

The Globetrotter: Cosmopolitan Travel, Connecting Cultures and Conjuring the
'Authentic' East, 1870-1920

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This thesis is submitted for a Postgraduate Research Degree in History

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26 June 2019

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Date

Abstract:

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Globetrotters were a new type of nineteenth-century traveller created from the confluence of three historic developments: British imperial dominance in India, the new presence of Britons in Chinese and Japanese Treaty Ports, and the improvements of steam technology, railway networks and the engineering that produced the Suez Canal. These technological advances accelerated the compression of time and space which meant that not only were the British colonies, with their mercantile and military concerns, nearer to home, but that tourists could 'trot' around the world in a matter of months. This dissertation considers how the gaze of globetrotters developed and changed during the period between 1870, when the opening of the Suez Canal promoted greater accessibility to the 'East', and 1920, when luxury Cruise Liners changed the culture of travel. Globetrotters' collections and accounts brought something new to those at home: the global East, which notwithstanding their 'orientalist' view, distinguished among Asian cultures. Travellers chronicled a 'cultural' journey of distinct cultures and customs that both challenged and confirmed pre-existing tropes of the 'East' by conjuring their own 'authentic' version through their experiences and the objects they brought home. They also charted a journey, that of the transformation of self through mutual encounter with local populations. In this dissertation, chapters assessing globetrotters' experiences through the cultural engagement of networks, space, food and collecting will explore these developments through three overarching themes: the gaze and mutual encounter, social distinction and authenticity, and cosmopolitanism and the differentiated East of India, China and Japan.

Impact Statement:

Points: This dissertation considers nineteenth-century leisure travellers, or globetrotters, to the East who were neither engaged in Empire nor exploration. These travellers were at the edges of imperial society but at the centre of the technological developments that facilitated their travel between 1870-1920. The aim is to understand the wider impact that these travellers had in culturally producing a differentiated East of India, China and Japan that both challenged and confirmed British perceptions.

I have taken a cross-disciplinary approach for this dissertation, analysing texts in conjunction with image and object to understand the meanings in the way that British travellers interacted with the 'other' of the East. In taking this approach I was able to ascertain how the cultures of the East represented by India, China and Japan were already perceived before globetrotters even left home. I also explore how experiencing these sites comparatively challenged tropes and contributed to a differentiated idea of these countries. On their return, the objects that these travellers brought home with them served as a material memorial not only to the East but to the transformative impact that travel had. The influence of these globetrotters stretched beyond their own time, as the perspective or gaze that they turned on the world has both influenced and been adopted by travellers today.

Within the academy, this dissertation illustrates a strand of experience of the East that while underpinned by empire, challenged it and often departed from imperial vantage points to access what was believed to be an authentic experience. It illustrates the way that empire was used by travellers who were on the edge, not formally part of imperial structures of rule, to facilitate global experiences. This dissertation also contributes to discourse on the nature of the gaze and cosmopolitanism. By taking an object centred viewpoint there is ample means to disseminate this dissertation's findings through exhibitions and publications aimed at both academic and non-academic audiences.

Outside of the academy the Worker's Education Association (WEA) in conjunction with regional museums (Hastings Museum and Art Gallery and the Brassey Institute) are using the approaches that I have taken in this dissertation. A series of workshops engaging community groups that include traditional audiences in addition to those groups who are considered vulnerable, refugee groups and recovering substance abusers, have taken place in 2018. Additional sessions are planned for the future to turn what is ostensibly an 'outsiders' gaze on contemporary Britain. Just as globetrotters challenged the meanings of troped objects, making them representative of their travels and encounters with the cultures of India, China and Japan, so too will these groups consider what are the troped objects that represent twenty-first century Britain and how they might use these objects to challenge or confirm their experiences.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation originated from an interest in travel furniture. Those seemingly quirky eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ‘metamorphics’ that could be broken down and reconfigured in a number of ways — for example a chest of drawers that could turn into two travel trunks. Whole suites of furniture could be broken down and moved from ship to shore with relative ease. This naturally led me to consider the mechanics of how people moved around the globe in the nineteenth century. Finally, it developed into an interrogation of globetrotting and its cultural impact.

I am extremely grateful that I have been very fortunate to develop these ideas with the patient, supportive and always insightful Professor Margot Finn and Dr Lily Chang at University College London. Dr Rebecca Jennings, who advised me later in the project was also tremendously helpful.

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The Globetrotter: Cosmopolitan Travel, Connecting Cultures and Conjuring the 'Authentic' East, 1870-1920

Introduction:

Figure 1: Carew Davies Gilbert in a jinrikshaw, Yokohama. Photographer unknown, 1878. East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), Japan Album, GIL 4/385, 1.

The nights too are pleasant, watching the ship cleaving her way...through a shining sea sparkling ever and anon, with flashes of brilliant phosphorescence, with no cloud above to mar the view of those 'isles of light', nor waves below to ruffle the calm serenity of the deep; all around breathed peace and repose to mind and body. These are the sentiments of a Globe Trotter, whose business is to see sights.¹

I doubt whether the Anglo-Indian can find so much enjoyment travelling about the Far East as his brother globe-trotter straight from home. To the latter everything is new, and if not everything pleases, yet at least this novelty is interesting and in itself a source of pleasure.²

Nearly twenty years and vastly different perspectives separated the travel accounts of Egerton Laird (1848-1912) and C.R. Sail (fl. 1890), yet both adopted the persona of a globetrotter to frame their travel experiences for their

¹ Egerton K. Laird, *Rambles of a Globe Trotter in Australia, Japan, China, Java, India, and Cashmere*, 2 volumes (Birkenhead: printed for private circulation, 1875), 2: 223.

² C.R. Sail, *Farthest East, and South and West: Notes of a Journey Home through Japan, Australasia and America by an Anglo-Indian Globe-Trotter* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1892), 5.

readership. Globetrotters were leisure travellers, popularly portrayed in the press, and sometimes by themselves, as cultural gadflies who thrived on experiences of superfluous difference. Understanding what the persona of globetrotters represented and how their narratives shaped popular discourse on the routes and experiences of the 'East' is central to this dissertation. Laird, for example, appeared to epitomize the caricature of the globetrotter: he was the son of a wealthy ship-builder from Birkenhead, who embarked on his world tour in 1871 and would inherit £20,000 three years later that financed further travels.³ In comparison, C.R. Sail was a British Civil Servant in India, who for his own published account of his travels, undertaken while on furlough, adopted the viewpoint of a globetrotter to see a familiar world through the lens of novelty. That Sail identified himself as an Anglo-Indian, who had repeatedly encountered globetrotters during his 11-year residence in India, indicated that this new type of world traveller held an additional resonance in the 'East'.⁴

Although scholars acknowledge the impact of these tourists, they have not meaningfully analysed what globetrotters contributed to public discourse and perceptions of the 'East'. For example, Robert Bickers noted the 'power of tourists' to shape landscapes in the 'East' while Elizabeth Chang acknowledged that tourists made an important contribution to travel writing but analysed publications written for them, by experts and residents, not by globetrotters themselves.⁵ James Buzard demonstrated that the voices of those who identified

³ 'Will of the Late Mr. John Laird, M.P.', *Manchester Times*, 30 January 1875, 5.

⁴ 'The Globe-Trotter who writes a Travel Book', *The Times of India*, 27 August 1892, 4.

⁵ Robert Bickers, 'Shanghaianders and Others: British Communities in China, 1843-1957' in Robert Bickers, ed., *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas*

themselves as tourists were viewed by contemporary writers and reviewers as superficial, and were often the targets of satire in popular culture.⁶ In the quote above, Laird identified himself as a mere sightseer implying that he followed rather than set the itinerary, seeking out sites that, as John Urry has noted, were pre-existing cultural signposts.⁷ Yet in that same description Laird referred to Byron and the 'isles of light', drawing on the Romantic picturesque experienced by elite travellers of the late Grand Tour. He thereby simultaneously exercised the gaze of the 'anti-tourist' who sought distinction in voicing a deeper cultural knowledge.⁸ Conversely, Sail began from the viewpoint of an anti-tourist, using the 'authentic' voice of a long experienced resident of the East, and employed the tourist gaze to re-exoticise the familiar. In both cases they deployed what ultimately was a consciously self-reflexive globetrotter gaze to convey a certain vision of the 'East'.

This dissertation assesses how the globetrotting gaze developed and changed during the period between 1870, when the opening of the Suez Canal promoted greater accessibility to the 'East', and 1920, when luxury Cruise Liners changed the culture of travel. Chapters assessing globetrotters' experiences through the cultural engagement of networks, space, food and collecting will be connected by three overarching themes: the gaze and mutual encounter; social distinction and authenticity; and cosmopolitanism and the differentiated East of India, China and Japan. Together these chapters will consider how globetrotters

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 284-5; Elizabeth Chang, ed., *British Travel Writing from China, 1798-1901* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2010), xix.

⁶ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 105-9.

⁷ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, second edition (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 1-3.

⁸ Dean MacCannell, 'Tourist Agency', *Tourist Studies*, 1 (2001), 36.

confirmed and challenged pre-existing tropes of the 'East' by conjuring an 'authentic' iteration through their experiences and collecting, ultimately transforming the self through travel.

The Globetrotters' Gaze: Optics and Agency in Eastern Encounters

In *The Tourist* (1976), an early study of tourism as a cultural production, Dean MacCannell asserted that the quest for the authentic cultural experience, a desire to see 'behind the scenes' at the everyday life of the 'other', was the driver of twentieth-century tourism.⁹ Following on from MacCannell, John Urry developed the idea of the 'tourist gaze', which was directed towards pre-agreed 'signposts' or signifiers of cultural experience that in turn created a sense of both anticipation and pilgrimage.¹⁰ The attainment of these signposts, rather than the experience of authenticity itself, was what to Urry constituted the successful outcome of touristic travels.¹¹ Signposts or experiences were not unique to the late twentieth-century tourism that MacCannell and Urry examined. Rosemary Sweet noted that the creation of signposts and direction of the gaze was evident in the accounts of British Grand Tourists to the European Continent during the long eighteenth century, when the Italian cities of Florence, Rome, Naples and Venice were identified and characterised by specific sites and experiences.¹² The globetrotting leisure tourists emergent in the 1870s, used the optics of the Romantic Grand Tour, as Egerton Laird did in evoking Byron, to convey a newer

⁹ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 155-6.

¹⁰ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 46-7.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Rosemary Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c. 1690-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 20-2.

version of a culturally elite global tour. The reference to the Romantic Grand tour underscored what it was that drove globetrotters eastwards: a perception that the continent had been spoilt by an increase in middle-class tourists who were not equipped in terms of their education or interests to fully appreciate the continental experiences.¹³ In tourist literature to the East, this optic was combined with an imperialist viewpoint, indicating that the new global tour was buttressed by the infrastructure of Empire. In India, for example, *Cook's Indian Tours* (1885) recommended a boat trip on the Brahmaputra River, designated the 'Rhine of India', which would take in the plantations of Assam, cultivated to produce tea for the British market.¹⁴

Adrian Franklin argued against both MacCannell's assessment that tourism was an escape from modernity and Urry's thesis that it was based on the passive consumption of signposts. Franklin asserted that tourism must be considered as a performative experience.¹⁵ He cited Thomas Edensor's exploration of touristic practice at the Taj Mahal. Edensor maintained that visitors to the site enacted a social performance of tourism.¹⁶ However Edensor's analysis of touristic performance, which involved gazing and photography, tied much more closely to Urry's thesis that one of the aims of tourism was the

¹³ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture', 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 120.

¹⁴ Thomas Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours: Programme of Cook's New System of International Travelling Tickets, embracing every point of interest between India and Egypt, Palestine, Central Europe, Great Britain, America, Japan, China, Australia, New Zealand, and all parts of the globe with maps* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1885), 77.

¹⁵ Adrian Franklin, 'The Sociology of Tourism', in Tazim Jamal and Mike Robinson, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* (London: Sage, 2009), 66-7.

¹⁶ Tim Edensor, *Touring the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site* (London: Routledge, 1998), 200.

attainment of signposts. This was further confirmed by interviews that Edensor conducted with tourists who saw the site as a place for contemplation and reflection.¹⁷ Globetrotters sought signposts in sites like the Taj Mahal, the Great Wall in China and the grandeur of Mount Fuji in Japan. They also, as demonstrated from the words of Egerton Laird, turned a self-reflexive gaze on these sites. Yet they were not passive spectators. Their tourism was active in that they sought cultural engagement with the 'other' and engaged in activities that would in turn 'other' themselves. It is the nature of that engagement and what it signified for globetrotters that will be explored in this dissertation.

While travellers' handbooks aided in the construction of a gaze, globetrotters also appeared to have deployed what MacCannell argued was the second, simultaneous gaze of the anti-tourist.¹⁸ He theorized that a traveller might gaze at certain signposts but at the same time look beyond them to 'everyday' settings to glimpse the authentic thereby confirming the significance of their travels.¹⁹ James Buzard developed the idea that the simultaneous gaze was deployed by nineteenth-century tourists on their travels in Europe to differentiate themselves from Cook's tourists. The latter were perceived by their contemporaries to be flooding the sites once revered by Grand Tourists, but who lacked the sensibility, conferred by the privilege of class, to fully appreciate their experiences.²⁰ Buzard noted that the anti-tourist gaze was expressed through the language of the Romantic sublime, enhanced through the search for places that although still situated on the 'beaten track' were not the well-visited

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 101-5.

¹⁹ MacCannell, 'Tourist Agency', 155.

²⁰ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 58.

'signposts' designated by Urry. This demarcation in turn, served to differentiate the anti-tourist from the perceived hordes of Cook's tourists, not only offering a means of personal distinction for travellers, but also promising meaningful cultural engagement 'behind the scenes' of those sites staged for tourists.²¹ This dissertation builds the work of these scholars of European tourism by considering how globetrotters refined and deployed this optic in their own narratives as they moved further Eastwards in the course of the nineteenth century. This eastward mobility was gained by exploiting technologies and amenities established for those involved in the politics and economics of western imperial interventions.

The use of an optic entrenched in the Romantic sublime, while linked to the Grand Tour, was also tied to Orientalism. This, as understood by nineteenth-century travellers, was part of the Romantic Movement and its darker side, the Gothic. It was a way of seeing that characterised the 'East' as a place of lush exoticism imbued with a degree of the supernatural conveyed in the opiate dreams of Coleridge's *Kubla Khan* (1816). Thomas Moore's epic poem *Lalla Rookh* (1817) cast Persian and Kashmiri landscapes in a Byronic style creating a sense of place imbued with Romantic sensibility.²² Globetrotters were aware of these associations and used them in their own travel accounts. For example, Robert Nicholas Fowler used a verse from *Lalla Rookh* to describe his own moonlight walk through the Japanese city of Kyoto in 1877.²³ The application of

²¹ Ibid, 93.

²² Andrew Rudd, "'Oriental' and 'Orientalist' Poetry: The Debate in Literary Criticism in the Romantic Period", *Romanticism*, 13 (2008), 53.

²³ 'To see it by moonlight, when mellowly shines/The light o'er its palaces, gardens, and shrines' from *Lalla Rookh* quoted in Robert Nicholas Fowler, *A Visit*

a poetic description of Kashmir to Kyoto, two very different cultures, highlights a point of interrogation that will be considered in this dissertation. For example, did Fowler and his fellow travellers view their journeys through India, China and Japan as those of interchangeable 'Eastern' cultures, or were they using an older imagery to express the 'mystery' of newer sites? Further, this use of older imagery must be considered in terms of which sites globetrotters described in the language of the sublime in the course of their travels.

Edward Said reconceptualised Romantic Orientalism in his influential and contentious work, *Orientalism* (1978), adding a political dimension to the interpretation of cultural tropes of the East, which he argued worked to create an 'East/West' binary.²⁴ His further work, *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) considered how texts, specifically novels were employed by western writers to assert and justify imperial practice.²⁵ However, Kate Hill has argued that the binary Said created, where western writers defined an Eastern 'other', assumed that the 'other' had no agency. She concluded that Said's East/West binary was an 'overly reductive' means of analysing travel writing.²⁶ Hill herself used Mary Louise Pratt's 'contact zone' in framing her own interrogation of travel and material culture. Pratt's concept of a 'contact zone' acknowledged the inequalities within the balance of power between western travellers and the 'other' but also gave the latter a degree of agency.²⁷ Pratt's idea of the contact

to Japan, China and India (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877), 49.

²⁴ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 248-53.

²⁵ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1994), 76-7.

²⁶ Kate Hill, ed., *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), 2-3.

²⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, second edition (London: Routledge, 2008), 8.

zone, as used by Hill is fruitful in considering not only how both western globetrotters and eastern residents negotiated encounter, but also in examining the shifting balance of power between the two. This did not always favour globetrotters, who as travellers in an unfamiliar landscape and culture often found themselves in the position of 'others'. Additionally, Christine Guth noted in her study of nineteenth-century travellers in Japan, that their experiences were defined by a mutual encounter with the Japanese.²⁸ The gaze, then, is not necessarily the passive experience for either the viewer or the viewed, but instead one of mutual encounter. This must be considered not only in the context of how this exchange allowed the tourist to experience the 'other' directly but also how these objects of the tourist gaze experienced being the 'other'.

Social Distinction and the Authentic Experience

Pierre Bourdieu defined social capital as a set of signifiers — possessions, activities, modes or manners — that were employed aspirationally to express alignment with a higher social class and differentiation from those viewed as social inferiors.²⁹ Most nineteenth-century globetrotters were financially elite, possessing the funds required for a global journey that took at the very least up to a year, but often lasted several.³⁰ However, none of the travellers who feature

²⁸ Christine Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), xv.

²⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in Imre Szeman and Timothy Kaposy, *Cultural Theory: An Anthology* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2011), 82.

³⁰ Arthur Drummond Carlisle travelled for just over twelve months, Arthur Drummond Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870: An Account of a Brief Tour made through India, China, Japan, California, and South America* (London: H.S. King & Co., 1872), v-viii; Egerton Laird spent just under two years on his travels, Laird,

in this dissertation were formally part of aristocratic circles, although the majority had social backgrounds indicative of personal wealth and thereby access to ‘distinction’. The earliest traveller, Arthur Drummond Carlisle (travelled 1870-1871), had graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge shortly before his world tour. His account *Round the World in 1870* was published in 1872, [Figure 2] the same year he took up the post as Assistant Master at Repton School; later that year he began teaching at Haileybury College, long associated with the education of British imperial officials.³¹



Figure 2: Frontispiece and Title Page from *Round the World in 1870*, showing the route Carlisle took on his world tour. Arthur Drummond Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870: An Account of a Brief Tour made through India, China, Japan, California, and South America* (London: H.S. King & Co., 1872). Collection: British Library, 10026.g.17.

Carlisle’s trot around the world was one of the early journeys of this growing group of travellers that would increase throughout the 1870s and 1880s. Just as Carlisle returned home in 1871, Egerton Laird set out from Birkenhead, taking nearly two years to travel around the world. He published an account of his time abroad, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter in Australia, Japan, China, Java, India, and Cashmere* (1875), which was the first time that the term

Rambles of a Globetrotter, 2: 359; Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes travelled from 1885-6, Merton Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad: An Autobiography of an Octogenarian*, 2 volumes (Bournemouth: for private circulation, 1921), 2: 375.

³¹ ‘Arthur Drummond Carlisle’, ‘Obituary’, *The Times*, 7 March 1929.

globetrotter was used.³² Carew Davies Gilbert (travelled 1877-1878) was the only child of landed gentry and owned property in Sussex and Cornwall [Figure 1].³³ Charles James Lucas (travelled 1877-1879) was the son of Charles Thomas Lucas who founded the building firm Lucas Brothers. They built Covent Garden Opera House (1858), Royal Albert Hall (1871) and Alexandra Palace (1873). Annie and her husband Merton Russell-Cotes (travelled 1884-1886) were engaged in the hotel trade. They owned and operated the Royal Bath Hotel in Bournemouth, and he was given the mayoralty of the town in 1894.³⁴ Their near travel contemporary, Percy Powell-Cotton (travelled 1889-1891) was the eldest son in a family that had a long association with the East India Company. He was born in Margate and divided his time between London and, as a teenager, Quex Park, the estate that his father purchased in Birchington, Kent.³⁵ Both the Russell-Cotes and Powell-Cotton would create their own museums with their world tour objects forming part of the founding collections. Frederick Diodati Thompson (travelled 1891-1893) was a wealthy American globetrotter. An elite member of New York society, he was also a member of the Knickerbocker and Union Clubs, Sons of the Revolution, Society of Colonial Wars, and a trustee of the

³² Egerton Laird's position in society was outlined in an article published in the *Cheshire Observer*, Saturday, 6 May 1882. He was the son of John Laird, the Birkenhead shipbuilder. On his father's death in 1874, the firm became known by the title of Laird Brothers although Egerton and his older brother Macgregor were excluded from active roles in the family business.

³³ A history of the Gilbert family and brief biography of Carew Davies Gilbert is part of the archive and administrative history of the Gilbert Collection, East Sussex Record Office (hereafter ESRO), ACC8859/3/G/59.

³⁴ Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 1: 1-14.

³⁵ Alison Bennett, 'Quex Park Case Study: Major Percy Powell-Cotton: The Collector', *East India Company at Home* (blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/quex-park-case-study), accessed, 18 April 2017.

New York Genealogical Society.³⁶ Christine Guth noted that the American experience in Japan was different to that of the British. However, the inclusion of Thompson in this dissertation, shows how British perceptions were adopted and adapted by American travellers. The similarity in the views expressed by Thompson also challenged ideas of British exceptionalism.

The last, and latest globetrotter examined in this dissertation was Nancy Dearmer (travelled 1916-1919), who had other financial resources than family wealth that allowed for her global travel. She travelled to India in 1916 on her wedding trip. Her new husband Percy Dearmer was a 'celebrity' vicar later known for working with composer Ralph Vaughan Williams on the hymnal *Songs of Praise* (1926) and broadcasting a programme of the same name on BBC radio from 1933-1936.³⁷ The Dearmers were able to afford a lavish wedding trip because Percy arranged a lecture tour with the YMCA, which paid for all travel and accommodation as long as he had a lecture scheduled.³⁸

One of the attractions of globetrotting was the social prestige that was potentially conferred from a world tour, particularly one where travellers had entrée to the colonial elite in India, mandarins in China and the Meiji Emperor's court in Japan.³⁹ The period that globetrotting was at its height, 1870-1920, saw sweeping changes to the identity of globetrotters as groups of wealthy young men, for example the 'young looking lords "doing" the East' encountered by

³⁶ Mrs. Martha J. Lamb and Mrs. Burton Harrison, *History of the City of New York: Its Origin, Rise and Progress* (New York: A.S. Barnes & Co., 1877), 3: 637.

³⁷ Nancy Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), 146-7.

³⁸ Nancy Dearmer letters, Mss Eur 326: 1916-1918, British Library (BL), bound volume, Hong Kong, 8 March 1918, 316.

³⁹ Laird, *Rambles of a Globetrotter*, 2: 154-6; Frederick Diodati Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun: Readings from the Diary of a Globe Trotter* (London: William Heinemann, 1893), 24-5; Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 2: 449, 471.

missionary Maria Hay Murray Mitchell in Madras in 1876, to increasing numbers of women and family groups.⁴⁰ This was due, in part, to the development of shipping routes across the East under the auspices of Britain, America, France, Germany, China and Japan that reflected the growing imperial expansion of western powers. This in turn allowed for greater speed and ease of travel. For globetrotters, the cultures they experienced, individuals they encountered, and objects they collected contributed to a sense of social prestige, a type of unofficial 'ennoblement' gained from having undertaken a global tour.

Philip Pearce and Gianna Moscardo noted that through the experience of what is believed to be authentic, social status is enhanced and distinction is attained.⁴¹ This in part helps to frame the question of what globetrotters styled as authentic in their narratives and why they pursued it. MacCannell noted that 'all tourists embody a quest for authenticity' and that even experiences clearly staged by locals for touristic consumption were still representative of cultural difference and thereby treated as authentic.⁴² However, MacCannell acknowledged that much of what tourists perceived to be authentic, for example, behind the scenes tours, were in reality staged.⁴³ Although a genuine construction of the authentic does not exist, the point is not that tourists' experiences were genuinely authentic but, as Erik Cohen had argued, that there

⁴⁰ Maria Hay Murray Mitchell, *In India: Sketches of Indian Life and Travel from Letters and Journals* (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1876), 57; Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 15-16.

⁴¹ Philip L. Pearce and Gianna M. Moscardo, 'The Concept of Authenticity in Tourist Experiences', *Journal of Sociology*, 22 (1986), 121-132.

⁴² MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 101-5.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 160.

were a set of experiences that constituted authenticity to them.⁴⁴ How then did globetrotters construct the authentic before they set out and how did their experiences alter these constructions? Particularly since intrusion of the 'authentic' into much anticipated experiences of the East, like the idealised Kashmir portrayed in *Lalla Rookh*, was not always pleasurable. In globetrotters' accounts there is a commonality of experience in Kashmir: instead of encountering the expected idyll of *Lalla Rookh*, it proved cold and rainy, and local souvenir salesmen were relentless.⁴⁵ Although experience fell short of the imagined reality, the objects themselves, acquired on these journeys, took on a degree of the authentic. They were representative of these dissonant experiences, even though the same object might be easily purchased at home. The authentic then was created through a blending of expectation and experience. In some cases it was at odds with what was expected. In others, such as the tea terraces of China, it represented a confirmation of the existence of Chinese landscapes that had been represented in Britain through Chinese export paintings.⁴⁶ Ultimately, these 'authentic' experiences were a means used by globetrotters to locate themselves within the landscapes of the 'East'. Each experience was specific to country and culture.

The authentic was not only to be experienced: globetrotters also materially acquired it. Their collections of souvenirs, Susan Stewart noted, were

⁴⁴ Erik Cohen, 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15 (1988), 378.

⁴⁵ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2: 259; Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Dunga 484, Srinigar, 20 May 1917, 236.

⁴⁶ Craig Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), 7.

material representations, supporting globetrotters' narratives of travel.⁴⁷ Bruno Latour's theory of intermediaries and mediators is usefully applied in examining the objects globetrotters collected and how they represented the difference between expected experience and the authentic encounter.⁴⁸ Latour posited that intermediaries are static, reflecting meaning that has been constructed for them elsewhere, whereas mediators are dynamic and consistently realigning their connections.⁴⁹ In part then, these objects were intermediaries of an 'East' constructed in western markets and expected in globetrotters' encounters, but they were at the same time mediators of cultural exchange and encounter. Intermediaries and mediators are useful in charting changing meanings, as well as changes to the objects themselves. In terms of using objects to construct the authentic, we must consider how a trope, or 'intermediary' was destabilised when it came into conflict with the dynamic 'mediator' or lived experience. For example, Egerton Laird recorded in a letter to his sister that the Kashmir shawl, a marker of class and gentility for British women, was in India worn by men. Laird styled it as part of the 'barbaric splendour' of the country.⁵⁰

Cosmopolitanism and the Differentiated East of India, China and Japan

Ulf Hannerz noted that 'cosmopolitanism has two faces...one is more cultural, the other more political'.⁵¹ The cultural aspects of cosmopolitanism

⁴⁷ Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 136.

⁴⁸ Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 38-42.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2:138.

⁵¹ Ulf Hannerz, *Two Faces of Cosmopolitanism: Culture and Politics* (Barcelona: Fundacio CIDOB, 2009), 6.

were tied to consumption of difference, whether in terms of cuisine, cultural engagement, or encounters with material culture.⁵² The political face of cosmopolitanism, Hannerz noted, was manifest as more of an 'uncertain patriotic reliability'.⁵³ It was the British Empire that created the infrastructure for global leisure travel. However, how globetrotters encountered Empire on their travels and if their reactions condoned or critiqued imperial practice across the 'East' must be considered. Jennie Germann Molz noted that the cultural side of cosmopolitanism was about pleasurable consumption of difference.⁵⁴ Much of this type of encounter was located in the international port cities of India, China and Japan. Representative of cosmopolitan spaces and places in the nineteenth century they were, as Ackbar Abbas wrote, complex spaces where cultural signposts existed in multi-layered strata, which potentially rendered them almost a 'non-place'.⁵⁵ For globetrotters the latest western amenities in hotels and restaurants were counter-balanced by a desire to seek and experience the 'other'. For example, Egerton Laird wrote of a train journey from Yokohama to Tokyo in 1872 that 'it seems curious going with the iron horse to the capital of the Mikado'.⁵⁶ The same western technology that allowed for global travel, when encountered in the context of the 'other' threatened to undermine the desired experience of difference.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Jennie Germann Molz, 'Cosmopolitanism and Consumption', in Magdalena Nowicka, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Cosmopolitanism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 106.

⁵⁵ Ackbar Abbas, 'Cosmopolitan De-Descriptions: Shanghai and Hong Kong' in Carol A. Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi K. Bhabha, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, eds. *Cosmopolitanism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 212-4.

⁵⁶ Laird, *Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 186-7.

Andrew Thompson and Gary Magee considered how the late nineteenth-century world was, for Britons, marked by a global interconnectedness brought about by technology and economic migration to sites of political imperialism.⁵⁷



The experience of the 'East' of India, China and Japan at Industrial Exhibitions.

Figure 3: The Indian Court at the Great Exhibition of 1851, showing the ivory throne presented by the Maharajah of Travancore. *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Dickinson Brothers, 1854), Collection: British Library, Cup.652.c.33.



Figure 4: The Chinese displays at the Great Exhibition were provided by British merchants based in China. *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Dickinson Brothers, 1854), Collection: British Library, Cup.652.c.33.



Figure 5: The Japanese court at the International Exhibition, 1862. Image: *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1862, Collection: Victoria and Albert Museum, NALPP.10.

⁵⁷ Andrew Thompson and Gary Brian Magee, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 4-6.

While a global 'British world' facilitated travel for globetrotters, how they chose to encounter or experience this world differed. Culturally and visually one of the means of presenting this age of imperial expansion to audiences in Britain was through Industrial Exhibitions. The inaugural event was the Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations, opened in 1851. It was organised by Queen Victoria's husband Prince Albert and staged in London's Hyde Park in Joseph Paxton's specially designed glass and iron structure known as the 'Crystal Palace', and which gave the Exhibition its popular name. The aim of the Exhibition was to display British industrial might and technological innovation on a global stage.⁵⁸ The displays of the Indian Court included Indian products and Kashmir shawls, as well as the trappings of princely splendour, embodied in the centrepiece of the Court, a princely tent in the centre of which stood an ivory throne encrusted with precious stones, presented to Queen Victoria by the Maharajah of Travancore.⁵⁹ [Figure 3] By contrast China was represented by a much smaller display of the commodities of trade submitted by British merchants and diplomats resident in the Chinese Treaty Ports.⁶⁰ [Figure 4] The first dedicated display of Japanese objects came in the International Exhibition of 1862 in London.⁶¹ [Figure 5] Like the Chinese displays of 1851, it belonged to a westerner, the British diplomat Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897). The Japanese government only began actively

⁵⁸ Jeffrey Auerbach and Peter Hoffenberg, eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 10.

⁵⁹ Julius Bryant, 'India in South Kensington, South Kensington in India: Kipling in Context' in Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds., *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London* (New York, London and New Haven: Bard Graduate Centre and Yale University Press, 2017), 3-12.

⁶⁰ *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1851), 1418-25.

⁶¹ Moyra Claire Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu K-ozan and his Workshop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 23.

engaging in international exhibitions in the dying years of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1600-1868) in the late 1860s. However, whether western collectors like Alcock initiated exhibitions or, as the century progressed, the Japanese actively managed their own participation in exhibitions, the display of Japanese objects were culturally significant events in Britain. The Alcock display for example influenced the work of designer Christopher Dresser (1834-1904) whose sensitivity in the incorporation of Japanese stylistic elements in his work eventually garnered him an invitation from the Meiji government in 1876 to advise on 'art' manufactures.⁶² They also served to familiarize British audiences with the material culture of India, China and Japan and reinforce, visually, ideas of cultural and political difference; India was located as part of Empire while China and Japan occupied places on the edges of British imperialism.

The Crystal Palace showcased Britain's global reach, particularly in regard to India, but all was not as secure as the displays implied. Six years later, the 1857 Uprising, or the Indian Mutiny, which saw the imposition of Crown Rule in 1858, created a new construction of India in the British imagination — a country that was both dominated imperially and innately untrustworthy.⁶³ Although the Mutiny occurred just over a decade before the first globetrotters sailed through the Suez Canal, bound for Bombay, its events cast a long shadow, and influenced tourists' expectations and itineraries. For example, the Mutiny sites of Cawnpore and Lucknow were amongst the most visited in India, made notorious through news reports and lurid popular novels. The experiences globetrotters had of

⁶² Olive Checkland, *Japan and Britain after 1859: Creating Cultural Bridges* (London: Routledge, 2003), 88.

⁶³ Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 166.

viewing these sites and being told the narrative of the events that unfolded there by their guides impacted how they viewed India and engaged with local populations.⁶⁴ Certainly in terms of the gaze, David Arnold wrote of how travellers in colonial India reshaped and re-presented the Indian landscape to, among other points, justify colonial occupation.⁶⁵

Just as India was defined for nineteenth-century travellers by the events of 1857, so too was China defined by the Qing government's opposition to British demands for greater trade access and the resultant Opium Wars (1839-1842; 1856-1860).⁶⁶ The Opium Wars were the outcome of the British smuggling opium into China in exchange for silver to pay for Chinese trade goods. While addiction to the drug pre-dated British trade, numbers rose alarmingly due to the sheer volume flooding the country. A high-ranking Chinese official, Commissioner Lin, famously confiscated and destroyed one cargo of opium creating a situation that escalated tensions which in turn led to the military action of the First Opium War.⁶⁷ The outcome, a British victory, demonstrated

⁶⁴ Mary A. Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 111-22.

⁶⁵ David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856* (London: University of Washington Press, 2006), 3-7.

⁶⁶ The Qing dynasty (1662-1912) was initially characterized by efficient administration that in turn assured social stability and imperial expansion under the first three emperors Kangxi (reigned 1662-1722), Yongzheng (reigned 1723-1735) and Qianlong (reigned 1736-1795). However, a population boom, social unrest, government factionalism that frustrated meaningful reform, and Western incursions over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century saw the decline of the Qing. Although reforms did take place, including an emerging Chinese constitution, technological and economic expansions, and societal changes, it was not meaningfully implemented quickly enough leading to frustrations, rebellions, and ultimately the fall of the dynasty in 1912. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 245-68.

⁶⁷ Julia Lovell, *The Opium War: Drugs, Dreams and the Making of China* (London: Macmillan, 2011), 99.

British military strength, and the Treaty of Nanking (1842) gave Britain greater access to Chinese ports and the lease of Hong Kong. For China, the defeat exposed military weaknesses and political vulnerabilities making the country susceptible to imperial demands from other western powers.⁶⁸ Erik Ringmar noted that in the period between the First and Second Opium Wars the Liberal politician John Stuart Mill published *On Liberty* (1848) in which he concluded that if a now degraded China were to be 'further improved...it must be by foreigners'.⁶⁹

The Second Opium War culminated in the destruction of the Old Summer Palace or Yuanmingyuan. The burning and looting of the building, ordered by Lord Elgin in response to the kidnapping and torture of British envoys and their escort (two of whom subsequently died) was meant to demonstrate 'to the Chinese what the Europeans could do'.⁷⁰ The event itself led to the end of the Second Opium War, the establishment of legations in Beijing and the opening of further Treaty Ports.⁷¹ It also irrevocably impacted on British perceptions of China. As Catherine Pagani noted, China went from being seen as celestial to backward.⁷² As with India, the idea of 'exotic familiarity' remained but, like those experiences in India, cultural encounters were imbued with a degree of distrust.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 211-4.

⁶⁹ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 129 quoted in Erik Ringmar, 'The Great Wall of China Does Not Exist', in Agnes Horvath and Marius Benta, eds., *Walling, Boundaries and Liminality: A Political Anthropology of Transformations* (London: Routledge, 2019), 4.

⁷⁰ Erik Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism: The European Destruction of the Palace of the Emperor of China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 147.

⁷¹ Lovell, *The Opium Wars*, 88.

⁷² Catherine Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), 28.

Similarly, both countries were respected for their illustrious pasts, signposted through sites like the abandoned Mughal palace of Fathipur Sikri or the Ming Tombs complex of Chinese emperors; at the same time it was noted that these ancient, albeit authentic, sites were in a state of decay indicative of the political disparities of 'native' rule. These parallels notwithstanding we must consider the differences in the way that globetrotters experienced India and China, viewing the differentiated East comparatively, as globetrotters themselves encountered it.

Christine Guth noted that for late nineteenth-century travellers Japan was still viewed as a country of cultural novelty, despite having been opened to British trade since the late 1850s, which made it a particularly desirable destination.⁷³ The Bakumatsu period (1854-1868) marked the decline both politically and culturally of the military government under the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868), that had been in power since the early seventeenth century, and would culminate in the restoration of the Emperor as the head of government.⁷⁴ The late Edo period, so named because the founder of the Shogunate Ieyasu Tokugawa moved the capital from Kyoto to Edo (Tokyo), was characterized by anti- and pro-western factionalism within government, as the political clout of the Shogun decreased and the influence of the Emperor and his court increased.⁷⁵ It began with the 'opening' of Japan by the American Commodore Perry in 1854 and the subsequent creation of Treaty Ports under what the Japanese termed 'Unequal Treaties'. Similar to those negotiated with

⁷³ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, xiii.

⁷⁴ Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his World, 1852-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 117.

⁷⁵ Mark Teeuwen and John Breen, *A Social History of the Ise Shrines: Divine Capital* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 495.

China in the wake of the Opium Wars, these treaties initially allowed western access to the key ports of Tokyo, Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Yokohama.⁷⁶ In terms of a political relationship with Britain, and the west, Japan like China only had Treaty Ports and enclaves of British residents thus making it part of informal empire unlike the formal Empire expressed in India. The end of the Bakumatsu, and with it the Edo period, which was characterised by a development in arts and culture and a feudal social and political system that included the samurai and their retainers or Ronin, came with the Boshin War of 1868-1869.⁷⁷ This was followed by the restoration of the Emperor, who took the name Meiji, meaning 'Enlightened Rule'.⁷⁸

Kristin Surak noted that the newly restored Emperor and his government instituted sweeping reforms of what was essentially a feudal system, promoting technological development but at the same time fostering a cohesive national identity based on traditional culture. For example, they promoted the tea ceremony for all classes, expanding it beyond court culture, as a means of enacting 'Japaneseness'.⁷⁹ This melding of certain traditions with technological change found outlet in spaces like Kusakabe Kimbei's photography studios in Yokohama which were, Luke Gartlan noted, the ideal cosmopolitan space inhabited by locals and travellers purveying a new vision of Japan.⁸⁰ While travellers went in search of 'Old Japan' represented by sites like Nikko, which

⁷⁶ Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, 412-4.

⁷⁷ Morgan Pitelka and Alice Y. Tseng, eds., *Kyoto Visual Culture in the Early Edo and Meiji Periods: The Arts of Reinvention* (London: Routledge, 2016), 45.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, xiii.

⁷⁹ Kristin Surak, *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), 67-8.

⁸⁰ Luke Gartlan, 'Bronzed and Muscular Bodies: Jinrikshas, Tattooed Bodies and Yokohama Tourist Photography', in Julie Codell, ed., *Transculturation in British Art, 1770-1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 102.

was both the burial place of the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, who represented the ideal of the Samurai valorised in Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* (1871) and Basil Hall Chamberlain's *Japanese Folk Tales* (1888), they encountered this juxtaposition of old and new that defined Meiji Japan.

Primary Sources:

There are three key sets of primary source material interrogated in this dissertation: the guidebooks or traveller's handbooks, traveller's published accounts and letters, and the material objects that they collected. Although in some cases this last section is represented by the absence of objects that simply did not survive, globetrotters recorded their significance. Together this primary source material allows us to consider how the differentiated East was created and perceived, how travellers encountered and negotiated it, and how they materially documented these transformative experiences, maintaining a tension between trope and the authentic.

In assessing types of travel writing, Carl Thompson sought to delineate between travellers' handbooks and accounts of travel, claiming that the latter were defined by their 'emphasis on an autobiographical narrative, and the author's personal experience of another people or place'.⁸¹ Guidebooks, in contrast, were not strictly travel literature in that they conveyed 'practical information' instead of personal experiences.⁸² While not impressionistic accounts of travel, guidebooks did give a sense of the experiences of their authors in their recommendations of sites to see, lodgings and places to dine.

⁸¹ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London: Routledge, 2011), 46.

⁸² *Ibid.*

They provided the key to deciphering the travel networks, but most importantly, the guidebooks to India, China and Japan synthesised politics, technology and recommended experiences to create the identities for the differentiated East. While they do not contain personal accounts of experience and encounter, traveller's handbooks provide the skeleton that globetrotters then fleshed out with their own experiences. They are an important primary source that must be considered in conjunction with travellers' accounts.

The published accounts considered here were written by Arthur Drummond Carlisle (1872), Egerton Laird (1875), Frederick Diodati Thompson (1893) and Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes (c1900 and 1921 respectively). A close reading and comparison of these accounts and the letters written by Carew Davies Gilbert (1877-1878), Charles James Lucas (1877-79), Percy Powell-Cotton (1889-1891) and Nancy Dearmer (1916-1919) allows for the assessment of how globetrotters negotiated between the tropes of India, China, and Japan. These sources were selected because they are all, as outlined earlier in their biographies, travellers who embarked on a global tour for leisure rather than economic or political purposes. None of the travellers considered here were tied directly to these activities. Although they may have had social connections with those individuals actively engaged in empire, globetrotters themselves lay outside this sphere. In analysing their accounts, it is possible to identify a specific type of gaze that was differentiated from that used by civil servants or merchants. This difference of perspective also meant that the objects globetrotters collected or the views they sought were representative of their alternative, cosmopolitan, viewpoint.

The differences between published accounts and letters also indicate how globetrotters presented ideas of the authentic, and what experiences were appropriate for public consumption compared to those that were shared only amongst family or, in the case of Powell-Cotton only in the pages of his diary. Accounts of these global journeys were a means of creating the 'self-translation' of both the significance of cultural encounters and the transformative impact that they had on the traveller's sense of self. Letters convey this as a progressive occurrence, while those accounts published later convey a persona that was, as Angela Yang Du noted, a fusion of 'past and present, ignorance and experience, nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and frivolity and didacticism', as much a literary creation as an eyewitness account of travel.⁸³ Their accounts then are a reconciling of temporal selves: before, during, and after their global journeys. Although the letters that Carlisle, Laird, Russell-Cotes and Thompson drew on for their published accounts are no longer extant, there was a repetition of experiences that travellers sought across the East. These may be usefully compared between letters and accounts to gain a sense of what was omitted from the published accounts.

The letters themselves are, as Rebecca Earle noted in another context 'not simply unmediated historical artefacts', their content and how much globetrotters revealed of their Eastern experiences depended on the recipient of the letters.⁸⁴ The letters written by young male globetrotters were for their mothers and sisters and omitted behaviours and encounters that were not

⁸³Angela Yang Du, 'From 'Souvenirs' to 'Recollections': Amelia Opie and the Practice of Self-Translation', *European Romantic Review*, 29 (2018), 177.

⁸⁴ Rebecca Earle, 'Introduction: Letters, Writers and the Historian', in Rebecca Earle, ed., *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers, 1600-1945* (London: Ashgate, 1999), 20.

appropriate for that audience. However, much can be gleaned from what was overstated, designed to allay family fears or concerns. For example, Carew Davies Gilbert assured his mother that his travelling companions were ‘at present with a party of 2 Scotchmen & a North Irish man, named Alan, Struthers & Corry, they are all about our own age & pleasant, they are all teetotalers & not smokers’.⁸⁵ These writers hint at transgressive behaviour in their letters but overall present a censored version of their travels. Diaries, like that written by Powell-Cotton gave a much fuller, detailed account of his experiences in the East including visits to brothels, but as it was written in a short, almost telegraphic style, does not provide enough context to meaningfully assess these encounters.

While globetrotters’ accounts and letters convey how they encountered and experienced the East, there is a lack of information of how the local populations, or ‘travellees’ as Mary Louise Pratt defined them, experienced globetrotters.⁸⁶ They can be glimpsed through the lens of globetrotters’ experiences of encounter. Wendy Bracewell assessed Eastern European ‘travellees’ through their published reactions to travellers’ accounts in newspapers and literary reviews. However she noted that these were a ‘highly mediated form’ and ‘usually serve to establish the narrator’s superiority by contrast’.⁸⁷ Globetrotters’ publications were reviewed in Indian newspapers from the perspective of a member of the colonial administration. These reviews, like those featured in the *Bombay Times*, generally confined their observations to

⁸⁵ Gilbert, ESRO, GIL 4/378, Teintsin, 16 April 1877, 2.

⁸⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Second Edition (London: Routledge, 2008), 225.

⁸⁷ Wendy Bracewell, ‘The Travellee’s Eye: Reading European Travel Writing, 1750-1850’, in Paul Smethurst and Julia Kuehn, eds., *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 215-227.

an oft-repeated point that globetrotters were tourists, ignorant of the reality of life in India for those in the military or civil service.⁸⁸ I have not been able to find reviews of the same publications in the Chinese or Japanese press. Local reactions to globetrotters can also be ascertained through other strictures that were placed on them, such as Chinese control of spaces.

The third set of sources, the objects that globetrotters collected, are also not without their analytical challenges. In some cases letters and objects are preserved together, like the photograph albums of Carew Davies Gilbert and Charles James Lucas, which illustrate this dissertation. Percy Powell-Cotton's letters, diary and collections survive together because he created a museum. Again his collections as well as the Russell-Cotes are used to illustrate this dissertation so that objects and images may be considered in conjunction with text. By comparing the images and objects that Powell-Cotton purchased alongside his letters and diary we have a sense of how he presented and contextualised his experiences. Where the objects are no longer extant, the meanings ascribed them by globetrotters in their texts is still a useful context. Embedded in these texts, the objects become, as Kate Hill noted, 'entangled objects', that connect a number of individuals and contexts.⁸⁹ In the case of globetrotting the objects that they wrote about connect makers with place, the

⁸⁸ Among the numerous articles taking aim at globetrotters as frivolous travellers to appear in the *Times of India*, 'The Complete Globe-Trotter', a satirical report mimicking the tone of globetrotting accounts, was representative. The commentary on India 'Turned aside to Agra and Delhi to see the Taj – a very handsome sort of mosque place...also to look up some fellows whom I used to know at Marlborough.' China was not included but Japan was 'a very nice sort of country for Europeans: not too straitlaced, and with plenty of fun going on everywhere'. 'The Complete Globe-Trotter', *Times of India*, 16 June 1883, 6.

⁸⁹ Kate Hill, 'Souvenirs: Narrating Overseas Violence in the Late Nineteenth Century', in Hill, ed., *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century*, 176.

collectors with the experiences they documented, and those at home who received them as gifts or incorporated them into their domestic or public spheres with the places they represented. Once the objects came home, they also needed to be considered in the spaces that globetrotters expressed a wish for them to inhabit. Although they often no longer exist within family collections, and we know many were sold at later auctions, the initial desire expressed in letters at least gives a sense of the intended displays of the objects and thereby a sense of what they connected and documented.

In analysing the sources used in this dissertation it is important to consider that the networks and infrastructure that globetrotters used played a role in guiding them towards certain sites. Often, these were sites deemed significant in older texts, and as result individual tours and visits focussed on the same sites. While this repetition of their experiences over time is useful in ascertain changing meanings to sites, it often gives the impression that the World Tour remained unchanged. Bearing in mind political, technological and social changes during fifty years of global travel, it is not unexpected that meanings ascribed to sites would change while others remained a paeon to an idealised past. Globetrotters were not uncritical viewers and drew on literary conventions by incorporating additional texts to convey unpopular opinions. In including letters and objects alongside published sources, it is possible to ascertain where experiences of travel differ from the constructed versions of published accounts and where taboo or transgressive behaviours have occurred, thus imbuing significant sites of the World Tour with a different meaning.

Chapter Structure and Methodology

The connected themes that have been discussed provide a structure for the chapters, which will consider a more granular experience of exchange and encounter. Chapter one, *Networks*, considers how globetrotters exploited technological infrastructure, created through political expansion, to ‘trot’ around the globe. Framing this chapter is Bruno Latour’s concept of a network of circuits and nodal points or ‘knots’ of intersection.⁹⁰ I focus on Alan Lester and Kerry Ward’s development of Latour’s concept as they applied it to the expansion of empire seeing it as a web of interconnecting networks rather than solely communication between the core, or metropole, and the periphery.⁹¹ *Travellers’ Handbooks*, published by John Murray and Thomas Cook among others, gave globetrotters the means to connect these technological webs of shipping and train schedules with nodal points, in this case port cities or significant hubs, like the Indian city of Agra, site of the Taj Mahal.

However, this chapter is more than an analysis of the framework of global travel. The networks that connected at nodal points may be viewed as discrete circuits, for example, India, China and Japan each represented a circuit of the ‘East’. The *Handbooks*, which were published as separate editions for each country, were a means of bridging the global to access the local in each circuit. While these guidebooks directed tourists’ gazes and guided them to ‘signposts’ — for example Cawnpore in India, the Yuanmingyuan in China and the shrines of Nikko in Japan — travellers used supplementary texts to provide a different vantage point. They also sought interaction with local populations to explore the

⁹⁰ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 44.

⁹¹ Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005), 6-7; Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration and the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 11.

country and culture behind the trope that created the signpost. For these travellers the acquisition of Urry's signpost was not enough, travel must convey the authentic.

While *Networks* considers how access from the global to the local was facilitated, the second chapter, *Space*, considers how globetrotters encountered certain sites, or spaces across the East: temple sites; lodgings, and the technologically advanced, cosmopolitan site of the photographers' studio. Michel de Certeau argued that meaning in an urban space is fostered in part through folkloric narrative created by individuals or communities.⁹² In this way locals may build a relationship with their environs, whilst outsiders may access these local legends to create a sense of place about the space through which they are moving. As this chapter demonstrates, globetrotters sought out sites or spaces, specifically temples, which were representative of an 'older' pre-industrial and therefore 'authentic' culture to connect with landscape and ideas of the picturesque. Further, de Certeau noted that space was created as a 'theatre of actions' that ultimately tied it to a sense of place.⁹³ Across temple sites, the differentiation of worship, often a theatrical spectacle in itself, and use of temple space as a social site contributed to a sense of place, enhancing the differentiation of Eastern cultures.

Tim Oakes noted that the quest for a space where the tourist and the 'other' might mutually gaze on each other was one of the drivers for tourism.⁹⁴

⁹² Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1984), 76.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 125.

⁹⁴ Tim Oakes, 'Tourism and the Modern Subject: Placing the Encounter between Tourist and Other' in Carolyn Cartier and Alan A. Lew, eds., *Seductions of Place:*

This idea will be considered in the context of space and lodgings, for example the teahouses of Japan, which provided a means of cultural immersion for globetrotters as well as encounter with the other. What is important to consider within the context of these spaces was how, even within the same group of travellers encounter was experienced differently, and as such fulfilled different, personal, aspects of desire for interaction. For example, Merton and Annie Russell-Cotes stayed in what Annie termed a 'native hotel' outside of Nikko in Japan in 1885.⁹⁵ Annie represented their stay as a means of cultural immersion, in a sense a contact zone. However, in Annie's account, the balance of power was not in her favour, as she undertook a meal where not only the food, but the modes of consumption were unfamiliar and as the couple clumsily negotiated dining with chopsticks whilst seated on the floor, she noted that 'the little maids who waited on us...seemed highly amused at watching us'.⁹⁶ Merton, by contrast, focused instead on their maids' show of respect to him, 'making salaams and going on their knees when they brought in or took away dishes'.⁹⁷ For Annie and Merton the space of the teahouse was by turns a means of cultural engagement or a confirmation of social status.

Doreen Massey noted that multiple narratives of identities of a place co-exist.⁹⁸ The identities that globetrotters created for the differentiated East were produced through their own experiences of the intersection of local and global.

Geographical Perspectives on Globalisation and Touristed Landscapes (London: Routledge, 2005), 36-9.

⁹⁵ Annie Russell-Cotes, *Westward from the Golden Gate* (London: W.H. & L. Collingridge, circa 1900), 33.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 461.

⁹⁸ Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 116.

