A Bibliographical Guide to Nineteenth-Century British Journal Publications on Greece

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO
NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITISH
JOURNAL PUBLICATIONS ON GREECE

by

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Prologue

The first idea for this guide sprung from an investigation into the reception of modern Greece by Victorian classical scholars, i.e., their understanding, first, of the political affairs relating to the Revolution of 1821, and, second, of the major constitutional, civil, and cultural changes that took place during the nineteenth century. Examining the lists of contents of the numerous monthly Victorian periodicals soon led to the realization that there existed a remarkable record of review articles and contributions on Greece with a full range of opinion on major contemporary issues, such as politics, education, travel, religion, culture, and historiography. The importance of this record can hardly be exaggerated. While presenting aspects of Victorian life—primarily its political and commercial values, but also its intellectual and moral anxieties—this record is above all a picture of Greece as viewed through the eyes of a variety of authors, whether philhellenes, utilitarians, classicists, politicians, or even strong-minded advocates of the Ottoman Empire.1 (There were magazines for liberals, conservatives, reformers, army officers, antiquarians, the religious, and all the strata and interests of Victorian society.)

That picture of nineteenth-century Greece has hitherto remained known only to the specialist researcher for two main reasons. First, the vast majority of articles in Victorian periodicals were published, in accordance to the editorial practices of the age, anonymously or pseudonymously. Though the system of publishing anonymously, either articles or reviews, combined with vigorous editorship, became at the time an influential tool of public opinion (readers would accept the judgment of the author or the reviewer and enquire no further), anonymity neutralized the value of this material by keeping it virtually buried in the Victorian archives and prohibiting its extensive use as a constructive bibliographical instrument. Thus, in several works dealing with
the history of philhellenism or the broad reception of modern Greece by the British (the most recent not excepted), there are almost no or at best scanty references to these important sources. Whereas Victorian readers might have equated that anonymity with adamant objectivity, large doses of anonymous sources are usually not desirable in standard academic research and can only be used complementarily and not as primary material. Second, there was no comprehensive, systematic research into Victorian periodicals up until the early 1960s. Since then, specialist bibliographers have managed to identify and classify nineteenth-century journals as well as ascribe authorship to the greatest number of contributions through painstaking archival research. Systematic field work has culminated in the authoritative multi-volume *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* (ed. Walter E. Houghton, Esther R. Houghton, and Jean H. Slingerland, 5 vols. [Toronto University Press, 1966, 1972, 1979, 1987, 1989]). That index, along with the huge *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 1885-1900, with many reprints and supplements), have been the major tools in conducting the present investigation. The result is the present guide, which adds two hundred twenty articles to the long chain of sources related to the study of nineteenth-century European Hellenism and now takes its place in the bibliographical indexes to Modern Greek Studies.

The method of presenting and cataloguing that material is as follows:

- Periodical entries have been arranged chronologically—first yearly and then monthly if published in the same year.
- When authorship has been traced (as in most cases), a few words of biographical information are cited (i.e., author's dates of birth and death, profession, and other relevant activities). In a few cases, where authorship is known but dates could not be traced, "n.d." stands for "no dates available."
- Brief biographical information is followed by a number in brackets [] which stands for the numerical order of cataloguing. This is designed to help the reader retrace more easily an author's identity when his/her name appears for a second time (hence, "see [no.]" refers to the first piece recorded with available information attached).
- The title of the contribution is cited in full, followed by the name of the journal, volume number, month, and pages.
- On a few occasions, and when the title of the article is the same as the book reviewed, full bibliographical details of the latter are cited. An asterisk in the original title (above the author's name) is followed by bibliographical details.

Articles on islands (such as Crete and Rhodes) which at the time of publication were still not annexed to the Greek kingdom are considered relevant and therefore included in this index. However, entries dealing exclusively with ancient Greek history and civilization are outside the scope of this research and accordingly are not included.
Setting the Scene: Authors and Themes

The Discourse

The material included in the present index is multifaceted and cannot be reduced to a single thematic category. We can specify, at least, four broad thematic areas:

• Some of these periodical publications (especially of the first years, i.e., 1821-30) are politically oriented pieces, written by philhellenes, or by their embittered critics. Diplomacy, the Eastern Question and the interests of the British Empire, the Crimean War, the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and the constitutional arrangements in Greece provided the subject matter for a significant number of contributions. These are essentially colored by the standpoint of each author; thus, nationalism, romanticism, radicalism, religion, imperialism, or commercialism alternate as the key inspirational element behind them.

• Informative reviews of books published by adventurous travelers, antiquaries, and scholars, in which intellectual fancy and classical survivals were wrapped up in sophisticated and passionate narratives, are also here.

• Another group of articles comes from the pen of classical scholars which by their nature belong to a thriving interdisciplinary field of research, that of Rezeptionsgeschichte. Historians can draw on this material to unravel Victorian perceptions (especially those originating within the circle of classicists) of Hellenism and philhellenism. How did classical scholars react to the Greek Revolution? What were the dominant (if any) images concerning the identity of the modern Greeks, and how were these linked to the old Hellenic Ideal? In other words, what is the relationship between British philhellenism and British Hellenism?

This group of sources is also useful to the student of modern Hellenism, as a supplement to literary information on the ways Western European scholars understood the Greek people and their nationalist claims. Similarly, articles within this subcategory are significant to the historian of ideas as they present phases of the ideologically received (inescapably contextualized) image of modern Greece. Further, this material is particularly important to the political sociologist as it provides a literary platform for exploring the growth of nationalism in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century—a type of nationalism stripped of the democratic elements of early Western European national politics.

• Finally, there are articles on aspects of daily life, customs, and folklore of the modern Greeks. For example, there are several important entries by James Theodore Bent (1852-97), explorer and archaeologist, who traveled to several islands and studied local traditions and customs. Once identified, these articles can comprise the material of a collected volume on the cultural history and social anthropology of nineteenth-century Greek islanders.
The topics and classifications of the periodical material on Greece correspond to different, albeit complementary, fields of research in Modern Greek Studies. Each thematic group can be studied in itself and utilized to illuminate aspects of the Greek reception by the British or even provide a critical analysis of the ideological mechanisms that worked within Victorian society itself—a complex society that managed, at different times and to different degrees, to absorb quite distinct ideas, sentiments, and policies. A promising and far-reaching task would be to combine Greek and Victorian studies and then proceed to examine that periodical material in isolation and in toto. It would thus be possible, first, to provide a case study exemplifying the cultural pervasiveness and political dynamic of journal publications in nineteenth-century Britain; second, to enlighten us further on the roots of the Victorian concern with the ancient Hellenic achievement and the rationale of its assuming such as sense of relevance and vitality in intellectual and cultural life. Why did discussions of Greek history, literature, theology, and philosophy find a receptive audience among the Victorians, and why did they turn their eyes back to ancient Greece as a spiritual landscape, thus questioning the long established discontinuity between classical Greece and Christian Europe? Answering these questions means that we are in a better position to understand the motives and ideas behind the Victorians’ quest for new cultural patterns, in their long and persistent process of articulating a new self-image, recognizable and mirrored in the variable and secular Greek ethos, yet bearing the imprint of their respective nationalist and religious culture. Finally, third, such a study will contribute to supplementing literary information on the ways Victorians perceived modern Greek politics and on how, and on what grounds, they assessed the Greek nationalist claims. While uncovering the ideological and interpretative angles of this reception is valuable in and of itself, it also helps to analyse the contradictions and innate complexity of the nationalist ideology of nineteenth-century Greeks by juxtaposing it to the realistic—albeit often biased—and occasionally ruthless critique of British commentators. In other words, the popular (hence journalistic) portraits of Greece by the British will be juxtaposed to the prevalent currents of thought by the native Greeks, thus bringing to light various intellectual contrasts and ideological antinomies.

