro in 1903—a fight that modern weapons and armies would undoubtedly win.[182] "I fear," he hypothesized, "there are troubled times ahead for that gallant little nation...personal valour avails but little against overwhelming armies and modern

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[179] Wyon, 1903, 31.

[180] De Windt, 28.

[181] Wyon, 1904, 86.

[182] His predications were a few years too early, as the country was relatively peaceful until the outbreak of the Balkan Wars.

artillery."[183] This excerpt demonstrated Wyon's hopes of preserving something that he acknowledged was outdated. In this way, his championship of Montenegrin custom became a charity; he fetishized Eastern (Montenegrin) "gallantry" as something obsolete but worth defending. Furthermore, and perhaps more telling, this gallantry was something incapable of defending itself. Thus, the preservation of quaint and provincial Montenegrin required outside protection. Wyon, therefore, pleaded for British concern—concern which would allow the "natives" to live in peace, security, and naiveté, the object of external fascination and unburdened by the trappings of modernity.

Two assessments of Balkan character, though seemingly at odds, dominated these books. On the on hand, the texts depicted an image of a Balkan "innocent," someone untouched by the outside world whose insularity and gallantry merited European protection.[184] Wyon himself used these words when describing the failures of the Berlin Convention, which, he declared, "has brought so much misery and suffering to the brave and innocent [Balkan] races, basely deserted by the very Powers who solemnly undertook to succor them."[185] At the same time, however, the British traveler was constantly assaulted by the wild and violent habits he found there. He lamented the lack of modern conveniences, deplored the foods he encountered, and dubbed the region altogether inferior. Thus, neither Wyon nor De Windt seem able to reconcile or acknowledge their divergent hopes and desires for the Balkans. The contradictions in preserving Balkan charms while embracing modern conveniences persisted unrecognized by the authors, but nonetheless pervaded their texts.

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[183] Wyon, 1903, xviii.

[184] Whether, of course, this is actually for the Balkans' benefit or for British entertainment remained the (unanswered) question.

[185] Wyon, 1904, x.

Along the same lines as divergent understandings of modernity, hospitality rituals became one of the most frequent ways Wyon and De Windt expressed their discomfort with foreign Balkan customs in all three books. Indeed, a penchant for hospitality was one of the most ubiquitous Balkan characteristics. "Hospitable, reckless, poverty-stricken Montenegrins—" Wyon wrote admiringly, "one can travel far before such another race can be found."[186] Despite the romanticized tone, however, the actual consequences of this commitment to hospitality became onerous for the journalists. Time and time again, Wyon and De Windt's desires were frequently at odds with their expectations. Thus, while they welcomed and expected creature comforts along the road, they sought a balance between hardships and pleasantries. Although too easy of an experience proved disenchanting, Wyon and De Windt frequently balked at the perceived "incivilities" along the way, from dirty sheets to inadequate meals to other customs different from their own. Throughout both men's journeys, Balkan hospitality continually disoriented the travelers. At the same time, when local quaintness gave way to modern custom, De Windt and Wyon were not pleased. Similarly, when Balkan custom inconvenienced or delayed the speed and objectives of their travel, they proved equally vexed. In this way, Balkan hospitality exemplified the tensions between expectations of modern comforts and provincial intrigue that became a point of conflict for the travelers.

Reactions to local hospitality revealed a great deal about Wyon and De Windt's expectations and opinions. They also provided some of the only representations of daily life in the Balkans, as engaging in (or, more accurately, being subjected to) hospitality rituals provided one of the few instances in which the men actually detailed their interactions with locals. These

[186] Wyon, 1903, 62.

encounters were far from smooth examples of constructive cultural exchange, however. In scene after scene, hospitality presented both a Balkan virtue—albeit a local and unsophisticated one—*and* an inconvenience to the time and sensibilities of the more civilized British traveler.

Wyon's professed "love" for the region extended to its people but, more often than not, his anecdotes either simplified or objectified the locals he encountered to the status of less-than-cosmopolitan characters.[187] *The Land of the Black Mountain* detailed how Wyon and his companion Prance had free food and drink pressed upon them at every turn.[188] Despite the gracious accommodation of his would-be hosts, however, the constant hospitality proved trying for these travelers and caused them both physical and emotional discomfort. Wyon and his companions, for example, shirked dining in cafes to avoid being the recipients of such off-putting generosity. Capturing one of these scenes, Wyon's party endured the following experience at a cafe in Rijeka:[189]

> When we had finished our libations, we naturally wished to have the bill or rather to know how much there was to pay.
> "Nothing," was the answer…"There is nothing to pay," the woman reiterated…
> It was always like that in Montenegro. We have gone into an inn or café and drunk a liqueur (a polite name for the fiery but wholesome local spirit), when a fresh glass will be silently placed before us. We have waved it away.
> "Not ordered it," we would say.
> "That man has," answers the boy, and points at a smiling Montenegrin on the other side of the room. Sometimes, and very often too, other guests follow suit, and the result is trying.[190]

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[187] "Cosmopolitan" was a word used in all three texts to distinguish between European and non-European comforts and company. For Wyon, "the Club" in Podgorica lent the town a place for a "cosmopolitan gathering (1903, 264) and an English-built, Scottish-run, and Austrian-captained steamer was "very cosmopolitan in itself" (1904, 216). For De Windt, although the "Servians" lacked an aristocracy, a small portion of the upper class was able to adopt an attitude "somewhat cosmopolitan in character" by "intermarr[ying] with the best families of Austria" (122).

[188] Wyon, 1903, 72.

[189] In this case, Wyon visited Rijeka Crnojevića, Montenegro, not the more well-known modern coastal town of Rijeka, Croatia.

[190] Wyon, 1903, 60-1.

At another point, Wyon took an even more explicit stance, reporting that he and his companions suffered from local hospitality and deference that caused actual, physical pain.[191] He particularly objected to the celebratory eggs served in large quantities through the country. In describing the tradition of respecting guests amongst Montenegrin neighbors, Wyon continued: "we were particularly honoured, being Englishmen and strangers: one might say we were *painfully* honored. What quantities we were forced to eat and drink!"[192] The inclusion of food here is also significant as Wyon considered these eggs almost unfit for consumption. Indeed, in this moment, Wyon's lens of superiority as a British traveler truly shone through; in his representation of such meals, he made no attempt to appreciate local food traditions. His discussion of the "fiery but wholesome local spirit" at the cafe in Rijeka also proved telling. By giving the liquor a "polite" name, Wyon invoked the "civilized" filters that the British presence in and recording of the Balkans imposed upon the region.[193]

Balkan hospitality also typified unsophistication. As reported by Wyon and De Windt, locals had no understanding of hospitality's limits—and thus even their goodwill contributed to the traveler's burden. "Once," Wyon reported, "as I was admiring an old pistol worn by a man who was visiting us—for men were continually dropping in on us at any hour, in a most unceremonious fashion—he promptly took it off and gave it to me."[194] Although this may seem like a display of kindness, this generosity made this British protagonist highly uncomfortable. Wyon did not balk at the weapon itself—indeed both men carried arms. Rather, Wyon felt

[191] Wyon, 1903, 75.

[192] Wyon, 1903, 75. [emphasis added]

[193] Wyon, 1903, 61.

[194] Wyon, 1903, 186.

uncomfortable at being forcibly given another man's possessions. Furthermore, Wyon's admiration of the local's gun presumably hinged upon the fact that the weapon was "old" and thus corroborated his Balkan ideal. In the Balkans, at least, these Brits found nothing romantic about modern artillery. The unsolicited gift, however, was the sort of relic that the author had intended to admire from a distance, as Wyon presumably already possessed a more advanced weapon of his own. In another case, when an impoverished Montenegrin presented the journalist with "his greatest treasure"—a bottle of beer from Munich—Wyon wrote, "it cut us to the heart to drink that man's beer. But we had to."[195] Once again, the Montenegrin in question proved hospitable to the point of unreasonableness or backwardness.