It was their interaction with the local that meant accessing what they felt represented the 'authentic'. Part of this authentic experience of space meant accessing the 'stillness' designated by Buzard as a key element of the 'authentic' as sought by tourists.⁹⁹ Defined as 'the ennobling feeling...when the traveller is alone to savour a place's poignant or powerful reverberations of beauty, sublimity, or significance', 'stillness' implied an unmediated, nostalgic experience in that the tourist sought to connect with an idealised past of place.¹⁰⁰

Globetrotters wanted to access the 'stillness' of what they perceived to be an unspoiled East, but at the same time sites of technological modernity, specifically photographer's studios, were spaces of interaction. These were spaces where local photographers including Raja Deen Dayal in India, Afong in China, and Kimbei in Japan actively participated in the creation and direction of the gaze.¹⁰¹ Further, they were all sites where western technology was synthesized by locals to both document nostalgic images of the past but also to document and visually create new images that were tokens of modernity. For example, photographs created in India for Maharajahs were commissioned by the rulers themselves and were used to communicate an image of strength, power and enlightenment as princely rulers exploited new technologies to convey their modern leadership.

Mio Wakita demonstrated how the Japanese photographer Kusakabe Kimbei's

⁹⁹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 177.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Deborah Hutton, 'The Portrait Photography of Raja Deen Dayal', in Prahlad Bubbar, ed., *Indian Paintings and Photographs, 1590-1900* (Exhibition Catalogue, London: Prahlad Bubbar Mayfair, 2012), 66; Jonathan Hay, 'Notes on Chinese Photography and Advertising in late Nineteenth-Century Shanghai' in Jason Chi-sheng Kuo, ed., *Visual Culture in Shanghai, 1850s to 1930s* (Washington, D.C.: New Academia Publishing, 2007), 98; Mio Wakita, *Staging Desires: Japanese Femininity in Kusakabe Kimbei's Nineteenth Century Souvenir Photography* (Berlin: Deitrich Reimer, 2013), 135-9.

work used a new technology to represent traditional Japanese culture, thereby marrying the Meiji vision of Japan as technologically advanced with an underlying regard for traditional imagery.¹⁰² These images were consumed by globetrotters and considering spaces of modernity alongside older sites allows for an interrogation of exchange and encounter that was filtered through personal experience.

The chapter on food, *Consuming the East*, considers how globetrotters reconfigured certain iconic Eastern commodities such as tea to produce what Magdalena Nowicka theorized as 'Alternative Geographies', created by cosmopolitan travellers to emphasize what was personally significant about their global experiences.¹⁰³ In her study of contemporary travellers, she noted that they began to define their global experiences not geographically but through a framework that reflected what was significant for them. Instead of comparing experiences within African countries that shared cultural practices, these travellers created 'alternative geographies' wherein certain countries were grouped together on the basis of, for example, similarity in transport infrastructure. This 'alternative geography' overlaid on a global framework led in turn to groupings of countries or regions such as South America, Germany and Africa based on these personal criteria.¹⁰⁴ This is useful in considering how globetrotters created their versions of the East through experiences that departed from an overtly imperial narrative in some cases, looking to older interactions. What will be considered is how globetrotters' narratives

¹⁰² Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 135.

¹⁰³ Magdalena Nowicka, 'Cosmopolitans, Spatial Mobility and the Alternative Geographies', *International Review of Social Research*, 2 (2012), 14.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

maintained a tension between an imperial perspective and their own transformation of self engendered through breaking western taboos, for example consuming cat and dog flesh in China or live fish in Japan.¹⁰⁵

Claude Lévi-Strauss noted how food was used to create social exclusion/inclusion.¹⁰⁶ While this was a staged and mediated experience, it illustrated the way that foods, and the modes and manners of consumption, were used simultaneously to highlight difference and potentially foster closeness. For example, Mark Swislocki noted in his examination of Shanghai food traditions, that restaurants provided a space where an adapted version of the food culture of the other (both local and tourists) could be mutually experienced.¹⁰⁷ Like the Russell-Cotes' experience in Nikko, this allows us to re-appraise the 'contact zone' in terms of who held a greater degree of agency: globetrotters or local populations. Food could also be figured as part of a wider political experience that contributed to images of the differentiated East. For example, Walter Ryland (travelled 1881) expressed distrust of eating curry prepared for him in India because it might be subject to adulteration. Hence he styled it as an inherently dishonest dish that reflected the untrustworthiness of all Indians.¹⁰⁸ Ryland's vulnerability to unscrupulous cooks was not confined to India, or indeed the East. Tourists making their way through Europe had similar

¹⁰⁵ Carew Davies Gilbert letters, ESRO, GIL 4/377, Hong Kong, 3 April 1877, 4; Lucas, British Library (BL), Photo 1224/7, 3, Inoshima, 4 May 1879, 77.

¹⁰⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology*, translated by John and Doreen Weightman (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), 290-1.

¹⁰⁷ Mark Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia: Regional Food Culture and the Urban Experience in Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford General, 2009), 103.

¹⁰⁸ Walter P. Ryland, *My Diary during a Foreign Tour in Egypt, India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, Fiji, China, Japan and North America in 1881-2* (Birmingham: Printed for private circulation, 1886), 38.

complaints.¹⁰⁹ This reflected their sensitivity to being ‘othered’ by local populations. Further this was not merely an East/West binary, for example in Yokohama, Charles Lucas complained of an American dentist who tried to overcharge him: ‘I said I would wait until I got home, and was afterwards told that the dentist, an American, is very fond of getting a haul out of a globetrotter’.¹¹⁰

The final chapter, *Collecting the East*, is about how the differentiated East and the authentic experience were presented in globetrotters’ collections. Susan Stewart wrote that the souvenir is only a partial object and must be situated within the narrative in order to form a whole as part of the traveller’s experience.¹¹¹ Within this context, the object becomes a material representation of what was ultimately the ephemeral experience of travel. Without the context of the narrative, the object loses its distinction and becomes no different than the many examples of Asian porcelain or lacquer available through exporters, dealers, or auction houses during this period. This approach is effective when considering ‘complete’ collections like those created by the Russell-Cotes and displayed in their gallery in Bournemouth, or Percy Powell-Cotton, whose collections were also displayed in a purpose-built museum in his home, Quex Park. However, in the case of other globetrotters considered in this chapter, Egerton Laird, Carew Davies Gilbert, and Nancy Dearmer, very little survives. In some cases, like Laird, it is only his published narrative illustrated with his photography collections acquired on his travels.

¹⁰⁹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 313.

¹¹⁰ Charles Lucas, Photo 1224/7, 3, BL, Yokohama, 14 July 1879, 139

¹¹¹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

While the value and significance of what globetrotters collected lay in part in their use as a document, the commoditization of these things also lay in what anthropologist Igor Kopytoff termed 'spheres of exchange'.¹¹² He illustrated this concept through the example of a community in Nigeria where objects were divided into those things that were the trappings of status, subsistence items, and those objects that represented specific rights within society. Certain objects were used to create connections between these seemingly separate spheres. For example, brass rods were status objects that could also be used in exchange for subsistence items.¹¹³ This idea of 'spheres of exchange' is useful for interrogating the seemingly disparate groups of objects amassed by globetrotters. These objects must be considered within the spheres they occupy: high art of status objects, commercially produced keepsakes such as clay figurines and small pieces of jewellery, and the material that represented activities that formed part of travellers' daily life abroad, such as chopsticks. While there is, perhaps, less actual movement between spheres, the objects that inhabit these different areas serve to reinforce each other's meaning and value. To view the status objects in isolation would place globetrotters in the role of those who consumed solely for social distinction, something for which they already received criticism from contemporaries. Martha Chaiklin cited Rudyard Kipling's blistering assessment of globetrotters' activities in Japan, where he observed that what they believed was an immersive cultural experience was confined to tourist outlets, specifically

¹¹² Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process' in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 71.

¹¹³ Ibid.

the curio shops of Yokohama.¹¹⁴ Yet, the presence of everyday objects in globetrotters' collections indicates that while they collected 'art' objects they also preserved those small tokens that to them signified cultural engagement.

Conclusion

By analysing the accounts, letters, diaries and material culture of globetrotters, we look at those travellers who, because they were not actively engaged in empire, challenged the prevailing imperial perspectives regarding the meanings of exchange and encounter. Globetrotters' quest for active social engagement with the 'Eastern other' also challenges the prevailing theories on the sociological meanings of tourism, which locate it as a means of deploying a gaze and a performative experience that is wholly self-reflexive. Interrogating global travel through political and cultural themes allows us to consider the way in which the East was actively experienced and related to those at home. These themes also allow us to draw out what may appear on the surface to be inherent contradictions, for example the idea of 'unchanging' Eastern countries as sites of technological modernity; the active rather than passive nature of touristic engagement beyond the 'gaze'; and the meanings and nature of 'othering', between tourist and local but also, as a result of experience, between returned traveller and those at home. These areas are fruitful grounds for considering the ultimate aims of Eastern travel and how the phenomenon of globetrotters — men and women who held a unique place on the edges of politics and trade but at the centre of technological change and globalisation, adeptly exploited these

¹¹⁴ Martha Chaiklin, *Ivory and Aesthetics of Modernity in Meiji Japan* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 21.

networks to access cultural encounters. Their published accounts, the photographs they used to illustrate them and the objects they collected shaped Victorian perceptions about the 'East' and forged an enduring set of tropes still used by the media today.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Dr. Chris Harding, 'Three Western Myths about Japan', BBC Magazine, 20 August 2015. www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-34005681 accessed 7 October 2015.

Chapter One:

Travellers' Handbooks: Networks of Technology and Text

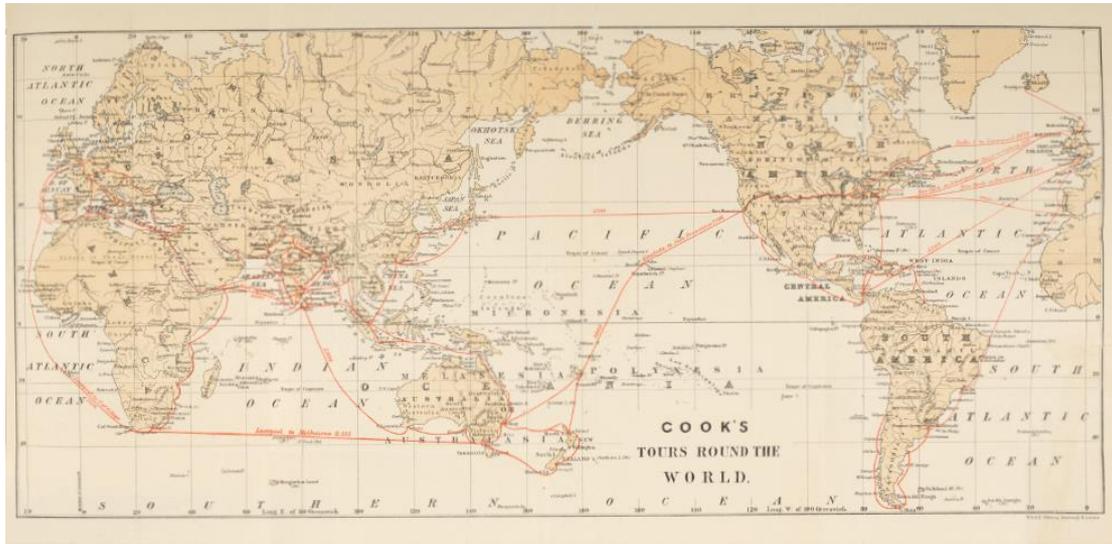


Figure 6: Map of Cook's Tours Round the World from 'Cook's Indian Tours... Programme of Cook's new system of international travelling tickets, embracing every point of interest...' 1881. The routes, in red, indicated the circuits of the global tour. Collection: British Library, 010055.g.39

Percy Powell-Cotton's terse diary entry of a day spent in the Indian city of Agra in January 1890 revealed the mechanics of world travel and his use of what Kerry Ward has called the 'independent yet intersecting networks' of the social, technological and political to access the 'East':¹¹⁶

8.30 coffee, hair cut, break, round to Club...called on Woodburn, wrote, tiff, looked up trains, out with Smith the Sta[tion] bought marble work, down to Taj back, wrote, din, pack, dress, dropped Aku [servant] and lug at Sta drove to...Ball given by Maharajah of Barahtpur..late, to stopped at 1 gate but managed tother [sic], grounds illum. hundreds pop lanterns, about 200 guests 2 dancing rooms...A.1. show. Drove to Sta. 3am train to Delhi changing at Tundlu, got some sleep.¹¹⁷

Taken together, Powell-Cotton's pursuits conveyed a specific identity for India. Identities such as these are created, as Alan Lester notes, from the experiences

¹¹⁶Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 10.

¹¹⁷ Percy Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, Quex Park (QP), Kent, Doc.6.1, 23 January, 1890, 62.

gained where networks intersect.¹¹⁸ This sense of place was fashioned from linked activities: shopping and sightseeing that took in the iconic Taj Mahal; the social experience of the splendour of the Raj; and the technological connections that ultimately joined the local with the global. While Powell-Cotton's use of networks was visible, what was not apparent — although heavily annotated editions survive in his World Trip collection at Quex Park — was his use of travellers' handbooks. In this chapter I will explore the role of guidebooks: how they were the key to deciphering the webs of travel that facilitated a global tour. Each guidebook was a circuit for an individual country on the global tour and produced a distinct cultural identity. That identity was, in turn, built on the intertwined developments of technological expansion and political interaction. Further, these texts provided the intersection of the global with the local.

Kerry Ward defines circuits as segments within a wider network.¹¹⁹ In the context of handbooks they represent the differentiated East of the World Tour: India, China and Japan. Part of the expanding print culture of the late nineteenth century, handbooks brought together different strands of the technological developments that defined the century itself, tracking expanding railways and shipping lines.¹²⁰ [Figure 6] They provided the key to deciphering these networks of travel and technology, linking technological connections with cultural experience through their writers' recommendations of what to see, when to see it and how to experience it. Globetrotters were reliant on the

¹¹⁸ Alan Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), 135.

¹¹⁹ Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 11.

¹²⁰ John M. MacKenzie, 'Empires of Travel: British Guide Books and Cultural Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries', in John K. Walton, ed., *Histories of Tourism: Representation, Identity and Conflict* (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2005), 19.

assistance of guidebooks in negotiating the technological webs of the circuits of the East and ensuring that they successfully connected with local experiences on their global tours. However, they were not the unthinking followers of guidebooks, and their own narratives negotiated between the expected and the personal to create their own view of the East.

In the first half of the nineteenth century John Murray published the majority of travel guides to the European continent. A reviewer of one of Murray's many publications noted in *The Spectator* that 'two books may be said without exaggeration to form the Englishman's library — the Peerage when he is at home, Murray when he travels'.¹²¹ This reflected a preoccupation with class but also confirmed that travel — particularly farther afield than the European continent — enhanced status. Although *Murray's Handbooks* were stalwart publications amongst British travellers, the firm faced increasing competition in the latter half of the nineteenth century as rival firms published guidebooks catering to growing numbers of travellers to the European continent, and to the newly emergent market of globetrotters.¹²² Travellers' handbooks imbued each country with a specific identity constructed through the sights and experiences they recommended and were, conceptually, representatives of distinct cultural 'circuits'.

¹²¹ 'Murray's Handbook for Russia', *The Spectator*, 14 October 1865, 20.

¹²² *Murray's Handbooks to India* first appeared in 1859, and the firm's *Handbook to Japan* was published in 1884; *Cook's Indian Guides* were first published in the early 1880s, Thomas Cook's guide to China was published in 1910; Kelly & Walsh a Shanghai publisher printed guides to Nikko in Japan, and Ernest Satow's first *Guide to Japan* in 1881. The Hong Kong newspaper the *China Mail* published one of the earliest tourist guides to China in 1876; from 1872, the *Japan Gazette* in Yokohama published guides to Japan.

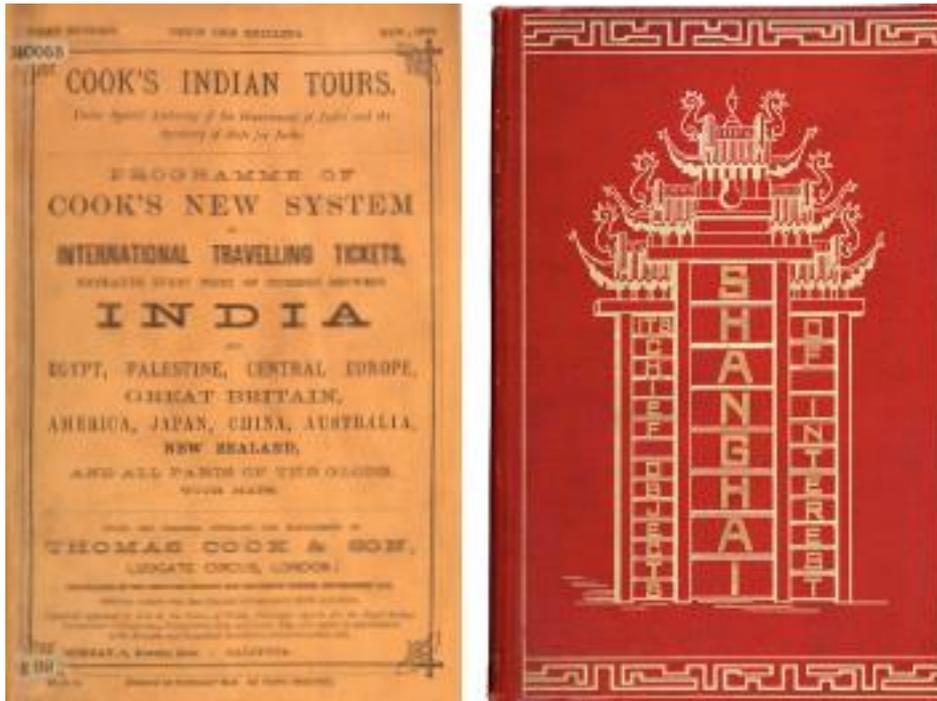


Figure 7: Front Cover of *Cook's Indian Tours*, November 1881. Collection: British Library, 010055.g.39.

Figure 8: *Shanghai, 1912*, published by Kelly & Walsh, Collection: British Library, X.809/4018.

Thomas Cook, whose published guides were part of the tours his firm organised, later challenged Murray. [Figure 7] In the East the supremacy of Cook and Murray as guidebook publishers was ousted by publisher-booksellers, like Kelly and Walsh in Shanghai, who offered high-quality guides written by resident experts.¹²³ [Figure 8] Globetrotters augmented the networks the handbooks offered with those social and material networks they constructed themselves. Through these they sought to access definitive experiences of the 'East' and present them at home, often with reference to supplemental texts that situated the traveller's own views within prevalent political and social discourse. By placing the Eastern leg of the World Tour in the analytical framework of circuits within a network of cultural travel, I will consider how globetrotters, themselves

¹²³ 'Notes and Queries', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, 9 (1969), 163-5.

representative of modernity, intersected with and exploited these webs to culturally produce the 'East'.

Bruno Latour developed the conceptual framework of a network of circuits and nodal points, visualising the latter as knots of intersection.¹²⁴ Applied to empire, these webs are interconnecting networks rather than solely communication between the core, or metropole, and the periphery.¹²⁵ This allows for both a macro- and micro-analysis of the development of empire through a number of sources including individual experience.¹²⁶ Sujit Sivasundaram considered port cities as nodal points of Empire where imperial, economic and technological connections were joined with visual and material cultures to create a sense of place in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century.¹²⁷ In this chapter, the framework of nodes and circuits will be used to bring both handbooks and the personal experience of globetrotters together. The identities created for these countries through the recommended experiences of travellers' handbooks were both followed and challenged by globetrotters in their own texts, thus bringing personal insight to a mass experience.

Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson viewed globalisation as an interconnectedness of different parts of the world brought about through a series of processes – technological, political and economic – that allowed for the perception of a compression of time and space.¹²⁸ For example, the Overland

¹²⁴ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 44.

¹²⁵ Lester, *Imperial Networks*, 6-7; Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 11.

¹²⁶ Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 41.

¹²⁷ Sujit Sivasundaram, 'Towards a Critical History of Connection: The Port of Colombo, the Geographical "Circuit", and the Visual Politics of the New Imperialism, ca. 1880-1914', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59 (2017), 346.

¹²⁸ Thompson and Magee, *Empire and Globalisation*, 2.

Route developed in the 1830s sent travellers east via Suez instead of the Cape of Good Hope and cut travel time from six months to nine weeks. However it was a more expensive option.¹²⁹ In 1869, the Suez Canal opened, further cutting time spent traversing between Britain and the Indian Ocean. Globetrotter Arthur Drummond Carlisle reported only a month's travel time between Southampton and the Ceylonese (Sri Lankan) port of Galle in 1870.¹³⁰ The accelerated compression of time and space that technologies engendered meant that not only were British colonies, with their mercantile and military concerns, nearer to home, but the world itself might be circled in a matter of months.¹³¹ These global routes connecting the 'East' created the 'globetrotter'.

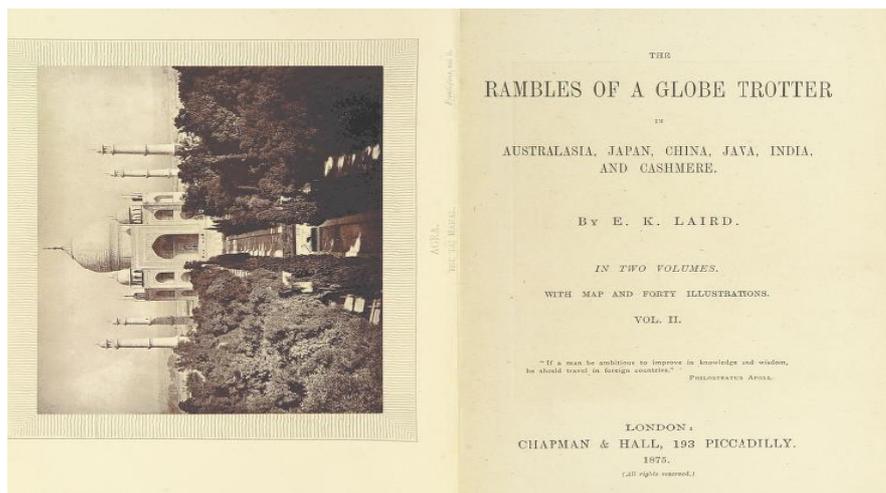


Figure 9: Frontispiece and Title Page of Egerton Laird's account of his 1872 globetrotting adventures. Egerton K. Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter in Australia, Japan, China, Java, India, and Cashmere*, 2 volumes (Birkenhead: printed for private circulation, 1875). Collection: British Library, 10026.g.12.

Egerton Laird's self-designation as a globetrotter, [Figure 9] like his choice of the term 'rambles' to describe his journey, was knowingly self-

¹²⁹ Valeska Huber, *Channelling Mobilities: Migration and Globalisation in the Suez Canal Region and Beyond, 1869-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 22.

¹³⁰ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 16.

¹³¹ Cara Murray, *Victorian Narrative Technologies in the Middle East* (London: Routledge, 2008), 124.

deprecating. It indicated a traveller who was at best, amateur, and at worst, superficial. Laird clearly displayed his awareness of the connotations of the term when he wrote: 'I am afraid that if I were asked what my occupation was, I could only say a "Globe Trotter" in search of "the Elixir of Life", or any other visionary article'.¹³² Seemingly glib in his situation of self, Laird's use of supplemental texts, which will be analysed in this chapter, meant that his account was among the more reflective of those written by globetrotters, particularly his assessment of the impact of British political and military policies in the 'East'.

The emergence of globetrotting leisure tourists in the 1870s made them the latest in successive groups, or types of western travellers to the 'East'. Earlier, professional, travellers included the military, merchants, diplomats, missionaries and civil servants and their families, all of whom established a lasting presence, first in India and then in China and Japan.¹³³ What ensured the success of globetrotting was not tour operator Thomas Cook's offices and his 'Round the World Tour' inaugurated in 1872, but the confluence of key historical developments: British imperial dominance in India, the additional presence of British enclaves in Chinese and Japanese Treaty Ports, and the technological improvements of steam power, railway networks and the engineering that produced the Suez Canal.¹³⁴

Technological innovation was part of the interconnectedness of the British Empire and allowed for a greater exportation of people and culture.

¹³² Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 221.

¹³³ J.E. Hoare, *Embassies in the East: The Story of the British and their Embassies in China, Japan and Korea from 1859 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1999), 3-5.

¹³⁴ Murray, *Victorian Narrative Technologies in the Middle East*, 120.

Magee and Thompson focus on the way that migration, both voluntary and forced, and subsequent colonial settlements created communities abroad where a sense of 'Britishness' was fostered.¹³⁵ These communities were useful for globetrotters who found a cultural common ground within the world of the Raj in India and in the British enclaves of China and Japan.¹³⁶ However, globetrotters were also transient residents, on the edges of colonial societies rather than their centres. Although they themselves were not actively part of Empire, the cultural commonality that colonial society provided enabled globetrotters to exploit existing imperial networks to access local experiences that were not highlighted in travellers' handbooks.

Traveller's handbooks decoded the technological networks that enabled globetrotting travel, and in this sense offered globetrotters a means of physically encountering local experiences through transport to place and recommendations of guides who could in turn facilitate local access. The nature of the local experience that globetrotters sought was linked to the nature of the Eastern circuit that they were travelling. Dean MacCannell maintained that the 'local' that tourists sought was the culture and customs of a foreign society that existed in an untouched or 'unique' state. They pursued experiences of this as an antidote to the sense of alienation brought about by modernity remedied through interaction with the 'non-modern'.¹³⁷ Although globetrotters did seek out spaces, such as temples, that were seen as an antidote to modernity, at the same time their encounter abroad was not restricted to the binary experience of

¹³⁵ Thompson and Magee, *Empire and Globalisation*, 33-36; 154.

¹³⁶ Bickers, 'Shanghailanders and Others: British Communities in China, 1843-1957', 273.

¹³⁷ Dean MacCannell, 'The Tourist and the Local', *Tourist Studies*, 16 (2016), 343.

modern/non-modern. The identity of the 'other' was not restricted to the indigenous but rather it was tied to locality. For example, Nancy Dearmer on her travels through India remarked that the life enjoyed by British residents of the Raj was markedly different from that lived in Britain, conferring a degree of 'otherness' on them.¹³⁸

The transformative experience of travel that globetrotters sought was brought about through these multiple interactions, and while they themselves were in a state of flux, in their case engendered by the accelerated technologies of travel, so too were the societies they encountered.¹³⁹ For example, the railway project in India began before the advent of the Raj, but its designation by R.M. Stephenson as 'Our Indian Railway' in the 1847 *Calcutta Review* made clear that it was an imperial project.¹⁴⁰ This development was echoed throughout the 'East'. In China, defeat in the Opium Wars forced the Qing government and ailing Xianfeng Emperor (1831-1861) to grant concessions to Britain that led to the development of Hong Kong and the expansion of British enclaves in Treaty Ports. However, the Qing government was resistant to further attempts by British mercantile firms to build railways, regarding them as a 'foreign imposition' redolent of national humiliation at the hands of western powers during the Opium Wars.¹⁴¹ Like China, Japan also experienced a similar granting of Treaty Ports to western trade and residence as the country was 'opened' first by

¹³⁸ Nancy Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Madras, 10 November 1916, 9.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, 36-8.

¹⁴⁰ R.M. Stephenson, 'Our Indian Railway', *Calcutta Review*, March 1847, reprinted in *Railway Construction in India: Select Documents*, vol. 1, 1832-1952 (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1999), 245.

¹⁴¹ Stephen Kotkin, 'Preface' in Bruce Elleman and Stephen Kotkin, *Manchurian Railways and the Opening of China: An International History* (London: M.E. Sharp, 2010), xv.

American forces in 1854.¹⁴² However, for Japan, rapid industrialisation, particularly through the construction of railways which connected the country, not only literally engineered an infrastructure but created an economically and politically stronger country, able to assert itself on a global stage and avoid the humiliations suffered by China.¹⁴³

These political and industrial changes across the East meant an increased flow of people, an established western presence and as a result, an expansion of English-language print culture that included colonial newspapers in India and treaty port publications in China and Japan, many of whom such as the *China Mail* and *Japan Gazette* published their own travellers' handbooks. Further, it was not solely under western influence that guidebooks developed, for example, Japanese publishers began producing English language handbooks for sites in China in the wake of the second Opium War.¹⁴⁴

Carl Thompson writes that authors of travellers' handbooks, which emerged in the 1830s, articulated and contributed to nineteenth-century commercial and colonial agendas.¹⁴⁵ Handbooks offered itineraries and identified sites of significance that focused the tourist gaze. In the case of India and China this was on significant sites of British imperialism, but Japan offered a different experience, since the country did not have the longstanding relationship with Britain politically, militarily and in regard to trade. Perceived as 'newly opened' to the west, Japan's identity was predicated on the distinction

¹⁴² Donald Keene, *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and his World, 1852-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 22.

¹⁴³ Takashi Nishiyama, *Engineering War and Peace in Modern Japan, 1868-1964* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), 7.

¹⁴⁴ Susan Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 489.

¹⁴⁵ Thompson, *Travel Writing*, 84-85.

between Old Japan, represented as a traditional society untouched by western intervention and New Japan, a rapidly modernising country. Travellers' handbooks were also another signifier of modernity, part of the technologically driven expanding print culture of the nineteenth century that was exploited by globetrotters and became a feature of their narratives.¹⁴⁶ Egerton Laird, for example, enumerated the different modes of transport he used and the distances covered noting that, shipboard time aside, he covered 12,006 miles on land '3,421 of these being accomplished on railways and 3,585 in coaches or on horseback'.¹⁴⁷ Globetrotters' accounts were cosmopolitan texts representing what Julia Kuehn asserts was 'discourse on the move under the influences of globalization'.¹⁴⁸ Further, globetrotters' inclusion of other texts within their narratives indicated how they sought to situate themselves at the intersection of the global and the local. These intertextualities were used, as Alex Watson demonstrates, to communicate a 'multi-polar world of shifting power relationships between polyvalent cultures'.¹⁴⁹ While the significance of the texts to which globetrotters referred must be considered, it must also be borne in mind that these were personal choices. All globetrotters used supplemental texts in their accounts, but not all of them used these texts with the same degree of sophistication or meaning.

In November 1916, Nancy Dearmer wrote to her mother noting she, and her new husband Percy, were moving on to Madura. She commented that they

¹⁴⁶ Susie Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2012), 41.

¹⁴⁷ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, vol. 2, 359.

¹⁴⁸ Julia Kuehn, 'Introduction' in Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, eds., *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 32.

¹⁴⁹ Alex Watson, 'The Garden of Forking Paths: Paratexts in Travel Literature' in Kuehn and Smethurst, eds., *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, 190.

visited the railway station to 'book a comp't on Madras Express for Monday night and to wire...there to expect us...we bought a Murray's Guide and another little guide book'.¹⁵⁰ Her purchase of *Murray's Handbook to India* in conjunction with a railway ticket and use of the telegraph highlighted the position guidebooks occupied at the interstices of technological and cultural circuits.

The handbooks were, in effect, textual 'nodes of intersection', connecting travellers with local sites accessed via global connections.¹⁵¹ They both guided physical movement on mass transportation and directed what John Urry terms the 'mass construction of the tourist gaze', advising travellers on what to see and how to view it.¹⁵² In shaping this gaze, the guidebooks used by British travellers often focussed on sites that, in addition to being of cultural significance, in some way defined British imperial interaction with the country they were visiting. For example, in India both *Murray's Handbook to India* and *Cook's Indian Tours* emphasized sites that were representative of British mercantile and colonial interaction such as Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and New Delhi, all large cities. These were presented in conjunction with Cawnpore and Lucknow, British memorials to the 1857 Indian Mutiny that led to the establishment of Crown rule.¹⁵³ The juxtaposition of railway station and handbook in Dearmer's letter was significant because it not only marked a point of physical access to India, the

¹⁵⁰ Nancy Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Bombay, Hotel Majestic, 2 November 1916, 4.

¹⁵¹ Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 41.

¹⁵² Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 24.

¹⁵³ Thomas Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours: Programme of Cook's New System of International Travelling Tickets, embracing every point of interest for Tourists and General Travellers in India, including Skeleton Tours and carefully-prepared Itineraries, Illustrating the Chief Routes by Railways, Steamers, Dâk-Ghârries, Ponies, Pâlkees, Jhâmpâns, and other Conveyances, with short Descriptions of some of the Principal Places, and a Glossary of Words and a Conversational Vocabulary, also a specially engraved Map of India* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1881), 53.

railway, but also of intellectual access via the handbook. The railways linked to shipping networks that facilitated local connections with global webs and handbooks were the key to these, both providing timetables and interpreting the sites and cultures travellers would encounter.

In his study of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century guidebooks produced for British travellers, John MacKenzie wrote that these publications were in essence representations of the British Empire.¹⁵⁴ Framing his work with Benedict Anderson's theory that networks of circulation for print culture allowed readers to be part of an 'imagined community', MacKenzie noted that travellers' handbooks to India, Egypt, and South Africa permitted tourists to be part of the imagined community of Empire.¹⁵⁵ However, this exploration of guidebooks as signifiers of Empire was confined to those countries that were part of formal Empire. The only reference MacKenzie made to the informal empire of the Treaty Ports was Murray's 1884 *Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, which he cited as an example of 'a symbolic reaching outwards which both followed and reinforced the tentacle of imperialism'.¹⁵⁶ While John Murray published a guidebook for Japan, he did not for China, nor were guidebooks produced solely under British auspices.¹⁵⁷ Further, the Japanese experience was markedly different from that of India and China and illustrated the way that British imperialism could be controlled and directed. Care must be taken in considering who had the power to control the image that was presented in

¹⁵⁴ John MacKenzie, 'Empires of Travel', 8.

¹⁵⁵ MacKenzie, 'Empires of Travel', 21.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Naquin, *Peking*, 489.

handbooks and thereby constructed the expected impression of country and culture.

It is also important to consider the identity of the readership of Cook's and Murray's guides since handbooks were produced not only for a differentiated East, but the choice of handbooks differentiated the social class of travellers as well. Murray's handbooks, for example, were seen by consumers as erudite volumes produced by experts for a discerning traveller.¹⁵⁸ *Cook's Tourist Guides*, as their name implied, were deemed representative of the crowds of solidly middle-class tourists who spoil the exclusivity of the European Grand Tour.¹⁵⁹

In the 1880s and 1890s Cook's tourists increasingly encroached on the elite social circles enjoyed by wealthy globetrotters. Their presence in Jaipur prompted Nora Beatrice Gardner's tart comment that the Indian city was 'on the route of Cook's tours, and Amber one of the happy hunting grounds of the 'personally conducted' ...I have come to the conclusion that I hate compulsory sight-seeing and loathe my fellow sight-seers'.¹⁶⁰ Although globetrotters depended heavily on their handbooks, references to these publications were absent from their accounts. However, there are other texts that are present in their accounts, as Alex Watson noted in his exploration of paratexts in travel writing. Footnotes and marginalia often offered the opportunity for a writer to present an opposing view, at odds with the opinion they expressed in the main

¹⁵⁸ W.B.C. Lister, *Murray's Handbooks for Travellers* (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1993), viii.

¹⁵⁹ MacKenzie, 'Empires of Travel', 29.

¹⁶⁰ Nora Beatrice Gardner, *Rifle and Spear with the Rajpoots: being the Narrative of a Winter's Travel and Sport in Northern India* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1895), 267.

text, thus creating a 'synchronised, shifting ideology' that engaged with a number of different readers on different levels.¹⁶¹ These networks of texts must be considered in terms of how they situated the views of the writer, but also how they focussed the gaze and communicated experience through an existing set of references that held meanings and associations with which their readership was already familiar.

The texts of travellers' handbooks directed the tourist gaze onto specific sites yet the commentary in globetrotters' accounts shows their own views did not necessarily align with those expressed in the handbooks. In their published accounts of globetrotting, travellers visited local sites and their performance within these spaces both confirmed and challenged the construction of the East created by the sites to which their gaze was guided. Globetrotters linked the experiences that the handbooks guided them towards, with other published sources in their own accounts, thus creating intertextual networks. An analysis of their accounts in conjunction with the handbooks reveals a commonality of experience but more significantly, changes to networks that became increasingly sophisticated as technology accelerated and globetrotters sought to capitalise on the transformative experiences of global travel.

Murray's Handbook for India and Cook's Indian Guides: Railways and the Raj

¹⁶¹ Watson, 'The Garden of Forking Paths: Paratexts in Travel Literature', 190.



Figure 10: Map of Bombay from Murray's *Handbook for India*, 1859. Sites of colonial administration were prioritized in Murray's map of Bombay including the Town Hall, Secretariat and Mint. Edward Backhouse Eastwick, *A Handbook for India* (London: John Murray, 1859). Collection: BL, T.13122

In the preface to Murray's 1859 *A Handbook for India* the author, Edward Backhouse Eastwick wrote that the publication capitalised on pre-existing global links to compress the distance between Britain and India: 'by almost continuous steam communication, by the Electric Telegraph, and, above all, by the sympathy which even the recent abortive effort to dis sever the two countries has itself

most remarkably tended to evoke'.¹⁶² Considered the first handbook to India, Eastwick's work made clear in its opening lines India's relationship with Britain, which in turn defined travellers' experiences of the country itself. That Murray, renowned for his selection of experts to author his handbooks, should have chosen Eastwick was indicative of the need, in the wake of the Indian Mutiny, to create an image of a securely governed colonial India. Eastwick himself maintained a long-standing connection with the country: his family were involved in the English East India Company and he served in the Bombay Infantry.¹⁶³ A talented linguist he translated a number of texts from Persian as well as a Sindhi vocabulary. His career in India was cut short due to ill health and he returned to Britain where, in 1845, he was appointed professor of Hindustani at Haileybury College. It was during his time at Haileybury that he wrote Murray's *Handbook for India*, which was initially published in two volumes covering Madras, Bombay, and the Bengal Presidency.¹⁶⁴ Like Murray's *Handbooks for Europe*, published a decade earlier, the *Handbook for India* included all the information that a traveller might need: a vocabulary of local dialects, suggested itineraries of sites of historical interest, as well as shipping and railway information.¹⁶⁵ However, there was a key difference between the *Handbook for India* and the European guides in that Eastwick provided information useful for colonial administrators and residents such as the pay

¹⁶² Edward Backhouse Eastwick, *A Handbook for India: being an account of the three Presidencies, and of the Overland Route; intended as a guide for Travellers, Officers, and Civilians; with vocabularies and dialogues of the spoken languages of India with travelling map and plans of towns* (London: John Murray, 1859), i.

¹⁶³ 'Obituary: Edward Backhouse Eastwick', *The Times*, Wednesday 18 July 1883, 10.

¹⁶⁴ Lister, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers*, xxix.

¹⁶⁵ Eastwick, *A Handbook for India*, 145, 'Architectural Tour of Madras', 12-3.

scales for civil servants, and the revenues collected in the Madras and Bombay presidencies.¹⁶⁶ [Figure 10] Although a reviewer in *The Times* suggested that *A Handbook for India* would be useful for tourists, the information given was aimed at a readership ready to take up long-term residence in India rather than nascent globetrotters.¹⁶⁷

A Handbook for India received mixed reviews in the popular press, which may reflect a confusion regarding who the intended audience was for a guide published by a firm known for tourist handbooks. The reviewer for *The Times* felt that *A Handbook for India* would open the subcontinent for adventurous travellers in the same way that Murray's *Handbooks* made Europe accessible.¹⁶⁸ The reviewer for *The Spectator* was far more critical of the publication, skewering the very knowledge that made Eastwick such an ideal author for *A Handbook for India*: his skill and familiarity with Eastern languages. Eastwick deviated from the familiar spellings for towns and cities in India that were already used by the British press, for example the town of Cawnpore, known throughout Britain as a site of massacre in the Indian Mutiny, was transformed to Kahnpur.¹⁶⁹ Deemed more accurate by Eastwick, this 'renaming' led *The Spectator's* reviewer to note that the publication was produced by 'some 'scholar' double-dyed in pedantry'.¹⁷⁰ This gap between what was viewed as accurate colonial knowledge and its accessibility for a more general readership continued despite Eastwick's revisions to the *Handbooks* that included Madras (1879),

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 1: 35, 100, 144.

¹⁶⁷ 'A Handbook for India', *The Times*, 31 January 1859.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Eastwick, *A Handbook for India*, 31.

¹⁷⁰ 'Murray's Hand-Book of India', *The Spectator*, 12 March, 1859, 16.

Bombay (1881), Bengal (1882), and Punjab (1883).¹⁷¹ Lord Ronald Gower, who made his world tour between 1883-4 wrote of his exasperation with *A Handbook for India* particularly in regard to Cawnpore:

One feels when travelling in India the want of a good guide to these historic scenes: the one published by Murray and written by Eastwick is most unsatisfactory; one is not told what is worth seeing, but only confused by a wearisome and endless list of places, of which the spelling alone is enough to bewilder the reader.¹⁷²

What globetrotters wanted, according to Gower, was a guide that aligned the experience of India with the picturesque landscapes of the European Grand Tour, not the minutiae of colonial administration. Gower himself aimed to replace the hated Murray's *A Handbook for India* with his own book, *A Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama* (1885), which he requested printed in 'pocket size' so that it would be of use to other travellers.¹⁷³ Gower's book may have fulfilled romantic expectation, but it failed to fill travellers in on important details such as the location of the post office, hotels and how to engage a guide.

Eastwick died in 1883, just as Murray's competitor, Thomas Cook & Son, began publishing their own guidebooks to India, *Cook's Indian Tours*, which served a tourist market that Cook himself had helped to create. Thomas Cook (1808-1892) was brought up as a Baptist and was active in the temperance movement. His first organised excursion in July 1841 was to escort 500 people from Leicester to a temperance rally in Loughborough via the Midland Counties Railway.¹⁷⁴ In 1851 he organised excursions to London to view the Great

¹⁷¹ Lister, *Murray's Handbooks for Travellers*, xxix.

¹⁷² Lord Ronald Gower, *A Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama, 1883-4* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885), 27.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, i.

¹⁷⁴ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (London: Arum Press, 1998), 257.

Exhibition in Hyde Park. As the decade progressed he expanded his services to excursions abroad including a circular tour of Belgium, Germany and France, followed by a further expansion in the 1860s to Switzerland, Italy, Egypt and the United States. [Figure 11] He was present, with a group of 'personally escorted' tourists, at the celebrations for the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.¹⁷⁵ In 1872, he launched the first 'Round the World Tour' a 222-day tour that crossed North America via the Continental railway, sailed from San Francisco for Yokohama, continued by steamer to China, Singapore, Ceylon and India, reached Cairo via the Red Sea and then back to London.¹⁷⁶ Cook excited public interest in the tour by sending regular dispatches to the newspapers in Britain, and in 1873, he published these collected letters co-authored with Dr. Jabez Burns (1805-1876), a fellow non-conformist, in *Letters from the Sea and from Foreign Lands*.



Figure 11: Thomas Cook's Offices Ludgate Circus London, c 1890. Collection: Thomas Cook Archive. Figure 12: 'Cook's Tourist Map of India', from *Cook's Indian Tours*, 1881. Collection: British Library, 010055.g.39.

Adept at business Cook aimed his World Tours not only at those interested in travelling outward from London (west to east) but also at those resident in India who might wish to make a World Tour (east to west). The

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Cook, 'Letters from the Sea and from Foreign Lands: Descriptive of a Tour Round the World', *The History of Tourism*, vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 2002).

impetus for this last innovation came from the Italian government which, shortly after the Suez Canal opened, approached Cook and suggested that he include the Italian port Brindisi as a stopping point for travellers setting out for or returning from India rather than travelling directly through Suez. Cook in turn approached the British government in India offering a circular ticket that meant travellers had to leave from and return to the same port, progressing onward through a series of destinations. He also issued circular notes, which allowed travellers to exchange a paper note from Thomas Cook & Son for local currency.¹⁷⁷ [Figure 13] In addition to organising Indian Tours, Thomas Cook & Son issued a guidebook for residents in India that presented a range of tour



Figure 13: Thomas Cook Circular note for travellers. Cook was not the first to use traveller's banknotes, but the firm did much to popularise it. Collection: Thomas Cook Archive.

options to the United States and Europe based on the length of furlough.¹⁷⁸ In

Thomas Cook's hands, the networks of East and West were a series of

¹⁷⁷ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, 284.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours: Programme of Cook's New System of International Travelling Tickets, Embracing every Point of Interest between India and Egypt, Palestine, Central Europe, Great Britain, America, Japan, China*

interlocking webs, connected by sites like Brindisi, that were similarly exploited in creating a global network that connected residents of the British Empire and gave equal weight to the development of travel in both the metropole and the periphery.

The earliest edition of *Cook's Indian Tours* from 1881 [Figure 12] further collapsed the vast spaces of India to a succinct ten points of interest: Agra, Benares, Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, Delhi, Jeypore, Lahore, Lucknow, and Madras.¹⁷⁹ Cook designated the principal cities of Bombay and Calcutta as sites of intersection with either the West or the East. Bombay was described as 'the head of Indian ports so far as interchange of trade with Europe is concerned' and generally a first point of arrival in India for travellers coming through Suez.¹⁸⁰ On the East coast, Calcutta 'still retained as the seat of the Vice-Regal Government of India...the port of interchange and commerce as between Hindustan and Burmah, China and Australasia', it was a departure point for those moving on to China and an arrival point for those travelling, as Annie Russell-Cotes did in 1886, westward from San Francisco.¹⁸¹ Between these nodes of Bombay and Calcutta the local experience of India, as set out in Cook's ten 'Points of Interest', was accessed through the railways.¹⁸²

Early globetrotter Arthur Drummond Carlisle noted as he journeyed onward from Cawnpore to Lucknow in 1870: 'only a distance of forty-seven

Australia, New Zealand, and all parts of the globe with maps (London: Thomas Cook & Son, nd), 8-12.

¹⁷⁹ Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours: Programme of Cook's New System of International Travelling Tickets*, (1881), 52-65.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, 55.

¹⁸¹ Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours*, 58; Russell-Cotes, *Westward from the Golden Gate*, 108.

¹⁸² Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours*, 52.

miles, which we traverse by rail in two hours and half, after crossing the Ganges by the Cawnpore bridge of boats. Would that in 1857 the transit between the two places had been as easy!¹⁸³ In the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny, the British government recognized the importance of connecting India via the railway and duly focussed on its construction. As the Suez Canal brought India closer to Britain, the expanding network of railways in India not only allowed distances to be covered relatively quickly, but they bound the new colonial possession together, rendering it a political entity.¹⁸⁴ Sites like Cawnpore were drawn closer to administrative centres through rail technology. As Drummond's account of his tour in India makes clear, Cawnpore was a point of particular focus for tourists. By the 1870s, the key mutiny sites of Cawnpore and Lucknow were the most visited in India.¹⁸⁵



¹⁸³ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 55.

¹⁸⁴ Roopa Srinivasa, 'Introduction' in Roopa Srinivasa, Manish Tiwari, and Sandeep Silas, eds., *Our Indian Railway: Themes in India's Railway History* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2006), xiii.

¹⁸⁵ Manu Goswami, 'Englishness' on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 9 (1996), 56.

Figure 14: Marochetti's marble angel was an image synonymous with Cawnpore. This image was reproduced in Egerton Laird's book *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter* (1875). It was likely that he purchased it from the Indian studio of Bourne & Shepard. It was also published in Samuel Bourne's *Indian Views* (1864). Collection: British Library, 10026.g.1.

Figure 15: The Cover for Joseph Lee's publication *The Indian Mutiny: and in Particular a Narrative of Events at Cawnpore, June and July 1857* (1893), Collection: British Library, 09059.aaa.26

The entry for Cawnpore in the first *Cook's Indian Guide*, which was subsequently reproduced unaltered for the next twenty years, demonstrated the way certain sites within India defined the country by its role in the British Empire. Mary Procida wrote of the significance Cawnpore took for the wider British public who 'revered the Englishwomen slaughtered at Cawnpore as martyrs to the cause of imperialism — the well itself became hallowed ground, topped by a marble angel'.¹⁸⁶ [Figure 14] This was reflected in the *Cook's* entry in two ways: the town received the longest entry of the ten sites of interest listed and it was the only site where a specific guide was named.¹⁸⁷ On arrival in Cawnpore, *Cook's* suggested that 'for the subsequent incidents and the retribution afterward inflicted, the visitor cannot do better than ask Mr. Lee, of the Railway Hotel, to drive them over the ground with him and "fight the battle o'er again"'.¹⁸⁸ Joe Lee was the proprietor of the Railway Hotel, located directly next to the station where visitors could move from the technological connections of the railway to the socio-historical local network represented in the person of Mr. Lee. He claimed to have been a retired sergeant major and the last eyewitness to the massacres at Cawnpore. Acting in a similar capacity to Cook himself by personally escorting visitors around the key Mutiny sites, he entertained audiences that included globetrotters and residents alike. A retired Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Army Medical Corps reminisced of Christmas

¹⁸⁶ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 113.

¹⁸⁷ Cook & Son, *Cook's Indian Tours*, 61.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

spent in Cawnpore in 1882: 'at the time of our visit, the proprietor the Railway Hotel was a Mr. Lee....[who] accompanied us throughout the entire day, so that we had full descriptions of the horrors from a reliable eye witness'.¹⁸⁹

Lee's publication, *The Indian Mutiny: and in Particular a Narrative of Events at Cawnpore, June and July 1857* (1893) [Figure 15] served as a local guidebook to a specific event that came to define India among western travellers in the later part of the nineteenth century. Among the testimonials in Lee's book were those from tourists who made a winter tour of India, including the writer and politician W.E. Baxter who travelled with his family in 1877 and described his encounter with Lee in his own account *A Winter in India* (1882): 'a very remarkable man...was in nearly all the great battles in Scinde', thus linking the person of Joseph Lee with key imperial conflicts in India.¹⁹⁰ In 1891, American globetrotter Frederick Thompson wrote in his account that he was greeted at the station by 'Joseph Lee a former soldier...one of that heroic band that entered Cawnpore with Havelock — unfortunately, two hours after the last of the English prisoners was killed by mutineers under that barbarous murderer, Nana Sahib'.¹⁹¹ Joseph Lee not only presented a dramatic retelling of events, thus satisfying in part a macabre fascination with the site, but also allowed travellers to make emotional connections with the events of Cawnpore. That Cawnpore was a site of Empire was undoubted. But its prominence as a tourist site and the way that it was situated in Cook's at the intersection of local and global networks

¹⁸⁹ G.H. Yonge, 'A Tour of Service in Northern India', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps* (1929), 52.

¹⁹⁰ W.E. Baxter, *A Winter in India* (London: Cassell & Company, 1882), 62.

¹⁹¹ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 134.

meant that for many travellers, Cawnpore offered the promise of a defining experience of India.

The narrative of Cawnpore that *Cook's* and *Murray's* presented was one of British sacrifice and heroism, and globetrotters themselves did not leave this view unchallenged. Their accounts invariably included a number of intertextual references bringing the expert voices of contemporary historians, poets, or scholars into play with globetrotters' own views. For example, Egerton Laird referred to aristocratic diplomat Ludovic de Beauvoir's two-volume account, *A Voyage Round the World* (1870) to corroborate his own experiences.¹⁹² Twenty years later, Thompson used the description of the Taj Mahal by the poet, journalist, and renowned orientalist Sir Edwin Arnold to express his feelings on his own visit to the site.¹⁹³ The use of these texts confirmed and validated their own experiences and added an additional authority to what the public perceived as the superficial voice of the globetrotter.

However, of the travellers considered in this dissertation, Laird consistently used additional texts that constructed and supported a more challenging viewpoint beyond the expected, conventional narrative put in the travellers' handbooks. On his visit to Cawnpore, instead of merely recounting the horrors and solemn memorialisation of the site, Laird introduced another authorial voice that suggested a more controversial interpretation of his experience. After touring the site, taking in Marochetti's marble angel over the well, and noting the recently constructed foundations of the memorial church, Laird commented: 'I suppose, however, the mutineers thought they were fighting

¹⁹² Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 178, 236-7, 248, 265, 270, 314; 2: 6-7, 24-6, 52, 72.

¹⁹³ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 137-40.

for release from a foreign power. I have not read a full account of the Mutiny, but believe a book by Trevelyan is worth reading'.¹⁹⁴ G.O. Trevelyan's 1865 publication *Cawnpore* offered a more sympathetic view of the role of Indians in the Mutiny that provoked outrage in the popular press on its publication. The reviewer in *The Spectator* denounced the book in a piece that was published in newspapers across Britain. Pronouncing it 'utterly valueless' he noted that Trevelyan undertook 'to represent the whole of his countrymen there, civilians excepted, as brutal oppressors of the native soil'.¹⁹⁵ *The Shields Daily Gazette* reprinted the review with additional commentary noting that the publication was like the political stances taken by Trevelyan as a member of parliament, the result of 'juvenile vanity and conceit'.¹⁹⁶ That Laird relied on his readerships' knowledge of the contentious text allowed him to put forward what was an unpopular political opinion through another authorial voice, thereby deflecting censure. This situated his personal experience of Cawnpore outside of the expected formula of memorialisation to the sacrifices of Empire with a more critical opinion, thus challenging the perception that globetrotters' accounts were merely cursory views of a country through which they travelled at speed.