Here we can simply provide a schematic account of that great dialogue one can find in these periodical publications (inevitably based on a selection of articles), and perhaps delineate the major paths along which prospective research can be conducted.

Philhellenes

A major path leads to the story of British philhellenism. This story is now well known and well told. Between 1821 and 1833 the British philhellenes played a significant part in the struggle for Greek independence. (That period can of course be extended backwards, to cover celebrated forerunners, like Byron, W. M. Leake, J. C. Hobhouse, Frederick North, and many others.) Their incentives have been shown to be multifarious and far more complex than the philhellene movements of other European countries which were often
linked with each country's internal politics. As there is no single Victorian image of ancient Greece, there is no single aetiology that can embody the Victorians' sensibilities and moral concepts that stimulated such an extensive involvement in the Greek struggle. Nevertheless, dominant factors contributing to British philhellenism were the stirring of liberal democracy that began with the American and French Revolutions; the involvement of radical Benthamites and Independents (eventually united in March 1823, establishing the London Greek Committee, with John Bowring as its secretary), who believed that Greece should gradually become politically and culturally westernized, incorporating a progressive constitutional code and becoming a commercial center in the Mediterranean; the Christian religious feelings which strengthened Victorian emotion against the Turks (there was a series of publications that stimulated these feelings in the Morning Chronicle, the Morning Post, the Christian Observer, and the Gentleman's Magazine, as well as independent pamphlets); and, of course, the Byronic sentimentalism towards the Greeks and the romantic myths surrounding the land of the "ancient miracle." Further, classical scholars' invocation of the Greek heritage as responsible for the birth of European civilization was of major significance in creating a sense of duty towards the modern Greeks. This idea soon developed into a hot debate as to whether or not the modern Greeks should be considered as the descendants of the ancient Greek "nation" that lived in the broad geographical region and used a similar alphabet and spoke the same language. All factors contributed to a greater or lesser extent to create on behalf of British philhellenes ethical and even sentimental support for the Greek declarations of political liberty. The moral and intellectual decadence of the Greek people, largely testified to by late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century travelers, was treated as the inescapable effect of protracted tyrannical rule and political oppression.

All forces (ideological, political, or philosophical) behind British philhellenism, as well as opposition to it, were channelled through the periodicals and can now be located in the entries listed in this guide. Distinguished members of the London Greek Committee contributed assiduously to periodicals, especially the radical Westminster Review, but also to the Edinburgh Review and elsewhere. Thus, the historian Henry P. Brougham (1778-1868), a leading figure behind the Reform Bill of 1832, and John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869)? Byron's lifelong friend, provided extensive and critical reviews of Sir William Gell's Narrative of a Journey in the Morea (1823) and William Martin Leake's Researches in Greece (1814). Brougham's article in the Edinburgh Review was a ruthless exposition of Gell's prejudicial and hostile presentation of the Greek people as well as a critique of his "inability" to appreciate that the Greek cause was crucial, not merely as "the cause of Greece, but as the cause of Freedom and Christianity." Hobhouse's earlier piece in the Edinburgh Review of 1815 was in effect a critique of Leake's philological qualifications, especially regarding the Greek tongue, in which the first signs of the ideological implications of the so-called "linguistic issue" are already present. A weighty article was published jointly in the Westminster Review of 1824 by Bowring, Bentham's literary executor, and Edward Blaquiere (1778-1832), a committed propagandist of the Greek cause. The two members of the Greek Committee were supposedly reviewing Byron's drama, the Deformed Transformed (London, 1824), but in
effect their essay was a passionate, forty-page commentary on the political developments in Greece following the revolution, through a lively narrative of Byron’s adventures in Greece from his arrival to his tragic death. The Greeks are presented as "lovers of liberty" who struggled for emancipation "from the yoke of their ignorant and cruel oppressors," yet suffering from intestine divisions and factions. The Westminster subscriber had the chance not only to read a sympathetic account of Greek affairs, but also to get a detailed report on events and activities at the scene of battle and be informed on intrigues and the protagonists’ personal relationships.10

The London Greek Committee and its activities during the war was the subject of reviews by Josiah Conder (1789–1855), editor of the Eclectic Review, and William Maginn (1793–1842), a poet and journalist. Conder was reviewing Colonel Leicester Stanhope’s Greece in 1823 and 1824 (London, 1824), a series of letters (chiefly with Bowring), and other documents on the Greek Revolution. Stanhope, a liberal ideologue, was actively involved in the struggle for Greek independence, and stamped himself as the representative of Bentham’s political doctrines in Greece.11 In his article, Conder singled out and reprinted an interesting letter to Bentham in which the persevering Stanhope presented a double-faceted picture: while confessing that there was a monopoly of entrenched power by "civil and military oligarchies" in the Peloponnese, he passed on a sense of optimism by commenting enthusiastically on the dissemination of "republican notions" among notable leaders. In his estimate, the prospects were bright: "Civilization and good government are gaining ground, chiefly through the means of publicity. . . . What is most wanted is a good representative body, some good prefects, good judges, and public writers."12 Unlike Conder, Maginn confessed his "aversion to the Greek committee," and bitterly criticized its "emissaries (especially Colonel Stanhope and Mr. Blaquiere) [who] took upon themselves the tone of high ministerial agents, and . . . styled themselves representatives of the people of England.” The philhellenes cared little about British interests, which Maginn believed coincided with Turkish ones, and hence sided themselves with an uncivilized people, ridiculously pleading for free press, representation, and liberty in the wilderness, selfishly aiming at the realization of the principles of Bentham on fresh soil. But who are the philhellenes?

They are principally of that class of politicians who think everything in all governments in the world wrongly managed. Some of them, theorising deeply, unsettle the foundations of all society, and show themselves on paper the only persons qualified to fabricate a consistent and well-working system of human affairs.13

A similar attempt at presenting to the public, under the veil of "impartiality," the complexity of the "Greek Question" through a study of official papers and reports on the activities of the philhellenes in Greece, was made by Henry Phillpotts (1778–1869), bishop of Exeter. The bishop confessed that he was not affected by "the phil-Hellenistic mania," his primary concern being to show the wider geostrateg’c implications of the Greek insurrection and its impact on British interests.
Travel Literature

Throughout the century, Victorian periodicals published several reviews of travel literature which not only may contribute to the reconstruction, or significant enrichment of the history of travel in Greece, but also are important as politically engaged works. The major issue has already been put in a nutshell by Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824) at the threshold of the century, in his review of the translation of Charles Sonnini, *Travels in Greece and Turkey* (London. 1801):

The cowardice, ignorance, and dishonesty of the modern Greeks continued long to be the theme of travellers, and particularly of the French. But is now discovered, that under these qualities are concealed the germs of everything great and heroic; that the valour of ancient Sparta, the elegance of Athens, and the refinement of Greece, wait only to be relieved from the barbarous oppressions of the Turks, to burst forth in all their original splendour.