The burden of excessive hospitality extended beyond the traveler's stomachs and possessions to their very safety and well-being; worry and concern became overbearing. When Prance, Wyon's traveling companion, wandered away from the group in the forest near Montenegro's border with Albania, his absence caused a tizzy amongst their guides. Prance, however, objected to this outcry. "When P. heard of the anxiety caused by his absence he took it as a personal insult to himself, and began abusing everyone in his turn. But all the same, the people remained obdurate, and we were never left alone."[196] Wyon, too, took issue to this "childish" treatment until another companion, a Hungarian doctor more familiar with Balkan habits, explained this phenomenon, telling Prance "it is only their love for you" that elicited such a concern for his wellbeing.[197] Wyon and his group were thus valued by their hosts as guests, but they also seemed to interpret this concern for their wellbeing as a direct relation to their status as

[195] Wyon, 1903, 71.

[196] Wyon, 1903, 180.

[197] Wyon, 1903, 180.

British citizens abroad;[198] they accepted this value as a reflection of Britain's role in the world. Therefore, they did not object to the extent to which their hosts showed concern, but only questioned the lengths to which they went to display it.

Just as approaches to the Balkans' fit within Europe were inconsistent, so too were the travelers' expectations. Intrusion was a third aspect of Balkan hospitality that inconvenienced the traveler. In many ways it seemed like the journalists remained displeased regardless of what they encountered. Though they complained when things fell below standard, they also, as we have seen, lamented the lack of challenges and quirks that made the Balkans an appealing place for an adventure. They complained when they were over-coddled and glorified as Brits,[199] they balked at gifts,[200] and they bemoaned the "inconveniences" of free food and beverage[201]—yet they nonetheless desired (and, in many ways, *required*) this praise and attention.

As in so many depictions of the Balkans found within travel literature, inconsistencies within the traveler's expectations for modern conveniences not only abound, but form the bedrock of analysis. For example, in one situation, Wyon and Prance were settling into their room for the night in a roadside inn. Prance promptly fell asleep, but Wyon judged the sheets to be of substandard cleanliness and promptly pulled his friend from the bed until more satisfactory linens could be found.[202] On another occasion, however, he provided the following anecdote of hospitality gone too far:

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[198] Although the travelers may have distinguished themselves from their fellow Britons, on the continent others depicted them as cut from the same "British" cloth. See Gephart or Buzzard for more information.

[199] Wyon, 1903, 180.

[200] Wyon, 1903, 71.

[201] Wyon, 1903, 60-1.

[202] Wyon, 1903, 102.

> Extremely fatigued after our early start and long ride…we both were comfortably asleep in the corners when the wretched landlord appeared with armfuls of sheets and pillows at the order of the priest. He cruelly woke us up and proceeded to make beds. After that all thought of sleep was gone. Furthermore in dirty and dusty riding-clothes one has not the heart to lie down of spotlessly clean sheets.[203]

Contrasting this story with the case of the unclean sheets above, Wyon clearly displayed the attitude of a man who considered himself superior to his environs and to the people who inhabited them.[204] His host, the hotel clerk, tried to meet Wyon's standards, yet ended up earning the traveler's displeasure.

In addition to intrusive hospitality, other local customs and preferences inconvenienced the British traveler. De Windt exemplified this idea in his (albeit infrequent) interactions with locals. When traveling through Herzegovina, for example, De Windt found that the citizens of Mostar didn't want to be photographed; even the Austrians objected to his camera.[205] To De Windt, however—ever the center of his own narrative—"this was annoying, for there was an unusual amount of interesting matter for the camera."[206] As depicted here, the Balkans provided two types of entertainment. The land itself became a playground for the traveler in the moment of his "exploration," and, when these stories were recorded and sent home, they allowed domestic audiences to similarly use the region for entertainment, but to do so from afar. In reference to Vesna Goldsworthy's discussion of imperialism of the imagination, these two

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[203] Wyon, 1903, 168.

[204] In another interpretation, it might seem like Wyon, in some cases, considered himself inferior to his environs. It is, however, important to note that it was the Balkans who had made him dirty and unworthy of civilized creature comforts

[205] and the potential implications this has for austria— lumping it in with the Balkans, not the civilized, modern, pro-photography Brit. It's also relevant that the Austrians here were obstinate, obstructing and refusing to cooperate with De Windt's goal of turning the Balkans—the lands, people, and custom—into a form of entertainment to be consumed on the ground by the traveler and at home by the middle-class reading public..

[206] De Windt, 83-4.

audiences formed a duality of exploitative entertainment and provide a vector for discussing the Balkans' subjugation as entertainment for Brits both at home and abroad.[207]

Although encroaching civilization brought the travelers clean sheets and satisfactory meals, its presence was more complicated than these conveniences immediately revealed. Wyon and De Windt were frequently displeased with "inauthentic" Balkan experiences that affected their experiences, yet they rarely recounted any appreciation for anything deemed "purely" Balkan. Though they enjoyed native dress from afar, for example, Wyon was far more comfortable on a safari-like shooting expedition than in the homes of his hosts.[208] The encroachment of modernity also affected the authenticity of a Balkan experience in other ways. Namely, the journalists lamented how the flood of tourists with deep pockets and limited wits imbued the vulnerable Balkan merchants with the negative aspects of civilized capitalism. Wyon reported that local merchants

> "will overcharge a stranger in an exorbitant fashion, thinking, in their simple minds that travellers are possessed of unlimited means. Tourists are largely to blame for this…The dawn of civilisation has brought the love of money, the frugal Montenegrins are now awakening to what money will procure them"[209]

Yet while a "civilized" love for money had reached Montenegro in relation to a growing want for capital, the country had not developed banks or means of safeguarding it. Furthermore, as the Montenegrin merchants proved susceptible to the negative influences of passing tourists, Wyon felt "authenticity" slipping further and further away.

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[207] Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[208] Wyon, 1903, 101-2.

[209] Wyon, 1903, 7.

Finally, in the late Victorian era, strong opinions formed about the scourge of the modern tourist.[210] Balkans insularity became multifaceted here, especially as these British travelers desired to have the Balkans remain "pure" despite demanding access to the familiar comforts of home. At the same time, Wyon and De Windt themselves likely provided a measure of the corrosive influence and outside contact they claimed to detest. In many ways, antipathy for this most notorious type of contemporary traveler expanded to a critique of modernity itself. As train travel grew both more common and more efficient in the nineteenth century, "the voices raised against 'mere tourism' were often those raised against the spread of technology and machinery."[211] The faults of "passive" tourism led some to reject altogether the modern conveniences responsible for "transmuting a man from a traveller into a living parcel."[212] Thus, late Victorian and Edwardian travelers who shunned common tourist destinations also railed against the encroachment of modernity and its conveniences—for both lessening the "authenticity" of one's experience and opening up "undiscovered" lands to the masses. One result of this view was a rather prideful reveling in the difficulties involved in independent travel. Whether in Western Europe or the Balkans, travel writers undoubtedly took great pride and pleasure in recounting these hardships.[213] Inconsistencies remained, however, within Wyon and De Windt's mutually exclusive yet equally paramount goals of seeking the wild and savage

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[210] Buzzard, 32.

[211] Buzzard, 32.

[212] From Ruskin, 1903 in Buzzard, 33.