Chinese Guidebooks: Opening a 'Closed' Country

Murray and Cook produced the majority of guidebooks used by globetrotters to India but the Chinese market was markedly different and many publications for travellers were produced in Shanghai and Hong Kong, both significant port cities. This reflected both a burgeoning English language publishing industry in China

¹⁹⁴ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2: 158.

¹⁹⁵ 'Mr. Trevelyan's Cawnpore', *The Spectator*, 29 April 1865, 16.

¹⁹⁶ 'Mr. Trevelyan's Cawnpore', *Shields Daily Gazette*, 6 May 1865.

and its links with shipping lines. That there was not the same type of publishing inland, indicated the absence of a developed railway. Cook's firm in particular, was dependent on the railways in developing their tours. The Chinese government did not strategically develop the railways until after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-5). Fought between China and Japan for influence in Korea, it not only saw Japan go nearly undefeated, it marked a new challenge to China, which had been the dominant power. The loss was one of the factors that served to spur on the Qing government to initiate a number of reforms in China. Amongst these was the development of railways, although the government had viewed them, to this point, as a western technology to be resisted. Railway development in China occurred on a piecemeal basis under the auspices of western powers seeking to link up trading points. British firms like Jardine and Matheson, the largest trading company in the East who were heavily involved in the opium trade, built the first railway in China between Shanghai and Woosung in 1876. [Figure 16] It was dismantled a year later because they had not sought government approval. In the wake of the First Sino-Japanese war railway building accelerated as the government granted concessions to western powers, and Japan, to develop rail routes. In 1904, in the face of popular criticism that the Qing government had conceded railway development, and more importantly the financial dividends that generated, to foreigners, they allowed local provinces to develop their own railway companies, thus stimulating local economies.



Figure 16: 'Arrival of the first Locomotive in China'. Photographer unknown, c 1875. Collection: British Library, 8235.k.6.

Although Britain, and other western powers, clearly exerted political influence, China was never directly governed in the way that India was. Further, the Chinese largely confined British encroachments to Treaty Ports, the presence of diplomatic legations in Peking and the ceding of Hong Kong Island. Murray never produced a Chinese handbook, most likely because the firm sold its handbook concession in 1901, too late to take advantage of the developing Chinese railways. Cook did not publish one until 1910, and their first tour to China was via the 'overground' route where, instead of going East by way of Suez, travellers passed thorough Russia and Central Asia on the railways.

The majority of travellers' handbooks produced for China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were published by English language newspapers and shipping lines indicative of the expanding networks of globalisation represented by the presence of competing western powers in the

country.¹⁹⁷ After the Opium Wars the Treaties of Nanjing (1842) and Tianjin (1858) opened Chinese ports to Britain, France and the United States. The earliest guidebook to China and Japan produced by a shipping company came not from Britain but from the United States, *A Sketch of the New Route to China and Japan by the Pacific Mail Steamship Cos.: Through Line of Steamships between New York, Yokohama, and Hong Kong, via the Isthmus of Panama and San Francisco* published in 1867. These shipping networks were connected with the rapid development of English language newspapers in foreign ports that covered local politics, financial and transport news disseminating the information for a global audience. These newspapers were, Thompson and Magee noted, invaluable for both institutional and individual investors, and provided a sense of insider knowledge that supported the global financial networks of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁹⁸ The guides produced by English language newspapers in China such as the *Guide for Tourists to Peking and its Environs* (1876) written by Nicholas Dennys, editor of the *China Mail* in Hong Kong, were a means of communicating the first hand knowledge of residents. These guides also drew on the language and images used in older sources on China, with which readers would have already been familiar. One example was John Barrow's *Travels in China* (1804), which gave an account of the country at the time of the failed Macartney embassy (1793). Sent to China to gain trade concessions for Britain, the embassy was unsuccessful but the publications by its

¹⁹⁷ Weiping Wu and Piper Gaubatz, *The Chinese City* (London: Routledge, 2013), 45.

¹⁹⁸ Thompson and Magee, *Empire and Globalisation*, 185-7.

members, including the artist William Alexander (1767-1816) proved culturally influential in Britain for the next fifty years.¹⁹⁹

Just as Cawnpore received overwhelming attention because of the place it held not only as a symbol of British imperial interaction but one that defined Britain's relationship with India in the second half of the nineteenth century, so too did specific Chinese sites. Erik Ringmar has shown how in China, the destruction in 1860 of the Old Summer Palace or Yuanmingyuan, located outside the northwest walls of the imperial city, was the defining event between China and Britain in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁰⁰ This not only led to the end of the Second Opium War and opened Beijing more fully to the West, it also demonstrated a shift in the balance of power in the relationship between China and the west. Where China could once reject Britain's overtures for trade with the Macartney embassy, now it was Britain that was able to dictate the trade agreements. In this context, the site figured prominently in travellers' handbooks. As a result, these guides presented a view of China that reflected the resistance of the Qing government towards British encroachments that was both historical and contemporary to globetrotters.

In his analysis of traveller's accounts of China in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Peter Kitson noted that the Chinese capital of Peking with its palace complexes and access to the Great Wall was the locus of a version of the Romantic sublime, the 'stupendous' which invoked a 'feeling of

¹⁹⁹ Susan Legouix, *Image of China: William Alexander* (London: Jupiter Books, 1980); Zheng Yangwen, ed., *The Chinese Chameleon Revisited: From the Jesuits to Zhang Yimou* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 21-2.

²⁰⁰ Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism*, 147.

disappointment as well as wonder and astonishment'.²⁰¹ Kitson cited John Barrow's account of his experiences as an important text that communicated this duality of disappointment and awe.²⁰² Barrow's text characterised China as a country whose inhabitants were filthy and poorly ruled by a 'haughty court' that still had the power to refuse Britain a trade agreement to 'feed its pride'.²⁰³ Barrow himself was allocated what he described as a 'hovel' in the Yuanmingyuan in order to oversee the unpacking and display of British gifts for the Chinese Emperor.²⁰⁴ When unobserved, Barrow wrote that he took the opportunity to explore the Yuanmingyuan in a series of 'little excursions I made ... by stealth' venturing 'from our lodging in the evening in order to take a stolen glance at these celebrated gardens'.²⁰⁵ In his narrative Barrow offered an example of transgressive behaviour that secretly defied the Qing Emperor.

Barrow's *Travels in China* was published sixty-five years before the first globetrotters ventured East through the Suez Canal and it enjoyed a longevity among the British public. This was in part due to a scathing rebuttal of the book published by William Jardine Proudfoot in 1861.²⁰⁶ Proudfoot was the grandson

²⁰¹ Peter J. Kitson, "That mighty Wall, not fabulous/China's stupendous mound! Romantic Period Accounts of China's 'Great Wall'" in Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, eds., *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 249.

²⁰² Ibid, 244.

²⁰³ John Barrow, *Travels in China, containing descriptions, observations, and comparisons, made and collected in the course of a short residence at the imperial palace of Yuen-Min-Yuen, and on a subsequent journey from Peking to Canton* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804), 24.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 122.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 124.

²⁰⁶ William Jardine Proudfoot, "*Barrow's Travels in China*" Investigated: An investigation into the origin and authenticity or the "facts and observations" related in a work entitled "*Travels in China, by J. Barrow*"...preceded by a preliminary inquiry into the nature of the "powerful motive" of the same author,

of astronomer and member of the Macartney embassy, James Dinwiddie. Feeling that Dinwiddie had been belittled by Barrow's representation of him, Proudfoot specifically contested the description of accessing the gardens and buildings of the Yuanmingyuan, noting that it would simply not have been possible to elude their Chinese guards.²⁰⁷ Proudfoot also published a second volume, a biography of Dinwiddie in 1868, in which he reiterated the strictures placed on Dinwiddie and Barrow during their residence at the Yuanmingyuan.²⁰⁸ In addition to Proudfoot's publications, Barrow's account was also used as a guide by British expeditionary forces during the Second Opium War.²⁰⁹ The account, which praised the beauty of the gardens and pavilions of the Yuanmingyuan, was also the same text that facilitated the destruction of the site in 1860. The Emperor and court were forced to flee to Chengde, an imperial complex to the north of Peking. There, from a position of political and military weakness, the Emperor was forced to agree to the ratification of the Treaty of Tianjin (1860), which ultimately set in place an infrastructure that was exploited by globetrotters.

Susan Naquin noted that while Peking emptied of foreigners in 1860, after the cessation of hostilities and the creation of the legations, they flooded back into the city.²¹⁰ One of the first handbooks to China for globetrotters, Dennis' 1876 *Guide for Tourists to Peking and its Environs*, commented on the increased presence of tourists in the city, that 'has of late attracted the more visitors as the facilities of travelling progress, and the want of a practical guide book has been

and its influence on his duties at the Chinese capital, as comptroller of the British Embassy in 1793 (London, Liverpool: no printer, 1861).

²⁰⁷ Ibid, 44.

²⁰⁸ William Jardine Proudfoot, *Biographical Memoir of James Dinwiddie Astronomer in the British Embassy to China* (Liverpool: Edward, 1868).

²⁰⁹ Ringmar, *Liberal Barbarism*, 175.

²¹⁰ Naquin, *Peking*, 470.

more and more felt'.²¹¹ One of the sites Dennys advised travellers to visit was the Yuanmingyuan, although he warned that access was difficult.²¹² [Figure 17]

Figure 17: 'Ruins of Emperor's Palace, Yuen Ming Yuen, Peking', from Carew Davies Gilbert's photograph collection, with his own inscription. Attributed to William Saunders, c1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 9.

In 1874 the Qing government closed the site to deter souvenir hunters and began ambitious plans to rebuild. In the 1880s the Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) improved the nearby site, the New Summer Palace or Yiheyuan, for her own residence. Building works were sporadic, due to depleted governmental resources, and lasted into the 1890s. As a result the Yuanmingyuan remained

²¹¹ Nicholas Dennys, *Guide for Tourists to Peking and its Environs. With a plan of the City of Peking and a Sketch Map of its Neighbourhood*. (Hong Kong: Printed at the "China Mail" Office, 1876), iii.

²¹² *Ibid*, 36.

closed for most of this period.²¹³ In an echo of Barrow, Dennys encouraged tourists not to be deterred by what appeared to be a lack of access to the ruins:

Yüan-ming-yüan is strictly closed...entrance is, however, possible, only one should try a little wicket on the northern side, but none of the large gates on the south, east or west. Even should the trial prove a success, one should not proceed too far into the park, where foreign visitors had some disagreeable meetings with soldiers, but be contented with taking a view of the buildings in the northern and north-eastern part of the park.²¹⁴

Just as Cawnpore was a site where globetrotters could access the local experience that connected them to the British Empire through the performances of Joseph Lee, the Yuanmingyuan was one where Chinese resistance could be overcome by re-enacting Barrow's stealth.

Laird's reaction to the ruins of the Yuanmingyuan and his use of supplementary texts constructed a dialogue between his own viewpoint and accepted accounts of the destruction of the site which challenged the sense of moral superiority that the British manifested in regard to China at this time. MacCannell noted that the tourist always experienced another culture from a point of their [the tourist's] own superiority.²¹⁵ Laird's reflections amongst the ruins challenged that position:

Is it a wonder the Chinese hate us? No marvel they think us barbarians. I wonder whether it was necessary to have destroyed the most beautiful palaces and grounds in the world. Some people say it was, as it made the Chinese feel our power; but I must say I think they might have done so without pillage; however, it will always remain a sad and blackened memorial of what the Allies did in China, and I am sorry that such a one exists, as it will not tend to increase the admiration of Celestials for Europeans, however much it may hold them in terror of our armies.²¹⁶

²¹³ Naquin, *Peking*, 488.

²¹⁴ Dennys, *Guide for Tourists to Peking and its Environs*, 36-7.

²¹⁵ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 101.

²¹⁶ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 274.

In condemning what had happened to the site, Laird cast his own countrymen in the role of, as he termed it, 'the destroyer'.²¹⁷ Laird's overall view of China was largely negative and pithily conveyed through the offhand comment: 'from what I have seen of the Celestials, there is a remarkable want of appreciation of springs about them as proved by their carts, water, and beds'.²¹⁸ Yet his sense of innate superiority was challenged and potentially undermined when Laird was confronted with a sight that brought into question the moral position of the British in China. Textual equilibrium was recovered a few pages later in his account:

When I mentioned the other day what a sin the destruction of the Summer Palace appeared to be, I did not know anything about the cause, &c., but I have since read Lord Elgin's Second Embassy by Loch; and as the Emperor had offended by killing and torturing some Europeans, Sir Hope Grant thought it would be best to retaliate by burning the Summer Palace, as it was only the Emperor that felt the loss, and not the people. Anyhow, judging from the other buildings, it would have gone to ruin sooner or later.²¹⁹

Laird absolved the British by adopting the official narrative that laid blame for the destruction of the Yuanmingyuan not with the Chinese people, but their government. In his account this second passage employed a trope of China: that it was led by an ineffectual government, the source of Chinese troubles both domestically and globally. To follow the use of the trope to its conclusion, was to view the destruction of the Yuanmingyuan as an inevitability. The 'haughty court', that Barrow had condemned seventy years earlier, could neither wage war to protect its cultural treasures nor could it govern effectively in peacetime to preserve them. However, by keeping opposing viewpoints in his narrative —

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid, 1: 256.

²¹⁹ Ibid, 1: 279.

his musings at the site of the Yuanmingyuan and the culpability of the Chinese government itself — Laird added a layer of ambiguity about what meanings the site held for him. While Laird's sympathies were not as clear-cut as those he expressed in Cawnpore, neither did he entirely condemn the Chinese, nor express approbation for British actions. This ambiguity reflected a wider British viewpoint about China, a country that was once admired, but at the same time, denigrated for its opposition to British trading overtures.²²⁰ Further, what travellers like Laird show was that although sites such as Cawnpore and the Yuanmingyuan were meant to be viewed by Britons as a projection of British power globally, they were not viewed uncritically. Globetrotters did not blindly follow where their guidebooks led them.

Figure 18: The Temple of Heaven, Carew Davies Gilbert albums. Attributed to William Saunders, c 1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 15.

The ruins of the Yuanmingyuan were presented in globetrotters' narratives as a cypher for bad government, but the site was also part of a theme of forcing open or illicitly accessing closed areas that were repeated activities for globetrotters. Laird wrote of his visit to the Temple of Heaven: 'it is against all

²²⁰ Catherine Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', 32.

rules and regulations for anybody to go in, so we had to go in by stealth...we managed to slip in by a small postern; and when you are once in the porters do not interfere with you'.²²¹ [Figure 18] Percy Powell-Cotton enacted a similar transgression in 1891 at the Ming Tombs when he 'got rid of guardian climbed a tree and got a yellow dragon facing tile off a wall'.²²² [Figure 19 and Figure 20] Traveller and author Eliza Scidmore, who was commissioned to write the 1892 China guidebook for the shipping line Canada Pacific noted 'the sights of Peking are lessening in number each year because of the authorities closing them to foreigners' and recommended bribery to breach defences.²²³

Figure 19: Photograph of the Avenue to the Ming Tombs. Attributed to William Saunders, c 1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 13.

Figure 20: Yellow roof tile, Ming Tombs, China, 1409-1644. Taken by Percy Powell-Cotton in 1891. Collection: Quex Park, Birchington, Kent.

Globetrotters' performance of transgression and, in Powell-Cotton's case, appropriation, re-enacted in a small way the events at the Yuanmingyuan.

Through this reiteration they reinforced British perceptions of China not only to themselves, but their readership. By stealthily entering areas that were

forbidden, which they choose to do because they were foreigners and not only

²²¹ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 277.

²²² Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, QP, Ming Tombs, 4 April 1891, 193.

²²³ Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, *Westward to the Far East: A Guide to the Principal Cities of China and Japan* (Montreal: The Canadian Pacific Railway Company, 1892), 42.

elected to access closed spaces, but their guidebooks encouraged them to do so, globetrotters accessed what was closed and also forced their way into what MacCannell designated 'behind the scenes'.²²⁴ However, this space was not representative of a staged experience where locals offered tourists access. It was a transgression of space that heightened the sense that these experiences were authentic rather than staged for globetrotters' benefits. That guidebooks recommended trespassing as a means to access the authentic indicated that again, unlike India which as a British possession was accessible, China was still able to control space that could not be accessed and therefore must be breached.

By the late nineteenth century the Qing dynasty itself was, if not in decline, then not entirely equipped to deal with China's changing social and political landscape. Administrators were given to corruption as private interests trumped those of public service. A Chinese population boom combined with a reduction in local administrators and the growth of mass civil disobedience weakened the role of the government who were unable to effectively institute much needed reforms nor were they able to defend the borders of their Empire.²²⁵ Government forces were unable to stop the Wuchang Uprising (1911) in the Yangtze Valley which began in part because the government mishandled their plan to nationalise China's railways. After granting the oversight of railway development to individual provinces, the government moved to nationalise railways in order to use the proceeds to relieve debt incurred as part of the Boxer Rebellion (1901). The Railway Protection

²²⁴ Dean MacCannell, 'Tourist Agency', 36.

²²⁵ Susan Mann Jones and Philp A. Kuhn, 'Dynastic Decline and the Roots of Rebellion' in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Cambridge History of China: The Late Ch'ing 1800-1911*, part I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 107-62.

Movement began a programme of civil disobedience and revolutionaries in Wuchang saw this as an opportunity to begin their uprising. Unable to bring this under control, the child emperor Pu Yi was forced to abdicate in 1912, effectively ending the reign of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). In its place was a new central Republican government.

The instability in China did not deter travellers, but Cook's 1910 guide acknowledged that globetrotters might face a more dangerous visit due to political and social volatility. The first site mentioned was the British legation, which was 'surrounded by a high and fairly substantial wall,' and 'has from time to time served as a place of general rendez-vous [sic] in times of impending trouble'.²²⁶ The site provided a new locus for an old narrative of the assertion of British power against the Qing government. The handbook memorialised the British role in the Boxer Rebellion by making a feature of the location of the legations. Additionally the reference to the fortifications of the legations conveyed an implicit warning that not only was China unstable politically, but that instability potentially challenged the balance of power in Anglo-Chinese relations.

The firm's 1917 guide to China marked the changes of the early Republican period casting this 'new' China as a modern, forward looking country, no longer tied to the crumbling past represented by sites of the outmoded imperial government. The reality was that during the early Republican period politically China was in turmoil marked by factional struggles, civil war and

²²⁶ Thomas Cook & Son, *Cook's Handbook for Tourists to Peking, Tientsin, Shan-Hai-Kwan, Mukden, Dalny, Port Arthur, and Seoul* (London: Thomas Cook & Son, 1910), 22.

famine, the legacy of the Qing government.²²⁷ However, Chinese industries were also expanding. Interestingly, Cook's guide turned a blind eye to these issues, instead presenting a 'new' China joining 'modern' technology with the potential for rediscovering the country. The guide specifically highlighted the importance of the railways in accessing the country and noted that their development within 'the last few years has opened the eyes of the tourist to the possibilities of finding something new'.²²⁸ These viewpoints voiced in the guidebooks implied that the natural outcome of having a westernised government was that they recognized and implemented the need for technological modernisation of the railways.

The guidebooks were also quick to voice the additional view that with the advent of the Republican period, prosperity would return to China. Cook's 1917 guide noted that Peking had once been a 'network of filthy streets...that contrasted strongly with the magnificence of the marble ways and granite courts' under the old imperial regime, but now 'there is certainly no city in China under purely Chinese administration with better streets and a more wholesome atmosphere'.²²⁹ The author placed responsibility for the previously deplorable state of China on the Empress Dowager Cixi. As it had so often in the past been a symbol for the failure of the Qing, the Yuanmingyuan was again cited as emblematic of the Cixi's political shortcomings. Travellers were advised to visit the park, which was now completely open, and begin by viewing the Yiheyuan, a retreat built by Cixi at the expense of the government purse.

²²⁷ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 268.

²²⁸ Thomas Cook & Son, *Peking and the Overland Route: With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations* (London: Ludgate Circus, 1917), i.

²²⁹ *Ibid*, 2.

The first point of interest were the architectural relics of her long rule, a marble junk from an earlier period that she restored that was 'badly painted...scarcely in keeping with the other buildings'.²³⁰ From her poor taste, commensurate with her poor political judgement, visitors were encouraged to move to the ruins of the Yuanmingyuan 'destroyed by the British and French in 1860 as a demonstration against the procrastinating diplomacy of the Chinese and as a punishment for the imprisonment and torture of emissaries...little is left of the pavilions, but a survey of the grounds gives some idea of the former beauty and is well worth making'.²³¹ In short, whilst governments might change and access was improved, an iconic site like the Yuanmingyuan was, implicitly in guidebooks, figured as a physical remnant of the failures and excesses of Chinese imperial rule that ultimately condoned British interventions.

Japan: Networks of Modernity

Globetrotters' interactions with and experiences of sites in Japan differed greatly from those in India and China. In part this reflects a shorter period of direct British interactions since Japan, unlike India and China, was only formally opened to western trade in 1854.²³² There was no clear focus in narratives on a key site that represented Anglo-Japanese relations. Narratives focussed not on events like those at Cawnpore or the destruction of sites like the Yuanmingyuan, but rather on the accelerated rate that Japan embraced western industrialisation. Takashi Nishiyama noted that railway building was one of the pre-occupations of the Meiji government, as infrastructural expansion was integral to successful

²³⁰ Ibid, 80.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, 22.

Japanese competition on the world stage and the fulfilment of imperial desires.²³³

One of the earliest English language guidebooks for visitors to Japan, *A Guide Book to Nikkô* (1875), was written by British diplomat Ernest Mason Satow (1843-1929) and published in Yokohama by the *Japan Mail*, a bi-weekly English language newspaper that offered political analysis as well as shipping timetables. Satow's guide offered the traveller the opportunity to connect with Japanese

Figure 21: The pagoda at the Toshogu Shrine, Nikko. Baron Stillfried or Felice Beato, c1870. Collection: Charles James Lucas Albm, British Library, Photo 1224/5, 55.

history and the picturesque at the site of a temple complex that was the 'resting place of the founder of the Tokugawa dynasty and his illustrious grandson'.²³⁴

[Figure 21] In 1875, the Tokugawa Shogunate still represented relatively recent history, and the recommended route to Nikko was, Satow advised, by travelling

²³³ Takashi Nishiyama, *Engineering War and Peace in Modern Japan, 1868-1964* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 7.

²³⁴ E.M. Satow, *A Guide Book to Nikkô* (Yokohama: Japan Mail Office, 1875), 4.

along the Oshin Kaido, the old imperial road.²³⁵ A culturally and historically important site, western travellers engaged with Nikko for its beauty and evocation of an idealised 'Old Japan'. This was represented through the vanished world of the Shogun and samurai. Nikko encapsulated the experience of history, politics and the picturesque that globetrotters actively sought.

Part of what made this idea of 'Old Japan', a country that globetrotters idealised as having remained unchanged for centuries, so attractive was that it offered a sort of antidote to their own constant movement. Caitlin Vandertop noted that in travel writing the infrastructures that facilitate travel are hidden or overlooked in order to emphasize an experience of the romantic landscape.²³⁶ When they were emphasized in travel writing it was often to underscore the mobility of the writer, that they might define themselves against the perceived immobility of residents.²³⁷ Globetrotters' narratives were characterised by constant mobility as they moved in relatively quick succession from one culture to another, often spending a matter of mere weeks in one country. Their desire to interact with an 'Old Japan' meant that globetrotters sought a vision of an unchanged country and culture, thus emphasizing the immobility of the inhabitants spatially and temporally. [Figure 22] This unchanged nature, untouched by western influences and technological expansion, was an antidote to globetrotters' own constant movement: a version of 'stillness' that meant that an encounter with 'Old Japan' was an experience of an older, authentic culture.²³⁸

²³⁵ Ibid, 1.

²³⁶ Caitlin Vandertop, 'Travel Literature and the Infrastructural Unconscious', in Kuehn and Smethurst, eds., *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, 301.

²³⁷ Ibid, 312.

²³⁸ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 178.

However, what they encountered was a rapidly industrialising Japan that contributed to a sense of almost hyper-mobility, which in turn led travellers to communicate the Japanese experience in heightened elegiac terms. Laird referred not to historical or political texts, but to John Milton's (1608-1674) *Paradise Lost* (1667), as he gazed on the Japanese landscape of the Tokaido:

Figure 22: The red lacquer bridge near Nikko, used only by the Imperial family. This image, collected by Charles James Lucas, was part of the realisation of idealised Japanese landscape. Baron von Stilfried, c 1870. Collection: British Library, Photo 1224/5 (55).

Sweet is the breath of morn — her rising sweet
With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams on herb, tree, fruit, and flower
Glistering with dew; fragrant the fertile earth
After soft showers; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful evening mild.²³⁹

Laird chose a stanza from Milton's poem featured in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* when Adam and Eve conversed in their bower describing the idyll of the Garden of Eden just as Satan has entered it. Laird located Japan as a paradise in

²³⁹ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 203.

its own right assuring his readers that the country was as close to Edenic perfection as possible, a combination of English climate and azure 'Australian sky'.²⁴⁰ Laird's choice of text suggested that he, or rather western encroachments, were the serpent within the paradise that was Japan, and one that would shortly be lost through the effects of industrialisation. Although this is the most straightforward interpretation of Laird's supplemental text, I feel that it is perhaps too simplistic. Laird used a stanza of the poem describing paradise before the effects of Satan were felt, but Satan as Milton created him was a sympathetic anti-hero.²⁴¹ In his narrative, Laird cast himself as a more sympathetic globetrotter who, like Milton's Satan, was an unlikely and troubling protagonist. Although his travels and presence impacted the cultures that he sought out, at the same time Laird preferred to view himself as a purveyor of the cosmopolitan who was mostly appreciative of cultural difference.

In his encyclopaedic volume *Things Japanese* (1890) Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), a professor at the Imperial University (University of Tokyo) wrote an entry on 'guidebooks' that astutely assessed the competition between publishers for the tourist market:

By far the fullest and best is Murray's 'Handbook for Central and Northern Japan, by Satow and Hawes...unfortunately this work, which is a mine of information, not only on the topography, but on the history, traditions, art, etc. of Japan, is now out of print, and second-hand copies command high prices. There is a smaller 'Tourists' Guide' by W.E.L. Keeling; a 'Handy Guidebook to the Japan Island,' by W.H. Seton Kerr, and an 'Official Railway and Steamboat Traveller's Guide,' of which new editions appear every few

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ John T. Shawcross, *With Mortal Voice: The Creation of Paradise Lost*, first edition 1982 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 33-5.

months. All these small guide-books are more or less compilations from Messrs. Satow and Hawes work.²⁴²

The recommendation of *Murray's* was hardly disinterested: Chamberlain himself edited the 1891 edition of *Murray's Handbook to Japan*, re-using much of what had been written by Satow and Hawes (1842-1897, Hawes was a retired Lieutenant in the Royal Marines) in their 1884 edition. This was an example of how Murray attempted to penetrate what was a volatile market using the pre-existing network of publishers and publications. *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan* (1884) by Satow and Hawes was a reprint of the authors' 1881 handbook of the same title published by Kelly and Walsh in Yokohama. Kelly and Walsh were formed in 1876, a partnership between Shanghai booksellers Kelly & Company and F.C. Walsh. In the 1880s they expanded their offices, first to Hong Kong and then to Yokohama.²⁴³

By having Murray as a publisher, the authors were able to expand their audiences beyond Yokohama and Shanghai to Britain. The influence of *Murray's Handbooks* was acknowledged by Hawes and Satow themselves, when they noted in their introduction to their 1881 guide that they modelled it on the *Handbooks* which they 'followed as far as was practicable'.²⁴⁴ Murray brought together a collection of scholars and travellers to create a unique travel library. This network included Basil Hall Chamberlain and the intrepid traveller and

²⁴² Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Things Japanese: Being Notes on Various Subjects Connected with Japan for the use of Travellers and Others* (London: John Murray, 1890), 140.

²⁴³ 'Notes and Queries', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, vol. 9 (1969), 163-5.

²⁴⁴ Ernest Mason Satow and A.G.S. Hawes, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan: Being a Guide to Tokio, Kioto, Ozaka and other Cities; the most interesting parts of the Main Island between Kobe and Awomori with ascents of the Principal Mountains, and Descriptions of Temples, Historical Notes and Legends* (Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, 1881), i.

writer Isabella Bird (1831-1904). Bird's own account, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, was published by Murray in 1880. The publication history of Japanese Guides shows how the images of Japan which globetrotters would come to expect was created through a network of writers, travellers and publications.

In considering the impact of Isabella Bird's travel narrative and its own subsequent editions, Steve Clark noted 'each edition may be seen as a product of its specific historical moment, as testimony prior and subsequent to Japan's emergence as a global power'.²⁴⁵ A comparison between the 1881 Kelly and Walsh publication of *A Handbook for Travellers to Central and Northern Japan* and Murray's 1884 edition of the same title, confirms this idea as it tracks the changes in Japan, particularly in terms of the rail network. Satow noted in 1884: 'A railway is now open from Tokio to Honjo...and renders Nikko, Ikao, and Kusatsu more easy of access'.²⁴⁶ It was not only the railways that documented this emergence. By the 1890s, the Japanese were increasingly in control of the networks of knowledge that guidebooks offered. Just as in China, a number of travellers' handbooks were published under the auspices of English language newspapers. For example, an 1890 edition of *The Official Railway and Steamboat*

²⁴⁵ Steve Clark, 'A Study not a Rapture': Isabella Bird on Japan', in Kuehn and Smethurst, eds., *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, 61.

²⁴⁶ Sir Ernest Mason Satow and A.G.S. Hawes, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central and Northern Japan, being a guide to Tokio, Kioto, Ozaka, Hakodate, Nagasaki, and other cities, the most interesting parts of the main Island; Ascents of the principal Mountains; Descriptions of Temples; and Historical Notes and Legends: with Maps and Plans* (London: Murray, 1884), 6.

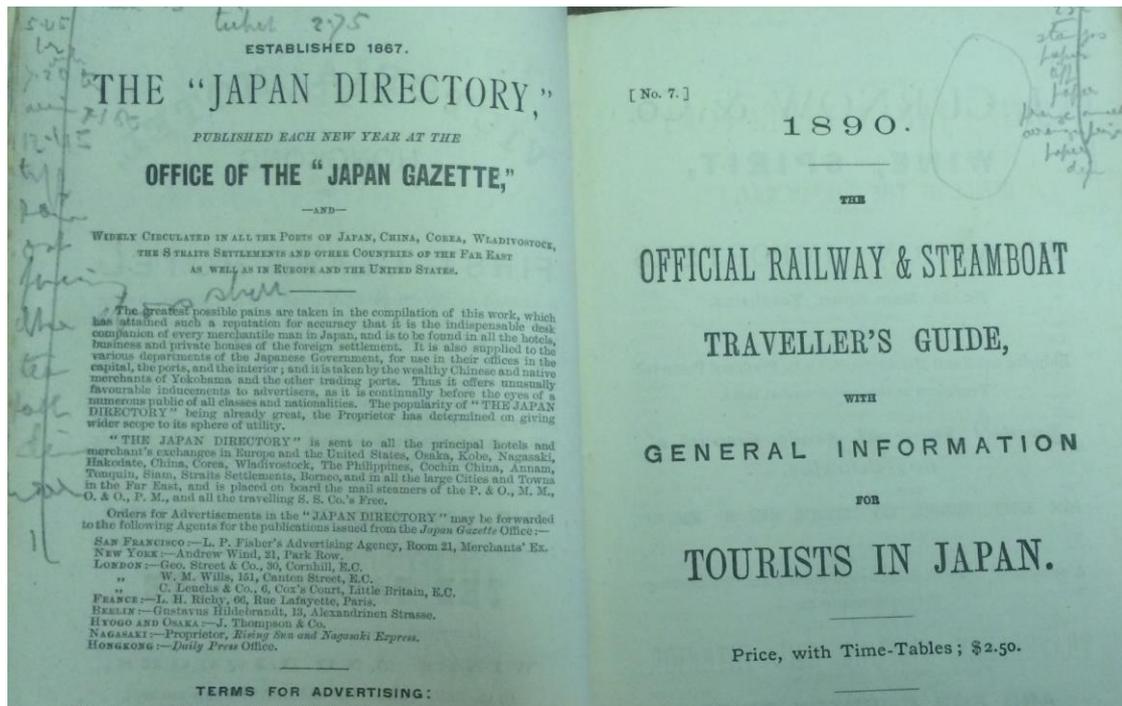


Figure 23: Detail of Percy Powell-Cotton's annotated copy of the *Official Railway & Steamboat Traveller's Guide* (1890) published by the *Japan Gazette*. Collection: Quex Park, Birchington, Kent.

Traveller's Guide, with General Information for Tourists in Japan published by the *Japan Gazette* survives in Percy Powell-Cotton's collection at Quex Park.²⁴⁷

[Figure 23] Editor John Reddie Black (1826-1880) launched the newspaper in 1867. Black got his start working at the *Japan Herald*, the first English language newspaper in Japan, launched in 1861. In his new paper, the *Japan Gazette*, Black sought to move beyond the shipping news and gossip to create a newspaper that encouraged wider debate and engagement not only among the western enclaves in Yokohama and Tokyo, but Japanese communities as well. His early issues featured extensive coverage of the Bakumatsu reforms, in particular westernisation of the military.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Percy Powell-Cotton, World Trip Collection, QP, unnumbered.

²⁴⁸ William De Lange, *A History of Japanese Journalism: Japan's Press Club as the last Obstacle to a Mature Press* (Richmond: Japan Library, 1998), 40-3.

Black further expanded his publications with an illustrated weekly *The Far East* (1870) that featured the work of western photographers William Saunders (1832-1892), Michael Moser (1853-1912) and Black himself as well as notable Japanese photographers Uchida Kuichi (1844-1875) and Suzuki Shin'ichi (1835-1918).²⁴⁹ [Figure 24] In 1872, Black launched a third publication, a Japanese language newspaper *Nisshin Shinjishi* (there is no translation for this name) that published articles calling for reform in Japanese politics.²⁵⁰ In 1874, Black was offered an advisory position by the Meiji government to the Daijo-kan (Council of State), which in effect controlled the press, on the condition that he resigned from *Nisshin Shinjishi*. He accepted and the following year laws were introduced prohibiting foreigners from holding editorships of Japanese language



Figure 24: *The Far East: An Illustrated Fortnightly Newspaper*. 1 July 1871. Collection: British Library, P.P.3803.bha

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ 'The Petition calling for the Establishment of a Popularly-Elected Assembly', *Nisshin Shinjishi*, 206, 18 January 1874.

newspapers. Shortly after this, Black was transferred to a lesser position in the Translation Bureau and then dismissed.²⁵¹ This incident illustrates the way in which the Meiji government maintained influence over what was deemed a 'foreign press' thus controlling not only information but also image.

This creation and control of image extended to travellers' handbooks as well. In 1893, Japanese entrepreneurs founded the Welcome Society of Japan, the country's first tourist board that also had full backing from the government.²⁵² Operating out of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce, the Welcome Society published their own English language travellers' handbooks. [Figure 25] There were no demonstrable differences in the sites and experience the publications

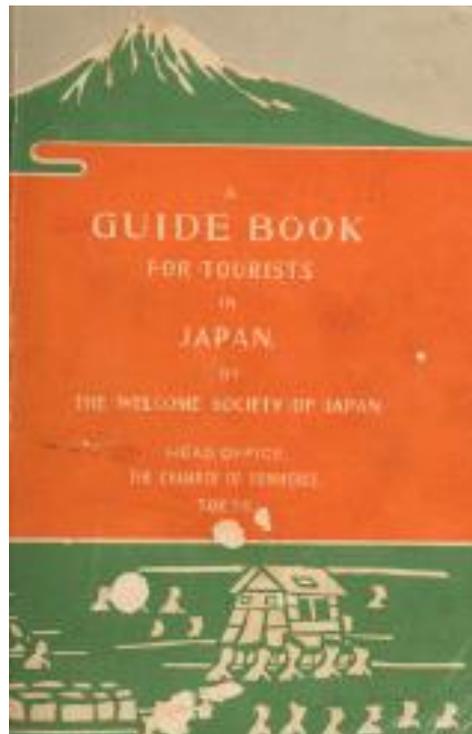


Figure 25: Front cover of the *Welcome Society of Japan Guide Book for Tourists* (1893). Collection: British Library, X.708/12434.

²⁵¹ De Lange, *A History of Japanese Journalism*, 43.

²⁵² Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 144.

recommended compared to those published by Murray or, for example, the *Japan Gazette*. However, the Welcome Society Handbooks themselves represented the way that Japan continued to maintain an active control over the creation and propagation of their own image.²⁵³ In Japan, the 'East' was not passively created by western publishers for western consumption. Instead, the Meiji government exploited a western desire to experience the novelties of Japan, using the images crafted in guidebooks to both cater to the desire for western travellers to experience what they perceived as the culturally authentic 'Old Japan' while at the same time putting forward an image of a new, technologically advanced Japan.

Conclusion:

Handbooks created a certain view, shaping perceptions of the country to be encountered. Often written by resident 'experts' like Eastwick, Dennys or Satow, they reflected to a certain extent the individuality of the writer. For example, Eastwick's publications focussed on his linguistic interests, to the dissatisfaction of some of his readership. As much as the handbooks were the work of an individual writer, the text was also borrowed and adapted by other guidebook writers in what was a competitive market. For example the guides produced by the *Japan Gazette* took complete sections of text from Satow's original guides with little amendment. In this publishing atmosphere, texts were often distorted from their original meanings. Finally, they also reflected political ideas of the East that were formed at home rather than an accurate reflection of the state of Indian, Chinese or Japanese politics themselves. Cook's guides, for example,

²⁵³ Ibid.

continued to give voice to the trope of China being ruined by poor imperial leadership even when the country was enduring hardship during the Republican period.

They offered globetrotters a means of bridging the global experience of travel with the local, cultural experiences. They defined a sense of place by emphasising certain sites of key cultural and/or political significance. In the case of India and China, these also represented the imperial nature of British interaction and enabled, through either local guides or by encouraging transgressive behaviours, a means by which globetrotters could insert themselves into these events, almost as type or 'ritual' sightseeing. Although the handbook industry burgeoned in the late nineteenth century, they often drew on older sources and as a result maintained and perpetuated attitudes and prejudices.

Travellers located themselves in landscapes such as those of Cawnpore or the Yuanmingyuan that were shaped by political events. It was not enough to foster a more direct personal and potentially transformative experience of place. For this, travellers moved beyond their guidebooks to exploit personal networks and access what they felt were 'authentic' space. These experiences challenged those put forward in the handbooks, and created an alternative geography of experience to those recommended by Murray or Cook.

Chapter Two:

Spaces of the East: Observation, Authenticity and Transformation

Figure 26: 'Physic Street, Canton'. John Thomson, c1869. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/3,42.

In a letter written to his mother, posted from Hong Kong in 1877, Carew Davies Gilbert noted the regularity with which he encountered fellow travellers: 'we have met several pleasant Globe Trotters, but it is a very common occupation now'.²⁵⁴ The increasing numbers Gilbert remarked were indicative of a focussed search beyond Europe, one that Nelson Graburn couched in terms of a 'quest' that extended 'outside of their "home range" for new experiences'.²⁵⁵ This opened a new set of spaces in which to effect personal encounter, cultural

²⁵⁴ Gilbert, GIL 4/377, ESRO, Hong Kong, 26 March 1877, 4.

²⁵⁵ Nelson Graburn, 'Key Figure of Mobility: The Tourist', *Social Anthropology*, 25 (2017), 83-4.

immersion, and the specific promise of connecting with ancient, and thereby ostensibly authentic, cultures of the East. The range of sites open to globetrotters — temples and shrines in India, Chinese gatherings in private spaces, and Japanese teahouses — was representative of specific types of engagement and encounter. The nature of the activity that globetrotters designated for each space, whether social, cultural or transgressive, was what contributed to the identities travellers relayed of the differentiated East. The activities performed by globetrotters and locals in these spaces played an important role in the travellers' transformation of self.

In her examination of the cultural significance of the newly opened Suez Canal, Emily Haddad considered the duality of meanings that the Canal represented for nineteenth-century writers. It was both a physical signifier of modernity and a destabiliser of a fragile political order between France, Britain and Egypt.²⁵⁶ It was also a western feat of engineering that drew the 'East' inexorably in European, specifically British, orbit.²⁵⁷ Perceptions of the East, as represented by Egypt in this article were, Haddad noted, already familiar. Building on Timothy Mitchell's theory that because of this pre-existing familiarity, Egypt was experienced as an 'art gallery' a set of images to be looked at rather than engaged with, Haddad observed that the experience of Egypt itself was largely observational while the Suez was participatory, involving a transition from western self to eastern experience.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Emily A. Haddad, 'Digging to India: Modernity, Imperialism, and the Suez Canal', *Victorian Studies*, 47(2005), 364-5.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 388.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 383-5.

This situation of the East as a site of observation was a critique that contemporary reviewers levelled at the publications penned by globetrotters on their return from their World Tour.²⁵⁹ Laird (travelled 1871) and Thompson (travelled 1891) were accused, in the press, of presenting experiences that were largely confined to watching rather than acting, confirming the clichéd images of the East rather than bringing the reader any insight borne of authentic cultural engagement. However, the East that was conjured in their publications differed from that communicated in other travellers' private correspondence. In this chapter I will argue that, like Haddad's differentiation between 'observational Egypt' and 'participatory Egypt', spaces of the East were differentiated between sites of observation and those of engagement. The former confirmed the expected experience by situating it within a familiar framework of Grand Tour narratives where social mores and religious practices were observed. The latter shared with readers globetrotters' experiences of access to 'behind the scenes' places that were spaces of cultural immersion and transgression. Dean MacCannell designated 'behind the scenes' spaces as sites of the authentic for tourists.²⁶⁰ These sites of encounter could include those spaces that were deemed private, such as lodging in hotels, inns and teahouses.

In considering how the identities of place and space were interconnected, Doreen Massey used the example of the world city, an entity whose character was created through the interconnection of its local and global circuits.²⁶¹ The

²⁵⁹ 'The Rambles of a Globe-Trotter', *The Spectator*, 18 December 1875, 14; Laird's book was generally poorly reviewed: *The Graphic*, 30 October 1875, 15; *Freeman's Journal*, 9 November 1875, 7; 'In the Track of the Sun', *The Spectator*, 2 June 1894, 28.

²⁶⁰ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 155-6.

²⁶¹ Massey, *World City*, 7-10.

identities that globetrotters created for the differentiated East were produced through their own experiences of the intersection of local and global. Magee and Thompson demonstrated that in this period, for Britain, the global was also imperial with technological expansion and migration forming and supporting the webs of empire.²⁶² The connections that these global tourists represented were imperial although globetrotters themselves were not actively engaged in empire. This was because they accessed the 'East' by way of longstanding international trading routes and relied on the presence of resident Britons to aid the construction of their social webs.

Michel de Certeau argued that meaning in urban space was in part fostered through folkloric narratives created by individuals or communities.²⁶³ He illustrated this point through the example of a house becoming known by the name of a long-past owner, thus creating a narrative of place defined by the life or deeds of an individual that in turn created a specific geographical and social reference point for the local community.²⁶⁴ Applying this in conjunction with John Urry's idea of touristic signposts, shows how specific sites, for example, the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome for Grand Tourists, were layered in meaning for travellers. St Peter's was a site of pilgrimage viewed through a series of longstanding associations that connected it to significant points in the history of the city itself. The site was built over an ancient necropolis tying it with the much sought after experience of the antique. It was linked to early Christians, believed to be the burial place of St. Peter, the first pope. The Basilica itself was a trove of painting and sculpture by notable Renaissance and Baroque artists. The

²⁶² Thompson and Magee, *Empire and Globalisation*, 2.

²⁶³ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 74.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

site was a draw for tourists, an important signpost, offering views of art, architecture, and opportunities to observe the locals who used it for worship. Additionally, it was a space of performance where travellers, observed by fellow tourists, engaged in cultural pursuits.²⁶⁵ It was an example of a space that created an identity of place, connected with the authentic and was a means of confirming social status.

Like the churches and cathedrals of the Grand Tour, the one constant on generations of globetrotters' Eastern itineraries was the temple or shrine. A feature of urban and rural settings, they were often built on promontories above a city offering globetrotters a panoramic view. This allowed them to take in the layout of the whole of a city, communicating knowledge, and at the same time affording them a picturesque experience of a landscape from a site that itself enhanced those qualities. De Certeau noted that to view the city from above was to observe rather than engage.²⁶⁶ He remarked that it was the walkers in the streets of the city who participated in the social theatre of space, actively engaging with passers-by, who in turn provided the meaningful connections that created a sense of place.²⁶⁷ The temple spaces of the East were sites where globetrotters confined themselves to the role of observer rather than allowing themselves the social agency of de Certeau's walkers. Designated in narratives as places of observation sites of religious practice, whether the Catholic ritual enacted in St. Peter's or Hindu, Buddhist and Shinto practices in the East, were treated as a type of theatre. Here globetrotters observed local populations

²⁶⁵ Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour*, 147-51.

²⁶⁶ Michel de Certeau, 'Practices of Space' in Marshall Blonsky, ed., *On Signs* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 123.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

making meaningful connections with these sites, but did not engage with these rituals themselves.

The nature of the gaze that globetrotters employed when viewing different sites was part of their construction of place in their travel narratives. In her analysis of the role travel writing played in the construction and re-presentation of empire, Mary Louise Pratt described the imperial perspective employed by western travellers as the 'relationship of *mastery* predicated between the seer and the seen.'²⁶⁸ She used Richard Burton's 'discovery' of Lake Tanganyika as an illustration of this point. In his telling of the event, he implied that he had the power to assess and possess the landscape, depicting the 'civilizing mission' of nineteenth-century empire as 'an aesthetic project'.²⁶⁹ An 'observational East' as related by globetrotters was in part reflective of an imperial gaze and their self-identification with Britain as an imperial power.

Although globetrotters may have identified with Britain's imperial project, at the same time they were clearly not actively engaged in it unlike, for example, the colonial officials they encountered in India. This is an important point, because Edward Said characterised western Orientalism as an assumption of superiority on the part of the western traveller gazing on Eastern landscapes and their inhabitants, the Eastern 'other'.²⁷⁰ According to Said, the 'other' was styled in western texts as 'irrational', 'weak', and 'feminized' in contrast to the western traveller who was the antithesis of the east as 'rational', 'strong' and 'masculine'.²⁷¹ However, the practice of 'othering' in travel texts was not limited

²⁶⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 200.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 201.

²⁷⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 2-3.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, 65-7.

to the East, as Wendy Bracewell noted in her examination of Eastern European travel writing. 'Othering' was consistent across Europe, for example Italians were 'figured as backward and inferior by travellers from the North', in turn Northern Italians ascribed these attributes to the Italian south, 'to an angry response'.²⁷² An Italian who criticized English travellers for their 'ill-founded views of Italy, was himself denounced for his generalizations about Portugal'.²⁷³ In the context of globetrotters and travel writing, imperialism coloured what was already a longstanding use of 'othering' on the European continent. The social distinction of globetrotting lay not in an active engagement with empire, but in its associations with an older, elite form of touring that in the East was facilitated by the presence of imperial structures. The gaze then, that they deployed in public spaces was a combination of the imperial gaze and the perspective of the socially elite Grand Tourist.

Globetrotters were also cosmopolitan travellers who created an identity for space and place predicated on their consumption of difference, represented through their interactions with 'others'. The experience of cultural difference was not only representative of the cosmopolitan but integral to their construction of the authentic gained, Tim Oakes noted, through the deployment of the mutual gaze between traveller and local.²⁷⁴ If temples were sites where cultural practice was observed but not places of mutual engagement then we must consider where the sites of the mutual gaze were located and how these were figured in globetrotters' accounts as representative of authentic

²⁷² Wendy Bracewell, 'The Travellee's Eye: Reading European Travel Writing, 1750-1850', 215.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ Oakes, 'Tourism and the Modern Subject: Placing the Encounter Between Tourist and Other', 39.

encounters. It is useful to consider MacCannell's location of the authentic in everyday activities that were enacted in 'behind the scenes' spaces in conjunction with Oakes's view on the mutual gaze. This framework opens a number of spaces and places for consideration of the way that globetrotters' designation of sites of encounter was equated with the authentic.

Lodging spaces, specifically hotels, inns and teahouses, were sites of the 'contact zone' theorised by Pratt and used here as places where there was an inherent imbalance of power between the traveller and the other.²⁷⁵ In these sites of the 'contact zone' that were often spaces of the mutual gaze, the balance of power did not always reside with western globetrotters, who were themselves objects of curiosity and scrutiny for local populations. For example, Egerton Laird recorded an episode in his hotel room in Japan where local 'swells' observed both himself and his travelling companion engaging in the everyday act of letter writing.²⁷⁶ Laird began by viewing the visit as an authentic cultural activity of mutual engagement. However, what Laird believed would be a short visit extended into a stay of hours where his activities were minutely observed and he found that he and his companion had become the 'other'. Additionally, spaces of accommodation provided a means of conveying social status and creating a wide network of potential globetrotting companions. Clubs, which travellers were only able to access if their names were written down in advance by another member, were spaces where male globetrotters could both display

²⁷⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8.

²⁷⁶ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 221.

and strengthen their social connections. Across the East, clubs were sites that represented a form of British space in a foreign land.²⁷⁷

Luke Gartlan designated photographers' studios in Yokohama as cosmopolitan spaces of encounter and exchange, between locals and their knowledge, represented by the photographers themselves, and the internationality of their clientele.²⁷⁸ They were spaces where globetrotters could encounter the 'other' often in the person of the local photographer who in turn directed the globetrotter's gaze. Although the nature of who was being encountered in these studios is also important to consider, as Christopher Pinney noted of Indian studios, many had a mixed history of ownership passing between European and Indian photographers.²⁷⁹ Further, just as technological developments brought more of the world under the tourist gaze, so too did changes to the technology of photography. Percy Powell-Cotton and Nancy Dearmer were able to travel with their own cameras, thus using the photographer's studio less as a place to employ a mutual gaze and more as a site for advice on where to direct their own gaze.

As they traversed the spaces of the East, globetrotters maintained ties to home through letters, which Patrick Joyce noted created a bridge between sites.²⁸⁰ They created a material network between globetrotters, who were constantly in motion, and the seemingly static point of home. For example in 1916, in the early days of her travels in the East, Dearmer instructed her mother

²⁷⁷ Mrinalini Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India', *Journal of British Studies*, 40 (2001), 489-521.

²⁷⁸ Gartlan, 'Bronzed and Muscular Bodies', 94.

²⁷⁹ Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica* (London: Reaktion, 1997), 95.

²⁸⁰ Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 31.

to follow her progress, suggesting: 'if you have a good map look up our route. Poona, we passed about 3 a.m. Sholapur 8 a.m., Gulbarga about 11.30, Raichur 3.15 and Sooth just now about 8 p.m.'²⁸¹ Dearmer defined her movements against what she perceived to be the stationary position of home while including her mother as a virtual travelling companion.

The letters of Gilbert (1877), Lucas (1879), Dearmer (1916) and Percy Powell-Cotton's diary (1891), provide useful points of comparison, charting changing mobilities, the meanings globetrotters ascribed to spaces of encounter and how they maintained ties with home. There are also commonalities in the letters of these travellers which, while highlighting the changing nature of travel, also featured an almost unchanged sense of its drawbacks. Incorrect timetables and missed connections, for example, were a feature of both Gilbert's and Dearmer's letters. In Kobe, Japan in May 1877, Gilbert expressed his frustration as letters arrived late or went astray: 'it realy [sic] is hard to make a long letter, I have not heard from you since the date of October so cannot chat at all'.²⁸² Similarly, writing from Madras in 1916, Dearmer wrote: 'I am longing to hear home news — a month seems a long time to wait for it, but after this I shall get letters regularly if we are not moving about very much'.²⁸³ Despite technological expansion over the course of the century, gaps and missed connections were consistent, making a relationship with home difficult to maintain.