There was much truth in Hamilton's statement. Before visitors and travelers had started to indulge in Hellenic nostalgia, embarking on an obsessed quest to trace classical survivals (an obsession which did not last forever), there was little interest in the people of Greece. Their relationship with the classical Greeks was denied, their religion was held responsible for their degeneracy, their physical appearance and manners were ridiculed. This indifferent and sometimes condescending treatment of the modern Greeks is typically represented in Gell, whom Brougham cites only to criticize:

That these wretched bigots may have no pretence for thinking themselves better than the rest of the world, on the strength of the ancient superiority of the Greeks, or their illustrious ancestry, it is only necessary to state, that not one in fifty has the slightest claim to be considered as descended from the ancient stock of the Greeks.

But the gloomy judgment was still vibrant in the 1830s, as shown for instance in the review of the poet Thomas Campbell (1777-1844). Campbell had no hesitation in subscribing to the judgment of Reverend Thomas Smart Hughes (1786-1847), who wrote in his *Travels in Greece and Albania* that the Greeks spoke "a barbarous [Greek] dialect," and that after centuries of "Turkish oppression," "[this once poetic land] instead of exhibiting youths and virgins that would be models for the painter and sculptor, it contains only a hard-featured race, worn down by labour and famine.

Henry J. T. Drury (1778-1841), a classical scholar, reviewed a number of travel books dealing with archaeological explorations, such as Peter O. Brondsted (1780-1842), *Voyages dans la Grece, accompagnes de Recherches archeologiques* (Paris, 1826) and Francois Pouqueville's (1770-1838) multi-volume *Voyage de la Grece* (Paris, 1826), and J. Rizos Neroulos's *Histoire moderne de la Grece* (Geneva, 1828). Were the Greeks, asked Drury, at this stage of their development, able to understand and appreciate the language of constitutional liberty, or the tenets of free press and universal education, such
as those propagated by Bentham's disciples? A degraded nation, wrote Drury, bearing the vices of protracted slavery, met with the widespread sympathetic treatment of classical students, who were naturally inclined—out of nostalgia and anxiety to recover the Hellenic Ideal—to parallel the ancient with the modern Hellenes. But was this the case?

To identify the two races, according to Drury, was to commit a gross and unpardonable mistake:

The nation of which we are speaking, is not to be compared with any other which has once reached civilization. . . . In no part of the world, probably, is there more misery, ignorance, and vain-glory. The inhabitant of Attica or the Morea, while he builds his hovel among the ruined temples of his supposed ancestors, identifies himself with their fame, and with those exploits which he is by no means calculate [sic] to imitate. He forgets, too, while he treads the soil of Hellas, that, in all probability, his blood is derived from parents far different from those he assumes to be so.  

Self-deception and vain-glory created among the inhabitants of modern Greece a pathological conviction, namely, that they are superior to "all men of all nations in intelligence, because [their] country once carried her arts and her arms over the civilized world." Such passionate self-worship and sentimental nationalist outbursts form, Drury argued, the distinctive element in Neroulos's *History*, a work abounding in "flippancy and puerility."

Changing perceptions about Greece and the Greeks are reflected in travel-book reviews, where there is a considerable variety of judgment and sentiment. Many reviews were, for different reasons, sympathetic to the Greek people. In his review of John Hartley's *Researches in Greece and the Levant* (London, 1831) and Thomas Milner's *History of the Seven Churches of Asia* (London, 1832), Conder expressed his disappointment at the "abandonment of Greece by our philosophical codificators, stock exchange philhellenists, and liberal regenerators," praising the Greeks for "having so great a reverence for the Inspired Records." The "Christians" of Greece, Conder protested, are definitely not as demoralized as represented in some condescending accounts of travelers in Britain. John Wilson Croker (1780-1857), politician and essayist, who reviewed Edward Giffard's (d. 1867) *A Short Visit to the Ionian Islands, Athens, and the Morea* (London, 1837), reported favorably on the Greeks because he observed speedy progress in communication facilities and the protection of antiquities. Typically, his review contains an independent commentary and political observations that make its reading important to the Greek scholar today.

**Historiography**

Victorian periodicals were also the chief means of information on the most recent developments on the battlefield; when this "romantic war" was over, there was a flow of memorabilia, diary notes, and various records, by army officers and interested philhellenes. There were such colorful accounts, as that of the philhellenic Captain William H. Humphreys, active volunteer
during the war; or, the record of the philhellene and former official of the Ionian government (he had been dismissed by Sir Thomas Maitland for his pro-Greek sympathies), James Hamilton Browne, which is still a graphic source of information about Byron, the rivalries between the Greek factions, and the negotiations between the European powers for the final settlement of Greek affairs. The Scott John Gait (1779-1839), the former merchant who helped the earl of Elgin's agents in removing the Parthenon Marbles, presented aspects of the Greek Revolution, Kapodistrias's policy, and Russian diplomacy, through his review of Thomas Gordon's two-volume *History of the Greek Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1832).

Historiographies of the war started to appear as early as the mid-1820s and reached a climax with the publication of the memorable *History of Greece* of George Finlay (see below). Reviewing them was in effect an opportunity, if not a pretext, for scholars and politicians to publicize their own judgment on Greek affairs. The reviews of Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859), the prolific novelist and economist, have passed totally unnoticed by intellectual historians and historians of philhellenism. His review of Gordon's *History* encapsulates the feelings of the philhellenes and remains a paradigmatic pattern of philhellenic analysis. This "eminently romantic" war, De Quincey wrote, was a revolution of Christendom in the "land of Timoleon and Epaminondas." At the outbreak of the war,

all mankind who were worthy to participate in the enterprise, seemed to be linked in brotherhood with Greece... [T]he belief that the poor Grecian... would soon reappear amongst the nations who had a name, in something of his original beauty and power... gave to every man the sense of an ennobling secret confided to his individual honour; and, at the same time, thrilled his heart with sympathetic joy, from approaching glories that were to prove a personal inheritance to his children."

A similarly fervent approach to Greek affairs would naturally find a receptive readership in the *Westminster Review*, which published a review of James Emerson's *History of Modern Greece* (London, 1830). According to the reviewer (who remains anonymous), the condition and prospects of Greece was a subject

encircled by such ennobling associations. Every liberal man regards it [Greece] as his parent soil, as almost the creator of the modern mind. To it we are indebted for the polite and liberal arts, and for the proudest example of all that is grand in intellect, or exalted in patriotism."

The *Foreign Quarterly* reviewer, James Murray (d. 1835), editor of the *Times*, similarly commented on a pamphlet published in Paris in 1830 with the title, *De l'Empire Grec et du jeune Napoleon*, which proposed the establishment of a Greek empire for the young Napoleon, with no less enthusiasm for the country of "Thermopylae... of Pericles and Epaminondas," the eye of all civilized mankind. For Murray, the Greeks who had been "rescued from the barbarism of the Turks" deserved an independent and sovereign state with its boundaries extended even to the coast of Asia Minor. Yet, the establishment of a
republican regime should be postponed, for the people of Greece are deplorably degraded and ignorant and cannot handle such a degree of political liberty. Democratic institutions in Greece would simply result in replacing Turkish oppression with anarchy and an oligarchy of bandits.