[213] See, for example Buzzard's use of John Murray III in 1889 who wrote about the "ruts and boulders" of North Germany. There's also a desire to be "first," as Murray shows in his trip to Belgrade, too— "I was among the first to descend the Danube from Pesth to Orosova below Belgrade." 'The Origin and History of Murray's Handbook for Travellers', Murray's Magazine, 6 (Nov 1889) 625-6.

Balkans of their imagination. They claimed to desire the challenging and unfamiliar, but nonetheless hoped to end each day with the comforts of modern civilization.

"A most everyday occurrence": Cavalier Attitudes Towards Death and Dying[214]

"Friends are easily lost in Montenegro, where a charge of powder and a bullet settle differences."[215]

As perhaps the most quintessential of all Balkan qualities, Wyon and De Windt reinforced violence again and again throughout these books. In the people, land, conversation, and daily life, Wyon and De Windt considered its presence an inherent and unavoidable reality in their travels. This ubiquity had two facets: the proliferation of weapons and the attitude with which violence was discussed. First, the writers emphasized the sheer abudance of violence and the weapons that promulgate it. The proliferation of arms preoccupied, even dominated, both De Windt and Wyon's accounts. Their version of the Balkans portrayed a man and his gun as inseparable, even indistinguishable. Wyon observed that along the Albanian border, "no man goes any distance unarmed. *A rifle is part and parcel of his being*."[216] Second, the tendency to treat fear and violence with casual indifference spanned across these travel narratives; both men reported violent scenes and uncouth outbursts with a distinctly cavalier attitude. Most characters parroted this style of discussing violence—an nonchalance that began on the part of local inhabitants and eventually included the authors themselves. A Balkan inhabitant—be he Serbian,

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[214] Wyon, 1903, 191.

[215] Wyon, 1903, xxi.

[216] Wyon, 1903, 187. [emphasis added]

Montenegrin, Bulgarian, or Albanian—was understood to have no regard for human life. This attitude guided the short and unpredictable Balkan lifespan, but also threatened to spill over into European peace.[217]

In discussing St. Clair and Brophy's 1869 travel narrative *A Residence in Bulgaria*, Hammond made explicit connections between Balkan travelogues and broader Victorian treatments of violence. Although Hammond was, at this point, writing about both the mid-nineteenth century and Bulgaria specifically, he saw violence as "the controlling image" in these works.[218] Thus, travel writers described an inherently uncouth people and painted fundamentally vulgar scenes, regardless of their social status, nationality, or class.[219] Though travel writers acknowledged national distinctions within Balkan groups, some elements—namely, these tendencies toward violence—remained universal. Violence even extended to the family unit itself —which, Hammond pointed out, was essentially sacrosanct to"Victorian sensibility."[220]

The stories told in *The Land of the Black Mountain, The Balkans From Within,* and *Through Savage Europe* were sensational and imbued with emotion. At first, Wyon and De Windt emphasized their "civilized" objections or concerns that expressly contradicted the calm indifference with which locals committed or embraced violence. In recounting a scene at Podgorica's prison, for example, Wyon recalled being introduced to a group of "quarrelers." The term confused this British protagonist, who required quite some time to realize the nature of the crime for which the men had been imprisoned. Finally,

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[217] Wyon, 1904, 20.

[218] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 611.

[219] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 611.

[220] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 611.

> "Oh," we exclaimed [to the jailer], a light breaking in upon us, "you mean murder! They are all murderers?"
> "We have no murderers," came the indignant response. "Our land is as safe from murder as any other in the world. No one kills to rob or steal in Montenegro but we just quarrel amongst ourselves. We are hot-blooded and shoot quickly, that is all."[221]

In Montenegro, "quarrel," therefore, served as the local euphemism for "murder"—and, as Wyon laid this out in *The Land of the Black Mountain*, he seemed to be reminding his reader that a Montenegrin mind worked differently. For the local jailers—undeniably the "other" here in relation to both the traveler and the English-speaking reader—the crime was not murder because the killing was not done at random. The application of civil, polite terms like quarrel to describe a practice that Wyon considered brutal cast the differences between Britain and the Balkans into sharp contrast. While demonstrating the mundaneness of violence, this anecdote further serves to capture the isolation and incivility of the Balkans.

Wyon and De Windt also strove to show that killing in the name of a quarrel was more than the Balkan norm—it was an expectation. Time and time again, these British accounts reported the trivialization of death and murder. Doing so highlighted the exoticism of this world that placed no value upon life—a world, indeed, that De Windt described in the early pages of *Through Savage Europe* as a lawless place "where you must travel with a revolver in each pocket and your life in your hand."[222]

Violence and its reputation also became a question of inborn character. Time and time again, these books represented the Montenegrin, the "Servian," and other Balkan groups as

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[221] Wyon, 1903, 48-9.

[222] De Windt,15.

Also, note that the traveler couldn't always do this (carry his weapons so close at hand), further isolating him from the people and making him feel unsafe. Gun possession was one of the few Balkan habits that these travelers actually wanted to conform to, but they were not always able to. Wyon also lamented the restrictions foreigners faced upon taking rifles into certain territories.

people who were bred not only to withstand and endure endemic violence, but who actually thrived upon it. For further evidence of an almost physically present *need* for blood, Wyon provided the following example of a trek through the forests of Vučipotok with a group consisting of himself, his friend Prance, a Hungarian doctor, and their guides. Several days into this trip, their group was tailed by an Albanian spy through the woods. He recorded: "looking on I saw an Albanian about six hundred yards away, half hidden behind a boulder. The idea of shooting a man in this way did not seem quite sporting, and Dr. S. agreed with me. The men were extremely disappointed in our refusal to allow them to shoot."[223] In this scene, Wyon presented the events as though European civility stifled his companions' inherent "Balkanness" by sparing the spy's life and preventing the guides from acting according to their nature.

As depicted in these books, violence was not limited to prisons and forest paths; it dominated Balkan life at a national, social, and individual levels. Governmental institutions, for example, came across as weak, ineffective, or nonexistent. Even Balkan monarchies weren't discussed with true respect or reverence.[224] It is, however, interesting to note where governmental institutions and policies *were* afforded mention in these travelogues. Namely, references to the law appeared in the regulation of armaments—even in the perpetuation of a violent, armed society. Near-universal gun ownership was institutionalized, for example, and Wyon reported that weapons were "carried loaded by order…A revolver must be carried by prince and peasant alike."[225] The realm of weapons also became a place—perhaps one of the only—where monarchs exercised effective control: Prince Nicolas would "stop a man at

[223] Wyon, 1903, 212.

[224] De Windt, 28.

[225] Wyon, 1903, 38.

haphazard on the road and examine his weapons, and woe betide him if his revolver is carried empty."[226]

Violence was ubiquitous, expected, and, most often, unremarkable—an observation that proved most shocking to our narrators. Although Wyon and De Windt first objected to or commented upon casual violence, over time they grew accustomed to its presence. Time and time again, expats who were either acclimated to or jaded by the Balkans soothed Wyon and De Windt's jitters when the Brits stumbled across funerals, murder sites, and even corpses.[227] These other foreigners were largely Central European doctors, soldiers, and diplomats, and their acclimation to Balkan habits might speak to the ease with which they were molded by the region. And indeed, this group became especially useful, both in assuaging the Brits' adjustment and serving as a foil to better explain typical Balkan behaviors for readers at home.