Globetrotters' letters constituted what Rebecca Earle described as the unstable creation of an epistolary self.²⁸⁴ Earle saw this as an image that evolved

²⁸¹ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, On the way to Madras, 7 November 1916, 9.

²⁸² Gilbert, GIL 4/379, ESRO, Kobe, 27 May 1877, 4.

²⁸³ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Madras, 10 November 1916, 10.

²⁸⁴ Earle, *Epistolary Selves, Letters and Letter-Writers, 1600-1945*, 21.

and adapted depending on the correspondent.²⁸⁵ The use of globetrotters' letters in this chapter charts how their experiences of a lengthy world tour gradually brought about a transformation of self. They recorded the changing nature of identity, as globetrotters not only experienced the 'other', but gradually became a version of the 'other' to friends and family as a result of travels. In his analysis of the correspondence of nineteenth-century British immigrants to North America, David Gerber noted that their personal letters were a 'mutual creation' of the two correspondents.²⁸⁶ Ultimately their relations were transnational occurring both in the 'homeland and the land of resettlement simultaneously'.²⁸⁷ This interpretative frame is usefully applied to the letters and images that globetrotters sent home. Although they were not constructing their place in a new home, they were absent on a world tour that took at least one year if not longer.²⁸⁸ These letters were a physical manifestation of the unstable self, a means, in addition to the accounts they carried, of representing their travels and transformation of self. Letters were objects that were both a means of constructing selves and conveying their performance of engaging with the 'other' in 'behind the scenes' spaces. These private letters and diary detailed immersive and transgressive behaviours, such as smoking opium in Shanghai or eating dog in Canton that were omitted from published accounts. In the context of this chapter letters were a material representation of 'authentic' engagement in 'behind the scenes' space.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 7.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 8.

²⁸⁸ Lucas travelled from 1877-9; Powell-Cotton from 1889-91; Dearmer was in the East from 1916-8.

The physical qualities of letters, differences in paper, printed headings and ink further documented Eastern locations. As Leonie Hannan wrote it is important to consider the materiality of letters themselves and how these may be treated as both object and narrative.²⁸⁹ This approach is particularly apposite to the letters of Gilbert, Lucas and Dearmer. Gilbert urged his mother to 'keep these letters, as I have not kept a Diary of my journey in Java'.²⁹⁰ Lucas's letters were transcribed by his mother and bound into a presentation book of his journey while the original letters were preserved and specially bound into another album as a material representation of his experiences.²⁹¹ Dearmer requested that her mother might have their correspondence bound as a diary that represented her experiences.²⁹²

Letters were not the only means by which globetrotters recorded their encounters in authentic space and communicated the transformative effects. Part of their transformation of self was communicated through photographs, specifically those in Lucas's collection and those images that Dearmer captured on her camera. Christine Guth analysed the photographs that American globetrotter Charles Longfellow sent home to his family during his extended stay in Japan. A series of images shows Longfellow in the dress of a samurai, an actor, and in the everyday kimono. Guth argued that Longfellow's adoption of Japanese identities through dress allowed him to play what she termed a 'double-game' in that by identifying with Japanese culture he was able to emphasise his own

²⁸⁹ Leonie Hannan, 'Women's Letters: Eighteenth-Century Letter-Writing and the Life of the Mind', in Hannah Grieg, Jane Hamlett and Leonie Hannan, eds., *Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600* (London: Palgrave, 2016), 35.

²⁹⁰ Gilbert, GIL 4/376, ESRO, Samcrang, 27 February 1877, 12.

²⁹¹ Lucas, BL, Photo 1224/7.

²⁹² Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Ferozepore, 13 February 1917, 121.

'otherness' acquired during a lengthy stay in Japan. At the same time, because he was clearly not Japanese, he sat outside of Japanese society and he was then an individual who was not bound by the conventions of either culture.²⁹³ Guth also noted that globetrotters, like flaneurs, occupied the edges of society observing rather than engaging, and that this was a means of documenting an idealised connection.²⁹⁴ In considering the photographs that globetrotters sent home, not only from Japan but India and China, I argue that while they were on the edges of the societies through which they travelled, these photographs reveal the ways in which their engagements reflected the differentiated East in the ways that they aligned themselves with the culture of the 'other'. In some cases, these were visual transformations, such as adopting the dress while in others it was documentation of spaces that globetrotters inhabited.

This chapter will interrogate the meanings globetrotters ascribed to three very specific spaces: temples, 'behind the scenes' space and the photographers' studios. In the first instance of temple space I will consider how it was designated a site of observation where an imperial gaze was deployed. How that gaze with its reference to the language and attitudes employed by European Grand Tourists, particularly in regard to way that culture was reflected in the nature of religious practice, was used to frame globetrotters' experiences within temple space. 'Behind the scenes' space and the spaces of photographers' studios will be considered in terms of the way that the nature of globetrotters' interactions in these sites contributed to constructions of performance, authenticity and transformation. I will show how globetrotters moved beyond

²⁹³ Guth, 141.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

observer to active social agent by analysing the different meanings and representations given to spaces of the East in their letters and the photographs they collected. A comparison of their letters with published accounts, reveals how the 'behind the scenes' spaces of engagement were often omitted from the latter, in part to hide transgressive behaviour such as smoking opium in China.²⁹⁵ Globetrotters created and adopted unstable, changing identities as they moved through Eastern landscapes.

Temple Spaces: Observation and Performance

One of the earliest globetrotters, Arthur Drummond Carlisle, recoiled from Hindu religious practice in Benares, noting that with regard to his experience of the suffocating smells in the temples, 'if cleanliness is next to godliness, filthiness is very near idolatry'.²⁹⁶ While this attitude towards Hindus was no doubt shaped by the place that the Indian Mutiny held in the British imagination, it also shared similar attitudes to those expressed by Grand Tourists, that Britta Martens identified in the travelogues of British travellers to Italy in the nineteenth-century.²⁹⁷ Catholic churches held a significant draw for tourists. As Rosemary Sweet noted, they were sites of artistic pilgrimage with the inherent theatre of religious pageantry.²⁹⁸ Martens noted that British travellers viewed Roman Catholic ritual as an expression of cultural difference but also as a confirmation

²⁹⁵ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Canton, 27 February 1878, 15-16.

²⁹⁶ Carlisle, *Round in the World in 1870*, 44.

²⁹⁷ Britta Martens, 'Vatican Ceremonies and Tourist Culture in Nineteenth-Century British Travelogues' in M. Hollington, C. Waters and J. Jordan, eds., *Imagining Italy: Victorian Writers and Travellers* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010), 14.

²⁹⁸ Sweet, *Cities of the Grand Tour*, 148.

of their own superiority in regard to the 'other' represented, in this case, by non-protestant southern Europeans.²⁹⁹

The remarks of nineteenth-century British writers on the nature of cultural difference between themselves and Italians were a means of political commentary. Italians were characterised as 'degraded' from their glorious Roman and Renaissance pasts due in part to living under political and religious oppression.³⁰⁰ British writers contrasted Italian poverty and adherence to 'popish superstition' with their own prosperity, born of a well-regulated parliamentary democracy and supported by a hardworking, Protestant population.³⁰¹ Charles Dickens's popular account of his tour of the country, *Pictures from Italy* (1846), which was continuously in print through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, described Rome as a city whose sites merged into a 'dream of churches', their shared similarities a broad characterisation of Roman Catholicism:

A vast wilderness of consecrated buildings of all shapes and fancies, blending one with another; of battered pillars of old Pagan temples...of pictures, bad, wonderful, and impious, and ridiculous; of kneeling people, curling incense, tinkling bells...of Madonne, with the breasts stuck full of swords...of actual skeletons of dead saints, hideously attired in gaudy satins, silks and velvets trimmed with gold: their withered crust of skull adorned with precious jewels, or with chaplets of crushed flowers; sometimes of people gathered round the pulpit, and a monk within it stretching out the crucifix and preaching fiercely...³⁰²

In his description, Dickens's connection of Catholic shrines with earlier pagan temples implied that these supposedly Christian sites were inherently imbued

²⁹⁹ Martens, 'Vatican Ceremonies and Tourist Culture in Nineteenth-Century British Travelogues', 14.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 15.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1846), 200.

with paganism, not least due to the theatricality of Catholic religious spectacle with its veneration of relics that British travellers felt verged on idolatry.

The clear parallels in the language used in globetrotters' accounts and letters indicated that they employed this already extant and popular framework used by Grand Tourists in Europe to convey their impressions of the East and the inhabitants of India, China and Japan through their different religious practice. Carlisle wrote in 1870 of his visit to Benares the 'holy city of the Hindus' noting that, like Dickens' Roman 'dream of churches', the city was 'full of idols...every passage-corner, every nook, contains a shrine to some god whose attributes and symbols are more or less loathsome'.³⁰³ There were further commonalities between the two writers and their descriptions of the other. Dickens observed the Pope blessing a line of supplicants in St. Peter's:

as they carried him along, he blessed the people with the mystic sign...when he had made the round of the church, he was brought back again...There was, certainly, nothing solemn or effective in it; and certainly very much that was droll or tawdry.³⁰⁴

Dickens drew on a longstanding association that Catholic practice was steeped in superstition. Inherent in Dickens's text was the premise that a religion followed by its faithful in this manner was innately corrupt. In India, Carlisle echoed Dickens's commentary on Rome, noting that the blessing he observed in Benares was carried out under a canopy — similar to that used in St. Peter's — and by a high priest who made 'with his forefinger a red mark of some paint or dye on each worshipper that chooses to pass in front of him'.³⁰⁵ Carlisle also noted that if tourists would 'like to receive his mark of his blessing, he will not object to

³⁰³ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 49.

³⁰⁴ Dickens, *Pictures from Italy*, 172.

³⁰⁵ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 49.

taking a rupee from you'.³⁰⁶ Both Dickens and Carlisle represented their encounters with what they deemed as overly theatrical religious practice, as characteristic of societies and cultures that were styled as a 'theatrical other' in opposition to the detached, rational, British observer. Carlisle's observations were couched in a touristic script set by earlier travelogues like Dickens, and recognizable to his readership who would have tacitly understood the associations he employed.

Figure 27: Images collected by Carew Davies Gilbert (left and right) Priests from the Honan Chapel, Canton. Attributed to William Saunders, c1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 75.

Figure 28: Temple, Ningpo. Attributed to William Saunders, c. 1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 21.

Brian Pennington analysed how anti-Catholic sentiments in Britain, particularly after the Catholic Emancipation of 1829, were linked by Protestant missionaries in India to Hinduism representing the religion as a 'collusion of Roman and Indian idolatry'.³⁰⁷ Pennington's assessment of this specific comparison between Hindus and Catholics located it as a reflection of British colonial attitudes, a means of equating Ireland with India as requiring civilisation based on their religious practices.³⁰⁸ In globetrotters' narratives the comparison

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Brian K. Pennington, *Was Hinduism Invented?: Britons, Indians and the Colonial Construction of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 67.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

was applied more widely, across the East. For example at the Honan Temple in Canton, Carlisle described the priests 'with their strings of beads, their chanting in process, and the genuflexions, we cannot help being struck with the similarity, in the form of service to a Roman Catholic one'.³⁰⁹ [Figure 27 and Figure 28] This was part of a narrative that portrayed the Chinese as 'degraded' descendants of a glorious past that supported overt British imperial ambitions in the aftermath of the Opium Wars.

Figure 29: 'Priests', handcoloured photograph acquired by Carew Davies Gilbert. Baron von Stillfried, c1870. Collection: ESRO, Japan Album, GIL 4/385, 45.

Even Japan, a country that was culturally admired in Britain and generally met with approbation in globetrotters' accounts, did not escape these comparisons. Carlisle likened the Buddhist Sensoji Temple in Asakusa, a district of Tokyo, to St Peter's in Rome. Founded in 645 AD, the temple was one of the oldest in Tokyo. It was enlarged under the Tokugawa Shogunate, and was an important site of pilgrimage. Carlisle noted that the interior was thronged with pilgrims and that 'in one corner is an old wooden image of a god, whose features

³⁰⁹ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 121.

are quite rubbed away, like the great toe of the bronze statue of St. Peter in Rome, by the constant stream of people who come to rub it with their hands'.³¹⁰ Travelling a few years later, Egerton Laird repeated the analysis of the Sensoji: 'the image, like St. Peter's toe in St. Peter's at Rome is rather the worse for wear. I suppose the people believe they have only to touch to be healed'.³¹¹ By 1891, when Frederick Diodati Thompson travelled, the comparison with Catholicism had become a longstanding trope, as he noted 'the priests remain near the altar, which is lighted with small candles, and their dress and mitres reminded me of their Roman Catholic brethren'.³¹² [Figure 29] Globetrotters' continued comparison with Catholicism was a means of expressing their political, social and religious superiority to their readership. This was contingent on a degree of separation that made these sites spaces of observation rather than interaction.

Other aspects of the touristic script of the Grand Tour were also applied to the Eastern tour. For example Carlisle compared hiring a guide in Benares with the same activity in Italy: 'Shiva Datta Pundit speaks English very well and is well up in all the lore necessary to a cicerone'.³¹³ For the Grand Tourist a cicerone served to interpret sites for travellers, possessing both local knowledge and the folkloric information that was the key to connecting with the identity of place. In 1883, Ronald Gower likened the sites of India with the Roman campagna, noting that Delhi was a city where the Mughals 'built temple on temple, mosque upon mosque, palace upon palace. A circumference of twenty

³¹⁰ Ibid, 212.

³¹¹ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 188.

³¹² Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 24.

³¹³ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 44.

miles encircles the ruins of this Indian Rome'.³¹⁴ By 1891, Thompson expanded his reference points beyond Rome, including other Italian cities as well as centres of the expanded, Romantic iteration of the Grand Tour. He compared Japanese craft in Yokohama with Venetian gondolas, and Indian rivers with the Rhine.³¹⁵ This last comparison also appeared in Thomas Cook's *Indian Guides* of the same period, indicating how travellers' characterisation of place was incorporated into guidebooks to create a specific identity. This knowing invocation of the Grand Tour only appeared in published accounts. It was an additional layer of interpretation, situating global travel within an elite narrative, and highlighting Western tourists' application of well-known travel discourse.

In analysing how globetrotters created identities for spaces that both conveyed an experience of the East but was culturally differentiated, it is useful to consider a point made by Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift that 'vernacular relationships with the environment — names, ideas, practices — are our equivalent of what came to be known as folklore'.³¹⁶ These folkloric traditions, whether of place names or local festivals, maintained connections with landscape, fostering a sense of continuity with a world in flux.³¹⁷ Globetrotters were themselves representative of a world in flux that was engendered through rapid political and technological change. In addition to drawing on the language of older travelogues, globetrotters' accounts and letters revealed a gaze whose subject was both the folkloric connection tempered with the imperial

³¹⁴ Gower, *A Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama, 1883-4*, 26.

³¹⁵ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 18, 148.

³¹⁶ Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, 'Doreen Massey: The Light Dances on the Water', in David Featherstone and Joe Painter, eds., *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 205.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

perspective. This tied temple sites to older 'authentic' iterations of the cultural East, commensurate with the landscape itself at the same time tacitly acknowledging their significance as representatives of Britain's imperial reach.

In many cases this was literal connection. En route to China, Gilbert spent time exploring the Indonesian island of Java. In a letter from Samarang, written in February 1877, he described for his mother his experience of the ninth-century temples of Borobudur:

The Temple is of Budhist [sic] origin, & of very Ancient Date, it is in a considerably dilapidated [sic] condition, but its solid form prevents it falling to pieces, as it otherwise would do. ...there was a small sort of out post Temple about ½ mile from the main ruins, thro [sic] which an enormous tree was growing, the tree was evidently an old tree therefore the Temple must have been in ruins centuries ago.³¹⁸

The site was 'discovered' by Sir Thomas Raffles (1781-1826), who mounted a British military expedition against the Dutch and French on the Island of Java in the early nineteenth century. It was part of subsequent documentation by the Dutch colonial government. The restoration of the site itself linked into a wider imperial project undertaken by western powers across the East, wherein colonial powers were self-appointed keepers and restorers of older cultural ruins and artefacts, thus legitimizing colonial rule.³¹⁹ Part of the interest in Borobudur was that it represented a 'lost' or grand Buddhist past in a country that had become a predominately Islamic society.³²⁰ Ruins, like those of the Borobudur temple complex, were part of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

³¹⁸ Gilbert, GIL 4/376, ESRO, Samcrang, Java, 27 February 1877, 7.

³¹⁹ Astrid Swenson and Peter Mandler, eds., *From Plunder to Preservation: Britain and the Heritage of Empire, c. 1800-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 8-14.

³²⁰ Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, 'Exchange and the Protection of Java's Antiquities: A Transnational Approach to the Problem of Heritage in Colonial Java', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 72 (4), 2013, 896.

discourse concerning the Romantic as a means of musing on the fleeting aspects of time and age. Borobudur was a site in which to meditate on the passing of Eastern empires and the present political power of the west. That the temple itself was literally anchored to the natural landscape by a tree enhanced its Romantically picturesque possibilities.

Figure 30: Mandalay, Felice Beato, circa 1886. This view was taken from Mandalay Hill, a site that Beato advised Powell-Cotton to visit. Later they could buy the souvenir of their experience from his studio. Collection: British Library, Photo 513/4 , 41.

Just over a decade later, Powell-Cotton recorded his experience of a ruined temple in Burma in his diary: 'walked ½ way up bad path originally covered with pent roofing, carved, now falling down, here is a huge carved teak figure some 35' high, gilt, R. hand pointing to Mandalay'.³²¹ His description was of the Shweyattaw Buddha on Mandalay Hill, which was connected to the creation of the city of Mandalay itself. Built in 1857 by King Mindon (reigned 1853-1878), Mandalay was the last royal capital in Burma.³²² [Figure 30] The

³²¹ Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, QP, Mandalay, 6 February 1891, 173.

³²² Nancy Hudson-Rodd, 'Mandalay — City of Buddha, Centre of Diversity, or Whose City Now?' *Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, 1 (2005), 24.

temples on Mandalay Hill were an extension of the city complex, and the gesturing Buddha was commissioned to commemorate that Mindon had succeeded in fulfilling a prophecy alleged to have been made by Gautama Buddha. The statue re-enacted the Buddha's vision that, 2,400 years after his death, a city devoted to the study of Buddhism would be built on the site to which he pointed.³²³ Powell-Cotton recorded a version of this story in his diary: 'yarn is King dreamed he saw Buddha pointing to site of city from this hill — city built — fig. placed accordingly'.³²⁴ Linking directly with the landscape the ruined temple on Mandalay Hill was a site of connection to the history and culture of Mandalay, but would also have held an additional significance for Powell-Cotton. Mandalay was built between wars which marked the territorial expansion of the East India Company, with whom the Powell-Cotton family enjoyed a long association. At the end of the Second Anglo-Burmese War (1852-3), the East India Company annexed the province of Pegu, renamed Lower Burma.³²⁵ At the close of the war, King Mindon replaced his half-brother King Pagan Min (reigned 1846-53) on the throne, and attempted to modernise the Burmese state. His ambitions included the creation of a new capital, Mandalay, which he achieved before his death in 1885. Mindon's son Thibaw Min (reigned 1878-85) was the last Burmese sovereign. Mandalay fell to British forces in 1885, after Thibaw's abortive attempt to liberate Lower Burma.³²⁶ For Powell-Cotton and other British tourists, the ruins on Mandalay Hill represented the far more recent

³²³ Ibid, 28.

³²⁴ Powell-Cotton, *World Tour Journal*, QP, Mandalay, 6 February 1891, 173.

³²⁵ Nicholas Tarling, ed., *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 33-4.

³²⁶ Ibid, 36.

decline. They encapsulated the ruin of a building that was only forty years old brought about by British political and military intervention.

In 1916, Nancy Dearmer expressed a view of the temple site that was decidedly intertwined with the Gothic, the darker aspect of the Picturesque. At the end of her work on the cities of the Grand Tour, Rosemary Sweet discusses the importance of the Gothic as part of the Romantic. While travellers drew on the Romantic as a means of feeling and voicing experiences, they also drew on the language of the Gothic as a means of articulating their darker experiences. In Eastern settings, this idea of the Gothic was part of Romantic Orientalism, which can be seen in Dearmer's explicit pairing of beauty and menace that a Hindu temple presented to the tourist. She wrote of an evening visit to the temple in Kapolesaraswarmi, Madras [Figure 31]:

The light had nearly gone and the water was deep green and the distance purple and lights twinkling out from the temple across the water – a magical scene. In the middle of the tank is a small temple to the god and the water is covered with lotus leaves, blossoms had shut for the night. It was so beautiful and so sinister.³²⁷

The sense of an inherent threat in what appears to be a peaceful twilight scene relied on the framework of the Gothic, but was underpinned by imperial narratives, apparent in the specific antipathy towards Hinduism enunciated in travellers' narratives. That Dearmer viewed the Hindu temple as a 'sinister' space may be in part a legacy of the Indian Mutiny and the place it held in the British imagination. Although the instigators of the mutiny, the sepoys, were both Hindu and Muslim uniting under a Muslim ruler Bahadar Shah, the greater

³²⁷ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Madura, 10 November 1916, 15.

proportion of sepoys were Hindus.³²⁸ The infamous atrocities against British women and children committed at Cawnpore were led by a Hindu, Nana Sahib.³²⁹ For Dearmer, at a further remove of nearly sixty years, the mutiny was no longer part of living memory, yet both their reactions relied on an established folkloric connection to these sites. The negative view of Hinduism was in part based on a political narrative of an India dominated by the Raj, and in part the connection of memory to the mutiny.

Figure 31: Madura. The Tank. Unknown Photographer, circa 1860-70. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, British Library, Photo 1224/1, 96.

The significance of temple sites in globetrotters' travelogues lay not in their means of social connection with other cultures, but as spaces in which to

³²⁸ William Dalrymple, *The last Mughal: the fall of a dynasty; Delhi, 1857* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 29.

³²⁹ *Ibid*, 24

observe the other. However, a consideration of how these sites figured in their letters shows that the sites provided an older, and in many cases, 'folkloric' connection with culture and landscape couched in terms of the Romantic. Powell-Cotton's descriptions of temple ruins on Mandalay Hill or Dearmer's observations of the Teppakulam in Madras were also grounded in an imperial perspective that contributed to the meanings constructed around these sites that moved beyond the Grand Tour script.

Spaces of Encounter: 'Behind the Scenes'

MacCannell's 'behind the scenes' space might also be designated by globetrotters, not always correctly, as those outside of British space. Charles Lucas observed, on his visit to Hyderabad, a princely state in southern India, that 'everyone carries about pistols, daggers, guns, etc., with them. Hyderabad belongs to the British, so that they do as they like'.³³⁰ Hyderabad was a princely state which meant that it was in a subsidiary agreement with Britain.³³¹ Although governed by the Nizam, it was dependent on the Raj. While Lucas's understanding of the finer points of Britain's political relationship was lacking, his perceptions of these spaces and the activities he performed while inhabiting them were significant in his construction of authentic encounters.

In India, as Lucas demonstrated, travellers stayed within sites of the Raj, styling certain places as beyond British reach. Chitrlekha Zutshi noted that Kashmir was a princely state viewed by western travellers as separate from

³³⁰ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Madras, 9 November 1877, 53.

³³¹ Karen Leonard, 'Reassessing Indirect Rule in Hyderabad: Rule, Ruler, or Sons-in-Law of the State?' *Modern Asian Studies*, 37 (2003), 363-379.

India, a remote place of otherworldly beauty.³³² In addition, western collecting of Sanskrit manuscripts in the mid-nineteenth century also confirmed it as a site of ancient culture.³³³ The combination of picturesque beauty paired with antiquity proved an irresistible lure for globetrotters. Laird was one of the earliest to publish an account of his visit to Kashmir and the way that he styled the state in his written account is important to consider against the letters of Lucas and Dearmer, as well as Powell-Cotton's diary. [Figure 32 and Figure 33] Laird emphasized the separateness of the place, noting that to travel there he had to apply to the secretary of the Punjab government to 'facilitate our journey into Cashmere', a place which was 'out of the world'.³³⁴ Not only did Laird reinforce the idea of Kashmir as a remote place, separate from the Raj — which held the frisson of difference — but he also included a quote from Thomas Moore's poem *Lalla Rookh* (1817), describing the Vale of Kashmir, placing it firmly on the itinerary of the Romantic picturesque:

Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
With its roses the brightest the earth ever gave;
Its temples and grottos and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?³³⁵

Moore himself never saw Kashmir but relied instead on travellers' accounts to craft this image.³³⁶ While globetrotters were expecting the paradise conjured by Moore and confirmed through photographs from the firm of Bourne & Shepherd, the majority travelled to Kashmir in February and March. This was due to the

³³² Chitralkha Zutshi, "Designed for Eternity": Kashmiri Shawls, Empire, and Cultures of Production and Consumption in Mid-Victorian Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2), 2009, 422.

³³³ Ibid, 434.

³³⁴ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2: 258.

³³⁵ Ibid, 248.

³³⁶ Kenneth Iain MacDonald, 'Kashmir' in Jennifer Speake, ed., *The Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia* (London: Routledge, 2003), 672.

need to time a visit to India that coincided with the cooler season on the plains rather than the intense heat of summer. Instead of an Edenic site, they found Kashmir in early spring to be cold and damp with no bowers of roses yet in evidence.³³⁷

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was a relatively new political incarnation, created in 1846 with the British installation of the Dogra rulers.³³⁸ Far from being a remote paradise, it was a buffer state, at the forefront of British, Russian and Afghan political frictions.³³⁹ Yet in their narratives globetrotters overlooked these political realities and instead prepared future travellers to

Figure 32: 'View along the Marquand Canal', Srinigar. Samuel Bourne, 1863-5. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL ,Photo 1224/2, 130.

Figure 33: 'Poplar Avenue, Srinagur, from the middle'. Samuel Bourne, 1863-5. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/2, 131.

experience Kashmir as an ideal of the 'behind the scenes' landscape, as Laird had done. The romanticism of Moore was absent from Charles Lucas's letters. However, the theme of remoteness remained, and was heightened in a letter he sent to his parents in March 1878:

³³⁷ Ibid, 673.

³³⁸ Mridu Rai, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir* (London: Christopher Hurst & Company, 2004), 13.

³³⁹ Ibid.

There is a post to Srinagur [sic] but not to anywhere else in Cashmere, so when we are in other parts we shall have to send coolies to Srinagur [sic] for & with our letters. Do not be surprised if you do not hear from me so regularly in future, as we may be for the next 3 months camping miles away from any post town, but I will always send you a few lines when I have a chance.³⁴⁰

To be outside of the reach of the post was to be outside of Empire and as such was to be beyond the bounds of observation. This in turn gave the sense that globetrotters could transgress boundaries and enact identities that were separate from that of tourist. Both the Lucas brothers and Percy Powell-Cotton travelled to Kashmir to hunt. John Mackenzie has noted that hunting was part of enacting an elite imperial masculinity.³⁴¹ As the nineteenth century progressed, winter hunting tours of Kashmir became increasing popular. In his novel, *What I Saw in India: The Adventures of a Globe-Trotter* (1892), Louis Tracy, editor of the Allahbad newspaper, created the fictional globetrotter Reginald Hooper, 'aged thirty, being of sound mind and body, and carefully ticketed by Cook as a globe-trotter, presently bent upon "doing" the country'.³⁴² Hooper arrived with a number of guns, ready to undertake the hunt in the north of India. However, he also found himself the subject of amusement in the eyes of those stationed in India, who regarded both his hunting skills and exploits with mild derision, highlighting his inexperience in the Indian hunt which would not be improved through long-term residence.³⁴³ Kashmir was a space where young, male globetrotters could adopt and enact an elite imperial masculinity out of the view of those who were actively engaged in the creation and administration of empire,

³⁴⁰ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Jehlum, 'Dak Bungalow', 27 March 1878, 304.

³⁴¹ John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 190.

³⁴² Louis Tracy, *What I Saw in India: The Adventures of a Globe-Trotter* (Allahbad, 1892), 2.

³⁴³ *Ibid*, 89.

thus escaping the ridicule and censure to which Tracey's fictional Hooper had been subjected.

Because of its perceived remoteness, Kashmir was also presented as a site where globetrotters could engage in transgressions unobserved. Percy Powell-Cotton, who spent several months on a hunting expedition in Kashmir in 1890, also engaged with its spaces in a very similar way to Lucas's activities. Like Lucas, who was connected socially through the old Harrovians network in India, Powell-Cotton had an extensive, pre-existing social network in place in through his former regiment. Although not as socially elite as Lucas, Powell-Cotton had a number of fellow officers from his regiment serving in India. He went to Kashmir with one of these officers and spent several months in camps on a lengthy hunting tour. Powell-Cotton recorded in his diary bringing a local woman into his tent at night: 'Cashmir woman about up to my armpit, good fit, turned her out at 3'.³⁴⁴ Kashmir was the only place on the Indian leg of his World Tour that he mentioned sexual interactions with locals. Ann Laura Stoler noted that a 'deployment of alliance and sexuality were both part of the colonial order of things'.³⁴⁵ Considering that this was mentioned in the context of Kashmir it indicated that the place was constructed as a space that was removed from the gaze of the society of the Raj, where young male globetrotters could pretend to be part of the colonial elite and indulge in what to them figured as an immersive, transgressive experience, adopting the dress of the other and engaging in sexual interactions with them. Published accounts omitted these activities in Kashmir,

³⁴⁴ Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, QP, 22 March 1890, 22.

³⁴⁵ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 46.

relying instead on the literary works of Moore to evoke an idealised paradise, while the letters and diaries of Lucas and Powell-Cotton reveal how young male travellers immersed themselves in a constructed 'paradise' that was indebted to the Raj while at the same time functioning at a remove from colonial society.

This degree of liminality that Kashmir represented and what it meant was something that was only experienced by male globetrotters. Nancy Dearmer and her husband Percy rented a houseboat on Lake Dal in Kashmir in 1917. [Figure 34] In her letters to her mother, Nancy also represented Kashmir as remote and separate from the rest of India, noting that she and Percy crossed a border to enter the State.³⁴⁶ Her experience of Kashmir was not one of a remote paradise where she could indulge in cultural immersion. It was instead a litany of cold, wet disappointments that the paradise did not fulfil its promise:

Percy and I are too miserable and cold in this Dunga. Yesterday was like a bad March day at home and this morning it is just as cold & streaming with rain and we really can't bear it. We have had two rotten nights too, cold & noisy, the pie dogs are a fearful curse & howl by the hour together.³⁴⁷

In addition to her disappointment with the place itself, Kashmir also proved not to be the remote location Dearmer anticipated. Another couple that she met in Madras, who were also touring India, took the houseboat next to them.³⁴⁸ Instead of liminality and potential connection with the other, in a remote idyllic setting, Dearmer found a well-trodden site where engagement was limited to a circle of individuals with whom she was already acquainted.

Dearmer, however, did access her own version of 'behind the scenes' space and located it not in the far reaches of Kashmir, but in central Bombay.

³⁴⁶ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Murree, 25 May 1917, 240.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, Dunga 484, Srinigar, 20 May 1917, 236.

³⁴⁸ Ibid, 16 May 1917, 231.

Like Powell-Cotton she used a pre-existing social network to access it, exploiting her husband's longstanding professional and social connections. According to Nancy

Figure 34: 'Houseboat Srinigar'. Samuel Bourne, 1863-5. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/2, 142.

Dearmer, during her husband's first marriage, when he was a vicar at St. Mary's Primrose Hill, in the summer 'he took a locum tenency [sic], and the family spent August one year at Froyle near Alton, another at Necton in Norfolk, and another at Bradford Peverel'.³⁴⁹ In mid-October 1916, shortly after her marriage to Percy, which according to an announcement in *The Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 'took by surprise a good many members of this popular clergyman's large circle of friends', they sailed for India.³⁵⁰ Part of the surprise — also a likely reason for a lengthy trip across the East — was that Percy Dearmer married Nancy Knowles just a year after his wife Mable died of typhus in a field hospital in Croatia.

³⁴⁹ Nancy Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer, by his wife Nan Dearmer* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), 146-7.

³⁵⁰ 'Dr. Dearmer's Marriage', *The Birmingham Daily Gazette*, 21 August 1916, 4.

Knowles was fourteen years younger and the childhood playmate of Dearmer's own children.³⁵¹ In order to facilitate the trip, he agreed to undertake a series of lectures for the YMCA, and under this arrangement their accommodation, travel and meals were paid for as long as Percy had a lecture. Further, they were able to set their itinerary as they pleased.³⁵² Considered in conjunction with Percy's past practice of exploiting work connections as a means to holiday, it appears that rather than a mission, this was a wedding trip funded by the YMCA.

In addition to the economic benefits of Percy lecturing for the YMCA, the Dearmers had a social network in place through the organisation of Anglican clergy based in India.³⁵³ Yet, for all the perceived privileges that the network conferred, it also had its drawbacks, and the level of cultural access that the network provided frustrated Nancy. In Madras her hosts were 'exasperating people to sight see with, they wasted so much time over uninteresting things and hurried over the interesting things'.³⁵⁴ To remedy this, Percy renewed his acquaintance with a friend from his student days at Oxford, to whom he had not spoken in twenty-nine years, but who was well-placed to give the Dearmers' entrée into the society and spaces of the Raj. G.S. Curtis was head of the Land Office, a member of the exclusive Bombay Yacht Club and on close terms with the Governor of Bombay, Lord Willingdon. After a dinner at the Curtis home, attended by the Dearmers and Willingdons, an invitation to a 'purdah party' at government house was extended to Nancy, at which 'there were no men over

³⁵¹ Jill Shefrin, *The Dearmerest Mrs. Dearmer*, Friends of the Osborne and Lillian H. Smith Collections Occasional Papers Series, 1999, 13-4.

³⁵² Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Simla, 10 July 1917, 272.

³⁵³ Dearmer, *The Life of Percy Dearmer*, 205.

³⁵⁴ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Palmacotta, 9 December 1916, 41.

four years old present, except the Band'.³⁵⁵ The experience fulfilled her desire to interact with locals, removed from the public spaces of Bombay, secluded in the grounds of the socially prestigious space of Government House:

You have never seen anything like it... diamonds as big as eggs and enormous pearls and emeralds the size of dinner plates. ..Saris of thick gold brocade, silver brocade every colour under the sun, some with jewelled borders; jewelled caps, necklace, earrings, nose rings, ankle [sic] bangles, girdles. Glittering and sparkling. The ladies drove up in coaches (purdah curtains severely closed!) or, the bolder ones in cars. ...the ladies were Ranees, wives of rich merchants, and there were Persians, Hindoos, Mohammedans, — all sorts. ...it was great tamasha and I was lucky to be there. There are women in Bombay who would have given their eyes for an invitation.³⁵⁶

Dearmer's privileged encounter among the elites of both India and British colonial society combined a level of intimacy and access to a space where a mutual gaze was employed. Attendance at the event was restricted by both class and gender and, as such, was an experience open only to elite women.

Like Lucas and Powell-Cotton, who enacted a version of an elite identity in Kashmir, Dearmer was able to do so through her connections to the Willingdons. Although this was a large reception, it still held the idea of a 'behind the scenes' space, particularly as it was a 'purdah party' and implied a degree of exclusion. What denoted authentic or 'behind the scenes' space in India, related through the experiences of Lucas, Powell-Cotton and Dearmer, conformed to ideas of the imbalance of power, in favour of the west, in the 'contact zone'. Globetrotters' performances in Indian spaces reinforced this idea, whether it was the colonial masculinities enacted by Lucas and Powell-Cotton, or Dearmer's attendance at a 'purdah party' where the other was summoned to attend Government House, a seat of the Raj.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, Bombay, 23 January 1917, 88.

³⁵⁶ Ibid, 88-9.

Figure 35: 'The Byculla Club, Bombay'. Samuel Bourne, c1870. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/1, 33.

Identities of place across the East were also reinforced through experiences of another set of 'behind the scenes' spaces for travellers. The inns, clubs and hotels where they sought accommodation were also a means of projecting their own social status. Clubs, a vital institution for male travellers across the East, were a means of strengthening the traveller's network, and cultivating potential travelling companions. Mrinalini Sinha explored the centrality of the club in forming cultural cohesion amongst the imperial elite in India and its use as a means of both asserting and reinforcing constructs of colonial power.³⁵⁷

This was certainly the case with the Lucas brothers in India. For example, Charles Lucas and his brother Morton attended Harrow School, whose graduates included politicians, royalty, diplomats and colonial administrators. In Calcutta, before they set out for Kashmir, the brothers stayed at the elite Bengal Club,

³⁵⁷ Mrinalini Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere" in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (London: Duke University Press, 2005), 187.

where they attended an 'Old Harrovians Dinner' specially organised by the Viceroy of India, Robert Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Earl Lytton, himself an Old Harrovian. The event was commemorated in the brothers' photograph album including a group photograph of the attendees and a printed programme.³⁵⁸ The Lucas brothers' connections were reflected in their further choices of accommodation: the Byculla Club in Bombay and the Nelighirries Hotel in the elite Hill Station of Ootacamund. [Figure 35] Even in places such as Hyderabad, which Charles Lucas believed to be beyond British rule, he noted to his mother that he was given a letter of introduction from a social connection made while staying in a club to 'a man there who put us up there, & did everything for us'.³⁵⁹ For male globetrotters the club was used to gain social connections and thereby inclusion within elite society. It was also a means of excluding women, Indians and Anglo-Indians who were not of high social caste. The significance of the club in terms of social class was not limited to British travellers. American globetrotter Frederick Thompson noted in his own travel account that 'should I go again to Bombay I would take up my quarters at the Byculla Club'.³⁶⁰

Sinha also related how society encouraged by club settings could be mobilised. The Byculla club in Bombay broke with longstanding tradition and refused to entertain the Viceroy to dinner, in the wake of the Ilbert Bill.³⁶¹ However, Dearmer captured some of the changes to colonial society in India and illustrated that the institution of the club was permeable. The Bombay Yacht Club still featured prominently as an indicator of social status and Dearmer was

³⁵⁸ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Calcutta, 26 January 1878, 185.

³⁵⁹ Ibid, Madras, 9 November 1877, 53.

³⁶⁰ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 158.

³⁶¹ Sinha, 'Britishness, Clubbability, and the Colonial Public Sphere', 191.

assiduous in recording the number of times she was either invited to lunch or to attend various functions there.³⁶² However, on a visit to Madura, she recorded the subversion of the idea of the club as a homosocial space. The club in Madura was for the use of Indian and Anglo-Indian women: 'a charming little place...P. was not allowed to come in as these are purdah ladies ...there was a billiard room, a library and one or two other little rooms and of course a wide verandah'.³⁶³ A club for the 'other' that mirrored the layout of the clubs of the Raj, but where elite men were forbidden entrance, turned the meanings that the club held upside down. Similarly, when Dearmer visited a rural club, its use differed from Sinha's point that the more rural the club, the more exclusively it became the preserve of the white, male colonial administrator:

I wonder if you know what the club of a small station is like? ...there is a reading room with the latest papers and magazines, a notice board, with Percy's lectures posted amongst other bills!...every evening between 5 and 7 cars and buggies and motor bicycles drive up and the club hums for a few hours. In the hot weather it is a god send. People are tired to death of the bungalow where the women have been imprisoned most of the day, and are thankful to get away and to meet their friends ... and so it goes day by day and month by month.³⁶⁴

Dearmer conveyed the sociability and domestic qualities of the small club and its importance for women in the community. For Dearmer the club was not entirely a place of retreat from the other or a signifier of exclusivity. It mirrored the changing social and political landscape of India in the early twentieth century.

In both China and Japan, which were outside of formal colonial empire, the social focus of the club shifted slightly. Clubs in the ports of Hong Kong, Shanghai and Yokohama provided a version of British space. It was a place for

³⁶² Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Bombay, 27 January 1917, 82.

³⁶³ Ibid, Madura, 10 November 1916, 14.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, Ahmednagar, 15 January 1917, 78-9.

male globetrotters to extend their social networks largely through other globetrotters who lodged there and with whom they shared a social class. When both Lucas and Powell-Cotton travelled from the colonial world of India their social networks did not move with them to China and Japan. Clubs in Hong Kong, Shanghai and Yokohama were a means of constructing a new social network. The club also provided a British space from which to launch an exploration or potentially immerse in the culture of the other. Where clubs had not yet been established, such as Peking or Formosa, globetrotters used the consulates, for social rather than political needs.³⁶⁵ Laird stayed at the British Legation in Peking, availing himself of fine dining and potential social connections with the consul's other guests.³⁶⁶ One example of the way that these connections afforded access to new spaces can be seen in Lucas's experience in Shanghai. He stayed at the club but he also had a social connection resident in the city, the cousin of a fellow globetrotter that Lucas met in India. Gubbay worked for a Shanghai-based shipping agent, and was well-placed to offer Lucas the opportunity for a behind-the-scenes encounter. Lucas was invited to a late-afternoon party at the home of a local Chinese merchant:

We were the only Europeans present. I ate some of the "chow" & smoked their [opium] pipes & drank some very strong Chinese spirit called "sou chou" it is made out of rice. All the Chinamen crowded around & were much amused...but I told them that as I had come to a Chinaman's house I wanted to do as Chinamen do. ...we stayed about an hour & enjoyed it very much. Got back to Club in time for dinner.³⁶⁷

Lucas's attendance at a Chinese party was accessed through a European connection, but his insistence that they were the only Europeans present

³⁶⁵ Laird records procuring letters to the Consuls of various ports. Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1:192

³⁶⁶ Ibid, 1:281.

³⁶⁷ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Shanghai, 19 March 1879, 31-2.

indicated how he figured it as an authentic encounter in a behind-the-scenes space. Enhancing the sense of authenticity was his transgression with the opium pipe indulged in the company of the Chinese. After his immersive experience he returned to the British space of the club. While the club in India may have been about enhancing social status by aligning with the colonial elite, in China it was a base from which to experience social immersion and engage in transgressive behaviour.

Outside of the club, local lodging carried a very different experience of the behind-the-scenes space in both China and Japan. Instead of an enclave of the familiar, that the club provided, in hotels and inns globetrotters found themselves the subject of the gaze of local populations making clear that travellers had become the designated other. Although this would have been the case in India as well, it is in China and Japan that travellers demonstrate an awareness of this situation, most likely because layers of colonial society had been removed. Just as Laird published his encounter with Japanese 'swells' in his hotel, Gilbert recorded a similar experience in a Chinese hotel in a letter to his mother: 'the natives were very civil & kind, but very inquisitive, examining us, our clothes &c., & asking for tobacco, coming into our room sometimes to look at us rather unceremoniously, but not with any ill intention.'³⁶⁸ Because these encounters took place under the agency of local populations, there was, for globetrotters, a spontaneous quality to them. This differed from their journeys to Kashmir, which were planned and subject to expectation that was in some cases, like the Dearmers, disappointed.

³⁶⁸ Gilbert, GIL 4/379, ESRO, Off the Taku Forts, SS Sinmanzing, 3 May 1877, 4.

Staying in local accommodation, such as Chinese inns or Japanese teahouses, offered a more fully immersive experience, but also promised unrelieved cultural engagement without the option of British spaces as a retreat. Laird was one of the earliest globetrotters to set this out in his narrative of Japan, where he described at length the impact of occupying Japanese space:

There are no windows — at least not in our acceptance of the word; in the daytime they are commonly open, and you can see in, but at night they draw frames covered with paper across, in the same way as sliding doors; the paper is pretty tough, and keeps out the air, but the house is not very substantially built, and the partitions between the rooms are decidedly thin.... There are no chairs or beds, and where you dine you sleep; they bring you a thin mattress and a thickly-wadded dressing gown, very warm and comfortable, great wide sleeves, and a very thick collar.³⁶⁹

Part of the immersive quality of the teahouse experience was the gradual removal of those practices or customs that anchored the western traveller to their own culture. On entering the building globetrotters removed their shoes. They slept in a room ‘insubstantially’ divided from the Japanese themselves, a permeable interior with little in terms of furnishing to equate with a Western interior. In order to sleep they adopted Japanese clothing. In teahouses the balance of power was held not by Western globetrotters but by their Japanese hosts. [\[Figure 36\]](#)

Laird detailed his night in the teahouse as an immersive experience, but what was absent from Laird’s published account was how globetrotters adopted and adapted to the imbalance in power, using it as a means to authentic cultural engagement. Kyoto, the former capital of the Emperor, was not easily accessed

³⁶⁹ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 184.

Figure 36: Lucas collected this image of Japanese women sleeping under padded blankets with the brazier at their heads. It was an idealised image of what a night in a teahouse would be. Photographer unknown, c1870. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/6, 66.

until after 1872.³⁷⁰ It was in effect Japanese space that, given the picturesque qualities extolled by those western visitors that were able to access Kyoto before 1872 — the quaint streets, the presence of geisha and samurai — also figured as ‘Old Japan’.³⁷¹ The initial difficulty in accessing Kyoto and its links to idealised Japanese culture meant it was a particularly desirable contact zone. In a letter from a Kyoto teahouse in 1879, Lucas recorded that after a day spent sightseeing, he and his companions returned to find their rooms had been given to a Japanese party, and that their belongings had been removed to accommodate these new guests:

At first we were much annoyed but upon enquiring found the rooms had been engaged for this entertainment long before we bespoke them...we joined in their party although we could not speak a word to them, & had some rare fun for about 4 hours, we danced with them, drank their saki (a spirit made from rice)...what we thought at first a nuisance turned out first rate sport.³⁷²

³⁷⁰ Marius B. Jansen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, volume 5: The Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 644-6.

³⁷¹ Nicholas Fiévé and Paul Waley, eds., *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo* (London: Routledge, 2013) 89-92.

³⁷² Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Kyoto, 2 April 1879, 47-8.

The authenticity of the engagement lay in its spontaneity. It was an interaction that was not sought from a British space, but occurred in a Japanese space, and which included both the mutual gaze, and cultural exchange. Further, this engagement was allowed by the Japanese instead of imposed by Lucas and his companions. A more understated encounter was recorded in Powell-Cotton's diary a decade later, when he noted of the teahouse where he stayed in Kyoto: 'this is just a superior Jap inn, all paper divisions to rooms ... a pretty little girl of 8 or 9 taught me "go bang"'.³⁷³ Gobang, or Go, was a popular board game using black and white counters in which the aim was to fully encircle an opponent's pieces. It was played across Japan, China and Korea for millennia and introduced into Britain in the nineteenth century, as part of the fad for all things Japanese. In Powell-Cotton's diary, the inn was a space of spontaneous cultural encounter where he was tutored in popular culture.

Nancy Dearmer's experience of the 'contact zone' was mediated both by gender and a change in her circumstances. She arrived in Bombay as a new bride in October 1916 and in 1918 left Calcutta bound for Hong Kong as a new mother. However the family's progress was impeded. First, their ship took on water outside Singapore; all passengers were evacuated in the early morning and forced to find accommodation in the port. Booking a passage to China on a second steamer proved equally challenging, since ships were, as Dearmer related to her mother, regularly 'commandeered' for war service, leaving passengers stranded, hotels overcrowded and accommodation generally scarce.³⁷⁴ They finally arrived in Hong Kong in April 1918 and after going directly to Thomas

³⁷³ Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, QP, Kyoto, 24 April 1891, 202.

³⁷⁴ Dearmer, *Mss Eur C326, BL, On Board S.S. Senator*, 21 April 1918, 512.

Cook's offices found that the next ship sailed for Japan the following day. If they did not take that they faced a wait of over a month.³⁷⁵ Dearmer noted philosophically that 'our YMCA plans have had to be cancelled & this is a pity as the lectures are advertised but it can't be helped. In these days one had to get along as best one can'.³⁷⁶ This was a marked departure from her almost leisurely approach to her exploration of India two years earlier. While wartime conditions did complicate travel plans, the Dearmers sailed for India in 1916 having already dealt with lost possessions and disrupted posts due to enemy actions that resulted in losses to British shipping. Sailing from India to Burma earlier in her travels, Dearmer also encountered a temporary suspension in shipping schedules due to concerns of potential German submarine activity. Her haste to move through the rest of her journey centred around the arrival of her daughter. This, in turn, impacted on her desire to seek out and access authentic spaces.

The family sailed from China for Japan the day after they arrived in Hong Kong. Dearmer noted that there was little to see in Hong Kong, since it was merely a port town and no more.³⁷⁷ This was again a marked change in tone in Dearmer's letters from Simla, in the early days of her pregnancy, when she remarked that the steamers between Calcutta and Hong Kong often missed connections, but that she did not mind 'because Hongkong [sic] has good hotels & it would be interesting to see the fringe of China'.³⁷⁸ When their ship anchored off Shanghai and the opportunity arose to explore a Chinese city,

³⁷⁵ Ibid, 514.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid, 515.

³⁷⁸ Ibid, Simla, 6 August 1917, 298.

Dearmer chose not to do so, noting in her letter: 'some people are going ashore for the day, but P & I don't think it's worth while & would be too difficult to manage about Gillian'.³⁷⁹ While Dearmer's maternal circumstances altered her active search for behind the scenes spaces, she instead reconfigured spaces in her letters to create a new version of these spaces and encounters.

In Tokyo, Dearmer reworked popular tourist sites as places that were off the beaten track. She and Percy used their Y.M.C.A. connections for advice on what to see. During a social visit with the Anglican Bishop of Tokyo, American clergyman John McKim (1852-1936), the Bishop related the story of the 47 Ronin, or masterless samurai. Popularised in Britain by both A.B. Mitford and Basil Hall Chamberlain, this was the story of forty-seven samurai who lost the aristocrat they served through political intrigue. They waited to exact revenge on behalf of their murdered master and eventually killed his rival Lord Kira Yoshinaka. Because this was forbidden, they were then obliged to commit ritual suicide. The ronin were buried in the grounds of the Sengakakuji Temple in Tokyo and a visit to their graves was a highlight on globetrotters' itineraries. *The Official Railway, Steamboat and Traveller's Guide*, used by Powell-Cotton in 1891, noted in the entry for the site: 'there is practically nothing to see, but many people like to visit it as being the site where the final scene of a historical and somewhat famous dramatical event was enacted'.³⁸⁰ Dearmer, however, conveyed a very different experience to her mother and wrote that the site was 'very little known by visitors...certainly all the other people there this morning

³⁷⁹ Ibid, On Board Shinyo Maru, 29 April 1918, 519.

³⁸⁰ *The Official Railway, Steamboat and Traveller's Guide with General Information for Tourists in Japan* (Yokohama: Offices of the Japan Gazette, 1891), 13.

were Japanese'.³⁸¹ A well-known site that was popular, but not necessarily recommended, was remade in Dearmer's letters into an authentic Japanese space. Although Dearmer recast the experience as culturally authentic it was still, in her letters, a site of observation rather than one of interaction.

Figure 37: 'Japanese woman and baby'. Photographer unknown, c1870. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/6, 26.

However, Gillian facilitated social exchanges of another kind and encouraged a mutual gaze in which motherhood formed a common ground. Dearmer visited the temple complex in Nikko, an enduringly popular site with globetrotters that combined the aesthetic beauty of Japanese temples with the mausoleum of the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, thus combining the

³⁸¹ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Imperial Hotel Tokyo, 21 May 1918, 547.

beauty and political history of 'Old Japan'. Ronald Gower summed up its appeal and cultural significance in his account noting, "Those who have not seen Nikko," say the Japanese, "have not seen Japan."³⁸² Dearmer wrote of her meeting with a Japanese mother who, after admiring Gillian, 'planted her baby on my lap. She put the loop of her carrying scarf round the baby & with my assistance, hoisted the fat creature on her back & off they went'.³⁸³ [Figure 37] Gillian may have initially imposed limitations on Deamer's search for and desire to access authentic spaces and encounters. However, her presence fostered another sort of interaction and created a mutual gaze in a way that neither Lucas nor Powell-Cotton could access.

Photography Studios: Agency and Transformation

In his study of the Indian studio Bourne & Shepherd, James Ryan noted that the importance of their landscape photography lay in its ability to communicate strategic geographical features in a 'documentary' medium as well as the beauty of Britain's colonial position using the idiom of the Romantic picturesque.³⁸⁴ However, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century there was an increase in the number of studios that were owned and operated by local photographers.³⁸⁵ For example, Lal Deen Dayal (1844-1910) and Pestonjee Dosabhoy (fl 1874) had their own studios in India and photographed a wide range of local clientele from family groups to princely portraiture. Dosabhoy's

³⁸² Gower, *Notes of a Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama 1883-1884*, 74.

³⁸³ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Nikko Hotel, 30 May 1918, 566.

³⁸⁴ James Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 48-51.