A central place in these periodical publications should be assigned to the articles of George Finlay (1799-1875), the historian of Greece. Finlay, a staunch philhellene, left Gottingen, where he was studying Roman jurisprudence at the local university, to join Byron and his friends in Cephalonia (November 1823). Afterwards, he became actively involved in the Greek War of Independence, at the close of which he bought an estate in Attica on the eastern slopes of Parnes and another property at Aegina. A significant number of unsigned contributions to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine (the authorship of which can now be safely ascribed to Finlay) have been identified; apart from insightful political comments, the following three contain useful autobiographical information: "An Adventure during the Greek Revolution," no. 52 (1842): 668-73; "The Actual Condition of the Greek State," no. 55 (1844): 785-96; and "Greece Again," no. 67 (1850): 526-39. Periodical articles were apparently written while he was writing the History of Greece (which is summarily discussed in the last section of this presentation), and may contribute to a better understanding of his rather gloomy and pessimistic approach to the Greeks, a pessimism that seems to have escalated as he grew older.

Sketches of Modern Greece

Throughout the nineteenth century, travel opportunities to Greece, combined with the rapid progress in navigation, kept Victorian readers constantly interested in travel literature, which in due course became increasingly associated with sociological analyses of modern Greek life intermingled with political observations. After independence, there was a new wave of tourism. Scholars of all specializations, clergymen, antiquarians, diplomats, and others traveled to Greece without the extreme uncertainties of their forerunners, but in the same adventurous vein. James Henry Skene's (1812-86) "Sketches of Modern Greece" was precisely an agreeable work of this nature. Skene, who lived in Greece between 1838 and 1844, gave a picturesque description of Athens, without omitting to relate the feelings of the Greeks toward the royalty and the new ministers. Together with prescriptions for remedying pathologies of Greek social and economic life (aimed, e.g., at the improvement of agriculture and the increase of population, then considered imperative), the interested reader was also provided with detailed pictures of the costumes of Greek ladies, of the character, customs, and physiognomy of the islanders, their language, and a long graphic presentation of "a Greek peasant's wedding." In a subsequent piece, Skene described his visit to "Marousi [which] is situated on the slope of the lower part of Pentelicus," with an extensive commentary on daily life, social habits, and infrastructure. Interestingly, in opening his article, Skene commented on the establishment of the Archaeological Society, expressing his hope that the Elgin marbles would be returned to Athens:
It is therefore to be hoped that wanton mutilations of the magnificent specimens of ancient Greek sculpture which have excited the hatred of the natives towards such sacrilegious travellers will at length be put a stop to, and that with time even the fallen temples will be restored to their original perfection. The Greeks entertain the most sanguine confidence in the generosity of the English, and venture to hope that when they shall have done all that lies in their power towards the reconstruction of these splendid monuments, the marbles so unwarrantably carried from the Acropolis and deposited in the British Museum will be returned to their rightful owners, in order to complete the work of restoration.

Like Skene, Octavian Blewitt (1810-84), secretary of the Royal Literary Fund and topographer, visited Greece (he and his colleagues departed from Alexandria with a French steam-frigate with the intention of visiting Constantinople, but tedious "quarantine regulations in Greece" forced them to proceed at once to Piraeus) and transmitted through Fraser's an informative account of modern Greece and the islands of the Aegean. The diplomat Charles Francis Fynes-Clinton (1814/15-44) visited Athens in the summer of 1842 and found that the modern Greeks were forever rescued from "slavery and barbarism." The vein of Clinton's narrative can be defined today as preeminently anthropological. On leaving Athens, and while aboard, he wrote in his diary:

And behold these swarthy boatmen,—examine their muscular limbs, their spreading shoulders, and broad, massive chests,—admire their finely-chiselled features, their most expressive countenances, their well-turned throats,—listen to their speech, and then say, are not these the sons of old Greece? As far as outward form and language go, her sons yet live . . ., and in the last struggle for independence they showed that centuries of slavery and misery had not quite extinguished every spark of the ancient fire, and that they were not utterly unworthy descendants of the heroes, the demigods of Marathon, of Salamis, and of Plataea.

In a more conventional vein, Henry Morley (1822-94), professor of literature at University College, reviewed Karl Gustav Fiedler's (1791-1853) Reise durch alle Theile des Konigreiches Griechenland (Leipzig, 1840). Fielder originally intended to trace the "mineralogical products" of the Greek mountains, but his survey of Greece resulted in "professional details . . . united [with] the notes of an observant and antiquarian traveller." Thus, Morley wrote,

[after following our author in turn through the various states of Greece, their beauties, their peculiarities, their products, together with their past and present appearance, we have next placed before us an elaborate botanical, as well as popular, account of the plants of the country, from the tall pine to the extreme verge of the vegetable kingdom, with the various ancient fables concerning them.

Morley filled more than thirty packed pages to relate all this fascinating material to the reader, not concealing his wish that "the now mined Greece" would be restored "to its former flourishing condition."
At least three reviews have been identified which are related to the journey of the distinguished classical scholar William Mure (1799-1860) in Greece in the spring of 1838. Throughout his Journal, Mure discloses his philosophical pleasure in ruins and antiquities, but there are also sardonic and even amusing observations on modern Greek social habits, which he considered as being "of classical descent." Nevertheless, Mure did not discover, as De Quincey noticed, "any remnant of the true Greek blood to parts of the ancient Hellas": he is rather confirmed "that if anywhere the Grecian blood remains in purity, the fact will be entirely without evidence"; and that, after all, it is definitely not for the filthy people of Greece that one should travel to Greece. Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868), once professor of poetry at Oxford, offered a more balanced and scholarly review of Mure's Journal, confessing at the outset that:

Travels in Greece are now inevitably doomed, like the country itself, to this singular and ill-harmonised contrast of the grey and venerable Ancient with the glaring and unimposing Modern. . . . The associations which stirred within at the thought of what Greece had been—Greece, the wreck of whose religion appeared in those pillars of unrivalled height or exquisite proportion—Greece, the sculptor of those living forms, fragments of which strewed the ground—Greece, whose history was crowding on the memory with all its stately and heroic names, whose poetry was sounding within our hearts, and whose philosophy perhaps had been our favourite study—what that Greece had been was more forcibly displayed by what it was, the dominion of that utterly unintellectual Barbarian, the possession of a rude iconoclastic Mahometan [sic].

It is exactly that "singular contrast" of "the grey and venerable Ancient with the glaring and unimposing Modern" which provided a constant framework of reference, not to say a literary canon, to a plurality of approaches to the study of nineteenth-century Greece.

Classical Scholars on Postrevolutionary Greece

Unlike visitors of the older generation (i.e., at the threshold of the nineteenth century) who were at first enthused over Greek mythology, rejoiced in drawing analogies between the ancient and the modern Greeks, and derived pleasure in Hellenic idealizing and nostalgia, yet became disenchanted after independence, classical scholars of eminence were more consistent in their Grecophilia. But even amongst them, we cannot identify a homogeneous or equally persistent championship of the Greek claims to their national origins. There was no coherently formulated idea of Greek nationalism even amongst classicists who had by definition a special relationship with the Greek world, however practically remote that world might have been. To relate the reaction of classical scholars in the light of the political and social change that took place in postrevolutionary Greece was, as said above, the incentive that eventually led to the recovery of this material. The contribution of classicists to this dis-
The connection of the modern Greeks with their classical ancestors, along with the linguistic question, constituted the two major concerns of the Victorian classicists listed in this guide. It should be remembered that the debate over the ethnic origin of modern Greeks, increasingly associated with intense political feelings, was inflamed in 1830 when Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) published at Stuttgart the first volume of his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea wahrend des Mittelalters*. In that book, Fallmerayer held that the inhabitants of modern Greece were mainly of Slav origin—the ancient race having been swept away by Slavic immigrants in the early Middle Ages. Fallmerayer's thesis suggested that the Greek language had suffered substantial alterations over the ages, eventually being transformed into a poorer version: Byzantinized or Christianized Greek. The Slavs who had occupied the Peloponnese and Attica later submitted to the Byzantine emperor, who brought with him a "barbaric" version of the authentic Greek language that was spoken in the region until the sixth century A.D. But for the opponents of Fallmerayer's heretical ideas, those who emphasized the alleged continuity of the "Hellenic race," the Greek language provided the undeniable link between ancient and modern Greece, representing an unbroken tradition.

These themes are dealt with at length in periodical articles by three Victorian classical scholars of eminence. The most prolific author was John Stuart Blackie (1809-95), Scottish professor of Greek at Edinburgh University. Blackie, a nationalist in politics as well as a fierce opponent of utilitarianism, was indefatigable in conveying to the British readers the latest developments in Greek politics, culture, and society through the periodical press. Following his return from a journey to Greece in 1853, he published a book, *On the Living Language of the Greeks*. In subsequent years he systematically employed modern Greek pronunciation for the ancient, and he established a traveling scholarship to enable students to learn Greek at Athens. In 1853, he reviewed for the *North British Review* the three-volume *Mittheilungen iiber Griechenland* by Christian August Brandis (1790-1867) and the *Neugriechische Anthologie* by Theodor Kind (1799-1868), both published in Leipzig in 1842 and 1847, respectively. This lengthy article constitutes one of the major sources on Blackie's Greek linguistic theory, oriented to practice, which was fundamentally linked to his perspective of the political developments in Greece.

Two more articles by Blackie were published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and the *Westminster Review*, the voice of the Radicals, in August and October 1854, respectively. The *Blackwood's* piece was a lengthy review of the first volume of Tricoupis's *History of the Greek Revolution*, published in London in 1853, and the third volume of the *History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815* by Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867) which largely explored Greek affairs. For Blackie, Tricoupis's work confirmed that the "language of Aristotle and Plato yet survives in a state of the most perfect purity." In the *Westminster* article, Blackie examined a host of newly published works on Greece, including Finlay's old and new historical books, as well as Hermann Hettner (1821-82), *Griechische Reiseskizzen* (Braunschweig, 1853) and

Another historian and classical scholar of distinction who published assiduously in periodicals was Edward A. Freeman (1823-92), Regius Professor of History at Oxford. Freeman was an authority on the development of ancient Greek civilization, and was a passionate supporter of modern Greece and the struggle of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans for independence. His periodical publications identified in this guide include: "The Greek People and the Greek Kingdom," *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 103 (1856): 286-422; an 1864 article, "Mediaeval and Modern Greece," for the *National Review*; and two articles in the *Fortnightly Review* (1879) and *Macmillan's Magazine* (1891) on the teaching of Greek at British schools and universities. In the 1864 article, his task was to review the work of Finlay, the complete four-volume set of Tricoupis's *History*, and the fifth and sixth volumes of Georg Gottfried Gervinus's (1805-71) *Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts sett den Wiener Vortragen* (Leipzig, 1855-66), a work that explored the history of modern Greece. In going through Freeman's 1864 piece, one should bear in mind the historical events that colored the Eastern Question—and eventually caused in England a violent anti-Greek sentiment. The uprising of Greece forty years ago, Freeman wrote, created a strong and distinctive current of philhellenism: "No sympathy could be too strong for the Greek rising in arms against the barbarian who held him as a captive in his own land, for the Christian rising in arms against the infidel." Things changed. The cause of Greece would have been served better if the sentimental attractions of her name had been less strong for two reasons: first, progonolatry in Greece, or a vague remembrance of an illustrious past, hindered the development of a "true and healthy national life"; second, that illustrious ancestry created among the philhellenes exaggerated expectations, while eventual disappointment led to a tone of depreciation toward everything Greek. All things considered, Freeman argued, Greece

has suffered alike from blind classical revivalism and from blind imitation of Western ideas and institutions. She has not had the opportunity of gradually developing, like other European states, from a healthy barbarism into a healthy civilisation. 

John Pentland Mahaffy (1839-1919) a versatile and prolific classical scholar and professor of ancient history at Trinity College, Dublin, published in 1878 an article entitled "Modern Greece," which has ever since remained buried in the massive volumes of the *Contemporary Review* and unnoticed by the historian of classical scholarship. Based on Finlay's final seven-volume edition of 1877, Mahaffy presented a number of critical remarks on modern Hellenism that require our attention and interpretation. His article sheds light on the way representative British literati of the time looked on Greek affairs as well as on their assessment of the claims and aspirations of the people of Greece. Both can be fruitfully contrasted with the political doctrines of the indigenous Greeks.
According to Mahaffy, if one turned to Finlay for answers to questions related to Greek nationality and culture he would be gravely disappointed. German scholarship contributed, on the other hand, to remedying that maltreatment of the modern Greeks, especially through the works of Adolph Ellissen, Johann Zinkeisen, and Ludwig Ross, who brought out facts inconsistent with the Slav theory. Finlay, Mahaffy believed, was throughout an uncompromising exponent of the faults and weaknesses of medieval and modern Greeks, possibly, according to Mahaffy, due to personal facts in his life ("the sense of failure in his life"). Finlay's gloomy picture of modern Greeks, together with the most exaggerated idealization of the classical Greeks by other sources, convinced European philhellenes that the present people of Greece were "miserably degraded" as compared to the ideal Spartan or Athenian types.

There are also other identified entries from distinguished classical scholars which testify to the variety of conviction toward the modern Greeks, e.g., William Young Sellar (1825-90), "Greece during the Last Thirty Years," North British Review (1863); Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb (1841-1905), "The Progress of Greece," Macmillan's Magazine (1879), and "A Plea for a British Institute at Athens," Fortnightly Review (1883); Walter Horatio Pater (1839-94), "The Marbles of Aegina," Fortnightly Review (1880); John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927), "Compulsory Greek: Reflections suggested by the Greek victory at Cambridge," Fortnightly Review (1891); and James Rennell Rodd (1858-1941), "A visit to the monasteries of Crete," New Review (1893).

Epilogue

Like every society in every age of post-Renaissance Europe, nineteenth-century Britain had its own version(s) of Hellenism. The present bibliographical guide is expected to help delineate that version, which is an integral part of the cultural history of Europe. To a certain extent, articles and reviews in this guide will show how the ideas of ancient Greece (humanistic Hellenism) provided conceptual mediations between the past and the present, and injected political discourse with a sense of an ever lively and eternally relevant Hellenism. But the nineteenth century was also marked by a strong wave of British philhellenism, which took the form not only of an enthusiastic preoccupation with Greek literature (classical and modern—such as travel books and novels), but also exploded into a variegated political activism. This guide does not, of course, only provide scraps of a prohellenist monologue. In effect, it also testifies to the fact that interest in Greece and the Greek people was prompted by a variety of influences, such as nationalism, religion, radicalism, and romanticism; and that verdicts over Greece differed according to each author's political and intellectual background. It is hoped that this guide stirs up new possibilities for the exploration of that great nineteenth-century dialogue over Greece by making easily accessible a large body of periodical material that in itself incorporates a mosaic of Victorian beliefs, political concerns, and moral experience.
Bibliography

1803

Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824)
Orientalist; professor of Sanskrit and Hindu literature at Haileybury

1815

John Cam Hobhouse (1786-1869)
Baron Broughton de Gyfford; Radical member of Parliament; active member of the Greek Committee in London; executor of Byron’s will
*William Martin Leake (1777-1860), Researches in Greece (London: J. Booth, 1814).

1821

Unidentified authorship


1823

Henry Peter Brougham (1778-1868)
Baron Brougham and Vaux; lord chancellor; founder of the Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1825) and London University (1828); historian and classical scholar

Unidentified authorship

1824

Unidentified authorship

Sir John Bowring (1792-1872)
Linguist; writer on political and economic issues; traveler; intimate friend of Jeremy Bentham; Radical member of Parliament and diplomat; editor of the *Westminster Review*, the Benthamites' and Radicals' voice (1824); secretary of the London Greek Committee

and Edward Blaquiere (1778-1832)
Philhellene; former Royal Navy lieutenant; writer on the Greek and Spanish Revolutions


Josiah Conder (1789-1855)
Bookseller and author; editor of the Nonconformist periodicals *Eclectic Review* (1814-37) and the *Patriot* (1832-55)


Sir John Bowring (see [7])


Unidentified authorship

1825

Thomas Jefferson Hogg (1792-1862)
Barrister; friend and biographer of Shelley


Giuseppe Pecchio (1785-1835)
Italian exile


1826

Sir John Bowring (see [7])

William H. Humphreys (n.d.)
Army officer

George Crolv (1780-1860)
Divine, author of numerous narrative and romantic poems; educated at Trinity College, Dublin

1827

William Maginn (1793-1842)
Poet, journalist, and writer; founder of *Fraser's Magazine* (1830); joint editor of the *Standard*

Unidentified authorship

1828

Iakovos Rizos Neroulos (1778-1850)
Fanariot Greek writer and diplomat

Leitch Ritchie (1800?-1865)
Novelist and, during the latter part of his life, editor of *Chamber's Journal*


Unidentified authorship

Henry Joseph Thomas Drury (1778-1841)
Scholar; fellow of King's College, Cambridge; master of Harrow lower school
1829

Unidentified authorship

James Murray (d. 1835)
Cited as an editor of the *Times* (ref. Wellesley Index)

1830

James Murray (idem)

Unidentified authorship

Thomas Campbell (1777-1844)
Poet; editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* (1820-30); lord rector of Glasgow University; buried in Westminster Abbey

John Cam Hobhouse (see [2])

Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869)
Bishop of Exeter (1830-69); strict disciplinarian in his diocese; opposed the Reform Bill in the House of Lords

1831

Charles Macfarlane (1799-1858)
Writer; traveler to Turkey (1827-29)
1832

John Stuart Blackie (1809-1895)
Scottish professor and prolific classical scholar; founder of the Hellenic Society, Aberdeen (1850); professor of Greek at Edinburgh (1852-82)

Josiah Conder (see [8])

1833

John Gait (1779-1839)
Scottish novelist; traveled with Byron from Gibraltar to Malta; visited Greece (1812); editor of the New British Theatre (1814-15); also published Life of Byron (1830)

Thomas De Quincey (1785-1859)
Novelist, prolific essayist and political economist; praised by J. S. Mill; aimed at popularizing German philosophy in Britain

Robert Walsh (1784-1859)
American journalist; secretary to the American ambassador in England

Unidentified authorship

1834

James Hamilton Browne (n.d.)
Scottish philhellene; friend of Byron; active in Greece during the War of Independence (1821-29)
Unidentified authorship


1835

Thomas Wright (1810-77)
Philologist and antiquary; educated at Trinity College, Cambridge

Josiah Conder (see [8])


1836

David Urquhart (1805-77)
Diplomat; served in Greek Navy (1827-28); surveyed Greek frontier (1830); later in life defended fanatically Turkish autonomy

Unidentified authorship


Robert Walsh (see [35])
[44] "Constantinople during the Greek and Turkish Revolutions," *Dublin University Magazine* 8 (August): 196-209.

John Thomas Ball (1815-98)
Barrister; lord chancellor of Ireland

1837

John Wilson Croker (1780-1857)
Politician and essayist; spoke against the Reform Bill and retired from Parliament on its passing; severely criticized by Macaulay

John Thomas Ball (see [45])
1838

Unidentified authorship


James Henry Skene (1812-86)
Son of Scot James Skene, who lived in Greece (1838-44)

Unidentified authorship

1840

James Augustus St. John (1801-75)
Traveler

Octavian Blewitt (1810-84)
Writer on topography; secretary of the Royal Literary Fund (1839-84); traveled in Greece

1841

Henry Morley (1822-94)
Professor of literature at University College, London; literary critic and biographer

*Karl Gustav Fiedler, Reise durch alle Theile des Konigreiches Griechenland (Leipzig, 1840).

Unidentified authorship
1842

Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868)
Professor of poetry at Oxford (1821-31); dean of St. Paul's (1849)
[57] "Mure's* Tour in Greece," Quarterly Review 70 (June): 129-57.

Thomas De Quincey (see [34])

Unidentified authorship

George Finlay (1799-1875)
Historian of Greece (History of Greece, 1844-61; last revised ed., 7 vols., 1877); went to Greece (1823) and took part in the War of Independence, at the close of which he bought an estate in Attica; died in Athens

1844

George Finlay (idem)

Charles Francis Fynes-Clinton (1814/15^14)
Diplomat

Charles Holte Bracebridge (1799-1872)
Country gentleman

1846

Sir William Grove (1811-96)
Man of science and judge; fellow of the Royal Society; professor of experimental philosophy, London Institution
John Saul Howson (1816-85)  
Dean of Chester (1867-85); author of several Pauline studies and archaeological works  
"George Nugent Grenville, Baron (1788-1850), Sketches in Greece, Egypt, and Palestine* (London: Lithographed and published by Dickinson and Son, [1845?]).

Unidentified authorship  

1847  
Unidentified authorship  

William Francis Ainsworth (?) (1807-96)  
Surgeon and geologist; founding fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (1830); editor of the *New Monthly Magazine*  

1849  
Unidentified authorship  

1850  
George Finlay (see [60])  

Andrew Valentine Kirwan (1804-70)  
Barrister  

George Stovin Venables (1810-88)  
Journalist; barrister; fellow and tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge  
Charles William Russell (1812-80)
  Divine; president of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; professor of ecclesiastical history; active in the Tractarian movement

1853

John Macgregor (1797-1857)
  Statistician and historian; member of Parliament, Glasgow (1847)

Sir John Colbome (1778-1863)
  First Baron Seaton; general; governor of the Ionian Islands (1843-49)

John Stuart Blackie (see [31])

1854

Austen Henry Layard (1817-94)
  Politician; excavator of Nineveh; Liberal member of Parliament; undersecretary for foreign affairs (1861-66)

Unidentified authorship
[80] "How to Deal with the Greeks," *Bentley's Miscellany* 35 (May): 441-56.

George Strachey (1828-1912)
  Divine; resident diplomat at the court of Saxony
John Stuart Blackie (see [31])

Unidentified authorship

George Finlay (see [60])
1855

Henry Lushington (1812-55)
Barrister; chief secretary to the government of Malta (1847-55)
1856

George Croly (see [15])

Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-92)
Historian; Regius Professor of History at Oxford (1884-92); published also on the classics; hon. L.L.D., Edinburgh (1884)
1857

Franklin Lushington (1823-1901)
Magistrate

Frederick Hardman (1814-74)
Novelist and journalist; foreign correspondent of the *Times* at Constantinople
1858

George John Cayley (1826-78)
Barrister
1859

Henry Reeve (1813-1895)
   Man of letters; editor of the *Edinburgh Review* (1855-95); hon. DCL, Oxford (1869)

Franklin Lushington (see [88])

Unidentified authorship

1860

Unidentified authorship

1863

Helen Taylor (1831-1907)
   Feminist; stepdaughter of John Stuart Mill

Unidentified authorship

William Young Sellar (1825-90)
   Professor of Greek at St. Andrews (1853-59) and Latin at Edinburgh University (1863-90)

William George Clark (1821-78)
   Shakespearean scholar; wrote a book on Greek travels, *Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel* (London: J. W. Parker, 1858)

Unidentified authorship
Herman Merivale (1806–76)
   Barrister; professor of political economy at Oxford; fellow of Balliol College; undersecretary for India

Frances Power Cobbe (1822–1904)
   Philanthropist and religious writer

George Finlay (see [60])

1864

Edward Augustus Freeman (see [87])

Alexander Charles Fraser (c. 1813–c. 1883)
   Divine

1865

Unidentified authorship

1866

Sir Edward Herbert Bunbury (1811–95)
   Ninth baronet of Mildenhall and Barton Hall, Suffolk; barrister; member of Parliament; geographer and archaeologist; author of the *History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans* (1879)

William James Stillman (1828–1901)
   American journalist

Sir Edward Herbert Bunbury (see [106])
1867

Thomas Woodbine Hinchliff (1825-82)
Barrister; president of Alpine Club

Signed: A Resident in Crete [William James Stillman (see [107])]

George William Kitchin (1827-1912)
Historian; dean of Winchester (1883-94) and Durham (1894-1912)

1869

William James Stillman (see [107])

Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-81)
Oxford Professor of Ecclesiastical History; dean of Westminster (1864-81)

1870

Unidentified authorship

Charles James Lever (1806-72)
Novelist; editor of the Dublin University Magazine (1842-45); British consul at Trieste (1867-72)

1871

Charles James Lever (idem)

William James Stillman (see [107])
1872

Matilda Barbara Betham-Edwards (1836-1919)
Writer on French life

1873

Philip Smith (1817-85)
Writer on ancient history

1874

Alexander Stuart Murray (1841-1904)
Classical scholar; keeper of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum (1886-1903)

Sir Hubert Edward Henry Jemingham (1842-1914)
Diplomat
[121] "Brindisi to Athens," Temple Bar 42 (September): 236-50.

James Davies (1820-83)
Classical scholar

1875

George Farrer Rodwell (b. 1842)
Science master at Marlborough College, Allibone

Sir John Pentland Mahaffy (1839-1919)
Divine and classical scholar; first professor of ancient history at Dublin (1869); provost of Trinity College, Dublin; prolific author on the history and literature of ancient Greece

Lady Frances Parthenope (Nightingale) Verney (1819-90)
Historical writer
1876

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98)
Statesman and author; entrusted by Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, secretary for colonies, with special mission to Ionian Islands; failed to quell agitation for their incorporation with Greek kingdom instead of remaining under British protectorate (1858-59)

1877

Sir Henry Brackenbury (1837-1914)
General and writer on military subjects; accompanied Wolseley to Cyprus (1878)

Humphrey Sandwith (1822-81)
Army physician; correspondent with the *Times*; published on political issues

1878

Sir John Pentland Mahaffy (see [124])

George Augustin Macmillan (1855-1936)
Publisher

Milliam Wolfe Capes (1834-1914)
Historian; fellow and tutor of Hertford College (1876-86)

Edward Augustus Freeman (see [87])

Thomas Hodgkin (1831-1913)
Historian; active Quaker
George John Shaw-Lefevre (1831-1928)
Baron Eversley; statesman; Liberal member of Parliament (1863-85)

Stratford Canning (1786-1880)
First Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe; diplomat; envoy to Constantinople to obtain recognition of Greek independence (1825); involved in Greek affairs

1879
Edward Augustus Freeman (see [87])
[136] "Shall We Give Up Greek?" Fortnightly Review 31 (February): 290-300.

Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb (1841-1905)
Professor of Greek at Glasgow (1875-89); visited Greece (1878); hon. LLD, Harvard; Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1889-1905); helped found the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1879) and the British School of Archaeology at Athens (1887)

George Augustin Macmillan (see [130])

Charles M. Church (1823-1915)
Canon of Wells

William Ewart Gladstone (see [126])

N. Kasasis (n.d.)

1880
James Baker (n.d.)
Army officer
Humphrey Sandwith (see [128])

Walter Horatio Pater (1839-94)
Scholar and humanist; fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford

George Augustin Macmillan (see [130])

William James Stillman (see [107])

1881
Richard Ridley Farrer (b. 1855/56)
Barrister

Alfred Austin (1835-1913)
Poet laureate; barrister; lead writer on foreign affairs for the *Standard* (1866-96); editor of the *National Review* (1887-95)

George Spencer Bower (1854-1928)
Barrister

Elizabeth Mayhew (Waller) Edmonds (n.d.)
Writer on Greek poetry

1882

Paul Balluet d' Estournelles de Constant (1852-1924)
Baron de Constant de Rebecque; diplomat

Alexander Stuart Murray (see [120])
1883

Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb (see [137])

James Theodore Bent (1852-97)
   Explorer and archaeologist; traveled abroad and studied local traditions and customs in Karpathos, Samos, and Thasos (1885-87); engaged in archaeological research on the coast of Asia Minor

1884

James Theodore Bent (idem)

1885

Alexander Stuart Murray (see [120])

Claude Vincent (n.d.)

Percy Gardner (1846-1937)
   Classical archaeologist and numismatist; professor of classical archaeology, Oxford (1887-1925); editor of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1880-96)

John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (1847-1900)
   Third marquis of Bute; educator

Signed: A Greek Statesman [Unidentified authorship]

1886

Demetrios Vikelas (Bikelas) (1835-1908)
   Greek historian
James Theodore Bent (see [154])

George Augustin Macmillan (see [130])

1887

James Theodore Bent (see [154])

Eliza Lynn Linton (1822-98)
Novelist

James Theodore Bent (see [154])

1888

Countess Mary Arabella Arthur (Cecil) Stewart (1850-1903)
Wife of Alan Plantagenet Stewart, tenth earl of Galway

James Theodore Bent (see [154])

Charles Edwardes (n.d.)
Writer

1889

Hannah Lynch (1859-1904)
Novelist; traveler
Demetrios Vikelas (see [161])

Charles Edwardes (see [172])

1890
Unidentified authorship

Charles Edwardes (see [172])

Signed: A Resident in Crete [William James Stillman (see [107])]

James David Bourchier (1850-1920)
Journalist; Times correspondent in the Balkan Peninsula with headquarters first at Athens, then at Sofia (1892-1918)

Percy Gardner (see [158])

John Stuart Blackie (see [31])

1891
George John Shaw-Lefevre (see [134])

Edward Augustus Freeman (see [87])
John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927)
Historian; classical scholar
1892

Charles Waldstein [later Sir Charles Walston] (1856-1927)
Archaeologist

Felicia Mary Frances Skene (1821-99)
Poet and novelist

1893

John Stuart Blackie (see [31])

Hannah Lynch (see [173])

James Rennell Rodd (1858-1941)
First Baron Rennell; diplomat and classical scholar; ambassador to Rome (1908-19)

John Cann Bailey (1864-1931)
Critic and essayist; educated at Haileybury and New College, Oxford

1894

John C. Paget (n.d.)
Architectural historian

William Miller (1864-1945)
Historian and journalist; Morning Post correspondent for Italy and the Balkans (1903-37); published Greece, Modern World series (London: E. Benn, 1928)
1895

Joannes Gennadius (1844-1932)
Greek diplomat

Ernest Arthur Gardner (1862-1939)
Classical scholar and archaeologist; director, British School of Archaeology at Athens (1887-95)

1896

James David Bourchier (see [181])


Signed: Ypsiloritis [Unidentified authorship]

Unidentified authorship


1897

Francis de Pressense (1853-1914)
Journalist

Henry Duff Traill (1842-1900)
Author and journalist; barrister; chief political writer for the Daily Telegraph (1882-97); editor of the Observer (1889-91)

William Metcalfe (1870-1950)
Divine

Malcolm MacColl (1831-1907)
High church divine and author; visited Eastern Europe (1876); hon. D.D., Edinburgh

Sir George Baden-Powell (1847-98)
Author and politician; Conservative member of Parliament (1885-98)
Joannes Gennadius (see [195])

Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff (1829-1906)
Statesman and historian

Lucien Wolf (1857-1930)
Anglo-Jewish leader

Frederick Augustus Maxse (1833-1900)
Admiral; political writer; wrote on social questions

Emile Joseph Dillon (1854-1933)
Philologist and journalist; correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* in Russia (1887-1914) and on special missions elsewhere (Crete, 1897)

Hugh Cecil Lowther (1857-1944)
Fifth earl of Lonsdale; sportsman, notable boxer and yacht-racer

Sir Ernest Nathaniel Bennett (1866-1947)
Army officer

Herbert Wrigley Wilson (1866-1940)
Journalist and writer on naval matters; assistant editor of the *Daily Mail* (1898-1938)

Emile Joseph Dillon (see [209])

Bennet Burleigh (d. 1914)
War correspondent

Sir Charles Edward Callwell (1859-1928)
Army officer (major general); military writer
Walter Burton Harris (1866-1933)
Journalist; traveler

Arthur Gaye (b. 1845/46, ref. Wellesley Index)
Oriel College, Oxford

William George Hutchison (b. 1873)
Editor and translator

1898

Ernest N. Bennett

John Stuart-Glennie (1829/30-1910)
Conveyancer; traveler

NOTES


2. Many articles, especially lengthy reviews of travel books, have been located at intervals at the British Library (London). Research has also been done at the Genndarios Library in Athens.

3. Needless to say, any help in filling that biographical lacuna and supplementing this record would be welcome.


5. These questions are dealt with in Kyriakos N. Demetriou, "Victorian Classicists and Modern Greece: A critical commentary on neglected periodical sources" (forthcoming).


13. William Maginn, "The Greek Committee," *Quarterly Review* 35 (1827): 232. Of course it would be wrong to generalize on this matter, for the Benthamites were not of one opinion regarding the character of the constitutional arrangements in postrevolutionary Greece.

15. They may contribute to a new history of travel in Greece inasmuch as they call attention to little known or even entirely neglected sources.


19. Henry Joseph Thomas Drury, "Greece," *Foreign Quarterly Review* 3 (1828): 215. Equally hostile treatment of the modern Greeks can be found in George John Cayley, "An English Scholar in Greece [being a review of W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus: Notes of Study and Travel* (London, 1858)]," *Fraser's Magazine* 58 (1858): 287: the modern Greeks "are a typeless, mongrel refuse of humanity, without the slightest link of derivation from the noble old races. . . . They have attempted to revive the old language in their literature, and to appropriate the ancient glories of an extinct Hellenism. But it is a mere theatrical playing at nationality."

20. Compare, however, the critical remarks against the Orthodox Church in George Croly (1780-1860), author and clergyman, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, "The Greek Church," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 79 (1856): 304-13.


30. James Augustus St. John’s (1801-75) “Modern Travellers and Travelling” (Monthly Chronicle 5 [1840]: 49-59) was addressed to prospective tourists to Greece, as was the anonymous (and still of unidentified authorship) "A Sporting Adventure in Arcadia: From the Journal of an Officer in the Greek Service" (New Monthly Magazine 62 [1841]: 397-405). At the same time, John Murray published his Handbook for Travellers in Greece (London, 1854), a popular work which by the end of the century went through seven editions.


44. John P. Mahaffy, who did not cite his sources, is probably referring to: Adolph E. Ellissen (1815-72), Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur (Leipzig, 1855-60), 5 vols.; vol. 2, Die Franken im Peloponnes (Leipzig, 1856); Johann W. Zinkeisen (1803-63), Geschichte der griechischen Revolution (Leipzig, 1840), 2 vols;
idem, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Anfange geschichtlicher Kunde bis auf unsere Tage* (Leipzig, 1832); idem, *Das vierte Stadium oder das jüngste Jahrhundert und die Zukunft der orientalischen Frage* (Leipzig, 1859); Ludwig Ross (1806–59), *Urkunden zur Geschichte Griechenlands im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1837); and idem, *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königin Amalie, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Topographie und Geschichte aufgezeichnet* (Halle, 1851).

45. Mahaffy’s *Social Life in Greece: From Homer to Menander* (1st ed. [London: Macmillan, 1874]) was, as he confessed, an attempt to form a more reasonable estimate on this matter. By removing classical prejudices, one would see that both the virtues and the vices of the modern Greeks have their prototypes in ancient times.

46. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2d ed. [1989]), a divine is “One who has officially to do with ‘divine things’; formerly, any ecclesiastic, clergyman, or priest; now, one skilled in divinity; a theologian.”