Recording violence as an endemic Balkan phenomenon also gave travel writers the chance to both establish a superior attitude and exert that superiority as a savior of the Balkans, of sorts. Wyon did this in two ways. First, he took on his broad role of champion of the Balkan cause.[228] Second, he exercised his influence on an individual basis.[229] On the same trip through the Vučipotok forest, Wyon recounted how he temporarily spared the life of a man who was chased through the Albanian woods by a group of armed men. "The fugitive," upon stumbling across Wyon's group of travelers, immediately beelined for the journalist and clung to his horse. Once tensions had cooled and the crowd of armed men dissipated,

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[226] Wyon, 1903, 10.

[227] Wyon once made an interesting allusion to the "true Irish style" wakes that Montenegro now exhibited. Wyon, 1903, 282.

[228] Wyon, 1903, xviii.

[229] Wyon, 1904, 361-2.

> "What hast thou done?" I [Wyon] asked the fugitive at my stirrup. "Tell me thy story."
> "I am a doomed man; my days are numbered," he said, smiling and rolling a cigarette.
> "But life is sweet, and I wish to live a little longer."
> Strange, this man who was at death's door barely an hour ago, was smiling and smoking happily as he walked by my side

Here, Wyon's account provided an example of just one scene of many that abruptly about-faced between violence and calm, the alarming and the casual. It also expressly exemplified the cavalier attitude with which the Balkan people he encountered approached death and dying. At the same time, however, examples abounded that counteracted this idea of fearlessness at every turn. Although time and time again the travel writers reported that people in the Balkans possessed no fear of death or dying, the local figures in the books often *did*. In an observation that once again contradicted what the journalists stated and what their anecdotes showed, the fugitive above was clearly apprehensive about his fate in later scenes—and rightly so, for, as Wyon commented, "in all probability he is dead by now."[230] Even further, this quotation raises questions about Wyon's own writing style and motivations. Was he trying to shock his audience? Report the facts? Reflect the cavalier attitudes with which street violence was reported and discussed? Whatever his motivations, this account provided another example of how quick mentions of death and murder were suddenly supplanted with depictions of sunny tourist scenes —which, in this case, manifested as a jauntily smoking man, narrowly and temporarily escaping death, but smiling all the same.

In other ways, Balkan violence was both expected and amusing. "Amusement," though a strange term, played out on several levels. On one, depictions of the Balkan people's capacity and inclination for coldheartedly murdering their fellows became both entertainment and a

[230] Wyon, 1903, 197.

spectacle for British readers. As a relatively frequently-reported occurrence, such tales formed part of the bedrock of the stories Wyon and De Windt sent back to Britain. Secondly, the Balkan people's own "amusement" in such practices was even more indicative, as it further isolated and dehumanized the region. In his 1880 *Albania*, E.F. Knight provided the following explanation of violent behavior and the vendetta: "Perfectly incredible to any one who has not visited these countries," he reported, "is the light in which assassination is regarded. It is more an amusement than anything else—the sport of men. Walk through the streets of Scutari, and you will find the marks of bullets on every house."[231]

Vacillations between touristic descriptions of beautiful vistas or quaint surprises and violent scenes also persisted throughout the three books. More than just a description of condition upon the ground, these abrupt about-faces became rhetorical tools, open to several interpretations. Both Wyon and De Windt, for example, alternated from pleasant markets to murder and back again with remarkable speed.[232] Perhaps the abruptness with which accounts shifted from theme to theme was a stylistic choice on the part of travelogue authors. Sometimes, however, the travel narrators themselves seemed to think that Balkan habits were rubbing off on them. Moreover, Wyon and De Windt began to feel the effects of continual violence upon their psyche. The Balkans, they reported, could get under your skin, causing lust for a good, violent story to leach into your bloodstream.[233] After growing accustomed to the violence, Wyon reported that "Montenegro is demoralising in this respect. One becomes so used to bloodthirsty

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[231] Knight in Hammond, 22.

[232] De Windt, 45.
Wyon, 1903, 43.

[233] Wyon, 1903, 282.

anecdotes that one wonders how other countries exist without the excitement of the vendetta."[234] Even these strong, hardy Englishmen—as they chose to present themselves—were susceptible to the Balkan's influence.

Another important facet of violence was the speed with which these events occurred. The rate at which these stories oscillated from peace to conflict and back again, these abrupt about-faces, stood apart from how these travelogues chronicled the usual and more mundane passage of time. Elsewhere in the Balkans, things were torturously, reliably, and lamentably slow. Trains crept along,[235] journeys of thirty minutes stretched into hours,[236] routine customs procedures became drawn out affairs[237]—and yet the threat of a violent eruption at any moment hung like a hammer above the travelers' heads. Illustrating this, Wyon and his companions rode calmly along a road bordered by a seemingly idyllic field until:

> Suddenly, at some distance, two rifle-shots were distinctly heard, and the calm of the picture was as rudely and suddenly disturbed as if an earthquake had happened. The peaceful peasants stooped, throwing away the spade, and in exchange each had a Martini rifle in his hand, which he rapidly loaded form the bandolier of cartridges around his waist. Men rushed out of the slumbering cottages, and a great shouting commenced. "It is nothing," said the adjutant, "They become excited like this very often."…we rode on, just as if nothing unusual were happening.[238]

The imagery here was remarkable, mostly due to the abruptness with which diligently toiling peasants transformed into armed combatants. This example also provided a startling indictment of the untrustworthiness of even the quaintest agrarian scene. If Martini rifles lay hidden in the

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[234] Wyon, 1903, 281-2.

[235] Wyon, 1904, 24-5.

[236] Wyon, 1904, 193.

[237] Wyon, 1904, 32-5.

[238] Wyon, 1903, 190-1.

furrows of calm and industrious fields, what other violent surprises might the Balkans have in store? Peace was not only elusive in the Balkans, Wyon reported; it was also an illusion.

As an overarching theme within the frequent descriptions of violence, these books implied that danger was always present in the Balkans. Even when not overt, it lurked beneath the surface of the most seemingly bucolic environments. Much like the passively toiling peasants above, peaceful natural vistas gave way to incessant, unavoidable reminders of violent acts. On the way to the Morača monastery, Wyon and his companions happened upon a "a lonely cross in a small clearing, erected to the memory of five Montenegrins who had been surprised and murdered there by Turks."[239] Such scenes complicated the story of violence, as Wyon was not content with simply noting the deaths or their memorials in his book. Instead, these circumstances gave him the opportunity to make broader, generalizing comments about the state of Balkan violence and the transient, elusive, and fleeting presence of peace. In their journey through these woods, Wyon and his companions stumbled across a pile of rocks, a memorial to the five killed there before, that immediately distracted the narrator from his idyllic forest environs and reminded him of the Balkans' propensity for death and terror at every turn. "It is always so in Montenegro," Wyon opined, "when the traveller is filled with a sense of peace at the grandeur of the wild mountainous scenery, or the beauty of a sylvan forest glade, a rough cross, or cairn of stones, will be pointed out where men have met a sudden and violent death."[240] This juxtaposition of the scenic with the savage illustrated an unmistakable and unavoidable trope in these works.

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[239] Wyon, 1903, 159-61.

[240] Wyon, 1903, 160-61.

Wyon and De Windt reported this sort of incident again and again. In many ways, depictions of violent and unpredictable Montenegrin character matched the dangers inherent in the land itself. Often, these descriptions implied that both geography and local inhabitants conspired against the journalists' safety. "Once," Wyon reported, "as our path led up a steep incline, our guide told us graphically how that, a few weeks ago, both a horse and its rider had fallen down the one hundred feet into the river below."[241] The danger here was twofold—first from the people, second from the landscape. Wyon continued with yet another vacillation, this time about-facing from fear-inspiring tales to practicalities of the trail: "the path was very narrow, and he strongly advised us in passing to take care, which remark seemed slightly superfluous after the vivid description with which he had just favoured us."[242] In this way, facing the partnership of violent men and a dangerous landscape, Wyon seemed to suggest that it was as though all Balkan forces together schemed against these hardy British protagonists.