³⁸⁵ Terry Bennett, *History of Photography in China, 1842-1860* (London: Quaritch, 2010), 133.

photograph of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Chaumahalla Palace is in the Lucas album.³⁸⁶ In later, personal photography Christopher Pinney detected a markedly Indian aesthetic that emerged in the early twentieth century, indicating changes both to the identity of the photographer and the subject of the gaze.³⁸⁷ Luke Gartlan demonstrated that the photographers' studio in Yokohama was a cosmopolitan site of intersecting modernities.³⁸⁸ These studios were spaces of interaction and exchange, between locals and their knowledge, represented by the photographers themselves and the global of their clientele.

These spaces were also indicative of engagement with the 'other' as studios run by both local and western photographers proliferated in Eastern ports in the second half of the nineteenth century. Chinese photographers included Pun Lun (1864- c1900) who had studios in Hong Kong, Foochow, Saigon and Singapore.³⁸⁹ Lai Afong (1839-1890), who worked under the professional name Afong, ran one of the most successful photography studios in Hong Kong and negotiated further arrangements with Shanghai based publishers Kelly & Walsh to distribute his photographs.³⁹⁰ In Japan, Uchida Kuichi (1844-1875) was the first photographer permitted a sitting by the Meiji Emperor in 1873. Kusakabe Kimbei (1841-1934), who trained under Stillfried, set up his own studio in Yokohama in 1885 and would later expand to Tokyo.³⁹¹ These

³⁸⁶ Hutton, 'The Portrait Photography of Raja Deen Dayal'; Dosabhoy was active in Hyderabad and a number of his prints survive in Charles Lucas' World Tour albums. Lucas, Photo 1224/1, BL, 49-53.

³⁸⁷ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 95.

³⁸⁸ Gartlan, 'Bronzed and Muscular Bodies', 102.

³⁸⁹ Robert Wu, *Picturing Hong Kong Photography, 1855-1910* (New York: Asia Society Galleries in Association with South China Printing Company, 1997), 127.

³⁹⁰ Bennett, *History of Photography in China*, 140.

³⁹¹ Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 37-41.

were sites of the mutual gaze, but they were also spaces where the self could be refashioned, representing the idealised outcomes of the experiences of travel.

A number of photographers also moved around the East, most notably Felice Beato. Beato was a British citizen born in Venice, who made his name photographing the Crimean battlefields (1855).³⁹² He followed this with his images of the aftermath of the Indian mutiny (1858), the Opium Wars (1860) and set up studios in Yokohama (1863) and Burma (1886).³⁹³ This mobility was not limited to Western photographers and reflected wider, longstanding migrations across the East, thus belying the idea of compartmentalized cultural differentiation that globetrotters often projected. For example, the Japanese photographer Suzuki Chushi (1849-1907) set up a studio in Shanghai in 1882, and his fellow countryman Ueno Hikomo (1838-1904) had studios in Shanghai and Hong Kong in the 1890s.³⁹⁴ The studios were sites of exchange and encounter between Eastern audiences as well as western travellers.

Photographers also sold their stock and images on to others, for example Raimond von Stillfried came to Yokohama and purchased the stock of Felice Beato when the latter left the country.³⁹⁵ Photographer Adolfo Fasari, an Italian who came to Yokohama via the United States at the close of the American Civil War in 1865, purchased the stock of Beato and Stillfried when the latter declared bankruptcy. Fasari used his own work and the stock he purchased to illustrate

³⁹² Ibid, 26-9.

³⁹³ Takio Saito, *The World of Yokohama Photography* (Yokohama: Yurindo, 1990), 233-251.

³⁹⁴ Joshua A. Fogel, *Articulating the Sinosphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 82; Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 36.

³⁹⁵ Luke Gartlan, *A Career of Japan: Baron Raimund von Stillfried and Early Yokohama Photography* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 45.

his guidebooks to Japan.³⁹⁶ Kusakabe Kimbei's images included some of Beato's and Stillfried's old stock. One of his own images, a group of Japanese girls bathing, appeared in a cropped version to remove a nude figure in Annie Russell



Figure 38: 'Home Bathing'. Kusakabe Kimbei, c1885, cropped version reproduced in Annie Russell-Cotes, *Westward from the Golden Gate* (London: W.H. & L. Collingridge, c1900), plate 3.

Figure 39: 'Home Bathing'. Uncropped photograph, Kusakabe Kimbei, c 1885 Collection: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 84.XA.700.4.27.

Cotes's published account of her travels, *Westward from the Golden Gate* (c 1900).³⁹⁷ [Figure 38 and Figure 39] Both Beato and Stillfried used prostitutes to pose for their images, while Kimbei used geisha.³⁹⁸ In Meiji Japan, geisha occupied a position at the intersection of entertainment, fashion and politics. They represented both traditional society and the new Meiji version of the refined 'modern woman'.³⁹⁹ They were cultural icons who brought with them a degree of the erotic. For the Japanese viewer, the combination of geisha and the new, Western technology with which they were captured — in turn deployed by a Japanese photographer — meant that these images, while seemingly capturing

³⁹⁶ Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 36; A. Fasari, *Keeling's Guide to Japan: Yokohama, Tokio, Hakone, Fujiyama, Kamakura, Yokoska, Kanozan, Narita, Nikko, Kioto, Osaka, Kobe, &c., &c. together with useful hints, history, customs, festivals, roads, &c., &c., with ten maps* (Yokohama: A Fasari with Kelly & Walsh, Limited, 1890).

³⁹⁷ Russell-Cotes, *Westward from the Golden Gate*, 13.

³⁹⁸ Wakita, *Staging Desires*, 82-4.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 76-81.

the nostalgia of Old Japan, were also representative of the Meiji vision of a new Japan. It was unlikely that globetrotters realised all of these connections, but their gaze was guided by images created by local photographers.

Photographers' studios were spaces where globetrotters could potentially document their personal transformation brought about through travel. As Gerber noted, the self that globetrotters presented in personal letters was a creation of writer and correspondent.⁴⁰⁰ However the transformed self, represented in photographs, was a mutual creation of photographer and sitter, presented to family at home. The images of himself that Charles Lucas sent home from the East demonstrate how photographs were fashioned to chart the outcomes of Eastern encounters. The first portrait of Lucas in his photograph

Figure 40: *Carte de visit* of Morton Peto Lucas (left) and his brother Charles James Lucas (right), taken in 1877 at the start of their global tour. Photographer unknown. Collection: Charles James Lucas album, BL, Photo 1224/1, 1.

album recording his trip is a half-length *carte de visit* of Lucas and his brother Morton, taken in 1877. [Figure 40] It is possible that this was taken before the

⁴⁰⁰ Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives*, 7.

brothers set out on their World Tour. In the image, they had an identical pose, arms crossed in front of them, both attired in woollen suits. Charles wore a more sober, dark coloured suit and tie, while Morton's clothing was lighter in colour. The photographs were embellished with hand-drawn bamboo frames, possibly the work of the Lucas's sister Florrie, who was a keen amateur painter.⁴⁰¹ The addition of the frame conveyed a sense of enshrining the brothers as they were before their travels.

During their trip to Kashmir in 1878, Morton became seriously ill with what he described in a letter home as sunstroke.⁴⁰² He was sent home from Kashmir, while Charles elected to continue the tour on his own. When Charles returned alone to Calcutta, he commissioned a number of photographs from Bourne & Shepherd to document the outcome of his Kashmiri journey.



Figure 41: 'My Indian Trophies'. Photographer Bourne & Shepherd, 27 December 1878. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/2, 195.

The photographs included several of Lucas in Kashmiri dress and were staged in the garden of the family with whom he was staying. [Figure 41] The Aparcar family, whom Lucas knew through his school days at Harrow, had a palatial residence in Calcutta. They were of Armenian descent and prominent in colonial

⁴⁰¹ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Yokohama, 9 April 1879, 54.

⁴⁰² Ibid, Calcutta, 30 December 1878, 206.

society. In addition, family members served as business agents, insurance brokers and ran the Apcar Shipping Line between Japan, China and India. Alexander Apcar, who attended Harrow with Lucas, was president of the socially exclusive Calcutta Turf Club. The reaction to Lucas's recreation of his Kashmiri experiences in their garden, which he staged with his tent and hunting trophies, was recorded in his letter home:

Got tent pitched & skins head etc. arranged by about 9 o'clock & dressed myself up in the clothes I used to wear in Kashmir & had the whole blessed thing photo'd much to the amusement of all Apcar's servants who could not make me out a bit.⁴⁰³

The incident saw a sort of double cultural translation in that a globetrotter who had been enacting ideals of imperial male masculinities also adopted the dress of the other and presented it to an household, where although the family was not British they were British-educated and moved within elite colonial society, much to the amusement of another local group or 'other' in Calcutta. While this attempt at cultural immersion bewildered his audience in India, its reception in England was unrecorded. However, the care that Lucas took in recreating Kashmir in a Calcutta garden indicated that for him, it was an experience of liminal space where, if he did not fully engage with the other, he was able to approximate the outward appearance of the other, his experiences impacting his presentation of self.

The photograph, which Lucas sent home, shows him sitting, with his leg slung over the arm of a camp chair in 'Kashmiri' dress, surrounded by his hunting trophies. His dress consisted of a woollen turban, paired with a European shirt, open at the collar, and loose European trousers. To these he

⁴⁰³ Ibid, Calcutta, 27 December 1878, 204.

added a sash around his waist, with a dagger tucked into it, thick woollen cloth wrapped around his lower legs, bound to them by leather straps, and woven sandals on his cloth-wrapped feet. While not an authentic representation of Kashmiri dress, it indicated that Lucas saw Kashmir as a 'behind the scenes' space and site of immersion, a liminal space where, if he did not exactly engage with the other, he enacted his immersion through dress and recorded it for family, indicating the transformative effect of the experiences of 'behind the scenes' space. By staging it as a hunting scene, he simultaneously maintained a colonial identity through this imperial activity.

In addition to the staged photographs taken in the Apcars' garden, he also sat for a studio portrait in his Kashmiri dress. [Figure 42] This he sent to his mother with a description of the sitting:

After breakfast spent nearly the whole morning at Bourne & Sheppards [sic] the photographers, first having my photo taken in Kashmir dress then choosing views of all the places we had been to up country. I shall spend a small fortune on photos before I get home but they will be a lasting souvenir of the places we have seen, so it will be money well spent & will in a way assist me to explain what we have seen.⁴⁰⁴

The image presents a clear departure from the young man in the sober suit at the front of the album. That his Kashmiri dress was recorded in several venues indicated the importance that Lucas's experiences in Kashmir held for him. The images literally illustrated his desire to communicate those experiences to his family through his photographic recreations of space. Further, by pairing the image of himself in Kashmiri dress with images of the places he travelled to from Bourne & Shepherd's stock, he located himself in the landscape, as well as conveying the effects of his immersive experience on his construction of self.

There are three further portraits of Lucas in his albums: a single *carte de visit*, possibly from China, and two from Japan.⁴⁰⁵ The first image, which does not name a photographer, but was placed in Lucas's China album, shows him seated on a studio prop of rocks, wearing a light suit, tie, pith helmet and holding a bamboo walking stick. [Figure 43] It was an image that had little to differentiate

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ The *carte de visit* was a small calling card with a single photograph mounted on it. They were a late nineteenth-century fad and exchanged between friends and family on birthdays and holidays. Photographers also produced a range of *carte de visit* featuring celebrities which were popularly collected.

Figure 43: Charles James Lucas, 1878. Photographer Unknown. Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/4, 1.

it from those of the colonial elite, and communicated nothing of the effect of his experiences in Chinese spaces. However, it was also taken at the time when Morton had a recurrence of poor health and may have served to reassure Lucas's family that his continued travels had not had an adverse effect on his own health.⁴⁰⁶

The first image of Lucas from Japan was of himself with three of his temporary travelling companions to commemorate their successful ascent of Mount Fuji in 1879.⁴⁰⁷ The image was taken in a Yokohama studio: 'Harman, Ringrose, Davies and I had our photos taken in a group as a souvenir of our trip up Fuji together'.⁴⁰⁸ The photograph was labelled 'Fuji Group' and portrayed the

⁴⁰⁶ Lucas, Photo 1224/1; Lucas, Photo 1224/7, Hong Kong, 22 February 1878,3.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, Yokohama, 1 August 1879, 153.

young men as alpine ramblers, evoking the images of Grand Tour travellers.

[Figure 44] While the painted studio background of Fuji and the pith helmets worn by the group indicate an Eastern location, the image nevertheless evokes the social distinction of elite Swiss climbers. It was a means of projecting Lucas's social distinction, potentially enhanced by associations with travellers of similar or higher social status.

Figure 44: 'Fuji Group', Arthur Ringrose (top left), Charles James Lucas (top right) with Harman and Davies sitting. Photographer unknown, 21 July 1879. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/5, 48.

The final image showed Lucas and Ringrose dressed in kimonos attended by two geisha. [Figure 45] Taken in Yokohama just days after the Fuji group

image, it served a very similar purpose to the studio photograph of Lucas in Kashmiri dress. He noted in a letter to his mother that when he was outside of Yokohama, staying at local teahouses in smaller villages he would adopt Japanese dress. However, that immersive experience was confined to Japanese spaces. The day before this photograph was taken, Lucas noted in a letter: 'very hot day felt the heat very much, wished I was in the country again & able to go about in Japanese clothes'.⁴⁰⁹ Tim Oakes noted that authenticity in tourism was 'not to be found in a state of being....but in the process of becoming'.⁴¹⁰

Figure 45: Arthur Ringrose (left) and Charles James Lucas (right) in Yokohama, 1878. Photographer unknown. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/6, 67.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Oakes, 'Tourism and the Modern Subject', 37.

Part of travel was the process of becoming the other to those who remained at home. This was achieved not only through a lengthy journey, but also through the culturally immersive experiences of foreign spaces. This final image of Lucas and Ringrose — clad in kimonos and holding small teacups — documented the outcome of that process. It also illustrated how the adoption of aspects of the other was part of the understanding of a differentiated East. In Kashmir, Lucas adopted an identity that was ultimately an expression of colonial masculinity. His Japan album, however, reflected a more cosmopolitan immersion. The Japanese image of Lucas was also hand-coloured, an expensive and painstaking process.⁴¹¹ Lucas's Japanese album conveyed his transformation and marked his social distinction.

Just as technological developments brought more of the world under the tourist gaze, so too did changes to the technology of photography. These progressed from the large wooden cameras and heavy glass plates of the 1870s, when Lucas travelled, to the light and extremely portable Kodak that Percy Powell-Cotton took with him in 1899.⁴¹² This change meant that globetrotters were able to effectively direct their own gaze. Erika Rappaport noted that guides in nineteenth-century London represented local knowledge and as such held the keys to those 'behind-the-scenes' spaces where the authentic was located.⁴¹³ Photographers occupied a similar position for globetrotters: they not only had access, through local knowledge, to spaces that were off the beaten track, but

⁴¹¹ Gartlan, 'Views and Costumes of Japan': A Photograph Album by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz', *The Latrobe Journal*, no 76 (2005), 10.

⁴¹² Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 19.

⁴¹³ Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 109-11.

they also provided a visual documentation of these sites. Powell-Cotton wrote of his encounter with Felice Beato in Mandalay in 1891: 'drove to Europe Hotel, there Beato, a photographer been here some time (a character been all over the world through a lot of campaigns, member of the Club, etc. etc.) gave us information'.⁴¹⁴ The information was to the ruined temple site on Mandalay Hill, accessed by an overgrown road.⁴¹⁵ Powell-Cotton and his travelling companion immediately set off with their Kodak cameras. He no longer had to rely on a studio session, or on his choice of stock images to record and re-enact his personal experiences 'behind the scenes'. Powell-Cotton's gaze was still directed by Beato, but at a remove.

By the late nineteenth century, photographers' studios across the East added film developing to the services offered to globetrotters.⁴¹⁶ Nancy Dearmer, who travelled with both a Kodak and a Graflex, regularly had her prints developed throughout her travels. She began this practice from the earliest days of her arrival in India, writing to her mother: 'my first films have at last been forwarded from Madras where they go to be developed. Some of them are quite good I think and I enclose a few prints. Don't you love the dear elephant?'⁴¹⁷ Just as she used maps to connect her mother with the spaces through which she moved, Dearmer also sent her own photographs that created a visual connection with the sites.

⁴¹⁴ Powell-Cotton, World Trip Journal, QP, Mandalay, 15 February 1891, 85.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid.

⁴¹⁶ For an overview of the development of these services and individual photographers see the Historical Photographs of China database maintained by Bristol University www.hpcbristol.net/photographer/betines-co-sj accessed 21 September 2018.

⁴¹⁷ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Bangalore, 18 December 1917, 48.

Using her own camera and having her film developed and printed gave Dearmer a greater degree of social engagement with those that she encountered. She used the camera to great effect in her early encounters with the family of her newly-hired servant, Mumi, referred to initially as the 'Dressing Boy': 'He [Mumi] said this morning: "My family wish very much to see the Madam," and as "the Madam" is equally curious to see the family we have arranged to be on view to each other one morning, Madam Kodak in hand!'⁴¹⁸ Dearmer's photographs both connected her with home and realised the space of the mutual gaze, documenting it. Dearmer exploited technology to capture the authentic experience, in this case the mutual gaze of the family of her 'dressing boy' who were inspecting her while she was photographing them.

Dearmer also hand-coloured her own prints, thus creating and enhancing her version of ostensibly authentic cultural encounter. However, her version of authenticity was contested by her fellow travellers. Dearmer noted an exchange with Mrs Parlett who shared their accommodation in Rangoon:

Mrs. P...is an interfering person, full of unasked for advice! I was showing her the photographs I have been colouring for you and she said: "That is quite wrong, you must alter that, no Burmese woman under 40 wears pale blue"! Now I copied those figures carefully from life, and only this morning in church I sat near a whole row of maidens, aged about 14, half of whom wore pale blue and looked most attractive!⁴¹⁹

While Dearmer may have gained a degree of agency in exercising her own gaze, she was also at a remove from the knowledge and expertise of photographers. They had extensive contacts with local populations or were representative of local populations. The result was that Dearmer's own knowledge was superficial and easily challenged.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, Madras, 10 November 1916, 28.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, Rangoon, 1 April 1917, 171.

As Dearmer travelled with her young child, her construction of authentic space and encounters altered as well. This extended to the servants that she hired. Mumi, who travelled with her in India, and gave her access to what she felt was the 'behind the scenes' space of encounter with his family, was replaced with Miss Taylor, a nursemaid from Scotland. Instead of having someone with local knowledge who gave her entrée to the authentic, Dearmer as a mother surrounded herself with the familiar. This can be seen in the way that she experienced Kyoto, where instead of immersing herself in Japanese culture, she equated it with home:

I have discovered that when I really like a place it is because it reminds me of London or Oakridge. I like Kyoto because its fresh hill air, its trees & flowers & sweet scents remind me of our Cottage Home. ...it's a great thing to travel round the world & see so much, but the greatest thing of all will be to come home.⁴²⁰

As Dearmer travelled, the spaces of the East stopped being 'thrilling and new' as she had breathlessly noted on arrival in Bombay in 1916. With the birth of her daughter, Dearmer sought out space that brought her closer to home and the familiar rather than highlighting its distance and difference. The nature of Dearmer's transformation of self meant that instead of tracking it the way that Lucas had done, nearly forty years earlier through changes in dress and habits, Dearmer focussed almost exclusively on documenting her daughter Gillian. She noted in a letter to her mother written at Nikko: 'I am sending you some photographs of Jillie. They are not too good, they make her face look heavier than it is, but they give an idea of her expressions. I wish everyday I could show her to you, she is so lovely'.⁴²¹ The camera allowed Dearmer to chart her

⁴²⁰ Ibid, Kyoto, The Miyako Hotel, 3 May 1918, 530.

⁴²¹ Ibid, Nikko Hotel, 30 May 1918, 564.

transformation in a way that was more immediately personal. She used it throughout her travels as a means of social encounter and documentation, but here it excluded all other encounters save those with Gillian.

Conclusion

In their published accounts, globetrotters synthesised the touristic script of the Grand Tour and applied it to the East to convey a sense of place. However, the East conjured in these narratives was one that was viewed at a remove rather than experienced through direct engagement. Their letters conveyed more of the 'behind the scenes' spaces that constructed a clearer sense, not only of how they configured the authentic, but of the transformative experiences of travel. Following the travels of Lucas, Powell-Cotton and Dearmer from the 1870s to the 1910s allows us to map how globetrotters created a sense of place, by figuring spaces as authentic through direct social engagement with the other. Instead of sites of observation, these spaces were where globetrotters performed what they believed was an authentic Eastern identity.

Photographers documented these spaces as well as the personal transformation brought about by performance within them. This in turn aided globetrotters in constructing and performing a new identity brought about through their experiences of authentic sites of the mutual gaze. Photographs were sent to family at home conveying both experience and outcome. In India and Japan they donned local costumes to represent cultural immersion. In China they did participate in culturally immersive activities and preserved images of the spaces that facilitated this, which will be explored in the next chapter.

Globetrotters' spatial encounters were opportunities for connection with 'behind the scenes' spaces, often acquired through social connections that enhanced their status as travellers. While immersive spaces encouraged transgression and transformation, their culinary adventures, explored in the following chapter, were a further example of active social engagement, which moved globetrotters beyond the role of observer and elevated their experiences and knowledge to more than that of mere tourist.

Chapter Three:

Consuming the East: Alternate Geographies of Food

Figure 46: 'Street Chow Chow Seller', Canton. William Saunders, 1870s. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL Photo 1224/3, 79.

On a dockside tour in Canton in 1870 Arthur Carlisle visited an opium den, where he described the 'prone' men he observed on beds lost to narcotic dreams.⁴²² He noted that due to the continued British smuggling of the drug, Chinese consumption had increased nearly 400-fold since 1767.⁴²³ However, lest his readership think that Carlisle's sympathies lay with the Chinese, immediately after leaving the opium den he remarked on the large pile of tea leaves lying nearby: 'if we are at all guilty of an attempt to poison the Chinese with opium, they try to do us an almost equally bad turn in the matter of tea'.⁴²⁴ These tea leaves were being scooped into wooden casks for shipment abroad.

⁴²² Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 128.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

Carlisle described what at first appeared to be 'gunpowder' tea leaves which on closer inspection proved to be tea dust mixed with sand and other adulterants bound for western tables, consumed by unknowing 'barbarians'.⁴²⁵ In Carlisle's account, consumption was used as a means to convey a relationship between China and Britain characterised by mutual distrust. The politicised aspects of these commodities, tea and opium, were at the heart of the Opium Wars. They were adopted and adapted by globetrotters when characterising local dishes, such as curry in India, as a means of reflecting wider political concerns and cultural unease. This in turn informed globetrotters' decisions on whether to accept or reject engagement with local populations through food culture. Further, experiences of food and drink were not limited to their political or economic associations. Narratives of consumption created 'alternative geographies' for India, China and Japan which brought together cosmopolitanism and the social distinction of Romantic touring.⁴²⁶ This chapter argues that dining practices and taboo foods were both a barrier and bridge to cultural engagement.

Food was a powerful means of engagement with local populations in the East. Food culture was integral to the way in which social connections were built and maintained. Claude Lévi-Strauss used oppositional pairs (raw/cooked) in his exploration of the use of food to create social exclusion/inclusion. This idea provides a useful starting point for an interrogation of globetrotters' perceptions of 'Eastern' foods as 'edible/inedible' and a consideration of how these ideas were influenced by pre-existing expectations, political relationships and societal

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Nowicka, 'Cosmopolitans, Spatial Mobility and the Alternative Geographies', 14.

taboos.⁴²⁷ By consuming or rejecting local delicacies, globetrotters were exercising a means of either maintaining their difference and separateness or were engaging culturally with the 'other'. Further, the rules around dining and food were acquired rather than inborn and distinctions of edible/inedible often tied to social or religious ritual.⁴²⁸ Just as the ostensibly authentic experience of the mutual gaze, discussed in the previous chapter, indicated a subversion of the power of the imperial and tourist gaze, so too did engagement in dining ritual across the East. Carlisle described his experience at the Chinese banquet, in the company of mandarins in 1870 noting: 'we have not 'implements' beyond china spoons and chop-sticks: the latter, after some awkward experiments, we can wield with tolerable success before the dinner is finished'.⁴²⁹

In her examination of the way that food was figured in nineteenth-century British travelogues on the Balkans, Ludmilla Kostova noted that dining with the other meant that travellers placed their hosts on the same social level as themselves, temporarily relinquishing a sense of their own social superiority.⁴³⁰ This is relevant to an Eastern context where British colonialism and imperial engagement were the political background to globetrotters' travels. This chapter will consider how globetrotters used food to negotiate social engagement with the other. Food consumed in the country of its origin in the company of locals with the appropriate modes and manners observed constituted an experience

⁴²⁷ Claude Lévi-Straus, *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology: I*, translated by John and Doreen Weightman (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), 290-1.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 110.

⁴³⁰ Ludmilla Kostova, 'Meals in Foreign Parts: Food in Writing by Nineteenth-Century British Travellers to the Balkans', *Journeys: The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing*, 4 (2003), 30.

that could not be replicated at home. Further, as eating and drinking were necessary activities, the choice of where to dine, with whom to dine and what to eat offered a powerful lure of meaningful social engagement in spaces where political and social taboos could potentially be broken.

Jack Goody noted that abstaining or fasting was a means of potentially maintaining the balance of power in relationships by highlighting cultural difference or social exclusion/inclusion.⁴³¹ Robert Bickers confirmed this in his study of British expatriate communities in Shanghai in the early twentieth century. They described Chinese food as 'disgusting' and refused to eat it relying instead on imported, pre-packaged foods from home or having local cooks copy British recipes.⁴³² This separation, particularly in colonial communities of expatriates, was a means of maintaining not only physical separation but political ascendancy, for example living in European sections of the city separate from the Chinese town. Reinforcing degrees of separation between the other and those western residents in the East was deemed necessary to avoid what they believed was a threat of political contagion or worse, cultural assimilation. Globetrotters were not part of these enclaves. Neither were they resident long enough to fear these outcomes. In their narratives they figured ideas of the edible/inedible differently to residents, like civil servants or merchants, whose lifestyle abroad was markedly different from home. For globetrotters food was a means of fostering cultural connections and accessing the authentic experience.

Rebecca Earle's work on conquest in Latin America (1492-1700)

considered that part of the Spanish programme of colonisation was based on the

⁴³¹ Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 118.

⁴³² Bickers, 'Shanghailanders and Others', 279.

assimilation of indigenous people by changing their diet and dress to that of 'civilised' Spaniards.⁴³³ The political dimension of this connection between food, body and appearance was also a longstanding feature in globetrotters' accounts. Laird wrote of the 'dirty yellow bodies' of the Chinese, adding that he only ever made the 'mistake' of eating their food once, in San Francisco because of the 'clean, industrious' appearance they presented there.⁴³⁴ He portrayed China as inherently dirty, the poor food hygiene suggestive of the presence of contagion, noting that a hotel in Shanghai provided a 'bad feed' and 'smelled of cholera'.⁴³⁵ Allan Christensen noted that cholera, a disease that was eastern in origin, was associated in Victorian novels with both political unrest and sexual transgression.⁴³⁶ Contagion was a genuine concern among travellers, but it could also be used as a means to convey anxiety about what consuming the food and culture of the other might do to the western body.

Consumption of differentiated eastern cuisines was also the ultimate expression of cosmopolitanism. Magdalena Nowicka's theory of 'Alternative Geographies' of cosmopolitanism was predicated on the practice that travellers created a new set of criteria to differentiate their global experiences.⁴³⁷ Nowicka's concept of 'alternative geographies' is usefully applied to globetrotters' experiences of food and drink wherein they created 'alternative geographies' of the differentiated East. They achieved this through drawing on

⁴³³ Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 17.

⁴³⁴ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 174.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid*, 1: 246.

⁴³⁶ Allan Conrad Christensen, *Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Contagion: 'Our Feverish Contact'* (London: Routledge, 2005), 22-3.

⁴³⁷ Nowicka, 'Cosmopolitans, Spatial Mobility and the Alternative Geographies', 14.

older histories of commodities like tea and relocating them in these older Eastern landscapes, refusing to 'see' tea as a product of modernity. The way that globetrotters documented their experiences through letters and photographs further supports the idea of an 'alternative geography' of food, by locating things like tea in a specific Eastern landscape. Christopher Pinney noted that photography was deployed as a 'salvage paradigm' in that it documented or preserved rapidly disappearing cultural practice and landscapes.⁴³⁸ There is an element of this in some of the photographs that globetrotters collected, particularly in relation to capturing 'Old Japan'. However, in considering how globetrotters relocated or reconnected experiences with landscape that in some cases they never saw, I suggest that these photographs were less about documenting a vanishing present than about proving that a picturesque version of Chinese tea production was an actual experience.

This chapter argues that globetrotters used food to create an 'alternative geography' of their Eastern experiences that in turn contributed to their iterations of the authentic. The first section will focus specifically on tea and curry, considering them with reference to Lévi-Strauss's oppositional pairs. Both foodstuffs were integral to the images of China and India that were constructed at home as part of much longer political and mercantile interactions with each country. Yet, at certain points in their travels, globetrotters departed from these pre-existing associations creating a new narrative that reinforced their own agendas around social distinction and cosmopolitanism.

The popular identities or tropes attached to tea and curry at home were used as cultural shorthand for a number of histories and political disputes

⁴³⁸ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 45-56.

between Britain, China and India. Tea, as Carlisle presented it in his dockside experience in Canton, was a lucrative product and market at the heart of the Opium Wars. In comparison, curry was well known, a culinary symbol of Anglo-Indian interaction and relations that was adopted and adapted in Britain. The presence of both tea and curry on domestic tables in Britain was a powerful indicator of Britain's imperial reach in the East. However, part of globetrotting was not necessarily to reinforce perceptions of international status quo, but to destabilise a sense of self, experiencing the transformational aspects of travel through immersion in the culture of the other. The second half of this chapter will interrogate the way that food experiences were presented in globetrotters' letters. It will consider how food taboos were broken, something omitted from their published accounts, to indulge their appetite for the experience of mutual encounter and engagement with the authentic.

'All the Tea in China'

Suzanne Daly noted that tea and ideals of Britishness were entwined in the nineteenth-century British domestic sphere, citing a passage from Charles Dickens' popular novel *Bleak House* (1852-3) to support this assertion.⁴³⁹ Esther Summerson, the protagonist, prepared a pot of tea in a scene meant to symbolise the idealised domesticity that she represented. Dickens positioned his character below a set of early nineteenth-century Chinese export paintings illustrating the stages of tea manufacture from planting, harvest, drying and shipping. This, Daley contended, reminded the reader of the foreign, exotic origins of tea, a

⁴³⁹ Suzanne Daly, *The Empire Inside: Indian Commodities in Victorian Domestic Novels* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2011), 101.

product that was now domesticated, contributing to constructions of the English home.⁴⁴⁰ These types of Chinese export paintings were popular souvenirs for Canton merchants in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁴¹ [Figure 47 and Figure 48] The images not only made a connection to the commodities of Anglo-Chinese trade, they placed them in a Chinese landscape, albeit one that was imagined. That Dickens needed only to reference the series of export paintings indicated that they were relatively commonplace and invoked a romantic landscape that located tea in China.



Figure 47: One of two images from the longer series of Chinese export paintings depicting the processing of tea. 'Sorting and Separating Leaves from Branches'. Artist unknown, Canton, circa 1790. Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum, D.351-189



Figure 48: 'Firing Tea'. Artist unknown, Canton, circa 1790. Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum, D.356-1894

In the course of the nineteenth century, tea production moved from China to India and later expanded to Ceylon.⁴⁴² A few tea plants, closely related to those cultivated in China, had been discovered growing wild in Darjeeling and Assam. The East India Company funded British botanist Robert Fortune's

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁴¹ Clunas, *Chinese Export Watercolours*, 7.

⁴⁴² Edward D. Melillo, 'Empire in a Cup: Imagining Colonial Geographies through British Tea Consumption', in James Beattie, Edward Melillo, and Emily O'Gorman, eds., *Eco-Cultural Networks and the British Empire: New Views on Environmental History* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 71-2.

expedition to China to collect tea plants (both green and black) which were successfully cultivated on Indian terraces.⁴⁴³ However, in their narratives globetrotters did not relocate tea from China. Instead they refashioned these sites of newly industrialised British tea production, like Darjeeling, in their accounts to connect with the Romantic iteration of the Grand Tour. In doing this they created an 'alternative geography' of tea, invoking Darjeeling as a site of the sublime rather than industry and distinguishing themselves from the pervasive, socially inferior Cook's tourists.⁴⁴⁴

The picturesque was integral to conveying the social distinction of the viewer and it was a way of seeing that was inherently at odds with modernity or industrialisation. In her work on the colonial picturesque, Caroline Jordan wrote that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries travellers heading to destinations in India, Tasmania and Australia styled themselves 'pilgrims of the picturesque'.⁴⁴⁵ Inspired by the Romantic views of the Lake District and those produced by European Grand Tourists, these new travellers, many relocating their homes and lives to new continents, enhanced the picturesque qualities of the colonial landscape and emphasized its lushness by highlighting contrasts and repositioning indigenous figures for visual effect.⁴⁴⁶ Globetrotters visiting Darjeeling employed a similar strategy in conveying the Hill Station's picturesque views. A popular destination on their itineraries, Darjeeling was particularly appealing because it offered a combination of sought-after

⁴⁴³ Lynn Voskuil, 'Robert Fortune, *Camellia sinensis*, and the Nineteenth-Century Global Imagination', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 34 (2012), 5-18.

⁴⁴⁴ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 120; Anne C. Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains: Sinking the Sublime* (London: Routledge, 2016), 30.

⁴⁴⁵ Caroline Jordan, *Picturesque Pursuits: Colonial Women Artists and the Amateur Tradition* (Carlton Victoria: Melbourne University Publishing, 2005), 44-5.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 47-8.

experiences: it was a retreat of the elite of the Raj with an alpine climate.⁴⁴⁷ Historian Romita Ray noted that it was in Darjeeling where conventional ideas of the picturesque were recalibrated. Colonial residents viewed the industrial tea plantations and the railways that transported both the commodity and people as 'picturesque'.⁴⁴⁸ This effect was further heightened by contrasting the orderly rows of the tea terrace with the lush wildness of the uncultivated landscape beyond the terraces and the backdrop of the Himalayas thus creating the 'Indian picturesque'.⁴⁴⁹ The tea terraces were, Ray argued, a means that the British used to situate themselves within the Indian landscape whilst demonstrating a connectedness to the wider Empire, since they, like the terraces they gazed on, were transplants.⁴⁵⁰

The tea produced on those terraces was, throughout the 1860s and 70s, extolled in the British press as an important British product.⁴⁵¹ Daly noted that opinion pieces in publications like *Frasers* made the point that tea produced 'domestically' in India should be the preferred choice for British consumers as it was of benefit to the Empire.⁴⁵² However, the tea terraces of Darjeeling did not feature in globetrotters' accounts. They focussed instead on the Himalayas and the views of Everest and Kanchenjunga for which the Hill Station offered a particularly good vantage point. In 1872, Laird dismissively mentioned the tea terraces as an inconvenient encounter on his journey to gain a better view of the

⁴⁴⁷ Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations of the British Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 4.

⁴⁴⁸ Romita Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), 55.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 72.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 75.

⁴⁵¹ Daly, *The Empire Inside*, 90.

⁴⁵² *Ibid*.

Himalayas: 'we came to a very extensive tea plantation, but the scrubby tea plant does not improve on acquaintance'.⁴⁵³ Travelling for leisure, Laird was only away from Britain for a relatively brief period. He did not, unlike longer-term British residents of India, need to confirm his 'Britishness'.

Instead of a confirmation of connectedness to Empire, globetrotters used Darjeeling in their narratives to demonstrate connections with older iterations of elite touring culture through their aestheticisation of the landscape. Their views on Eastern landscapes reflected, in part, certain expectations that had been moulded by the itineraries of the early nineteenth-century Romantic Grand Tour with its extended scope that encompassed Switzerland and the Rhine.⁴⁵⁴

Tourists viewed the Alps through the works of Romantic poets, specifically Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Mont Blanc* (1817), an ode to sublime beauty. Lord Byron's epic *Childe Harold* (1812; 1818) was treated as an indispensable guidebook on how to view and feel the experience of these sublime sites.⁴⁵⁵

In the mid-nineteenth century, increased alpine tourism, under the auspices of Thomas Cook who offered a package tour to Switzerland in 1865, meant that elite tourists began to view sites like Mont Blanc as a well-trodden route, spoiled by the lower classes.⁴⁵⁶ Both Buzard and Colley made the point that elite tourists demonstrated their class and status through their knowledge of when and where to express the appropriate Romantic reactions to the sublime experience.⁴⁵⁷ Laird quoted extensively from *Mont Blanc* in his account of his

⁴⁵³ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2: 190

⁴⁵⁴ Chloe Chard, *A Critical Reader of the Romantic Grand Tour: Tristes Plaisirs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 9.

⁴⁵⁵ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 120.

⁴⁵⁶ Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains*, 30.

⁴⁵⁷ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 40; Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains*, 36.

time in Darjeeling, musing on the inaccessibility of the Himalayan peaks and their un-trodden white snow.⁴⁵⁸ He positioned the Himalayas as representative of the sublime, and by emphasizing their untouched quality also indicated their exclusivity: pristine slopes bereft of package tourists.

By the late 1880s, tea produced in 'British' sites such as Darjeeling and Assam, outstripped sales of Chinese produced teas in Britain.⁴⁵⁹ Despite increased sales of Indian and Ceylonese teas at home, globetrotters continued to locate Darjeeling as a site of the picturesque. Walter Ryland toured Assam just as Indian teas were ascendant in the domestic market, yet he had very little to relate about tea cultivation with the exception of the occasional sighting of a tea plant in the wild.⁴⁶⁰ His primary aim in travelling to Darjeeling was to view the Himalayas but, as was so often the case for travellers, mists and rains obscured the views and he only glimpsed what he speculated might have been Everest.⁴⁶¹ His plans frustrated, Ryland and his party visited a tea plantation where he observed the various stages of tea leaves being processed. Although he devoted several paragraphs to this experience in his account, his concluding comments on Darjeeling situated it not as a site of tea production, but as a location of the picturesque, evinced by his expressions of regret: 'we were most unlucky while at Darjeeling in not being favoured with brighter weather, and with more distinct and better views of the magnificent Himalayan mountains'.⁴⁶² A decade later, Frederick Thompson omitted all mention of the tea terraces at Darjeeling when

⁴⁵⁸ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2: 188.

⁴⁵⁹ Melillo, 'Empire in a Cup: Imagining Colonial Geographies through British Tea Consumption', 72.

⁴⁶⁰ Ryland, *My Diary during a Foreign Tour*, 68.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, 77.

⁴⁶² *Ibid*, 83.

he visited, instead describing his first sighting of the Himalayas as ‘the sublimest scene I have ever witnessed’.⁴⁶³ In the nearly twenty years that separated Laird from Thompson, Darjeeling was maintained as a site of the sublime experience.

Tea instead, was firmly located in China where globetrotters connected tea to an older, what they thought of as pre-industrial, Chinese version of tea production.⁴⁶⁴ Carew Davies Gilbert collected a series of Chinese photographs illustrating tea production on his travels in 1877. [Figure 49 and Figure 50] The images clearly drew on the older representations of tea production shown in Chinese export paintings. They also included elements of modernization with certain mechanized production techniques, indicating that tea production in China was not entirely rooted in the past.⁴⁶⁵ However, like the tea terraces in Darjeeling, mechanization was not something that globetrotters wanted to see in tea production in China.

Laird observed the processing of Chinese tea in Foochow, writing that ‘the building was very well ventilated, and there being no machinery there was no horrible smell of oil, as in the Manchester factories. From the headdress of the ladies it was a flowery scene, and worthy of China’.⁴⁶⁶ Notwithstanding the political associations of Chinese tea production as pre-modern, Laird’s account and the images that Gilbert collected, located Chinese tea within the realm of the artisan, linking it to the prevalent critique of modernity in the Aesthetic Movement. Tea was part of an alternative, imagined geography created by

⁴⁶³ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 122.

⁴⁶⁴ Elizabeth Hope Chang, *Britain’s Chinese Eye: Literature, Empire, and Aesthetics in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 146.

⁴⁶⁵ Gilbert, GIL 4/387, ESRO, North China Album, images 31-5.

⁴⁶⁶ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 292.

globetrotters that was reflective not only of a desire to see a version of Old China, much like that of Old Japan, but to escape modernity.

Figure 49: 'Curling the Leaf - Hankow Tea District'. Attributed to William Saunders, c1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 32.

Figure 50: 'Winnowing Tea'. Attributed to William Saunders, c. 1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 33.

In addition to the tea process, Gilbert had a further two photographs of the Chinese landscape. The first he labelled 'Tea Plantation Yang Le Doon Upper Yantse'.⁴⁶⁷ [Figure 51] I have been unable to identify the place, but the location of the Upper Yangtze River was significant. In 1877, the year that Gilbert was travelling, the area of the Upper Yangtze, between Ichang and Chungking was newly opened to Europeans and was quickly exploited for the access it provided to the tea trade.⁴⁶⁸

However, it was not on the tourist trail and Gilbert's letters confirm that, with the exception of Peking, he confined his own route through China to coastal sites.⁴⁶⁹ His souvenir photographs of a landscape he never saw reinforced the idea that China was the location of tea and tea drinking in the British imagination

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid, image 29.

⁴⁶⁸ Robert Bickers, *Britain in China: Community, Culture and Colonialism, 1900-49* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 11.

⁴⁶⁹ Gilbert, GIL 4/377, ESRO, Hong Kong, March-April 1877; Peking, April – May 1877.

based on the older imagery in circulation in Britain. The album, with its images representing experiences Gilbert did not have, indicated the way that photographs were used not only to reconstruct itineraries but to reinforce expectations. Christopher Pinney noted that photography could be used to create a visual document that fused the imagined or expected experience with lived experience. In this case reconciling Gilbert's expectations of the imagined Chinese landscape with the documentary qualities of photography, proving that the tea terraces of Chinese export paintings existed.⁴⁷⁰

The photographer's studio played a crucial role in providing images of places that Gilbert could not access due to time or political constraints and aided him in constructing an expected experience of China, influenced by the objects and images with which he was already familiar. The photographs in the Gilbert album represented both an imagined experience while visually anchoring sites of increased British influence. However, Chinese export paintings were specifically created for a western market by Chinese artists who directed the British view. A British photographer created the photographs in Gilbert's album, taking not only what he expected to see, but accessing what he had previously been restricted from seeing. Gilbert's purchase and ordering of the photographs in his album created a document that represented not only what was iconic about China, but the altered balance of power with Britain.

In 1872, Laird commented on the views near the Taiwan Strait: 'the country is very beautiful, and there are pretty hills planted on top with the tea plant'.⁴⁷¹ The image of rolling green hills planted with tea contrasted sharply

⁴⁷⁰ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 46-7.

⁴⁷¹ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 293.

with Laird's observation in Darjeeling of the 'scrubby' tea plants.⁴⁷² When considered alongside the photographic views in Gilbert's album, Laird's comments indicate that tea was part of the construction of the Chinese picturesque. The first image of tea terraces in Gilbert's album featured steep sided mountains, the tea plants standing out in sharp relief. In the distance, the

Figure 51: 'Tea Plantation Yang Le Doon Upper Yantse'. Attributed to William Saunders, c1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 29.

pagoda-like roofs of a town can be seen in the valley set against the backdrop of mountains. The mountains themselves are planted with tea, and these terraces are the focus of the second image in the Gilbert album 'Tea Plantation Upper Yantse'.⁴⁷³ [Figure 52] This image concentrates more closely on the tea plants and features two small 'picturesque' figures in Chinese dress. Their presence was not only an important element in the composition of the picturesque

⁴⁷² Ibid, 2: 190.

⁴⁷³ Gilbert, GIL 4/387, ESRO, North China Album, image 30.

landscape, but also reinforced the idea that although cultivated, the terraces were sparsely populated and un-trodden by western visitors.⁴⁷⁴

Figure 52: 'Tea Plantation Upper Yantse'. Attributed to William Saunders, c1870. Collection: ESRO, North China Album, GIL 4/387, 30.

These images bear further comparison to one published twenty years later by Thompson in his description of a visit to Darjeeling. [Figure 53] It shows the roofs of the Hill Station clustered against the distant Himalayas, in a similar composition to the photograph of the Chinese valley.⁴⁷⁵ Darjeeling was shown devoid of tea terraces, the mountains providing the focal point in the photograph. Although Thompson travelled in the early 1890s, nearly fifteen years after Gilbert, he used a number of photographic images that were already

⁴⁷⁴ Jordan, *Picturesque Pursuits*, 47-8.

⁴⁷⁵ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 123.

in circulation from the early 1870s to illustrate his text.⁴⁷⁶ These images, produced by professional photographers in their studios in India, China and Japan, were part of a set or canon of images that, much as the earlier Chinese export paintings had done, encapsulated the 'East' for travellers and their audiences at home.⁴⁷⁷



Figure 53: 'Darjeeling', photographer unknown, reproduced in Frederick Diodati Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun: Readings from the Diary of a Globe Trotter* (London: William Heinemann, 1893) 121. Collection: British Library, V9824.

By using a set of images that located key experiences of the East within a specific geography, such as tea in China, globetrotters fused their new experiences of travel with an older version of the picturesque. These representations of the 'picturesque', in both word and image, linked in both India and China to iterations of an older version of the 'East' and in both cases, served to enhance the travellers' social distinction and experience of a version that was

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid, 67, 79, 96.

⁴⁷⁷ Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye*, 162.

designated 'authentic' through its connections to 'older' imagery and culture. Further, they anchored the experiences of certain commodities to geographical landscape. To experience tea in China, instead of India, was to successfully connect with authentic 'old' China. This also reflected the globetrotters' desire if not to escape, then to ignore, the modernity that they themselves represented.

Curry: Adaptation and Adulteration

Just as tea was a commodity representative of a well-established trading relationship between Britain and China, curry was representative of the longstanding engagement between Britain and India. Lizzie Collingham noted that curry itself was representative of adaptation and assimilation, beginning with the Mughals, who dominated India politically from the sixteenth century. They transformed the simple Hindustani dishes through the addition of luxurious Persian ingredients and cooking techniques.⁴⁷⁸ Later, with the first European incursions into India, new ingredients were added like chilli peppers from South America, which left a lasting legacy in the form of Vindaloo. Curry was ultimately modified by the British to become a standardised sauce across regions. But this incarnation was also one that only the British and other Europeans consumed, as local populations maintained their own regional tastes.⁴⁷⁹ These adaptations in the British version of curry served to reinforce ideas of difference, particularly in the wake of the Indian Mutiny. These social, political and ethnic divisions, which were an inherent legacy of the Mutiny, were

⁴⁷⁸ Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005), 35, 118.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 125.

further strengthened as British residents began to favour imported pre-packaged food from home.⁴⁸⁰

A version of these Anglo-Indian curries made an appearance in *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861), a cookery book that was a barometer of popular tastes and tables in Britain.⁴⁸¹ The *Book of Household Management* was a guide to all aspects involved in running a middle-class household.⁴⁸² Although Isabella Beeton died in 1865, a few years after the first edition was published, the book was continually in demand and regularly reprinted and updated throughout the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁸³ This makes it a useful source in following changing middle-class culinary tastes and in assessing the impact of foreign foods on the British diet. In regard to India, recipes for 'Indian Curry-Powder' [Figure 54] and curry for fish, beef, mutton, veal and chicken are listed in the 1861 edition of the *Book of Household Management*.⁴⁸⁴ By 1907, there was a complete section



Figure 54: Advertisement for curry powder published in Agnes B. Marshall, *Mrs A. B. Marshall's Larger Cookery Book of Extra Recipes* (London: Marshall's School of Cookery, c1897) Collection: British Library, 1572/1067.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, 168.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, 133.

⁴⁸² Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton* (London: Fourth Estate, 2005).

⁴⁸³ Ibid, 363.

⁴⁸⁴ *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* (London: S.O. Beeton, 1861), 449, 237, 247, 620, 713, 865, 942.

on 'Indian Cookery' reflecting the place that India held in British society, highlighting its importance as a colony.

For globetrotters who toured the East, curry, like tea, was an expected and almost familiar aspect of the Eastern food-scape. Like tea, as it figured in Carlisle's comments on his dockside tour in Canton, there was a concern around adulteration. Adulteration of food within British markets was commonplace in the nineteenth century: bread flour was cut with alum; tea with ash; potted foods like anchovies were coloured with lead; curry was treated with mercury.⁴⁸⁵ The Analytical Sanitary Commission, an independent body, published a number of articles in the respected medical journal *The Lancet* in the first half of the 1850s concerning the safety of food. In addition to this specialist outlet, the issue of food safety was disseminated to the wider public through articles, plays and pamphlets raising levels of awareness that in turn fostered alarm. Rebecca Stern's analysis of Christina Rossetti's poem *Goblin Market* (1862) presents the work as an example of the 'food adulteration literature' that proliferated in Britain in this period.⁴⁸⁶ The poem described a market where people purchased seemingly wholesome food only to weaken and die after consuming it, reflecting the state of affairs in British food markets.

The 1860 Act for Preventing the Adulteration of Articles of Food and Drink relied on merchants to voluntarily reduce the amount of adulterants in food and as a result it had little real impact in the marketplace.⁴⁸⁷ Jacqueline

⁴⁸⁵ Rebecca F. Stern, 'Adulterations Detected': Food and Fraud in Christina Rossetti's 'Goblin Market', *Nineteenth Century Literature*, 57 (2003), 477-511.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁷ Jacqueline M. Labbe, 'To Eat and Be Eaten in Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature' in Kara K. Keeling and Scott T. Pollard, eds., *Critical Approaches to Food in Children's Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 96.

Labbe has demonstrated that food warnings in popular literature also extended to children's literature from the 1830s through to the 1880s. This is significant because it spans the period when many of the globetrotters considered here came of age: Carlisle was born in 1847, Laird in 1848, Ryland in 1836 and Thompson in 1850. Food adulteration was something that during their childhoods and adult years would have seemed a commonplace, albeit scandalous, state of affairs in Britain. Its prevalence in British discourse meant that adulteration was a means of conveying a breach of trust on the part of the provider and at the same time, an inherent vulnerability on the part of the consumer.

This vulnerability to unscrupulous cooks and suppliers was an experience that was not unique to domestic life in Britain. Buzard noted that tourists making their way across the European continent had similar complaints.⁴⁸⁸ However, in the East, anxieties around the adulteration of food reflected wider political concerns. In this context, consuming curry in India, whilst being a means of accessing what was believed to be 'authentic' Indian cuisine also potentially exposed travellers to the unwholesome. For example, Walter Ryland spent a large part of the Indian leg of his 1881-2 world tour in dak bungalows. These bungalows were a legacy of the East India Company: accommodation for travellers that could be found across the country. They were located in diverse places: near the archaeological site of the Kutub Minar in Delhi, in converted buildings at Fathipur Sikri and a number of remote locations. This was in part because they were a less expensive alternative to hotels.⁴⁸⁹ There a resident

⁴⁸⁸ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 313.

⁴⁸⁹ Ryland, *My Diary during a Foreign Tour*, 32.

cook prepared the meals, generally curry, for Ryland and his companions.

However, on arrival in Jaipur the party chose instead to stay at the newly opened Kaiser-i-Hind hotel where he reported 'a much better variety of food'.⁴⁹⁰

In his narrative, Ryland confirmed the reputation of the dak bungalow as rough accommodation, specifically when compared with the luxury of a western-style hotel. Ryland's great concern over the food provided at the dak bungalow was that thick curry sauces could mask adulteration: 'the cook might introduce into the mixture any kind of meat, either that of goats, pigs, fowls or even of camels, for all you can tell'.⁴⁹¹ Food that lent itself to adulteration was not only inherently untrustworthy, it also reflected the untrustworthiness of the Indian cook resident at the dak bungalows and potentially all Indians.

Ryland was travelling through India in 1881, two years before the introduction of the Ilbert Bill, which proposed that Indian judges would have the right to pass sentence on Europeans.⁴⁹² A strand of the public discourse around the Ilbert Bill focussed on the role of servants and how the bill would be the undoing of Anglo-Indian households, as their servants would have grown insolent.⁴⁹³ The Khansama, the cook and house steward for a dak bungalow and Anglo-Indian household alike, also fell into this position of potentially becoming disrespectful. Articles in the *Times of India* recorded cases where, in the lesser extreme, the Khansama was convicted of fraudulent bookkeeping and, at worst,

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid, 33.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid, 38.

⁴⁹² Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 47.