Finally, witnessing violence was a key component of any Balkans experience. De Windt and Wyon came to expect it—and eventually, as the texts progressed, began to comment upon its absence with more significance than its presence. The locals Wyon and Prance encountered perpetuated this observation. When the two departed from Andrijevica on the Montenegrin-Albanian border, "everyone turned out to bid us farewell, from the Voivoda [duke], who expressed his regret that we had seen no one shot, downwards."[243] As the quotation exemplifies, witnessing violence was also apparently considered an integral part of the "pure" and "authentic"

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[241] Wyon, 1903, 161.

[242] Wyon, 1903, 161.

[243] Wyon, 1903, 204.
Also significantly, this quotation implies inherent superiority— that an Englishman's departure deserves significant pomp/circumstance and the appearance of the whole town. Wyon and De Windt (and others like them) expected this sort of deference as they traveled through the Balkans.

Balkan experience these men claimed to seek. Just as the impossibly quick armament occurred in the rifle-laced field above, the oscillation between two extremes—the pleasant and the savage—implied that violence continually lurked beneath the surface; men in the Balkans only needed to wait for the opportunity to strike.

"No Cares to Trouble Them": Hierarchical Relationships and "Imperial Eyes"[244]

Reflecting the imperial shadow that colonialism cast across contemporary British art, media, and education, Hammond noted that Victorian travel literature exhibited "remarkable agreement on the subordinate status of the Balkans."[245] Within travel literature otherwise awash in vacillations between civility and incivility, European and non-European, an imperial attitude reflective of the late Victorian and Edwardian Eras became one of these works' few consistencies. Wyon and De Windt's books—alongside their authors' interactions with locals in the Balkans—demonstrated how that shadow persisted even within lands not formally under Britain's imperial wing.

In discussing imperialism, it is important to note that Britain neither possessed nor professed a desire to govern the Balkans itself. These two travelers, however, operated under the overarching influence of an imperial relationship on the individual level that governed how they—as British citizens—interacted with their surroundings. Wyon and De Windt, the journalists and protagonists at the center of these accounts, controlled the information that they first

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[244] Wyon, 1903, 200.
Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[245] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 603.

collected, then recorded and disseminated home to Britain. They were thus able to define and characterize the lands and people they encountered through a distinctly hierarchical lens. In this facet of travel literature, the British outsider-observers possessed the ability to define what was authentically "Balkan." Thus, the very same men who clung to ideas of savagery and lawlessness determined what representations of the Balkans reached Britain. Though not explicitly imperial, this frame revealed a distinct social and national hierarchy—one which Hammond saw as British "travellers vilifying its [Balkan] inhabitants in the same way as their compatriots did the colonised populations of the British Empire."[246]

These colonial overtones and the advocacy of Great Power leadership in the Balkans provided, according to Hammond, "the dominant political thread running through Victorian and Edwardian texts."[247] Furthermore, British travel writing bolstered "the fundamental *rightness* of these creeds that stood behind Victorian society, government, and law, entrenching the systems of power in circulation by constructing the Balkans as a poignant example of what happens in their absence"—in the absence of Victorian sensibility.[248] And thus "control" of the Balkans became another "civilizing mission"— one that can't entirely be disassociated with the ostensible civilization-building going on throughout the world of formal British colonization.

In another consistency within imperial representations, hierarchical attitudes persisted regardless of a traveler's Balkan knowledge or the duration of his or her trip. We see this in Viscountess Strangford's charity, in E.F. Knight's depiction of twisting alleys and bullet-marred facades, and in Wyon and De Windt's travelogues. There were, therefore, remarkable

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[246] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, 19.

[247] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 605.

[248] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 622.

consistencies whether one visited the Balkans for a few months or lived there for several years.[249] Wyon and De Windt's books—encompassing two different Balkan forays of different lengths—exemplified this assessment. Wyon's long-term stay—even his supposed "love" for the people[250] —did not soften his assessment of Balkan savagery. Furthermore, in spite of Wyon and De Windt's initial differences, their chronologies and perspectives feel remarkably similar when their works are viewed with an eye for this imperial lens.

In just one example of this outlook, an informally imperial attitude governed the authors' interactions with locals in the Balkans. In 1903, Wyon recorded that, "we were viewed with obvious interest, and invariably greeted with respect, though there is nothing of subservience in a Montenegrin's salute. He feels himself in no way your inferior as a man until you have proved your superiority in shooting or physical strength."[251] An aside like this, though small, was quite revealing of Wyon's own expectations for some sort of intra-European hierarchy. If he found "nothing of subservience" in his interactions with Montenegrins, this description begs the question: should there have been? Furthermore, if Wyon traveled through Germany or Austria, would he have looked for the same display of inferiority? Based upon Austria's role as a civilizing, even cosmopolitan figure in De Windt's book, it seems safe to say he would not;[252] admissions of inferiority are not something that one looks for in an acquaintance without the presumption of some sort of hierarchical system.

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[249] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, 24.

[250] Wyon, 1904, ix.

[251] Wyon, 1903, 174.

[252] De Windt, 121-2.

Direct comparisons between the Balkans and Africa provided perhaps the most revealing insights into the imperial nature of the relationship between the British travelers and lands they traveled through. Sometimes, these references were cursory parallels between similar architecture or colonial city-planning. Wyon, for example, drew connections between South Africa and both Cetinje and Podgorica using almost identical language. In painting Cetinje for his reader, he wrote that, when entering the city, "the effect is most odd at first sight, a long main street, an open market-place, and a few side streets…The town, on entering it, bears a strong resemblance to a South African township, where, as is the case here, space is no object, and the houses are rarely more than one story high."[253] Podgorica was no different. In fact, the town was "exactly like a South African township" with its broad, tree-lined streets.[254]

Even outside of towns, the journalists found opportunities to make direct comparisons between the Balkans and South Africa. While riding through the mountains, Wyon reported that "every mile or so we had to plunge through a quagmire, equal to the worst South African mudhole, which is saying a great deal."[255] These quotations show that the similarities between South Africa and the Balkans, between colonialism and Southeastern Europe, were very present in the minds of contemporary authors and thus, perhaps, contemporary readers and contemporary politicians.

Even apart from the direct evocations of the Balkans similarities to formal colonies, the region emerged as a second-class player within an implicit (albeit informal) imperial dynamic in other ways. Most significantly, the region—the people, lands, and even animals it encompassed

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[253] Wyon, 1903, 40.

[254] Wyon, 1903, 71-2.

[255] Wyon, 1903, 152.

—became entertainment. Although the British did not formally rule over the Balkans, they—as members of "one of the world's most powerful nations"—exploited the region in other ways.[256] Local customs, culture, religion, and politics became fodder for leisure and entertainment. Thus, the works of travel literature discussed here dovetail nicely with Goldsworthy's definition of "imperialism of the imagination," as these travel narratives were produced for a British audience and the travels were themselves for the sake of the traveler, not for the people of the region. Furthermore, they cast local characters as willingly complicit in this phenomenon, while failing to acknowledge the inherent exploitation of a nation's citizens and resources in this phenomenon.

Wyon's afternoon spent amongst the inmates at Cetinje's prison illustrated this phenomenon. "When we lined them [the prisoners] up for a picture," he reported,[257] "we demanded a front place for the chained men, to their intense delight and the chagrin of the others who cast envious glances at their more favoured brethren. No doubt in that moment the unchained men wished they had gone just a little further in the 'quarrel.'"[258] The here-mentioned "quarrel" was, of course, the favored euphemism for murder committed in the name of the vendetta. As reported here, at that instant—the moment the "fortunate" Montenegrins graced the Western photographer's camera— their lives were suddenly bestowed with meaning. Furthermore, this instance exhibited the subtle but unmistakably hierarchical relationship afoot. Wyon's account implied that these prisoners would have gladly sacrificed both their victims' lives and additional years of their own in jail for the sake of winning a privileged position in this

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[256] Goldsworthy, *Imagining Ruritania*, 2.

[257] Sadly, this picture was not included in the text

[258] Wyon, 1903, 50.

Englishman's photograph. In the Brit's mind, this separated him from the common criminals and violent peasants with which he deigned to interact while traveling through the Balkans.

In another example of how film and photography captured this informal imperial relationship,most of the locals caught on film wanted to see the images immediately after they were taken. Poor Wyon—the beleaguered British traveler—was forced to explain to the camera's naive subjects that they would have to wait a few weeks. Here, his anecdotes showed that the Montenegrins could not understand the workings of modern technology and expected the Brit to be a "magician"— as per the Brit's own reporting.[259] In yet another example of the revealing powers of photography, the prison wardens who Wyon and Prance met at Cettigne's prison tracked the two British men down later in the day and begged their return to the jail. The head warden, they reported, had apparently been absent for the first round of photos. Wyon reported that the suitors requested "'would we of our goodness come and photograph him, and thus make life worth living?'"[260] In this small anecdote, the Western photographer-tourist was given a hefty (and an undue) amount of importance. In these two examples, *The Land of the Black Mountain* provided literal circumstances in which Montenegrin life was represented as only significant in the traveler's ability to exploit it for entertainment and to fulfill his information-gathering whims.

On a further note that rings hierarchical custom, Wyon spoke of the locals he interacted with in almost a paternal way. In his championship of the Balkans, he spoke of finding a

[259] Wyon, 1903, 52-3.

[260] Wyon, 1903, 53.

protector for "that gallant little nation," implying the country's dependence on Europe's maturity.[261] He also explicitly compared a group of rural shepherds to children:[262]

> The shepherds came from far and near, and asked us many questions: if we carried an apparatus for making banknotes…; if our glasses could show us Belgrade, and so on… Great simple children they were, unknown in the art of lying, and yet they repeat stories of bygone battles and slaughter, which they have heard and believed, as gospel truth… They love to listen, too…but too much of the outside world one cannot tell them, for then they look hurt at being deemed so childish. They are curious, too, as are all children.[263]

Innocent and childlike, these shepherds were captivated by the "clothes which we strange foreign creatures wear."[264] The smallest pleasures make them "as happy and contented as princes… [with] no cares to trouble them."[265] The simple peasant was childlike; he assumed the Brit was magical, and, in this case, the foreigner (willingly) assumed that paternal role. These depictions were, of course, filtered by the Brits themselves. Thus, while they cannot be taken as reflective of local realities, these scenes are indicative of how the travel writers imagined their surroundings. These travelogues addressed the Brit's on-the-ground interactions with and perceived responsibilities to locals at the individual or social level. In one of the most interesting details from this quotation, a childlike attachment to their homelands held these shepherds back from the civilized world, separating them from the British narrator who continually sought new frontiers. Thus, by having no desire for life beyond that their simple homes and familiar

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[261] Wyon, 1903, xviii.

[262] Bear in mind that, as Wyon rejected modern, urban cities as "authentically" Balkan, groups like these epitomized Balkan purity for him.

[263] Wyon, 1903, 200.

[264] Wyon, 1903, 200.

[265] Wyon, 1903, 200.

landscapes, the local population became the direct opposite, in fact, of British imperial ambition, as well as of the far-traveling authors Wyon and De Windt.[266]

Because of the narrators' filters, these books cannot provide incontrovertible truths about the Balkans. They are, however, most useful as a representation of the phenomenon Mary Pratt dubbed "imperial eyes"[267]—how Brits looked at and recorded their colonies through travel literature. Though Pratt largely wrote about travel literature within Britain's formal colonies, the concept held true in the Balkans and other regions considered inferior to Britain. Thus, *The Land of the Black Mountain, The Balkans From Within*, and *Through Savage Europe* most accurately capture those "imperial eyes"—the lens through which Wyon and De Windt wrote about the Balkans, the differences that shaped their accounts, and the similarities that ultimately provide a glimpse into how Edwardian British travel writers imagined and reconstructed the Balkans.

Travel Narratives, Revisited and Re-explored

Finally, a study of these travel narratives and their reception provides a means of exploring broader British public opinion. Reviews of *The Land of the Black Mountain, The Balkans From Within,* and *Through Savage Europe* were published in a variety of magazines. Wyon's *The Balkans From Within* especially received a great deal of attention in the form of book reviews. These reviews ran the gamut from flattering to indicting—some even seemed to question Wyon's credentials as a journalist. While a short review in *The Academy and Literature* reported a largely positive impression of the book, for example, the reviewer's opinion of Wyon

[266] Wyon, 1903, 201-2.

[267] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 1992.

and his commitment to facts remained low. For one, the reviewer noted, his writing was marred by the "naive candour" that guided his professions of love for the Balkan people.[268]

Furthermore, even though *The Academy* reported that Wyon was one of "but few Englishmen who know their Balkans so well," his treatment of the region still earned some delicate but sneering mockery.[269] In other words, even a supposed Balkan "expert" was still improperly and insufficiently acquainted with this corner of the globe. In this review, Wyon's pretensions about "knowing" the Balkans were even compared to what "the historic French traveller who knew everybody said when asked whether he had seen the Dardanelles whilst at Constantinople: 'Certainly, mon ami, I dined with them.'"[270] In this comical but indicting example of the missteps that accompanied a traveler's pretensions about knowing a region, the reviewer compared Wyon's writings about the Balkans to this fictional faux pas—the Constantinople tourist who did not realize the Dardanelles was a strait and not family within Istanbul's society set. Thus, even when one had both knowledge of and experience in the Balkans, this example reinforced the idea that the region was fundamentally *un*knowable.

In both these reviews and within the travel narratives themselves, modern readers can find clues as to the audience and reception of these works. For Wyon's magazine publications, for example, the target audience was overtly male. He played on the sympathies of his readers as a rhetorical tool, especially when presenting the plight of Macedonian refugees fleeing Ottoman-perpetrated attrocities. He implored, "have you, good readers, ever tried to imagine yourselves for one moment in these poor wretches' position? Did you ever think of your sweet wives and

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[268] *The Academy and Literature*, April 2, 1904.

[269] *The Academy and Literature*, April 2, 1904.

[270] *The Academy and Literature*, April 2, 1904.

tender daughters in the hands of—no! It isn't even to be mentioned, is it?"[271] This exhortation revealed quite a bit about Wyon's style and objective. For one, he clearly wrote an emotional appeal. For another, his intended readership was very explicitly adult men—a population with wives and daughters to protect, shield, and defend.[272] In this, we also see that Wyon deliberately reduced the amount of figurative space between reader and his "characters," heightening the emotional aspects of his work.