⁴⁹³ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 99.

attempted to murder the residents of a dak bungalow.⁴⁹⁴ Locals were equally aware of tourists' anxieties: a 1901 advertisement for the Kaiser-i-Hind where Ryland stayed, noted that the owner was a 'Khansama' who, during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, remained loyal to the British.⁴⁹⁵ These points in the advertisement were meant to reassure globetrotters that here was a servant, a cook, who could be trusted.

The advertisement for the Kaiser-i-Hind also mentioned that not only was the former owner loyal during the Indian Mutiny, he was a Muslim.⁴⁹⁶ He was not bound by the same restrictions as Hindus in regard to food and its preparation. Household manuals for Anglo-Indian families suggested that a Muslim or, preferably, a Christian should fill the role of Khansama.⁴⁹⁷ Tourists followed this advice as well. Thompson, travelling through India in 1891, engaged a 'Eurasian named Pedro', whose name implied links with Portuguese Catholics and the Christian community in India, to look after his meals.⁴⁹⁸ While there was a practical side to selecting a non-Hindu as a cook, the decision reflected western perceptions of Hindus as unclean and untrustworthy, associated in British minds as perpetrators of the worst episodes of the Indian

⁴⁹⁴ 'Dishonest Servants', *The Times of India*, 16 July, 1877, 3; 'Supposed Attempt at Poisoning a Family', *The Times of India*, 1 November 1883, 3; 'Murderous Pathan Khansama', *The Times of India*, 23 October 1903, 5; 'Clarke Murder Case. A Khansama's Evidence', *The Times of India*, 12 December, 1912, 8. 'Railway Bribery Trial. Payments to a Khansama', *Times of India*, 8 December 1916, 8.

⁴⁹⁵ The advertisement was a supplement in the front of a publication that was part of the Heritage of India Series (1901-46). The series was written by British writers and meant to impart a greater understanding of India's history and culture from a western, imperial perspective. Peter Edward Rice, *A History of Kanarese Literature* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1901).

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Steven Patterson, *The Cult of Imperial Honor in British India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 181.

⁴⁹⁸ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 118.

Mutiny, specifically Cawnpore. Hindu temples, particularly those in the holy city of Benares, were characterised in globetrotters' narratives as filthy: Laird described a 'sickening' stench from 'rotting food left as offerings and worshippers themselves'.⁴⁹⁹ Visiting Benares fifteen years later, Thompson went even further, describing the Hindus who worshipped 'Siva and his terrible wife' Kali, as those who 'eat carrion and excrement'.⁵⁰⁰ Laird's and Thompson's comments illustrated the longstanding construction of a negative Hindu identity perpetuated around consumption: they were contaminated, spiritually and physically, by their religious practice. In both examples Hindus either contaminated their sites of worship with rotting food or their own bodies by consuming the inedible. The combination of ongoing debate in Britain on adulteration of food paired with the politics of the Indian Mutiny and the subsequent Ilbert Bill played a role in the way western travellers represented Hindus and their food practices.

Political changes both domestically in Britain and globally were significant in reshaping travellers' perceptions of food culture in India, or at least those experiences that they communicated in their private correspondence. Nancy Dearmer was born in 1889, over a decade after the legislation of the Sale of Food and Drug Act (1872) that, unlike the failed Food and Drinks Act of 1860, was a lasting and valuable measure against food adulteration. Dearmer's childhood, specifically in terms of the prevalent discourse around food adulteration, was shaped very differently from earlier travellers Carlisle, Laird, Ryland and Thompson. Further, she travelled through India in 1916 during the

⁴⁹⁹ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, vol. 2, 170.

⁵⁰⁰ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 124.

First World War. She observed its impact first hand, including accounts of encounters with German prisoners of war and members of the Indian army in letters to her mother.⁵⁰¹ The Army, which included Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, were deployed not only in theatres of war in the Northern Provinces, but in the Middle East and further afield in France.⁵⁰² These developments had a wider impact in terms of the way that Indians, specifically Hindus, were viewed. In turn this potentially influenced Dearmer's decision to engage a Hindu servant, Mumiswamy. He was responsible for buying and preparing her food, and accompanied her on her travels that spanned the length and breadth of the sub-continent.⁵⁰³

Not only did she hire a Hindu Khansama, but in her letters home curry did not feature as a suspect food to be rejected. It was instead used to render the familiar of colonial India exotic to family at home. In a letter to her mother she gave a detailed description of the preparation methods of an 'authentic' curry:

In India curry powder is made fresh every morning. You take chillies and ginger, nutmeg, peppercorn and various other spices and these are dried and rolled upon a stone slab with a stone roller, which is to be found in every properly constructed Indian household, Anglo-Indian included.⁵⁰⁴

By linking Indian households, where she did not stay, with Anglo-Indian homes, within which she did have accommodation, Dearmer created a version of the 'authentic' by extending her experiences beyond the social layer of the British Raj. This was further reinforced through her connection of food with the 'handmade' aspects of curry powder thus imbuing it with an authentic, artisanal

⁵⁰¹ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Ahmednagar, 15 January 1917, 75.

⁵⁰² David Omissi, *Indian Voices of the Great War: Soldiers' Letters, 1914-18* (London: Penguin, 2014).

⁵⁰³ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Madura, 10 November 1916, 16.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid, Madras, 10 November, 1916, 11.

quality. She highlighted the way that food was representative of place, noting to her mother that 'you in England of course can't do this' but promised to purchase some ready made curry powder at the bazaar and send it home.⁵⁰⁵ By sending the spices home, Dearmer gave her family a tangible experience of Indian food culture, something they could not access or approximate. This strengthened the idea that travel afforded an exclusive experience of food culture, and by rendering the commonplace curry authentic served to heighten its connections with the exotic spaces of the 'other'. While Ryland may have rejected curry in 1881, Dearmer not only consumed it in 1916, but advised and aided her family in the ways of reproducing the dish at home. Instead of embodying the distrust and anxiety representative of political division and social difference, Dearmer figured curry as a food that was symbolic of the cosmopolitan consumption of an authentic India.

China and Japan: Breaking Taboo

Allan Christensen noted that in nineteenth-century Britain, contagion was an important element in discourse on morality.⁵⁰⁶ He cited the connection between cholera, hygiene and moral behaviour as an example, noting that in novels cholera outbreaks were often linked or equated with characters of low moral standing, particularly those engaged in prostitution. The literary treatment of these subjects in turn connected the two – morality and contagion – as a cause and effect in the public mind.⁵⁰⁷ Further, suspect morality need only be communicated through descriptions of living conditions. Hygienic and tidy

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Christensen, *Nineteenth Century Narrative of Contagion*, 22-3.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

interiors indicated that the inhabitants had a strong moral compass, while filthy or degraded living conditions reflected a moral deficit in the occupant.⁵⁰⁸ For globetrotters in the East, discourse on contagion was also used as a means of expressing ideals of cleanliness and morality in conjunction with approbation of the cultures of China and Japan. This commentary went beyond simply distinguishing the cultural differences between the Chinese and Japanese and was, like curry in India, reflective of the longstanding relationship with China compared with relatively shorter interactions with Japan. Chinese cities were epitomised in globetrotters' accounts as harbourers of dirt and filth whereas, by comparison, Japan was a haven of cleanliness.

Consuming the food of the Chinese meant that travellers were potentially doubly exposed to contagion. The Chinese were styled as a people who consumed unwholesome and inedible food, like dog and cat, and who lived in unhygienic conditions. Added to these cultural tropes was the very real threat of cholera present across the East in a series of epidemics.⁵⁰⁹ These occurred in Japan as well and, although omitted from published accounts, contagion in Japan was mentioned in letters. During his stay in Yokohama, Charles Lucas reported cholera outbreaks in his letters home. According to Lucas the Japanese authorities ascribed the origin of the outbreaks to passenger steamers arriving from China.⁵¹⁰ While globetrotters felt that through their travels in other cultures they were exposing themselves to contagion, the Japanese saw these same travellers as agents of disease. Lucas reported that his fellow globetrotters,

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ J.G. Morris, Jr., 'Cholera and Other Types of Vibrosis: A Story of Human Pandemics and Oysters on the Half Shell', *Journal of Infectious Diseases*, vol. 37 (2003), 272-80.

⁵¹⁰ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Yokohama, 31 July 1879, 152.

en route from Shanghai to meet him in Yokohama, were quarantined in Nagasaki as potential carriers of cholera.⁵¹¹

In China, as in India, globetrotters' published accounts expressed concerns about the wholesomeness of their food that also indicated underlying political and social anxieties. That globetrotters rejected certain types of Chinese food was a means of reinforcing barriers between travellers and the 'other' and maintaining difference. By consuming the inedible European travellers were exposing themselves to contagion both literally in terms of infectious diseases like cholera, and figuratively by engaging in the social and political degradation that was used to typify China in nineteenth-century travellers' accounts.

Laird eschewed local food while travelling in China in favour of desiccated soups, biscuits, tinned sardines and Alsop's Ale, supplemented with, he emphasized, '*pure* cold water from a little stream'.⁵¹² His insistence on 'purity' stemmed in part from genuine concerns about maintaining good health while travelling but also appeared in his text in juxtaposition with two studio photographs of a Chinese mandarin and an upper class woman titled 'Chinese Monstrosities'.⁵¹³ [Figure 55] Below the caption 'A Chinese Swell' the mandarin was shown with his hand raised, the focus being two fingers with grotesquely long fingernails. The woman was reduced to a single feature, noted as 'The Feet of a Lady of the Ton'. One foot was encased in a small, embroidered shoe, the other, un-bandaged laying bare the deformities inflicted by foot binding for his readership. In presenting these images in his text, Laird simplified and

⁵¹¹ Ibid, Golemba, 19 July 1879, 143.

⁵¹² Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 254.

⁵¹³ Ibid, 1: 252.



Figure 55: 'Chinese Monstrosities', reproduced in Egerton Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 254. Collection: British Library, 10026.g.12.

caricatured the Chinese by limiting representation to single components of their appearance using these as shorthand for their 'barbarity'. Not only, Laird noted, did the Chinese deal brutally with the 'other' as represented by missionaries who were often the subject of attacks, they also practiced a 'barbarous custom' on their own bodies.⁵¹⁴ In Laird's narrative their moral failings and proclivities were reflected in their appearances, nourished by the food they consumed. For Laird, to ingest Chinese food was to risk being exposed to moral contagion that shaped Chinese bodies and informed their dealings with the west.

Although Laird rejected Chinese food, Mark Swislocki noted that certain segments of the Chinese population in urban centres of Shanghai and Hong Kong embraced western food culture through the conspicuous consumption of western foods brought by tourists and expatriates. Locals who had close

⁵¹⁴ Ibid, 1: 253, 307, 310.

relationships with resident Europeans consumed these foods: these included compradors, the managers or agents of banking or trading houses, and courtesans.⁵¹⁵ These were specific segments of the population who were employed in various capacities by western residents, but who in turn also exploited these relationships for gain, both financially and socially. These goods were viewed as representative of a western elite and the consumption of them by these Chinese groups signified social alignment.⁵¹⁶ They were also used as commodities to trade within their own culture for enhanced social status. For example, courtesans sent packaged foods back to their families in rural provinces as expensive signifiers of status gained through association with and exploitation of Europeans.⁵¹⁷ These groups consumed western food to align themselves with Europeans, who in turned consumed these foods to emphasize their difference from the Chinese.

In treaty ports like Shanghai in China and Yokohama in Japan the influx of western travellers represented a potentially lucrative market and a number of western style restaurants were developed to cater specifically to the tourist trade.⁵¹⁸ These restaurants, patronised by local populations, expatriates and tourists provided a space where an adapted version of the food culture of the 'other' (both locals and tourists) could be experienced.⁵¹⁹ Some globetrotters opted to confine their dining experiences to these venues; others pushed the boundaries of social engagement further. Dining in the company of locals, using

⁵¹⁵ Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 115.

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid, 118.

⁵¹⁸ Katarzyna Cwiertka, 'A Note on the Making of Culinary Tradition — an Example of Modern Japan', *Appetite*, 30 (1998), 121; Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 115.

⁵¹⁹ Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 103.

chopsticks, kneeling on the floor and consuming regional delicacies meant that globetrotters experienced an iteration of 'authentic' culture. The physical imposition of foreign dining for those who were unaccustomed both created a culturally immersive experience but also indicated a reversal of positions of power. Western globetrotters found themselves at a disadvantage in the company of the Eastern 'other'. Although these meals were part of a staged and mediated experience created for globetrotters by locals, the modes and manners employed in 'foreign' dining both highlighted difference and potentially fostered closeness.

Travelling just one year before Laird, Carlisle recorded a meal taken in Hong Kong in the company of mandarins. Hong Kong itself marked the first point of encounter in China for the majority of globetrotters. The island was a major British trading concession, along with the Treaty Ports (Shanghai, Canton, Ningbo, Foochow and Amoy) opened at the end of the First Opium War in 1842.⁵²⁰ Under British development Hong Kong became the largest port for international shipping in China in the second half of the nineteenth century. As such it was a combination of British space within a Chinese sphere which for many globetrotters made it an ideal place in terms of engaging in cultural immersion. The banquet that Carlisle attended began with bird's nest soup, an expensive Chinese delicacy created from the spit of swallows that bound the twigs of their nests together.⁵²¹ The nests themselves were imported to China from Malaysia.⁵²² However, Carlisle did not stop at the consumption of birds'

⁵²⁰ Bickers, *Britain in China*, 11.

⁵²¹ Sidney Cheung and David Y.H. Wu, *The Globalisation of Chinese Food* (Oxford: Routledge, 2014), 278.

⁵²² *Ibid*, 152.

nests, but detailed the extensive list of dishes he consumed, confessing to having tried them all:

pigeon stew, seaweed soup, pigeon eggs, minced quail, stewed peas, black seaweed, stewed lotus root, sea moss, ducks' feet, shark's fin; ...these eleven courses follow twenty more, whose names had better be given to make the list complete: duck and bamboo, Japan sea snails, seaweed, sturgeon jelly, bêche-de-mer, mushrooms, quangsi mushrooms, guarapoo fish, lotus seeds, sweet cakes, fowl and ham, shark's fin with fish balls, frog, fish maw, pigeon, quail, bamboo omelette, pork fritters and rice, congee and rice, tea.⁵²³

The use of small, dainty porcelain dishes to eat morsels of, for western palates, exotic food in a theatrical setting made the meal in itself a performance of social class.⁵²⁴ Further, for a segment of his readership, those involved in trade or politics, his presence at this banquet was a nod to a longstanding history of merchants' dinners.

In Canton the Hong merchants staged banquets for members of the East India Company in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁵²⁵ These meals were a mixture of high status Chinese delicacies including bird's nest soup, shark fin and bêche-de-mer (sea cucumber) accompanied by French and Spanish wines.⁵²⁶ The Chinese merchants began to curtail them just before the onset of the first Opium War but it is likely that these meals provided the template for the banquet Carlisle enjoyed in Hong Kong. Chinese merchants continued to use these banquets as a means of building business relationships with the west. Although Carlisle himself was not involved in trade, his relatives

⁵²³ Ibid,109-110.

⁵²⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), 67.

⁵²⁵ May-bo Ching, 'Chopsticks or Cutlery?: How Canton Hong Merchants entertained Foreign Guests in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', in Kendall Johnson, ed., *Narratives of Free Trade: The Commercial Cultures of Early US-China Relations* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2012), 99-117.

⁵²⁶ Ibid, 102.

in India were, and it is possible that his presence at the banquet was due to family connections.⁵²⁷ In this context, the banquet was a means of cultural entrée for globetrotters. For those among his readership with a pre-existing knowledge of the China trade, his presence at the banquet elevated Carlisle's status beyond that of mere tourist.

Carlisle's immersive meal took place within the spaces of a place that was largely British. When he ventured beyond Hong Kong to Canton, he made the point that the success of the British settlement at Hong Kong produced a decline in the European population on Shamian Island, the site of foreign residence from the eighteenth century.⁵²⁸ In his account, Carlisle represented Canton as a predominately Chinese space. Food was central to his evocation of the Chinese city. He began his tour of the markets focussing on the meat and vegetable shops:

In the former there are some curious specimens of fish, flesh, and fowl. Besides an abundance of pork, ducks, geese, chickens, and fresh fish, we may see here and there a suspended bundle of harvest rats sun-dried, along with ducks that have gone through a similar process, joints of white meat, which our Chinese attendant makes us understand are of a canine origin, ...while there is little doubt that the wealthy classes are great epicures, there is less doubt that the poor people are generally very foul feeders.⁵²⁹

Food represented stark cultural difference, pairing the edible of duck, geese and pork with, in the Victorian point of view, the inedible meat of rats and dogs. For the Victorians, dogs were either pets or strays. The sentimentality surrounding the Victorian pet placed it within the circle of friendship and family therefore to

⁵²⁷ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 22-3.

⁵²⁸ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 118.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid*, 119.

eat a pet was an act of betrayal.⁵³⁰ Stray dogs were seen as disease ridden and dangerous to ingest. To do so was to align with those who ate the indescribable, like Thompson's reference to Indians who ate carrion.⁵³¹ However, Carlisle made the point that it was the lower classes that consumed the inedible, not those who belonged to the same class as the mandarin merchants with whom he dined in Hong Kong. While he might have eaten Chinese food he had not, he reassured his readers, broken the taboo of consuming the inedible because it was only the lower classes that did so.

The consumption of cat and dog flesh as a means of delineation between rich and poor in China was reiterated in globetrotters' accounts. Ryland wrote of 'the low class butchers' shops, where different sorts of joints of cats, dogs and rats were sold.⁵³² Ten years later, Thompson visited a shop that dealt exclusively in dogs, cats, and rats, which the 'lower classes eat with seeming relish'.⁵³³ Yet, in *Walks in the City of Canton* (1875), John Henry Gray insisted that he witnessed middle class Chinese merchants and craftsmen dining in a restaurant where 'no other food than that which consists of the flesh of dogs and cats, is eaten'.⁵³⁴ In addition to Gray's assertion, Carew Davies Gilbert wrote in an unpublished letter to his mother: 'we went to a Native restaurant, & eat cat & dog, the latter was

⁵³⁰ Teresa Mangum, 'Animal Angst: Victorians Memorialize their Pets' in Deborah Denenholz Morse and Martin Danahay, eds., *Victorian Animal Dreams: Representations of Animals in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 18.

⁵³¹ Ying-kit Chan, 'The Great Dog Massacre in Late Qing China: Debates, Perceptions, and Phobia in the Shanghai International Settlement', *Frontiers of History in China*, 10 (2015), 645-667.

⁵³² Ryland, *My Diary during a Foreign Tour*, 196.

⁵³³ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 56.

⁵³⁴ John Henry Gray, *Walks in the City of Canton* (Victoria: De Souza & Company, 1875), 165.

good, not so the former'.⁵³⁵ In published accounts, tourists like Carlisle, Ryland and Thompson made the point that they did not break food taboos, yet private letters like Gilbert's suggest that this was not the case.

The letters of Charles James Lucas also highlight that the Chinese city of Canton, instead of the European enclave of Shamian was where social taboo could be broken. In his letters Lucas demarcated the separation of British and Chinese space, noting that Shamian island was surrounded by a wall and had a watchman on duty to keep the Chinese from entering the enclave.⁵³⁶ In Lucas's letters, to enter the city of Canton was to enter the space of the 'other', an 'authentically' Chinese site. Lucas reported, in a letter to his family, that while walking through Canton at night he encountered the flower boats, which he described as 'sort of floating restaurants which a party of Chinese take for a night'.⁵³⁷ He and his travelling companions joined a boat where a private party was already in progress, noting that the 'Chinamen were very civil to us, they gave us some of their "chow" (food) & pipes to smoke & we listened to the inharmonious strains of the "singsong girls" for some time then went away and back to our houses'.⁵³⁸ In Lucas's letters, Canton was a site of commensality in almost exclusively Chinese company. He situated the city as a site of the authentic experience, cultural engagement and, being outside of British space made it a site for transgression.

⁵³⁵ Gilbert, GIL 4/377, ESRO, Hong Kong, 3 April 1877, 4.

⁵³⁶ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Canton, 27 February 1878, 15-16.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Ibid, 16.

Figure 56: 'Flower Boat', Canton. Photographer Unknown, 1870s. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/3, 47.

Figure 57: 'Interior of a Flower Boat'. Lai Afong (1870-5). Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/3, 48.

Like Gilbert's breaking of taboos by consuming cat and dog, Lucas also engaged in further taboo activity. The reputation of the flower boats was that they were in essence floating brothels. Thompson referred to them a decade after Lucas' visit as 'the habitation of the frail women of Canton'.⁵³⁹ [Figure 56 and Figure 57] When Lucas related his encounters on the flower boats and invited his host in Shamian, a local vicar named Smith, to accompany him on future outings Smith responded by saying 'he thought he ought not visit' them.⁵⁴⁰ Lucas followed this comment in his letter with a quick assurance to his mother that to the contrary he 'was disappointed to find them so well conducted & proper, any lady might visit them'.⁵⁴¹ Whether or not this was the case, Lucas positioned himself in his letters as a social agent who, unlike his host, was not part of a long-term expatriate community and therefore he was able to

⁵³⁹ Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 71

⁵⁴⁰ Lucas, Photo1224/7, BL, Canton, 27 February 1878, 16.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

transgress perceived social codes and rule to access the flower boats. This indicated that globetrotters were able to move into spaces and act in a way that was transgressive without concern for undermining constructions of British power. Those who were residents, like Smith (whose position as vicar heightened his need to uphold difference socially and morally), were unable to do so as it would undermine the position maintained by the British that was dependent on separation from local populations. Transgression, whether breaking of food or social taboos was part of the authentic and presented in letters as an alternative set of itineraries and geographical meanings to those put forward in travellers' handbooks.

Breaking taboo to engage with the 'other' was not limited to western travellers. Mark Swislocki noted that with the advent of westerners visiting China, a number of western style restaurants, catering to their tastes, began to open first in Canton and then in Shanghai.⁵⁴² These restaurants were also patronised by local Chinese populations who came to consume mutton and beef, which were part of Chinese food taboos in the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴³ Mutton, for example, with its strong odour and rancid taste was considered unclean. Beef was even more of a taboo, since cattle were seen not only as a part of the status of Chinese families, those who could afford to keep a cow or ox, but also as a helper in the fields, in essence an extension of the family in much the way that western travellers saw their cats or dogs.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 116.

⁵⁴³ Frederick J. Simoons, *Food in China: a Cultural and Historical Inquiry* (Boca Raton: CRC Press, 1991), 35; Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 116.

⁵⁴⁴ Simoons, *Food in China*, 47.

However, there was also an additional religious dimension that was tied to the idea that karmic merits were acquired by abstaining from consuming meat, specifically beef. A series of cartoons run in Chinese language newspapers in Shanghai equated the vogue for eating beef with a lapse in morality among young Chinese men.⁵⁴⁵ Those Chinese who wanted to eat beef and mutton saw it as an acquired taste, indulged in by the 'fops and dandies' of urban centres in the cosmopolitan spaces of western-style restaurants.⁵⁴⁶ Like the restaurant that Gilbert visited in Canton, these western-style restaurants were sites where globetrotters and the Chinese might dine alongside each other. In both cases the inedible food of the 'other', instead of proving to be a barrier, as it was presented in published accounts, was a bridge to mutual encounter as local and tourist attempted to experience a version of the 'authentic' culture of the 'other'.

The proliferation of western-style restaurants catering to the tastes of western travellers was also prevalent in Japan. In Japan western-style restaurants and banqueting halls were constructed under the Meiji emperor and his ministers and were regularly used to entertain western diplomats.⁵⁴⁷ Unlike China, this was part of a wider use of western clothing and habits to engage with the west on a perceived equal footing. For example, in 1871 the Meiji Emperor issued a proclamation prescribing European dress for himself and his court.⁵⁴⁸ Costume historian Elizabeth Kramer explored both the impetus for this change and its impact on Japanese culture. Kramer noted that the change in dress was

⁵⁴⁵ Swislocki, *Culinary Nostalgia*, 116.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ K.J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 14.

⁵⁴⁸ Elizabeth Kramer, 'Not So Japan-Easy: The British Reception of Japanese Dress in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Textile History*, 44, 1 (2013), 5.

an attempt to alter western perceptions that kimono-wearing Japanese were 'feminine' and therefore politically weak.⁵⁴⁹ By adopting western military uniforms and the western dress of the upper classes, as well as the food of the west, the court used their own bodies to visually demonstrate a physical parity with the west.⁵⁵⁰

Figure 58: Man in Japanese Dress. Photographer Unknown, c1870. Collection: ESRO, Japan Album, GIL 4/385, 38.

Figure 59: Japanese Man in Western Dress. Photographer Unknown, c1870. Collection: ESRO, Japan Album, GIL4/385, 39.

Eleanor Hight noted that studio photographs made by western photographers in Yokohama and depicting Japanese subjects in western dress were popular with tourists and were a means of satirizing Japanese attempts to master western culture.⁵⁵¹ In essence, these images were a satire on difference:

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Eleanor M. Hight, *Capturing Japan in Nineteenth-Century New England Photography Collections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 129.

they suggested that the Japanese body was unsuited to western dress, settings, and the consumption of food. Carew Davies Gilbert had a set of similar images to those that Hight has analysed in his album, as did Charles Lucas.⁵⁵² In Gilbert's album there are two sets of diptychs showing the transformation of a Japanese man into a European.⁵⁵³ In the first diptych he is shown first in traditional dress, presented to the western viewer as a gentleman, leaning on a furred parasol much as a European might lean on a walking stick, itself a visual marker of gentility.⁵⁵⁴ [Figure 58] In the second image he is transformed from Japanese gentleman to western 'gent' — men who favoured flashier fashion over taste — attired in ill-fitting western dress that displays little understanding of western sartorial nuances.⁵⁵⁵ [Figure 59] In the second diptych the images were titled 'Dining Abroad' and 'Dining at Home'.⁵⁵⁶ The first shows the same man, in the same western dress, seated at an opulently appointed table with a waiter, also a Japanese man in western dress. [Figure 60] The second image shows the man again, but in a setting meant to be his home. He is kneeling at his table, stripped to the waist holding chopsticks waited on by a woman in a kimono holding a daikon radish, a well-known and indispensable element of Japanese cooking, but also most likely chosen by the photographer to enhance the ideas of cultural difference represented in the image.⁵⁵⁷ [Figure 61] Although Gilbert

⁵⁵² Gilbert, GIL 4/385, ESRO, Japan Album, 39, 40; Lucas, 1224/6, BL, Japan Album, 18, 19.

⁵⁵³ Gilbert, GIL 4/385, ESRO, Japan Album, 37, 38.

⁵⁵⁴ Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, revised edition (London: Yale University Press, 2002), 22.

⁵⁵⁵ Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society, 1500-1914* (London: The National Trust, 1996), 215.

⁵⁵⁶ Gilbert, GIL 4/385, ESRO, Japan Album, 39, 40.

⁵⁵⁷ Naomichi Ishige, *The History and Culture of Japanese Food* (London: Kegan Paul, 2001).

Figure 60: 'Dining Abroad'. Photographer Unknown, c1870, Collection: ESRO, Japan Album, GIL 4/385, 40.

Figure 61: 'Dining at Home'. Photographer Unknown, c1870. Collection: ESRO, Japan Album, GIL 4/385, 41.

does not comment on them in his letters, the point is clear, that western manners and dress did not suit Japanese bodies. Lucas had three of the same photographs in his album: the man in Japanese dress with the umbrella, the man in ill-fitting western dress, and the Japanese man dining in a western-style restaurant. He labelled them 'Europeanized Japanese'. In his letters home he offered his own assessment of the Japanese adoption of western dress that reinforced the satire of the image he collected. He noted that the railway, itself a representation of western technology, was 'managed entirely by Japs in European fashions...[who] look awful rum little beggars.'⁵⁵⁸ This new Japan undercut both the desired

⁵⁵⁸ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Kobe, 31 March 1879, 43.

cosmopolitan experience and the idealised Old Japan that travellers wanted to encounter.

Christine Guth noted that the desire to be part of Old Japan was one that was frequently expressed by globetrotters, and certainly immersive locations were sought out that they might engage in this way.⁵⁵⁹ A successful visit to Japan was contingent on an encounter with Old Japan or what globetrotters perceived as Japanese society undiluted by western influences. The aim of Lucas's travels in Japan was a cultural immersion in an idealised world of Old Japan as he noted to his mother:

We had such a pleasant time at Kioto without seeing hardly, far less speaking to, another European, quite enchanted with Japanese life... Nothing I like more than never coming across Europeans at all & living & seeing the customs of the people...How they must have enjoyed themselves before their country was opened up to the world. I almost wish I had been born a Jap.⁵⁶⁰

Lucas communicated to his family the means by which he engaged in cultural immersion: by staying in accommodation where there were no other Europeans. He also noted how he achieved what he believed to be an approximation of Japanese life, not only by going to places that were outside the urban centres of the treaty ports, but by wearing Japanese kimonos during his stay in the village tea houses.⁵⁶¹

Although he expressed disapproval of, and possessed photographs mocking, the Japanese appropriation of western dress, Lucas adopted Japanese dress but failed to express any self-awareness that the Japanese might view his

⁵⁵⁹ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 33.

⁵⁶⁰ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Kobe, 5 April 1879, 51.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid*, Kiga, 23 July, 1879, 148.

own attempt at cultural immersion with derision.⁵⁶² While he did not record Japanese reactions, it is worth bearing in mind Annie Russell-Cotes's comments of the amusement her own attempts at mastering chopsticks engendered in the tea house serving girls.⁵⁶³ Like the photographs of the Japanese in western dress, Lucas also preserved an image of himself and one of his travelling companions, Arthur Ringrose, dining in the Japanese style, wearing kimonos.⁵⁶⁴ He sheepishly noted in a letter to his mother that it was a 'grotesque' image and that he was aware he was 'dressed up'.⁵⁶⁵ That he preserved the image in his album indicated that his adoption of the dress of the 'other' was an important moment in his cultural encounter with Japan.

In Lucas's letters food, in addition to dress, became an important signifier of 'authentic' cultural encounter. The significance of food in Japan was parallel with that of dress. A year after the proclamation on the adoption of the western dress, in 1872, the Meiji emperor announced that he ate beef and mutton, breaking what had been a taboo in Japanese culture.⁵⁶⁶ Beef eating in Japan, like China, was taboo because of the status of the cow for families and an increasing embrace of Buddhism with its strictures against taking any life. That is not to say that the Japanese diet was completely without meat, and although beef was generally not consumed, game, or 'wild meat' was eaten. In the 1870s, beef was consumed by the upper classes in Japan, who in part followed the lead of the emperor. It took on the aspect of a status dish and, as in coastal urban centres in

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Russell-Cotes, *Westward from the Golden Gate*, 33.

⁵⁶⁴ Lucas, Photo 1224/6, BL, Japan, 67.

⁵⁶⁵ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Yokohama, 7 August 1879, 156.

⁵⁶⁶ Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine*, 24.

China, there was a trend of beef consumption amongst cosmopolitan Japanese dandies.⁵⁶⁷

Lucas used food in Japan and its accompanying modes and manners to create an alternate geography that was, for him, representative of the authenticity of 'Old Japan'. He did not dine in the Japanese style in Yokohama, where western-style restaurants were popular, but instead confined his 'authentic' culinary experiences to sites outside of urban centres. He wrote of a visit to the island of Inoshima, located near to Tokyo and Yokohama and on the tourist track for its shrines. Despite its proximity to Yokohama, it was connected to the mainland via a bridge, giving it a sense of separation. Lucas and his temporary travelling companion Mosely took rooms for a week in a local teahouse, where Lucas declared in his letters that he was content to live in the Japanese style.⁵⁶⁸ He also included a detailed description of his meal that night:

We had what Englishmen would consider rather a curious dish, but what Japanese think a great luxury, that is a piece of Octopus. Mosely would not touch it but I managed to get through the portion of a leg. I must confess it looked rather nasty & tasted just like gristle but I am glad I tried it. I always like to taste the native dishes.⁵⁶⁹

For Lucas food was an integral part of cultural immersion and experience of the 'authentic' Japan. That his travelling companion abstained while Lucas engaged shows a similar presentation of self in his letters for Japan and China, namely to demonstrate that he was no mere tourist content with superficial encounters. But, it should be noted that the sites of his food transgressions were well outside of his social circle at the club in Yokohama, where he regularly dined with his fellow globetrotters.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Lucas, Photo 1224/7, BL, Inoshima, 2 May, 1879, 76.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid.

From his base at the Yokohama Club, Lucas undertook repeated trips with different companions, to the area around Mount Fuji and to Inoshima. He always booked the same lodgings and as a result styled himself as an expert on Japan to the globetrotters who accompanied him and who were newly arrived in the country. On his earlier trip to Inoshima, in May 1879 when he was accompanied by Mosely, not only did he try octopus, he also dined on a 'curious native delicacy for dinner — live fish — the fish is brought to the table alive, cut up, regardless of wriggling & eaten raw, it is not at all bad, I ate a good deal, but Mosely could not be tempted to try it'.⁵⁷⁰ This repeated positioning in his letters of himself as the intrepid traveller through food adventures, paired with Mosely's reluctance to engage, cast Lucas as a truly cosmopolitan traveller. On a later visit to Inoshima in late July 1879 with a group of friends from Yokohama, Lucas had a 'curious dish for the benefit of those of our party who had never seen it before, viz. a live fish...it is not at all bad with sauce & a curiosity in its way'.⁵⁷¹ Lucas used his familiarity with the spectacle of native food to establish his own role as an expert traveller, translating the culture for the benefit of his fellow globetrotters.

His characterization of the experience as a 'curiosity' placed it within the realm of the curios, or curiosities that globetrotters collected from the shops of Japan. Lucas himself devoted large amounts of time to scouring the curio shops of Yokohama, Kobe and Kyoto. He justified his expenditures to his mother writing that he wanted their home at Warnham 'to possess a very good collection

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid, 4 May 1879, 77.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid, 30 July 1879, 152.

of curios'.⁵⁷² The equation of curios with his food experiences indicated that they were collected much as he collected his material mementoes of Japan. In his letters, these experiences were, like the curios, something that he sought implying a degree of connoisseurship about what was genuine compared with what was produced for tourists. By acquiring these experiences he was able to demonstrate his own abilities not only to translate the culture but to present the authentic.

Conclusion:

Globetrotters used food and dining to construct alternative geographies of social distinction and authenticity. By connecting to older tropes, specifically in the case of tea, globetrotters connected to an older, elite travel culture that enhanced their own social distinction. In addition to confirming their own social standing, globetrotters like Lucas used their experience of food and dining to bridge a sense of separation between the tourist and the other that was reinforced through globetrotters' associations with British residents abroad. In his letters in regard to his experiences in China and Japan, Lucas constructed an itinerary that included food experiences as part of an alternative geography of the 'authentic' cultural encounter. This occurred 'behind the scenes' outside of European enclaves in Canton and outside of the Treaty Port of Yokohama in Japan.

Dining with the 'other' appeared to have been largely a behind the scenes interaction that did not featured overtly in globetrotters' published accounts. Their publications tended to equate the food of the 'other' with undesirable cultural aspects, implying that it was better to remain separate and avoid the

⁵⁷² Ibid, Yokohama, 10 April 1879, 59.

filth and contagion in Eastern cities. While dirt and cholera were realities, what they stood for in globetrotters' accounts underpinned political situations. The images and food experiences that globetrotters collected represented not only the cultures they encountered, but they were part of the fashioning and presentation of self. Objects like photographs that satirised the Japanese appropriation of western dress and manners, for political reasons, lent themselves to an alternative reading. These images held a mirror to globetrotters' own use of foreign modes and manners. In addition to being a representation of 'Europeanised Japanese' these images were also a reflection of the imbalance of power experienced by globetrotters who were so thoroughly outside their own, familiar, culture. They were reflective of excursions in to unfamiliar and potentially socially difficult situations. Further, it was dining, as the images suggest, where a lack of knowledge and manners was at its most apparent which left globetrotters at their most socially vulnerable. This disadvantage marked a reversal of the usual place western travellers occupied in the narratives — that of social superior.

Chapter Four:

Collecting the East: Trope and Document

Figure 62: Detail, Kashmir Shawl, India. Maker Unknown, c1870. Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum, Given by Brigadier R. Spence, IS.80-1957.

In November 1872, Egerton Laird recorded his first impressions of Delhi, sent in a letter to his sister that was later published: ‘the picturesqueness of the whole affair is chiefly owing to the barbaric splendour imparted to it by the native swells...it made me feel envious to see some dirty looking natives enveloped in the most lovely cashmere shawls’.⁵⁷³ This short passage illustrates a number of points that I will consider in this chapter. The first is the way that globetrotters used objects with which those at home were familiar, like the Kashmir shawl, as an effective means of communicating ‘otherness’ by re-contextualising it in its ‘original’ setting. In Britain the Kashmir shawl was, in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, a luxury object indicative of social status.⁵⁷⁴ [Figure 62] In

⁵⁷³ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2:138.

⁵⁷⁴ Suzan Daly writes that the shawl featured prominently in contemporary novels where ‘its appearance even on a woman who clearly bears all the marks of poverty and hard living might temporarily unsettle the system of class markers’. Daly, *The Empire Inside*, 14.

his narrative, Laird stripped the shawl of its genteel identity and made it part of the display of 'barbaric splendour', that visually evoked India. In addition, Laird further exoticised the shawl by noting that, unlike at home where it was a staple of upper-class female fashion, in India it was worn by men. The second point to consider is how globetrotters used these objects as a means of accruing or communicating what Pierre Bourdieu termed 'social capital': the use of consumption to distinguish class.⁵⁷⁵ Laird demonstrated his knowledge of the shawl's importance as a status object, recognizing its quality as he reflected that they were too fine for those 'dirty looking natives' who wore them. However, in Laird's narrative the shawl became more than an article of dress. It was also a document of place. He recorded not only how the shawls were worn but embedded them within the Indian landscape through his travels to the Punjab where he observed their manufacture. He ascribed the origin of the fibres themselves to the goats he passed in the street.⁵⁷⁶ In short, the shawl became a material trope of India — its culture, society and landscape — and an effective means of relating these to those at home.

The aim of this chapter is to consider how globetrotters relied on troped objects like the Kashmir shawl to conjure the 'East'. At the same time they collected smaller, personal objects representative of what Susan Stewart terms the 'lived experience', demonstrating that they not only observed other cultures but also engaged with them.⁵⁷⁷ This chapter is divided into two sections, the first identifying those troped object types that represented the East, and the second focussing on specific collectors: Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes and Percy

⁵⁷⁵ Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', 83.

⁵⁷⁶ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, vol. 2, 143.

⁵⁷⁷ Stewart, *On Longing*, 135.

Powell-Cotton. I will interrogate their collecting activities using anthropologist Igor Kopytoff's concept of spheres of objects to understand the connections between the choice of objects and material representations of the late nineteenth-century world tour, ultimately considering their legacy. For Kopytoff objects moved between and reinforced social hierarchies and for world tour collectors they functioned in a similar way documenting social status and cultural engagement.

Trope objects were a means of constructing an 'East' through material culture that was already familiar to a British audience. However, by building on this familiarity, globetrotters added a new interpretation of the 'East'. The importance of their otherwise ephemeral experiences was communicated and preserved through the objects that they collected. These world tour collections, specifically in the case of both the Russell-Cotes and Powell-Cotton, have been dismissed by subsequent generations of curators as inchoate amalgamations of souvenirs created for the nineteenth-century tourist market, interposed with better examples of fine art objects such as Chinese porcelains or decorative lacquered pieces that, in the marketplace of late-nineteenth-century Britain were goods of desire.⁵⁷⁸ Because the Russell-Cotes created a museum with their World Tour collections at its heart, there is a greater degree of documentation that allows us to trace these attitudes towards tourist souvenirs. For example, the first curator of the collection, Richard Quick, knew Merton Russell-Cotes and was appointed by the Trustees in 1921. He had a clear vision of the aims of

⁵⁷⁸ Anne Eatwell, 'Lever as a Collector of Wedgwood: and the Fashion for Collecting Wedgwood in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 4 (1994), 240; Monika Bincsik, 'European Collectors and Japanese Merchants of Lacquer in 'Old Japan': Collecting Japanese Lacquer Art in the Meiji Period', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 20 (2008), 223.

Russell-Cotes himself in setting up the museum, while Shaun Garner who curated the World Tour and Japanese collections until 2012 had to sift through subsequent changes to the collections, including the de-accessioning of World Tour objects that occurred after Russell-Cotes' death.⁵⁷⁹ Similarly, work by Keith Nicklin, curator of the Powell-Cotton collection from 1979-1982, illustrates how Powell-Cotton's World Tour collection of souvenirs was marginalised in comparison to the later zoological specimens acquired in the early twentieth century.⁵⁸⁰ In her examination of French collector Adolphe Thiers, Anca Lasc demonstrated how the presence of tourist souvenirs in a collection meant that his contemporaries, specifically collectors and curators, perceived these objects as detrimental to both the value of the collection and the judgement of the collector.⁵⁸¹ If souvenirs were not representative of social distinction, and may have even hindered it, then we must consider what function these objects did fulfil for their collectors. Further, these souvenirs must be considered not only in terms of what they meant during the collector's lifetime, but the legacy of these objects and their effectiveness as a memorial to globetrotters' travels. For example, a set of Samurai armour that Gilbert bought in Yokohama was sold at

⁵⁷⁹ Richard Quick, *Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth: Annual Report of the Curator for the Year Ending 31st March 1923* (Bournemouth: W. Mate & Sons, Ltd., 1923); Shaun Garner, 'Sir Merton Russell-Cotes and his Japanese Collection: The Importance and Impact of an Unplanned Trip to Japan in 1885' in Anthony Shelton, ed., *Collections: Individuals and Institutions* (London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2001), 163-188.

⁵⁸⁰ Keith Nicklin, *Powell-Cotton, Man & Museum: An Exhibition at Kent University Library, April 21-May 16, 1981* (Canterbury: University of Kent Printing Unit, 1981), 1-8.

⁵⁸¹ Anca I. Lasc, 'A Museum of Souvenirs', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 28 (2016), 57.

auction by his family in 1922, nearly a decade after his death, as a suit of Chinese armour.⁵⁸²

Globetrotters' tours of the East were often limited, due to time constraints, to culturally diverse port cities that, travellers felt, did not represent the culture of the country they were attempting to experience.⁵⁸³ Susan Stewart wrote that as lived experience became 'increasingly mediated and abstracted' the search for the 'authentic' and its representation materially became ever more important.⁵⁸⁴ Stewart also noted that souvenirs, because they were handmade, were imbued with a degree of cultural authenticity in the eyes of tourists.⁵⁸⁵ This particular construction of 'authenticity' was reinforced in globetrotters' narratives where the purchase of these objects was often part of a visit to workshops where their manufacture was observed.⁵⁸⁶

In her introduction to collected critical essays on Asian material culture, Marianne Hulsbosch placed the objects as a material incarnation or representation of culture. The consumption of certain objects in turn created meaning 'constructed and reconstructed based on commodity'.⁵⁸⁷ A survey of the material either present in globetrotters' collections or the purchase of objects

⁵⁸² Oakden & Company, *The Contents of the Manor House Eastbourne which by the direction of Mrs. Davies Gilbert, C.B.E., will be sold by public auction upon the premises on Monday, 26th June, 1922 and three following days* (Eastbourne: Oakden & Company Auctioneers, 1922), Lot 789, 43.

⁵⁸³ Inveterate traveller Isabella Bird voiced this view in regard to Shanghai, which she described as an 'Anglo-Eurasian' settlement that was not representative of China itself. Isabella Bird, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond: An Account of Journeys in China, Chiefly in the Provinces of Sze Chuan and among the Man-Tze of the Somo Territory* (London: John Murray, 1899), 15; Chaiklin, *Ivory and the Aesthetics of Modernity in Meiji Japan*, 20.

⁵⁸⁴ Stewart, *On Longing*, 133.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Kyoto, 8 May 1918, 532.

⁵⁸⁷ Marianne Hulsbosch, Elizabeth Bedford and Martha Chaiklin, eds., *Asian Material Culture* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 13.

described in letters and publications reveals a degree of repetition of object types. These objects, for example the Kashmir shawl discussed at the beginning of this section, were representative of specific aspects of Asian culture that to a certain extent confirmed globetrotters' views. Kopytoff wrote that the value society ascribed to commodities was subject to change over time and this, in turn, was reflected in the economic or cultural biography of the object.⁵⁸⁸ Martha Chaiklin traced these changes in her study of Japanese ivory carving focussing on the production of netsuke and okimono (toggles or fasteners and small carved statuettes). Netsuke were in high demand by both travellers and western collectors, prized as art objects that confirmed their views of Japan as an 'artistic' society and also fulfilled the vogue for Japanese aesthetics in late nineteenth-century Britain.⁵⁸⁹ In order to meet demand, ivory carvers turned out netsuke in greater numbers but in poorer quality, whilst domestic demand was curtailed as western dress was adopted in Japan in the early 1870s. Okimono replaced netsuke as examples of artistic objects that displayed virtuoso carving and were eminently collectable both domestically and by western travellers.⁵⁹⁰ What globetrotters collected must be considered in the context of changing values brought about by political, social and economic change that influenced and affected both what they purchased and — like the transformation from netsuke to okimono — by the alteration in the appearance of these objects over time.

The first section of this chapter, The 'East' as a Material Trope, will consider the objects or object types that came to represent India, China and

⁵⁸⁸ Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 68.

⁵⁸⁹ Martha Chaiklin, 'Politicking Art: Ishikawa Komei and the Development of Meiji Sculpture', *East Asian History*, 39 (2014), 56.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Japan and different influences both at home and abroad that contributed to these material tropes. What these objects represented was not static. Rather they were dynamic, constantly changing in appearance and meaning during the height of globetrotting. Further, these objects became not only a material definition of India, China and Japan at home but as such helped to form globetrotters' expectations before they set out on their travels. These expectations were in turn challenged by experiences that contributed to re-shaping the meanings of these troped objects. Section two, Collectors, Culture and Acquisition, focuses on two collectors: the Russell-Cotes and Powell-Cotton. It interrogates the objects in their collections as representations of social distinction and gendered collecting, and whether certain objects, for example small souvenirs were encoded as inherently female as Christine Guth suggested.⁵⁹¹ My conclusion to this chapter on the legacy of these objects looks at how the private museums created by both collectors were memorials to their travels, ostensibly ensuring that objects and their provenances were preserved.

The 'East' as a Material Trope:

In June 1896, following Sir Julian Goldsmid's unexpected death auctioneers Christie and Manson sold his art collections. The MP for the London constituency of St. Pancras South and Vice-Chancellor of the University of London, Goldsmid was a well-regarded art connoisseur and collector, and the lengthy sale, which took place over seven days, reflected the status of his collections. Amongst the French furniture and continental porcelains was a discrete collection of 'Oriental Objects of Art' which materially represented the

⁵⁹¹ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 94.

'East' of India, China and Japan through embroideries, lacquers, bronzes and ivories.⁵⁹² Goldsmid travelled to India in March 1883, ostensibly to investigate the impact of the Ilbert Bill, which he did not support, and acquired some of the Indian material at that time.⁵⁹³ The addition of Chinese and Japanese objects from two countries he did not visit, suggests that the art market at home in Britain played a role in materially creating a vision of the 'East' through certain object types that were desirable to collectors.

If Goldsmid's 'Oriental Collection' was a combination of objects acquired through travel and those purchased at home, then the 'East' that globetrotters created through objects was a combination of what Kopytoff designated as 'commodities' with a pre-existing value ascribed at home, and what he termed 'singular' objects that represented the experience of travel.⁵⁹⁴ A further comparison of the 'Oriental' objects in Goldsmid's collection with those objects that globetrotters wrote about acquiring — specifically Laird, Powell-Cotton and Dearmer — reveals that certain object types were consistently collected: Kashmir shawls, Chinese ivory carvings and Japanese netsuke. These object types were also representative of earlier trade and political connections with the East. For example, James Hevia noted that after the looting of the Yuanmingyuan in 1860 not only were looted objects in circulation amongst western collectors but Chinese art dealers also sold objects that were of the type of thing found at

⁵⁹² Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of the Important Collection of old French Furniture, Porcelain, Objects of Art and Vertu and Silver Plate of the Right Hon. Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart, M.P., Deceased* (London: Christie, Manson and Woods, 1896), Lots 595-609.

⁵⁹³ *Homeward Mail from India, China and the East*, 6 February 1883, 9-10.

⁵⁹⁴ Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 73.

the Yuanmingyuan so that collectors could enhance their collections.⁵⁹⁵ Objects from the Yuanmingyuan were accessioned in royal collections in France and



Figure 63: Headdress, China. Maker unknown, mid-nineteenth century. Purchased from Captain, the Hon F. Charteris, R.A. Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum, 325-1871.

Britain as the ‘spoils of war’. However, objects with a provenance from the Yuanmingyuan were also gifted to museum collections, for example, in 1871 the Victoria and Albert Museum purchased a headdress, supposed to have been worn by the Empress, from Captain Charteris who was present at the looting of the Yuanmingyuan.⁵⁹⁶ [Figure 63] As Hevia demonstrated, in many cases it was

⁵⁹⁵ James L. Hevia, ‘Loot’s Fate: The Economy of Plunder and the Moral Life of Objects “From the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China”’, *History and Anthropology*, 6 (1994), 319-345.

⁵⁹⁶ One example of this is in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. It is a Chinese headdress embellished with feathers and pearls that, according to the collection register was purchased from Captain the Hon. F. Charteris, R.A. in 1871. Charteris gave the provenance as ‘from the Summer

not possible to differentiate between what was looted and what was purchased. When those who spent time in China in this crucial period came home to Britain and their collections were eventually sold, those sales ensured that these objects were in heavy circulation in the British art market. They were well known as material configurations of the East that globetrotters could reference, yet reconfigure the meanings, to communicate the significance of their own encounters.⁵⁹⁷

The interchangeability of the objects in Kopytoff's spheres indicated that they held a value as commodities in their own right. Not only was the Kashmir shawl a fashionable article of dress, but as demonstrated through numerous advertisements in British newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth-century, the shawl itself was a commodity of trade and exchange.⁵⁹⁸ Commoditization is often part of the life of an object, dependent on fluctuating economic and social factors. The Kashmir shawl is an example of this arc as it moved from object of desire to an object of value functioning as a form of currency, to be exchanged or

Palace at Pekin'. However, the headdress was part of Chinese wedding costume not court dress and was unlikely to have come from the Yuanmingyuan. 325-1872, V&A Museum Collection, London.

⁵⁹⁷ These objects appear consistently in the following auction catalogues for Christie, Manson & Woods, which are a sample of catalogues in this period: *Catalogue of a large assemblage of Chinese and Japanese curiosities*, July 4-5 1867; *Catalogue of ancient Chinese and Japanese enamels*, 1868; *Catalogue of Japan lacquer* 1868; *Catalogue of a valuable assemblage of oriental, Sévres, Dresden, Berlin, Chelsea, and other porcelains, Gres de Flandres, Wedgwood, Majolica, Chinese and Japanese enamels, Carvings in Ivory, Bronzes*, 1870; *Catalogue of a small consignment of Japanese porcelain and lacquer*, 1874; *Property of Capt. F. Brinkley R.A. of Yokohama*, 1885; *Francis Layborne Popham Esq.*, 1886; *Catalogue of Commissary General Pirkis*, 1890; *Property of Thomas Grey Esq., Nankin and other Chinese and Japanese Porcelain*, 1890.

⁵⁹⁸ 'India Shawls Wanted' Morning Advertiser, 16 September 1807: 'Ladies, Gentleman, or Merchants having Shawls...from India, to dispose of, may receive the full value in cash'. 'Millard's East India Warehouses, 'India Shawls exchanged, or paid cash for'. London Courier and Evening Gazette, 18 July 1816.

sold.⁵⁹⁹ Finally, as its first incarnation, an object of fashion, waned, the shawl was an object type in a 'state of inaction, of decaying in limbo'.⁶⁰⁰ The biography of the Kashmir shawl illustrated the arc of commoditization. However, other object types considered in this dissertation do not follow this arc as clearly. For example, Chinese ivories were part of the London art market, and were collected as a means of displaying taste and connoisseurship, however they were never, like the Kashmir shawl, used as objects of exchange, nor were Japanese netsukes. However, they were objects of desire and in that respect their inclusion in globetrotting narratives gave a degree of distinction to their travels.