Tangentially, the relationship between tourists and travelers was also central to an Edwardian study of tourism. Although Buzzard reports that the word "tourist" likely emerged as neutral and synonymous with "traveler" in the late eighteenth century, by the mid-nineteenth it had distinct connotations.[273] As journalists and travel writers, Wyon and De Windt clearly considered themselves superior to the former group; tourists often came across quite poorly in their books. Buzzard also made an interesting observation about the list of derogatory adjectives that accompany both the places and people accused of being "touristy." "-Crammed, -haunted, -mobbed, -ridden, [and] -trodden" all come to mind.[10] It is interesting to note that, in escaping being lumped in with the creators and perpetuators of *these* phrases that mark mass tourism, Balkan travelers contributed to a whole list of negative adjectives of their own making. Instead of "tourist-choked" or "-overrun," Wyon and De Windt recorded abundant references to a "dark," "despicable," and "dismal" Balkans.

Discussing these books as travel literature (as opposed to works of journalism, for example) raises questions about who controlled the information about the Balkans that reached

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[271] Wyon, "What I saw in Macedonia," 554.

[272] Which further ties into the idea that the Balkans were a region that both threatened and amused the British.

[273] Buzzard, 1.

Britain and how that information was transmitted. It also highlights the flaws in expecting journalists to write a region's history and present this information in the form of a travelogue with accuracy and depth. While the reviewer in *The Month* pointed out that Wyon's status as a journalist "may cause some to suspect his accounts," he also argued that Wyon was not "of the sensational kind"—which, we can gather, set him apart from the reviewer's estimation of most journalists.[274] The newspaper *The Outlook,* however, provided a different side of things: "people who do not mind their nerves being occasionally jarred by indifferent grammar, loose epithet, kakophony [sic], and tautology will find Mr. Reginald Wyon's description of life in the Balkan States a most entertaining volume."[275] Although the reviewer in another publication defended Wyon's journalistic, even factual, credentials, he cautioned that newspaper correspondents have the "propensity to exaggerate" and the inclination "to invent is becoming more and more generally realized."[276]

The range of publications that devoted attention to these travelogues on Southeastern Europe also proved interesting. An issue of *The Month: A Catholic Magazine* from May 1904 contained one of these reviews, in which a piece critiquing Wyon's book appeared between an article entitled "Notes on the Art of Decorative Church Needlework as practiced in England from the Conquest to the Reformation"[277] and a review of *Lives of the English Martyrs beatified by*

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[274] *The Month*, 538-9.

[275] "Correspondence Style," *The Outlook in Life, Politics, Finance, Letters, and the Arts*, June, 11, 1904, 481.

[276] *The Month*, 538.

[277] V. W. Magrapth, "Notes on the Art of Decorative Church Needlework as practiced in England from the Conquest to the Reformation," *The Month: A Catholic Magazine* CIII, no. 479 (May 1904): 528-535.

Pope Leo XIII, authored by a group of Jesuits.[278] In this article, the reviewer called Wyon "one who inspires confidence from the moderation in which he states his facts, and the judicial spirit in which he weighs them."[279] However, as a Christian magazine, *The Month* was perhaps more likely to accept and support Wyon's anti-Turk position. In other reviews, Wyon's virulent opposition to the Ottomans was called into question (see, for example, this judgment from *The Outlook* which declared, "We fall foul of Mr. Wyon when we consider his attitude towards the judicial side of Turkey's treatment of her neighbors").[280]

This discussion also highlights the ill-defined parameters of travel literature as a genre. *The Outlook*'s reviewer seemed to consider Wyon's book "an interesting piece of journalism," but little more. The reviewer deemed the book undeserving of the category "literature" and worthwhile only when stripped of the very things that make travel literature an enduring, appealing genre: the color and emotion.[281] Even more, these elements are the moments and perspectives that separate travel literature from an account that simply chronicles a step-by-step chronicle of a journey.[282] When Buzzard referred to travel literature, his definition included guidebooks and other advice-giving tomes that became common after the Napoleonic Wars "when the Continent offered an open field for roaming ambitions thwarted during the great

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[278] Review of *Lives of the English Martyrs beatified by Pope Leo XIII*, by Fathers of the London Oratory, of the Secular Clergy, and of the Society of Jesus, edited by Dom Bede Camm, *The Month: A Catholic Magazine* CIII, no. 479 (May 1904): 541-542.

[279] *The Month*, 539.

[280] "Correspondence Style," *The Outlook in Life, Politics, Finance, Letters, and the Arts*, June, 11, 1904, 481. American Reviews were also critical; see, for example, American reviews, *The Nation* 79, no 104, New York August 4, 1904.

[281] "Correspondence Style," *The Outlook in Life, Politics, Finance, Letters, and the Arts*, June, 11, 1904, 482.

[282] Opposed to, for example, Buzzard's study of Cook and Murray guidebooks that emerged in the nineteenth century. Buzzard, 55.

conflict."[283] Travel writing as discussed here, however, is a different animal entirely. Instead, Wyon and De Windt's travel narratives were personal stories and filtered portraits of a land, people, country, and custom.

In many ways, the hazy definition of travel literature as a genre mimicks the poorly-defined parameters of Europe and understandings of the "Balkans" which this paper discusses. However, tomes like Wyon and De Windt's are suitable for inclusion within the category of travel literature, because "literature" implies that a story is being told and a specific perspective presented. These works also occupy a shifting place between facts and fiction; this, however, was not necessarily the flaw several contemporary reviewers painted it to be. Had Wyon and De Windt removed such color from their stories, all that remained would have been a progressional account: a visit to Cetinje, followed by a stop in Belgrade, followed by a train to Macedonia. Although contemporary reviewers may have balked, colorful anecdotes and personal biases make Wyon and De Windt's three books rich texts today.

One such reviewer writing for *The Outlook* was quite cautionary of Wyon's more sensational elements, warning that "the value of 'The Balkans From Within,' as a contribution to Near Eastern topography, must be judged apart from its sentiment and without regard to its political jeremiads."[284] Perhaps, for a reader seeking a piece of informational travel literature in the early 20th century, this was important advice; the reviewer may have even been wise to remind his readers that they would, undoubtedly, be reading political bias alongside the book's important information. The very same facets of *The Balkans From Within* that his contemporary reviewer objected to, however, are the moments that provide the richest clues for the twenty-

[283] Buzzard, 39.

[284] "Correspondence Style," *The Outlook in Life, Politics, Finance, Letters, and the Arts*, June, 11, 1904, 482.

first-century reader. For example, these moments paint a picture of Britain—or at least of this one particular Englishman, showing why he felt compelled to show sympathy when he did and for who he did. Despite the reviewer's cautionary words, it is precisely Wyon's and De Windt's "sentiment and...political jeremiads" that today reveal so much about early-twentieth century interactions between Britain and the Balkans.[285] Namely, these inconsistencies, moments of tension, and personal biases explain how the travel writers perceived their Balkan surroundings and make their works intriguing and illuminating sources today.

Conclusion

For over one hundred years, the Balkans have provided fertile grounds and lively subjects for travel writers. Although many people have recorded their travel stories and sent them home, journalists constitute a significant and important amount of this information. From Edwardian Wyon and De Windt to the contemporary Misha Glenny and Robert Kaplan,[286] the history of the Balkans has repeatedly been told through this medium. Thus, journalists who write travel literature have played an important role in the creation, filtration, and dissemination of what Balkan narratives reaches the west (or, more accurately, the English speaking world) and how those stories are represented.

Although these travel narratives are flawed and censored depictions of the Balkans, their numbers dwarf the number of English academic works on the Balkans—a traditionally

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[285] "Correspondence Style," *The Outlook in Life, Politics, Finance, Letters, and the Arts*, June, 11, 1904, 482.