Latour's designation of intermediaries and mediators is usefully applied to the objects globetrotters collected in ascertaining how the meanings invested in these object types altered, although the objects themselves appeared to remain largely unchanged.⁶⁰¹ For example, the Kashmir shawls that were collected by globetrotters in the late nineteenth century were significantly different objects from those that were originally imported into Britain by the East India Company in the eighteenth century. Early shawls worn in Kashmir featured elaborately woven designs of flowers and buta cones, which would later be transformed to the familiar paisley pattern when copied on the looms of Scotland and Northern England.⁶⁰² John Irwin, former curator and historian of Eastern textiles at the Victoria & Albert Museum, chronicled the history of production of the shawls as part of the British trade in Indian luxury goods

⁵⁹⁹ Daly, *The Empire Inside*, 28-34.

⁶⁰⁰ Yrjö Engeström and Frank Blackler, 'On the Life of the Object', *Organization*, 12 (2005), 321-3.

⁶⁰¹ Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, 38-42.

⁶⁰² John Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1973), 3.

conducted under the auspices of the East India Company.⁶⁰³ The most elaborate shawls took eighteen months to produce on hand looms and were expensive objects of fashion in western markets.⁶⁰⁴ By the 1880s, relatively inexpensive versions of Kashmir shawls produced in both France and Britain flooded European markets leaving the industry in Kashmir, according to Irwin, 'dead, and the art of its weavers irrevocably lost'.⁶⁰⁵ However, in their recent scholarship on these shawls, Sheri Rehman and Naheed Jafri found that they continued to be produced in Northern India, but not as an entity with woven design.⁶⁰⁶ Instead, an embroidered version, the *amli*, which was cheaper to manufacture since they did not require dedicated loom space or the expertise of weavers, was produced as the Kashmir shawl.⁶⁰⁷ Although still identified as the Kashmir shawls by both globetrotters and residents in India alike, the *amli* was in reality a different object. It was the *amli* that Nancy Dearmer purchased in Simla and mentioned in a letter to her mother in 1917.⁶⁰⁸

Kopytoff's work on the 'singular' and the 'commodity' is useful in my interrogation of the objects that globetrotters brought back and in understanding how they bridged the space between an expected 'East' and the more personal experience. Kopytoff defined singular objects as those that 'were held to have for their collector a personal sentimental value, or a pure aesthetic one, or a scientific one, the last supported by the collector's supposed knowledge

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, 2; Daly, *The Empire Inside*, 14.

⁶⁰⁵ Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, 18.

⁶⁰⁶ Sherry Rehman and Naheed Jafri, *The Kashmiri Shawl* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collector's Club, 2006), 201.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid, 272-3.

⁶⁰⁸ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Simla, 23 July 1917, 275.

of the object's cultural context'.⁶⁰⁹ This description is apposite to the experiences of globetrotters who sought cultural exchange and encounter. In this context, Goldsmid's collections of 'Oriental Art' revealed a combination of singular objects such as the Kashmiri pieces gifted to him on his travels and commodities of Chinese snuff bottles, jades and Japanese lacquer-work pieces. This negotiation between singularization and commodification of objects offers insight into how travellers constructed their material representations of the 'East', reconciling expectation with experience — the former evoked, for example, through the objects of longstanding mercantile relationships with India and China.

Global consumption also underpinned Victorian cosmopolitanism, which Tanya Agathocleous broadly defines in nineteenth-century political, economic and social discourse as 'anti-protectionist politics, elite mobility, and an appeal to a rational and equalizing public sphere', although ideals of public equality were not evenly applied in a colonial context, for example in regard to India.⁶¹⁰ Cosmopolitanism, like the technological innovations and networks that dominated the latter part of the nineteenth century, was a contributing factor and defining element of the globetrotter — a tourist who was able to tour the world with relative ease due to technological change and imperial connections. The objects with which they returned were material tropes that represented the 'East' and reflected a vision of the 'Orient' created at the interstices of culture, politics, trade and travel, filtered through the personal experiences of globetrotting.

⁶⁰⁹ Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things', 78.

⁶¹⁰ Tanya Agathocleous, *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 32, 34.

Representations of cosmopolitanism connected to British global consumption and imperial reach were apparent in the Industrial Exhibitions, inaugurated in 1851, which included displays from India and China. By 1870 cosmopolitan ideals were also manifest in the British domestic interior with the display of Eastern objects that invoked the Aesthetic Movement (1868-1914). Judith Neiswander situates cosmopolitanism in the British interior, tying it to the political liberalism voiced by John Stuart Mill in his essay *On Liberty* (1848), which advocated the domestic sphere as a space for expressing freedom of individuality through display.⁶¹¹ Politically British liberalism, with its emphasis on the ideals of individual liberty and economic tenets of free trade, the free market and unrestricted competition, not only informed much of the debate of the Aesthetic Movement but also British economic engagement with the East, specifically Japan.⁶¹² Key components of the Aesthetic interiors were 'oriental' designs and art manufactures that encompassed Indian textiles, Chinese porcelains and Japanese ivories. However, objects incorporated into these interiors, like the Kashmir shawl for example, were often the subjects of conflicting representations of the 'East'. The shawl was both a means of showing the genius of Indian craftsmanship and its degradation as it was increasingly diluted through western influences, in which globetrotters themselves played a part.⁶¹³ The relationship between politics, trade and the objects themselves is crucial in considering the meanings that 'oriental' objects held in this period.

⁶¹¹ Judith A. Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior: Liberalism and the British Home, 1870-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 34.

⁶¹² Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior*, 8; Charlotte Gere, *Artistic Circles: Design and Decoration in the Aesthetic Movement* (London; V&A Publishing, 2010), 16.

⁶¹³ Bryant, 'India in South Kensington, South Kensington in India: Kipling in Context', 14-21.

Many globetrotters first encountered them in a domestic setting before beginning their world tour.

Lara Kriegel has written that the vision of India presented in the Great Exhibition of 1851 was based on an accretion of images built over a long period of interaction in both trade and politics.⁶¹⁴ Catherine Pagani's work on what Chinese objects signified in mid-nineteenth century Britain concurs with Kriegel's point. Chinese objects were at once treasured for their craftsmanship and negatively representative of a people who were the subject of British derision due to the outcome of the Opium Wars.⁶¹⁵ Globetrotters often called on these older ideas and layers of meaning to contextualise their own experiences. However, the significance of these objects in an Eastern context was often misunderstood by globetrotters and exploited by local populations. For example, craftsmen in China played on the misattributions that travellers brought with them, producing 'courtly' objects of the tourist market in the form of small ivory seals with inscriptions identifying them as the former property of the Qianlong Emperor (reigned 1735-96).⁶¹⁶ Craig Clunas' work on Chinese ivory carvings focussed specifically on the influence that scholars and collectors like Stephen Bushell (1844-1908), who was resident in China as a surgeon, played in shaping British perceptions of Chinese objects. Clunas noted that Bushell identified what he believed was a 'court style' thus mistakenly giving a degree of cultural cachet

⁶¹⁴ Lara Kriegel, 'Narrating the Subcontinent in 1851: India at the Crystal Palace' in Louise Purbrick, ed., *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 169.

⁶¹⁵ Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', 28.

⁶¹⁶ Craig Clunas, 'Ming and Qing Ivories: Useful and Ornamental Pieces' in William Watson, ed., *Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing* (London: British Museum for the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1984), 122-3.

to ivory carvings.⁶¹⁷ Although they created the market for these goods and stimulated it with their demand, tourists often feared that they were purchasing a 'fake', which in turn undermined the authenticity of their own experiences.⁶¹⁸

The Kashmir Shawl

In August 1852, writer and early sociologist Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) described the Kashmir shawl in Charles Dickens' popular publication *Household Words*, as 'designed for eternity in the unchanging East; copied from patterns which are the heirlooms of caste; and woven by fatalists, to be worn by adorers of the ancient garment'.⁶¹⁹ It is significant that Martineau sought to situate the Kashmir shawl within this context the year after the Great Exhibition where the shawls and Indian textiles themselves comprised a large portion of the display at the Indian Court. The shawls, and other Indian art products, lent themselves to a debate in Britain's public sphere. On one side were arguments from influential designers like Owen Jones (1809-1874) who felt that there was much that British designers could learn from India, while opposing views like those voiced by Martineau implied that India was 'timeless' but had nonetheless declined from its golden age.⁶²⁰ Views like Martineau's situated the shawl as a fossilised object when in reality it was part of a dynamic debate around perceptions of India. Further this idea of a civilisation in decline had parallels

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Kyoto, 8 May 1918, 543.

⁶¹⁹ Harriet Martineau in Charles Dickens, ed., *Household Words*, 28 August 1852, 553.

⁶²⁰ Bryant, 'India in South Kensington, South Kensington in India: Kipling in Context', 14-6.

with the way that Chinese objects were portrayed that I will discuss in the next section.

Kashmir shawls were woven from an interlocking twill weave. In this way, weavers could use multiple shuttles with different coloured wools to seamlessly create complex patterns and combinations of colours. Textile historian Mary Dusenbery noted that Mughal emperor Akbar (reigned 1556-1605) originally stimulated the Kashmir shawl industry by bringing in weavers from Eastern Turkestan.⁶²¹ The earliest extant Kashmir shawls date from the seventeenth century. At this time they were prized courtly objects that demonstrated the skill of the weavers in their colour combinations, patterns and use of fine pashmina wools. The shawls were a symbol of status in the Mughal courts and were used in the *Khil'at* ceremony — a means of conferring standing on an individual and symbolising political alliance. They were presented to local rulers and western diplomats and traders alike.⁶²² As such, the shawls would have been recognised by Europeans as objects of value. By the early decades of the eighteenth century, Mughal power was fracturing and Kashmir came under Afghan rule. According to Dusenbery, the Afghans taxed Kashmir shawls heavily but did little to support the industry itself.⁶²³ No longer protected, Kashmiri merchants turned to lucrative foreign markets for their shawls. Irwin cites the 1822 correspondence of William Moorcroft, an employee of the East India Company, as an example of the success of this diversification of markets.

⁶²¹ Mary M. Dusenbery and Carol Bier, *Flowers, Dragons & Pine Tress: Asian Textiles in the Spencer Museum of Art* (Manchester, Vt.: Hudson Hills, 2004), 38.

⁶²² Gavin R.G. Hambly, 'The Emperor's Clothes: Robing and 'Robes of Honour' in Mughal India' in Stewart Gordon, ed., *Robes of Honour: Khil'at in Pre-Colonial and Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 40-1.

⁶²³ Dusenbery, *Flowers, Dragons & Pine Trees*, 40.

Moorcroft undertook an assessment of the shawl industry, and reported seeing agents from a number of other Eastern countries in Kashmir placing orders for shawls that were altered to suit the tastes and preferences of their clientele.⁶²⁴

The Kashmir shawl that was imported to Europe was already markedly different in appearance to those worn in India, which in turn differed from those worn throughout the East.

Figure 64: Anne-Marie-Louise Thélusson, Comtesse de Sorcy. Jacques Louis-David, 1790. Collection: Neue Pinakothek, Munich, HUW 21.

Historians agree that the shawl first appeared on the shoulders of the fashionable western elite in the late eighteenth century, first in Paris and then in London.⁶²⁵ These shawls, as worn by Anne-Marie-Louise Thélusson, Comtesse

⁶²⁴ Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, 13.

⁶²⁵ Dusenbery cites a portrait by Jacques Louis-David of the young Anne-Marie-Louise Thélusson, Comtesse de Sorcy (HUW 21, Neue Pinakothek, Munich) painted in 1790, *Flowers, Dragons and Pine Trees*, 48; D.N. Saraf attributes the popularity of the shawl to the trend setter Joséphine de Beauharnais (wife of Napoleon Bonaparte and future Empress of France) who first wore them in

de Sorcy in a 1790 portrait by Jacques-Louis David, were long and narrow, with the majority of the design confined to the borders. [Figure 64] However, as fashion changed in the early decades of the nineteenth century, so did the designs which began to incorporate large buta cones or paisley patterns on squares with reds and greens as the predominate colourways. By the early 1820s, when William Moorcroft made his study of the shawl industry, sections were woven on multiple looms and the pieces were joined together. This production method meant a much faster turnaround time for shawls. Instead of a single piece occupying a loom for up to eighteenth months, several could be produced in that time.⁶²⁶ Both French and British agents had considerable input into the styles of shawls produced for their markets, further altering their appearances.

At the Great Exhibition, held in London in 1851, Kashmir shawls and Indian textiles comprised one of the largest displays in the Indian Court, itself part of the 'East Indies' section designed to showcase Britain's increasingly expanding trade and imperial networks.⁶²⁷ Its appropriation by the fashionable of the west was, Suzanne Daly noted, a means of making Indian objects stand in for India, creating the 'illusion of absolute possession of a geographically dispersed, politically volatile, and still contested set of territories'.⁶²⁸ The Kashmir shawl then had multiple identities in mid-nineteenth-century Britain. It served as a means of contrasting British modernity with ancient India as

1796, D.N. Saraf, *Arts and Crafts, Jammu and Kashmir: Land, People and Culture* (Buldana, Mahrastra: Abhinav Publications, 1998); Aileen Ribeiro places their appearance in Paris in the mid-1780s, Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 234.

⁶²⁶ Dusenbery and Bier, *Flowers, Dragons and Pine Trees*, 51.

⁶²⁷ Kriegel, 'Narrating the Subcontinent in 1851', 146.

⁶²⁸ Daly, *The Empire Inside*, 3.

Martineau had done, animating a prominent display in an Exhibition dedicated to showcasing British manufactures but also growing imperial dominance of the Indian subcontinent. It also figured as a luxury good that socially distinguished its wearer and represented growing ideas of cosmopolitanism through its consumption. [Figure 65]



Figure 65: The Indian Court at the Great Exhibition, 1851. Not only does this image convey the importance of Indian textiles, but the changes to the shawl are evident in that worn by the woman in the lower left corner. *Dickinson's Comprehensive Pictures of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Dickinson Brothers, 1854), Collection: British Library, Cup.652.c.33.

According to Irwin and Daly, by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, the shawl began a rapid decline from a luxury object representative of Britain's mercantile might to something that was hopelessly out-dated and banished from the pages of fashionable women's magazines. Both cite a combination of factors in the shawl's decline: the 'abolition of forced labour in Kashmir', the closure of French markets to Kashmir shawls as a result of the war,

and the rapid improvement of the quality of paisley shawls, the French and British copies, that flooded European markets.⁶²⁹ However, shawls produced in India continued to command high prices as luxury objects. By 1911, *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon* cited Amritsar near to Lahore, in the northern Punjab (located in present day India, near the border with Pakistan) as the centre for the 'famous' Kashmir shawl production, although the author noted that they were now largely embroidered rather than woven.⁶³⁰ The Handbook for Travellers reflected the introduction and popularisation of the *amlī* version of the shawl, which Irwin noted did not exist before the nineteenth century, produced specifically for a western market.⁶³¹

Far from being the object that Martineau characterised as representative of the 'unchanging East', the shawl had already undergone a number of alterations, shaped by interactions between Eastern and Western markets. In globetrotters' narratives it figured as what Latour would define as a mediator, although I must add that this was also down to personal taste. For example, Carlisle, whose own travels on the European continent were disrupted by the Franco-Prussian War, still located it in his narrative as a luxury object. He wrote of his walk along Delhi's premier street of shops, the Chadni Chowk (Silver Street), reinforcing the idea of the wealth and splendour of goods to be found there.⁶³² [Figure 66] In his narrative the shawl was not to be glimpsed by the idle window shopper but sought out by the connoisseur and collector: 'if you want to buy, in Delhi, a two-hundred guinea Cashmere shawl...you must go up to

⁶²⁹ Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, 18; Daly, *The Empire Inside*, 34.

⁶³⁰ H.C. Fanshawe, ed., *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon* (London: John Murray, 1911), lxxxlii.

⁶³¹ Irwin, *The Kashmir Shawl*, 3.

⁶³² Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 74.

the native trader's private rooms'.⁶³³ For Carlisle the shawl was, even in the land of its manufacture, an exclusive object – to acquire an authentic shawl was to embark on an authentic experience, personal negotiation with the 'other' in the person of the 'native trader' in his private rooms which were behind the scenes, off-stage even in the midst of a diverse city like Delhi. [Figure 67] In Carlisle's narrative the shawl begins as an exclusive commodity that holds the promise of engagement.

Figure 66: 'Delhi. The Chandney Chouk'. Samuel Bourne, 1863-5. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/2, 68.

Figure 67: 'Textile dealers'. Shepherd and Robertson, c1862. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/2, 87.

Laird, who travelled just one year after Carlisle featured the shawl far more fulsomely in his account, elevating it beyond the mere promise of the authentic that it held by embedding it in Indian culture. Like Carlisle, early mentions of the shawl in his narrative place it strictly in the role of exclusive commodity as Laird wrote of the great prices it commanded: 'one man calmly asked if I wanted to give 5,000 rupees for a shawl — only £500!'⁶³⁴ He observed the shawl being worn by men and by altering what, in Britain, was a familiar

⁶³³ Ibid, 75.

⁶³⁴ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2:143.

gendered object worn by women, he refashioned it as a dynamic object representative of cultural difference.⁶³⁵ Laird was aware of the meaning ascribed to the shawl in Britain but, by re-contextualising it for British readers as part of Indian life, it was no longer a static commodity of luxury. Instead Laird related to his sister — and his readership — how the shawl was worn and used. He described its manufacture on a visit to Lahore:

The main part of the shawl we saw being made was red. Each of the hands had several shuttles, with various colours of wool wound on them, and in turn they threw them through the threads of the warp; and thus are made the wonderful patterns that one sees in red, white, and green; and how they do not mistake the proper shuttle, I don't know.⁶³⁶

The Kashmir shawl was a luxury object because it was handmade by skilled craftsmen — an object of art not machine, unlike the paisley shawl produced in Britain, itself an object that epitomised the machine age. Laird made the shawl a representative of India by incorporating it into the landscape itself; he noted 'after leaving Serinuggur [Srinigar] the river takes two or three very sharp curves, the origin they say of the pattern on the Cashmere shawls'.⁶³⁷ The shawl that Laird presented moved through a series of different contexts: from the luxury objects commanding a high price, its place on the shoulders of 'the swells' or fashionable men of India, to its origins both in highly skilled manufacture and the landscape of Kashmir itself.⁶³⁸ Although Martineau designated it part of the 'unchanging East' it was, in Laird's narrative, a single, iconic object that conveyed

⁶³⁵ Ibid, 2:138, 143.

⁶³⁶ Ibid, 2:250-1.

⁶³⁷ Ibid, 2: 311-2.

⁶³⁸ Ibid, 2:138.

cultural difference and conjured the 'authentic' experience of the 'spectacle' of India.⁶³⁹

Laird's narrative also self-consciously highlighted nascent cosmopolitanism, most telling in its title: *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*. As noted in *Networks*, Laird was aware of the inherent frivolity that the name globetrotter conjured. Yet his observation of objects, like the Kashmir shawl, revealed a greater depth of perception and experience that belied the superficial image of the globetrotter. The idea of a globetrotting traveller, someone who could move easily between countries and cultures, communicated ideals of cosmopolitanism as it figured in Victorian thought and discourse. Bruce Robbins, in his analysis of cosmopolitanism in nineteenth-century literature, noted that the character of Brooke, a would-be Member of Parliament in George Elliot's novel *Middlemarch* (1871-2), was portrayed as cosmopolitan, yet his travels from 'China to Peru' gave him a 'rambling habit of mind'.⁶⁴⁰ Jennie Germann Molz observed that cosmopolitan consumption was both an inclusive and exclusive act. By consuming 'cultural difference' as globetrotters did, they were laying claim to a wider global citizenship.⁶⁴¹ However, what was inclusive for them was exclusive for the 'other'. Laird placed the Kashmir shawl in his narrative as a means of conveying difference, but its significance as a communicator depended on it maintaining its status as a desirable object. The shawl was not only a material signifier of India, but its very familiarity made it the perfect vehicle for globetrotters to use in fashioning an image of self that was

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ Bruce Robbins, 'Victorian Cosmopolitanism, Interrupted', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 38 (2010), 421.

⁶⁴¹ Jennie Germann Molz, 'Cosmopolitanism and Consumption', 106.

linked to elite cosmopolitan consumption that in turn was dependent on knowledge of the value that these objects held in both western and eastern marketplaces.



Figure 68: Dolman made from Kashmir shawl. Madam Maynier, Wigmore Street, London, c1884. Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum, T.43-1957.

Once the shawl could be copied in large numbers on mechanised looms in Britain and France, it lost its value, both as an exclusive import and as an artisan object. In addition, changes in fashionable dress in Britain further depressed the shawl market. By the early 1880s women's dress altered from the bell-shaped skirt over which a draped, triangular shawl provided the perfect accessory to a tightly fitted bodice with a relatively stream-lined skirt that was gathered into an elaborate bustle in the back. The bustle, with its tucks and drapes, braiding and

beading, was part of the display of female dress and a large Kashmir shawl not only obscured it, but draped awkwardly spoiling the desired silhouette. Rehman and Jafri noted that as a result of this change, the Kashmir shawl, once the ultimate fashion accessory, became 'fashion's natural victim'.⁶⁴² However, the demands of fashion were more complex; instead of being completely abandoned, the shawl was continually re-invented in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Shawls were tailored into short carriage jackets or dolmans, which accentuated the bustle: 2 from 1878 and 1884 survive in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum.⁶⁴³ [Figure 68] This re-purposing of the Kashmir shawl was not limited to female dress: it also appeared in the Aesthetic interior,

Figure 69: *In Full Sunlight (En plein Soleil)*. James Tissot, 1881. Collection: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2006.278. In addition to Indian textiles, this image also includes a Japanese parasol, two of the elements of the 'East' used in the Aesthetic interior.

⁶⁴² Rehman and Jafri, *The Kashmir Shawl*, 360.

⁶⁴³ T.44-1957; T.43-1957; Lucy Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Fashion in Detail* (London: V&A Publications, 2005), 184; Another example, in the National Trust Snowhill Collection, is cited by Ashelford, *The Art of Dress*, 234.

repurposed into cushions, as seen in James Tissot's (1836-1902) painting *In Full Sunlight (En plein Soleil)*, (1881).⁶⁴⁴ [Figure 69]

The adaptability of the shawl meant that it was the ideal material trope since it was continually reinvented not only as an object of fashion, but as one that was representative of globetrotters' Eastern experiences. This use was apparent in the early twentieth century when the shawl was again remodelled in western fashion, this time as a fashionable jacket, with fur collar and suitable narrow or 'hobbled' hem. An extant version in the collection of the Platt Hall

Figure 70: Detail of coat in Platt Hall Collection, Debenham and Freebody, c1910. The misalignment of the embroidered pattern along the shoulder seams indicates that this was originally a larger piece of embroidery that was repurposed to make the coat. Collection: Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, Manchester, 1947.2373.

Gallery of Costume in Manchester, [Figure 70] made from an *amli*, bears the label 'Debenham and Freebody', a firm which with Liberty were at the forefront of

⁶⁴⁴ James Tissot, *In Full Sunlight (En plein Soleil)*, circa 1881, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2006.278.

selling 'aesthetic' Indian textiles.⁶⁴⁵ In 1917 Nancy Dearmer, whose own travel wardrobe was purchased from Debenham and Freebody, bought a number of embroidered shawls from a shawl dealer in Simla, a fashionable Hill Station for the Raj, located geographically in the Indian State of Himachal Pradesh which shares a northern border with Kashmir and a western border with Punjab. Dearmer had the shawls fashioned into a coat and a burnoose, or large hooded cloak.⁶⁴⁶ The context in which she purchased her shawls draws out two important points. The first was that her commission, refashioning the shawl into a protective garment worn over her clothes and hence outside the home was a means of broadcasting to the wider world her journey to India. The journey itself, she noted in a letter to her mother, gave her a greater cosmopolitanism: 'I am awfully glad to be seeing the East, it helps one to understand so much & to get the world in better perspective'.⁶⁴⁷ For Dearmer, the shawl was a physical representation of her experience of the wider world as well as a means of fashioning and communicating her personal experiences of travel.

The second point to be gained in analysing Dearmer's narrative is in considering the context of its acquisition. Dearmer purchased the shawl as part of a highly anticipated visit to Simla, yet fashioned it into something else. This was partly influenced by the fashionable objects of her time, but in part she created an object that helped to marginalise the less desirable aspects and experiences of her travels. In addition to writing to her mother that travel gave her a greater perspective, she also wrote, in the same letter that: 'once I leave it

⁶⁴⁵ Gallery of Costume, Platt Hall, Manchester, 1947.2373; Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior*, 47.

⁶⁴⁶ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Simla, 23 July 1917, 275.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid, Srinigar, 26 April 1917, 206.

[the East] I don't think it will ever Call me back'.⁶⁴⁸ More specifically, her experience in Simla was not one that she enjoyed overall: it was cold and rainy, and the walls of her hotel room streamed with damp.⁶⁴⁹ Germann Molz wrote that cosmopolitan consumption relied on 'an affective pleasure in experiencing and navigating through cultural difference', yet underlying Dearmer's letters was a sense of dissatisfaction with experiences that never quite matched expectations.⁶⁵⁰

I get homesick sometimes when I think of dear London and all it contains of family and friends and work and play, but I am sure it is a good thing for a person who is so naturally stay-at-home as I am to be made to wander every now and again. I don't mean that I don't love this experience, I do and it is all new and interesting, only I should never stir myself up to adventure...⁶⁵¹

Dearmer aspired to a cosmopolitanism that she felt was part of her World Tour, although her letters reveal that the ideal was not always attainable. Her Kashmir shawls provided a material means of refashioning an unsatisfactory experience. They served a documentary purpose as a means of taking a commodity, and by contextualising it as part of her personal experience of travel she made it into a singular object. Refashioning it was like refashioning the narrative of a disappointing experience, making it better by turning it into an ideal and constructing a desired, and expected, outcome.

Chinese Ivories

In 1870, Arthur Drummond Carlisle observed that the shops in Canton were 'full of the wares of lacquer and ivory for which Canton has long been justly

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid, Simla, 23 July 1917, 280.

⁶⁵⁰ Germann Molz, 'Cosmopolitanism and Consumption', 112.

⁶⁵¹ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326: 1916-1918, BL, Simla, 10 July 1917, 267.

celebrated. ...we are sure to find a most inviting and perfect collection of card cases, fans, paper-cutters, globe stretchers, caskets, puzzles and ornaments of many kinds, both tasteful and grotesque'.⁶⁵² The objects that Carlisle designated as representative of Chinese ivory carving were those produced specifically for a western market. Unlike the Kashmir shawl, which was an important object in Indian culture, for example its use in the Khil'at ceremony, Chinese ivory carvings occupied a different place within Chinese society. Clunas noted that 'ivory was never a 'canonical' material in Ming and Qing China. It played little part in either ritual or poetic metaphor. No treatises were devoted to its history or to its literary resonances.⁶⁵³ Yet this commodity, a luxury object but not a cultural signifier in China, became singularised, designated by collectors at home and globetrotters abroad as innately 'Chinese'.

Both Clunas and ceramics historian Soame Jenyns cite Sir John Barrow's account of the Macartney Embassy, *Travels in China* (1804), as one of the early British sources to identify Chinese carved ivories as desirable commodities.⁶⁵⁴ In Barrow's eyes, ivory carving was a significant art: 'of all the mechanical arts, that in which they [the Chinese] seem to have attained the highest degree of perfection is the cutting of ivory'.⁶⁵⁵ Of particular interest to Barrow, and subsequently featuring in the majority of globetrotter's accounts nearly a century later, were carved ivory pieces called 'devil's work' balls. [\[Figure 71\]](#) These he described in great detail: they were carved 'out of a solid ball of ivory,

⁶⁵² Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 12.

⁶⁵³ Clunas, 'Ming and Qing Ivories', 118.

⁶⁵⁴ R. Soame Jenyns, Esq., 'Chinese Carvings in Elephant Ivory' in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, 1951-1952, 1952-1953* (London: Chas. Fr. Ince & Sons, Ltd., 1954), 58; Clunas, 'Ming and Qing Ivories', 182.

⁶⁵⁵ Barrow, *Travels in China*, 308.

with a hole not larger than half an inch in diameter, they will cut from nine to fifteen distinct hollow globes, one within another, all loose and capable of being turned round in every direction and each of them carved full of the same kind of open work that appears on the fans'.⁶⁵⁶ His description of these carved ivory pieces conveyed



Figure 71: Ivory devils work balls, Canton. Maker unknown. Acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1876. Collection: Victoria & Albert Museum, AP.140-1876

their novelty but also linked them to the familiar and, at one time, extremely expensive brisé fans with their carved sticks and guards that were used in Europe from the late seventeenth century.⁶⁵⁷ Published sources, like Barrow's account of the Macartney mission, were one avenue by which these objects

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Hélène Alexander, *The Fan Museum* (London: The Fan Museum and Third Millennium Publishing, 2001), 13-5.

gained familiarity in the British market, and Barrow's glowing descriptions ensured that they became objects of desire in Britain.

Britain and China had a longstanding albeit complex trading relationship. During the course of the eighteenth century Chinese porcelains, silks and lacquers materially evoked an idealised image of the East that found expression in chinoiserie. This European interpretation of an imagined, 'exotic' East was visually and materially presented through stylised landscapes featuring pagodas, elephants, exotic birds and figures dressed in flowing robes and peaked hats that bore more resemblance to European sophisticates of the eighteenth century than any living Chinese figure. Beyond aesthetic fantasy, the mythical East that chinoiserie created was, Shanyn Fiske noted, an 'idealized world [that] complimented Western visions of a peaceful, Platonic, oriental state and, like those visions, depended on a complete ignorance of Chinese government, culture and society'.⁶⁵⁸ Catherine Pagani wrote that this idealised image of China persisted into the early nineteenth century, but that it was part of an increasing duality in the way that China was viewed in British society.⁶⁵⁹ Using the example of American collector Nathan Dunn's (1782-1844) popular exhibition 'Ten Thousand Chinese Things', that included porcelains, snuff bottles and ivory carvings, displayed in London between 1842 and 1851, Pagani showed how Chinese objects were used to convey the 'genius' of the people that created them while at the same time representing the Chinese as backward, part of a

⁶⁵⁸ Shanyn Fiske, 'Orientalism Reconsidered: China and the Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Victorian Studies', *Literature Compass*, 8 (2011), 215-6.

⁶⁵⁹ Pagani, 'Chinese Material Culture and British Perceptions of China in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', 32.

superstitious and crumbling society.⁶⁶⁰ It was, Pagani wrote, irrevocably the Opium Wars and the 'shift in economic power in favour of the British that fostered the decline in the esteem felt for China and the Chinese'.⁶⁶¹

In the wake of the Opium Wars China was, for the British public, no longer the country portrayed through 'the artistry of Chippendale, the wit of Goldsmith, and the deistic worship of Confucius'.⁶⁶² Instead in public and political discourses the country was portrayed as 'degraded' from its glorious past, which in turn justified British imperial aspirations towards the country. This can be seen in the work of politician and theorist John Stuart Mill who wrote in the *Principles of Political Economy* (1848) that China, unlike Britain, was the 'antithesis of a strong, healthy, national constitution'.⁶⁶³ China was evoked more luridly through the images of opium addicts portrayed in the popular press and literature including Charles Dickens' unfinished novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870) which opened in an opium den where a drugged Chinese man 'convulsively wrestled with one of his many Gods, or Devils' snarling horribly.⁶⁶⁴

Despite these overwhelmingly negative associations, China's position as physically and culturally outside the west made it both, as Fiske noted, 'disruptive and frightening'.⁶⁶⁵ Like India it was troped as part of the 'unchanged' and 'ancient East', an attractive counterpoint to western

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid, 28.

⁶⁶² Fiske, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', 217.

⁶⁶³ John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy with some of the Applications to Social Philosophy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1848), 81.

⁶⁶⁴ Charles Dickens, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1980), 20.

⁶⁶⁵ Fiske, 'Orientalism Reconsidered', 217.

modernity.⁶⁶⁶ Elizabeth Chang went further in noting that British constructions of China relied on an imagined Chinese visual past removed from modern influences, thereby ensuring British control and reinforcing the idea that China was anchored in the past and needed the west to awaken its future.⁶⁶⁷ This view also allowed for greater British agency in China in regard to both trade and imperial expansion. While the utopia of a China conjured by chinoiserie was known to be untrue, it was still part of the accretion of imagery that was used to evoke the country. Arthur Drummond Carlisle mused on this lasting and seductive image of China drawn out through her decorative arts when he left Shanghai for Japan in 1870:

The name China bring up before our mind's eye pictures ...of well-kept gardens where the small-footed celestial maidens sit sipping the most delicate of teas...houses and temples whose furniture and ornaments are all of the richest lacquer or the finest old porcelain; of a country, in short, which is the favourite haunt of peace and contentment, of wealth and art.⁶⁶⁸

Through reference to the objects of eighteenth-century commodification of China, Carlisle evoked the idea of an unchanged country. However, he pitted the two 'unchanging' versions of China against each other in his final analysis. One was the well-known China represented through painted porcelain images with which his readership would be familiar. He compared this image in the following pages with another, negative version of a stagnating China: one of idle government and Confucian ideals so long followed out of habit that their original meaning had become distorted. Carlisle completed his section on China by noting that this stasis could not long be maintained.⁶⁶⁹ The objects that

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Chang, *Britain's Chinese Eye*, 146.

⁶⁶⁸ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 157.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid, 158.

represented China, like the devil's work balls, were ascribed meaning by those in the west who viewed them as reflective of a culture anchored in the past as these objects were; as sinophile and traveller Alicia Bewicke wrote in her novel *A Marriage in China* (1896), 'decorative, but not strictly useful'.⁶⁷⁰

China was also on show in nineteenth-century Britain and these exhibitions of Chinese objects contributed to the way that the country was popularly figured. In addition to Nathan Dunn's '10,000 Chinese Things', which featured in a number of London venues, China was also part of the Crystal Palace Exhibition in Hyde Park in 1851. The aim of the Crystal Palace was to display British industrial might and technological innovation on a global stage. Although Britain's imperial reach could not be ignored, her manufactures showed poorly against sophisticated French products. These noted shortcomings, drove design reform that ultimately found outlet in the Arts & Crafts Movement (c 1860-1910) and later the Aesthetic Movement. In his work on the importance of display in international exhibitions, Karl Gerth noted that throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Japan used these exhibitions as a means of displaying modernity, industrial innovation, and equivalence with the west.⁶⁷¹ China, whose policy had been to maintain a largely insular position in global politics, particularly in regard to the west, had 'unusually sent a display' to the international exhibitions.⁶⁷² However, an examination of the catalogue for the Crystal Palace exhibition reveals that all of those who were invited to display in the Chinese exhibition space were overwhelmingly British with a few

⁶⁷⁰ Alicia Bewicke, *A Marriage in China* (London: F.V. White & Co., 1896), 36.

⁶⁷¹ Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center and Harvard University Press, 2003), 205.

⁶⁷² *Ibid.*

Europeans.⁶⁷³ The commodities of trade were displayed: tea, silks, porcelain and lacquer.⁶⁷⁴ The more dubious aspects of British trade with China were also represented through the presence of an opium pipe, but this was the exception. Also included were carved ivory objects including devil's work balls and an 'ivory chopstick and knife case belonging to a mandarin'.⁶⁷⁵ Francesca Vanke noted that, unlike other countries that were invited to display at the Crystal Palace, there was no commissioner for China. Instead, the Chinese displays appear to have belonged to western collectors, merchants directly involved in the China trade who were resident in the country.⁶⁷⁶ The British, instead of the Chinese, created the material image of China at the Great Exhibition. Further, the objects that were displayed at the Crystal Palace were also those that appeared later in the century in globetrotters' collections, indicating both the longevity of this image and the influence of the Industrial Exhibitions in shaping material identities.

Chinese ivories appear in globetrotters' collections, specifically that of Percy Powell-Cotton, but accounts are relatively silent on the acquisition and meaning of the objects. Powell-Cotton's Chinese collection itself replicates those objects that were displayed forty years earlier at the Crystal Palace and which

⁶⁷³ *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* (London: W. Clowes & Sons, 1851), 1418-25.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁶ Francesca Vanke, 'Degrees of Otherness: The Ottoman Empire and China at the Great Exhibition of 1851', in Jeffrey Auerbach and Peter Hoffenberg, eds., *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 193.

continued to be displayed in subsequent international exhibitions.⁶⁷⁷ In his diary, Powell-Cotton recorded the acquisition of objects during his travels in Canton:

Went to king-fishers wing enamel work, feather laid on sil. Pretty, streets under 6' wide all paved stone, each shop had sign board many hanging down to ground & about 8" wide, houses built of grey lined white brick, very crowded. Temple 500 genie lot figures carved & plaster gilt over bit, the old embr. shops, women's petticoats of silk much embr. prices from \$2 to \$8 & gold ones \$10 to more all these 2nd hand, lot of bargaining...⁶⁷⁸

There was little differentiation in Powell-Cotton's narrative between shopping, sightseeing and cultural engagement: all were given equal status, and all had the tenor of a mercantile exchange. This was further heightened by an additional encounter after his day's shopping. He spent the night in Canton, not in his hotel (where he left his belongings), but after finding 'Susan, an old pimp, din[er] & then on boat with Chinese woman, boat fairly comfortable'.⁶⁷⁹ The mercantile tone of his personal interactions in Canton conveyed the sense that in China, everything became a commodity.

Japanese Novelties:

Unlike India and China, Japan did not have a longstanding trading relationship with Britain. Nineteenth-century travellers viewed the country as a novelty and the 'newness' meant that they often tended to dedicate more space in their accounts to their experiences in Japan than that allocated to India and China.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁷ Gerth, *China Made*, 205; Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel & Collecting in the Victorian Age* (London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2000), 101.

⁶⁷⁸ Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, QP, Canton, 20 March 1891, 186.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ Arthur Drummond Carlisle devoted 58 pages to India, 38 to China and 70 to his experiences in Japan, Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 24-82, 104-42, 160-

Although Japan did not participate in the Great Exhibition of 1851, there were Japanese objects included in the Chinese displays. Vanke wrote that this was an indication that people did not really recognize the difference between China and Japan, viewing them as interchangeable cultures.⁶⁸¹ However, the objects that formed the Chinese displays were provided by those who were considered 'old China hands', merchants, military and diplomats who, like surgeon and scholar Stephen Bushell, resided in China for a number of years and were aware of the difference between Chinese and Japanese objects.

The exhibition of 1862 included the first wholly Japanese display and, like the Chinese displays of 1851, it belonged to a westerner, the British diplomat Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897). The display did not entirely meet the approbation of the Japanese embassy that attended the exhibition.⁶⁸² However, the Exhibition was undeniably influential in that, as writer and critic William Rossetti (1829-1919) noted, 'the Japanese mania began in our quarters toward



Figure 72: Japanese items from the Rutherford Alcock Collection displayed at the International Exhibition, 1862. Illustration from John Burley Waring's *Masterpieces of industrial art and sculpture at the International Exhibition, 1862*, (London: Day and Son, 1863). Collection: V&A, National Art Library, 49.D.20.

230; Just over twenty years later in 1891, Frederick Thompson allocated 32 pages to India, 19 to China and 40 pages to Japan, Thompson, *In the Track of the Sun*, 103-35, 65-84, 12-52.

⁶⁸¹ Vanke, 'Degrees of Otherness', 193.

⁶⁸² William R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters: The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 34.

the middle of 1863'.⁶⁸³ [Figure 72] Moyra Claire Pollard observed that the post-exhibition auction for the displays for Japan was attended by buyers for W. Hewitt & Company, Murray Marks & Company, and Arthur Lazenby Liberty who was then a representative for Farmers & Rogers Great Shawl and Cloak Emporium. All these shops specialised in the sale of 'Oriental Wares' and promoted the interior designs of the Aesthetic Movement.⁶⁸⁴

Although relatively new in terms of trade, the novelty of Japan paired with the popularity of the Aesthetic Movement propelled Japanese objects from fashion to fad. Inherent in this movement was, Judith Neiswander demonstrated, a degree of cosmopolitanism, in that interiors were created to reflect difference and personal taste rather than conforming to societal rules.⁶⁸⁵ The art of Japan in particular was 'new' becoming the perfect vehicle for the expression of individuality.⁶⁸⁶ However, the mania for all things Japanese and their ubiquity in the Aesthetic interior and shops across Britain meant that the difference and individuality that they were meant to convey was instead another means of following fashion. So prevalent were Japanese goods in Britain that Laird wrote in Yokohama that 'I have not bought any curiosities here as it is so difficult to know what are genuine; and another reason isLondon is so overstocked with Japanese goods that they are cheaper than here'.⁶⁸⁷ Whilst this may have been a degree of hyperbole, to which Laird was prone, it does convey the popularity and pervasiveness of Japanese objects in both the domestic and mercantile spheres in 1870s Britain.

⁶⁸³ Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan*, 23.

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ Neiswander, *The Cosmopolitan Interior*, 34.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁷ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1:193.

Japan began actively engaging in Industrial Exhibitions in the dying years of the Tokugawa Shogunate known as the Bakumatsu (1853-1868). Both the Bakumatsu and early Meiji (1868-1912) were periods of rapid change in Japan and saw an influx of westerners: merchants, missionaries, diplomats, and tourists.⁶⁸⁸ The first display organised by the Japanese was at the International Exposition, held in Paris in 1867, just over a year before the Meiji Emperor was restored to power. This outward-looking programme of cultural activities was a means employed by the Meiji government to express a Japanese alignment and parity with the western powers who were dominant in the East in this period. By 'bolstering' status vis-à-vis the west, the government used this strategic alignment to renegotiate the unequal treaties that 'opened' Japan to western trade in the 1850s. This series of treaties allowed for western trade, extraterritoriality and access. By 1858, Yokohama, Shimoda and Hakodate were open to western travellers. In the ensuing years this was expanded to another



Figure 73: Ivory netsuke. Maker unknown, Japan, 1850-1900. Clarke Thornhill gift. Collection: V&A A.30-1919.

⁶⁸⁸ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, xv.

six treaty ports: Nakasaki, Kanagawa, Osaka, Kobe, Niigata, and Tokyo.

Eventually major cities, specifically Kyoto, were also accessible.⁶⁸⁹ Travel to the interior was allowed with a passport, for which travellers had to apply to the British Consul-General, although these were easily procured.⁶⁹⁰ An additional means for Japan to engage on an international stage was taking part in International Exhibitions which were, themselves, indicators of modernity.

Martha Chaiklin has noted that there were two object types that the Japanese consistently displayed: carved ivory netsuke (toggles) [Figure 73] and okimono (statuettes).⁶⁹¹ For western travellers, these objects fed into the ideals of the Aesthetic Movement at home, with its emphasis on the handmade.⁶⁹²

Carlisle focussed on netsuke during his trip to the Yokohama curio shops in 1870:

Little figures, carved in ivory, inimitable in their grotesqueness of expression, called by the natives 'nitskis,' and used as buttons to prevent their tobacco pouches from slipping out of their girdles; ...but let non venture in among this seductive array without having a long credit and some skill in discriminating between the different qualities of articles; for, on the one hand, contrary to ideas prevalent in England, good lacquer or ivory-work is not to be bought for a mere trifle in the land of its production, the native gentry having as high an appreciation, and being ready to pay almost as long prices for it, as ourselves; and, on the other hand, since the demand for these articles has increased so much by the irruption [sic] of foreigners into the market, articles of a much inferior workmanship are manufactured, and palmed off on the unwary or ignorant as equal to the oldest and best.⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁹ Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions*, 189.

⁶⁹⁰ Andrew Elliott, 'British Writing and the Japanese Interior, 1854-1899' in Martin Farr and Xavier Guegan, eds., *The British Abroad since the Eighteenth Century*, vol. 1, *Travellers and Tourists* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 204.

⁶⁹¹ Chaiklin, *Ivory and the Aesthetics of Modernity in Meiji Japan*, 3.

⁶⁹² *Ibid*, 4.

⁶⁹³ Carlisle, *Round the World in 1870*, 192.

There are a number of points to be taken from Carlisle's observations. He identified netsuke, by name, as one of the defining objects of Japan, inaugurating their use as troped objects invoked by nearly all globetrotters. He also made clear that these objects were useful — toggles to keep purse and pouch in place. Carlisle was in Japan just before the Meiji Emperor issued a proclamation in 1871, prescribing European dress for himself and his court. As a result, large port cities like Yokohama were flooded with Japanese urbanites in western clothing that in turn did away with the need for netsuke.⁶⁹⁴

However, the netsuke were an embodiment of the 'Old Japan' made popular at home by Mitford and Chamberlain which equated a feudal Japan with a Samurai class that were akin to the romantic tales of medieval knights popular in England in this period.⁶⁹⁵ Their popularity was in part an expression of nostalgia and response to the dislocation both physical and emotional felt by many in Britain in the face of rapid industrialisation. Finally, Carlisle clearly linked the consumption of netsuke to the influx of foreign visitors to Japan, all keen to experience difference. This belied Lairds' observation two years later that Japan was a 'new country' and as such her people had a love of 'novelty'.⁶⁹⁶

Yet, it was both the perceived newness of Japan, as a country only recently opened to the west and its 'untouched' quality that appealed to travellers. Netsukes were novel in that they were part of the quaintly elegant Japanese dress, even if globetrotters' encounters with those actually wearing traditional dress was diminishing in urban centres. Netsuke still represented an ideal of

⁶⁹⁴ Kramer, 'Not So Japan-Easy: The British Reception of Japanese Dress in the Late Nineteenth Century', 18.

⁶⁹⁵ Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan*, 96.

⁶⁹⁶ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1: 190.

'Old Japan'. At the same time netsuke were also a novelty object for travellers in that, unlike objects brought back from India and China, they did not represent a pre-existing trading relationship. Netsuke at once indicated the novel and nostalgic. Although globetrotters may not have realised it, netsuke also represented their own love of novelty which, in itself, was part of the lure of the world tour.

By 1918, when Nancy Dearmer was travelling, Japan had become part of a very well worn global track.⁶⁹⁷ She acquired a netsuke in Japan. Her treatment of the object, in light of her refashioning her Kashmir shawl, indicated how she ensured a continued experience of novelty and guaranteed that her trip reflected her desired experiences. Her travels were impacted by both personal circumstances and global politics. In India in 1917, she gave birth to a daughter, Gillian. In light of this new responsibility she altered her itineraries, specifically those set for China. Her initial proposal of three weeks in Hong Kong, taking in Canton and Macau, so that she might see 'the fringes of China' was abbreviated to one night in Hong Kong since a Japan-bound steamer was sailing the next day.⁶⁹⁸ When given the opportunity to explore Shanghai, she opted not to, wishing neither to leave Gillian on board nor to risk infection in China.⁶⁹⁹ In Japan, the family attempted to settle in a hotel but she noted that, in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, Yokohama was filled with Russians who were rude, noisy and crowded the best hotels.⁷⁰⁰ The family fared better in Tokyo and from their

⁶⁹⁷ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 7.

⁶⁹⁸ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Simla, 6 August 1917, 298.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid, Off Shanghai, 9 March 1918, 381.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid, Yokohama, 21 April 1918, 510.

residence there her husband Percy made a series of excursions including a trip of several days to the shrine of Kamakura. On his return he gave her:

A present, a button made of stag's horn with a medallion inset of gold-bronze & gold. So charming. It is called a netsuke pronounced netski and is used to fasten a pipe to a man's girdle. ...Americans always buy them in ivory, but the ivory ones are simply made for tourists (X. Not always I find, because the one Mr. C. gave me is ivory and a genuine old one.)⁷⁰¹

Dearmer used the troped object to separate herself from the common tourist by demonstrating her knowledge gained from encounters with local experts (Mr. C.) to inform her mother how netsuke were used and how to differentiate between the authentic and the tourist pieces. It is, however, unlikely that she herself saw netsuke being worn and used as part of Japanese dress since she stayed primarily in urban centres where she would have encountered people in western dress.

As Dearmer herself admitted, her expertise was faulty, born of superficial observation not of a deep knowledge. This status, of superficial traveller, led to a point that was consistently repeated in all globetrotters' accounts: the worry that they had actually purchased the 'real' thing, instead of being duped by local traders. To have the genuine article not only conferred a degree of authenticity on their own experience, but expertise. Through their travel experience globetrotters acquired the ability to delineate between the authentic and the fake. This knowing consumption of difference in turn made them true cosmopolitans, who could appreciate difference. Further, this appreciation was practically translated into useful knowledge deployed in the curio shops that distinguished globetrotters from common tourists.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid, Kyoto, 18 May 1918, 532.

In this section, I have examined the meanings of troped objects and how they were continually refashioned to reflect different interactions with the 'East' of India, China and Japan. These objects were a material means of communicating the cosmopolitan consumption of difference in a world that was increasingly brought closer through expanding global networks. While these are broad themes, it is important to remember that globetrotting, while being a popular migration, was also a personal journey. When Nancy Dearmer received her netsuke, her husband Percy suggested 'that I might have the medallion cut out & a brooch made, but I rather think I shall use the button as it is, on my Kashmir shawl coat when I have the new collar made'.⁷⁰² She fashioned her souvenirs to reflect her personal aspirations for her journey, but also to convey, by wearing them, that she purchased these objects abroad rather than at home, thus gaining social distinction. This was a means of both expressing individualism and exclusivity while at the same time searching for inclusion.

Collectors, Culture and Acquisition

Globetrotters, like the Grand Tourists who visited the European continent, often strove to define themselves as travellers rather than tourists. Tourists were, James Buzard noted, the slaves of railway tables, guidebooks and Cook's tours who were told what to see and when to see it. By contrast the traveller as defined by Buzard roamed 'free of imposed borders and limitations'.⁷⁰³ Christine Guth built on this approach in her study of late-nineteenth century tourists in Japan, noting that they were concerned about being defined as the Cook's tourist

⁷⁰² Ibid.

⁷⁰³ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 31-6.

rather than recognized as the travellers they aspired to be.⁷⁰⁴ Merton Russell-Cotes went so far as to state emphatically that he did not associate with the Cook's tourists who were his fellow passengers on a steamer from San Francisco to Yokohama.⁷⁰⁵ In the previous section I demonstrated that the objects globetrotters collected signified a complex means of representing and re-fashioning self as well as demonstrating a cultural conversancy. In this section I will focus on two groups of globetrotters, the Russell-Cotes and Percy Powell-Cotton, to consider the relationship between the smaller personal souvenirs, troped objects, and those pieces that conveyed social status using anthropologist Igor Kopytoff's conceptual structure, 'spheres of objects', to examine the linkages between this material in globetrotters' collections.

While their travels on an expensive and lengthy world tour conferred a degree of social distinction, by the late nineteenth century the popular associations with this type of tourism threatened to undermine it. In *Things Japanese* Chamberlain described globetrotters for whom he playfully created a genus and species. Globetrotting 'types' were designated, based on their outward appearance and annoying behavioural characteristics: "Globe-trotter elegans' who was both wealthy and socially well-connected; 'Globe-trotter independens' who arrived in their own yacht; 'Globe-trotter princeps' the royal on a world tour; 'Globe-trotter locustus' the Cook's tourist. The most often sighted of the species was '*Globe-trotter communis*: Sun-helmet, blue glasses, scant luggage, celluloid collars. ...he loves to occupy your time not indeed by gaining information from you about Japan...but by giving you information about

⁷⁰⁴ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 7, 10.

⁷⁰⁵ Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 1:454.

India, China and America, places with which you are possibly as familiar as he'.⁷⁰⁶ In this last classification, Chamberlain gave them the attributes of the sun helmet or solar topee worn by colonial officials in both India and Africa, paired with the blue sunglasses widely used by British tourists to both the European and North American continents.⁷⁰⁷ The latter were originally employed by landscape painters in the eighteenth century to imbue the view they were capturing with a more picturesque tint. The glasses were adopted by the fashionable tourists of the late eighteenth century for the same purpose. By the mid-nineteenth century blue glasses were used to imply a way of seeing that was superficial. They were synonymous with European tourists, and especially the British who had developed the first package tours. These tourists were caricatured as having the desire to experience the picturesque that was underpinned by an ignorance of the cultures and landscapes in which they found themselves.⁷⁰⁸ In just a few pages, Chamberlain conveyed popular perceptions of globetrotters. Specifically, he suggested that their social distinction was gained more from the distances they travelled than any genuine knowledge gleaned from their journeys.

Guth noted that the objects globetrotters brought back, representations of both the visual and material culture of Japan, were influential in shaping Victorian visions of the country.⁷⁰⁹ She illustrated this point citing the popularity of photographs that had a documentary quality, yet in reality were often staged in studios and were 'representations of representations'.⁷¹⁰ She noted that these

⁷⁰⁶ Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 213-5

⁷⁰⁷ Esther Moir, *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013; first published 1964), 144.

⁷⁰⁸ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 36.

⁷⁰⁹ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 6-7.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*

images had their own value for the collector as a material incarnation of what they had seen and experienced, but I would also argue that the images represented a confirmation that their imagined East, built upon the troped objects brought back by previous travellers, was real. For example, Carew Davies Gilbert collected images of Chinese tea terraces that he never encountered as they were well off the path of his own travels, yet replicated in photographic form the Chinese export paintings of seventy years earlier with which he would have been familiar.⁷¹¹

Martha Chaiklin noted that in Japan, the curio shop was a space created for western tourists.⁷¹² Unsurprisingly, studio photographs of these interiors also featured in tourists' collections. These images of the curio shops both massed and presented the troped objects of Japan in one space.⁷¹³ [Figure 74] The curio shops were places to interact with the Japanese themselves but also, globetrotters believed, were places where examples of authentic Japanese culture could be procured. In turn, these objects served as tokens that

Figure 74: 'Curio Shop' Note the suit of Samurai armour on the right. Felice Beato or Baron von Stillfried, c1870. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/6, 3.

Figure 75: 'Japanese Warriors'. These were posed image with sitters dressed as Samurai. Baron von Stillfried, c1870. Collection: Charles James Lucas Album, BL, Photo 1224/6, 14.

⁷¹¹ Gilbert, GIL 4/387, ESRO, North China Album, images 31-5.

⁷¹² Chaiklin, *Ivory and the Aesthetics of Modernity in Meiji Japan*, 21.

⁷¹³ Gilbert, GIL 4/385, ESRO, Japan Album, image 49.

represented a knowledge or interest in both new and old Japan. One example was a suit of Samurai armour acquired by Gilbert in Kobe. Western travellers were allowed access to the port, which was located on the Inland Sea, in 1868. Samurai armour was itself a regular feature in the photographs of curio shops. Gilbert wrote in May 1877: 'I send home from here 2 boxes, containing a suit of armour that used to belong to Nagasawa a samurai, he is now General of the Rebels who are fighting against the Government in the Southern Island of Kiusu'.⁷¹⁴ Kiusu (Kyushu) was the island that formed part of the Shimonoseki Straits. Gilbert travelled through them and into the Inland Sea en route from China to Japan and was clearly made aware, at some point on his travels through Japan, of the Satsuma Rebellion (1877). This was the last stand of the Samurai against the imperial government which had been in power for a decade. The leader of the rebellion was not Nagasawa, but Saigo Takamori. The name Nagasawa may have been misunderstood as either the government leader who was the ruler of the area, Prince Arisugawa or Kawamura Sumiyoshi a government Admiral who was involved in the siege. The siege itself ended in September 1878 with the defeat and death of Takimori and marked a victory for Japan's new modern army. The Samurai were a romantic link with Japanese history and culture. [Figure 75] For Gilbert, the provenance given to an otherwise ubiquitous tourist object was a physical link between places he had actually visited or travelled through, and a means of realising 'Old Japan' while at the same time engaging with the political changes of 'New Japan', albeit one he imperfectly understood, given the confusion of the name.

⁷¹⁴ Ibid, GIL 4/379, ESRO, Kobe, 27 May 1877, 3.

In addition to artefacts like the samurai armour, small netsuke continually held sway in the tourist markets. Miniature objects were, Susan Stewart wrote, a means of conveying a type of otherworldliness, and were also easily manipulated and domesticated.⁷¹⁵ Guth built on this, writing that the small 'gemlike' Japanese curios of lacquer work and netsuke materially configured the 'otherness' of Japan but also, through their size and delicate artistry, were a means of encoding Japanese culture and the people themselves as inherently feminine.⁷¹⁶ Globetrotters brought home small objects from Japan, as well as India and China. However, my analysis of globetrotters' letters suggests that the selection of small objects was not necessarily solely acquired because they represented a delicate, otherworldly East.

The practicalities of travel dictated globetrotters' selection of objects since both shipping and customs fees could be extremely expensive. Chamberlain's wry comments indicated that globetrotters acquired a reputation for passing on these added expenses to others. In his definition of *Globe-trotter communis* he wrote: 'you will also see after freight and insurance, and dispatch the boxes to an address in Europe which he leaves with you'.⁷¹⁷ Gilbert wrote to his mother from Hong Kong in April 1877 that: 'on receiving the boxes containing the articles...You must pay all charges for packing forwarding &c. &c.'⁷¹⁸ Nancy Dearmer found that the cost to send a pair of inlaid bronze vases home to her family from Japan in 1918 was prohibitive and instead bought a small gold cigarette case as a gift for her brother, since it could be carried easily

⁷¹⁵ Stewart, *On Longing*, 66-9.

⁷¹⁶ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 94.

⁷¹⁷ Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, 213.

⁷¹⁸ Gilbert, GIL4/377, ESRO, Hong Kong, 4 April 1877, 4.

in her luggage.⁷¹⁹ Costs did not stop at the point of purchase or shipping, as Dearmer and her husband discovered to their relief that they did not face additional fees at customs on travelling from Yokohama to San Francisco: 'we find our box of Japanese things is well within the amount we are allowed duty free. This is very jolly and we shall be able to have our pretty things'.⁷²⁰

Conversely, Merton Russell-Cotes wrote of the large Japanese shrine that he shipped home to Bournemouth with the aid of the British Consul, at exorbitant cost, thus reinforcing his image as a wealthy globetrotter.⁷²¹

Kate Hill noted that souvenirs and more precisely their acquisition was, by the end of the nineteenth century, perceived as a gendered activity pursued by women.⁷²² She cited Shaun Garner's research on the Russell-Cotes collection where he strongly suggested that the acquisition of 'high art objects' like the eighteenth-century Japanese cabinet shrine, were acquired by Merton Russell-Cotes, while his wife Annie confined her collecting to tourist souvenirs.⁷²³

However, Angela Woollacott noted how local populations viewed elite British women who travelled in the East as masculine — whiteness was equated with the coloniser.⁷²⁴ While physical location within a colonial or Eastern sphere was part of a re-gendering, it was not completely contingent in terms of collecting practices. Leora Auslander, in her study of female collecting practices of the

⁷¹⁹ Dearmer, Mss Eur C326, BL, Kyoto, 8 May 1918, 532.

⁷²⁰ Ibid, Yokohama, 24 June 1918, 580.

⁷²¹ Shaun Garner, 'Through Blue Eyes: Sir Merton (1835-1921) and Lady Russell-Cotes (1835-1920) and their Passion for Japan' in Hugh Cortazzi, ed., *Britain and Japan: Biographical Portraits* (London: The Japan Society, 2010), 529.

⁷²² Hill, 'Souvenirs: Narrating Overseas Violence in the Late Nineteenth Century', 181.

⁷²³ Ibid.

⁷²⁴ Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 39.

nineteenth century noted that women were increasingly engaged with what had previously been the masculine domain of collecting. Their collections not only elucidated constructions of class and culture, but also self-fashioning. They employed both object and narrative to locate themselves in a wider society, beyond the immediate, traditional concerns of home and community.⁷²⁵

Auslander focused on French collectors, although she noted that there was a parity with nineteenth-century Britain. She cited the creation of the museum as the ultimate expression of masculine collecting in that often, it was state sponsored and connected ideas of national identity constructed through art and objects with empire.⁷²⁶

Both the Russell-Cotes and Percy Powell-Cotton created their own museums from the collections formed on their World Tours, which were displayed in their homes. Admittedly grand buildings, both residences still represented domestic space. Situating museums in these sites marked an extension of self rather than a construction of the state. An analysis of these collections indicates a more complex relationship between objects and self than a gendered binary. For example, Annie Russell-Cotes had a strong natural history focus in her collections, bringing back bird skins from Pacific regions she visited, while her husband was a self-declared 'art lover'.⁷²⁷ Percy Powell-Cotton's collections from his world tour focused on decorative arts, with the exception of his prolonged hunting tour in Kashmir. Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes and Percy Powell-Cotton travelled within three years of each other. The

⁷²⁵ Leora Auslander, 'The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France', in Daniel Miller, ed., *Consumption: The History and Regional Development of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 2001), 158.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

⁷²⁷ Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 462.

Russell-Cotes made their World Tour from 1884-6 and Powell-Cotton set out in 1889. The timings of their World Tours makes comparison between these globetrotters useful in that they were encountering the same material which, given the closeness of their travel dates would have held similar associations.

Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes: Spheres of Objects

In his autobiography, *Home and Abroad*, Merton Russell-Cotes ensured that he would be remembered as a collector on the grand scale. Of the objects collected in Japan he wrote: 'over a hundred cases were filled with the curios purchased by my wife and myself', in just seven weeks.⁷²⁸ This was not only an unusually large number of cases to send home, it was expensive.⁷²⁹ In his research on the Russell-Cotes collection, former curator Shaun Garner wrote of Merton's obsession with self-aggrandizement. He noted that the Japanese collections, the only objects whose acquisition Merton mentioned in any great detail in his memoir, were used to project the image of a wealthy connoisseur.⁷³⁰ Garner concluded that while Russell-Cotes continually styled himself as an art collector, connoisseur and expert on Japan (gaining membership in both the Royal Geographical Society in October 1886 and the Japan Society in January 1892, albeit in both cases he was an inactive member) it was at the expense of his wife Annie, who was the true collector.⁷³¹ In his examination of both Annie's and Merton's accounts, Garner noted that Merton appeared to take no notes of their World Tour but took much of the material directly from Annie's book *Westward*

⁷²⁸ Ibid, 469.

⁷²⁹ Garner, 'Through Blue Eyes', 530.

⁷³⁰ Ibid, 526.

⁷³¹ Garner, 'Sir Merton Russell-Cotes and his Japanese Collection', 166-87.

from the Golden Gate (circa 1900) when he compiled his own memoir *Home and Abroad* (1921).

In Merton's own book he reproduced letters from the aristocrats and diplomats whose acquaintance he cultivated on his World Tour. He focussed on accounts that emphasized his wealth and social standing: shipping one hundred cases of objects from Yokohama to Bournemouth or borrowing approximately £900 on credit from the bank manager at the Yokohama bank of the Hong Kong and Shanghai bank to fund their acquisition.⁷³² He gave an interview to the local press on his return, inflating the estimate of the value of his Japanese curios alone to over £3,000.⁷³³ This passage in particular, Garner contended, illustrated Merton's hyperbolic self-promotion as a wealthy collector.⁷³⁴ However, interrogating the Russell-Cotes' collection in terms of spheres of collecting yields a more complex image of the couple's collecting. This approach also illuminates the way in which these objects functioned to create a more nuanced view of their travels beyond the search for social distinction and wealth projection.

I must point out that, like the globetrotters examined in the section on tropes, Japanese Novelties, the Russell-Cotes also placed a greater emphasis on their experiences and acquisitions in Japan than any other location. This was indicative of the place Japan held for British travellers at this time as an exotically fashionable locale. In *Home and Abroad*, Merton focussed on the acquisition of two objects in Japan: an eighteenth-century shrine which allegedly belonged to a daimio (feudal lords who were vassals to the shogun) and an incense burner in the shape of a silver elephant mounted with semi-precious

⁷³² Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 466-8.

⁷³³ Garner, 'Through Blue Eyes', 531.

⁷³⁴ Garner, 'Sir Merton Russell-Cotes and his Japanese Collection', 171.

stones attributed to silversmith Komai Otojiro (1842-1917). [Figure 76 and Figure 77] Otojiro's work was in high demand among those who considered themselves Japanese art



Figure 76: Shrine, Japan, eighteenth century. Collected by Merton Russell-Cotes in 1885 and reproduced in *Home and Abroad: An Autobiography of an Octogenarian*, 2 volumes (Bournemouth: for private circulation, 1921), 468. Collection: BL, 10855.ee.20.

Figure 77: Silver Elephant. Nakamura Yoshizane, c1901. Published in Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 480. Collection: British Library, 10855.ee.20.

cognoscenti. Of these pieces it was the shrine that received the greatest attention in Russell-Cotes' narrative. Merton wrote that his guide located it for him in a curio shop in Kyoto but he could not, and Garner speculated that he would not, offer any further information on its provenance.⁷³⁵ However, Merton did note the shrine's significance both as a cultural artefact and as a valuable high-art piece in his memoir. He wrote that it was of such artistic and cultural

⁷³⁵ Ibid, 183.

value that it required the aid of Julian Pauncefote, the British Consul, to export the piece.⁷³⁶

When the shrine is considered alongside the provenance of the silver elephant, it was apparent that these objects functioned as a means of conveying the financial status and self-construction of Merton Russell-Cotes as an art connoisseur and collector of distinction. Research by Garner has shown that Russell-Cotes purchased the elephant from a British dealer, George Edwards, who previously displayed it at the Glasgow International Exhibition 1901. Further the work was not by Otojiro, but by Nakamura Yoshizane, who was himself a significant silversmith.⁷³⁷ While the elephant was an important object in the projection of Japan in International Exhibitions, it was not representative of Russell Cotes' travels, yet was presented as his own acquisition personally purchased in Japan. In presenting these status objects on their own, bereft of provenance and severed from experience Russell-Cotes presented not the self-fashioned image of a connoisseur and collector, but spoke to the worst aspects that globetrotters represented, including their superficiality and equation of the curio shop with cultural experience.

While these status objects were the focus of Russell-Cotes' collecting in his own narrative, in the collection itself there are a number of smaller, everyday objects that the couple either personally used or observed being used that speak of a desire to preserve their cultural experiences of travel. Annie Russell-Cotes saved a pair of wooden chopsticks in their paper wrapper from 'tiffin' in Kyoto. [\[Figure 78\]](#) The restaurant where the Russell-Cotes dined was Ikeda's,

⁷³⁶ Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 468.

⁷³⁷ Garner, 'Sir Merton Russell-Cotes and his Japanese Collection', 18

made famous through its connection to the Ikeda-ya Incident in 1864.⁷³⁸ Politically the Bakumatsu period was characterised by a number of changing alliances and warring political factions as pro-imperial and anti-western groups fought against political and social changes. The Ikeda Inn was a meeting place for a group of ronin, masterless samurai, who allegedly devised a plot to set fires in Kyoto and in the ensuing confusion assassinate key officials of the shogunate. The plot was discovered, Ikeda's was raided, a number of ronin were killed and the rest were arrested. Among those arrested were the owner of the Inn, Ikeda and his family. In the aftermath, the inn was closed and reopened under a new owner.⁷³⁹ The chopsticks were representative of the cultural immersion the Russell-Cotes experienced dining in the Japanese style. They were also

Figure 78: Chopsticks collected by Annie Russell-Cotes, Kyoto, 1885. Collection: Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth.

objects that, like Carew Davies Gilbert's suit of samurai armour, were a material means of connecting with Japanese politics and history.

These historical associations were further heightened through the popularity of the eighteenth-century story of the 47 Ronin, whose graves at the Senkakuji Temple in Tokyo were visited by the Russell-Cotes earlier in their

⁷³⁸ Keene, *Emperor of Japan*, 79.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*

travels.⁷⁴⁰ Although Garner contended that Annie was the true collector, Merton also acquired small, 'cultural' souvenirs from sites that he considered significant in terms of history, culture and art. In Nikko, he took the wooden dipper from the water house opposite the tomb of the shogun.⁷⁴¹ [Figure 79] Nikko itself

Figure 79: Dipper from Nikko, taken by Merton Russell-Cotes, 1885. Collection: Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth.

defined Japan for tourists and held one of the key sites that they associated with the country: an ancient temple complex associated with the Tokugawa clan, representative of 'Old Japan', that boasted interiors with spectacularly lacquered ceilings.⁷⁴² Merton and Annie also purchased a model of the mausoleum at Nikko and, paired with this smaller, more personal souvenir, they connected with both place and space. The importance of these small low value objects for the Russell-Cotes was apparent. They were preserved in their museum collection, with handwritten labels attached to them ensuring that the objects were not separated from the experience which gave them their significance. These pieces provided proof of cultural engagement, underpinning the status objects and giving a greater depth to their collections.

⁷⁴⁰ Russell-Cotes, *Westward from the Golden Gate*, 20-1.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid; Temple dipper, Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth.

⁷⁴² Gower, *Notes of a Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama 1883-1884*, 74.

These spheres of objects also led to questions concerning the role that constructions of authenticity played in the acquisition of souvenirs. Christine Guth wrote that globetrotters sought to access cultural authenticity through the objects they collected and their 'touristic understanding of authenticity' was connected to those pieces that had a traditional or functional usage within society.⁷⁴³ The chopsticks were both functional and traditional and in every day use thus they provided a readily accessed authentic experience. When further considered alongside Judith Green's assessment of John Henry Gray's (1823-1890) collection of Chinese souvenirs acquired during his tenure as Archdeacon of Hong Kong (1868-90), the chopsticks and smaller tourist pieces like fans and netsuke were regularly figured as authentic by both travellers and certain residents. Green found that much of what Gray purchased were objects that were specifically made for the tourist market in China. However, he still ascribed a degree of authenticity to the objects because they were representative of local craftsmanship and materials.⁷⁴⁴ The souvenirs that globetrotters collected were authentic representations of the cultures they experienced on their travels because they were characteristic of local craftsmanship and often, like the chopsticks, tied to everyday activities in which tourists could meaningfully participate.

Percy Powell-Cotton: Gendered Collecting

Powell-Cotton's collection and his collecting activities follow a similar pattern to the Russell-Cotes, and focused on capturing a particular place through

⁷⁴³ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 90.

⁷⁴⁴ Judith Green, 'Curiosity, Art and Ethnography in the Chinese Collections of John Henry Gray' in Shelton, *Collectors*, 119-21.

acquisition. Like the couple's emphasis on Japan, Powell-Cotton's diaries reveal that he spent several months in Kashmir compared to the duration of the rest of his journey through China and Japan where he dedicated between three to four weeks on average for each country.⁷⁴⁵ He set up camp in Kashmir in a relatively remote area, off the 'beaten track' where he spent his time hunting, enacting an elite, imperial masculinity.⁷⁴⁶ Mary Procida has shown that women who married into the Raj were also encouraged to participate in hunting by spouses and family. This was part of the female adoption of imperial power and authority in the Raj.⁷⁴⁷ However, Nora Beatrice Gardner, who travelled to Northern India in 1894, was not part of the world of the Raj, and for her active participation in the hunt was slightly more complicated. She framed her own participation in a leopard hunt, using the insistent invitation of the Maharaja of Chamba, a strong supporter and ally of the Raj, to justify her seeming reluctance in taking up the gun: 'the Maharaja handed me a rifle and begged that I would take the first shot. It was a nervous moment for an inexperienced markswoman before so many spectators, but he would not hear a refusal'.⁷⁴⁸ Her account balanced her engagement in masculine spheres with the activities in traditionally feminine areas, specifically as a watercolourist, which earned the approbation of one male reviewer that she was a 'modern woman, but not a new woman'.⁷⁴⁹ The term 'New Woman' was one that emerged in the 1870s and was applied in the press to describe a woman who was affluent and independent, but generally used to

⁷⁴⁵ Powell-Cotton, *World Trip Journal*, QP, arrived in Canton, 16 March 1891, 183. Arrived in the Inland Sea, Japan, 16 April 1891, 195. Departed Yokohama for Honolulu, 5 May 1891, 208.

⁷⁴⁶ MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature*, 171.

⁷⁴⁷ Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 137.

⁷⁴⁸ Gardner, *Rifle and Spear with the Rajpoots*, 128.

⁷⁴⁹ *The Graphic*, August 1895.

criticise what was viewed as unfeminine behaviour.⁷⁵⁰ However, gender restrictions on this type of colonial collecting appears, in the context of an Eastern Tour, to have really only applied to India.

In Leora Auslander's study on collecting practices of women in nineteenth century France, she noted that women began to play a greater role in collecting in the second half of the century.⁷⁵¹ Both men and women collected to express their individuality and social class, but their collections also reflected the political ascendancy of the state, particularly on a global stage. In applying this approach to British globetrotters and their souvenirs, I would argue that both men and women collected similar objects as a means of expressing their cultural engagement with the East. However they collected zoological specimens as a means of locating themselves as citizens of the British Empire. Kate Hill noted that not only were souvenirs used to evoke 'affect and knowledge', they were also a material means of conveying a greater understanding of the larger world.⁷⁵²

Although she personally did not hunt, Annie Russell-Cotes collected bird skins as well as taxidermy examples from Australia and New Zealand.⁷⁵³ Powell-Cotton's hunting activities were confined to Kashmir and his future collecting of zoological specimens and ethnographic studies would be based largely in Africa.⁷⁵⁴ The natural history specimens acquired by both Annie Russell-Cotes

⁷⁵⁰ Ruth Borden, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 2.

⁷⁵¹ Auslander, 'The Gendering of Consumer Practices in Nineteenth-Century France', 160-1.

⁷⁵² Hill, *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century*, 5.

⁷⁵³ Russell-Cotes, *Home and Abroad*, 448-9; Garner, 'Sir Merton Russell-Cotes and His Japanese Collection', 168.

⁷⁵⁴ Nicklin, *Powell-Cotton Man & Museum*, 8.

and Percy Powell-Cotton came from places that were directly under British governance. Outside of India, and an overtly colonial context, Powell-Cotton's collections were more cosmopolitan in nature. [Figure 81 and Figure 82] For example, in China he acquired twenty small gilt 'peach-stone buttons', chopsticks

Figure 80: A sample of Percy Powell-Cotton's collection of objects from his 1889-91 World Tour. Gilt Peachstone buttons from Canton, China, maker unknown, c1890. Collection: Quex Park, Birchington, Kent.

Figure 81: Hairclip of silver and base metal, with turquoise. Maker unknown, Canton, c1890. Collection: Quex Park, Birchington, Kent.

Figure 82: A carved red lacquer occasional table with glass snuff bottles, makers unknown, Canton, c1890. Collection: Quex Park, Birchington, Kent.

and a brass pipe. [Figure 80] In Japan he acquired an okimono of 'mice nibbling at a grain sack'.⁷⁵⁵ In short there was no perceptible difference between those objects acquired by Annie Russell-Cotes and those that Powell-Cotton collected in China and Japan, indicating that outside of the colonial context of India, there was actually a greater scope for cosmopolitan consumption.

⁷⁵⁵ Powell-Cotton, World Trip Journal, QP, 18 May 1891, 196.

Kate Hill also noted that these souvenir objects were a means of 'discomposing and recomposing' the traveller.⁷⁵⁶ The objects that Powell-Cotton collected were displayed at his home, Quex Park, in conjunction with older pieces that his family acquired as part of their activities in the East India Company.⁷⁵⁷ His collections were a material creation of self, blending family history with individual experience. They conveyed his social standing in Britain and, as a Briton, served to locate Powell-Cotton on a global stage. Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes saw their travels not as part of a longer distinguished family history, but as the beginnings of their creation of identity as they consolidated their rank in the upper middle classes.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Objects

Susan Stewart wrote that the importance of souvenirs was that they were a material representation used to evoke the memory of a lived experience. The value of the object lay in the memory it enshrined.⁷⁵⁸ Both the Russell-Cotes' and Powell-Cotton's collections are important case studies for the impact and legacy of globetrotters' collecting activities. That their collections should be preserved in their own museum and gallery was very much a product of the zeitgeist of the latter part of the nineteenth century, when public museums opened across Britain as a result of the Museums Act of 1845. From the late 1860s to the outbreak of the First World War, nearly all the municipal art museums of Britain

⁷⁵⁶ Hill, *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century*, 2-3.

⁷⁵⁷ Bennett, 'Quex Park Case Study', *East India Company at Home* (blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/quex-park-case-study, accessed, 18 April 2017).

⁷⁵⁸ Stewart, *On Longing*, 133.

were founded.⁷⁵⁹ The museums that the Russell-Cotes and Powell-Cotton created were a means of building a legacy from their travels, ensuring that their souvenirs were kept within the contexts of acquisitions, thus preserving their significance and distinguishing them from those objects available on the art market. Yet the movement of an object or collection from personal souvenir to museum artefact brought with it a new type of 'authority' in the way that it represented a culture of experience. While the context of its acquisition was still highly personal, it became an 'official' cultural signifier to be studied and analysed by ensuing generations of scholars.

Nineteenth-century museums served a philanthropic purpose and were also a means of conveying a rise in social position. Nicky Levell examined the role that another well-known collector and world traveller of the late nineteenth century, Frederick Horniman, played in creating a public museum from his personal collections. Horniman was, in the 1890s, one of the wealthiest men in London. His museum was open to the public from 1891. The collections at that time were purchased through dealers in Britain, at auction, and through specialist buyers who toured the East.⁷⁶⁰ What is significant in regard to my research was that Horniman later supplemented these collections with his own, personal objects acquired through travel to India and Ceylon (1894-5) and the on the World Tour (1895-6), thus adding the authenticity of lived experience to his museum displays. However, the lines between public and private spheres were blurred and Horniman continually moved objects between his museum

⁷⁵⁹ Giles Waterfield, 'A Home of Luxury and a Temple of Art', in Simon Olding, Giles Waterfield, and Mark A. Bills, eds., *A Victorian Salon: Paintings from the Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum* (London and Bournemouth: Lund Humphries in association with Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum, 1999), 14.

⁷⁶⁰ Levell, *Oriental Visions*, 20-1.

displays and his private, personal residences.⁷⁶¹ This breakdown between public and private was also apparent in the way that the Russell-Cotes used their own collections. In the decade following the Russell-Cotes' return from their World Tour, their Japanese collections were displayed in the Royal Bath Hotel in the Japanese Drawing Room. A photograph of the room in the 1890s shows a densely packed display with swords and textile panels mounted on the wall, tables filled with lacquer ware and okimono, and numerous lanterns hanging from the ceiling.⁷⁶² [Figure 83]



Figure 83: Photograph of the Japanese Drawing Room, Royal Bath Hotel, c1890. Collection: Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum, Bournemouth.

It was during this period that the Russell-Cotes began to build East Cliff Hall, their new home that was located directly next door to the Royal Bath Hotel.⁷⁶³ Presented to Annie Russell-Cotes as a birthday present, East Cliff Hall

⁷⁶¹ Ibid, 242.

⁷⁶² Olding, Waterfield and Bills, *A Victorian Salon*, 9, figure 3.

⁷⁶³ Ibid, 7.

was a private, palatial residence. The space afforded them the opportunity to display their collections in an eclectic style. Marble sculptures and Victorian paintings were intermixed with Maori axes, Japanese armour and an 'old English weighing machine'.⁷⁶⁴ In 1907, the Russell-Cotes formally presented the building and its contents to the residents and town of Bournemouth, with the agreement that although the building would now be a publicly accessible art gallery, it would also continue as their residence for the remainder of their lives.⁷⁶⁵ In short, they were living in a museum that enshrined their own lives. Although presented as a joint endeavour, it appears that Annie Russell-Cotes played a key role in the creation of the museum. In 1917, she alone presented an additional endowment to the town to ensure the future running costs of the gallery, which did not charge an admission fee.⁷⁶⁶ Between 1916 and 1926 the scope of the house was extended with the addition of formal art galleries.⁷⁶⁷

Powell-Cotton also created an Oriental Drawing Room that served as a suitable display space for his World Trip curios.⁷⁶⁸ According to former Powell-Cotton curator, Keith Nicklin, the museum began formally in 1896, 'as a single gallery...the collection of hunting trophies and curios having by this date already outgrown their temporary accommodation in the Billiard Room of the House'.⁷⁶⁹

The museum officially opened regularly to the public in 1921 and the first

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid, 10.

⁷⁶⁵ *Western Gazette*, 8 November 1907.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid, 4 February 1921; The Russell-Cotes Art Gallery and Museum began charging an entry fee in 2011, 'Charges lead to dip in visitors at Russell-Cotes Museum', *Bournemouth Echo*, 18 August, 2011.

⁷⁶⁷ Olding, *A Victorian Salon*, 7.

⁷⁶⁸ Bennett, 'Quex Park Case Study', blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/quex-park-case-study, accessed, 18 April 2017).

⁷⁶⁹ Nicklin, *Powell-Cotton*, 1.

curator, G.E. Pinfold, was appointed that same year.⁷⁷⁰ Like the Russell-Cotes and Horniman, there was a blurring between public and private space and between the individuals themselves and the institutions they created. This was more apparent in the case of Powell-Cotton than any of the other collectors examined here. Horniman died in 1906, Annie and Merton Russell-Cotes in 1920 and 1921 respectively, but Powell-Cotton died in 1940. His relative youth when he began his World Trip and his longevity ensured that his museum and its collections reflected his later interests, which diminished the legacy of his earlier World Trip. Over the course of his life, Powell-Cotton developed his interests as a naturalist and ethnographer and his daughters shared their father's pursuits, joining him on his travels and eventually conducting their own fieldwork in Africa. The Powell-Cotton museum was a family endeavour and its collections constantly evolved to accommodate changing interests. This was reflected by subsequent treatment of the collections. For example, an exhibition *Powell Cotton Man & Museum* staged at Kent University in 1981, saw the World Trip collections allocated a small case at the beginning of the exhibition. The material displayed was described summarily as: 'finger rings, combs, opium pipe, etc.'⁷⁷¹ It was displayed in conjunction with the Singapore collection of Eastern material that Powell-Cotton acquired on his return from his World Trip. Despite the care taken by the original owners who acquired these objects as material representations of their global experiences, they were still subject to changes in fashion and interpretation.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid, 2.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid, 1.

The Globetrotter: Conclusion

In James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* (1922) Leopold Bloom fancifully imagined globetrotting around the world, 'stealing a march on the sun' and in so doing staying one step ahead of time, thereby never growing older.⁷⁷² As Bloom travelled through Dublin he conjured Eastern landscapes comparing them, and the circumnavigation of the globe, with a traveller's narrative from his own library: Frederick Diodati Thompson's *In the Track of the Sun: Readings from the Diary of a Globe Trotter* (1893).⁷⁷³ Globetrotters were themselves adept at the use of paratext in their own accounts.⁷⁷⁴ By referencing Thompson's account of a global tour in his novel, Joyce enhanced the epic quality of his narrative of a single day in Dublin, which was already reliant on Homer's *Odyssey*. Thompson's presence in the novel and Joyce's reliance on his readership's knowledge of globetrotting, were a clear indication of the cultural reach of these travellers. The globetrotters were a recognized type in the late nineteenth century, who brought a specific global gaze to bear on the world, and the East in particular, purveying it for their readership.

The globetrotting gaze that these travellers turned on the East was composed of three specific perspectives. The imperial gaze, reflective of Britain and its place in the world, was created before the traveller left home. It was established in Britain through events like the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition and conjured physically through the accompanying 'Monster Globe' that occupied

⁷⁷² James Joyce, *Ulysses* (John Rodker: Paris, 1922), 55.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁴ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 2:158; Alex Watson, 'The Garden of Forking Paths', 190.

Leicester Square during the course of the exhibition. The globe featured an interior panorama of the world with the areas of the British Empire coloured red.⁷⁷⁵ Matthew Teismann noted that participants engaged in a ‘performativity of the gaze that reinforces one’s sense of self in the empire’.⁷⁷⁶ For globetrotters the imperial gaze that they employed then situated the relationship between traveller and ‘travellee’ within the context of the power dynamics between Britain and India, China and Japan. However, as Wendy Bracewell asked about the narrative generated by travellers and the response by ‘travellees’, ‘what if the point of the narrative lay elsewhere?’⁷⁷⁷ My aim in this dissertation has been to identify where that ‘elsewhere’ of globetrotting was by breaking down the elements of the globetrotting gaze as it was deployed across the East, in India, China and Japan. Globetrotters encountered these countries comparatively as part of a longer journey and their impressions of these different cultures were encapsulated through the way that they presented their experiences of India, China and Japan to those at home. My analysis of the globetrotting gaze is informed by Dean MacCannell who states that the aim of the tourist gaze is the authentic experience. Likewise, John Urry has noted that the outcome of that same gaze was signposting to convey what was culturally significant. The globetrotting gaze is also inherently cosmopolitan and I have drawn on the work of Magdalena Nowicka and the idea of ‘alternate geographies’ wherein globetrotters departed from a purely imperial view of landscape and culture which fulfilled their desire to experience cultural difference. In terms of the

⁷⁷⁵ Matthew Teismann, ‘An Emerging International: The Imperial Gaze and the Monster Globe in 1851’, *Fabrications: The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 27 (2017), 14.

⁷⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 16.

⁷⁷⁷ Wendy Bracewell, ‘The Travellee’s Eye’, 215-227.

creation of the imperial gaze, Mary Louise Pratt's framework on the contact zone and its inherent imbalance of power between subject and viewer has been useful. In bringing together these three strands as the elements of the globetrotting gaze, I have demonstrated how certain aspects of the gaze were dominant in some areas, for example an imperial perspective was deployed in India, but also how that imperial gaze was subverted or superseded by cosmopolitan desires, and often framed through reference to the older touring culture of the Grand Tour. Through globetrotters' texts and the objects they collected, we can see how their perspectives created the differentiated East that, while considering Britain's imperial engagements, also sought to construct a tour of cultural immersion and engagement.

While an imperial ideology underpinned the way that British travellers initially experienced the world, they also used their experiences to challenge this viewpoint. This was evident in Egerton Laird's comments and use of supplemental texts to convey a critical or conflicting viewpoint of British imperial activities in India and China.⁷⁷⁸ He employed a cosmopolitan gaze in conjunction with the imperial gaze. Jennie Germann Molz observed that cosmopolitan consumption was both an inclusive and exclusive act.⁷⁷⁹ Globetrotters travelled the world because of Britain's global role but also laid claim to a wider global citizenship through their cosmopolitan gaze and their avid consumption of 'cultural difference.'⁷⁸⁰

The tourist gaze was the third element present in the globetrotter's gaze. It incorporated what John Urry termed pre-arranged 'signposts' that signified

⁷⁷⁸ Laird, *The Rambles of a Globe Trotter*, 1:274; 2:158.

⁷⁷⁹ Germann Molz, 'Cosmopolitanism and Consumption', 106.

⁷⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

cultural experience.⁷⁸¹ These were the pre-existing tropes, experiential and material, created at home that globetrotters anticipated experiencing in the East. Globetrotters also sought a version of Dean MacCannell's behind the scenes experiences that were representative of authentic cultural encounter.⁷⁸² The use of troped signposts as well as a desire to access behind the scenes spaces was part of the construction of the tourist gaze employed by globetrotters. However they also used the tourist gaze as a means of demonstrating what Pierre Bourdieu termed their 'social capital'.⁷⁸³ Globetrotters laid claim to a membership of culturally privileged travellers by framing their viewpoints through reference to older, socially elite travellers' narratives. In doing this they equated the activity of globetrotting with iterations of the Romantic Grand Tour of the European continent. The attainment of what they deemed ostensibly authentic within the context of an elite traveller's narrative combined to confer a degree of social distinction.

The globetrotter's gaze contained competing elements of the imperial, cosmopolitan and tourist gazes which were used to create a differentiated East of specific identities for India, China and Japan. This reflected the political and cultural agendas already present at home that in turn influenced the way globetrotters encountered the spaces of the East and the social encounters they facilitated. Interactions in both spaces that were designated sites of observation, like temple site, and behind the scenes spaces were, as Michel de Certeau noted, part of the 'theatre of actions' that created a sense of place.⁷⁸⁴ In India, where the

⁷⁸¹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 46-7.

⁷⁸² MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 155-6.

⁷⁸³ Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', 82.

⁷⁸⁴ De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 76.

imperial gaze predominated, social distinction was attained through alignment with the Raj. At the same time globetrotters used their gaze to distinguish themselves from colonial officials by deploying the tourist gaze to view sites like Darjeeling within the context of the picturesque instead of one of colonial tea production. Cities in China, like Canton, were spaces where globetrotters could move between imperial enclaves or British space, which privileged the imperial gaze, and Chinese space where they could employ a more cosmopolitan gaze and be the subject of a mutual gaze that indicated authentic social encounter. In Japan, globetrotters searched for the troped Old Japan typified by the Edo period and sought to reconcile it with the new technologically expanding Meiji Japan. The experiential East that globetrotters presented to their readership exploited their knowledge of these tropes. In turn globetrotters reconfigured them as part of what travellers deemed authentic cultural engagement.

The differentiated East, like globetrotters themselves, was in part the product of technological advances, such as steam power, and its use in British globalisation.⁷⁸⁵ Alan Lester and Kerry Ward framed imperial expansion as a global web of circuits connected by nodal points.⁷⁸⁶ To view globetrotting as a web of travel supported by technological and political expansion, the 'East' then was a series of circuits represented in turn by India, China and Japan. These cultural differentiations were reinforced by guidebooks that offered the key to negotiating the broader technological webs of travel while at the same time providing the intersection between global and local experiences. Globetrotters were a new kind of traveller, created by these technological webs of intersecting

⁷⁸⁵ Thompson and Magee, *Empire and Globalisation*, 4-6.

⁷⁸⁶ Lester, *Imperial Networks*, 6-7; Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 11.

circuits that enabled a world tour. Subsequently, their narratives reflected their cultural encounters as comparative as they pursued a linear route around the world on a single, global journey.

Globetrotters' aspirations for disseminating their experiences, building a legacy from what was a life-changing world tour, were voiced during the trip itself. Charles James Lucas responded to his mother's proposal to create a bound album of his letters that he would like this, not only because when 'I read them through at home it will bring to my mind lots of things to tell you which I might have forgotten'.⁷⁸⁷ In addition to an aide memoire, Lucas aspired to 'try to write a small book on our travels, they will then much help me'.⁷⁸⁸ Although Lucas's book never came to fruition, it was an example of how his letters and the objects he collected on his travels were a material memorial that commemorated his ostensibly authentic experiences.⁷⁸⁹ They represented a material manifestation of the social capital accrued through travelling the world. Travellers such as Merton and Annie Russell-Cotes and later, Percy Powell-Cotton, created their own museums, thereby displaying a greater social capital with a potentially longer-lasting legacy.

The legacy of globetrotting was the creation of the globetrotters' gaze, the differentiated East, and the tension between trope and the authentic. These three strands were, and still are, utilized by subsequent travellers. In the period between the First and Second World Wars, Edith Lyttelton (1865-1948) undertook a tour of India, China and Japan. *Travelling Days* (1933) detailed her travels in 1929, although Lyttelton herself was not really part of the

⁷⁸⁷ Lucas, Photograph 1224/7, BL, Calcutta, 27 December 1877, 142.

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ Stewart, *On Longing*, 135.

globetrotting milieu. She was part of the social group the Souls whose membership included statesman Arthur Balfour, future Indian Viceroy George Curzon and socialite Margot Tennant. In 1892 she married the politician Alfred Lyttelton (1857-1913) who served as Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1903-1905.⁷⁹⁰ Part of their social circle included Alfred Milner (1854-1925) the future Secretary of State for the Colonies (1916-1918) and when Lyttelton first met him, he was shortly to be appointed Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony (1902-1905). Under his influence she helped to establish the Victoria League in 1901, which provided a platform for women to actively engage in the promotion of the British Empire.

Travelling Days negotiated an East that was entering, or already engaged in a period of social and political upheaval. Lyttelton's adoption of the persona of a globetrotter indicated how the globetrotting gaze was deployed to reveal as well as obfuscate, glossing over potentially unpleasant or contentious political realities. Her tour of the East began with Japan, where she engaged in the familiar negotiation between the authenticity of cultural immersion and the trope of expectation: 'to wear a kimono or eat a piece of raw fish with the complete absence of a sense of alien novelty is almost impossible'.⁷⁹¹

Lyttelton used the trope of 'Old Japan', employed by globetrotters from the 1870s, to represent an authentic Japanese experience. This was represented through her programme of theatre attendance, collecting Edo period woodcuts and visiting the temples of Kyoto.⁷⁹² By adhering to this view of Japan, Lyttelton

⁷⁹⁰ Mark Pottle, 'Dame Edith Sophy Lyttelton, *Dictionary of National Biography*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51800, accessed 5 January 2019.

⁷⁹¹ Edith Lyttelton, *Travelling Days* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1933), 14.

⁷⁹² *Ibid*, 13, 38, 83.

avoided political commentary on the realities of the interwar period, deflecting potential censure by noting, as she travelled from Peking via Mukden, 'I am simply going to describe impressions, without reference in any way to the political disputes of a later period'.⁷⁹³ She omitted reference to the Mukden Incident of 1931 when, under the auspices of Emperor Hirohito (reign 1926-1989), the grandson of the Meiji Emperor, Japanese forces occupied Chinese territories.⁷⁹⁴ By deliberately choosing to omit or disengage from contentious political issues such as this, Lyttelton chose to present an idealised version of Japan. This was at odds with the experiences of earlier globetrotters. For example, Carew Davies Gilbert remarked on the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, even though he did not fully grasp its significance.⁷⁹⁵ From her commentary it was apparent that Lyttelton knew the significance of the Mukden incident but chose to omit it in her publication, thereby restricting the gaze and the persona of the globetrotter to one that was impressionistic and superficial rather than analytical.

In China, she also drew on older imagery and language. Visiting the Temple of Heaven in the Forbidden City, she reflected that during Qing ceremonies, 'the spectacle must have been stupendous'.⁷⁹⁶ The use of the term 'stupendous' echoed ideas put forward by nineteenth-century globetrotters who were themselves drawing on earlier literature, specifically John Barrow's *Travels*

⁷⁹³ Ibid, 88.

⁷⁹⁴ Noriko Kawamura, *Emperor Hirohito and the Pacific War* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 33-44.

⁷⁹⁵ Gilbert, GIL 4/385, ESRO, Kobe, 27 May 1877, 3.

⁷⁹⁶ Lyttelton, *Travelling Days*, 121.

in China (1804).⁷⁹⁷ In an episode both social and political, that belied her avowed status as a mere globetrotter who recorded the superficial, Lyttelton took tea with Chang Kai-shek (1887-1975) then leader of the Republic of China. She recorded that she questioned him closely on women's education and the future of China, noting ultimately that China was politically precarious, 'learning from the West the material conquests of our civilization'.⁷⁹⁸ Lyttelton's account of China relied on the creation of an 'Old' and 'New' China, one that equated authentic Chinese culture with the Qing dynasty and another that applied an imperial gaze in terms of Chinese politics.

In India, Lyttelton privileged the imperial gaze over any other way of seeing the country. Given Lyttelton's regard for Milner and her involvement in the Victoria League, it is unsurprising that her experience of India began not with her arrival which, given her route from Shanghai, would have been in Calcutta. Instead she began her narrative of India at Edwin Lutyens Viceroy's Palace in the relatively new capital of Delhi (chosen after the 1911 Durbar). While globetrotters had consistently situated themselves within the colonial society of India, at the same time they also sought a degree of authentic encounter in the behind the scenes spaces like Kashmir. Lyttelton's itinerary was markedly different, although she noted: 'I did all the usual sightseeing... I went to an Indian R.A.F. display, and a polo match, and assisted at various dinner-parties and evening receptions'.⁷⁹⁹ She confined herself to imperial India. She thus not only

⁷⁹⁷ Peter J. Kitson, "That Mighty Wall, not fabulous/China's stupendous mound!" *Romantic Period Accounts of China's 'Great Wall'*, 249.

⁷⁹⁸ Lyttelton, *Travelling Days*, 166.

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 174-5.

reinforced India's identity as a colonial possession but, unlike earlier globetrotters, did not seek more culturally diverse sites like Benares or Kashmir.

Lyttelton's visit to India in 1929 coincided with the acceleration of Indian nationalism which saw a rise in organised agitation for constitutional reform and would ultimately culminate in independence in 1947.⁸⁰⁰ Expressing her awareness of the political changes in India and seeking to establish a political middle-ground in her narrative, Lyttelton noted: 'the British are so good and kind and sure of their own judgement, the Indians are so clever and sensitive and resentful; and one understands both sides, and how it comes about that a superiority complex is as unhappy as an inferiority complex'.⁸⁰¹ She was given an audience with Mohandas Gandhi in Delhi, noting 'I think the Mahatma is sincere in the belief ...that there was a golden age in India ...but that all this was destroyed by the British is a fantastic myth, and Gandhi can be sincere only if he is ignorant'.⁸⁰² Her characterisation and dismissal of Gandhi's political beliefs undermined her avowed status as tourist and made the lack of commentary on Japanese expansion in Manchuria a disturbing omission. Although employing an imperial gaze, Lyttelton fell back on some of the worst aspects of the globetrotter persona, characterising her views as 'ignorant' and those of a 'tourist' to deflect potential censure from the press and her readership.⁸⁰³

In addition to geopolitical change, Lyttelton's account also marked the gradual alteration of the technological webs of travel that globetrotters had previously exploited. In 1945, as the Second World War drew to a close, these

⁸⁰⁰ Kama Maclean, *A Revolutionary History of Interwar India: Violence, Image, Voice and Text* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015), 2-10.

⁸⁰¹ Lyttelton, *Travelling Days*, 174.

⁸⁰² *Ibid*, 203.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid*, 205.

webs were severely disrupted. That same year, Norman Ford founded the Globetrotters Club in London offering a new alternative for those who joined his venture: 'for a five shilling membership fee, they would receive a monthly newsletter describing how to travel the world at rock bottom cost'.⁸⁰⁴ The club billed its members' travels as 'Adventures in Understanding'.⁸⁰⁵ The globetrotters' gaze engendered by this type of travel emphasised cosmopolitanism incorporating the trope of nostalgia for 'untouched' landscapes; in this case those that did not feature signs of post-war multinationalism, such as 'Coca-Cola' advertisements.⁸⁰⁶

The changes to the networks of travel, particularly the development of air travel in the second half of the twentieth century, meant that globetrotters now took their name from the number of countries they visited over the course of years rather than a single global tour. This development in turn influenced their narrative, which became episodic in nature rather than the cultural comparisons engendered by the experiences of a linear journey. The beginnings of these changes were seen in the first publication from The Globetrotters' Club, *The Globetrotter's Bedside Book* (1949), written by club president Gordon Cooper. The collected essays were not organised around a particular geographical or chronological principle but were thematic in nature. An essay on tea drinking, titled 'A Nice Cup of Tea' chronicled the writer's experiences, as an Englishman in search of the perfect cup of tea in the many countries he had visited. The essay operated from the perspective that the cup of tea, as made in Britain, was

⁸⁰⁴ Norman Ford, 'The Foundation of the Globetrotters Club' <https://globetrotters.co.uk/history-of-the-club/the-foundation-of-the-globetrotters-club.html>, accessed 14 January 2019.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid.

indicative of a cultural superiority and struck a markedly different tone from earlier globetrotters. For example, on tea drinking in Japan, Cooper noted:

The Japanese took the tea-ceremony from the Chinese centuries ago. The Chinese had the idea that spending two hours making tea was an aesthetic exercise knocked out of their heads by the Mongol invaders. But the Mongols never reached Japan where the tea-ceremony became more and more elaborate and less related to a good cup of tea....my experience of the much boosted Japanese tea-ceremony was that it would be kinder to the fair name of tea to use hot water only!⁸⁰⁷

The result was an essay on superfluous cultural difference, with little deeper knowledge that only served to present the globetrotting gaze as one based on experience shorn of introspection or contemplation. Cooper's narrative presented a gaze that noticed difference, but took little affective pleasure in it. Crucially, Cooper's travel experiences did not include an assessment of the transformation of self that was an integral part of the nineteenth century globetrotting experience. The difference between Ford's aims in establishing The Globetrotters Club and Cooper's view promoted in his essays was indicative not only of changes to mid-twentieth century society, but also a struggle to articulate what this reconfigured globetrotting gaze meant.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century a collection of Donald Richie's essays on his own globetrotting focussed exclusively on his experiences of a differentiated East. Richie was an American author whose work focussed on Japanese cinema. From 1959, Richie divided his time between Japan and New York. In *Travels in the East* (2008) Richie's account of India, China and Japan on a series of visits taken over several years was episodic in nature. However, an echo of the voices and experiences of nineteenth-century travellers in their

⁸⁰⁷ Gordon Cooper, *The Globetrotter's Bedside Book* (London: Percival Marshall, 1949), 212-3.

negotiations of the differentiated East, as well as a version of the globetrotter's gaze, was also apparent.

In India, Richie was taken to a 'native market' to experience locally made chapattis, by 'a lady kindly acting as hostess. She was one of the Rays, a prominent and wealthy Calcutta family, and she said she would show me the real India'.⁸⁰⁸ However, Richie noted that he chose to consume the chapattis in their limousine, sending a servant to collect them from the market stall rather than entering the market itself. Instead of aligning himself with the Raj, as earlier globetrotters had done, Richie's own social distinction was conveyed through the combination of consuming culturally authentic signifiers (chapattis) in the company of the Indian elite. In doing this, Richie referenced elements of the imperial gaze employed by globetrotters.

In China, Richie's defining experience was distilled to a single afternoon spent in the Forbidden City gazing on the Temple of Heaven, much as Edith Lyttelton had done. Richie conjectured: 'I do not know if anyone knows history any longer, and so I cannot guess if they might be thinking of processions of crimson and purple, of courts filled with courtiers...I do not know what they might be seeing'.⁸⁰⁹ Lyttelton encountered a China that was in the midst of political upheaval with an ongoing Civil War (1927-1937; 1946-1950). In the postwar period, Chaing Kai Shek retreated to Taiwan in 1949 and Mao Zedong established the People's Republic of China, both laying claim to being the official government of China. Richie's questioning if the Chinese knew 'history any longer', stemmed from the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) which in part sought

⁸⁰⁸ Donald Richie, *Travels in the East*, (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2008), 34.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 61.

to rewrite, and eradicate elements of imperial China.⁸¹⁰ From this vantage point, the gaze that Richie deployed was one that considered the difference between 'old' imperial China and the 'new' China. By questioning if the Chinese knew of their own history, Richie privileged his own view as an outsider who was more knowledgeable than the 'other'. This can be seen as an imperial perspective using the idea that the west was better able to salvage and preserve the culture of the East.⁸¹¹

Like the publications produced by nineteenth-century globetrotters, the greatest part of Richie's travel narrative was devoted to Japan. He avoided sites of technology represented by Tokyo and Yokohama, and the war memorials of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Richie chose instead to evoke Old Japan as his iteration of authentic Japan. In his account, he presented his first encounter with Japanese culture in a stone garden in Kyoto:

Since the garden does not change and since its aspect is forever the same, it becomes something to be relied upon. It gives rest and peace and demands nothing. Friends die, empires fall, but it remains. You might see it in youth, in middle age, when old – and it would be the single sight that remained the same. You would have changed, but not it.⁸¹²

His narrative was based on an idealised and unchanged 'Old Japan'. He epitomized this view through two key sites, the garden in Kyoto, and the towns and villages of the Satsuma Peninsula, a place he characterised as representative of the 'simplicity of old Japan'.⁸¹³ The imagery Richie used to evoke Old Japan was that of the Samurai and Saigo Takamori (1828-1877) a samurai who led the Meiji Restoration and thereby both politically and socially straddled both 'Old'

⁸¹⁰ Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 602-9.

⁸¹¹ Pinney, *Camera Indica*, 56.

⁸¹² Richie, *Travels in the East*, 154.

⁸¹³ *Ibid*, 155.

and 'New' Japan.⁸¹⁴ Takamori initially opposed the construction of the railways, with their focus on internal development, favouring military modernisation and expansion to Korea. He was a member of the Daijo-kan but resigned after disagreement over this point with government ministers. He retired to Kagoshima on the Satsuma Peninsula and opened a private school for military training which was a magnet to displaced, disaffected samurai. In 1877 Kagoshima became part of a wider samurai rebellion against the Meiji government. Although not initially involved, Takamori led his students in a final battle resulting in his death and an end to the political and military dominance of the samurai. Carew Davies Gilbert in part recorded these events during his travels through Japan in 1877.⁸¹⁵ It is here that the globetrotters' legacies are clearest: to characterise and differentiate Japan from India and China, Richie drew on a trope of 'Old Japan' itself deployed by nineteenth-century travellers, yet to construct this he referenced individuals like Saigo Takamori who for globetrotters represented a world in flux.

Christine Guth wrote that 'then as now, authenticity is a site of struggle in the name of different agendas and ideologies, one that involves constant mediation between the forces of loss and recovery'.⁸¹⁶ The echoes of the voices, itineraries and experiences of nineteenth-century globetrotters are present in the writings of present-day travellers, inherent in the search for the authentic experience and the social distinction conferred by world travels and the cosmopolitan gaze. Their legacy is that they continue to shape our perceptions

⁸¹⁴ Charles L. Yates, 'Saigo Takamori in the Emergence of Meiji Japan', *Modern Asian Studies*, 28 (1994), 449-474.

⁸¹⁵ Gilbert, GIL 4/385, ESRO, Kobe, 27 May 1877, 3.

⁸¹⁶ Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos*, 202.

of the world and the East as current writers incorporate old ways of seeing to attain their own personal transformation through travel.

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