[286] Authors of *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (1992) and *Balkan Ghosts* (1993), respectively (among others).

understudied region.[287] Historically, however, although the Balkans have not attracted an abundance of formal study, the region has continually proven an appealing destination for travel literature. Indeed, many of the most famous names in travel literature have thrown their hat in to the Balkan ring, including Patrick Leigh Furmor, Eric Newby, and Simon Winchester.[288] Even before these individuals, the region attracted poets and novelists: Byron, West, Edward Lear, Lady Mary Worltey Montagu, Evelyn Waugh, and Joyce Cary each wrote about the Balkans.[289] As varied as these works and their authors may be, unavoidable, persistent, and inherent contradictions within English-speaking discussion of the Balkans surface time and time again—driving home the point that the Balkans occupy an unsteady and malleable place within both a cultural and geographic understanding of Europe. And these names represent just the authors and tomes that have been read and remembered, a small section of the total amount of content produced.

In many ways, the three works discussed here and their two authors present an interesting means for assessing Britain's image of the Balkans in the 1900s. In doing so, it can be useful to imagine Wyon and De Windt—their backgrounds and their views—as two mirrored arcs. They began at the same point, as well-traveled British journalists. Next, their arcs diverged, as each approached the Balkans differently: Wyon arched one way by claiming that he championed Balkan causes and "love[d] the Balkan people,"[290] while De Windt addressed and perpetuated Balkan "savagery" directly. And yet, despite different tones within the meat of their texts, both

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[287] Todorova, 7-8.

[288] Hammond, *Through Another Europe,* ix.

[289] Hammond, *Through Another Europe*, ix.

[290] Wyon, 1904, xi.

authors' arcs concluded at the same point: a superior attitude to the people and lands they traveled through—one that reflected British imperial outlooks and attitudes. Although Wyon and De Windt were just two travel writers among many, the fact that their stories diverge so significantly but ultimately perpetuate the same themes adds credibility to the idea that they can stand in for a broader British understanding of the Balkans.

Journalists like Wyon and De Windt operated within a broader imperial context that governed their experiences in the Balkans, even though the region was outside of British imperial control. Britons, Hammond said, "simply…felt themselves part of a genuinely superior culture, whose values, traditions and assessments they naturally advocated when faced with what was—to them—the pronounced inferiority of the Balkans."[291] The texts examined here—*The Land of the Black Mountain, The Balkans From Within*, and *Through Savage Europe*—support this claim that the Balkans were, more often than not, treated as inferior. This attitude marred even those aspects of Balkan culture which Wyon and De Windt found admirable or depicted in a positive light.

These travelogues also exemplified how Edwardian writers inconsistently employed distance and definitions throughout their works. Most simply, these variations included a fluctuating understanding of the Balkans' relative remoteness from Britain. They also extended to encompass the travelers' perceived isolation from the comforts of civilized society. In doing so, they demonstrated a stratification or hierarchical relationship that both governed their day-to-day interactions and reflected their assessment of Britain's role in the world. As such, allusions to the Balkans' vast cultural distance from Britain appeared alongside references to the relatively

[291] Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism," 622.

finite (and shrinking) geographic space between the two. Thus, these Edwardian travel narratives provide insight into the complicated, inconsistent, and evolving relationship between Europe's eastern and western peripheries.

Although this paper discusses early-twentieth-century representations of the Balkans, the themes here highlight consistencies and legacies of Edwardian Era-rhetoric that remain relevant in the way the Balkans are discussed today. A large portion of what we—an English speaking audience—"know" about the Balkans comes from fiction, travel literature, and journalism, and accordingly, the Balkans still occupy a hazy space both within and on the periphery of Europe.[292] Time and time again, Wyon and De Windt used words like violent, dark, and savage to describe the Balkans; this tradition still echoes today. Misha Glenny's *The Fall of Yugoslavia*, for example, used words like "barren," "desolate," "violent"—words that one could find as prevalently in these Edwardian tomes—nearly thirty times on the first page alone.[293] Studying Victorian or Edwardian travel literature in isolation suggests that this practice is fundamentally antiquated or *passé*, something that society has left behind. This, however, is an incomplete assessment; these terms still govern contemporary narratives about the Balkans. Thus, this bad habit cannot be written off as the vice of a former generation. It's something that must be confronted in both scholarly work about the Balkans and in travel literature more broadly today.

Using early-twentieth-century travel narratives to "uncover" the Balkans provides rich opportunities for scholarship, but also raises an accompanying host of problems. K.E. Fleming

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[292] For scholarship on fiction and Balkan representations, see KE Fleming. For scholarship on travel literature, see Maria Todorova and Vesna Goldsworthy. For modern examples of journalists defining the Balkans for a Western audience see, for example, Mischa Glenny and Robert Kaplan.

[293] Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia.*

elaborated upon the development of English-language Balkan scholarship, reminding her reader that "we must view the term 'academic' with caution, for the vast majority of such writing is in actuality produced not by academicians in the strictest sense of the term but rather by Balkan 'experts' whose expertise derives from their experience as journalists, travelers, or political strategists."[294] If the travelogues of Reginald Wyon and Harry De Windt can be considered any indication, her advice rang true for Edwardian Britain, as well. Both before and after the period examined here, many accounts of the Balkans were written by soldiers, merchants, diplomats, and ex-military men returning to the region. They were also written by female teachers, philanthropists, independent travelers, and wives of government officials. On one hand, these people often shared a familiarity with life in the Balkans. On the other, although they had on-the-ground experience, most possessed little to no formal study or academic background and all discussed here were British expatriates. As a result, the histories they wrote are summations of what they had heard or read; their sources are rarely cited and the roots of their historical context or background information remain unknown.

Though these connections between contemporary and modern representations may seem abstract, written accounts like those discussed here have shaped both American and Britain audiences' interactions with and responses to Balkan events for at least the last century. Hammond, for example, tied a straight line between the "Serbophilia" found in nineteenth century travel narratives and Britain's reluctance to intervene against Serbia in the 1990s.[295] Furthermore, if Robert Kaplan's *Balkan Ghosts* can be considered travel literature, the effect it

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[294] Fleming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkans Historiography," 1226.

[295] Hammond, Andrew. "Memoirs of Conflict: British Women Travellers in the Balkans." *Studies in Travel Writing: Papers from the Essex Symposium on 'Writing Travels'* 14, no. 1 (2010): 70.

had on American involvement in 1990s Yugoslavia is striking, startling, and even frightening. Its impact on President Bill Clinton's decision to remain silent and inactive during the 1990s was so strong that Kaplan even felt compelled to place a "mea culpa" preface in later editions of his book.[296] Thus, words about the people, geography, landscape, and culture of the Balkans—even those found in informal, popular accounts like travel literature—clearly do have significance.

When Harry De Windt defended Balkan savagry before leaving Charing Cross and Reginald Wyon searched high and low for elusive Balkan "purity," their travels and their publications contributed to a two-way flow of information between the Balkans and Britain. Although these works are undeniably problematic as historical sources, they also provide a rich springboard for study, offering personal accounts, first impressions, expectations, and contradictions. Thus, while ostensibly depicting the Balkans, these books actually provide a mirror for their authors. Accordingly, travelogues like *The Land of the Black Mountain*, *The Balkans From Within*, and *Through Savage Europe* braid together multiple threads, patterns, and experiences to create a fascinating though incomplete snapshot of interactions between two European peripheries in the early twentieth century.

[296] Kaplan, 2005 [1993], x-xi.

Picture Appendix

The Authors:





Left: Reginald Wyon, Right: Harry De Windt

The Political Tone of *The Balkans From Within*:



THE AUTHOR UNDER ARREST.

Preservation of history:



“Exploration” and Accommodation:





OUR HUT AT RASKRSNICA

"What I Saw in Macedonia:"



Expectations:



