

Adventure, Empire and Representation in the Writings of
British Professional Adventurers, c. 1880-1914

Devin Lorraine Dattan

PhD

University of York

History

September 2018

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of the representation of people and landscapes in the adventure accounts of British professional adventurers between 1880 and 1914. It begins with the premise that adventure and accounts of it, both factual and fictional, occupied an important position in British society during this period and that adventure accounts have the potential to develop current understanding of this period of imperial history.

It is divided into three sections. The first is a biographical case study of two professional adventurers, E. F. Knight and A. H. Savage Landor. It examines their lives and careers to develop an understanding of adventure account and of the active role these individuals took in fashioning their identities. The works of these two individuals – both overlooked in the existing literature despite their contemporary prominence – provide the core source base for the thesis.

The second section examines representations of people in the adventure accounts. The first chapter looks at representations of the adventurous male. It argues that the masculine ideal conveyed by the professional adventurers was one that combined elements of martial and domestic masculinities. Indigenous servants are the focus of the following chapter. It argues that the circumstances under which the professional adventurers operated had an impact on how they depicted their relationships with their primary indigenous servants.

The final section looks at representations of landscape. The first chapter in this section examines the effect of using aesthetic language, notably concepts of the picturesque and the sublime, to describe imperial landscapes. It argues in part that employing aesthetic language allowed the professional adventurer to assert his authority as an eyewitness. The final chapter moves from the aesthetic to the economic. It explores how economic language was used to familiarise audiences with imperial landscapes, making them more accessible and inviting.

List of Contents

Abstract	2	
List of Contents	3	
List of Figures	5	
Acknowledgements	6	
Author's Declaration	7	
Introduction		8
Reading Adventure	21	
Empire	29	
Masculinity	35	
The Professional Adventurer	37	
Chapter 1: Biographical Case Studies		48
E. F. Knight	51	
A. H. Savage Landor	57	
Why did they vanish?	65	
Writings	68	
Self-Fashioning	72	
Fame and Celebrity	85	
Independence	93	
Conclusions	97	
Chapter 2: Adventurous Males		98
Masculine Ideals	102	
Community	115	
Negative Portrayals	132	
Conclusions	135	
Chapter 3: Adventurers and their Primary Servants		137
Differences of Experience	139	
The Dominant Narrative	146	
Homogenisation in the Travel Account	152	
Mutual Reliance and Power Sharing	155	

Innate Superiority	160
Return to the Metropole	170
Conclusions	179
Chapter 4: Aesthetic Landscape	180
South America	185
North Western Frontier of British India	195
Sudan	204
Conclusions	211
Chapter 5: Economic Landscape	212
Potential	221
Morality of Investment	231
Appeal to Scientific and Literary Authority	238
Comparisons	243
Conclusions	254
Conclusion	255
Bibliography	264

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Frontispiece of *The Awakening of Turkey: A History of the Turkish Revolution* 91
- Figure 2: Frontispiece of *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* 92
- Figure 3: Savage Landor and Chanden Sing from *Everywhere: the Memoirs of an Explorer* 178

Acknowledgements

My sincerest thanks go to my supervisor Geoff Cubitt and to Joanna de Groot. Apart from all the support they have given me, they have taught me when to fight for my ideas and when to accept criticism. I would also like to thank the Neurology team at York Hospital for all they have done for me over the last three years.

Thank you to my Mom, whose faith in me has been unwavering, even when I had very little faith in myself. Thanks also to my sisters Gretta and Fiona for their support and enthusiasm – your passion for your own subjects has helped rekindle mine when it has been flagging. And of course, to Ben. It is difficult to put into words how much your patience, love, and support have meant to me.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. The work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Introduction

I have, on more than one occasion found, when I have left England for some unknown and supposed dangerous country, that as I gradually neared it the reports and accounts of the perils of that land became less and less alarming. For “distance” lends terror as well as enchantment “to the view.”

E. F. Knight, *Albania*¹

The existence of adventure relies on the desire to experience more of the world being stronger than the fear of the new and unknown. While an individual’s adventurous experiences can satisfy those desires and allay their fears, the stories they bring home have the power to shape the perceptions of those who stayed behind. Thus, these stories contribute to that enchantment or terror, as the returning adventurer sees fit. Our understanding of those parts of the world and experiences of which we have no personal knowledge is composed of representations rather than reality and those representations are themselves profoundly shaped by the lives of their authors and the cultures of which they were a product.

While working on my MA dissertation on the hut cultures that developed during the golden age of Antarctic exploration, the reading material of the explorers provided a valuable source.² Reading what they had read seemed like a way to better understand the communities that formed during those long, dark winters. One that captured my attention was a book of travel that contained such ‘a fascinating description’ of a small island off the coast of Brazil that it had inspired Robert Falcon Scott to alter course and spend a day exploring it on his way to Antarctica.³ If E. F. Knight’s *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’* had been interesting enough to merit a national expedition making a detour on its way to Antarctica, it was probably worth reading. Knight’s ability to craft enchanting visions had enraptured audiences, led Scott to a deserted

¹ E. F. Knight, *Albania: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880), 44.

² Devin Dattan, “Comrades in Captivity: An Examination of the Antarctic Hut Communities of the Heroic Age of Polar Exploration,” (MA diss., University of York, 2013).

³ Robert Falcon Scott, *The Voyage of the ‘Discovery’*, vol. 1 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1905), 94.

island, and had now fully captured my attention as well. Victorian adventure accounts have a way of doing that, even more than a century on, when their discoveries and scientific theories are no longer exciting (they are often still shocking, though generally not for the same reasons as they were to contemporaries). Alongside Knight and his accounts, another adventurer, A. H. Savage Landor, particularly through his autobiography *Everywhere*, emerged during my research as a figure deserving of closer attention. These men had been celebrated during their lives, if not as national heroes, at least as individuals worth paying attention to, and yet today they are almost completely unknown outside of certain highly specialised circles. Though I had been drawn in by the how and the why of their disappearance from public consciousness, what became far more intriguing were the questions surrounding the adventure account as a genre. Examining the lives of these men, I realised that there was a subset of adventurers for which there existed no adequate label. The category that I have developed, the ‘professional adventurers’, is an innovative way to describe those individuals who were able to fund their adventures by writing about them, regardless of any other profession that they were associated with. There initially appears to be something contradictory in combining adventure – an activity that suggests freedom, chance, and excitement – with professionalism – a word that calls to mind routine, structure, and training – yet the combination is accurate: these individuals turned the world of adventure into a regular source of profit. The specific nature of this categorisation will be set forth in depth later in this chapter.

The main focus of this project is to understand how the personal adventure narrative contributed to British understandings of empire. During the period from 1880-1914, the British public was exposed to, reminded of, and surrounded by the empire on a regular basis. Though some historians, most notably Bernard Porter, have tried to argue that the empire meant little to the working classes and that popular imperialism was essentially non-existent, these claims require a limited definition of what constituted “empire” to have any validity.⁴ The average working or middle class person may not have had much understanding of the political manoeuvrings, legislation or economic factors shaping Britain’s interactions with its colonies or have had first-hand experience of life outside of Britain, but the empire still coloured their lives. All levels of British culture of the period were steeped in empire: images of India, Africa, and

⁴ See in particular Bernard Porter, *Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

the settler colonies appeared in advertising and newspaper articles; on picture postcards, panorama shows, and paintings; and in novels, serials, and travelogues ranging from cheap penny-dreadfuls to costly illustrated tomes.⁵ With regard to popular imperialism, John M. Mackenzie has argued that we must not

concentrate too much on these imperial climacterics [such as the public displays surrounding the death of Gordon or the lifting of the siege of Mafeking], popular reactions to specific events, dramatic displays of chauvinistic emotion. These were merely the surface ripples, occasionally whipped up into storms, of a much deeper intellectual and social current.⁶

I would add that it is equally necessary to look beyond the heroic figures of empire – beyond the Livingstones and Gordons – to the peripheral adventurers whose work satisfied public interest in the wider world in the interludes between those major climacterics. The Royal Geographic Society (RGS) produced a monthly record of all new geographical publications that highlights the sheer volume of accounts: for example, in November 1898, the month that Sven Hedin's *Through Asia* was published, alongside it in the section on Asia there were also two accounts of travel through China, one on Manchuria, and one on Tibet as well as over a dozen reports and articles on geographic, scientific and economic topics relating to the continent. This issue also listed accounts of three expeditions in Africa, two from South America, six biographies of individuals involved in some way in exploration and numerous ethnographic, economic, and political reports.⁷ Some of these materials were obviously intended for limited, specialised audiences but many were aimed at a more general readership. The works of professional adventurers like Knight and Savage Landor contributed to that 'deeper intellectual and social current' that MacKenzie describes; they were, in fact, in a large part responsible for its maintenance, ensuring that there was always a new adventure in the lulls between the imperial

⁵ John M. MacKenzie and John McAleer, "Introduction: Cultures of Display and the British Empire," in *Exhibiting Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire*, eds. John McAleer and John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 1, 11-12. MacKenzie's work, as both an author and as the long-time editor of the Manchester University Press' Studies in Imperialism series, has had a profound effect on the field of imperial history.

⁶ John M. MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 3.

⁷ Hugh Robert Mill, "Geographical Literature of the Month," *The Geographical Journal* 12, no. 5 (Nov., 1898): 539-541.

storms. While the accounts of explorers have long been a focus of research and adventure fiction has begun to receive serious scholarly attention, the adventure account has yet to be examined as a genre in its own right. This thesis argues that these personal accounts of travels in the wilder corners of the wider world, though closely related to many of the other forms of imperial representation, are worth considering in their own right.

Stemming from this is the question of how these adventure narratives complicate or reinforce current understandings of how the British Empire was represented. Though similar in many ways to, and in some cases overlapping with, exploration accounts, scientific reports, and adventure fiction, the personal adventure account was a unique genre. The lack of an overarching goal – be it scientific, geographic, or political – and the relative isolation of the adventurer separate the adventure account from the exploration story, while the locations travelled to and content of the narrative likewise separate it from the standard travel account. Genre conventions, societal expectations, and publishing contracts all limited how the professional adventurer could portray the people and places of empire while his or her relative independence and self-conception offered opportunities to break with convention. This thesis will suggest that this unique combination of freedom and constraints generated a way of writing about the British Empire that alternately reinforces and subverts our understandings of how the Empire was experienced and represented to metropolitan audiences.

Equally at the heart of this project is the question of adventure itself. Adventure is ultimately an individual act with no productive purpose, in that it is not undertaken with the purpose of producing economic, scientific, or geographical results – though these are often an incidental by-product. As Sylvain Venayre argues, the allure of adventure comes from the fact that in order to be true adventure it must be undertaken for no other purpose except adventure itself.⁸ It is indulged in by a small percentage of the population and goes against the natural drive for self-preservation. Yet adventure occupies a more important cultural space than simple escapism. I would argue that adventure has both an inspirational and aspirational element that can have a profound impact on society. By the turn of the century, Britain was undergoing a crisis of identity. Competition from Germany and the United States threatened its financial and military status while the Second Anglo-Boer War generated fears of racial degeneration. Because

⁸ Sylvain Venayre, *La Gloire de l'Aventure: Genèse d'une Mystique Moderne 1850-1940* (Paris: Aubier, 2002), 236.

he was not there to *do* anything else, the adventurer was able to provide audiences with reassurance that the empire was still capable of producing individuals that possessed the heroic characteristics that had built it in the first place. Studying adventure allows us to see how a society copes with questions of nationalism, identity, and its place in the world. The questions raised in the aftermath of Benedict Allen's *Daily Mail*-funded rescue from Papua New Guinea, as well as the popularity of Levison Wood's adventurous travel documentaries, remind us that adventure still plays a role in society.⁹ Furthermore, the "adventures" of men like Knight (and to a lesser extent Savage Landor) were not so dangerous or expensive so as to be entirely inaccessible to "regular" middle-class men; the inclusion of packing lists, maps, and recommendations allowed their accounts to also be viewed as guidebooks. This accessibility of adventure is thus matched by a cultural desire to participate in adventure; something that manifests today in the multitude of vacation packages marketed as "adventure holidays".¹⁰ However, Daniel Boorstin's cynical description of "adventure" as 'the blandest and emptiest word in the language' which has been degraded to mean 'a contrived experience someone is trying to sell us' is excessively cantankerous and short-sighted.¹¹ It is true that "adventure" has become a popular advertising buzzword but this is due in part to the emotional power it possesses; "adventure" would not sell if it did not still maintain its cultural resonance. Throughout this project I will argue that the allure of adventure gave it greater power, relative to other forms of empire writing, to shape conceptions of the world.

⁹ On Benedict Allen see: Matthew Weaver "Explorer Benedict Allen: 'I was not lost and did not need to be rescued'," *Guardian*, November 21, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/nov/21/explorer-benedict-allen-i-was-not-lost-and-did-not-need-to-be-rescued>; and Afua Hirsch, "Benedict Allen coverage shows the UK media is stuck in the era of empire," *Guardian*, November 19, 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/media/media-blog/2017/nov/19/uk-media-should-stop-peddling-colonial-era-narratives>. Levison Wood's three series averaged over 2 million viewers for each episode and were consistently in the top ten programmes on Channel 4, according to data from Broadcasters' Audience Research Board, which can be generated here: <https://www.barb.co.uk/viewing-data/monthly-top-30/>.

¹⁰ There is an entire section of the travel market dedicated to adventure travel that offer packaged treks around the world. The company names— Dragoman Overland Travel, Explore!, KE Adventure Travel, Another World Adventures to name just a few—take advantage of the emotiveness of the language of adventure.

¹¹ Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 77-78. The company names noted above may give some credence to his argument about the crass commercialisation of adventure.

With these questions in mind, this project is divided into two sections, reflecting the two analytical modes employed. The first is a closely focused examination of two professional adventurers while the second is a broader exploration of the position of the adventurous male in the creation of societal conceptions of the empire. This approach makes it possible to better understand not only *how* the world was being written about, but also *why* – to understand what contributed to the professional adventurers' choices surrounding style and narrative content. While knowledge of the author is not essential for analysing and appreciating the work of a professional adventurer, it does make it possible to develop a more nuanced understanding of their works and more fully situate them within a social context.

Chapter One, then, is a case study of two individuals who built their lives around adventure, E. F. Knight and A. H. Savage Landor. This section will begin by providing a brief biography of each man focusing on the creation and reception of their works. Contrasting Knight and Savage Landor's adherence to generic conventions in the field of adventure writing provides insight into the cultural expectations surrounding the adventurous male. This section culminates in an examination of how Knight and Savage Landor represented themselves to the public in their written accounts, with a particular focus on the issue of fame and celebrity. It will focus in part on what is kept private thus further developing the argument that to be an adventurer was an identity that was chosen and constructed, though often under a different title. It will also address the notion of independence and how it relates to the adventurous male's identity, despite having little basis in the reality of his life and work.

Moving from the study of the professional adventurer as individual, the second section deconstructs their representations of the people and places that feature in the adventure accounts. There are two chapters examining the representations of people. They are arranged in order of the extent of the interaction and apparent familiarity with those described. The first chapter in this section looks at the other adventurous males with whom the author-adventurer interacts. The second deals with the indigenous guides and servants that facilitated the professional adventurer's travels. It argues that the isolation of the professional adventurer from other western contact and its power and subsequent reliance on these individuals and their local knowledge resulted in a form of representation that reflected the essential nature of their work.

Chapters Four and Five deal with representations of landscape. The first chapter discusses aesthetic descriptions of landscape, arguing in part that notions of the picturesque and

the sublime shaped how the wider world was viewed and recorded. The use of literary references will be shown to be integral to aesthetic landscape descriptions. It then moves to economic descriptions, showing how the professional adventurer used the adventure narrative to promote economic investment and emigration. This was done by emphasising the similarities between imperial landscapes and Britain, and by casting these spaces as ones of great potential, the neglect of which by indigenous peoples is presented as a moral issue. As with the preceding chapter, it demonstrates how the professional adventurer used the writings of scientific authorities to assert their own authority.

The core materials examined in this project are published adventure accounts and autobiographies. As the focus is primarily on how the imperial world was represented to Victorian audiences rather than on the lived experience of the professional adventurer, the published adventure accounts are the most valuable source. Book reviews and serialised versions of accounts provide supporting evidence. Where possible, archival material relating to Knight and Savage Landor has been consulted, but sadly neither man left a strong archival presence. This absence has been partially addressed by the use of archival materials relating to other adventurous males whose work forms a part of this project, such as correspondence and publishing documents. Though obviously not a substitute, these documents provide some additional context and insight. There has been a conscious effort to avoid relying on the works of prominent explorers and adventurers where possible; their accounts are obviously of great value and have been put to good use by many academics but there is a tendency to focus on a single text to the point where it appears to have existed in isolation, when at the time of their production they were actually one among many. A notable example of this trend is the use of Winston Churchill's *The River War* as the primary account of the Sudan campaigns, though he himself acknowledged that he relied heavily on the accounts of other correspondents and officers, due to not arriving in the Sudan until the final phase of the war.¹² The concept put forth by Ranajit Guha in his article "The Small Voice of History" of "stutters" in the historical narrative is particularly relevant to this thesis. As Guha explains, the dominant historical narrative is composed of a hegemonic discourse of history and that one must choose 'to try and relate to the past by listening to and conversing with the myriad voices in civil society. These are small

¹² Winston Churchill, *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*, vol 1. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1899),vii-viii, xi.

voices which are drowned in the noise of statist commands'.¹³ The “small voices” that Guha is writing on are those of indigenous peoples and disadvantaged groups but it is a concept that may also be applied to those authors and texts that are largely disregarded by scholars in favour of a standardised canon of individuals and their works. Equating the systematic silencing of marginalised groups by those with the power to shape the historical narrative with the lack of attention paid to minor imperial figures is by no means my intention, that is a far more profound loss that we have a responsibility to address. The basic idea, however, that the smooth flow of historical narratives is an illusion that can be disturbed by consulting a greater variety of sources, is applicable more generally. Joseph Boone has already taken this concept and applied it to travel narratives, writing that ‘the historical specificity of individual accounts of travel can reveal incongruous elements – the “stutters” of the archive in Stoler’s phrase – that complicate one-dimensional narratives’.¹⁴ The professional adventurers are among the small voices causing the narrative to stutter. Though they rarely challenge dominant narratives outright, they present enough important moments of difference and complication as to aid in the development of a more complete understanding of empire and society in the nineteenth century.

Andrew Griffiths has recently attempted to address many of the same questions this project is raising in his work on the relationship between special correspondents, New Imperialism, and empire fiction. However, his work is largely focused on Churchill and is reliant on the same source material as most of the other work done on this area, seriously limiting his ability to make an innovative contribution.¹⁵ Jamie Bruce Lockhart has undertaken a similar project of bringing largely forgotten voices to light, using the explorer Hugh Clapperton’s manuscript accounts of the 1822-25 Borno Mission to garner ‘observations on incidents, places and individuals, and contemporary life not remarked upon in published accounts’ and for ‘a different angle on those published accounts, providing a fresh perspective on the routines of

¹³ Ranajit Guha, “The Small Voices of History,” in *Subaltern Studies IX: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, ed. Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3.

¹⁴ Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 28. Boone appears to have misattributed Guha’s concept to Ann Laura Stoler.

¹⁵ Andrew Griffiths, *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism, and the Fiction of Empire, 1870-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

travel'.¹⁶ His focus on Hugh Clapperton has extended past this early expedition to all of Clapperton's writings, allowing scholars to develop a better understanding of early nineteenth century exploration in Africa.¹⁷ As Lockhart's work has shown, in order to discover the wider trends and influences of the adventure account on British society, it is necessary to look beyond the handful of individuals who have come to dominate research thus far.

Adventure accounts were not read in isolation; they appeared alongside novels, serials, and short stories and shared locations, antagonists and inspirations. Fictional accounts of adventure contextualise the adventure accounts and make it possible to see the interrelation between these forms of literature. In certain instances, the connections between novel and adventure account are possible to trace directly: Arthur Conan Doyle's *Tragedy of the Korosko* was written after his time with Knight and war correspondent Frank Scudamore in the Sudan and, as will be discussed in the following chapter, H. Rider Haggard incorporated elements from Knight's *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* into *Allan Quatermain*. In other cases, there are no explicit ties between novel and adventure account but the cultural imaginary that shaped the novel was itself partly a product of the popular adventure accounts of the day. Examining fictional accounts in order to develop a better understanding of imperial realities can be an effective approach for areas where little archival material exists, as demonstrated by Stephanie Newell's work on the novels written by palm oil traders during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As she writes, these under-examined works 'reveal the ways British popular genres could be expanded and filled with alternative interpretations of imperialism'.¹⁸ This is also true of the accounts of the professional adventurers.

In order to take full advantage of the variety of material available and to better reflect the nature of the professional adventurer's work, three representative regional case studies have been selected that will be referred to in each chapter: South America, the North Western frontiers of the British Empire in India, and the Sudan. The three regions are all represented in the works of Knight and Savage Landor, though Savage Landor's travel in the Sudan was brief and occurred

¹⁶ Jamie Bruce Lockhart, "In the Raw: Some Reflections on Transcribing and Editing Lieutenant Hugh Clapperton's Writings on the Borno Mission of 1822-25," *History in Africa* 26 (1999): 160.

¹⁷ This work has culminated in his biography of Clapperton: *A Sailor in the Sahara: the life and travels of Hugh Clapperton, Commander RN* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

¹⁸ Stephanie Newell, "Dirty Whites: "Ruffian-Writing" in Colonial West Africa," *Research in African Literatures* 39, no. 4 (Winter, 2008): 2.

after the Anglo-Sudanese war. These were all popular destinations for adventurers and with audiences, ensuring the publication of a multitude of personal accounts. Examining sources from a number of locations allows for comparisons to be made and ensures that a mode of representation is not limited to a specific locale, and that when it is those regional differences can be investigated in greater depth. On a geographical level, these three regions contain three of the five primary adventurous terrains: the desert, the jungle, and the mountains. A fourth, the ocean, is represented in Knight's travel to and from South America. The isolation and rigours of the fifth adventurous territory, the polar regions, are unique because of the sparseness (or nonexistence) of a human population and because they required a more specialised skill set. As such, polar explorers were less likely to participate in adventurous travel in other regions and vice versa with the obvious exception of the oceanic travel required to reach their destinations. These three case studies also make it possible to examine how the different types of adventure undertaken related to the contemporary political and military situations under which it was undertaken. Peacetime expeditions are represented by South American travel, while the Sudan provides the ground for war-related expeditions, most notably through the work of the war correspondents. The North Western frontier of British India was an amorphous space that shifted throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century as the Gilgit Agency was established and engaged in a series of conflicts with surrounding kingdoms. The North West Frontier Province, established in 1901, covered much of this frontier but the wider designation also includes Ladakh and Kashmir, as these two regions were on the fringes of British authority (and were popular destinations for professional adventurers). This region includes both types of adventure, as many of the so-called "small wars" of empire were fought in the region but these were short-term conflicts that rarely dominated the entirety of an adventure narrative. The political and economic relationships between Great Britain and each of these regions during the second half of the nineteenth century are equally varied. Most of South America, and particularly Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, fell within the "informal" British Empire – those areas where Britain exerted significant economic influence without equivalent political control.¹⁹ By investing in key

¹⁹ Fa-Ti Fan, "Victorian Naturalists in China: Science and Informal Empire," *British Journal for the History of Science* 36, no. 1 (Mar., 2003): 3. See also: David McLean, *War Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836-1856* (London: British Academic Press, 1995); Matthew Brown, ed., *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital* (Oxford:

industries and infrastructure British companies were able to wield a significant amount of political control in spite of the nominal independence of these countries. In the case of the young South American republics this was particularly true as the wars for independence, civil wars, and interstate conflicts made it difficult if not impossible for domestic industry to develop. Ross Forman's assertion that Great Britain's 'excessive influence' over Brazil included the realms of 'mining, coffee production and distribution, shipping, [and] construction (of railroads, sewers, lights, and telegraphs)' highlights the extent to which an imperial power could control the affairs of a country within their informal sphere of influence.²⁰

The political landscape of the Sudan was complicated. The region was first invaded by the Egyptians in 1820, though complete control over it would never be achieved in part due to the power wielded by the slave traders who dominated local politics. In Egypt, the program of rapid modernisation implemented by Khedive Ismail during his reign (1863-1879) bankrupted the country and made it vulnerable to British and French intrusion under the guise of helping the state manage its finances with the establishment of the Caisse de la Dette. Despite its status as a satellite of the Ottoman Empire, Egypt became an unofficial British colony, the so-called 'veiled protectorate', following the attempted revolt led by Egyptian Army officer Urabi Pasha in 1881-82. The Egyptian Army was dismantled and reorganised under the British Agent. This period of upheaval in Egypt created the perfect conditions for the rise of a religious leader who hoped to liberate the Sudan from Egyptian, Turkish and Western control. Muhammad Ahmed, known as the Mahdi, began an armed uprising that rapidly spread along the Nile and east towards the Red Sea. Prior to this, the British presence in the Sudan had been limited to a series of colonial governors – most prominently Charles Gordon and Samuel Baker – who were primarily interested in rationalising the taxation system and combatting the slave trade. The war against the Mahdi, and later against his successor the Khalifa, drew Britain into a series of conflicts between 1884 and 1898, with the British military presence gradually increasing until the defeat of the

Blackwell Publishing, 2008); Robert D. Aguirre, *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

²⁰ Ross G. Forman, "When Britons Brave Brazil: British Imperialism and the Adventure Tale in Latin America, 1850-1918," *Victorian Studies* 42, no. 3 (Spring, 1999-2000): 454.

Khalifa at the Battle of Omdurman. Britain capitalised on their military presence and remained involved in the ruling of the Sudan into the 1950s.²¹

India, the jewel in the crown of the British Empire, had been a relatively stable colony since its seizure by the Crown following the 1857 Indian Uprising. That stability did not extend to the North Western frontiers of the British Empire in India. This region marked the northern extent of British control and its distance from colonial centres of power, lack of infrastructure, and small military presence meant that the control exerted by imperial officials was largely limited to the immediate vicinity of their outposts. The North Western frontiers were a fluid region, extending to include parts of what are now India, Pakistan, Tibet and Afghanistan and retracting when confronted with resistance to encroachment from China and Russia. They thus existed on the edges of British power. Outposts were physically remote and thinly staffed. The area was composed of vassal states and nominally independent principalities and surrounded by Britain's rival empires. The principality of Kashmir and Jammu, for instance, had been sold to Gulab Singh in 1846 and though British officials operated within its borders, a British Resident was not appointed until 1885.²² Other principalities, such as Hunza and Nagar, attempted to remain independent under the protection of the Chinese Empire. A small part of Tibet, including the city of Leh was included in the region known as Ladakh. The level of governmental interest in the frontier region varied in response to external pressures, primarily from the Russian Empire and Afghanistan. The North Western frontiers were the main field of the Great Game, the largely independent and unofficial manoeuvrings of young British and Russian army officers attempting to assert their empire's authority while undermining that of their rival.²³ Fears of Russian expansion and invasion prompted the re-instatement of a Political Agent based in Gilgit in 1889, as well as geographical exploration and survey work to establish boundaries, and an increased

²¹ There are many recent histories of British involvement in the Sudan, see in particular: Fergus Nicoll, *The Mahdi of Sudan and the Death of General Gordon* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004); Alice Moore-Harell, *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya, 1877-1880* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001); Brian Thompson, *Imperial Vanities: The Adventures of the Baker Brothers and Gordon of Khartoum* (London: Harper Collins, 2003).

²² Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 86.

²³ Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 2016), 4-6.

military presence in the region.²⁴ Drawing on adventure accounts from across these three regions makes it more apparent when modes of representation were linked with specific circumstances and when they were in common usage. It also reflects the outlook of the professional adventurers, who drew on their experiences in one part of the world to better explain the people and landscapes of another. Therefore, while each adventure account may offer a discrete narrative, it is informed by the prior experiences of its author, a phenomenon which becomes more apparent when examined through a comparative framework.

The period 1880-1914 has been chosen because those years are marked by a particular convergence of factors that contributed to the prevalence and popularity of adventure writing: the high point of Victorian imperial expansion, a series of small imperial wars, and the golden age of war correspondence. The years from 1880-1914 have been categorised as the age of New or High Imperialism, a phase in British imperial history defined by the rapid seizure of territory in aggressive competition with other imperial powers.²⁵ The Scramble for Africa and the Berlin Conference are representative of this phase of imperialism. Expansion and competition opened new areas to British exploration and travel and increased public interest in the peripheries of empire, particularly lands either recently acquired or on the verge of acquisition. Despite the aura of peace and stability known as the Pax Britannica that surrounded the late Victorian period, these decades saw nearly constant warfare in the colonies as indigenous peoples attempted to assert themselves and retain some control over the land.²⁶ The majority of these conflicts were of relatively short duration and saw few British casualties, making it easy for them to be presented to the public as exciting displays of Western superiority. Professional adventurers could meander in and out of conflicts and use them as little more than dramatic interludes in their narratives. The Crimean War is generally accepted as the start of modern war reporting and the developments in communication and print technology that followed shortly after – most

²⁴ Although not the most recent scholarship, John Keay's *The Gilgit Game: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas, 1865-95* (London: John Murray, 1979) provides a good look at the personalities involved. For more recent histories, see: Türkkaya Ataöv, *Kashmir and Neighbours: Tale, Terror, Truce* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) and Kabir, *Territory of Desire*.

²⁵ Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, "Empire and Globalisation: from 'High Imperialism' to Decolonisation," *The International History Review* 36, no. 1 (2014): 144.

²⁶ Muriel E. Chamberlain, *'Pax Britannica'?: British Foreign Policy 1789-1914* (London: Longman, 1988), 9.

importantly the telegraph, transatlantic cable, rotary press, and portable still and film cameras – heralded the so-called Golden Age of war reporting.²⁷ The formalisation of press censorship by the military and the sheer scale of the First World War in terms of both casualties and area covered made it impossible for a single correspondent to cover anything more than a tiny fraction of a battle and required a new impersonal style of reportage. On a cultural level, the horrors of the First World War also altered public tastes in adventure and war writing. The jocular triumphalism of Golden Age war reporting, as Phillip Knightley has noted, was a style that supported ‘the illusion that it was all a thrilling adventure story’ which was not suitable for the realities of the First World War.²⁸ Even if this had not been the case, the correspondents and adventurers who had perfected this style had largely retired or died by the outbreak of the war. The careers of Knight and Savage Landor spanned the decades central to this study (Knight’s began in the 1880s and Savage Landor’s in the 1890s with both continuing into the 1910s) and provide a vast range of regional variety, while their ability to command publishing agreements ensured that their accounts had the ability to reach wider audiences and were preserved. In addition, their autobiographies, written in 1923 and 1924, respectively, allowed them to reflect on and re-evaluate the period.

Reading Adventure

What Carl Thompson terms the genre of ‘Voyages and Travels’ has become an increasingly popular field of study in recent years.²⁹ It is a broad category that encompasses both fiction and nonfiction texts and while the first-person travel account is the typical form assigned to travel writing, Mary Louise Pratt asserts that it in fact includes materials as varied as ‘letters, reports, survival tales, civic description, navigational narrative, monsters and marvels, medicinal

²⁷ Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (New York: Andre Deutsch, 1975), 42.

²⁸ Knightley, *First Casualty*, 62.

²⁹ Carl Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 13.

treatises, academic polemics' in addition to the manuscript, edited, and abridged versions of travel accounts.³⁰ Other nonfiction forms of writing within this genre that were popular during the nineteenth century are the exploration anthology, the guide book and the travelogue. Voyages and Travels fiction included novels for adults and children, poetic travels, and penny dreadful and other magazine stories. From Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1599-1600), to Blackwood's *Travel, Adventure, and Sport* series (1889-1890), and collections of the present day, such as Nicholas Murray's *A Corkscrew is Most Useful: The Travellers of Empire* (2009), the anthology of expeditions has remained a popular form of adventure literature. They are more encyclopaedic than the adventure accounts they compile, written by an editor with excerpts woven in that reflect a contemporary audience's interests rather than those of the original publications. Moving from adventure to travel and tourism, the guidebook emerged as an essential (though oft derided) subgenre. Publishers Baedeker and Murray began releasing guidebooks in the 1830s, with guides for travellers to Europe, and rapidly expanded their series to include popular destinations such as Egypt (Murray 1847, Baedeker 1878) and Syria and Palestine (Murray 1858, Baedeker 1876).³¹ The recounting of one's own adventurous travel should be seen as a distinct category within the genre. It is similar in form and content to the exploration account, but distinct from it due to the purpose, organisation, and nature of the expeditions undertaken; the distinction between the explorer and the adventurer will be addressed in detail further on. Glen Hooper and Tim Youngs present the standard definition of travel writing as 'a factual, first-person account of a journey undertaken by the author' but also note that 'much of what has been routinely accepted as 'truth' is in fact an amalgam of the historical, antiquarian and aesthetic jottings of many others'; in the case of the adventure account this is particularly true as confirming the veracity of an adventurer's exploits is nearly impossible.³² This thesis thus utilises the following working definition of an adventure account: a first-person narrative based on personal experiences and presented as non-fiction that recounts a journey through a region which is not yet frequented by travellers but has been visited

³⁰ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 23.

³¹ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 85.

³² Glen Hooper and Tim Youngs, introduction to *Perspectives on Travel Writing* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 2.

by explorers and that makes an attempt to describe a geographical region and its inhabitants in detail.

Within the study of Voyages and Travels literature, fictional adventure literature, for both children and adults, dominates. The major concerns of much of the scholarship are related to the relationship between this genre and Victorian imperialism and ideals of masculinity and their mutual influence on one another. The majority of recent literary studies, however, have focused on a single author and his works in relation to society, rather than the genre as a whole and though many provide valuable insights into issues of masculinity and imperialism there is considerable scope for more comparative studies.³³ As John Tosh notes, in the case of adventure literature, a ‘handful of iconic literary texts’ are ‘endlessly reinterrogated’, resulting in a field with limited breadth despite its impressive depth.³⁴ The works of Rudyard Kipling, H. Rider Haggard, Joseph Conrad, G. A. Henty and Robert Louis Stevenson make up the bulk of adventure fiction studied and even within that limited pantheon, certain texts from each author have primacy of place. A notable exception to this trend is Patrick Brantlinger’s *Rule of Darkness* which examines the works of Harriet Martineau, William Makepeace Thackeray, Frederick Marryat, and Marcus Clarke alongside those of the aforementioned authors.³⁵ Similarly, Joseph Kestner’s *Masculinities in British Adventure Fiction, 1880-1915* further develops the arguments made around authors like Conrad, Haggard, and Stevenson by examining the works of Erskine Childers, Anthony Hope, and Henry De Vere Stacpoole.³⁶ One of the overarching arguments that has emerged across this body of scholarship is that the adventure

³³ See for example: Diana Barsham, *Arthur Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Wendy R. Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Joseph A. Kestner, *Sherlock’s Men: Masculinities, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997); Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (London: Garland Publishing, 1999); Edward Said, *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); Zohreh T. Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Andrea White, *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

³⁴ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), 2, 8.

³⁵ Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

³⁶ Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in British Adventure Fiction, 1880-1915* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

literature aimed at boys glorified the Empire and the work of imperialism and, alongside the public schools and quasi-military organisations like the Scouts, inculcated a belief that the protection and maintenance of the British Empire were essential.³⁷ The importance of adventure literature, then, stems from the fact that ‘men do not easily forget an early devotion’ to the stories of their youth and ‘when men do forget that devotion it still continues to mould their minds’.³⁸ To similar effect, most authors of adventure literature acknowledged the cross-generational appeal of their works; most famously, Haggard dedicated *King Solomon’s Mines* to ‘all the big boys and little boys who read it’.³⁹

Martin Green’s work remains a valuable source for the study of adventure. Green’s 1991 *Seven Types of Adventure: An Etiology of a Major Genre* offers a classification of the major forms that adventure literature has taken since the early eighteenth century.⁴⁰ While a number of these forms are not relevant for the purpose of this project, elements of the Frontiersman, the Robinson Crusoe, and the Wanderer type all appear to some extent in the adventure accounts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As defined by Green, the Frontiersman story is one in which there is a ‘hero who moved between civilization and savagery, in touch with but ahead of countrymen as they advance their civilization’; the Robinson Crusoe involves a castaway who ‘gradually learns to survive’; and the Wanderer story is one involving the crossing of boundaries ‘geographical and institutional’ and of the ‘various police and military forces’ involved in protecting those boundaries.⁴¹ *The Adventurous Male: Chapters in the History of the White Male Mind* (1993) builds on the previous text, exploring the influence of adventure fiction on white, British masculinity.⁴² *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (1980) examines the

³⁷ Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man’s World* (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991); Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire*.

³⁸ Martin Green, *The Adventurous Male: Chapters in the History of the White Male Mind* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 150.

³⁹ H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon’s Mines* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 3.

⁴⁰ Martin Green, *Seven Types of Adventure Tale: An Etiology of a Major Genre* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991).

⁴¹ Green, *Seven Types of Adventure Tale*, 97, 48, 122.

⁴² Green, *The Adventurous Male*.

cultural place of the adventure story and argues that adventure was the ‘energizing myth’ of imperialism, the subconscious inspiration for the expansionist drive of the British Empire in the nineteenth century.⁴³ There are of course issues with Green’s work: his insistence on Anglo-American exceptionalism is particularly problematic, preventing any transnational or comparative analysis. Likewise, his belief that adventure literature is at odds with other genres and the educational and literary establishment is needlessly antagonistic and limits his ability to place adventure literature within a social and cultural context.⁴⁴ In spite of these flaws, however, Green’s work provides an essential foundation from which to analyse adventure. Disregarding his belief in Anglo-American exceptionalism in the realm of adventure writing, Green’s contention that the literature of adventure has a far deeper purpose than mere entertainment is one of the main premises of this work.

Existing alongside studies of adventure is the study of the hero in society. The heroic reputation, as defined by Geoffrey Cubitt in the introduction to *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* is not only measured by ‘a high degree of fame and honour, but with a special allocation of imputed meaning and symbolic significance’.⁴⁵ The distinction between the hero and the adventurer is an uneasy one and there is much overlap between the two groups, with many adventurers, such as H. M. Stanley, becoming popular heroes after a certain moment in their career or, conversely, as in the case of Frederick Cook, being “demoted” to mere adventurers after the exposure of some failing. The majority, however, never attained the level of ‘symbolic significance’. Graham Dawson’s *Soldier Heroes* and Beau Riffenburgh’s *Myth of the Explorer* have served as important contributions to understandings of both the creation and the function of the hero in British culture since the nineteenth century. Riffenburgh’s work is particularly relevant as he examines the role of the press in the creation of heroic reputations. His argument that the press played a greater role in ‘increasing knowledge about and interest in the far north’ and the rest of the world than has previously been acknowledged suggests that further research into the lives and works of the professional adventurers, even those who never achieved

⁴³ Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).

⁴⁴ His hatred of Jane Austen’s works borders on the pathological.

⁴⁵ Geoffrey Cubitt, “Introduction: Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives,” in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 3.

heroic status, will provide a means for better understanding the importance of adventure in shaping how British audiences responded to the empire.⁴⁶ However, his use of the term “mercenaries of exploration” to describe those explorers whose expeditions were dictated by funding bodies, such as newspapers, and public interest is rather glib.⁴⁷ It disregards the fact that most explorers and adventurers, save those with vast financial resources, relied to some extent on there being an audience for the eventual published account of their expedition and/or interest from learned societies or governmental agencies in a region, which informed the planning of expeditions. Dawson’s discussion of adventure and how it relates to empire and masculinity foregrounds the psychological and sociological aspects of identity development, demonstrating how the elevation of the soldier or adventurer to heroic status served as ‘a strategy of containment for underlying anxieties and contradictions’ that had to be addressed ‘not only in the public world, but in the masculine relation to the domestic sphere’ as well.⁴⁸ His concept of ‘cultural imaginaries’, ‘those vast networks of interlinking discursive themes, images, motifs and narrative forms that are publicly available within a culture at any one time, and articulate its psychic and social dimensions’ is an effective way of conceptualising the position occupied by the adventure account in the wider societal context of imperial Britain.⁴⁹

The boundaries between fact and fiction in the case of adventure narratives were often vague and permeable. One representative example is the case of E. F. Knight’s *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*; published as a factual narrative of a cruise to South America and up the Parana River. Within a year of its release the book was plagiarised and republished as a fictional serial in a ‘well-known periodical’ and later elements of it were incorporated into novels by Haggard (*Allan Quatermain*, 1887) and Arthur Ransom (*Peter Duck*, 1932), while Knight himself incorporated elements of it in his 1898 novel *A Desperate Voyage*.⁵⁰ A more controversial case was that of

⁴⁶ Beau Riffenburgh, *The Myth of the Explorer: The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery* (London and New York: Belhaven Press, 1993), 197-198.

⁴⁷ Riffenburgh, *Myth of the Explorer*, 111.

⁴⁸ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 76.

⁴⁹ Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 48.

1898's "The Adventures of Louis de Rougemont", the purportedly autobiographical account of de Rougemont's shipwreck and survival on an island off the coast of Australia. Following its publication – and de Rougemont's lionisation by London's geographical elite, which included an invitation to speak at the British Association – it was discovered that the author had plagiarised extensive passages from other accounts of the region and strung them together with an elaborate fictional narrative.⁵¹ A decade later, the rival claims of Frederick Cook and Robert Peary to have been the first to reach the North Pole would expose similar fabrications.⁵² Less dramatically, there was always the additional (and inescapable) question of exaggerations and minor fabrications in otherwise accurate adventure accounts. This was not always intentional; the realities of adventurous travel prevented a coherent narrative from being composed until the author had returned home, sometimes months or years after he or she had initially set out. As Casey Blanton has shown, the very act of transforming diaries and notes into an accepted narrative format resulted in 'a conscious commitment to represent the strange and exotic in ways that both familiarise and distance the foreign; a writerly concern with language and literature; and finally, thematic concerns that go beyond descriptions of people and places visited'.⁵³ The tenuous and shifting relationship with reality is one of the primary reasons for this project's focus on representation. For many of the expeditions examined here, there exists little if any corroborating material, with the notable exceptions, in most cases, of the accounts of war correspondents. For their audiences the representation was, essentially, the reality and when the veracity of that representation was challenged it only served to increase curiosity and interest in the imperial peripheries.

The close relationship between adventure accounts and adventure fiction as well as the frequency with which authors crossed from one genre to the other or drew on their personal

⁵⁰ E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 111; Arthur Ransom, *Peter Duck* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), 67-68, 241, 269; H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 114-116.

⁵¹ Louis de Rougemont, "The Adventures of Louis de Rougemont," *The Wide World Magazine* vol 3, nos. 13-14 (May-Jun., 1898): 1-15, 115-131; "Geography at the British Association Bristol, 1898," *The Geographical Journal* vol. 12, no. 4 (Oct., 1898): 382.

⁵² Robert M. Bryce, *Cook & Peary: The Polar Controversy, Resolved* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997).

⁵³ Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 5.

experiences for their novels renders literary criticism an effective medium through which to analyse these works. The majority of adventure accounts exist as isolated documents, without corroborating (or dissenting) accounts, and in the case of forgotten adventurers like Knight and Savage Landor, without any archived unpublished material such as diaries or letters that would provide further insight into their thoughts and experiences. Whatever the “reality” of their experiences may have been, the adventure account is the only narrative that survives. Thus, it functions similarly to a novel, existing outside of any lived experience. There are limits to this relationship, however, in that the adventure account, unlike the novel, was intended to be read as a factual narrative and was in fact read as such.

Books were not the sole format in which the adventure account appeared. Newspapers and periodicals were a key medium through which the adventurers spoke to their audiences. Professional adventurers acting as special correspondents for a paper built an audience for their eventual book through their despatches to the paper from the field, or through the serialisation of the early chapters of a forthcoming account. Over the course of the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the press in Britain experienced rapid development in response to social and political changes and technological advances. As Mark Hampton, among others, has argued, the repeal of the stamp tax in 1855 drastically reduced the cost of each paper for the publisher, shifting control of the press from the government to the editors and advertisers.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, the invention of the rotary press and linotype machine in 1843 and 1889 exponentially increased the number of copies a publisher could produce for each issue, although the initial purchase costs of the equipment was considerably higher than that of traditional hand presses. Taken together, these changes allowed the mass production of inexpensive newspapers to become a reality and forced papers to compete for readership in order to remain solvent.⁵⁵ Additionally, technological progress made in both the production and reproduction of images shifted how and what is was possible for newspapers and periodicals to illustrate. As prices dropped, circulation increased and the market diversified. In 1896 Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, began printing the *Daily Mail*, the editorial policy of which was derisively described by Prime Minister Lord Salisbury as being ‘written by office boys for office boys’, thus fully ushering in the era of “New

⁵⁴ Mark Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 30, 34.

⁵⁵ Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain*, 34-35.

Journalism”.⁵⁶ New Journalism was marked by such features as interviews, sensational stories, an emphasis on the “story”, and – crucially, for this thesis – by popular imperialism. Its critics laid the blame for jingoism and sensationalism with irresponsible journalists and editors who had forgotten that the purpose of newspapers was education and to “improve” the working classes.⁵⁷ The serialised accounts of the professional adventurers and the reporting on their exploits could be seen as both educational and sensational, ensuring their presence in most daily and weekly papers.

The growth of professionalization across disciplines is also an important aspect of how knowledge was perceived and shared in the nineteenth century. Most commonly considered in relation to the sciences, professionalization resulted in the establishment of firmer boundaries between fields of knowledge and identification with one’s career.⁵⁸ The publishing world was no different. Divisions emerged between literary authors and journalists and within journalism the specialisations of correspondents developed. While the professional adventurers were of course affected by these developments, their work continued to cross the boundaries being imposed.

Empire

With the publication of *Orientalism* in 1978, Edward Said sparked a discussion that has become integral to how scholars approach research on empire. His contention that representations of the Other were informed and reinforced by one another and actually were more a product of the culture in which they originated than that they purported to describe has become central even to historical work and literary criticism beyond the original Middle Eastern

⁵⁶ Hampton, *Visions of the Press in Britain*, 88.

⁵⁷ Mark Hampton, “The Press, Patriotism, and Public Discussion: C. P. Scott, the “Manchester Guardian”, and the Boer War, 1899-1902,” *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (Mar., 2001): 178.

⁵⁸ J. A. Banks, “The Challenge of Popular Culture: Introduction,” in *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, ed. Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), 205; Lucille H. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 79-80.

context.⁵⁹ *Orientalism* is a foundational text that reshaped how critics read the relationship between the West and the rest of the world. His concept has been used as a framework for research into all aspects of the colonial and post-colonial experience; these include more traditional elements such as race, class, art and travel writing, as well as more niche topics like homoeroticism, fashion, pop culture and technology.⁶⁰ Said's argument in *Culture and Imperialism* that 'empire was a major topic of unembarrassed cultural attention' that played an 'inestimable rol[e] in the imagination, economy, political life, and social fabric' of British society is central to understanding the popularity and influence of works like the adventure accounts as it suggests that works on imperial topics, especially those geared to more general readership, were able to find large audiences across class boundaries.⁶¹ Challenges to Said's work began with its publication and have continued steadily in the years since. Some have raised important questions regarding his use of primary source material and have served to create a more nuanced approach to orientalism, rather than undermine it. The most salient aspect of orientalism in this thesis is the constructed nature of representations of both the human and natural Other. The "reality" of the professional adventurers' experiences matters less than what was recorded and conveyed because these public impressions provide insight not only into the world at large but also into how that world was understood and experienced.

In recent decades, the framework of orientalism has been used to explore representations of regions beyond the Middle East. The question of whether or not an 'Occidentalism' exists that grew out of 'a natural reaction of the people of the Orient to the host of stereotypes and (mis)representations which were created and propagated by some Orientalists' has been raised and suggests that the stereotyping inherent in creating an Other is a response that crosses ethnic

⁵⁹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 12.

⁶⁰ Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Gerard Cohen-Vrignaud, *Radical Orientalism: Rights, Reform, and Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Ian Richard Netton, *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage* (London: Routledge, 2013); Joseph Allen Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Adam Geczy, *Fashion and Orientalism: Dress, Textiles and Culture from the 17th to the 21st Century* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013); Jane Iwamura, *Virtual Orientalism: Asian Religions and American Popular Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); David S. Roh, Betsy Huang, and Greta A. Niu, eds., *Techno-Orientalism: Imagining Asia in Speculative Fiction, History, and Media* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

⁶¹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage Books, 1994), 8.

and cultural boundaries.⁶² The plurality of ‘orientalisms’ is an important complication raised by Andrew Hammond. His argument is that subsuming all Others under one frame of reference is itself a form of orientalism, as it masks subtle differences in how Westerners conceptualise of various peoples. His work uses the Balkans as an example, but his primary argument – that it is a question of ‘orientalisms’ rather than a single conceptual framework that applies equally to all non-Western peoples – can be applied to other imperial situations.⁶³ The ways in which professional adventurers represent the indigenous peoples of the world follow the same general format but within each there are unique elements, based on cultural assumptions, racial hierarchies, and personal experiences. This is especially apparent in writings on South America, as within the othering of the continent’s population, distinctions are made between those of European descent, natives, and descendants of slaves. The field of subaltern studies further challenges Said’s work, reorienting the focus from the political and the elite to the “‘small voice’ of history’ with its ‘fragmentary narratives, indicative of lifeworlds and subjectivities regarded as constituents of an alternative history’.”⁶⁴ Though Gayatri Spivak’s influential “Can the Subaltern Speak?” concluded that the subaltern experience could not be represented outside of the dominant discourse, the field as a whole has raised important questions concerning the agency and subjectivity of the Other.⁶⁵ In the context of the adventure accounts, both subaltern studies and orientalism provide frameworks for better understanding how indigenous people (in particular) and imperial landscapes were conceived of by the professional adventurers and how that contributed to their representations of them.

In her seminal work on travel writing and representation, Mary Louise Pratt makes a convincing argument for the dynamism of transcultural exchanges in the ‘contact zone’, that

⁶² Zahia Smail Salhi, “The Maghreb and the Occident: towards the construction of an Occidental discourse,” in *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, ed. Ian Richard Netton (London: Routledge, 2013), 255.

⁶³ Andrew Hammond, “Typologies of the East: on Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism,” *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, nos. 2-3 (June/Sept., 2007): 201-218.

⁶⁴ Shail Mayaram, “Subaltern,” in *Concepts in Modern Indian Studies*, eds. Gita Dharampal-Frick, Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach, Rachel Dwyer, Jahnvi Phalkey (New York: NYU Press, 2015), 260.

⁶⁵ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 271-313.

liminal space where the Other is encountered.⁶⁶ She argues that codified ways of seeing alongside generic conventions contributed greatly to how the world, in the case of her work, South America, was represented in travel accounts.⁶⁷ Simon Ryan's work on mapping similarly argues that Western forms of knowledge controlled how the rest of the world was viewed and therefore understood.⁶⁸ Felix Driver, in his work on imperial geography, makes a similar argument but adds that the Western viewpoint was multifaceted, rather than monolithic as the 'imperial mind' was shaped by 'a constellation of interests', with governmental agencies and learned societies having the greatest influence.⁶⁹ All of these scholars provide valuable insights into the role of established scientific and literary modes of seeing in shaping the production of knowledge about the imperial world.

The jungle occupied a prominent place in the imaginations of mid to late nineteenth-century audiences. David Arnold's work on the British understanding of the tropics as being based on a mediated imagining rather than on the physical realities of a large percentage of the globe provides a solid foundation for examinations of how metropolitan visions of place are created and the consequences of these 'imagined landscapes'.⁷⁰ While each region of the empire had its own associated tropes, there were general aesthetic approaches to seeing and appreciating landscapes that further shaped how sites of adventure were experienced and represented. The picturesque and the sublime were two key modes of conceptualising landscapes.⁷¹ Though

⁶⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

⁶⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 9-10.

⁶⁸ Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.

⁶⁹ Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006), 84.

⁷⁰ David Arnold, *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture, and European Expansion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

⁷¹ Some introductory texts on the sublime and the picturesque include: Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, eds., *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); David Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (Spring, 2002): 413-437; Kim Ian Michasiw, "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque," *Representations* 38 (Spring, 1992): 76-100; Marjorie Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and*

originally concerned solely with European landscapes, recent scholarship on aesthetics and empire has demonstrated that these concepts were adapted to their surroundings as they were imported to the colonies, notably Romita Ray's *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India*.⁷² As Ray states, colonial versions of the picturesque 'materialized from new sites of artistic production where novel subjects and sensations affixed brand new visual signposts for the picturesque at large'.⁷³

The study of travel writing has opened up a new way of thinking about experiences of empire. Britons' scope for travel had been gradually expanding since the end of the Napoleonic Wars, making it possible for the historically aristocratic Grand Tour route of France, Germany and Italy to be resumed. As the century progressed, steam power and the extension of the railway system made travel quicker and less expensive and guide books like Murray's and Baedeker's provided all of the information a prospective traveller could need, opening up continental travel to the middle classes. As Carl Thompson writes, the nineteenth-century traveller 'adapted them in line with their own tastes and budgets' and 'consciously defined themselves in opposition to the figure of the aristocratic Grand Tourist'.⁷⁴ The Grand Tour lost its exclusivity and thus its cachet, resulting in a search by the elite for new locations to the south. The "rediscovery" of Egypt following Napoleon's campaigns and the establishment of the Palestine Association in 1804, made the country, primarily Cairo, Alexandria, and the Nile basin, a prime travel destination.⁷⁵ Soon, however, the enterprising travel company Thomas Cook made Egypt accessible as well. The production of a travel account upon one's return from the Grand Tour

Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963).

⁷² Other examples include: Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Stephen L. Keck, "Picturesque Burma: British Travel Writing 1890-1914," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 3 (October 2004): 387-414; Sarah Tiffin, "Java's Ruined *Candis* and the British Picturesque Ideal," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 72, no. 3 (2009): 525-558; Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Colonizing Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters, 1760-1820* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

⁷³ Romita Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (London and New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 2013), 6.

⁷⁴ Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*, 33.

⁷⁵ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel 1750-1915* (New York: Morrow, 1997), 227.

had been seen by returning travellers and their peers as almost a leg of the Tour itself, and though tastes changed from the strictly educational resume of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the dramatic personal account of travails and pitfalls favoured by the Romantics, the tradition continued.⁷⁶ The adventure account's antecedents in the aristocratic tour histories of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries secured its consideration as respectable literature.

Viewing the British Empire in terms of a contrast between metropole and periphery is no longer fashionable nor is it always an adequate form of analysis as it can be overly simplified to assume that knowledge, information, people, etc., moved in only one direction: always towards the metropole and away from the peripheries. This minimises the power and influence that the colonies were capable of exerting. For example, Simon J. Potter's work on imperial news networks has provided strong evidence of movement in both directions as well as the importance of networks between colonies.⁷⁷ There is some value in this framework, however, when examining representation in the adventure account; aside from entertainment, the primary purpose of these accounts was to inform metropolitan audiences about the wider world. In the case of the war correspondents in particular, by and large employed by the London dailies or weekly illustrated papers, the initial audience for their despatches was a metropolitan one and the conversion of these despatches into complete accounts did not change this fact. For example, references were often made to those at "home" in Britain and to their reactions or responses to the war or to the correspondent's earlier despatches.⁷⁸ Thus, though it may be of limited utility in the wider field of cultural history, the metropole/periphery dichotomy is a valid and effective framework through which to examine the works of the professional adventurers.

⁷⁶ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, 96; Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*, 8.

⁷⁷ Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003).

⁷⁸ Several examples include: Bennet Burleigh comparing the diet of "the commonest folk at home" to that of soldiers in *Sirdar and Khalifa, or the Re-Conquest of the Soudan 1898* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1898), 107; Knight criticising the "timid people at home" who had concerns about the Dongola campaign, *Letters from the Sudan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), 139; and Savage Landor's dismissal of criticism "aroused among critics at home" of military policy in China, *China and the Allies*, vol. 1 (London: Heinemann, 1901), 105.

Masculinity

The world of adventure during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was dominated by men and conceived of by society as a male space into which women occasionally trespassed. Since the early 1990s, John Tosh has produced a body of work that convincingly argues that throughout the early to mid-Victorian period ideals of masculinity were domestic in nature. Linked to the home and family, the key attributes of this form of masculinity were an ability to provide financial security for and protect the spiritual welfare of one's family.⁷⁹ Tosh's insistence that domesticity was solely the preserve of the middle classes, an unattainable ideal for the working classes and an unattractive one for the elites has been challenged in recent scholarship, as demonstrated in Martin Francis' recent survey of the field.⁸⁰ Likewise, Joanna de Groot has argued that although the 'family was reified as a guarantee of moral and material progress and order' these views 'developed in part through engagement with opposed opinions and arguments', which suggests that the masculine domestic ideal was not a static concept but one that was adapted to suit different situations.⁸¹ His overall contention that domesticity was central to masculine identity during the period in question is, however, sound. Bradley Deane's work on the relationship between the New Imperialism and changing ideals of masculinity presents the argument that 'where early and mid-Victorian ideals of masculinity emphasized narratives of personal development (I am a better man than I was), later imperialist stories stressed continual competition (I am a better man than he is)'.⁸² The masculine ideal that emerged after the 1870s was one that celebrated martial attributes and independence. Another

⁷⁹ Among Tosh's relevant works are: *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999); "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, eds. Michael Roper and John Tosh, 44-73 (London: Routledge, 1991); "Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 455-472.

⁸⁰ Martin Francis, "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (Sept., 2002): 637-652.

⁸¹ Joanna de Groot, "'Sex' and 'Race': the Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century," in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Catherine Hall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 41.

⁸² Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 4.

essential aspect of this new masculinity was that its competitive element meant that it could be applied across ethnicities. Deane argues that ‘martial manliness provided an ostensibly natural bridge over the racial divide’ between both British and imperial soldiers and Britain’s enemies. This generated a need for new ways of affirming racial hierarchies.⁸³ The events of the Indian Uprising in 1857 had a profound effect on not only British rule of the subcontinent, but on perceptions of the region, its peoples, and the Anglo-Indians as well. Confidence in Britain’s ability to control the subcontinent had been shaken and racial hierarchies that celebrated the masculinity of some cultures while denying that of others became an increasingly important means of maintaining authority. Heather Streets, Mrinalini Sinha and Rob Johnson have made important contributions to the study of masculinity, the military and race, examining in particular how the peoples of the peripheries were divided into the so-called martial races and those deemed effeminate.⁸⁴ Taken together, it would appear that the primary masculine ideal of the Victorian period was one that shifted gradually, but substantially, over the course of the nineteenth century from the domestic to the imperial even if in there was little change in the meaning of masculinity in the metropole.

It is essential to clarify, however, that as Joseph Kestner’s work on Victorian painting has shown, idealised masculinity had multiple forms and it is more accurate to speak of “masculinities” than a sole masculinity. The dominant, or hegemonic, masculinity was that to which other forms of masculinity were subordinated and which was most frequently used as a ‘justification and naturalisation of male power’.⁸⁵ Martial masculinity may be seen to occupy this position during the period in question, as it was the ideal employed by the ruling elite to influence public opinion and behaviour. However, it existed alongside domestic masculine ideals and other masculinities, some of which emerged by blending the martial and the domestic, such

⁸³ Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, 162.

⁸⁴ On the development of ‘martial races’ in British culture see: Heather Streets, *Martial Race: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Mrinalini Senha *The “Manly Englishman” and the “Effeminate Bengali” in the late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) and Rob Johnson, *True to their Salt: Indigenous Personnel in Western Armed Forces* (London: Hurst & Co., 2017).

⁸⁵ Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 21, 4.

as Muscular Christianity.⁸⁶ The multiplicity of masculinities also allowed for some weakening of the racial boundaries, as certain masculine traits were recognised as universal and acknowledged when noticed in indigenous peoples.⁸⁷ The role and representations of masculinities will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter Two.

The Professional Adventurer

Throughout this project I employ the term ‘professional adventurer’, a concept that I am employing as explorer and traveller are both inadequate categorisations for these individuals who built their lives and careers around adventurous travel. As the previous sections have demonstrated, a wealth of scholarship exists on the British Empire, exploration and travel. However, outside of literary analysis, the figure of the adventurer has been largely overlooked. The adventurer of fiction – Rider Haggard’s Sir Henry Curtis, Conan Doyle’s Professor Challenger, and any of Henty’s young men – is a fairly straightforward character. The essential difference between the adventurer of fiction and the professional adventurer being that the former is presented to audiences as a heroic figure while the latter is typically not (though this humility may of course be used to manipulate audience perceptions).⁸⁸ As Robert H. MacDonald explains, in novels adventure is presented as the ‘great masculine rite of passage’ which suggests that in the idealised world of fiction, having “an adventure” is a singular, transformative experience, a vision of adventure that is at odds with the reality of the life of the professional adventurer.⁸⁹ How to define the adventurer is a difficult proposition and must first begin with a definition of adventure. Martin Green’s definition acknowledges that adventure is comprised of

⁸⁶ Lucy Delap, “‘Be Strong and Play the Man’: Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century,” in *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain*, eds. Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 121-122.

⁸⁷ Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, 62.

⁸⁸ Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 209-210.

⁸⁹ MacDonald, *Language of Empire*, 209.

both the action and its effect. According to Green, adventure is ‘a series of events, partly but not wholly accidental, in setting remote from the domestic and probably from the civilized (at least in the psychological sense of remote), which constitute a challenge to the central character. In meeting this challenge, he/she performs a series of exploits which make him/her a hero, eminent in virtues such as courage, fortitude, cunning, strength, leadership and persistence’.⁹⁰ Under this broad definition, the journalists and reformers, such as Henry Mayhew, who embedded themselves in London slums in order to report on the conditions in them, were adventurers of a sort. William Booth’s 1890 book *In Darkest England* played on the title of Stanley’s *Through Darkest Africa*, making the comparison between the two explicit with the argument that the agents of civilisation in the Equatorial forest and the English slum had to contend with the same obstacles: ‘its monotonous darkness, its malaria and its gloom’.⁹¹ As accounts like Booth’s and Mayhew’s were not meant to be read as ‘adventures’ or entertainment (except in a rather perverse way), the aspect of providing pleasure and entertainment to an audience is what distinguishes the texts under consideration here. The element of intentionality is also important in defining adventure. These individuals built their entire lives around seeking out potential adventures so that while the specific circumstances of their experiences may be accidental or surprising, they are the result of intentional choices made by the adventurer.

Paul Fussell places the explorer, the traveller, and the tourist on a continuum of journeying. He writes: ‘all three make journeys, but the explorer seeks the undiscovered, the traveller that which has been discovered by the mind working in history, the tourist that which has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by the arts of mass publicity’.⁹² The adventurer, then, exists on this continuum between the explorer and the traveller. The adventurer might never be the first westerner to enter a region or scale a mountain, but they are often the second. They do not make the maps but they do refine them. The differentiation between the explorer and the adventurer can also be seen by comparing some of the paratextual elements of their works, notably the publisher, its reception by learned societies, and the use of appendices. In 1813 John Murray was made “Official Bookseller to the Admiralty”, maintaining

⁹⁰ Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980) 23.

⁹¹ William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890), 12.

⁹² Paul Fussell, *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 39.

the right to publish all official expedition accounts, both narrative and scientific.⁹³ By contrast, Murray rarely published adventure accounts, the only exception in the sources consulted for this project being Savage Landor's *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* (1893), the account of the first circumnavigation of the northern islands of Japan, which was of geographical interest. The publishers of the adventure accounts were well-respected, reputable firms and often an adventurer would develop a relationship with a publisher and use them for several books. So one sees Knight publishing primarily with Longmans, Green, & Co. and Savage Landor with William Heinemann. Authors regarded as explorers were typically invited to present an overview of their work at the Royal Geographical Society or to provide the Society's journal with a report on the scientific findings of their expedition.⁹⁴ The author of an adventure account was rarely invited to make such contributions, though their works did frequently appear in the journal's listings of newly released geographical literature.

On the opposite side of Fussell's continuum is "the traveller", a less appropriate designation for these individuals than "the explorer". As shown above, the recent research on travel during the nineteenth century has made abundantly clear that technological developments and increasing numbers of travellers had made the activity of travel more popular, safer, and more routine, such that a new kind of traveller, the tourist, came in to being. As Lynn Withey and Carl Thompson have both shown, the ease and rapidity of travel, even to formerly remote destinations such as Egypt, had by the end of the nineteenth century lost much of its association with "travail" and the belief that travel was in some way work, a belief that had remained commonplace into the mid-nineteenth century.⁹⁵ Coupled with this was the view that travel was increasingly seen as a leisure activity. Though many occupations demanded travel, this was seen as incidental to the actual work.

The contributions of female adventurers are finally being recognised by both academia and the general public, with interest in figures such as Mary Kingsley, Isabella Bird and Gertrude

⁹³ Adriana Craicun, "What is an Explorer?," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, no. 1 (Fall 2011): 32.

⁹⁴ Peter Collier and Rob Inkpen, "The RGS, Exploration and Empire and the Contested Nature of Surveying," *Area* 34, no. 3 (Sep., 2002): 273-283.

⁹⁵ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, ix; Thompson, *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*, 14.

Bell providing the impetus for work on less well-known or emblematic individuals as well.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, as James Canton has noted, the titles of popular anthologies of female travellers and adventurers – *Spinsters Abroad*, *Ladies on the Loose*, *Improbable Women*, and *Wayward Women* – have reinforced the idea that there was something inherently wrong or “unnatural” about women engaging in the work of adventure.⁹⁷ Thankfully, the assumption that the female adventurer was an anomalous figure with few similarities of purpose to the male adventurer has been challenged by scholars including Canton and Susan Bassnett.⁹⁸ Female adventurers made important contributions to science, travel writing and ethnography and their talents were occasionally recognised by their male contemporaries. For example, Bird’s ability to travel with a minimum of baggage was held up as an example by her male contemporaries, even when they were unable to maintain the same habits and Savage Landor includes her and Harriet Chalmers in his list of ‘famous travellers and explorers’ he had known and admired.⁹⁹ A comparison between representations of people and landscapes in works by female adventurers and in those of male adventurers has the potential to further lessen the ostracisation of these figures in academic discourse. Unfortunately, due to the limited range of this thesis, female adventurers would have been limited to a token presence and not afforded the attention they rightly deserve. I have chosen to exclude them from my work rather than include them in such a superficial manner. As

⁹⁶ A sample of these works include: Dúnlaith Bird, *Travelling in Different Skins: Gender Identity in European Women’s Oriental Travelogues, 1850-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Alison Blunt, *Travel Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (London: Guilford Press, 1994); Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women’s Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001); Cheryl McEwan, *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000); Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women’s Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996); Sarah Searight, ed., *Women Travellers in the Near East* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005).

⁹⁷ James Canton, *From Cairo to Baghdad: British Travellers in Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 108-109.

⁹⁸ Canton, *From Cairo to Baghdad*, 109 and Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing and Gender,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 226.

⁹⁹ Nicholas Murray, *A Corkscrew is Most Useful: The Travellers of Empire* (London: Abacus, 2009), 257; A. H. Savage Landor, *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1924), 554.

such, as a matter of clarity, male pronouns will be used when referring to explorers and adventurers.

The term “adventurer” was not typically applied to the individuals examined in this study by their contemporaries, or even by the professional adventurers themselves. They were more likely to be referred to, and to consider themselves, with a field-specific designation, such as ‘explorer’, ‘ethnographer’, ‘correspondent’, ‘artist’, ‘botanist’, ‘mountaineer’, etc. In this sense, my use of the term is anachronistic. During the nineteenth century, “adventurer” still retained the negative implications associated with it, which Michael Nerlich has argued stems in part from the antagonism between commercial and courtly ideology.¹⁰⁰ Though Green has shown that the ‘merchant adventurer’ was an heroic figure of the early modern period, the more negative aspect of the adventurer as one who risks money in uncertain ventures or gambles remained associated with the term.¹⁰¹ Additionally, “adventurers” was also used to signify mercenaries, the desire for financial gain linking the two usages.¹⁰² Knight describes the group of ‘adventurers bound for the new land’ following the Matabele War as a combination of ‘shrewd old colonists and African traders, men fresh from Europe, and scamps in plenty,’ the whole viewed by audiences at home as ‘border ruffians’ who were ‘fired by visions of the Eldorado’.¹⁰³ Likening their money-making schemes in Matabeleland with the hunt for the fictional city of gold makes it clear that Knight himself associated the term “adventurer” with a certain amount of financial recklessness.

Though men like Knight would have been loath to acknowledge a kinship between themselves and these adventurers, they are far more alike than it would immediately appear. The business of writing a successful adventure account was a gamble built on other gambles. There was the obvious gamble that one would survive whatever natural dangers the region travelled to posed. If in a politically unstable area in the hope of being able to add coverage of a “small war” to an account, there was the risk that peace would prevail; and if war did break out, as for all war

¹⁰⁰ Michael Nerlich, *The Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100-1750.*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 60-61.

¹⁰¹ Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, 9, 35.

¹⁰² *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “adventurer (n.)” accessed April 13, 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/2929?redirectedFrom=adventurer&>

¹⁰³ E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 149, 157.

correspondents, there was the risk of dying, either in combat or from disease. Across the two phases of the war in the Sudan, to take one example, seven correspondents died.¹⁰⁴ Being in position to witness a battle, getting a story to print first, or even getting despatches past the censors were all far from certain. Finally, there was always a chance that a series of newspaper columns, however popular in the moment, would not be picked up by a publisher, due to a glut in the market, poor timing, or the ever-shifting public interest. For example, the lifting of the siege of the International Legations following the Boxer Uprising in August 1900 generated far less interest than it would have had it not followed in the wake of the lifting of the sieges of Ladysmith and Mafeking in February and May, respectively, of that year.¹⁰⁵ Having made it to this point, with a publisher secured and an account written, there was again the ever-fickle public to contend with. Not every account sold well, especially in a competitive market, such as in the season following the close of the Sudan War, where the market was dominated by G. W. Steevens, Bennet Burleigh, and Winston Churchill. The explorers, correspondents, and mountaineers were as reliant on chance and good luck as the adventurers they attempted to distance themselves from, simply in more respectable, less visible ways.

The designation of “professional” must also be addressed. What distinguishes the professional adventurer from other adventurous males is that they were those individuals who were able to convert adventurous travel into a career. Though they might work under the title of ‘correspondent’ or ‘ethnographer’, these were professions that did not necessarily require those engaged in them to perform or undergo frequent adventurous travel in order to be successful. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the peak of the British celebration of the talented amateur. Roald Amundsen’s reaching of the South Pole before Robert Falcon Scott was criticised in the press as ‘a dirty trick altogether’ played by ‘a professional’ over a talented amateur.¹⁰⁶ By adopting the title of a more staid profession, the adventurer was able to distance himself from the taint of “professionalism”.

¹⁰⁴ Robert John Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and Their Campaigns* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), 193.

¹⁰⁵ Events from the Second Anglo-Boer War featured prominently on the covers of and in featured illustrations in the *Illustrated London News* issues from 1900, with the Boxer Rebellion receiving limited coverage.

¹⁰⁶ Roland Huntford, *Scott and Amundsen* (London: Weidenfeld, 1993), 548.

It is apparent from Knight's writings that sailing was his passion. Knight's second novel, *Save Me from My Friends*, is composed of a series of sailing vignettes based on his favourite cruises in the Thames estuary and northern France around which is loosely woven an elaborate tale of spiritualism, romance and insanity.¹⁰⁷ His convalescence following the amputation of his right arm was spent in writing a small-boat sailing handbook. The care and knowledge put into this handbook are evident from the fact that it was consistently reissued by John Murray, with a fifteenth edition appearing in 1960 and a rerelease as *The Classic Guide to Sailing* appearing in 2014.¹⁰⁸ The sailing he loved – on a small yacht, without paying passengers – was not on its own a viable way to make a living. Thus, though he may have seen himself as a yachtsman, it was not a classification that reflected his profession. Savage Landor considered himself to be primarily an explorer and artist but also an ethnographer, yet he did little actual exploration and had no training or methodological foundations in either exploration or ethnography, resulting in his maps being found unfit for publication in the Royal Geographical Society journal and his anthropological data marred by 'a certain sketchiness of method' that was evident to even lay reviewers.¹⁰⁹ He initially funded his expeditions through the sale of his paintings but his art gradually became secondary to his adventuring. Knight and Savage Landor's self-conception and its role in shaping their work will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter One. For the moment, it is enough to establish that, although Knight and Savage Landor did not consider themselves adventurers, their lives both fit comfortably within the category when considered from a historical view point.

The title special correspondent, though accurate to a point, cannot fully express the scope of these individuals' activities. The title special correspondent began to be used in 1807 and the earliest special correspondents were based in European capitals.¹¹⁰ While special correspondents could use their position to justify launching an expedition, as Knight did on the North Western

¹⁰⁷ E. F. Knight, *Save Me From My Friends* (London: Longmans & Co., 1891).

¹⁰⁸ E. F. Knight, *Small-Boat Sailing* (London: John Murray, 1901); Fifteenth edition, 1960; *The Classic Guide to Sailing* (Amberley Publishing, 2014); other editions that I have been able to locate from UK and US publishers appeared in 1905 (5th), 1912, 1926, 1928, 1931, 1935, 1938, 1948 (13th).

¹⁰⁹ RGS Archives Savage Landor Correspondence CB7 1881-1910; "In the Philippines," *Times Literary Supplement*, 24 June 1904, 195.

¹¹⁰ Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent*, 19.

frontier of British India, most special correspondents were assigned to major metropolitan centres, colonial and independent, and did not engage in adventurous travel outside of their remit. Other occupational titles, such as explorer or ethnographer were aspirational rather than a realistic reflection of the work and experience of the individual. Additionally, being an explorer suggested a level of regional expertise (the explorer of Africa or the Antarctic explorer, for instance) that did not necessarily apply to the professional adventurer, whose assignments and interests took him to a wide variety of places. Despite their general lack of any real qualifications, the public placed greater trust in the author of the adventure account than any one professional designation would have reflected. Judging by published reviews and interviews, their opinions on international politics, economics, and the running of the Empire were treated as the word of experts, a status afforded by their position as eye-witnesses. Their scientific and anthropological pronouncements were treated with the same regard or at the very least their more outlandish theories were ignored rather than mocked or challenged. The adventurer's authority was not bestowed by any outside authority or the result of training and education but rather came from having been and seen. This in itself demonstrates the cultural power of the concept of adventure.

The business of adventure was a competitive one. Though the professional adventurers may have only rarely encountered one another "in the wild", competition for publishers and audiences was fierce. Only wealthy newspapers with fairly wide circulations, such as *The Times*, *Daily Mail* and *London Illustrated News*, could afford to send a correspondent, sometimes multiple, to cover an entire major campaign and provide them with the resources they needed to secure a "scoop" and send it home. A correspondent's ability to purchase fast horses or camels, employ telegraph runners, and pay for telegrams of any great length depended on the allowance given by his or her paper. The *New York Herald*, for example, authorised its special correspondent to spend up to \$10,000 on telegraphing the first major story on the "finding" of Stanley at the end of the Emin Pasha expedition.¹¹¹ The built-in audience that a popular correspondent could bring to a published account helped publishers to determine which authors to pursue. This is perhaps best exemplified by Edmund Candler's decision to return to the field within three months of losing his arm at the massacre at Chumik Shenko during Francis

¹¹¹ Edward Vizetelly, *From Cyprus to Zanzibar by the Egyptian Delta: The Adventures of a Journalist in the Isle of Love, the Home of Miracles, and the Land of Cloves* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., 1901), 448.

Younghusband's 1903-04 Tibet campaign in order to retain his commission from the *Daily Mail* because it was the only way to guarantee that he would be able to find a publisher once the campaign concluded.¹¹² Though not as crowded a field as that of more general travel writing, very few professional adventurers were able to provide the sole account of a region. This is especially true in the case of the war correspondents, for whom competition to be the first to report on an event was an integral part of the profession. This diversity of texts is why I have chosen to build the representative case studies around the works of a number of adventurers, rather than solely those of Knight and Savage Landor. Audiences would have been exposed to this variety and those who were particularly interested in a region were likely to have access to more than one account of it. In South America, the accounts of Edward Whymper and W. H. Hudson provide further support. Whymper was a mountain climber and artist best known for his disastrous first ascent of the Matterhorn and the illustrations he provided for the travel accounts of Isabella Bird, mountaineering histories and Murray guidebooks.¹¹³ In 1880 he travelled to Ecuador to climb several Andean peaks and to study the effects of prolonged exposure to high altitudes on the human body. His account of the expedition read alongside his correspondence creates an intriguing portrait of the professional adventurer as an individual. W. H. Hudson was of English descent but was born in Argentina, where he began his career as a naturalist. He produced a number of works that combined adventurous travel narrative with scientific or artistic study of regional flora and fauna.¹¹⁴ Like Knight, Hudson also used his adventures as the basis for several novels.

The additional works on the Sudan are accounts by war correspondents or officers, most importantly Bennet Burleigh, G. W. Steevens, and Frank Scudamore. Steevens is perhaps the best known of the nineteenth century war correspondents despite his relatively short career. He covered the Anglo-Sudanese war and was integral in the creation of the Kitchener legend. His

¹¹² Letter from Edmund Candler to his sisters, April 30, 1904, 89079/1/5 5044H, Candler Correspondence, British Library.

¹¹³ Ian Smith, ed., *The Apprenticeship of a Mountaineer: Edward Whymper's London Diary 1855-1859* (London: London Record Society, 2008), xv-xvii. The correspondence examined comes from: Add MS 63112:1865-1911, Blakeney Collection Vol. XXXIV, British Library.

¹¹⁴ Dan Miller, *W. H. Hudson and the Elusive Paradise* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 7.

death in Ladysmith during the Second Anglo-Boer War prematurely ended his career.¹¹⁵ His other works included more conventional travel accounts of the United States and Egypt. Scudamore was a prominent war correspondent and close personal friend of Knight's. Referred to in his obituary as the model of the 'older type of war correspondent who through their courage, ingenuity, and determination brought fame to the papers', Scudamore reported on, among others, both phases of the Sudan War, the Greco-Turkish War, and the Armenian Genocide.¹¹⁶ His autobiography provides personal details and anecdotes typically omitted in published accounts. Burleigh was, like Scudamore, considered one of the exemplars of late Victorian war reporting. During his later career he also covered the First and Second Anglo-Boer Wars and the Russo-Japanese War.¹¹⁷ *Under Crescent and Star* (1895), Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Haggard's account of five years as an officer in the reconstructed Egyptian army, provides further insight into the early Sudan campaign from the perspective of an officer-author who wrote both autobiographical adventure accounts and novels similar to those of his far more famous brother.¹¹⁸

The unsettled political situation of the North Western frontiers during the second half of the nineteenth century drew young men in both the military and civil service to the region, as it seemed to offer the perfect conditions for rapid promotion. Algernon Durand, (younger brother of Mortimer Durand) the Political Agent at Gilgit from 1889-1893, and George S. Robertson, an army surgeon and amateur ethnographer, were two such individuals. Durand's *The Making of a Frontier* provides insight into the life of an isolated diplomat.¹¹⁹ Robertson's two works are quite different: *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush* (1896) is the result of an adventurous ethnographic

¹¹⁵ Laurence Davies, "'A Sideways Ending to it All': G.W. Steevens, Blackwood, and the *Daily Mail*," in *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930*, ed. David Finkelstein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 236-237; Berny Sèbe's *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013) provides an excellent examination of Steevens' life and career.

¹¹⁶ "Mr. F. Scudamore," *The Times*, 5 April 1939, 16.

¹¹⁷ F. Lauriston Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1914), 192-230.

¹¹⁸ Lieut.-Col. Andrew Haggard, *Under Crescent and Star* (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1895).

¹¹⁹ Keay's *The Gilgit Game* provides a decent biography of Durand's time as the Agent in Gilgit and of the relationship between Robertson and Durand.

expedition while *Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege* (1898) is a fairly straightforward military account.¹²⁰ As with many of the figures whose works are examined here, Durand and Robertson have received little scholarly attention. Edmund Candler worked as a teacher and author in India prior to covering Younghusband's punitive mission against Tibet. Candler's personal correspondence with his siblings reveals the struggles faced by many of the junior special correspondents as they attempted to create a literary career.¹²¹ Hamilton Bower's *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet* (1894), an account of travel in Tibet and northern China is an example of how covert intelligence work by a British officer was masked as adventurous travel.¹²²

The question of what power adventure has to influence society is at the core of this project. Its purpose is not to reveal what life was actually like on the frontiers of empire – the lives and careers of the professional adventurers were far removed from the experiences of the majority of British inhabitants of these region – nor is it interested in trying to ascertain the veracity of these accounts. What matters here is what the adventurers wrote about the world they explored and how those impressions and representations were layered upon one another to create an image of the British Empire that at times contradicted, at times supported the representations put forward by other imperial actors. Through their representations of the people and places they encountered on the peripheries of the Empire, the professional adventurers provide us with another means of seeing, and hopefully of understanding, the world in which they lived.

¹²⁰ George Scott Robertson, *The Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1900); and *Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905).

¹²¹ Candler Correspondence, Add MS 89079/1/1-18 5044H, British Library.

¹²² Peter Hopkirk, *Trepassers on the Roof of the World: The Race for Lhasa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 83-89.

Chapter 1: Biographical Case Studies

At the heart of any adventure is the adventurer. The escapist element of adventure stories may encourage the reader to imagine themselves as the one embarking on dangerous quests, facing down ferocious creatures, or navigating treacherous terrain. But in the case of the personal adventure account, at least part of the appeal comes from knowing that someone has actually done what the reader is only imagining. The inclusion of packing lists, commentary on hotels, and reflections on the opportunities for further adventuring add to the sense that the adventurer-author is inviting the reader to accompany him, increasing the connection between the two. While it is the pitfalls and dangers that make an adventure story exciting, it is the person of the adventurer that makes the reader care about the outcome. Who the adventurer was – or who they presented themselves as – mattered.

E. F. Knight and A. H. Savage Landor are two such adventurers: men who crafted lives and told stories that captured audiences' attention while toying with expectations of just who an adventurer should be. Their lives and work are the core sources around which this thesis is built. Works by other correspondents and adventurers will be analysed with them in order to situate their lives and works within the imperial travel and adventure context, to develop more detailed arguments, and to provide further examples. Though other correspondents and adventurers have remained in the public consciousness, Knight and Savage Landor are representative individuals whose work provides the historian with an unutilised resource. I have chosen to focus my research on Knight and Savage Landor for three reasons. The first is that their publication histories indicate that their popularity during their lifetimes was high; Knight, for instance, received progressively larger advances from his publishers and greater leeway with errors over the course of his career and was occasionally pursued by multiple publishers for the rights to publish his despatches.¹ They were not fringe figures operating on the edge of the worlds of journalism and adventurous travel. Secondly, they were surprisingly long-lived for individuals in their line of work. Both men's careers took them around the world and through a variety of

¹ Knight's Publishing contracts are held in the Records of the Longman Group at the University of Reading, MS 1393 2/236/878-880; Letters from Moberly Bell to Macmillan, November 11, 1896 and November 12, 1896, Macmillan Correspondence 55038, British Library.

experiences, both military and civilian, which makes it possible to track changes in thought over the course of their careers and in how various indigenous peoples and peripheral landscapes were represented. And lastly, both men, in their own ways, were fascinating individuals who embraced the glorification of adventure for its own sake that had captured the late Victorian imagination and infused works such as Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and H. Rider Haggard's Allan Quatermain novels. Their works provide a fascinating insight into the adventure drive that partially motivated the imperialism of the period. As Barbra Korte has noted, the canon of travel, exploration, and adventure writings is becoming increasingly codified, despite its relative youth.² The works of Knight and Savage Landor will never supplant the works of Burton, Stanley, or Livingstone to become canonical texts in the field, but they can provide an additional layer to our understanding of the interactions between the imperial agents of the metropole and the empire at large, sometimes challenging established notions, at others reinforcing them, but always adding detail and definition to the narrative of the British Empire.

It is important to note that both Knight and Savage Landor enjoyed long and lucrative careers that brought them a degree of fame that brought with it an element of respect and resulted in their works being treated as valuable sources for those interested in learning about the regions they described. Knight's prominence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is indisputable. His presence at literary functions and press-related events, including the unveiling of the plaque memorialising the correspondents who died during the Second Anglo-Boer War, was noted by the press.³ Robert F. Scott carried a copy of Knight's *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* with him on his first expedition to Antarctica. It was the volume's enticing descriptions of the islet of Trinidad's alien geography and unfriendly fauna that led Scott to stop at the islet and undertake the first scientific survey of it since Edmund Halley had visited the spot during his 1698 South Atlantic cruise.⁴ Knight's work on Northern India was cited by historians and military theorists

² Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, translated by Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000) 17.

³ "Lord Roberts and the War Correspondents," *The Times*, January 16, 1905, 13.

⁴ Robert F. Scott, *The Voyage of the 'Discovery'* (London: John Murray, 1929), 70.

of the region into the 1970s.⁵ In 1914 he was profiled in the book *Famous War Correspondents* in which his year covering the Franco-Hova war in Madagascar is held up as the perfect illustration of ‘the uncertainty, the excitement and the romance of the life of the special for a powerful newspaper, who has the whole world as his field of operations’.⁶ The number of special correspondents in the field may have increased dramatically over the course of the nineteenth century, but the quality, quantity, and range of Knight’s work ensured his popularity.

A. H. Savage Landor’s popularity, meanwhile, bordered on notoriety. His return to London from each expedition generally resulted in several sightings reported in the *Sporting Gazette* and other society pages. The publications of his books were frequently timed to coincide with lectures at the Royal Institution and other learned societies or exhibitions of his paintings at prominent London galleries. His books were reviewed by both the popular press and the Royal Geographical Society, showing that his works appealed to both popular and scientific audiences – even though the scientific value of these works was often called into question.⁷ Following the publication of Theodore Roosevelt’s *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* in 1914, Savage Landor’s critical comments on the veracity of the former president’s account of the expedition resulted in a flurry of media attention that Roosevelt was forced to address in the days leading up to his lecture at the Royal Geographical Society.⁸ Doubts surrounding the accuracy of some of Savage Landor’s scientific findings meant that subsequent explorers to a region would cite his work to either validate or disprove his claims. It is evident, then, that Savage Landor’s public profile during his lifetime was far greater than his current obscurity would suggest.

This chapter presents a biographical sketch of each man and his works, focusing on the creation and reception of their published works, rather than the expeditions themselves, in order to provide a timeline of their adventures and make clear their status as professional adventurers from the 1880s through the 1910s. The important question of why Knight and Savage Landor’s

⁵ Both Captain H. L. Nevill’s *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1977) and John Keay’s *The Gilgit Game: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas, 1865-95* (London: John Murray, 1979) cite Knight’s account alongside military dispatches.

⁶ F. Lauriston Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1914), 288.

⁷ See for example: “Geographical Literature of the Month,” *The Geographical Journal* 3, no. 1 (Jan., 1894): 71; “Geographical Literature of the Month,” *The Geographical Journal* 12, no. 5 (Nov., 1898): 540; “Two Books of Travel,” *Birmingham Daily Post*, February 5, 1894, 7.

⁸ “Our London Letter,” *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, June 5, 1914, 6; “Roosevelt’s Personality,” *Times of India*, June 20, 1914, 11.

contemporary popularity has not translated into any sort of widespread recognition or awareness of their works among popular or scholarly audiences today will then be addressed. It next provides a brief examination of each man's writing style in order to further clarify the methodological benefits of considering their works in tandem. Knight adhered more strictly to the expected conventions of the travel and adventure genre while Savage Landor emphasised his flouting of them even as he operated within the established framework. This is, at its heart, a work about representation and therefore the self-representation of the men behind the accounts provides a foundation from which the work can be built. This chapter, then, will next move to examining how Knight and Savage Landor conceived of themselves and how their adventure accounts and autobiographies were used to fashion an identity, even as that identity shifted over time. The self-fashioning that both men participated in throughout their careers – and particularly in their autobiographies – will be examined with regards to questions of self-representation as an adventurer, the question of celebrity, and the role of privacy. It will then challenge the notion of the adventurer as an independent figure, examining the networks on which Knight and Savage Landor relied and how these shaped their presented identities. Within the thesis as a whole, this chapter provides a foundation for the later chapters by establishing who the individuals behind the adventure accounts were and how their experiences and personalities contributed to the creation and reception of their texts. Understanding Knight and Savage Landor makes it possible to better understand the impact of their accounts on perceptions of the British Empire both in their own time and today.

E. F. Knight

Edward Frederick Knight was described by a fellow correspondent as a 'well-ballasted man, who knew what he was about, and not at all one to have gone treasure-seeking without excellent reasons'.⁹ It was a fitting tribute; throughout his career Knight sought adventure, rarely danger. Knight's long career was equally steady but not sensational, he was well known for his work but not celebrated for his exploits. A profile of Knight in the *St James Gazette* prior to his

⁹ Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents*, 286.

second major expedition described him as a man who ‘has knowledge, pluck, and will that are capable of leading him to success in ventures which for ninety-nine men out of every hundred would be predestined failures’.¹⁰ Unlike many other correspondents of his era, Knight managed to amass a significant fortune, most likely due to the enduring success of his non-military adventure accounts and sailing manual.¹¹ Interest in the minutia of late Victorian warfare in the Sudan or Madagascar quickly waned, but jungle adventures and treasure hunts had a lasting fascination and drove some of his accounts into sixteen editions or more. It is the diverse and exciting output that resulted from a life of adventure that secured Knight’s reputation and legacy.

Knight was born in 1852 and spent his early years moving between the French province of Touraine and Bath. According to his autobiography, it is as a child in France that his strong anti-Catholic sentiments first arose.¹² Though born largely out of misunderstanding a devout Anglican governess, they would appear in his writings for the rest of his life, colouring his views on other cultures, missionaries, politics, and particularly on Tibetan Buddhism. His earliest expeditions were cruises on the Seine and the Loire and a walking tour from Lyons to Laghouat, Algeria. His ability to ingratiate himself with soldiers and military officials first manifested here, as he was allowed to pass part of the journey in the company of a unit of the French Foreign Legion.¹³ Knight studied law at Cambridge and spent the latter half of the 1870s working for a barrister in London. The first decade of Knight’s career as an adventurer and author overlapped with his short-lived career as a barrister. In 1880 he produced his first travel account following a trip through Albania with friends, a more conventional travel account intended to ‘show my readers how well worthy of a visit it is’.¹⁴ The book received middling reviews from critics, who noted that when discussing the political situation Knight ‘cannot always be congratulated on the accuracy of his assertions’ but acknowledged that it was ‘pleasantly written, spiced with

¹⁰ “A Chance for Treasure Seekers,” *St James Gazette*, June 15, 1889, 3.

¹¹ According to his will, dated December 20, 1913, Knight’s estate was worth £7819 9s. 11d. at the time of his death, roughly £320,000 as of 2017 according to <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>.

¹² E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 11.

¹³ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 33.

¹⁴ E. F. Knight, *Albania: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1880), 3.

adventure and anecdote, and, in short, eminently readable'.¹⁵ Though not a major success, it provided Knight with his first indication that he could make a career out of adventuring

Knight's first major expedition was a sailing cruise to South America and up the Paraguay River – the first yacht to navigate the river. The twenty-month expedition also included an extended ride across the Pampas and time in the British colonies of Demerara and Barbados. While some critics found the incredibly detailed sections on sailing and weather conditions in *The Cruise of the 'Falcon'* (1883) to be 'like eating sawdust', the majority praised 'the spirit and vigour' of Knight's prose.¹⁶ That spirited narrative voice would remain a marked feature of all of Knight's writing. Two other sailing expeditions, and their accounts, followed. In 1887 he sailed from Hammersmith to Copenhagen in a converted lifeboat with one companion. This European adventure led to *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic* (1889), which was later described by Arthur Ransome as 'a real beauty of a book, from the sailing point of view, and from the merely human'.¹⁷ He returned to South America in 1889 with a team of "gentlemen-adventurers" to search for treasure rumoured to be buried on the islet of Trinidad, off the northern coast of Brazil. The search proved fruitless but *The Cruise of the 'Alerte'* (1890) was a success and marked the end of Knight's career as a freelance adventurer. His future expeditions would be as a special correspondent for *The Times* or *The Morning Post*. It was during this period that Knight experimented with writing fiction, producing three sensation novels that all received mixed reviews and incorporated elements of his early adventures.¹⁸ The love of sailing that suffuses the *Falcon* and *Alerte* books threatens to overwhelm the plot of his second novel, 1891's *Save Me from My Friends*.¹⁹ The novel's protagonist undertakes the cruises of Knight's youth between nearly every major plot point. This passion would find a more suitable outlet in his contribution

¹⁵ "Recent Travel in Albania," *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 3, 1880, 11.

¹⁶ E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Alerte': The Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913) 113; "Reviews," *John Bull*, February 2, 1884, 78.

¹⁷ Arthur Ransome, "Letters," in Introduction to *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: A Coasting Voyage from Hammersmith to Copenhagen in a Three-Ton Yacht*, by E. F. Knight (Santa Barbara, CA.: Narrative Press, 2003) 2.

¹⁸ "Man About Town," *Sporting Gazette*, June 20, 1885, 776; "New Novels," *Graphic*, July 4, 1885, 51; "Mr. E. F. Knight's Tale," *Morning Post*, April 24, 1891, 8; "New Novels," *Graphic*, June 27, 1891, 728; "Literature," *Glasgow Herald*, December 10, 1898, 9.

¹⁹ E. F. Knight, *Save Me from My Friends* (London: Longmans & Co., 1891).

to the *All-England Series of Sports* on sailing (1890), which was repurposed as *Small-boat Sailing* (1901), a popular guide.²⁰

In 1891 Knight embarked on his first assignment as a special correspondent: a journey through the North Western frontiers of British India. When it became apparent that hostilities were about to break out with the kingdoms of Hunza and Nagar, Knight took the opportunity to accompany the small Bengal Army force. He was made a temporary officer of the 1st Punjab Volunteers and given command of a small unit, his one experience of participation in warfare earning him a mention in an official despatch. *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries* (1893) detailed his experiences and also offered his interpretation of the threat posed by Russian movements in Central Asia.²¹ Knight's political and economic insights elevated this book, in the eyes of one reviewer, to one that 'may be read with pleasure as well as profit'.²² For the next three years, Knight covered military campaigns in Africa for *The Times*. His coverage of the Franco-Hova War from the Hova side was unique for two reasons: he was the sole correspondent present for the duration of the war but he never actually saw any of the fighting due to refusals from both the French and Hova governments to allow non-French correspondents to be present at the front. *Madagascar in War Time* (1896) is unique among war correspondent accounts because it substitutes a narrative of social and political manoeuvres for military ones.²³

The Dongola Campaign of the Sudan War presented Knight with his first major military assignment. His Sudan despatches and the account that followed, *Letters from the Sudan* (1897), cemented Knight's reputation as a war correspondent. As noted above, *Letters from the Sudan* is one of the texts used by Churchill to compose his *River War*, essentially ensuring that Knight's narrative would become a part of most histories of the war, however unacknowledged. The Sudan campaign also led to his only real moment of controversy, when he was sued by another

²⁰ E. F. Knight, *Small-Boat Sailing* (London: John Murray, 1901); E. F. Knight, *Small-Boat Sailing: An Explanation of the Management of Small Yachts, Half-Decked and Open Sailing-Boats of Various Rigs; Sailing on Sea and on River; Cruising, etc.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1902.

²¹ E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893).

²² "Where Three Empires Meet," *The Nation*, June 22, 1893, 460.

²³ E. F. Knight, *Madagascar in War Time: The 'Times' Special Correspondent's Experiences Among the Hovas during the French Invasion of 1895* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896).

correspondent for libel. The trial was closely followed by the London and regional dailies and the weekly illustrated press.²⁴ Knight's refusal to apologise (or even to stop repeating the content of the libel), insured a guilty verdict but also earned him the respect of his fellow correspondents (save the libellee of course).²⁵ This was not the first libel trial that he had been implicated in; his reporting from Madagascar had resulted in a suit being brought against *The Times* only two months earlier. Knight was not named as a defendant but as the only British correspondent present on the island he was obviously the source of the libellous reports. It marked the end of Knight's career with *The Times*, as he seemed to have become an expensive liability regardless of his talents.²⁶ The *Morning Post*, for whom he began working almost immediately, seemed to have no such concerns.

Although written in 1922 and published the following year, Knight's autobiography essentially ends in Cuba in 1898 with his coverage of the Spanish-American War. The next twenty-five years of his career are dealt with in a single page. He covered the Second Anglo-Boer War for the *Morning Post* and at the Battle of Belmont was injured and had to have his right arm amputated. This had little effect on his career and he covered the Russo-Japanese War after having joined the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York on the 1901 Royal Tour of the Commonwealth. His account of the tour, *With the Royal Tour* (1902), provided Knight with an opportunity to comment on the peoples and cultures he encountered in a far more relaxed manner than that to which he had become accustomed.²⁷ Knight returned to South Africa and published *South Africa after the War* (1903), a travel account that attempted to gauge the political climate

²⁴ Between July 6-11, 1897, twenty-four articles across thirteen papers – including the *Aberdeen Journal*, *Belfast News-Letter*, *Daily Mail*, *Daily News*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Glasgow Herald*, *Liverpool Mercury*, *Morning Post*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Reynold's Newspaper*, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, and *The Times* – were published on the trial.

²⁵ For an examination of the libel trial, see Devin Dattan, ““Why weren't you in the fight? The next time I will see you go in!”: The Journalistic Culture and Self-Image of Victorian War Correspondents,” in *Reporting from the Wars 1850-2015: The Origins and Evolution of the War Correspondent*, ed. Barry Turner, Daniel Barredo Ibáñez, and Steven James Grattan (Wilmington, DE: Vernon Press, 2018), 23-38.

²⁶ “High Court of Justice,” *The Times*, May 25, 1897, 4. For the story that led to the accusation see: “The War in Madagascar,” *The Times*, July 13, 1895, 17.

²⁷ E. F. Knight, *With the Royal Tour: A Narrative of the Recent Tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York through Greater Britain, including His Royal Highness's Speech Delivered at the Guildhall, on December 5, 1901* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1902).

in the aftermath of the war.²⁸ He wrote a second overview of the empire in 1907, *Over-sea Britain* and returned to blending travel with political commentary with *The Awakening of Turkey* (1909).²⁹

Over the course of his career, Knight was the sole British correspondent present for the duration of three military campaigns: in Hunza-Nagar, Madagascar, and Cuba. The first was through a combination of luck and good timing. He had convinced *The Times* to send him as a special to follow his cousin, who was engaged in building the Gilgit Road, the construction of which opened the frontier provinces to British encroachment.³⁰ His presence in Madagascar and Cuba was the result of his desire for adventure. To avoid the French naval blockade and reach Antananarivo, he was smuggled into Fort Dauphin (now Tolagnaro) and hiked the length of the island and he arrived in Cuba after running the Spanish blockade by hiding aboard the boat of an American correspondent who dropped him off in a small rowboat just before the blockade which he then rowed until his rowboat was sunk and he had to swim to shore.³¹ Knight's position as the sole reporting voice increased the value of his despatches and contributed to his reputation as an elite among special correspondents. American war correspondent Richard Harding Davis, who also covered the Spanish-American War, recorded with a hint of awe that while all of the other correspondents waited in Florida to be allowed access to the front, Knight only 'lingered with the army of the rocking-chairs for a day before swimming into Matanzas Harbor,' a version of events that attributed to Knight a near-mythic dedication to his work.³² It also demonstrates something of Knight's importance as a correspondent. The late Victorian period saw papers dispatching teams of correspondents and artists in ever greater numbers; the twenty-six correspondents attached to the Dongola Campaign had seemed like an impressive number but by

²⁸ E. F. Knight, *South Africa after the War: a Narrative of Recent Travel* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1903).

²⁹ E. F. Knight, *The Awakening of Turkey: A History of the Turkish Revolution* (London: John Milne, 1909).

³⁰ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 113.

³¹ Knight, *Madagascar in Wartime*, 8; Knight, *Reminiscences*, 301-306.

³² Richard Harding Davis, *The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns* (United States: Nabu Press, 2010), 53-54.

the end of the Boer War *The Times* alone had twenty-four correspondents at the front.³³ If the delivery of a “scoop” was the primary goal of the war correspondent, Knight’s successes in that area were unmatched.

Knight maintained a clear division between his public and private life. Though Knight was married and had a daughter and maintained a close relationship with at least one of his sisters, his autobiography makes no mention of his family outside of his parents and siblings during his youth. Similarly, he provides no explanation of the characters in his novels despite the fact that many appear to be drawn from his life and at least one (who is horribly betrayed by a fellow barrister he thought was his friend) seems to be quite obviously based on Knight himself. Also omitted is any mention of either of the libel trials he was involved in and the only mention of the loss of his arm is the single sentence ‘I went to the Boer War and lost my right arm at the battle of Belmont’.³⁴ Knight’s autobiography and works are far more satisfactory records of his career than of his life.

A. H. Savage Landor

‘One of my first experiences in life, at the age of two, was a flight of twenty feet through the air. I landed on my head’.³⁵ So begins Arnold Henry Savage Landor’s autobiography. It is a fittingly unusual beginning for the work of a man who defied easy categorisation. Labelled throughout his career as an artist, explorer, correspondent, adventurer, charlatan, humbug, inventor, possible spy, and author, Savage Landor revelled in being a mercurial figure. This is not merely a case of historians being frustrated in their quest for understanding. Reviewers of his books could not determine fact from fiction from exaggeration and, more tellingly perhaps, the Royal Geographical Society and Royal Institution vacillated between lauding his achievements,

³³ Robert John Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and Their Campaigns* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979) 252.

³⁴ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 319.

³⁵ Arnold Henry Savage Landor, *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1924), 9.

condemning his inaccuracies, and apologizing for those condemnations.³⁶ He declares himself so confident of his discoveries and position that he ‘seldom stooped to answer [...] unfair criticism from recognised idiots’, yet his letters were frequently seen in the pages of newspapers around the world responding contemptuously to actual criticisms and perceived slights from these same ‘recognised idiots’.³⁷ In his autobiography, *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer*, Savage Landor incorporates extracts from each of his accounts with reflections on his career and anecdotes about his society acquaintances. As with Knight’s *Reminiscences*, his personal life is largely omitted, though Savage Landor does devote some space to his relationships with his parents and his sister, Elfrida.

Born in Florence in 1865, A. H. Savage Landor was a grandson of the poet Walter Savage Landor, an association that inflected much of his career. The younger Savage Landor briefly studied engineering at the encouragement of his father but quickly abandoned it for painting. He apprenticed under Henry Jones Thaddeus and quickly established himself as an artist in Florence after having briefly attended the Académie Julian in Paris. From 1889 to 1891, Savage Landor travelled extensively and built his reputation as a portrait painter and Orientalist. Savage Landor’s first major expedition, a 3,800 mile trek and cruise among the Ainu of Yezo Island and the Kuriles, was coupled with months spent travelling and painting in China, Korea, and Japan. His first book *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* (1893) was hugely successful, elevating his reputation as an artist and launching his career as an adventurer.³⁸ The threatened invasion of Korea during the First Sino-Japanese War soon after its publication provided him with an opportunity to publish his account of the still poorly known country, *Corea or Cho-Sen* (1895).³⁹ His travels through China would make an appearance several years later, written into his account of the Boxer Uprising. 1901’s *China and the Allies* was the product of Savage Landor’s only

³⁶ Letter from Clements Markham to Savage Landor [1899, undated]; Letter from John Keltie to Savage Landor, May 9, 1899; and Report on Savage Landor’s Tibetan Findings, June 24, 1899, Savage Landor Correspondence CB7 1881-1910, Royal Geographical Society.

³⁷ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 195.

³⁸ A. H. Savage Landor, *Alone with the Hairy Ainu. or, 3,800 Miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and A Cruise to the Kurile Islands* (London: John Murray, 1893).

³⁹ A. H. Savage Landor, *Corea or Cho-sen: The Land of the Morning Calm* (London: William Heinemann, 1895).

experience as a war correspondent.⁴⁰ Though critics praised the account for its coverage of the war and history of China, many felt that Savage Landor's previous experiences in Tibet had given him a negative impression of Buddhist monks that influenced his views of the Boxers.⁴¹

The expedition that would launch Savage Landor to new heights of celebrity came at a great physical cost. In 1896, he had been granted British and Chinese visas to enter Tibet but was denied permission to enter the country by Tibetan officials. Without recognition from the British government in India, Savage Landor risked being executed if caught when he decided to sneak over the Mangshan pass in a storm and spend the next three months trekking towards Lhasa. Only a few days march from the capital he was arrested and tortured before being returned to the Indian border. *In the Forbidden Land* (1897) was a hybrid scientific-artistic adventure account hampered by the loss or destruction of the majority of his photographic plates and notebooks.⁴² The book detailed not only his attempt to reach Lhasa, but also the tortures he suffered after his capture by the Tibetan army. The sensation caused by his experience was heightened by his inclusion of detailed photographs of his scarred body in the text and his exhibiting of a map he had drawn in his own blood alongside his more conventional watercolour paintings of the region.⁴³ He would later attempt to return to Tibet, this time against explicit orders from the British Government in India not to enter the country. Savage Landor's stated plan of 'getting to interview some of the Tibetans who had tortured me, and perhaps repay[ing] them in kind' actually resulted in a more benign mountaineering and painting expedition, largely through Nepal.⁴⁴ *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described* (1905) was published by A. & C. Black as part of their Colour Books series and featured seventy-five plates, demonstrating most clearly of all his works Savage Landor's dual occupations as adventurer and artist.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ A. H. Savage Landor, *China and the Allies*, 2 vol. (London: Heinemann, 1901).

⁴¹ "Literature and Art," *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, June 5, 1901, 3.

⁴² A. H. Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land: An Account of a Journey into Tibet, Capture by the Tibetan Lamas and Soldiers, Imprisonment, Torture and Ultimate Release* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1898).

⁴³ "Mr. H. Savage Landor's Exhibition," *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 22, 1898, 2; "The Savage Landor Exhibition," *Morning Post*, December 14, 1898, 6.

⁴⁴ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 218.

⁴⁵ A. H. Savage Landor, *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described* (London: A. & C. Black, 1905).

The second phase of Savage Landor's career saw a transition from exploration to adventurous "feats", typically the crossing of a continent. In the first of these he travelled overland from Holland to India from August 1901 to early 1902. The frontispiece for the narrative of the voyage, *Across Coveted Lands*, showed Savage Landor posed with the two kittens that accompanied him from Kerman onwards, emphasising his unconventional approach to adventuring.⁴⁶ The travel narrative of the book received far less attention in the press than its political and economic musings. Savage Landor was praised for his 'sober examination of the economic condition of the countries through which he pass[ed]' which played on widespread fears over Russian involvement in Persia and resulted in 'a manual full of political and commercial hints'.⁴⁷ This was followed in 1903 by a journey throughout the Philippine Islands. Again, Savage Landor's scientific work, in this instance primarily ethnographic, was not accepted without reservations.⁴⁸ Though *The Outlook* found that his account, *Gems of the East* (1904), contained 'a wealth of information concerning the geography, topography, flora, fauna, resources, and industrial opportunities of the various isles,' *The Times* reviewer noted 'a certain intolerance of modern scientific notions, and a certain sketchiness of method' which raised doubts about the quality of Savage Landor's findings.⁴⁹ His commentary on the American governance of the archipelago divided his audience along national lines; the British press praised the comments which American reviewers considered 'gratuitous and superficial criticisms'.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ A. H. Savage Landor, *Across Coveted Lands, or A Journey from Flushing (Holland) to Calcutta, Overland* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1903).

⁴⁷ "Mr Savage Landor in Persia," *Times of India*, January 30, 1903, 4; "Coveted Lands," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, January 9, 1903, 6.

⁴⁸ A. H. Savage Landor, *Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904).

⁴⁹ "In the Philippines," *Times Literary Supplement*, June 24, 1904, 195; "Books of the Week," *The Outlook*, June 25, 1904, 475.

⁵⁰ "Books of the Day," *Manchester Courier*, July 8, 1904; "Books of the Week," *The Outlook*, June 25, 1904, 475.

The title of his next tome, *Across Widest Africa*, gives an accurate summary of its contents. Savage Landor landed in Djibouti and travelled on foot and by canoe to Cape Verde.⁵¹ He devoted the opening chapters to a detailed examination of the Abyssinian court and society. The year-long expedition resulted in an improved map of Central Africa but the remainder of its scientific content was criticized as being the result of overly hasty recording and assumptions rather than rigorous tests or accurate data collection. The most controversial of his claims was to deny the existence of the Tsetse fly, which had only recently been linked to the spread of sleeping sickness, but which had been accepted as a species since the 1850s, a sketch of one even gracing the cover page of Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*.⁵² The result of his final expedition, *Across Unknown South America* (1913), once again saw Savage Landor in the centre of a controversy. The expedition lasted fifteen months and consisted of an overland trek across the Mato Grosso province, a canoe navigation down the Arinos River to its meeting point with the Amazon and ended with a brief tour through Peru, Chile, Bolivia and Argentina.⁵³ His work navigating and mapping the as yet uncharted Arinos River was praised though there were serious doubts regarding his claims of having survived for sixteen days without provisions in the forest of Mato Grosso. More dramatic was the response to his criticism of Theodore Roosevelt and his expedition; the two attacked one another in letters to the editors of various papers and in interviews. This ultimately contributed to Roosevelt's decision to cancel a public lecture in London in favour of speaking only to the Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society.⁵⁴

Throughout his career, Savage Landor would return to his parent's home in Florence in order to pursue another hobby: inventing. When not adventuring or writing up his adventures,

⁵¹ A. H. Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa: An Account of the Country and People of Eastern, Central and Western Africa as seen during a Twelve Months' Journey from Djibouti to Cape Verde*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd, 1907).

⁵² David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels in South Africa; Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857), 80-81; William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, *Environment and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 193-194.

⁵³ A. H. Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, 2 vols. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913).

⁵⁴ "Unknown Brazil," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, May 8, 1914, 7; "The Wilds of Brazil," *The Times*, May 9, 1914, 7; "Mr. Roosevelt's London Lecture," *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, June 5, 1914, 6; "Roosevelt's Personality," *The Times of India*, June 20, 1914, 11.

Savage Landor passed much of his time in attempting to build flying machines. His first glider managed to briefly leave the ground on its test flight but was destroyed as he attempted to land it. Later attempts were more successful: in 1906 his twin-motor and twin-propeller airplane made such a metaphorical splash when demonstrated in Paris that the Wright brothers adopted a modified version of the design.⁵⁵ Lack of an equally visionary financier forced Savage Landor to abandon his plans to build a submarine to reach the North Pole, an endeavour which probably would have been as successful as that of S. A. André, who died attempting to reach the North Pole in a hot air balloon.⁵⁶ Despite his love of mechanical marvels, Savage Landor avoided mechanised transport on his expeditions, using human or animal power instead.

The outbreak of the First World War provided Savage Landor with his next adventure. He ran dispatches between Paris and Antwerp until the fall of the latter and then travelled through Northern France photographing the war. The early years of the war provided Savage Landor with a field for his varied inventions; he claimed to have developed ‘an apparatus for squirting chlorine gas,’ an armoured car that could be driven from either end, an armoured motorcycle, and a dirigible shaped like a fish rather than the popular ‘elongated sausage’ shape.⁵⁷ His decision to traverse the entire Italian front raised some suspicion in London and an investigation was launched by Special Intelligence into the nature of his connections with the Italian General Staff.⁵⁸

As the final acts of their careers, both Knight and Savage Landor attempted to participate in the coverage of the First World War, though in extremely different ways. Knight produced two slim volumes on the war from maritime perspectives. The first, titled *The Harwich Naval Forces: Their Part in the Great War*, was a ‘summary of the gallant doings of the Harwich Forces in the course of the war’.⁵⁹ Unlike all of his previous works, in which Knight’s presence

⁵⁵ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 392-393.

⁵⁶ Anthony Brandt, *The North Pole: A Narrative History* (Washington, D. C.: National Geographic, 2005), 367-368.

⁵⁷ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 502, 503-504, 509-511.

⁵⁸ Letter from A. W. Foster to John Keltie, December 12, 1916, Keltie Correspondence, CB8/50, Royal Geographical Society.

⁵⁹ E. F. Knight, *The Harwich Naval Forces: Their Part in the Great War* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919), vi.

at the scene allowed him to write from a place of authority, this one was composed from ‘conversations with those who were eye-witnesses of and participators in the events’.⁶⁰ The second, *The Union-Castle and the War: 1914-1919*, followed a similar format and was composed primarily from articles previously published in the *Morning Post*. It was published by Union Castle for ‘the men afloat as well as [...] the Staffs of the Companies [*sic*] Offices & Workshops’, a much more specialised audience than usual.⁶¹ Both of these accounts see Knight passively receiving the observations of others rather than actively observing events as he had done in all previous conflicts. He was no longer a participant in the grand adventure. Savage Landor, conversely, embraced the war as an opportunity for further adventures and to participate more actively in a conflict than he had previously. During the course of the war he worked as a messenger in Belgium and then toured the Italian front. By the end of the war he could claim to be one of the only private citizens who had seen the entire Western Front.⁶² Certain of his claims are difficult to verify – such as his rescue of a wounded man in Ostend immediately before it fell to the Germans or his afternoon spent with King Victor Emmanuel looking over photographs – but, as mentioned above, his intimacy with the Italian General Staff was such that British Military Intelligence began an investigation.⁶³ He gave several lectures in London and Edinburgh, but ultimately did not produce a record of his wartime adventures. These were the final adventures – or rather, in Knight’s case, adventurous publications – of both men’s careers.

The mid-1920s saw a surge of adventurer and correspondent autobiographies being published, as those who had survived their assignments and adventures rushed to publish in their final years. Knight and Savage Landor’s approaches to the project differed, as they had throughout their careers. Knight’s autobiography, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent*, contained some passages taken from his adventure accounts but was primarily used to add an additional dimension to his accounts through the inclusion of more personal anecdotes. It is, however, essentially a professional document. After the initial

⁶⁰ Knight, *The Harwich Naval Forces*, vi.

⁶¹ Owen Philipps, dedication to *The Union-Castle and the War: 1914-1919*, by E. F. Knight (London: The Union Castle Mail Steamship Co., 1920).

⁶² A. H. Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 512, 529.

⁶³ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 491, 521; Captain A. W. Forster to John Keltie, 12 December, 1916, Keltie Correspondence, CB8/50:9, Royal Geographical Society.

chapters describing his childhood and youth, the entire focus of the book is on his expeditions and assignments, with little to no mention of the time spent in London between them. The review in *The Times* praised Knight's ability to 'double the fascination of [his] narratives by presenting them in vivid and polished prose', which elevated his work above those of his compatriots.⁶⁴ Savage Landor's autobiography, humbly titled *Everywhere: Memoirs of an Explorer*, is a massive tome. As one reviewer remarked, 'as a title "everywhere" is inadequate; "and Everything" is indispensable to indicate the scope of this autobiography'.⁶⁵ The chapters concerning his expeditions are composed almost entirely of excerpts from his published adventure accounts, with little new material added. Unlike Knight, however, Savage Landor provides detailed accounts of his life in between expeditions as well as several chapters listing his famous acquaintances.

The careers of the professional adventurers were inherently dangerous and many did not survive long enough to retire. Violent deaths became less common as the nineteenth century progressed, but disease remained a constant threat. The memorial plaques commemorating the correspondents who died during the Sudan and Boer Wars in St Paul's Cathedral provide some idea of the number of correspondents lost on each campaign. The deaths of certain correspondents, notably G. W. Steevens, were romanticised and helped to secure their legacy.⁶⁶ Those that did survive often died relatively young due to health problems acquired while on expeditions, such as malarial fever. Knight and Savage Landor were among those whose health suffered from the consequences of years spent on the frontiers of empire. The petitions made to the Royal Literary Fund by the wives of Frank Scudamore and Edmund Candler indicate that they too suffered from poor health attributed to an adventurous career.⁶⁷ Savage Landor's health had been severely damaged during his Tibetan and South American expeditions although he

⁶⁴ "A War Correspondent's Travels," May 8, 1923, *The Times*, 19.

⁶⁵ "Everywhere," November 20, 1924, *The Times Literary Supplement*, 754.

⁶⁶ Laurence Davies, "'A Sideways Ending to it All': G.W. Steevens, Blackwood, and the *Daily Mail*," in *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930*, ed. David Finkelstein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 236-237.

⁶⁷ Royal Literary Fund Application from Olive Candler, Royal Literary Fund Collection, 96 RLF 1/3261, British Library; Royal Literary Fund Application from May Scudamore, Royal Literary Fund Collection, 96 RLF 1/3361, British Library.

attributed many of his physical complaints to periods of idleness.⁶⁸ He died in 1924 following a slow decline due to illness. His obituaries reflected the controversy he had generated throughout his life, with *Outlook* suggesting his works had been as trustworthy as those of Herodotus and Marco Polo.⁶⁹ Knight died in 1925, also following a long illness.⁷⁰ The writers of Knight's obituaries were less critical than Savage Landor's had been, praising his 'sterling character and perennial boyishness' and describing his accounts as written 'in the delightful style of which he never ceased to be master'.⁷¹

Why did they vanish?

The world changed rapidly in the years following the First World War, and the likes of Knight and Savage Landor had (essentially) outlived their relevance. The incomprehensible devastation of the War shook British society to its core. In the aftermath of the conflict dashing tales of consequence-free adventure felt frivolous and out of touch. C. E. Montague captured a sense of the period in *Disenchantment*, writing that 'effort is less fun than it was, and many things somewhat dull that used to sparkle with interest [...] buzzing about our heads there are importunate suspicions that much of what we used to do so keenly was hardly worth doing'.⁷² It is easy to see how the gleefully purposeless exploits of the professional adventurers could have lost their sparkle. At the time of their deaths, over a decade had passed since their last major publications, barring their memoirs, and since neither had covered WWI from the front or produced a substantial work on the conflict, they had largely been absent from the public eye. Their memoirs, when published in 1924 and 1923, respectively, were part of what one reviewer referred to as part of 'a large tribe' as 'most correspondents write reminiscences when their

⁶⁸ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 194, 218.

⁶⁹ "Landor, the Explorer," January 7, 1925, *The Outlook*, 9.

⁷⁰ "Mr. E. F. Knight," July 4, 1925, *The Times*, 16.

⁷¹ "Mr. E. F. Knight," July 4, 1925, *The Times*, 16.

⁷² C. E. Montague, *Disenchantment* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1924), 208.

campaigning days are over'.⁷³ Regardless of their prior reputations, it was easy for their autobiographies to be seen as just two more additions to an already saturated market.

Not all professional adventurers and war correspondents have faded into obscurity, a small number have been the subject of academic research. The most prominent of these is H. M. Stanley, the most notorious of the special correspondents and an important figure in scholarship on British imperialism in Africa and the "Scramble for Africa".⁷⁴ Figures such as G. W. Steevens and Frank Powers secured their place in the popular and scholarly pantheon in large part through dramatic or heroic deaths while involved in an event of wider historical significance. Steevens succumbed to enteric fever during the siege of Ladysmith while drinking a champagne toast with a friend and Frank Powers was killed as he attempted to leave Khartoum to alert the world to Gordon's plight.⁷⁵ Their works are examined primarily in relation to the wars they covered and the publishing industry. They are memorialised alongside the other correspondents who died in the Sudan and Boer Wars in the crypt at St Paul's Cathedral, enshrining their place in public memory. The work of certain military officers who acted as war correspondents has in some instances taken the place of the work of actual war correspondents. This is most obvious in histories of the Sudan War and the Second Anglo-Boer War, where Winston Churchill's accounts and exploits have usurped the place of other accounts despite Churchill's clear bibliography of his original sources. A telling example of this is Diana Barsham's work on Arthur Conan Doyle's time in the Sudan, which uses Churchill's *The River War* but does not include any mention of Knight, who accompanied Conan Doyle on his trek.⁷⁶ Though the works

⁷³ "The Book Table: Rhyme and Reason," *The Outlook*, September 2, 1925, 26; "A War Correspondent's Travels," *The Times*, May 08, 1923, 19.

⁷⁴ Examples include: Marysa Demoor, "When the King Becomes your Personal Enemy: W. T. Stead, King Leopold II, and the Congo Free State," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013): 1-13; Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006); Felix Driver, "Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire," *Past & Present* 133 (November, 1991): 134-166; Laura E. Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855-1902* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Gabriel Warburg, "European Travellers and Administrators in Sudan before and after the Mahdiyya," *Middle Eastern Studies* 41, no. 1 (Jan., 2005): 55-77.

⁷⁵ Davies, "'A Sideways Ending to it All'," 236-237; Brian Thompson, *Imperial Vanities: The Adventures of the Baker Brothers and Gordon of Khartoum* (London: Harper Collins, 2003) 248-249.

of both men have continued to appear from time to time in popular and scholarly works on travel and empire, they are rarely the central focus, instead being used to enhance or clarify other sources or as an aside.⁷⁷ This modern willingness to overlook the works of other professional adventurers and war correspondents, though understandable, ultimately results in an anaemic and overly mediated representation of events.

In the case of Knight and Savage Landor an unfortunate confluence of factors – their survival into the 1920s, their inability to adjust their styles to the needs of WWI and beyond, and shifting public interests – resulted in their disappearance from the public consciousness. There is no justifiable reason for their works to have been forgotten or for a continued ignorance of their contributions to the development of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century cultural imaginary of the edges of the British Empire. As research like Berny Sèbe’s on Steevens role in the construction of the Kitchener legend has demonstrated, valuable insights into imperialism, national character, the press and publishing industry, and heroic figures can be gained by examining the lives and works of professional adventurers, regardless of whether or not their expeditions and accounts produced any substantial scientific, geographical, or ethnographic results.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Diana Barsham, *Arthur Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁷⁷ A number of these include: Scott Clark, *Japan, A View from the Bath* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994); F. Herbert, “‘Back to the Drawing Board’: Map-Making and the Royal Geographical Society (1830-1990),” in *Dissemination of Cartographic Knowledge: Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography*, eds. M. Altić, I. Demhardt, and S. Vervust (New York: Springer, 2018): 147-172; Jeffrey B. Spurr, “Person and Place: The Construction of Ronald Graham’s Persian Photo Album,” *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 193-223; Jo Yoong-hee, “Joseon and Her People Shown in the Travel Report of Campbell in the Late 19th Century,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 11, no. 1 (Mar., 2008): 47-66; Stephen Alomes, “Ceremonial Visions of Australia,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 11 (1987): 49-58; Richard Baum, “Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Boston Tradition,” *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* 110, no. 1 (2000): 46-48; David Pinault, *Horse of Karbala: Muslim Devotional Life in India* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); AB Rashid Shiekh, “Changing Agrarian Landscape of Kashmir: A Case Study of Lawrence Settlement,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 73 (2012): 844-852.

⁷⁸ Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

Writings

Many adventure narratives follow a similar format, employ standardised tropes to describe locations, and are often even made up of similar events – the charging elephant, for instance, was a common feature that could be told for either excitement or humour – so it was the author’s personal style that made their work distinct.⁷⁹ The essential differences between E. F. Knight and A. H. Savage Landor’s writing styles can be summarised succinctly as Knight followed the rules of the genre and Savage Landor flouted them. This is true both stylistically and in terms of form. Knight’s work challenges understandings from within the confines of the genre while Savage Landor’s efforts to defy the stylistic conventions of the genre provide a counterpoint against which canonical adventure texts can be read. This is essential for although Savage Landor’s tone borders on the satirical in much of his work, he remained devoted to the concept of adventure and his position as an adventurer. The forms taken by their adventure accounts span a range of printed material, expanding the potential audience for their works but the majority of the time heavy alterations were not made in the transition from newspaper article to book, for example, which resulted in a similarity of content across mediums. Examining the rather “rebellious” texts of Savage Landor alongside Knight’s more traditional works allows one to identify the narrative and ideological elements that shaped the genre in all its forms.

Though he attributes his ‘passion for travel’ to reading Sir Samuel Baker’s African travel accounts at a young age, Savage Landor’s explanation for his unique approach to the adventure account emphasised his distance from the world of letters: ‘I had, in my life, read few books, reading being always one of the things I most detested [...] I had no idea whatever how to write, nor how a book should be constructed’.⁸⁰ Modesty, however false it may have been, was an expected feature of the preface, a gesture that excused the journalist for venturing into book form but one that did not actually reflect any real concerns about substance and style. This insistence

⁷⁹ A selection of the appearances made by charging elephants include: Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, 14-15; Rudyard Kipling, *Many Inventions* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899), 48-78 (which features both a charging elephant and one that refuses to move); G. A. Henty, *The Young Colonists: A Story of the Zulu and Boer Wars* (London: Blackie & Son, 1898), 173-175; H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon’s Mines* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 41-43; and W. D. M. Bell, *The Wanderings of an Elephant Hunter* (London: George Newnes, 1923), 3-4.

⁸⁰ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 15, 132.

that he could only ‘write as simply as possible and quite regardless of elegance in style’ may have been an attempt to further distinguish himself from his grandfather, a Romantic poet whose legacy frequently threatened to overshadowed Savage Landor’s own.⁸¹ Related to this is Savage Landor’s refusal to quote poetry in his accounts. Extracts from poetry and literature were often used by the professional adventurer to highlight an emotional or aesthetic scene. When quoting poetry, the author is generally not given and slight errors are occasionally included in order to suggest to the reader that the lines were spontaneously recalled in the field. W. H. Hudson uses this technique when quoting Longfellow’s ‘A Day of Sunshine’ to describe the Patagonian sun: ‘Rising each morning I could reverently exclaim with the human singer, ‘O gift of God! O perfect day!/ Whereon should no man work but play’’.⁸² It was such an ingrained feature of the genre that novelists who mimicked the adventure account included it. Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines*, written from the perspective of one of the adventurers, includes a stanza from Walter Scott’s ‘Marmion’ followed by the line ‘as I think the ‘Ingoldsby Legends’ beautifully puts it’.⁸³ Extracts from literary texts were also used to reinforce an opinion. For example, Knight quotes from Frank Marryat’s *Frank Mildmay* in order to more accurately estimate the date at which the trees on Trinidad islet died off.⁸⁴ Another unique feature of Savage Landor’s writings is the space dedicated to scientific record keeping. While scientific explorers would publish their exploration accounts and scientific reports separately, Savage Landor’s position as an ambitious amateur resulted in a hybrid amalgamation of the two. Mileages, elevations, weather, etc., are all painstakingly recorded, often to the detriment of the overall narrative. Knight, like most other professional adventurers, occasionally raises a point of potential interest to science or offers a conjecture on the history or flora and fauna of a region but makes no claims to expertise.

Narratives of travel and exploration were one of the most popular genres of the Victorian period; when novels with adventure themes are included their share of the market is even greater. In his history of the publishing firm Longmans, Asa Briggs shows how, for the purposes of

⁸¹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 132.

⁸² William Henry Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923) 116.

⁸³ Haggard, *King Solomon’s Mines*, 141.

⁸⁴ Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Alerte’*, 156-7.

publisher's circulars from 1877 onwards, the heading 'Travel, Voyages, &c' was used for both factual and fictional accounts related to travel.⁸⁵ As Andrea White notes, travel accounts had been the second most commonly printed books after religious texts since the late eighteenth century.⁸⁶ Colonial editions, cheap editions, translations, abridgements, and extracts included in other works further extended the audience for Knight and Savage Landor's works. Between the two, Knight and Savage Landor's works were published in most popular formats, making them accessible to a wide audience. Before being published in book form, Knight's despatches were published in his commissioning paper, either *The Times* or the *Morning Post* and then frequently reprinted in the regional daily papers. The first several chapters of Savage Landor's *In the Forbidden Land* were serialised in the *Daily Mail* prior to its publication to generate and then capitalise on widespread public interest.⁸⁷ Weekly illustrated papers such as *Graphic* and *Illustrated London News* also published features on Savage Landor and his account.⁸⁸ As was the norm with special correspondents who published accounts upon their return, Knight's accounts are the collected despatches from a campaign that have been extended and supplemented to better suit the book format. Savage Landor's unique position as an artist and adventurer influenced the form his accounts took. They tended to be luxury items, bound in coloured and embossed leather and lavishly illustrated. Most of Savage Landor's accounts retailed at 30s. (the equivalent of roughly £90 today), placing them well beyond the average adventure account in terms of price.⁸⁹ Popular editions were printed, as well as cheap editions, but the initial glamour of Savage Landor's texts remained and inflected how his works were received.

⁸⁵ Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and Their Books 1724-1990, Longevity in Publishing* (London: The British Library, 2008), 280.

⁸⁶ Andrea White, *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9.

⁸⁷ The *Daily Mail* ran excerpts from *In the Forbidden Land* under the title "Towards Lhasa: Adventures and Perils in the Land of the Lamas" daily from March 2-13, 1898, each accompanied by multiple illustrations.

⁸⁸ "Personal," *Illustrated London News*, October 9, 1897, 484; "The Grand Lama of Tibet," *Illustrated London News*, October 23, 1897, 569; "An Englishman in Tibet," *Graphic*, October 15, 1898, 510.

⁸⁹ The majority of adventure accounts ranged in price from 6s. to 20s. according to the pricing information published in the *English Catalogue of Books*.

What drew audiences to tales of adventure in far off places were often the exotic settings and moments of peril. With the exception of the cheapest editions, adventure accounts included illustrations and/or photographs to increase their appeal. The images in Knight's account were typically compiled from multiple sources. His own sketches and photographs were supplemented with those of an artist, frequently a soldier-artist with whom Knight had become acquainted while on a campaign. Linked with many of his accounts' initial status as text-only despatches, the images are secondary to the text. An inversion of this is seen in some of Savage Landor's works, in which images are positioned at the forefront. This is most clearly seen in two of his accounts, *Across Coveted Lands* and *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described*, where the list of illustrations is given in lieu of a traditional table of contents.⁹⁰ *In the Forbidden Land* contains 250 illustrations – comprised of in-text sketches, full plates, and full colour plates – showing most clearly the relative dominance of the image in Savage Landor's work in comparison with other adventure accounts. Additionally, the act of capturing images plays a larger role in his works than in other adventure accounts. Even once he had primarily transitioned from painting to photography Savage Landor detailed not only the process of capturing an image but also how his subjects – when human – responded. Lastly, the frontispiece in an exploration account was typically a portrait of the explorer and most war correspondents' accounts used a portrait of the officer in charge in that place unless they had firmly established their reputations. Savage Landor, however, frequently devoted this important space to a portrait of the servants and guides who had accompanied him on his expedition, sometimes posed with him, sometimes on their own. Other frontispieces included images of Buddhist monks, indigenous peoples, and scenery. The effect of some of these decisions will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Three. For now, it is enough to emphasise that the initial images in Savage Landor's accounts were representative of what he found interesting or important on the expedition, not what publishers or audiences expected.

While their writing styles and experiences differed substantially – Knight, for all his adventurous travel, rarely found himself in anywhere near as many perilous predicaments as Savage Landor – both men established successful careers as professional adventurers. This next section will examine how both men represented themselves in their work, using their

⁹⁰ A. Henry Savage Landor, *Across Coveted Lands, or A Journey from Flushing (Holland) to Calcutta, Overland* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1903) v-vii; A. Henry Savage Landor, *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described* (London: A. & C. Black, 1905) vii-x.

autobiographies to track how their conceptions of themselves or how they wanted audiences to perceive them changed over the course of their careers. It will begin with an examination of the personas that Knight and Savage Landor created for themselves, demonstrating that although the adventurer was a distinct figure in the cultural imaginary, both men actively challenged assumptions surrounding the figure. The question of fame and celebrity will then be addressed, using Knight and Savage Landor to explore the distinctions between the two categories. Finally, it will deconstruct one element of the myth of the adventurer: their independence. The cultural assumption of the adventurer as an independent actor will be shown to be highly inaccurate as an expedition's success was largely financially and physically dependent on outside forces.

Self-Fashioning

It has already been established that the term professional adventurer, though effective, is anachronistic. Neither Knight nor Savage Landor considered himself a “professional adventurer”. The titles of Knight and Landor’s autobiographies give one some idea of what they considered themselves to be: Knight, a ‘yachtsman and war correspondent’ and Savage Landor, an ‘explorer’.⁹¹ For Knight, his identity was wrapped up in his profession. Savage Landor’s use of the word explorer suggests that he saw himself as a member of a rather elite fraternity from which he had been largely rejected and coveted a title to which he had little claim. Stephen Greenblatt has argued in his ground-breaking work in the field of literature and identity, that

self-fashioning occurs at the point of encounter between an authority and an alien, that what is produced in this encounter partakes of both the authority and the alien that is marked for attack, and hence that any achieved identity always contains within itself the signs of its own subversion or loss.⁹²

This explanation of the process of self-fashioning mirrors ideas surrounding the Other, in which the self can only exist with something against which it can be compared and contrasted. Knight

⁹¹ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 3; Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 3.

⁹² Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9.

and Savage Landor were both aware of the expectations surrounding their professions and actively cultivated personas that built on but also circumvented those expectations, sometimes contradicting their own earlier assertions in order to better respond to cultural changes and expectations.

Riffenburgh's suggestion that adventurers who followed assignments rather than exploring wherever they wished were primarily motivated by 'financial incentive' overlooks the fact that in most cases the physical risks outweighed the financial reward.⁹³ Without the sense of a higher calling that devout missionaries had or the military or scientific goals of officially sanctioned explorers and adventurers, there must have been an underlying factor beyond financial gain to explain why the professional adventurers did what they did. Elaine Freedgood's work on risk demonstrates that for Victorian audiences, reading about others undertaking risks 'plucked [danger] out of its hiding place in the invisible reaches of the future and brought [it] into the present, to be experienced, survived and thus eradicated' but that for those undertaking the risks themselves, there was pleasure found in activities that 'function[ed] as an antidote to the intense asceticism of the Protestant ethic'.⁹⁴ Risk, then, served a psychological purpose for both the risk taker and their audience. This mental call to or desire for risk and adventure is implicit in the works of the professional adventurers. The opening lines of Knight's autobiography are revealing in this sense:

Now [...] that the infirmities that follow a rough life in bad climates prevents me from continuing my career of travel, campaigning and ocean cruising [...] I have bethought me to write this volume of reminiscences. [...] as I look back over the seventy odd years that I have lived, I realize that I have had a very good innings, that I have seen a great deal of this wide and wonderful world, and that for many reasons I ought to be happy that mine has been the joyous career of a rolling stone rather than that of some home-staying, money-grubbing lawyer.⁹⁵

The closing lines of Savage Landor's autobiography paint a strikingly similar picture:

⁹³ Riffenburgh, *Myth of the Explorer*, 111.

⁹⁴ Elaine Freedgood, *Victorian Writing About Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1,83.

⁹⁵ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 9.

Many of my acquaintances tell me that I have had a horrible life, others, on the contrary, claim that mine has been an ideal existence. It all depends, of course, the way you look at things. When people ask me point blank:

“If you had to live over again, would you choose the identical life you have had?” I unhesitatingly reply:

“Yes, certainly.”⁹⁶

Both men acknowledge that the stress and hardships of life as an adventurer have had serious physical consequences yet both also assert that it was preferable to any alternative. Knight’s use of a term with such negative connotations to describe the work of a lawyer, does strongly suggest that financial gain was not one his primary incentives for pursuing a life of adventure. It affirms that being a professional adventurer was a choice that was made, rather than an accident of fate especially as both had trained in other professions that would have allowed them to provide for their families without engaging in serious physical risk.

When one imagines an adventurer, and certainly a Victorian adventurer, there are certain features that spring instantly to mind thanks to the continuing reinforcement of the cultural imaginary. The pith helmet, khaki suit, and well-trimmed moustache, the large white canvas tent, cot, and rifle seem to be necessary accoutrements of any self-respecting adventurer. Apart from the physical attributes, the personality of the adventurer was assumed to be coarse and larger than life, an assumption supported in part by what Pat Hodgson describes as the public presentation of a ‘swashbuckling Hemingway-like group personality’.⁹⁷ While these assumptions have some basis in reality they are equally the product of the imaginations of novelists, artists, and, later, filmmakers. They have, however, remained impressively durable since the nineteenth century. The expected physical appearance of the professional adventure was one aspect of the identity of the adventurer that neither Knight nor Savage Landor actively cultivated. A profile published in the *St James Gazette* prior to the sailing of the *Alerte* noted the author’s shock upon first meeting Knight:

In appearance the venturesome yachtsman is, it must be admitted, a disappointing person. One naturally seeks for a rollicking, red-faced, rough-tongued individual; one finds a tall, thin, ascetic, professorial-looking gentleman in spectacles, whose manner is unusually quiet, and whose very speech is low, modest, and almost hesitating in its unobtrusiveness. But, as one converses with him one realizes the

⁹⁶ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 576.

⁹⁷ Pat Hodgson, *The War Illustrators* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1977), 20.

deceptive nature of externals. He has been everywhere and done everything; he is “hard as nails”⁹⁸

As with their writing styles, Knight seemed to be less invested than Savage Landor in emphasising his uniqueness. Little attention is devoted in his accounts or his autobiography to his appearance and its apparent unsuitability for his profession. However, while Savage Landor was limited to reproducing himself in his adventure accounts and autobiography, Knight also wrote three novels that allowed him the freedom to create an ideal adventurer who, perhaps unsurprisingly, strongly resembled Knight. 1898’s *A Desperate Voyage* features Arthur Allen, a barrister with little interest in a law career who owns a yawl, *Petrel*, of the same tonnage as Knight’s *Falcon* and who is introduced to the reader thus: ‘one would have surmised after glancing at the strong, intelligent face, he was a man by no means lacking in energy, and not of idle disposition’ devoted ‘to literary pursuits’ whose primary ‘form of amusement was the sailing of his little yacht, on which, always acting as his own skipper, he had taken many a delightful cruise in home and distant waters. He was an enthusiastic lover of the sea’.⁹⁹ Perhaps more indicative of a desire on Knight’s part to reshape the culturally imagined adventurer was the novel’s doomed protagonist, Henry Carew, an immoral solicitor who has gambled away his clients’ trust funds and in the process of fleeing to Argentina murders Allen and steals his boat. Carew would not have disappointed Knight’s profiler: ‘One might have taken Henry Carew for a sailor, but he was very unlike the typical solicitor. He was a big, hearty man of thirty-five, with all a sailor’s bluff manner and generous ways’, a man ‘morally weak though physically brave’.¹⁰⁰ Knight’s inversion of the stereotypes surrounding his two main characters and his drawing of quite obvious parallels between himself and Allen reveals a dissatisfaction with how he was perceived; he did not readily see himself in the traditional adventurer and so created an ideal adventurous hero in his own image.

In *Everywhere* Savage Landor provides several instances of how assumptions surrounding the appearance of the adventurer allowed him to overhear various peoples’ thoughts on his career. In Michael Pickering’s words, the late nineteenth century stereotype of the

⁹⁸ “A Chance for Treasure Seekers,” *St James Gazette*, June 15, 1889, 3.

⁹⁹ E. F. Knight, *A Desperate Voyage* (London: John Milne, 1898), 12-13.

¹⁰⁰ Knight, *A Desperate Voyage*, 6, 7.

imperial hero was of a figure that ‘combined the self-help ethos and a strident individualism with patriotic racism and a militaristic masculinity’.¹⁰¹ Presented as humorous anecdotes, these stories also allow one to better understand how society viewed the adventurer and what expectations surrounded the role. They also provided Savage Landor with welcome opportunities to emphasise his iconoclastic nature. To take one example, on board an ocean liner from Liverpool he was seated next to a couple examining the passenger list. The couple proceeded to attempt to spot Savage Landor and he recorded the following account of their conversation:

“Surely there he is!” as they picked out a rough, unshaven Western-American dressed in corduroy, who tore with his teeth at a leg of chicken which he held in his fingers. “You can see at once he is an explorer and not a gentleman! Is he not filthy? I do not believe he has washed for a whole month! Does he not look a regular savage? I suppose people get queer in those awful countries. I would rather remain a spinster for life than marry an explorer!”¹⁰²

Savage Landor’s inclusion of this conversation reveals his own desire to challenge assumptions. He wanted his audience to understand that he was so thoroughly a gentleman that he was unaffected by his experiences. In a similar incident, Savage Landor recounts how his American lecture promoter was ‘furious because [...] I would not dress like an explorer’.¹⁰³ Savage Landor’s desire to playfully mock those who clung rigidly to their imagined view of the adventurer comes through in a third instance when, after being mistaken for a gallery attendant at his Tibetan exhibition by a young man trying to impress his female companions by claiming to be close friends with the adventurer, Savage Landor remarked to him that ‘Some visitors to the Gallery told me the other day that I rather resembled him in appearance’.¹⁰⁴ The young man responded: ““You think you are like Landor? Never! The sooner you get that out of your head the better. Why, Landor is a rough sort of chap – you can see he is a daredevil a mile off. He is not a namby-pamby chap like you!””¹⁰⁵ In Savage Landor’s telling, the young man is incapable of seeing the resemblance between the bearded, haggard-looking man in the portrait of the

¹⁰¹ Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 129.

¹⁰² Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 211.

¹⁰³ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 214.

¹⁰⁴ Savage Landor *Everywhere*, 210.

¹⁰⁵ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 211.

adventurer and the well-dressed, slender, “namby-pamby chap” in front of him because of how strongly ingrained the concept of the adventurer is in his mind. As in the previous examples, Savage Landor uses this anecdote to show his audiences how distinct he is: not only is he the sort of person that other people want to know or are at the very least intrigued by, he stands apart from the “typical” adventurer as well. Greenblatt has written that self-fashioning ‘is always, though not exclusively, in language’.¹⁰⁶ These anecdotes all confirm this argument because how they have been recorded by their authors and the meanings that these authors have ascribed to them is the only record that remains that they ever happened. To varying extents, both Knight and Savage Landor acknowledged that they did not resemble the ideal adventurer but refused to alter their appearances or personalities to be more acceptable, instead choosing to use their works to refashion the ideal in their own images.

The autobiography served the important function of allowing Knight and Savage Landor to present a final, “authorised” version of themselves. In Paul de Man’s work on self-fashioning, he describes autobiography as the ‘convergence of aesthetics and history’, a convergence which renders it unsuitable for the rigid classification of a genre.¹⁰⁷ The facts of a life are the history with the way in which it is told, including any fabrication, as the aesthetic component. Knight and Savage Landor’s lives and careers had spanned the Victorian and Edwardian eras, the First World War, and the early interwar period, thus, some change, either as a result of personal circumstances or as a response to societal pressure, was most likely inevitable. Both men used the platform of the autobiography to rail against some of the social and cultural changes that they were uncomfortable with. Knight bemoans the prevalence of ‘night clubs and the cocaine orgies’ due to the increase of ‘newly leisured’ classes.¹⁰⁸ Savage Landor’s complaints were political in nature, he considered communist and socialist revolutionaries to be either useless dreamers or ‘hypocrites who availed themselves of the ignorance of the populace to amass fortunes for themselves’.¹⁰⁹ More importantly, however, is their use of their autobiographies to rework certain aspects of themselves. In Knight’s case, his autobiography allowed him to create a more

¹⁰⁶ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Paul de Man, “Autobiography as De-facement,” *MLN* 94, no. 5 (Dec., 1979): 919.

¹⁰⁸ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 43.

¹⁰⁹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 559.

prominent role for himself in his accounts while for Savage Landor it provided an opportunity to overwrite problematic traits and events.

Knight used his autobiography to situate himself more fully in the stories he was telling. Without the constraints of newspaper employment and creating an account from his published despatches, Knight no longer had to portray himself as simply an observer. As Robert Wilkinson-Latham has shown, the writing style of war despatches favoured by newspaper audiences during the 1880s-1900s was one where the war correspondents ‘cast themselves as the supporting players’ in the adventure narrative of the war and the ‘criterion now was not accuracy but the ability to excite’.¹¹⁰ During his South American expeditions Knight had been able to write as the central participant but that had not been possible on the majority of his campaigns. The role of the observer is one that confers authority as an eyewitness but it is ultimately a passive position, and with the steady increase in the number of correspondents that were present on each campaign, one where it became increasingly difficult to differentiate oneself and stand out. In addition, the individuals who were held up as heroes were the officers and soldiers. The observers were there to help make heroes, not become them. The autobiography, then, provided Knight with an opportunity to assert his possession of some of the adventurous qualities he had spent his career celebrating in others.

Although Knight may have accepted that he did not look the part of the adventurer, *Reminiscences* provided him with a way to show his readers that he had always possessed the adventurous qualities for which he would eventually become known. His first adventure account was marketed as a traditional travel narrative with the inherent element of adventure that came from travelling in a region that was little visited by Britons. It was also written while he was still pursuing a legal career and needed to maintain a certain level of decorum. A comparison of the two versions of how Knight joined the expedition makes this difference in self-presentation amusingly clear. The first is in the original account, the second from his autobiography:

One day last autumn I was sitting in my Temple chambers, wondering what I should do with myself in the Long Vacation, when I was aroused from a reverie by the entrance of my clerk.

“Here is Mr. N., sir.”

“Show him in.”

¹¹⁰ Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and Their Campaigns* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), 136, 137.

N. entered, and his chance visit solved my problem.

“Don’t know what to do with yourself? Why, I have the very thing for you. Three friends of mine [...] are preparing for a tour in Albania.”¹¹¹

One afternoon I took it into my head to go to a great jingo meeting in Cremorne Gardens where there might be some fun, as there generally was at these tumultuous assemblies. [...] A speech made by a pro-Russian of course stirred up a riot in which some heads were broken and all the decorations of Cremorne were smashed up by the contending crowds. And that was the end of the famous gardens. In the midst of the mêlée I came across a barrister friend of mine who said:

“You are just the man I wanted to see. Do you feel inclined to go to Turkey?”¹¹²

The first sets Knight up as a dreamy professional, rather passive in the search for adventure. Mediating the interaction through the clerk further emphasises Knight’s position and the respectability of the outing. One reviewer even mentions that this ‘‘barrister’s holiday’ begins in chambers in the Temple’, reassuring readers as to the respectability of its author.¹¹³ In the second, the opportunity for adventure is still presented to Knight but in far less staid surroundings. The quiet law chambers are traded for a jingoist meeting that Knight has attended for the explicit purpose of hopefully seeing a riot. That another barrister is present allows Knight to retain a modicum of respectability but overall, the scene is entirely different.¹¹⁴ The young Knight described in the autobiography fits the crafted persona of the adventurer far better – he is a young man obviously craving excitement who is trapped in a sedentary and unfulfilling career from which he is already showing signs of breaking free.

A more dramatic example of this refashioning of his role comes from coverage of the Franco-Hova War of 1895. Near the end of the war, the Queen of Madagascar, Ranavalona III, had attempted to escape from the palace and surrender to the French. In *Madagascar in Wartime*, Knight admits that he ‘was in the plot to save the Queen and had arranged to assist her in her

¹¹¹ Knight, *Albania*, 1.

¹¹² Knight, *Reminiscences*, 43.

¹¹³ ‘‘Current Literature,’’ *Daily News*, November 20, 1880, 6.

¹¹⁴ The other possibility, supported by Knight’s representations of members of the legal profession in his novels, is that their presence there suggests that barristers are rather disreputable types.

flight and accompany her to the French camp'.¹¹⁵ His phrasing makes it appear that Knight was a minor participant in the plan, merely "assisting" the Queen, perhaps acting as an unofficial representative of a neutral government. His autobiography, however, reveals the extent of his role. There were only four conspirators: the Queen herself, Miss H., a mission doctor; Mr G., a missionary and Knight. Miss H. and Mr G. passed messages in order to arrange the escape, but Knight was to have been the only participant physically engaged in the Queen's escape.¹¹⁶ The plan involved Knight 'clamber[ing] down a cliff and cre[eping] along the rice fields' at night to wait for the Queen's arrival in an abandoned house.¹¹⁷ This is a far more active role and one that was surely accompanied by significant risk, despite Knight's insistence that there was no danger because he had 'studied the lay of the land'.¹¹⁸ This claim in itself enhances rather than diminishes the risky nature of the plan, as it hints that if he had not been so skilled at reconnaissance it would have been a dangerous undertaking. Regardless of whether or not the plot existed or matched Knight's description of it is irrelevant because what is primarily of interest is how Knight positions himself in the event. Knight wrote that he had not revealed the extent of his role previously because he had been 'bound to keep as secret' the plans but that 'as twenty-eight years have passed since then, I am at liberty to tell the story now'.¹¹⁹ Knight had not hesitated to include other, ostensibly more sensitive information in *Madagascar in Wartime*, such as his methods for smuggling out despatches, so this claim seems inadequate. Including the details of the escape plan allows Knight to recast himself as a central figure in the event, chosen because of his abilities and adventurous nature, rather than as a peripheral character.

Another example of Knight's creation of a heroic identity in his autobiography comes from the Greco-Turkish War in 1897. Knight had been sent to cover the war after *The Times'* correspondent who was there had been proven to be suppressing another correspondent's

¹¹⁵ E. F. Knight, *Madagascar in War Time: The 'Times' Special Correspondent's Experiences Among the Hovas during the French Invasion of 1895* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 276. As yet I have been unable to find any corroborating (or contradictory) accounts of the plot.

¹¹⁶ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 185-188.

¹¹⁷ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 187.

¹¹⁸ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 187.

¹¹⁹ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 185.

telegrams ‘in order to give a more favourable picture of the Greek cause’.¹²⁰ This assignment was too short to generate a published account but his despatches had appeared in *The Times*. Knight’s act of heroism does not come on the battlefield or in the service of an important personage however. Knight and Scudamore had been covering the war and travelling together, with a team of mules to transport their supplies. Following the battle on the Pente Pegadia pass, the Greek army was forced to retreat and when Knight and Scudamore returned to the village of Koumoutzades where they had been staying, they discovered that there was no one to aid or escort the villagers to safety.¹²¹ Scudamore recalled promising the villagers that ‘by God’s grace we will save you all’, a dramatic pronouncement.¹²² They lent most of their animals and accompanied the ‘melancholy procession’ of roughly sixty non-combatants to Arta.¹²³ This anecdote places Knight within the evacuation, helping to lead refugees to safety, rather than simply observing and recording their escape. In his original despatch, Knight only mentions that they left the village as the villagers were evacuating but records no interaction between them.¹²⁴ Again Knight has used his autobiography to provide his audience with more details of his campaigns that reinforce the idea that he is an adventurous personality who has done more than observe and record the experiences of others.

A lack of self-promotion and aggrandisement had never been particular issues in Savage Landor’s accounts. Instead, in Savage Landor’s case the autobiography provided a way to minimise problematic aspects of his career. Some of these were relatively minor: as mentioned above, he claimed in *Everywhere* that he had always been able to ignore criticism despite evidence to the contrary in the form of numerous letters to the editor of *The Times* refuting said criticisms.¹²⁵ He takes his claims further than rewriting his own responses to criticism,

¹²⁰ *The History of the Times Vol. III: The Twentieth Century Test* (London: The Times Publishing Co., 1947), 722-723.

¹²¹ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 240-242; Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories*, 192.

¹²² Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories*, 192.

¹²³ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 240-242.

¹²⁴ “The Campaign in Epirus”, *The Times*, May 3, 1897, 7.

¹²⁵ Douglas Freshfield, “Mr. Landor’s Travels” *The Times*, January 14, 1899, 3; A. H. Savage Landor, “Mr. Landor’s Travels,” *The Times*, January 18, 1899, 7; A. H. Savage Landor, “To the Editor of The Times,” *The Times*, January 20, 1899, 10.

attempting to disguise how controversial his findings had been, writing: ‘I have ever been treated in the fairest, most considerate and appreciative manner by the greatest and most intelligent men and women all over the world’.¹²⁶ An audience unfamiliar with Savage Landor’s career beyond the autobiography could reasonably be expected to read this as evidence of his having had an untroubled career. A more prominent element of this use of the autobiography was the recasting of himself as an individual with a preternatural ability to make peaceful contact with indigenous peoples. Over the course of his career, Savage Landor’s, and society’s, views on the appropriate use of violence against indigenous peoples had begun to shift considerably. Already by 1890 there had been a public outcry against Stanley’s use of violence against his bearers and the tribes he encountered on the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition.¹²⁷ Savage Landor’s early works on Tibet and Nepal valorise his use of violence against unarmed or poorly-armed indigenous peoples for minor perceived infractions or to assert dominance, while in his later works, such as those on the Philippines and South America, Savage Landor presents himself as having an almost magical ability to defuse conflict and avoid violent confrontation. He utilised his autobiography as a means of presenting a self that had never relied on violence as a means of control.

In *In the Forbidden Land*, Savage Landor’s imperial violence reaches its height, as this passage demonstrates. During a discussion with a Tibetan official prior to his entry into the country, Savage Landor was insulted by the official’s description of the British as ‘usurpers’ and ‘cowards’ and responds thusly:

This remark was too much for me, and it might anyhow have been unwise to allow it to pass unchallenged. Throwing myself on him, I grabbed him by his pigtail, and landed in his face a number of blows straight from the shoulder. When I let him go he threw himself down crying, and implored my pardon. Once and for all to disillusion the Tibetan on one or two points, I made him lick my shoes clean with his tongue, in the presence of the assembled Shokas. This done, he tried to scamper away, but I caught him once more by his pigtail and kicked him down the front steps which he had dared to come up unasked.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 195.

¹²⁷ Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence*, 52-53.

¹²⁸ A. H. Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land: An Account of a Journey into Tibet Capture by the Tibetan Lamas and Soldiers, Imprisonment, Torture and Ultimate Release*. 1898. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909), 103.

Savage Landor uses physical violence to punish as well as shame what he sees as a verbal act of insubordination against the British Empire, an impossible charge as Tibet was not under British control. He justifies his use of violence by arguing that it was potentially dangerous to allow criticism of British imperialism. The potential threat is twofold: to Savage Landor himself and to the stability of the empire he (unofficially) represents. Apart from the dramatically inappropriate nature of his outburst – a private citizen on foreign soil attacking an emissary of the government of the country he wishes to enter was beyond the pale even in the 1890s – is the element of humiliation. Savage Landor presents the act of humiliation as equally necessary as the beating. It is the humiliation of being forced to lick the Englishman’s boots that is meant ‘to disillusion the Tibetan’ and show him that the British are a brave and noble race. This passage was reproduced as part of the *Daily Mail’s* serialization of *In the Forbidden Land*, accompanied by a sketch, that he had himself drawn, of Savage Landor kicking the man down the stairs.¹²⁹ Entitled “Undignified Exit of a Tibetan Spy,” the sketch encourages the audience to read the passage as humorous and to reconceive of the Tibetan as an agent of espionage rather than a legitimate representative of a foreign power. His decision to select this anecdote for publication indicates that Savage Landor took obvious pride in his actions at the time and considered it a representative anecdote that would encourage readers to purchase his account. In his autobiography, however, the only reference to the incident is: ‘The Jong Pen of Talakot, a high Tibetan official commanding a fort on the other side of the frontier, sent daily messengers saying he would cut off my head if I crossed the boundary’.¹³⁰ The complete erasure of this event may have also been related to changing views of the Tibetans; prior to the 1904 invasion led by Francis Younghusband, Tibet had managed to maintain a level of independence by playing the three imperial rivals – Britain, China, and Russia – against one another.¹³¹ The Tibetan army’s bravery in the face of superior British weaponry during the 1904 invasion and the Thirteenth Dalai Lama’s decision to seek asylum in British India following China’s 1910 invasion of the

¹²⁹ A. Henry Savage Landor, “Towards Lhasa,” March 9, 1898, *Daily Mail*, 7.

¹³⁰ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 165.

¹³¹ Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 2016), 502-503.

country had altered public perceptions of the Tibetans.¹³² This would have rendered Savage Landor's use of humiliating violence less palatable to his audience. His decision to completely omit the interaction from his autobiography, rather than recast and manipulate it as with his response to criticism, suggests that Savage Landor recognised the impossibility of reconciling his actions with his new persona.

By the time of his journey through the Philippine Islands in 1903, Savage Landor had adopted the persona of the peaceful traveller who embraces non-violent conflict resolution. The resulting work's full title – *The Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands* – places the emphasis on his scientific rather than adventurous ambitions. In the opening of *Gems of the East* Savage Landor foregrounds the human dangers that he will be facing, recording that on hearing where he wished to go the American Governor-General, later President, William Howard Taft responded 'But, you know, [...] we have cannibals, and head-hunters, and fanatical Mahommedan tribes in some of the islands. Surely you will be killed'.¹³³ Suggesting that even the military powers controlling the archipelago were frightened of its inhabitants makes his expedition appear even more impressive. In the section of his autobiography surrounding this expedition, Savage Landor further emphasises his nonviolent philosophy, writing 'Some official from the Philippines had written to [President Theodore Roosevelt] on the facility I possessed of going unarmed and unharmed among the most savage native tribes. Roosevelt wanted to know the secret, as he said his great ambition was to be an explorer, too'.¹³⁴ The self-righteous adventurer who embraced imperial violence had been replaced by a semi-mystical man of peace. That a colonial official informed Roosevelt of Savage Landor's abilities signals to the reader that they were so pronounced as to attract official attention. By presenting himself as the teacher of an imperial leader, Savage Landor is retroactively situating himself at the head of a move towards the more humane treatment of indigenous peoples. Roosevelt, emblematic of youthful imperialism is being taught how to be a great imperial power by a representative of a veteran empire. Whether

¹³² Glenn R. Wilkinson, "'The Blessings of War': The Depiction of Military Force in Edwardian Newspapers," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 1 (Jan., 1998): 109; Sam van Schaik, *Tibet: A History* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2011), 186-190.

¹³³ A. H. Savage Landor, *The Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan & Co., 1904), 7.

¹³⁴ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 334.

or not he accepted those lessons was out of the older power's control. To read *Everywhere* is to read the story of a man who claims to have 'never [...] carried any weapons of any kind' and whose real 'weapons were gentleness and kindness, absolute calm and silence', a very different person from the one who used a rifle to intimidate Tibetan peasants and beat the soldiers accompanying his party with the butt of his rifle in Africa.¹³⁵ By building most of his autobiography from excerpts from his accounts, Savage Landor gives it the appearance of being a holistic record, rather than one that has been heavily edited in order to fashion a new identity. Read in isolation both Knight and Savage Landor's autobiographies give the impression that there was little serious development or change in their personalities and approaches to their work, demonstrating how much power these texts possessed as tools of identity creation.

Fame and Celebrity

The pursuit of celebrity reflects the desire and ability to create a self-image. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi's definition of fame states that in order to be famous 'one must be the object of discussion, but there need be no relationship between the famous person and his or her audience' and that fame is more enduring than charisma or celebrity.¹³⁶ Celebrity, they argue, is the result of nineteenth century technological advancements that made it so that 'ordinary people could identify with the famous; feel that they knew the hero, leader, or "star"; and imagine that public figures belonged to their private lives'.¹³⁷ Berenson goes on to argue that success as an imperial celebrity had less to do with success in the field than with the emotional appeal

¹³⁵ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 415; Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, 214-215; Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, 170.

¹³⁶ Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi, "Introduction", in *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, eds. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 6, 4.

¹³⁷ Berenson and Giloi, "Introduction," 2.

generated by press coverage of their expeditions.¹³⁸ For some, the pursuit of celebrity had backfired, resulting in criticism and controversy. H. M. Stanley provides an interesting example of a professional adventurer whose status was continuously fluctuating between fame and infamy. From his finding of Livingstone near Lake Tanganyika in 1871, Stanley's reputation shifted between that of exploring hero and greedy charlatan. Even his nationality was challenged by British critics: he was considered British when popular and American when out of favour.¹³⁹ Prior to the publication of *In Darkest Africa* in 1890, Stanley's popularity was at such a height that Edward Marston – of publishers Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington – travelled to Cairo in order to produce *How Stanley Wrote "In Darkest Africa": A Trip to Cairo and Back*. The purpose of the book was to provide expectant audiences with 'something about the method of writing, and the daily life, of the author of a work respecting the appearance of which they have already evinced such a very extraordinary interest'.¹⁴⁰ Within months of *In Darkest Africa's* publication, however, Stanley's use of violence and decision to leave a party behind had made him a controversial figure.¹⁴¹ As Stanley's example shows, celebrity was not a secure position, something made even clearer by the society-wide forgetting of most of the celebrities of the nineteenth century. Neither Knight nor Savage Landor ever achieved the same level of fame as Stanley, yet they do present us with two of the different forms that popular renown could take. Knight was famous as a war correspondent and adventurer and celebrated within press circles, but he was not a celebrity. His works were popular and sold well but he did not pursue other avenues of interaction with the public, such as lecture tours. When he appeared in the papers, it was in relation to professional events that highlighted the public's esteem. These include the dedication of the memorial plaque to the correspondents who had died during the Second Anglo-Boer War, at which he spoke; a dinner in his honour following the loss of his arm; and a conference of the Institute of Journalists where he was one of only two war correspondents (the

¹³⁸ Edward Berenson, "Charisma and the Making of Imperial Heroes in Britain and France, 1880-1914," in *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 22, 27.

¹³⁹ Felix Driver, "Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire," *Past & Present*, no. 133 (Nov., 1991): 141, 146.

¹⁴⁰ E. Marston, *How Stanley Wrote "In Darkest Africa": A Trip to Cairo and Back* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890), 1.

¹⁴¹ Driver, "Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics," 161-164.

other being Bennet Burleigh) mentioned during the presidential address.¹⁴² It was his work that made him well known, not his personality or his activities while in London. Savage Landor, on the other hand, achieved a level of celebrity through his public appearances, friendships with other celebrities, and lecture tours. Aside from the coverage of his lectures and gallery shows, Savage Landor's attendance at receptions and society dinners featured in the "Man about Town" columns of publications such as the *Sporting Gazette*.¹⁴³ His friendship with James Abbott McNeill Whistler in particular was one that placed him in the public eye, as Whistler's reputation for being confrontational and his recently published *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (1890) brought him nearly as much attention as his paintings.¹⁴⁴ Multiple sections of *Everywhere* are devoted to listing Savage Landor's various celebrity acquaintances, however passing these relationships may have been. He did not limit himself to his friendships with other explorers – though they do appear. Other groups of famous acquaintances included musicians, actors and actresses, authors, scientists, artists, politicians, and various European royal families.¹⁴⁵ It is obvious that, regardless of how the public had felt about him during his career, Savage Landor valued celebrity and considered himself to have achieved it. His autobiography served as an effective tool for enshrining his legacy.

Coupled with celebrity is the desire to preserve an element of privacy. What is held back is as much a key element of self-fashioning as what is revealed. Knight and Savage Landor's approaches to discussing their family lives are indicative of the ways in which fame and privacy could be managed. The marital status of explorers and adventurers had little relevance to their status as celebrities. Either could be used to enhance an individual's reputation. At the times of their deaths, the sufferings and dedication of Livingstone's wife and children was an aspect of

¹⁴² "Lord Roberts and the War Correspondents," *The Times*, January 16, 1905, 13; "Dinner to Mr. E. F. Knight," *The Times*, July 30, 1900, 10; "Institute of Journalists," *The Times*, August 30, 1904, 9.

¹⁴³ "The Man About Town," *The Sporting Gazette*, March 5, 1898, 295; "The Man About Town," *The Sporting Gazette*, June 11, 1898, 758; "The Man About Town," *The Sporting Gazette*, July 23, 1898, 953; "The Man About Town," *The Sporting Gazette*, November 19, 1898, 1502.

¹⁴⁴ Frank A. Hadley, "Whistler, the Man, as Told in Anecdote," *Brush and Pencil* 12, no. 5 (Aug., 1903): 334; Sarah Burns, "Old Maverick to Old Master: Whistler in the Public Eye in Turn-of-the-Century America," *The American Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (Spring, 1990): 30. Their friendship is detailed in the chapter "My First Flying Machine – In Scotland – Whistler – Pennell," 142-154.

¹⁴⁵ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 214-216, 333-341, 547-563.

his legend, just as Charles Gordon's bachelordom was part of his.¹⁴⁶ Though references to family were typically kept out of adventure accounts and despatches, it was not standard for them to be completely erased from autobiographies. Melton Prior, for example, recounts how his wife helped him pack when he was informed that he was being sent to Egypt only four hours before his train left and Richard Harding Davis writes about his wife accompanying him to Africa when he was reporting on conditions in the Belgian Congo.¹⁴⁷ There was, therefore, nothing to indicate that mentioning one's family would have been problematic for the reputation of the professional adventurer.

As Knight's fame was based in his works, it is understandable that he chose to create a barrier between his personal and his professional life. Knight never mentions the existence of his wife and daughter. A memoir written by one of Knight's nieces, Muriel Jerram, indicates that his daughter Mary spent several years living with her cousins. It was apparently a close family, as according to Jerram, Knight wrote *Where Three Empires Meet* at the family home and his nieces and nephews 'would sit spellbound at the schoolroom table while he, busy with the typewriter, was never too busy to tell us tales of the many sketches he had made'.¹⁴⁸ This complete omission of any reference to family after his childhood suggests that Knight desired to and succeeded in maintaining a strict division between his personal and professional lives. Conversely, several members of Savage Landor's family feature heavily in his autobiography but by being selective with who he includes Savage Landor is able to create the image of a close-knit family unit. Savage Landor frequently returned to his parents' home in Florence to recover from his expeditions. In *Everywhere's* final chapter, "Misfortunes Never Come Alone" he describes the illnesses and deaths of his parents as 'the saddest and most terrible years of my life' and his deep affection for them is touchingly evident.¹⁴⁹ The multiple landmarks he named for his sister – including a glacier in Nepal and an island in the Arinos River – provide lasting evidence of their

¹⁴⁶ William Garden Blaikie, *The Life of David Livingstone* (London: John Murray, 1910 [1880]), 251-258; William Frances Butler, *Charles George Gordon* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1889), 79-82.

¹⁴⁷ Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 148; Richard Harding Davis, *The Congo and the Coasts of Africa* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 6, 142-143.

¹⁴⁸ Muriel Jerram, "Recollections of a Talland childhood in the late 19th and early 20th centuries," 14-15.

¹⁴⁹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 564.

close relationship. His two brothers, however, disappear after the chapters recounting his earliest childhood memories. This is most likely due to strained relationships at the time of writing; though they do not appear in his work, Savage Landor and one of his brothers did appear in *The Times*, after they were brought before the court following a dispute over inheritance that devolved into a brawl in Coventry Street and led to them being ‘charged with using insulting words and behaviour calculated to cause a breach of the peace’.¹⁵⁰ By only recounting his relationship with his parents and sister, Savage Landor created an image of an ideal family.

The most striking omission, however, is Knight’s refusal to address the loss of his arm. Between the time that he was injured and when his arm had to be amputated, Knight had dictated a despatch to the *Morning Post* that described his injury in graphic detail. In it he describes how the bullet ‘perforated the top part of the arm, completely smashing the bone into numerous fragments, then leaving with an exit wound about the size of a fist. The triceps muscle at the back of the arm was torn in two’.¹⁵¹ Considering Knight’s career as a war correspondent, and the level of detail given in the despatch, it was unlikely to have been an inability to confront the realities of violence on the human body that led Knight to maintain his silence surrounding his arm following the amputation. As mentioned above, his autobiography ends with the Spanish-American War, his last campaign with both arms. Had his career essentially ended with the amputation of his arm in South Africa, this would make sense from a biographical standpoint. Yet Knight covered the Russo-Japanese War, toured and reported on post-war South Africa, and accompanied the Royal Tour of the future George V and Queen Mary, which could be considered his most prestigious assignment. Knight’s *South Africa After the War: A Narrative of Recent Travel* (1903) makes it clear that he had no intention of addressing his experience during the war but also that he would not allow the trauma he had obviously sustained to prevent him from completing his assignment. His route took him from Aliwal North to Bloemfontein, which passed near the site of the Battle of Belmont. Knight treats this as he does every other site mentioned, with no acknowledgement of his personal connection to the site or even to the battle. Despite this initial decision not to address his loss, it would appear that Knight did not feel any particular embarrassment surrounding his missing limb. In the field he called attention to its absence rather than attempting to minimise it. For example, Knight performed one-handed

¹⁵⁰ “Brothers at Variance,” August 16, 1918, *The Times*, 3.

¹⁵¹ “How Mr. E. F. Knight was Wounded,” *Yorkshire Herald*, December 21, 1899, 7.

sleight of hand tricks to entertain other correspondents and military officials while they were delayed by Japanese military authorities during the Russo-Japanese War.¹⁵² A comparison of the portraits of Knight used as frontispieces in *The Awakening of Turkey* and *Reminiscences* provides further evidence for a shifting level of comfort with displaying his missing limb. Knight's works were rarely accompanied by any portraits of himself, with the majority featuring an image of the landscape as the frontispiece. The frontispiece of *The Awakening of Turkey* shows Knight standing as if his hands were clasped behind his back.¹⁵³ His left arm is juttied out, with part of the wrist visible while the right sleeve is tucked so as to make it appear that it is in the same position (Fig. 1). It is a stiff, artificial pose and the illusion is quickly broken upon examination. For *Reminiscences*, Knight has selected a more natural portrait.¹⁵⁴ It shows him in profile from the left hand side, sitting on a boat. His right arm is hidden by his body making the absence appear to be the natural result of the position (Fig. 2). Knight had chosen to mask his loss in such a way that it does not even raise the question. It would appear, then, that Knight omitted any mention of his missing limb from his written work in order to prevent it from becoming a significant part of how he was remembered. By cutting his autobiography short, posing in certain ways, and writing it out of his accounts, Knight was essentially able to create a persona that had not undergone that trauma.

¹⁵² F. Lauriston Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1914), 286.

¹⁵³ E. F. Knight, *The Awakening of Turkey: A History of the Turkish Revolution* (London: John Milne, 1909), frontispiece.

¹⁵⁴ Knight, *Reminiscences*, frontispiece.

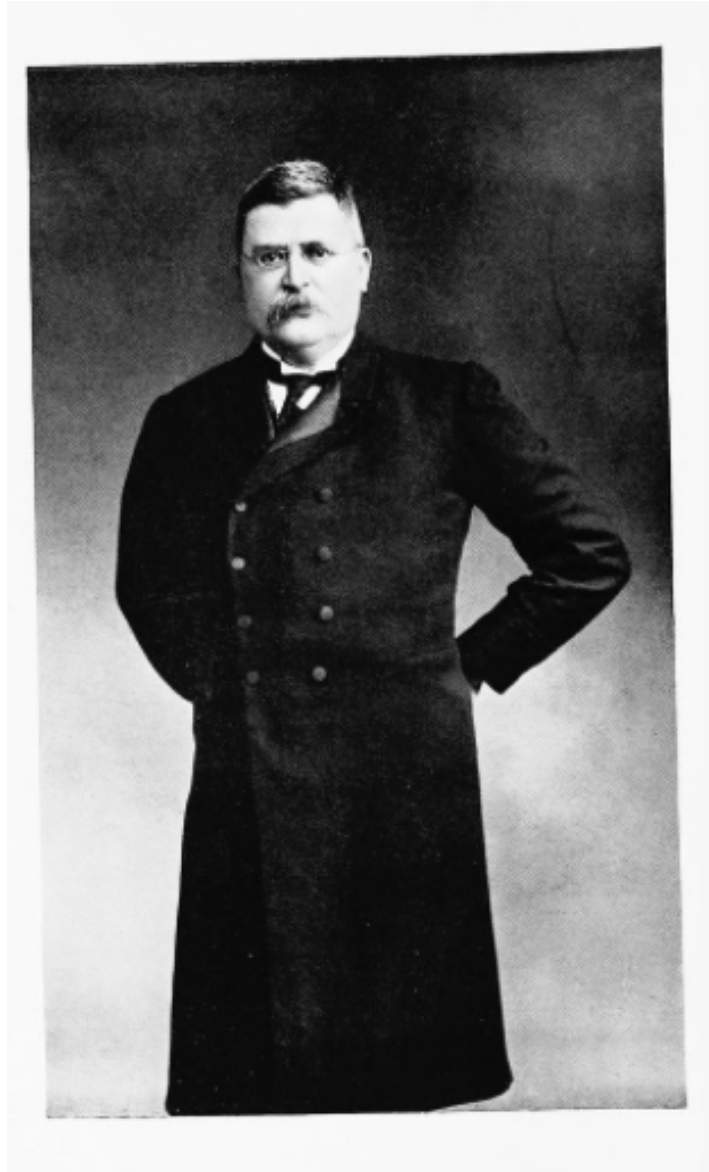


Figure 1: Photograph of Knight, frontispiece of *The Awakening of Turkey: A History of the Turkish Revolution*. Note how the angles of his sleeves calls attention to the fact that one of them is empty.



Figure 2. Photograph of Knight, frontispiece of *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent*. This pose completely hides his missing arm in a natural manner.

Independence

The independence of the professional adventurer is an enduring aspect of the imperial myth, reinforced by adventure fiction dating back to *Robinson Crusoe*. The ability to survive in a hostile environment and even come to dominate its native inhabitants reinforced audiences' beliefs in the superiority of European civilisation, though as Paul Crook has shown this was on a popular, rather than theoretical or intellectual level.¹⁵⁵ As discussed by Pratt, 'the Monarch-of-all-I-survey scene' was the pinnacle of Western self-fashioning as an independent imperial hero; it ignored the contributions of indigenous guides and porters in order to create a "discovery".¹⁵⁶ While some explorers may have seemed to be hampered by the instructions given or limits imposed by the scientific bodies or military hierarchy that had funded their expeditions, the professional adventurer appeared to have no such ties or restrictions. This image has little basis in reality. Although the professional adventurer might have been the only European male present at any given point on an expedition, they relied heavily on indigenous peoples to provide guides, porters, supplies, protection, translations and information on local flora and fauna. Like all travellers to the fringes of the British Empire, in the field professional adventurers also relied on the existing imperial networks of military outposts and private entrepreneurs in order to survive. The lack of independence and isolation in the field is matched by the professional adventurer's reliance on others – often publishers or newspaper editors – to finance their expeditions, a relationship that often dictated the scope and extent of an expedition and required the production of an account upon their return. A limited number of correspondents treated their financial dependence on their papers as a point of pride; in his autobiography Melton Prior notes that the owner of the *Illustrated London News* referred to him as the "Illustrated Luxury" because he insisted on 'travel[ing] in comfort'.¹⁵⁷ In addition, even the writing of the adventure account could be done by others.

¹⁵⁵ Paul Crook, "Social Darwinsim and British "New Imperialism": Second Thoughts," *The European Legacy* 3, no. 1 (1998): 1, 3-4.

¹⁵⁶ Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 202.

¹⁵⁷ Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*, 209.

Many professional adventurers relied to some extent on the help of editors and ghostwriters; John Hanning Speke's writing was, according to his publisher, so 'abominable, childish, [and] unintelligible', that a ghostwriter had to be employed to rewrite the majority of the text.¹⁵⁸ While Knight and Savage Landor did their own writing, they were both dependent on others in different areas, with Knight relying heavily on editors to fund his expeditions but maintaining relative independence in the field and Savage Landor independently financing the majority of his expeditions but generally requiring large parties of porters and guides.

Across the three decades of his career Knight undertook a variety of expeditions that represented a wide range of forms and levels of outside control. Knight's South American "cruises" are the nearest he comes to having complete control over an expedition; there are no financiers or publishers with a vested interest in the project or its results. What he did have, however, were partners who had invested equally in the expedition and thus had considerable control over it, despite deferring to Knight's role as Captain.¹⁵⁹ His northern sailing adventure recounted in *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic* is the notable exception, as the only other participant was a hired hand.¹⁶⁰ The scope and duration of this journey, however, was considerably smaller, making it feasible for a single individual to finance it. Knight described the process of transitioning from the relative independence of his sailing adventures to his life as a special correspondent in *Reminiscences*, writing: 'no longer was I to roam the seas as my own master, but I was to travel farther afield than ever, through many strange lands in war time, at the beck of a great newspaper'.¹⁶¹ Knight has clearly made a distinction between these phases of his career, with the level of independence he has had being as important as the nature of the expeditions. The professional adventurer's reliance on a funder is generally acknowledged in the preface or introduction and then ignored in the body of the account. The primary exception to this trend is when acting as a war correspondent, where a professional adventurer occasionally referenced an editor's requests or imposed deadlines. In *Where Three Empires Meet*, for example, Knight

¹⁵⁸ David Finkelstein, "Unravelling Speke: The Unknown Revision of an Africa Exploration Classic," *History in Africa* 30 (2003): 121, 124.

¹⁵⁹ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 6; Knight, *Cruise of the 'Alerte'*, 38.

¹⁶⁰ E. F. Knight, *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: From Hammersmith to Copenhagen in 1887* (Santa Barbara, CA: The Narrative Press, 2003), 11-12.

¹⁶¹ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 112-113.

provides no explanation for why he is undertaking his expedition and only mentions *The Times* – along with the *Graphic* and *Black and White* – in the Preface when he thanks the editor for their permission to ‘reproduce in this book portions of articles which I wrote for those papers’.¹⁶² His autobiography reveals the extent of their involvement, however, recounting how he approached editor Charles Moberly Bell with a proposal and ‘made an arrangement’ to act as their correspondent.¹⁶³ The remainder of Knight’s career would see him dependent on editors and publishers for assignments, which, as Greg McLaughlin notes, was the norm for special and war correspondents from the Crimea through to the present day.¹⁶⁴ While all professional adventurers travelled with an entourage of porters, translators, and/or guides, their ability to work comfortably with their employees determined the extent to which could act as if they were in fact on their own. Knight’s ability to maintain control of and work peacefully with the indigenous individuals he hired meant that he did not have to contend with strikes and rebellions and was able to largely omit mention of them in his works.

Savage Landor, as usual, serves as a counterpoint. He had greater financial freedom than many of his fellow professional adventurers, in part due to his family’s wealth and in part to his second career as an artist. His initial expedition around Yezo, now Hokkaido, and the Kuril islands was funded through the sale of the paintings he had produced while living in Japan.¹⁶⁵ His first Tibetan expedition was financed in the more traditional fashion, with scientific equipment being lent by the Royal Geographical Society and the *Daily Mail* providing funds in exchange for a series of articles.¹⁶⁶ Savage Landor was able to fund his later expeditions due to a combination of factors: his family’s wealth, the popularity of his books (which were priced considerably higher than those of his competitors), and the proceeds from lecture tours and the sale of paintings. The correspondence between Savage Landor and John Keltie regarding the results of the Tibetan expedition shed light on the level of control that even partial funders could

¹⁶² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, viii.

¹⁶³ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 113.

¹⁶⁴ Greg McLaughlin, *The War Correspondent* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 26.

¹⁶⁵ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 85.

¹⁶⁶ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 160.

exert.¹⁶⁷ Following his return, Savage Landor's scientific data was called into question by members of the Royal Geographical Society, most notably Douglas Freshfield, who wrote critical public letters published in newspapers across the country and private ones urging Keltie to reject Savage Landor's findings.¹⁶⁸ This official doubt placed Savage Landor at risk of not being able to secure a book contract with a reputable publisher and of losing the opportunity to present and publish his findings with the Society, which would have seriously hampered his credibility and limited future funding opportunities. In this response to a letter of Keltie's concerning some questionable interviews that he was purported to have given, Savage Landor's anger and frustration is obvious: 'I have nothing whatever to do with the unintelligible versions you mention in your letter and I cannot be blamed for the faults of others. Can I? Some of the remarks and pictures published by important London Journals were too ridiculous for words' [emphasis in original].¹⁶⁹ The poor relationships that developed between Savage Landor and the Royal Geographical Society and his mistrust of newspapers following the problematic interviews resulted in him largely financing his later expeditions by himself. However, even Savage Landor's plans were occasionally thwarted by a lack of ready capital or investors. For example, his plan to go to the 'North Pole in a submarine under the Arctic belt of ice, and emerge in the supposedly open Polar Sea' could not go forward as he was unable to find an investor and his 'fortune was not sufficient to pay entirely for the construction of a vessel and the maintenance of a crew'.¹⁷⁰ Despite his financial independence, Savage Landor's freedom was hampered by his inability to work with his indigenous porters without conflict. His almost constant disagreements – which often degenerated into threats and violence – had serious consequences for his expeditions, frequently forcing him to alter his plans. One telling example of this comes from his South American expedition, where his porters discarded supplies while marching in order to

¹⁶⁷ Letter from John Keltie to Savage Landor, November 30, 1897, Letter from Savage Landor to Keltie, November 7, 1897, Letter from Keltie to Savage Landor, April 22, 1898, Savage Landor Correspondence, Royal Geographical Society.

¹⁶⁸ Douglas Freshfield, "Mr. Landor's Travels" *The Times*, January 14, 1899, 3; Douglas Freshfield to John Keltie, November 11, 1898, Douglas Freshfield Correspondence, CB7 1881-1910, Royal Geographical Society; Douglas Freshfield to John Keltie, December 20, 1898, Douglas Freshfield Correspondence, CB7 1881-1910, Royal Geographical Society.

¹⁶⁹ A. H. Savage Landor to John Keltie, 1 January, 1898, Savage Landor Correspondence, CB7 1881-1910, Royal Geographical Society.

¹⁷⁰ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 403.

force him to turn around, as they were unhappy with his proposed route through the jungle.¹⁷¹ Savage Landor's inability to successfully manage those he relied on curtailed his ability to act independently and brought these conflicts to the forefront of his narratives.

Conclusions

It is impossible to say with any certainty whether or not Knight and Savage Landor ever met. Both spent considerable time in London but Savage Landor does not mention Knight's name in any of his lists of famous figures he befriended and Knight only names those with whom he campaigned. Professionally, however, their paths never crossed. Between the two of them, they covered, crossed and described most of the globe, but never at the same time. They generated a body of work that was available to audiences at all levels of society – from despatches printed in the cheapest daily papers to expensive volumes printed for the wealthy collector. The following chapters will examine their texts, alongside those of other professional adventurers, to develop a clearer understanding of how the peoples and landscapes of the wider world were presented to a metropolitan audience. Having established how personal adventure accounts contributed to metropolitan conceptions of empire, these chapters will evaluate the extent to which these accounts complicate or reinforce current narratives surrounding the representation of empire.

Understanding the individual behind the adventure account is not an absolute necessity for analysing or appreciating these accounts, but in the cases of Knight and Savage Landor understanding their backgrounds, careers, and approaches to self-fashioning helps to establish a foundation from which further analysis of the representations of people and places can be undertaken. The fact that their personas were constantly in the process of development, as this chapter has argued, shows that the similarities in their representations of the fringes of empire and its inhabitants are indicative of wider trends and societal expectations, rather than merely personal opinions.

¹⁷¹ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 239-243.

Chapter 2: Adventurous Males

As E. F. Knight moved south along the Nile with Kitchener's Dongola expedition to reclaim the Sudan in the spring and summer of 1896, he, like the other special correspondents following the campaign, became increasingly integrated into the masculine community of the officers. They dined together, relaxed together, and the correspondents began to respond to criticism of the conduct of the war in the metropolitan papers from an "us versus them" perspective: 'those who are on the spot', military and civilian alike, and those 'who sit at home in ease to write'.¹ Likewise, as A. H. Savage Landor made his way across Africa, he relied on the line of military outposts – French and German as well as English – that spanned the continent for support and supplies though he insisted that he '[made] it a rule seldom to accept anything from [his] own countrymen, except upon payment or the giving of an equivalent'.² This was done to set himself apart from the class of travellers criticised for 'imposing on British officers in Central Africa'.³ Both Knight and Savage Landor make it clear that they believed in a right and a wrong way to interact with or write about the men working and living on the fringes of the empire. Moments of contact of this sort, whether brief or sustained, also served to link the professional adventurer with the metropole through interactions with other British men and provided him with the material to create a narrative celebrating imperial masculinity.

Though the professional adventurer sets himself at the heart of his narrative, the other European men with whom he comes into contact play the important role of defining the masculine ideal. The martial imperial masculine ideal was one of multiple masculine ideals that coexisted and competed for hegemony during the mid- to late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt's defining of the hegemonic masculinity as that which, though not necessarily practiced by a majority of men 'required all other men to position themselves in relation to it', confirms that imperial masculinity occupied this position in

¹ E. F. Knight, *Letters from the Sudan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), 232, 222.

² A. Henry Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa: An Account of the Country and People of Eastern, Central and Western Africa as seen during a Twelve Months' Journey from Djibouti to Cape Verde*, vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd, 1907), 339.

³ Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 339.

British society during this period as it was the form of masculinity embraced by the ruling elites.⁴ The established conventions of the adventure genre, notably the playing down of personal danger and self-deprecation, tended to prevent the professional adventurer from extolling their own masculine virtues. An audience could, and generally did, attribute masculine characteristics to the adventurer, but he could or would not explicitly claim them. Due to the regions under examination, British men make up the majority of those encountered, but as the professional adventurer employed the same language when discussing representatives of other imperial powers, both European and American, it would be inaccurate to exclude them from the analysis.

This chapter will examine how professional adventurers represented the other Western males with whom they came into contact. In doing so, this chapter addresses both how the British Empire was represented to metropolitan audiences and how modern critics have read those representations. It will show that alongside the expected descriptions of these men as examples of the martial and imperial masculine ideal, these accounts celebrated the presence of a homosocial community marked by camaraderie and domesticity. It will also examine how the professional adventurer employed the language of masculinity to include the figure of the entrepreneur on the fringes of empire within this hegemonic masculine ideal. In contrast with the above, this chapter will use the few instances where adventurous males are portrayed negatively, primarily through the practice of anonymization, to argue that the professional adventurer was aware of his position within the cultural networks that defined masculinity and heroism. I will be using the term “adventurous males” for those men with whom the professional adventurer comes into contact on the peripheries of empire. Though not necessarily actuated by the same adventurous impulse as the professional adventurer, their presence in the spaces which provide the setting for the adventure account qualify them as participants in the overarching imperial adventure.

The adventurous male provides the professional adventurer with a figure through which he can present an example of the late Victorian masculine ideal. While the assumed isolation of the professional adventurer is celebrated because it allows an independent, self-reliant masculinity to be performed, community is central to the masculine ideal embodied by the other adventurous males he meets. Male community in the context of the periphery of empire was a

⁴ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (Dec., 2005): 832.

space, ideally, marked by camaraderie and domesticity. Depictions of healthy male communities served to assuage long-standing fears in Britain regarding the dangers of men living without Western women in the colonies.

The adventurous males with whom the professional adventurer came into contact can be divided into three categories: military – both those actively engaged in combat and those stationed in imperial outposts; merchants and traders; and fellow adventurers. A fourth category, missionaries, have been excluded from this analysis because although the male missionary had become a popular imperial hero since Livingstone, the presence of female missionaries altered the dynamic between the professional adventurer and the missionary, resulting in a different form of engagement and representation. Additionally, the personal religious convictions of the various professional adventurers influenced their perceptions of missionaries of differing denominations to such an extent that it becomes nearly impossible to separate criticism of the religion and criticism of the individual.⁵

The men with whom the professional adventure most frequently comes into contact are members of the military, primarily officers. Expeditions moving through a region result in brief encounters with officers while serving as a war correspondent allowed for extended interaction and the development of personal relationships. Enlisted men do appear in the adventure accounts, though the professional adventurer rarely interacts with them on an individual basis. Instead they are overheard, seen, and described, compared with the soldiers of other armies or of popular fiction. Likewise, native officers are typically presented as evidence of the ability of the white officers or of European military discipline, rather than as individuals or masculine ideals, though as Heather Streets-Satler notes, this may have been due in part to a promotion system based on ‘seniority rather than merit’ resulting in an officer class of advanced age.⁶ Little distinction is made between combat and stationed military since all were actively engaged in the maintenance of empire. As the defender of the empire, the military officer is already positioned in the cultural imaginary as embodying a masculine ideal, a position recognised by the

⁵ For work on the missionaries in the role of imperial heroes, see: Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (London: Routledge, 2008); Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Gareth Griffiths, “Popular Imperial Adventure Fiction and the Discourse of Missionary Texts,” in *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, eds. Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths, 51-66 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁶ Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 26-27; Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 380.

professional adventurer. The second group of adventurous males are the entrepreneurs who have either established themselves in imperial outposts or who follow the military, supplying men and officers with luxuries. The depictions of these individuals is the most complicated, reflecting both Michael Nerlich's classification of the merchant as the seventeenth century Briton's ideal adventurer as well as the influence of ethnic stereotypes.⁷ While the imperial entrepreneur may initially seem an unlikely adventurer, their presence on the peripheries is integral to the maintenance of adventurous networks and communities. Additionally, the professional adventurer acknowledges the entrepreneur's position as a fellow adventurous male, justifying his inclusion in the fraternity. The fellow adventurer is the final, and least common, category. Within the category of fellow adventurers I am including any white, male companions who accompany the professional adventurer but are not in his employ, those with whom he crosses paths, and those of his predecessors who are mentioned at length. This group is composed primarily of other special correspondents covering a campaign. The fellow adventurer has far less of a presence in the adventure account than the other adventurous males, most likely due to the element of competition between adventurers. Aside from the competition for publishers and audiences between adventurers in the same region, there was also competition regarding the challenges of an adventure; a trek across the Himalayas begins to seem less impressive if multiple people are doing it, for example. The fellow adventurer erodes the myth of the isolated adventurer but cannot be written out of the narrative without threatening the position of the professional adventurer.

This chapter will draw particularly on the professional adventurers' autobiographies, alongside the conventional adventure account. The adventure account, published shortly after the experience, sometimes drawing on and including material written while on the expedition, and the autobiography, published anywhere from several years to several decades after the events it describes, encourage two different ways of describing individuals. In the adventure account, concern for reputations and future working relationships as well as desires to promote their own careers and those of others generally lead to a hagiographic depiction of the central military figures while the freedom of the autobiography, published near the end of the adventurer's life, allowed for far more human portraits of individuals, though these are still generally positive

⁷ Michael Nerlich, *The Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100-1750*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 60.

characterisations. Examining the two forms in tandem allows for the development of a more complete understanding of how the professional adventurer saw and related to other adventurous males.

Masculine Ideals

The image of the adventurous male that is conjured up from the cultural imaginary is one that exemplifies the imperial masculine ideal. This martial masculine ideal presents a heroic form of masculinity in which the preferred masculine traits are combined into an aspirational model that is embodied by the imperial soldier.⁸ It has been well established by scholars from multiple disciplines over the past three decades that masculinity is not a static concept but rather one that is shifting and developing in response to the social and political world in which it exists.⁹ The concept of a hegemonic masculinity, defined by John Tosh as ‘those norms and institutions which actively serve to maintain men’s authority over women and over subordinated masculinities’ is useful here, as it allows us to focus on the most powerful form of masculinity being enacted.¹⁰ The nineteenth century in particular saw a considerable shift in what constituted an ideal masculinity between its early decades and its close. It was a period in which the middle class vision of masculinity dominated, influenced of course by the elite, but ultimately a reflection of middle class concerns and values. Tosh remarks in *A Man’s Place* that the mid-

⁸ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 23.

⁹ Aside from those sources cited elsewhere in this project, some of the current literature that addresses the shifting nature of masculinity includes: Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, “What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (Apr., 2005): 274-280; Ronald L. Jackson and Murali Balaji, eds., *Global Masculinities and Manhood* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011); Poulami Roychodhury, “Brothers and Others: Organizing Masculinity, Disorganizing Workers,” *Social Problems* 61, no. 1 (Feb., 2014): 22-41; Mimi Schippers, “Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony,” *Theory and Society* 36, no. 1 (Feb., 2007): 85-102.

¹⁰ John Tosh, “Hegemonic Masculinity and Gender History,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 51. Tosh’s definition is informed by the work of sociologist R. W. Connell.

Victorian domestic ideal was unachievable or irrelevant for the majority of the working classes.¹¹ Though this has been shown to be overly reductionist by scholars such as Catherine Hall, whose work has demonstrated that domestic masculinity was a complicated ideal that was also ‘associated with strength, with independence and with action’, it does foreground the centrality of the middle classes in establishing and affirming what forms of masculinity were accepted.¹² The masculinity of the early nineteenth century had two primary components: the financial and the domestic. The ideal early Victorian man sought financial success with the goal of providing a stable, sober home for his family.¹³ As Herbert Sussman states, it was in ‘the competitive arena of the marketplace where manhood [...] was tested against other men’.¹⁴ As the century progressed, the masculine ideal became increasingly martial, with the battlefield and imperial outpost replacing the domestic marketplace as the site of masculine competition. Pluck, bravery, and patriotism overshadowed traits such as dedication and sobriety. In spite of these changes, Joseph Kestner, in his work on Victorian masculinities as depicted in art, has convincingly argued that certain characteristics, such as chivalry and gentlemanliness, remained constant throughout the period, only the ways in which they were negotiated in art and culture shifted over time.¹⁵ So one sees, for example, religious devotion transformed from a glorification of the Protestant work ethic to an embrace of Charles Kingsley’s vision of Muscular Christianity and from gentlemanly conduct being fair dealing in the business world to following the rules of the game, be that on the field of play or combat.¹⁶

¹¹ John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 27. However, work such as Julie-Marie Strange’s “Fatherhood, Providing, and Attachment in Late Victorian and Edwardian Working-Class Families,” *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 4 (Dec., 2012): 1007-1027 make it apparent that domestic masculinity was a widespread ideal that could be enacted in different ways based on class.

¹² Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York, Routledge, 1992), 266.

¹³ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, 108.

¹⁴ Herbert Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 81.

¹⁵ Joseph A. Kestner, *Masculinities in Victorian Painting* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 3.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Richards, “‘Passing the Love of Women’: Manly Love and Victorian Society,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 103.

In the decades following the Crimean War, the professional soldier, long a figure of derision in Britain, came to be viewed as a heroic figure, the defender of not only the British Empire but of British values as well.¹⁷ Works such as Kipling's *Barrack Room Ballads* (1888) and Lady Butler's *Balaclava* (1876) contributed to this shift, humanising the soldier by depicting his sufferings with humour and pathos, respectively. Though foregrounding the working class soldier, these works were produced for middle class audiences, an audience with greater power to influence society. The accounts of the war correspondents were integral to these changing perceptions, with their descriptions of the average "Tommy Atkins" as a model of martial masculinity bearing the added validity of having been written by an eye-witness. Though presented as a positive figure, the average soldier is not considered individually. Many war correspondents, such as Bennet Burleigh use "Tommy Atkins" as a collective identifier for all British soldiers ("Jack Tar" being the naval equivalent). For instance: 'Tommy Atkins, in his shirt-sleeves, kilted or breeched, gripped and threw the stores and camp material upon the wagons, and stowed it in so quick a style, that the natives actually stared' and 'Their ardour and courage made every Tommy more than a match for the best dervish of Mahmoud's army'.¹⁸ The British soldier might be a heroic figure, but only when indistinguishable from his peers. The position of the officer, too, developed as the nineteenth century progressed. The Cardwell Reforms, introduced in 1870, increased the likelihood of promotion based on merit, helping to reduce the reputation for incompetence among officers that the Crimean War had given rise to.¹⁹ The British officer in the colonies was not simply seen as a heroic figure, he was considered a transformative one, serving the empire by inculcating the indigenous soldiers under his command with British masculine ideals and turning past or potential enemies into valuable soldiers.²⁰

¹⁷ Sonya O. Rose, "Fit to Fight but not to Vote?: Masculinity and Citizenship in Britain, 1832-1918," in *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 138-140.

¹⁸ Bennet Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa or the Re-Conquest of the Soudan 1898* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1898), 114, 238-239.

¹⁹ Halik Kochanski, *Sir Garnet Wolseley: Victorian Hero* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1999), 56, 113.

²⁰ Streets, *Martial Masculinity*, 73.

The imperial masculine ideal presented in the works of the professional adventurer did not exist in a vacuum, rather their accounts were one element in the cultural imaginary of the period, helping to shape and in turn being shaped by assumptions and beliefs surrounding the empire and the men who lived on its edges. They contributed to wider trends in more concrete ways as well. Popular authors of books for boys, such as G. A. Henty, were heavily reliant on the accounts of the professional adventurer and war correspondent for information regarding the realities of a landscape or military campaign.²¹ This helped to spread the depictions of landscapes and battles written by the war correspondents to a far wider audience than simply those readers of their account. Henty's fictionalised Kitchener may have been given a fatherly fondness for plucky boys in the transition from war account to juvenile novel, but the primary traits that both texts celebrate reinforce the same constructed masculinity. The most blatant example of the boys' novel mimicking of the adventure account also comes from the Sudan war: G. W. Steevens is credited with giving the initial impetus to the creation of Kitchener as a heroic figure, in part through titling his 1898 account of the final phase of the Sudan campaign *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, a title and endeavour which was rapidly capitalised on by Henty in 1903's *With Kitchener in the Soudan*.²² It is important, then, to consider the role of professional adventurers' accounts in the construction of late nineteenth century masculinity. This section will examine the use of the traits of pluck and bravery and the sporting ethic in the construction of a heroic masculine ideal. This will be followed by a comparison of representations of two adventurous males that demonstrates the proscriptive nature of ideal masculinities.

'Yes! the British word "pluck" is the word to use. "Courage," bravery," "heroism" are all too feeble' wrote critic and former special correspondent George Augustus Sala in 1879 in a review of an illustrated anatomy textbook for boys, capturing popular sentiments surrounding the word "pluck".²³ While this meaning of "pluck" can be traced back to the late eighteenth century, the use of the word to denote a certain kind of courage had its heyday during the mid- to late-

²¹ Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), 79.

²² Berny Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 264.

²³ G.A.S., "Echoes of the Week," *The Illustrated London News*, Nov. 1, 1879, 406.

nineteenth century.²⁴ Pluck was not simply seen as a masculine virtue, it was seen as a uniquely British one. The embracing of pluck coincided with a period of low numbers of British casualties in colonial conflicts around the world (with a few notable exceptions, such as Isandlwana and El Obeid). The second half of the nineteenth century saw the British engaged, almost continuously, in a series of what are known as the ‘small wars of empire’.²⁵ Apart from securing and extending the Empire, these confrontations provided Britain’s young men with occasions to develop their masculinity under the protection of superior military technology – the machine gun, smokeless powder, and improved artillery.

Pluck is a distinct form of courage that incorporates an element of playfulness and is partly defined in relation to youth. It may be fair to view it as courage without the wisdom to fully recognise the danger one is facing. Though it is often associated with bravery in battle, pluck is not limited to military settings. In literature, the boys of Kipling’s *Stalky & Co.* demonstrate their pluck against teachers and rivals (though this ultimately serves as a training ground for the battlefields of empire).²⁶ Andrew Haggard, brother of the author and a British officer and adventurer who served as an officer in the Egyptian Army after Arabi Pasha’s uprising, who wrote novels as well as accounts of his adventures, suggested his friend and fellow officer Charles Chamley Turner for the model of martial masculinity. Haggard writes:

I could find no finer fellow to represent all that was plucky in a man, all that was bright and powerful, than Chamley Turner – my chum – to select as a type for a regular slap-dash hero. [...] He was downright, devil-may-care, good-natured, hot-tempered, and a splendid shot [...] and to give his own phrase [...] “Fear! Chamley Turner does not know what fear is.” When first he made use of this phrase to me, I thought him boasting. Over and over again afterwards, until his death by drowning in the Nile, I found that his words were absolutely true.²⁷

Expressions such as ‘slap-dash’ and ‘devil-may-care’ capture the youthful energy that a plucky temperament was seen to require. As Haggard presents it, Chamley Turner’s actions are so

²⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “pluck (n. 1),” accessed June 7, 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/145996?rskey=SCmb2q&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>.

²⁵ Denis Judd, *Empire: The British Imperial Experience, from 1765 to the Present* (London: Fontana Press, 1996), 238.

²⁶ Rudyard Kipling, *Stalky & Co.* (London: Macmillan, 1908) 252-256.

²⁷ Andrew Haggard, *Under Crescent and Star* (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1895), 53-54.

plucky that his declaration of fearlessness cannot be considered boastful; it must be viewed as simply a statement of fact. In the accounts of the professional adventurers pluck is not a characteristic limited to the officer class, or even to the military. With its British origins, it is a trait that can be bestowed upon native troops – both those fighting for the British and their enemies – by British observers. As one of the ultimate masculine characteristics, pluck was occasionally attributed to women occupying the peripheral spaces of empire as a high compliment. This was most commonly used when these women behaved in a masculine manner in a way that benefited the professional adventurer or the military establishment, rather than challenging it. So for example, the woman who quiets other female passengers during a storm on the Parana River is praised for her pluck and the Sudanese women who accompany their husbands and maintain order in the camps are presented as emblems of courage.²⁸

It is not surprising that much of the praise for officers and enlisted men in the adventure account takes the form of recognising their bravery. The British, Egyptian, and Sudanese soldiers in the Battle of the Atbara (1898) demonstrated that ‘courage and resolution [were] soldierly qualities’; the French soldiers stationed in defensive posts in Central Africa are under the command of ‘magnificently trained, practical, plucky officers’, and the British officers who petitioned George Robertson to accompany him on a mission to Chitrál in 1896 were motivated by ‘that dauntless spirit of enterprise which makes the British officer a delightful memory, an ideal of irresistible pluck and energy to every civilian who has had close dealings with him in time of action’.²⁹ As these examples show, pluck did not necessarily have to be active to be observed, it was a trait that was expected to be integral to one’s being and therefore visible regardless of circumstances. Burleigh’s declaration that ‘where a war is not dictated by stern duty or necessity, it is absolutely devoid of redeeming feature, except the hardihood and bravery with which some men sacrifice their lives’ is a striking testament to the centrality of bravery and pluck to the British conception of an ideal masculinity.³⁰

²⁸ E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Falcon’: A Voyage to South America in a 30-Ton Yacht* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1887), 228-229; Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa*, 167.

²⁹ Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa*, 223; Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, 2: 207; George S. Robertson, *Chitrál: The Story of a Minor Siege* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905), 63.

³⁰ Bennet Burleigh, *Desert Warfare: Being the Chronicle of the Eastern Soudan Campaign* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1884), 205.

Though largely associated with the military, pluck could be displayed in virtually any setting. As Michael Brown has found in his work on the reconfiguration of doctors as masculine heroes, the work of medical professionals was often presented as requiring pluck.³¹ Knight praised the ‘little band of British and Egyptian medical officers, who have, with great ability, energy, and pluck, combated and signally defeated the most deadly of our foes [cholera]’ and Haggard declared of the doctors and nurses treating cholera patients in Cairo that ‘their devotion and courage were deserving of the very highest praise’.³² The work of medical professionals can be seen as a form of heroic labour, especially in the two cases cited as these were army doctors and nurses who were treating British soldiers, and therefore actively engaged with the military. Yet the fraternity of the plucky was extended still further. The men who dug for treasure on Trinidad with Knight are described as having ‘worked so hard and with such pluck and cheerful zeal’ at what was essentially hard – and ultimately purposeless – labour.³³ At the furthest remove from its martial antecedents, in a fight between two of Knight’s crewmen on board the *Falcon*, Knight describes them as evenly matched because although one was considerably larger and stronger than the other, the other was ‘the pluckiest’.³⁴ Pluck, then, would appear to be an essential trait for the adventurous male, judging by its application across professions and activities.

Adopting an emerging trend in the language of ethical conduct, the professional adventurer used sport as a way to praise officers’ martial virtues in peacetime. Alongside this, sport also served as a point of comparison between the manliness of the British and that of indigenous men. Patrick McDevitt’s work on sport and masculinity has shown that the belief that ‘athletic competition was beneficial to the community as a whole and was instrumental in the creation of true manhood’ was prevalent throughout British and colonial society despite its

³¹ Michael Brown, “‘Like a Devoted Army’: Medicine, Heroic Masculinity, and the Military Paradigm in Victorian Britain,” *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 3 (Jul. 2010): 621.

³² Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 232; Haggard, *Under Crescent and Star*, 70.

³³ E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Alerte’: The Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1890), 223-224.

³⁴ Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 242.

origins as a primarily middle-class ideology.³⁵ Sport came to be seen as an apt metaphor for military conflict as both required participants to work as a team under a leader whilst still providing opportunities for individual glory. There are two facets of the intersection between sport and late nineteenth century masculinity: the games ethic and sportsmanship. The games ethic cast the work of empire as a form of play while sportsmanship provided a standard of conduct to be maintained while “at play”. The games ethic is most famously expressed in Henry Newbolt’s 1892 poem ‘Vitaī Lampada’: ‘But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the rank/ Play up! play up! and play the game!’.³⁶ Bradley Deane has convincingly argued that the games ethic made it possible for each encounter between the agents of Empire and the Other to be viewed as an act of play, regardless of whether it was diplomatic, cultural, or military in nature.³⁷ Sportsmanship, on the other hand, was considered a form of ‘moral etiquette’.³⁸ Once fully embraced on the playing field, it was expected that sportsmanship would be carried onto the battlefield. The characteristics sport was meant to instil in young men were an adherence to rules (either of the game or of conduct in warfare), respect for authority, teamwork, and fairness. Sportsmanship had come to dominate conceptions of martial masculinity to such an extent that it had the potential to become problematic. So in his guide for soldiers Garnet Wolseley acknowledges that ‘we are bred up to feel it a disgrace even to succeed by falsehood; the word spy conveys something as repulsive as slave’ but warns that too strict an adherence to these notions can be devastating from a military perspective.³⁹ This is where the delicate balance with the games ethic becomes essential, for if gathering military intelligence can be seen as a game in its own right, with its own particular rules, then there is nothing morally wrong about acts such as spying. It is a powerful combination that can be seen most clearly in the popularity that

³⁵ Patrick F. McDevitt, *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 5.

³⁶ Henry Newbolt, ‘Vitaī Lampada’, <http://net.lib.byu.edu/english/wwi/influences/vitai.html>.

³⁷ Bradley Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 89.

³⁸ John M. Mackenzie, “The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian Times,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 179.

³⁹ Garnet Wolseley, *The Soldier’s Pocket-book for Field Service* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1871), 81.

Kipling's *Kim* enjoyed within imperial circles and in the glorification of spying in Henty's *With Kitchener in the Soudan*. The following section will examine how the professional adventurer utilised sporting anecdotes and the language of sport to assert an individual's masculinity and to convey a sense of masculine superiority over non-British men.

It was during the second half of the nineteenth century that the language of sport became a common metaphor for discussing military subjects. However, the best known example of this dates from the first half of the century: during the period of rising tensions between the British and Russian Empires in Central Asia the espionage and political manoeuvrings of official and unofficial actors became known as the "Great Game".⁴⁰ The expression was first used in 1840 in a letter from one of its first "players", Arthur Conolly, to Henry Rawlinson, the political agent based in Qandahar.⁴¹ That the expression was in widespread usage, at least among military and political circles, is evidenced by Political Agent Algernon Durand's labelling of his strategy for controlling the Gilgit region the 'Gilgit Game'.⁴² The language of sport provided an effective means of conveying a plucky disregard for danger when describing conflict. Durand himself described fighting against the Chitralis thus: 'I found that once a position was turned, and a few men shot, it was a recognised rule of the game that the defenders should bolt'.⁴³ Durand use sport to simultaneously show his personal pluck and to emasculate the Chitralis who follow "rules" of war that are alien to the resolute and better-trained British and Indian Army soldier. At times authors were explicit about the existence of the games ethic. Surgeon-Major George Robertson wrote of hostage negotiations during the siege of Chitral fort as 'playing a game, with the lives of the Reshun party as a prize'.⁴⁴ In a similar vein, H. C. Seppings Wright described the war correspondents marching along the Nile as 'cantering off like a lot of schoolboys let loose for

⁴⁰ Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia* (London: John Murray, 2006), 123-4.

⁴¹ Malcolm Yapp, "The Legend of the Great Game" in *Proceedings of the British Academy: 2000 Lectures and Memoirs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 181.

⁴² John Keay, *The Gilgit Game: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas, 1865-95* (London: John Murray, 1979), 152.

⁴³ Algernon George Durand, *The Making of a Frontier: Five Years' Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, and the Eastern Hindu-Kush* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1899), 83.

⁴⁴ Robertson, *Chitral*, 253.

play'.⁴⁵ Even the most serious situations could be interpreted through the games ethic, highlighting how ingrained the language of sport was in the mind of the adventurous male.

The placement of sports anecdotes within military narratives makes it even more apparent that contemporary authors and audiences saw the two as interrelated. Andrew Haggard provides an example in *Under Crescent and Star*. After listing the relative positions of a number of officers during the advance on Tokar, he writes:

The front was covered by a capital fellow, Lieutenant Humphreys of the Mounted Infantry. This gallant fellow, after doing much good service, died an extraordinary death on the Cairo race-course, where, as the result of a fall when practising over a jump, he lay for eleven days with his neck broken, or at any rate dislocated.⁴⁶

The passage is immediately followed by a continuation of the description of the movements of Humphrey's scouts. The inclusion of this anecdote is jarring for the modern reader, especially as Haggard has multiple sections recounting horseracing anecdotes. However, to a society that viewed the battlefield and the playing field as closely related worlds, there is a synchronicity between a death in combat and a death while at play. That Humphrey's death was a painful spectacle draws it even closer into line with the very public deaths of those on the front lines.

The competitiveness inherent in sports such as rugby and polo made it a perfect vehicle for drawing comparisons between the masculinity of the British and that of the rest of the world. While athletic competition provided a basis for masculine comparisons, winning – or even participating – was not necessary: observing the Other at play provided the professional adventurer with adequate material for his comparisons. This is seen in *Where Three Empires Meet* in Knight's account of a polo match organised by the Naib Wazir of Leh. Though he acknowledges that polo is an 'indigenous game of all the highland country between Tibet and Chitral, as well as of Manip', he concludes by stating: 'there can be no doubt that, though this game is native to the country, we have much improved upon it, and polo as played by British officers in India is a far superior sport'.⁴⁷ As the British had only begun playing polo in the 1850s and its origins can be traced to the third century c. e., this is a claim that likely has more to

⁴⁵ H. C. Seppings Wright, *Soudan, '96: The Adventures of a War Artist* (London: Horace Cox, 1897), 19.

⁴⁶ Haggard, *Under Crescent and Star*, 145.

⁴⁷ E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 185.

do with national pride than reality.⁴⁸ Similarly, while in Argentina Knight observes a race day that provides him with considerable insight into the differences between the English and the South American gauchos. Rather than compare the horsemanship of the two groups – where it was likely that British riders would have been at a disadvantage – Knight focuses on the absence of strict rules, officials, or a permanent course.⁴⁹ The superiority of British horseracing here is based on the trappings of civilisation that ensure that a level of sportsmanship is maintained. Participating in athletic competitions always includes the risk of losing, making it much safer for British conceptions of their own masculinity and superiority to observe rather than to compete. The professional adventurer utilised his position as an observer to reinforce those conceptions of masculinity.

Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet* introduces two fellow adventurers who embody the work of empire: Captain Hamilton Bower and Charles Spedding. Both Bower and Spedding were employed by the British government, but the nature of each man's imperial work shaped Knight's presentation of him, revealing the extent to which the ideal masculine figures were constructs. Bower was an officer in the British Indian Army who had gained a reputation as an explorer after a hunting trip had turned into a policing mission that resulted in the capture of the man who had murdered an English traveller the year before. He had been tasked with gathering intelligence about Tibet and Knight briefly accompanied him and his companion Dr W. G. Thorold before they left Leh to cross into Chinese-administered Tibet.⁵⁰ Spedding, who was Knight's cousin, was the engineer contracted to oversee the construction of the Gilgit Road through Kashmir and the independent principalities to the north, reporting on the construction of which was ostensibly the reason for Knight's presence on the North Western frontier.⁵¹ Knight is explicit about the heroic masculinity displayed by Bower. As they part he imagines what the other man will undergo on his 'adventuresome expedition': Bower was 'about to plunge into an

⁴⁸ Allen Guttman, *Sports: The First Five Millennia* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 50.

⁴⁹ Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 153.

⁵⁰ Peter Hopkirk, *Trepassers on the Roof of the World: The Race for Lhasa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 83, 89.

⁵¹ E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 113.

absolutely unexplored region [...] to discover their own passes across huge mountain-ranges' with 'long, arduous journeys across the mountain solitudes [...] to encounter the deadly cold of the Tibetan tempests; to lose most of their animals on the road; and to run no inconsiderable risk of perishing', yet despite these potential dangers 'Bower was resolved to clear up the geographical problems of this mysterious and unknown land'.⁵² The language Knight employs emphasises the strenuous nature of the work of exploration as well as the inherent risk. Elaine Freedgood's argument that accepting risk 'became part of a new British self-conception based on a complex moralizing of the profits of industry and empire' is seen here, as it is Bower's heroic efforts that will benefit the empire.⁵³ The government's interest, and thus Bower's, in the region is presented as scientific, rather than strategic, a far simpler project to justify. Bower's heroic status is reflected in how he travels: for those 'on Imperial service' each 'march is like a royal progress', showing that his position has been recognised in a way that distinguishes him from other men.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in recounting Bower's arrest of the murderer, Knight uses the language of the hunt, what John Mackenzie has referred to as 'the most perfect expression of global dominance'.⁵⁵ In the line 'Bower soon realised this was a difficult game to stalk', the hunting metaphor is explicit, while Bower's '[anxiety] to march the prisoner into India through Kashgaria and Kashmir, as a good example to any other ruffians there might be in those parts' plays on the fad for collecting and displaying trophies that was essential to the creation of a visible masculinity.⁵⁶ If Bower's treks were not already manly enough, the use of the language of the hunt adds an additional layer of masculinity.

On the other hand, Spedding is not presented as a figure of heroic masculinity. He is defined by his work, which, though of inarguably greater immediate importance to the empire than Bower's Tibetan expedition, is incapable of having the same resonance within the cultural

⁵² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 183.

⁵³ Elaine Freedgood, *Victorian Writing About Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 9.

⁵⁴ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 115.

⁵⁵ MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian Times," 179.

⁵⁶ Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939," *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 305; Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 169.'

imaginary.⁵⁷ The place of the Royal Engineer in the pantheon of heroic masculinity had been secured to some extent by Gordon's death at Khartoum and John Chard's defence of Rorke's Drift, but the actual work of the engineers, and particularly of those engineers who were civilian contractors, was viewed as labour in service of a heroic imperial effort, rather than a heroic effort itself. The building of roads or railways facilitated imperial victories. They were not victories in and of themselves. Kipling's short story "The Bridge-Builders" confirms this view. Though the engineer responsible for the engineering marvel initially appears to be the heroic central character, it is the bridge itself and the financial and cultural changes wrought by increased rail travel that are ultimately presented as the saviors of India.⁵⁸ Additionally, road building occupied a unique place in the hierarchy of engineering feats. Less modern than the railways and less visually striking than bridges, roads were too prosaic to be heroic; as Samuel Smiles writes in his *History of Roads* 'roads have in all times been among the most influential agencies of society' yet 'men of eminence as engineers [...] considered road-making beneath their consideration'.⁵⁹ Though Spedding's project may have been 'invaluable on any military expedition into the hills', the way in which Knight describes his work is particularly telling given the circumstances of the road's construction through Hunza-Nagar.⁶⁰ The proposed direction of the Gilgit Road through the independent principalities of Hunza and Nagar had generated (ultimately legitimate) fears that the British Government in India intended to annex the region, leading to a war in which Spedding and his road-building crews were, quite literally, on the frontlines as the Indian Army could only proceed with artillery and supplies as the road was laid. During the battle at Nilt, Spedding and his civilian staff members all volunteered to serve as officers due to the number of

⁵⁷ Its importance is evidenced by the appearance of the Gilgit Road in geographical and political reports for the next several decades. See for example: W. M. Conway, "Exploration in the Mustagh Mountains," *The Geographical Journal* 2, no. 4 (Oct., 1893): 289-299; William Hunter Workman, "From Srinagar to the Sources of the Chogo Lungma Glacier," *The Geographical Journal* 25, no. 3 (Mar., 1905): 245-265; Arthur Neve, "Journeys in the Himalayas and Some Factors of Himalayan Erosion," *The Geographical Journal* 38, no. 4 (Oct., 1911): 345-355.

⁵⁸ Rudyard Kipling, *The Day's Work* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1927), 1-47.

⁵⁹ Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers*, vol. 3, *History of Roads: Metcalfe; Telford* (London: John Murray, 1879), 1, 73.

⁶⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 295.

casualties among the British officers.⁶¹ Spedding's crews are described as 'excellent raw material for soldiery' but their commander is never described in the same terms, he is always a worker rather than a warrior.⁶² Knight's tribute to Spedding praises his 'talent for organisation and his great experience of transport' and notes that the 'work was done in a patriotic spirit, not for pecuniary remuneration, but at a considerable cost to Spedding himself'.⁶³ This is rather passive language when compared with the active verbs used in describing Bower's activities. More importantly, Knight apparently felt the need to prove that Spedding's motives were purely patriotic. Unlike the officer or explorer, the civilian engineer's work in service of the empire was assumed to have been motivated by financial gain, not patriotism, despite the fact that the officer and explorer were also being paid for their services. Finally, Knight linguistically removes Spedding from the frontier by likening his camp to 'a snug and civilised harbour' where 'soft tack and other luxuries awaited'.⁶⁴ Spedding's camps are presented as places of ease and comfort and the inherent difficulties of establishing and supplying a camp in this manner are disregarded. Unlike Bower, who Knight constructs as a heroic masculine ideal, Spedding is presented as a model of an earlier masculinity, a masculinity which requires his heroic actions and characteristics to be minimised and reconfigured.

Community

Once the heroic masculinity of the adventurous male had been established, the professional adventurer could expand his representation and highlight those characteristics that he deemed of equal important in the character of the ideal male. What emerges from the adventure accounts is a focus on camaraderie and domesticity that elevates community to an

⁶¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 416. Knight also served briefly as an officer and lead two units of road workers who had similarly been converted into soldiers.

⁶² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 366.

⁶³ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 438.

⁶⁴ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 322.

essential feature of life on the peripheries of empire. Camaraderie and the domestic manifest in different ways across the varied circumstances of the adventure accounts but always feature as a decidedly masculine phenomenon. Studies of nineteenth century masculinities have established a division between the early Victorian domestic masculinity and that which accompanied the development of the New Imperialism.⁶⁵ I would argue, however, that rather than being fully replaced, the domestic masculinity of the mid-nineteenth century was transposed onto all-male communities allowing it to remain a characteristic of the ideal male. This conversion of the domestic appears to have been a means of reducing the tension between different forms of masculinity. Prior to the shift towards a more martial masculinity, the ideal male characteristics were those of the family man: a provider whose focus was on the domestic. As Bradley Deane states, the transition between forms of masculinity saw the ‘paragons of mid-century manliness, such as the entrepreneur, the missionary, and the affectionate family man, [being] elbowed aside by the untamed frontiersman, the impetuous boy, and the unapologetically violent soldier’.⁶⁶ The frontiersman, the boy, and the soldier, however, still formed and relied upon communities, though these were homosocial, rather than familial. By breaking down the concept and depictions of community into two of its component parts – camaraderie and domesticity – this section will examine how the professional adventurers represented homosocial communities on the peripheries of empire in ways that emphasised their importance to both those involved in them and the success of the imperial project.

In his introduction to *Masculinities in Politics and War*, John Horne hypothesised that the post-1848 world ‘saw the hey-day of “fraternities” of all types,’ underlining the centrality of homosocial communities and the relationships within them.⁶⁷ However, during the nineteenth century, all-male communities were not wholly viewed as positive. In the settler colonies the

⁶⁵ Deane’s *Masculinity and the New Imperialism* is a prime example of this research, as is the chapter “The Flight from Domesticity” in Tosh’s *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1999), 170-194. Others include: Bradley Deane, “Imperial Barbarians: Primitive Masculinity in Lost World Fiction,” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 26, no. 1 (2008): 205-225; Michael Brown, “Cold Steel, Weak Flesh: Mechanism, Masculinity and the Anxieties of Late Victorian Empire,” *Cultural and Social History* 14, no. 2 (2017): 155-181.

⁶⁶ Deane, *Masculinity and the New Imperialism*, 1.

⁶⁷ John Horne, “Masculinity in politics and war in the age of nation-states and world wars, 1850-1950,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 26.

gender imbalance had been a perpetual source of fear of social breakdown since the 1846-47 parliamentary inquiry into homosexual behaviour in the Australian penal settlements found that ‘sodomy “prevailed” at Norfolk Island’ and was prevalent throughout the colony.⁶⁸ These fears mirrored earlier concerns about the Royal Navy, another homosocial institution that appeared to outsiders to be a community ‘that constituted, and reproduced, itself in a way that violated the family metaphor that underlay the modern concept of “nation”’.⁶⁹ Sir Hector MacDonald’s suicide in 1903 following the announcement that he would be court-martialled for his inappropriate sexual relationships with boys while stationed in Ceylon demonstrated that tensions and stigmas surrounding homosocial communities were still strong into the twentieth century.⁷⁰ By celebrating the camaraderie of the male community, the professional adventurer attempted to recast it as a community that fit within rather than challenged the ideals of family and the empire. This would not have been possible for all homosocial communities however; the circumstances under which homosocial communities came into being on the fringes of empire (military service and exploration) were adequately masculine as to assuage fears surrounding their ability to upset social norms. These “manly communities” provided a counterpoint to the more threatening male communities that flourished during the nineteenth century. In her work *Romantic Friendship in Victorian Literature*, Carolyn W. de L. Oulton charts the problematisation of male friendship as the century progressed due to increased scrutiny of the potentially sexual nature of some of these friendships.⁷¹ The visibility of aestheticism and the decadence it celebrated contributed to this. As E. M. Collingham has masterfully shown in her work *Imperial Bodies*, the figure of the nabob had elicited similar concerns surrounding sexuality, decadence and degeneration, leading to the transition to the more controlled and

⁶⁸ Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 102.

⁶⁹ Isaac Land, ““Sinful Propensities”: Piracy, Sodomy, and Empire in the Rhetoric of Naval Reform, 1770-1870,” in *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism*, eds. Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 92.

⁷⁰ Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*, 32-33.

⁷¹ Carolyn W. de la L. Oulton, *Romantic Friendship in Victorian Literature* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) 130.

incorruptible sahib.⁷² It would seem that the rigours of life on the frontier were assumed to keep young men manly and chaste and in the muscular Christian model.

Within the military, relationships assumed a greater importance in promotions after the destabilisation caused by the Cardwell Reforms' prohibition on the purchase of commissions. Commanding officers, most notably Wolseley in the British Army and Frederick Roberts of the British Army in India, had greater freedom to select their subordinates, resulting in the development of the so-called "Ring" system, in which the same groups of officers were selected as staff officers and promoted accordingly. Wolseley explained the rationale for the system, stating, 'I know these men of mine and they know me. I selected them originally because of my discernment of character, not at the behest of interest or from the dictates of nepotism'.⁷³ As Halik Kochanski has noted, while outsiders saw the Rings as simply a new form of nepotism, members were so devoted to the man around whom the Ring was built that the system came to function as 'a divisive factor in the politics of the late Victorian army'.⁷⁴ From this position, it becomes apparent that personal and professional relationships within the Rings were of more importance to their members than the stability and structure of the army as a whole. This system was recreated on a smaller scale as well. After his appointment as the Political Agent for the Gilgit Agency in 1889, Algernon Durand was able to appoint a number of officers to serve under him – his 'own selected friends'.⁷⁵ Durand attributed his successes during his time at the Gilgit Agency to the 'pluck and uncomplaining endurance of the troops' but more importantly to 'the sympathy, devotion, and courage of the band of young British officers who had served under me'.⁷⁶ Durand's inclusion of 'sympathy' as an ideal male characteristic hints at the importance of homosocial relationships on the peripheries of empire where isolation could be destructive to morale and mental wellbeing.

⁷² E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 13-14.

⁷³ Quoted in Kochanski, *Sir Garnet Wolseley*, 271.

⁷⁴ Kochanski, *Sir Garnet Wolseley*, 272.

⁷⁵ Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, 124.

⁷⁶ Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, 291.

Camaraderie between enlisted men was a powerful force that could either strengthen or destroy a unit's fighting abilities. In literature, authors used both aspects of camaraderie in their plots, making the idea accessible to the general public. One such example is Conan Doyle's "The Green Flag", first published in the *Pall Mall Magazine* in 1893. It tells the story of an Irish regiment that 'looked upon the foe as though he might, in truth, be the friend' and whose devotion to a rebellious private almost leads to the destruction of the square.⁷⁷ Presenting the strengthening effect of strong bonds between soldiers was Kipling's "With the Main Guard", one of the stories featuring his trio of troublesome, yet ultimately heroic, soldiers Learoyd, Mulvaney, and Ortheris. In it, Mulvaney recounts how the loss of friends in an earlier battle made the Black Tyrone regiment fight ferociously and how one soldier risked his career in order to protect the officer that he had known as a boy.⁷⁸ Recreation was as essential to building and maintaining morale as drilling was to being able to maintain the famed British Square. During the Sudan campaigns, for example, activities such as athletic competitions and musical or dramatic performances were arranged for the enlisted men, allowing friendly relationships to develop across regimental and racial boundaries.⁷⁹ As noted in the discussion of competition, however, the potential social danger of the officers losing to the men meant that competitive recreational activities were generally segregated by class. The periods of inactivity between battles provided correspondents and officers with opportunities to interact at the horse and camel races, sporting events and 'smoking concerts' organised to maintain morale, either as observers or participants.⁸⁰ These activities mimicked social life back in Britain and allowed camaraderie to be built following traditional homosocial models, reaffirming the nonthreatening masculinity of these communities.

The friendship between Frank Scudamore and Lord Kitchener provides an interesting example of the relationships that could develop within male communities and challenges the

⁷⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Green Flag and Other Stories of War and Sport* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1900).

⁷⁸ Rudyard Kipling, *Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsbys, In Black & White* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1900), 55-75.

⁷⁹ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 220-221; G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1915), 188-189.

⁸⁰ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 214.

argument that war correspondents and high-ranking officers, Kitchener in particular, were continually at odds. Sèbe states that Kitchener's response to the war correspondents, save G. W. Steevens, was one of 'heartfelt animosity' and Phillip Knightley presents the war correspondents as distanced from the officers by an unbridgeable gulf in breeding and education.⁸¹ Knightley's claims of insurmountable class differences between the officers and correspondents can be easily dismissed: the majority of the war correspondents and professional adventurers were not men who had 'been set on a military life, and when, for various reasons, this proved impossible, [taken] up reporting wars as the next best career,' the majority of the most respected correspondents were, in fact, highly educated professionals who had chosen to become adventurers: Knight was a barrister, Steevens was an Oxford-educated Classics scholar, and Scudamore the son of a high ranking government official.⁸² Additionally, when an editor chose not to send an official correspondent, the volunteer correspondents found among the army were overwhelmingly officers. The most famous example of this is of course Winston Churchill, who was first employed as a correspondent in 1897 by the *Daily Telegraph* to cover the uprisings in the Swat Valley.⁸³ In fact, many correspondents would be paired with an officer-artist to illustrate both their dispatches and the eventual published account. One such pairing is Burleigh's *Sirdar and Khalifa*, illustrated with photographs taken by Colonel Frank Rhodes.⁸⁴ In terms of class background, education, and professional regard, the professional adventurer as war correspondent occupied a similar place in society as the military officer, making it natural for him to socialise with the officers rather than the enlisted men when accompanying a campaign. It is highly likely Scudamore's description of Macdonald as 'unfailingly kindly, hospitable, and helpful – helpful, I should say to the man but not at all to the correspondent' is more reflective of the typical relationships between correspondents and officers.⁸⁵ While personal antipathies

⁸¹ Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*, 281; Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (New York: Andre Deutsch, 1975), 43.

⁸² Knightley, *The First Casualty*, 43.

⁸³ David B. Edwards, "Mad Mullahs and Englishmen: Discourse in the Colonial Encounter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no 4. (Oct., 1989): 650.

⁸⁴ Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa*, vii.

⁸⁵ Frank Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925), 139.

between certain officers and correspondents doubtless existed, Kitchener and Scudamore's friendship demands a re-evaluation of the assumption that correspondents and officers were at war personally as well as professionally.

In *A Sheaf of Memories*, Scudamore reflects on his relationship with Kitchener, from their meeting in Turkey in 1877 through the end of the second Sudan campaign in 1899. During the 1883-4 Nile River campaign, when both men were in the early stages of their careers, Scudamore, along with another junior officer and correspondent, 'would lie on the edge of Korosko's cliff shore catching what coolness came from the flowing river beneath and [listen] while Kitchener expounded quaint theories for the control and administration of the wild Sudanese'.⁸⁶ While the topic of conversation may have been professional, the tone Scudamore chose for the passage is one that paints a relaxed and amicable scene. This friendship continued through the second Sudan campaign of 1898-99, with Scudamore and Kitchener frequently dining together and Scudamore being invited to observe interrogations and interviews that he should have been excluded from. One such instance involved 'one of Gordon's native lieutenants' who had been held prisoner by the Khalifa for thirteen years before escaping and reaching the army's camp at Dongola.⁸⁷ This anecdote demonstrates the closeness between Kitchener and Scudamore and brings the nature of their relationship into clearer focus. Reginald Wingate, the chief intelligence officer and press censor, informed Scudamore about the deserter's arrival and invited Scudamore to be present while Kitchener shared the results of the interrogation with him:

The Sirdar – delighted with the inside information gained – was in most genial mood. He told me the whole tale of the escaped man's trials and hardships as he trailed the sad Sikat el Arbaeen (the western slave track), though little, I must allow, of the information he had brought.

"He naturally made for Dongola," he concluded, "because it was there he had left his wife thirteen years ago, and of course he was chased."

I do not know what devil prompted me.

"And was she also chaste, sir?" I ventured shyly!

The Sirdar gave a great laugh and then frowned.

"Look here, Scudamore," he said sternly, "you had best get back to your telegrams – I am afraid they will have to be censored."

⁸⁶ Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories*, 97.

⁸⁷ Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories*, 104.

I rose to leave the hut, somewhat abashed; but ere I reached the mat door the chief spoke again.

“You’d better come to lunch to-morrow,” he said, “we may have something more for you.”⁸⁸

The *Soldier’s Pocket-Book* provided clear guidelines for the questioning of informants. The first of these is that no one except the intelligence officer should be present, partly in order to prevent any information from reaching the war correspondents through their connections with officers.⁸⁹ Scudamore obviously should not have been present at this meeting. Aside from this lapse in protocol, the joke Scudamore made indicates a level of familiarity beyond a strictly professional relationship and rooted in homosocial camaraderie. The existence of this familiarity is reinforced by the fact that there are no consequences for his humorous lapse in professionalism. Censorship is used as a threat but it is an empty one that is immediately retracted. Not only does Kitchener offer Scudamore the possibility of receiving privileged information, he does so with a social invitation. This friendship was also extended to Knight and the other correspondents, who hosted dinner parties for Kitchener and the officers. One such occasion provided the following anecdote, which demonstrates that these relationships were founded on more than professional courtesy:

[Knight’s] servant, Abdul, a huge black Dinka, from the equatorial swamps, had volunteered to prepare a pudding for this repast, but the secret of its composition he would not impart to anyone. Proudly he brought the *dolce*, as he called it, on the table, grinning from ear to ear. It appeared to be some sort of plum pudding, covered all over with thick black treacle. Kitchener helped himself to a slice of it, looked at it for a moment, and exclaimed:

“Why, it is my cauliflower!”

It seems that the Sirdar had two cauliflowers brought up the river in ice. When the parcel arrived one of the cauliflowers was missing, and a good many enquiries were made, all in vain, about the loss. This *dolce* contained the missing vegetable. The Sirdar was good enough to say that this newly invented dish was not at all bad.⁹⁰

Abdul is the central figure around which events unfurl. There appears to be a level of companionability between Knight and Abdul if Abdul has indeed ‘volunteered’ to make a dessert

⁸⁸ Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories*, 104.

⁸⁹ Wolseley, *The Soldier’s Pocket-book*, 81.

⁹⁰ Knight, *Reminiscences*, 216.

and has sourced the ingredients himself, possibly at his own expense. That Knight was unaware of what Abdul was cooking is obvious from the dessert itself. Theft of stores, especially in a campaign almost entirely reliant on an extended line of communication for supplies, was a serious offence. The servant of a civilian should have been exposed to serious consequences, yet in this instance Kitchener actually attempts to protect the feelings of Abdul by praising his creation. Prior to the discovery of the cauliflower, Knight does mention that six bottles of cold champagne had been opened, making it possible that Kitchener's ability to see the humour in the situation is at least in part due to intoxication. This, however, would seem to further demonstrate that the relationship between the correspondents and the officers was built on more than professional courtesy.

Scudamore's 1930 appeal to the Royal Literary Fund for an emergency pension due to severe illness reveals the extent of the friendships that could develop between officers and correspondents. In order to secure a pension, an applicant was required to provide letters of support. General Sir Reginald Wingate, his former Press Censor from the Sudan campaigns, provided one of Scudamore's references. In the letter, Wingate describes Scudamore as 'invariably discreet and loyal' and his work as 'excellent and valuable'.⁹¹ This could be merely professional courtesy, however, the concluding paragraph of the letter indicates that it is much more. Wingate writes: 'I know that Mr H. A. Gwynne, the editor of the "Morning Post" (and formerly a colleague of Mr Scudamore in the various Sudan Campaigns) and with whom I have been in constant communication in regard to Mr Scudamore's condition, has also assisted him'.⁹² Wingate is shown here as not only willing to support Scudamore's appeal, but also as having remained in contact with another war correspondent who was a mutual friend in order to monitor Scudamore's health. This, and the other examples referred to above, provide clear evidence that the antipathy between correspondents and officers during the late Victorian period has been greatly overestimated. The competition that shaped the relationships between the correspondents appears to have been an element of the relationships between the correspondents and the officers. In other words, it was less a genuine antipathy than a battle of wits and wills between the

⁹¹ Sir Francis Reginald Wingate to the Committee of the RLF, 25 March, 1930, Loan 96 RLF 1/3361/11, Archive of the Royal Literary Fund, British Library.

⁹² Ibid.

newsmen and the censors that was put aside when necessary in order to strengthen the community.

The domestic as an ideal can be further broken down into two components: the human and the material. The human domestic are those characteristics that were possessed by the domestic man and the material domestic is the physical incarnation of the domestic, in possessions and/or space. Two of the essential elements of domestic masculinity in the early nineteenth century that will be examined here are responsibility and hospitality. Responsibility was at the heart of the domestic. The man's role as patriarch was to ensure the physical and spiritual wellbeing of his family. As Tosh notes, after his duties to his employer had been fulfilled, 'moral discourse allowed for no higher claim on a man's time than his home', especially the maintenance 'of domestic discipline and spiritual renewal'.⁹³ This duty of care is transformed in the transition from the metropole to the periphery. In the imperial context, the indigenous peoples and soldiers have replaced the children in the domestic space and they are the ones who the ideal male – the political agent or officer – is responsible for guiding and educating. In the exportation of the domestic to the empire its definition and expression expands to account for the realities of life outside of the metropole.

The first piece of advice that Wolseley gives in *The Soldier's Pocket-Book*, his groundbreaking aid for military men, is that officers 'must make themselves loved as well as respected' because although 'pages might easily be filled in narrating the gallant deeds of our officers, and in recounting instances of their reckless personal exposure to save the lives of those under their command. Creditable as such conduct is, more still is expected of them'.⁹⁴ One sees here the relationship with the early Victorian domestic masculinity: the officer's duty to his men includes a significant element of care. In this passage courage is subordinated to care. Wolseley was one of the primary advocates for reform in the British Army and the *Soldier's Pocket-Book* represented the most modern ideas in military thought. The belief, then, that an officer has a duty of care to his soldiers, is not a conservative attempt to reassert earlier domestic values, but evidence that the new martial masculinity of the late nineteenth century included an adapted element of the domestic. Contemporary racial theories that placed the races of the world in hierarchical rankings of development from primitive to civilised ensured that native soldiers in

⁹³ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 123.

⁹⁴ Wolseley, *The Soldier's Pocket-book*, 1.

particular were represented as children under the care of the British officer.⁹⁵ Sometimes this was explicit, as in Scudamore's statement: 'the Sudanese, who are as children, are devoted in their friendships' or in Steevens' reference to the relationship of officer to Sudanese soldier as that of 'lord and larrikin'.⁹⁶ Knight makes his beliefs in a racial hierarchy clear when, after several weeks with the army he wrote: 'I can quite understand now the affection every British officer in a Sudanese regiment entertains for these cheery, kindly, very human creatures. Though like happy, thoughtless children at other times, they are ferocious in battle'.⁹⁷ By referring to the Sudanese soldiers as children, Knight makes it apparent that the affection felt by the officers is of a parental sort. This parental responsibility could be extended to inanimate objects under the British officer's control, reinforcing the familial analogy. In his account of the relief of the siege of Chitral, Brigadier-General Stuart Cosmo explains how for the mountain battery the artillery guns 'were "mother" to the little force'.⁹⁸ The assumption that he was "father" readily presents itself.

The analogy of the home may be extended to include the role of the professional adventurer. In the vast majority of cases, with the obvious exception of the war correspondent in the officers' mess, he is present as a guest and reports on these domestic spaces as an outsider who has been temporarily invited in. The expeditions of the professional adventurer kept him moving rapidly through the world. Under normal circumstances, camp was moved daily as the adventurer crossed continents, climbed mountains, or explored forests. Adventurers meeting one another on the march would have been very aware of the temporariness of their time together. Mary Louise Pratt highlights how travellers to southern Africa in the eighteenth century used the word "hospitality" to idealise their interactions with settlers.⁹⁹ She is correct in criticising the term as one which oversimplifies the nature of these interactions and masks the level of

⁹⁵ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 99, 156.

⁹⁶ Scudamore, *A Sheaf of Memories*, 141; Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, 142.

⁹⁷ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 134.

⁹⁸ Cosmo Stewart, "The Baptism of a Battery," in *'Blackwood' Tales from the Outposts: II Small Wars of Empire*, ed. L. A. Bethell (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1933), 49.

⁹⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 53.

dependence that travellers had on settlers, however what is important to note in this context is that it is the language of the metropolitan domestic transposed onto the peripheries. The writings of the professional adventurer provide evidence of the continuance of this way of conceptualising interactions on the frontier. Knight's surprise encounter with two officers on a shooting expedition outside the town of Skardu in Baltistan, provides an example of the rapidity with which camaraderie developed:

On reaching an open space outside the town, which is the customary camping-place for sahibs, I was surprised to see some Cabul [sic] tents pitched, and realised that I had come once more on white men. [...] We foregathered, and after my long, hot tramp, I enjoyed the five-o'clock tea, for which I arrived just in time. [...] As we had all been in the wilds for some time, we had run out of stores, but were able to supply each other's wants to some extent. I happened to have plenty of tea and sugar, which they were in lack of; on the other hand, they were well supplied with tobacco, whereas I had little left¹⁰⁰

Upon Knight's arrival, the meal immediately becomes a communal affair; the men recognise that they are all in a similar position and able to help one another. During the nineteenth century, tea, as Julie Fromer notes, 'became an icon of English domesticity and was associated with privacy, intimacy, and the nuclear family'.¹⁰¹ The daily drinking of tea was a ritual that linked the individual in the wilderness with the metropole in a personal way. To share tea with a stranger is to create an immediate intimacy that would have been recognisable to the audiences at home. Additionally, reserving the same time of day for tea as was customary in England served to further bring the colonial space under control; the act of drinking tea is made a masculine action as it domesticates the peripheral zone. In England, as Tosh notes in his work on domestic masculinity, by the end of the nineteenth century the rituals of the home had come to be seen as constraining, described as 'the tyranny of five o'clock tea', yet when at a distance from the metropole and in alien surroundings, the professional adventurer and his fellow adventurous males returned to these routines in order to establish a sense of normalcy and control.¹⁰² Tea time

¹⁰⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 262, 265.

¹⁰¹ Julie Fromer, "'Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant': Representations of English National Identity in Victorian Histories of Tea," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36, no. 2 (2008): 531.

¹⁰² Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 7.

was a tool that allowed the adventurous male to assert his masculinity and imperial power over the Other in a non-violent manner.

Alongside the human domestic is the material: the act of making a home, however temporary it might be, on the frontier and the physical objects used to do so. Professional adventurers had different items that they considered essential for being at home while on an expedition. Lists of necessities were included at the start of most adventure accounts, in the process disparaging those items that the author felt were unnecessary encumbrances. Specific items occasionally became associated with the famous adventurer who used them consistently.¹⁰³ Thus, when Richard Harding Davis, an American war correspondent, described what he took on campaign he wrote that

one of the best helps towards making camp quickly is a combination of panniers and bed used for many years by E.F. Knight, the *Times* war correspondent [...] For travelling in upper India this arrangement is used almost universally. Mr. Knight obtained his during the Chitral campaign, and since then has used it in every war.¹⁰⁴

Despite his acknowledgment that the pannier-bed was an item with “universal” usage that was popular long before Knight adopted it, Harding Davis repeatedly associates it with Knight. The importance given to domestic comforts varied widely between adventurers, though both the proponents of traveling as light as possible and those who insisted on bringing many of the comforts of home presented themselves as equipping themselves as a man ought to do. At one end of the spectrum was Burleigh, who ‘felt equal to any bivouac’ in the Sudan with only a water bottle, binoculars, revolver, toothbrush, soap, towel and biscuits, while Steevens, at the other end of the spectrum but also in the Sudan, brought ‘a tent, bed, and bath, [...] saddlery, towels, and table-linen, a chair and a table lashed together, a wash-hand basin with shaving tackle, [...] a brown bag with some clothes in it, a shining tin canteen, a cracking lunch-basket, a driving-coat, and a hunting-crop’.¹⁰⁵ Both men’s lists are exaggerated for effect, but they are still revelatory: they represent two different approaches to how men should live on the peripheries of empire.

¹⁰³ This is seen on a much larger, corporate scale with the promotion of goods such as Bovril through association with, and advertising featuring, popular explorers.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Harding Davis, *Notes of a War Correspondent* (Charleston, SC.: Bibliobazaar, 2007), 129.

¹⁰⁵ Burleigh, *Desert Warfare*, 64; Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, 31.

Burleigh's vision of masculinity idealises "roughing it" and being able to survive with very little in extreme circumstances and Steevens' ideal male is one who can live in comfort by recreating a version of the domestic norm.

More than simply revealing different masculine ideals, the ways in which imperial spaces were made comfortable by those without actual diplomatic or military power reflected the ways in which the space of the Other was domesticated. Taken in tandem, these passages from A. H. Attridge and H. C. Seppings Wright respectively, two other war correspondents who were with Knight in the Sudan, demonstrate two of the manners of domesticating space:

Our villa on the Nile seemed a comfortless place when we took possession of it – bare mud walls, a floor deep in sand, broken windows, and for furniture a small brick-built divan, and a large piece of wood. But with our camp equipment, a little hanging up of maps, and driving of nails to hold our other belongings, and the purchase of a table to write at, we made ourselves fairly comfortable.¹⁰⁶

Inside the house we found nothing; that is to say, there was no furniture. There were no chairs, but never mind – hadn't we boxes? These sufficed for our meal that evening, which consisted of soup, tinned beef, bread, and warm beer, and two candles illuminated our improvised table. [...] We slept that night in the verandah on native beds, which our servants had looted off somebody.¹⁰⁷

During the early stages of the 1896 Dongola campaign, all of the war correspondents were detained at Wadi Halfa in a number of identical native houses, making the comparison of Attridge and Seppings Wright's responses to their surroundings straightforward. Both men domesticated their living spaces in minor but revealing ways. Attridge's method was to create an ersatz England: he decorated, built shelves, and added conventional furniture. Seppings Wright was more focused on adapting his existing surroundings to meet his needs. Even in their acquisition of items it is possible to distinguish a telling difference of approach: Attridge has purchased a table, the "civilised" means of acquiring new furniture, while Seppings Wright has encouraged his servants to steal beds, an obvious break from the social norms of the metropole. Both men exert control over their surroundings and shape them to suit their domestic needs in ways that recall the contrast between the ruling styles of the nabob and sahib, briefly addressed above. Collingham's depiction of the person of the nabob as 'an open body, in flux with its

¹⁰⁶ Attridge, *Towards Khartoum*, 48-49.

¹⁰⁷ Seppings Wright, *Soudan*, '96, 15.

environment' who was able to '[adjust] to the circumstances of life in India' bears a strong resemblance to Seppings Wright and Burleigh's adaptable domesticity.¹⁰⁸ The sahib, by contrast, she describes as 'a sober, bureaucratic representative of the Crown' who was 'expected to be thoroughly British', an expectation that Atteridge and Steevens' comfortable domesticity attempts to fulfil.¹⁰⁹ Unlike in an official capacity in India, however, these two masculine styles could coexist. So one finds both Burleigh's rough, utilitarian carbolic soap and Savage Landor's 'delicately scented soap [...] which greatly attracted the butterflies' presented as representative of a masculine ideal in the adventure account.¹¹⁰

Creating and then publicising the domestic space, in these instances through its preservation in the adventure account, is similarly a continuation of the mid-nineteenth century masculine domestic. Tosh argues that as the middle classes grew and the home became 'a badge of social position', an 'ethic of display' developed that equated how one lived with one's masculine identity.¹¹¹ The selection of his kit and the creation of a domestic space provided the professional adventurer with the opportunity to display his masculine qualities, mimicking the domestic displays of an earlier, metropolitan masculinity and maintaining the centrality of the domestic in conceptions of the male ideal.

Food and drink are integral to the development and maintenance of these male communities, in both a practical and representational sense. Though Knight includes smoking concerts, athletic competitions, and horseraces as moments of homosocial community, it is the act of dining together that provides the foundation for these relationships.¹¹² The mess formed the core of military *esprit de corps* and being invited to mess with a group of officers signalled one's inclusion in the community. Similarly, the professional adventurer hosted meals in order to build connections with those that could benefit them, such as press censors, officers responsible for issuing visas, or those who could provide information. Gifts were made of difficult to obtain

¹⁰⁸ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 79.

¹⁰⁹ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 3, 59.

¹¹⁰ A. Henry Savage-Landor, *Across Unknown South America* (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), 1:94.

¹¹¹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 24-25.

¹¹² Knight, *Reminiscences*, 214-215.

provisions, alongside recent newspapers or periodicals. The imperial entrepreneur is, therefore, an essential member of this network, facilitating the creation of community amongst adventurous males through his occupation rather than physical presence. Aside from the practical benefits of access to information and a wider range of supplies that dining together offered, the act of sharing a meal was reminiscent of the metropole and established social customs.

The image of the entrepreneur as adventurer never fully disappeared from the British consciousness. Instead, it coexisted alongside the domestic and martial masculine ideals. In the volume of *Lives of the Engineers* that deals with maritime developments, Samuel Smiles presents the entrepreneurial companies and captains of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the adventurers responsible for the strength of the British Empire. It was ‘the Companies of English Merchants’ who ‘laid the foundations of our colonial greatness’ through their ‘bold and daring’ expeditions in search of markets and trade routes.¹¹³ Financial and physical risk-taking are presented as equally masculine endeavours that were both necessary for the growth of the British Empire. Martin Green argues that Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* was the ultimate expression of what he terms the ‘merchant-caste strain’ of adventure literature, a strain which saw the man of business flourish due to his good sense and possessions, rather than through courage or violence.¹¹⁴

Perhaps the most famous example of the English entrepreneur as bearer of civilisation is the rapid standardisation of stays in Cairo during the nineteenth century due to Thomas Cook’s tours and Shephard’s Hotel. Thomas Cook had created a tourism empire that, coupled with the authority given to the Baedeker or Murray guidebook by travellers, effectively streamlined and standardised travel in Egypt.¹¹⁵ What to see and where to stay were suggestions treated by many visitors as requirements. During the second half of the nineteenth century Shephard’s Hotel became an essential stop for travellers and tourists in the region as well as for officers on leave or awaiting assignment.¹¹⁶ It acted as a social and political centre: Gordon, Wolseley and Kitchener

¹¹³ Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers: Harbours, Lighthouses, Bridges: Smeaton and Rennie* (London: John Murray, 1874), 2-3.

¹¹⁴ Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 203.

¹¹⁵ Derek Gregory, “Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the cultures of travel,” in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, eds. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), 116, 121.

had all been guests prior to or when on leave from their Egyptian and Sudanese campaigns.¹¹⁷ This celebration of the English hotel – and its proprietor – is repeated in the accounts of the professional adventurer and extended to establishments run by French and German entrepreneurs as well. The European hotel was not only an oasis of civilisation for the adventurer, it had the ability to contribute to the civilising mission: as Knight humorously remarked during his stay in Tucumán, Argentina, ‘at an establishment frequented by the Anglo-Saxon [...] contact with the white man had also civilized the native waiters of the hotel’.¹¹⁸ Thus, the English entrepreneur contributes to the business of empire in both financial and cultural arenas.

The association of business on the peripheries with masculinity was not a generalised phenomenon however. While the British entrepreneur on the fringes of empire is held up as a bastion of civilisation, the Greek merchants who often followed the military are primarily objects of criticism despite the fact that these Greek merchants are not only essential to the happiness of the adventurer but also seem to embody the masculine ideals of both the late Victorians and their Georgian predecessors. Throughout the adventure accounts, trading in unstable zones is presented as a natural proclivity of certain ethnic groups, chief among them Hindus and South Eastern Europeans. Savage Landor even compares the two: ‘Enterprising Hindu merchants have also found their way to French Somaliland as well as to Abyssinia, and they manage to get on well [...] they manage to do business successfully with a small capital on the same lines as the Greeks and the Armenians’.¹¹⁹ Even in Savage Landor’s praise of the abilities of Greek merchants, there is an element of condescension and a suggestion that their financial success is due to being content to live in a relatively ‘uncivilised’ manner. The belief that the British entrepreneur has risked more and gone further outside of their comfort zone due to the superiority of British society rationalises the presentation of the British entrepreneur, but not his Greek or Indian counterparts, as an adventurous male. It creates continuity with a past masculine

¹¹⁶ Anthony Sattin, *Lifting the Veil: British Society in Egypt, 1768-1956* (J. M. Dent & Sons, 1988), 179-182.

¹¹⁷ C. Brad Faught, *Gordon: Victorian Hero* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books Inc., 2008), 81.

¹¹⁸ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 178.

¹¹⁹ A. Henry Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa: An Account of the Country and People of Eastern, Central and Western Africa as seen during a Twelve Months’ Journey from Djibouti to Cape Verde*, vol. 1 (London: Hurst and Blackett Ltd, 1907), 8.

ideal while reaffirming notions of racial superiority. These minor characters, then, play an important role in re-enforcing the masculine ideal.

Negative Portrayals

Negative portrayals of adventurous males encountered are rare in the adventure accounts. Where present, these negative portrayals serve primarily to provide the professional adventurer with a way to tacitly assert his own masculinity. Most commonly, the negative character is one who obstructs the adventurer in his progress. Bureaucratic obstruction is an unwelcome reminder of civilised society for the adventurer and must therefore be overcome if the adventure is to continue. For the war correspondent, obstruction typically comes from the press censor or other military official, both foreign and domestic, who prevents the speedy transmission of the despatches.

Being mentioned in military despatches had long been a contributing factor to promotion within the British Army. The accounts of the war correspondents played a similar role in a less official capacity. As Sèbe has argued convincingly in his *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*, it was the use of the ‘story of the re-conquest of the Sudan to celebrate the name of the “man of destiny” (as Steevens put it) who directed the Anglo-Egyptian forces the war’ by the war correspondents that resulted in Kitchener becoming a national hero, rather than any official recognition of his abilities as a commander.¹²⁰ J. W. M. Hichberger places the correspondent within an emerging network that created heroic reputations alongside artists and the producers of ballad sheets and prints.¹²¹ Savage Landor is the most aware of the potential power of naming in the adventure account, as he, exaggeratedly as per usual, asserts that it was his description of Captain John J. Pershing’s performance in the Moro Rebellion in the Philippines that resulted in his rapid promotion to Brigadier General.¹²² On the other hand, since their first appearance at the front,

¹²⁰ Sèbe, *Heroic Imperialists in Africa*, 265.

¹²¹ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 6.

war correspondents had used this power to expose incompetence, cowardice or other failings, beginning with W. H. Russell's condemnation of Lord Raglan's management of the Crimean War.¹²³ It has, therefore, been well established that correspondents and other professional adventurers were cognisant of the power of naming individuals in their accounts which is what makes the choice to omit the names of those presented negatively so interesting.

Refusing to give them their name was an effective way of erasing an individual from a narrative. In *Cruise of the 'Alerte'*, Knight is challenged by multiple difficult individuals but only anonymizes those for whom he had no personal affection. Arthur Cotton, who as a boy had accompanied him on the *Falcon*, had been invited to join Knight on his treasure hunt but midway through the expedition was discharged in Bahia for drunkenness and insubordination.¹²⁴ Though unable to continue to work with Cotton, Knight is not willing to erase him from his account. Another crew member, who is not named, deserted at Bahia, after having 'endeavoured to disseminate discontent behind [Knight's] back and to undermine [Knight's] authority [... and] made himself detestable to his companions'.¹²⁵ Knight justifies his criticisms of this man and one other, stating: 'I should not have alluded to our squabbles in this book had not the men who caused them spread all manner of false reports on their return, which have appeared in the newspapers and magazines'.¹²⁶ By publishing their own accounts, these men have placed themselves before the public, yet Knight's omission of their names disassembles the accounts they are attempting to build by anonymizing them, calling into question whether they were really there at all.

Savage Landor's account of the actions taken against him by officials in India provides another example. After Savage Landor's dramatic and problematic first expedition to Tibet, the British Government in India was reluctant to sanction his further travels in the region, especially as his stated aim was to 'chas[e] about their country some of [his] Tibetan friends who had

¹²² A. Henry Savage Landor, *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1924), 334.

¹²³ Greg McLaughlin, *The War Correspondent* (London: Pluto Press, 2016), 94-95.

¹²⁴ Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Alerte'*, 268-269.

¹²⁵ Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Alerte'*, 44-45.

¹²⁶ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Alerte'*, 44-45. Between December 10-22, 1890 the St James Gazette published a series of letters from Knight and Wilfred Pollock, the deserter, confirming his identity.

tortured [him]'.¹²⁷ He entered the region regardless, and in the book that resulted from this second, unauthorised expedition, *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described*, he describes in detail how the government tried to prevent his expedition but never identifies them beyond the generic 'British officials'.¹²⁸ In his autobiography, published twenty years later, he is more specific, and while still omitting names clarifies that the officials who attempted to deter him from entering the region by sending: 'hysterical threatening letters' were 'the Governor of the North-West Provinces, the Commissioner, and Deputy Commissioner'.¹²⁹ Many of Savage Landor's most serious allegations – that the Government had paid natives to steal his food supplies and started rumours that he was carrying machine guns – were unfounded and would have been quite difficult to link to any individual. He claimed to have intercepted a message to the 'Tibetan authorities' from the, once again generic 'Government of the North-West Provinces' that stated that he would receive no official protections and that his expedition was unsanctioned.¹³⁰ He attributed this obstructionist stance to the fact that he had been critical of the 'misdeeds' of certain 'inefficient officials' while in England.¹³¹ That Savage Landor's own actions were what led to reluctance on the part of government officials to sanction further travel in the region rather than some sort of personal vendetta is supported by John Fisher's work which has shown that even those travellers denied letters of recommendation were provided with support from consular officials.¹³² By not naming the individuals that he held responsible for making his expedition more difficult, Savage Landor reduced them to identity-less nuisances, rather than serious threats while also protecting himself from libel charges.

This denial of recognition prevents the problematic male from claiming a place within the community of adventurous males, which threatens his masculine identity on multiple levels. On the most basic level, his presence in the adventurous space on the fringes of empire is denied.

¹²⁷ A. H. Savage Landor, *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described* (London: A. & C. Black, 1905), 2.

¹²⁸ Savage Landor, *Tibet and Nepal*, 224.

¹²⁹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 220.

¹³⁰ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 221.

¹³¹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 221.

¹³² John Fisher, "Official Responses to Foreign Travel at the British Foreign and India Offices before 1914," *The English Historical Review* 122, no. 498 (Sept., 2007): 940.

Likewise, the minor level of celebrity associated with being mentioned in a popular adventure account is not accessible to him. More importantly, however, his position within the community is not recognised. The world of the adventurous males functioned primarily as an unofficial network, in which officers and businessmen provided the professional adventurer with supplies, information, companionship and support in exchange for edible luxuries, more up-to-date news, a distraction from the monotony of life in a colonial outpost during peace time, and recognition in the adventurer's published account.

Conclusions

The role of the adventurous male in the running of empire was relatively minimal and the likelihood of adventuring was limited for the men who actually did the work of empire, largely the officials of the Colonial Office, as the work of empire became 'more institutionalised and subject to greater accountability' with all of the added paperwork that that implies.¹³³ Yet popular texts such as the adventure accounts continued to place the adventurous male at the forefront of the imperial project. The dominance of these individuals in the cultural imaginary of empire can partly be attributed to the emotive power of adventure. The representations of adventurous males in the accounts of the professional adventurers reaffirmed existing conceptions of the ideal male. They celebrated the pluck and bravery of officers, soldiers and civilians, contributing to the cultural imaginary surrounding the men participating in the New Imperialism. Sportsmanship and the games ethic were used to create a moral framework around which the actions of the British adventurous male could be justified and his position in relation to imperial and native rivals could be secured. These descriptions provide further support for the research that has been done on the new masculinity of the late nineteenth century. Regardless of how many of the boundaries of genre and convention the professional adventurer might test in his accounts, he was, ultimately, an active participant in the project of empire. The depictions of

¹³³ Jeffrey A. Auerbach, "Imperial Boredom," *Common Knowledge* 11 no. 2 (Spring, 2005): 300-301. Auerbach's *Imperial Boredom: Monotony and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) expands on the ideas presented in that earlier article.

adventurous males have also provided evidence, however, of the importance of community in establishing a masculine ideal. Camaraderie within established groups, such as the mess, or between the adventurer and other adventurous males is presented as essential to the success of the empire. The ways in which home making was accomplished by the adventurous male on the peripheries of empire clearly parallel how imperial control was exerted. The emphasis on homosocial domesticity in these accounts suggests that rather than being replaced by the new imperial masculinity, the domestic masculinity of the early- to mid-nineteenth century had actually been adapted to and incorporated within it. Similarly, the promotion of the British entrepreneur as an adventurous male in these accounts refers back to eighteenth century conceptions of masculinity, suggesting an even greater fluidity in what comprised the ideal masculinity of the late nineteenth century than is commonly accepted. Although the adventure accounts contributed to the dominance of a hegemonic masculinity, the prominence given to alternative masculine characteristics would suggest that in situations where white male dominance was under less threat a less restrictive masculinity was possible. The practice of omitting the names of adventurous males who had in some way failed to support the professional adventurer, however, indicates that although the ideal masculinity may have been less proscriptive, strategies for maintaining the form of masculinity that they believed in had been developed. The depictions of other adventurous males in the accounts of the professional adventurers provide further insight into how nineteenth century masculinity was conceived of and portrayed by those who were seen to embody many of its key traits.

Chapter 3: Adventurers and their Primary Servants

The professional adventurer may not have been as isolated and independent as the cultural imaginary supposes, but their limited involvement with government authorities and funding bodies did grant them more freedom than many of their contemporaries involved in exploration in more official capacities. This, coupled with the relatively small size of the bulk of professional adventurer's expeditions, influenced how they interacted with high-level indigenous servants and allowed for greater variation in how these individuals were represented. Though the dominant narrative of essentialisation, homogenisation, and the maintaining of control through physical violence or the threat thereof are still the primary ways in which relationships with indigenous peoples are depicted, these accounts also present the audience with examples of mutual reliance, negotiated power, and affection. This chapter will begin by presenting the ways in which the experience of the professional adventurer differed from that of the explorer or traveller, notably their relative isolation, lack of support, and purpose, suggesting that these contributed to the modes of representation employed. It will then establish what the dominant narrative of representation consists of, primarily in regards to Othering through the use of homogenising language and the function of violence. Having established a possible explanation for why a more complex or different approach to depicting primary servants existed – aside from the obvious personal inclinations or attitudes of course – it will then explore how that can be seen in the adventure account. Through depictions that demonstrate general homogenising language, mutual reliance and negotiated power, and the maintenance of relationships after the return to the metropole the effectiveness of the dominant narrative for understanding the relationships between professional adventurers and their primary servants will be questioned. The aim of this chapter is not to argue that the professional adventurer was somehow more enlightened or possessed advanced views regarding race – the majority of their depictions of indigenous peoples mirror the dehumanising homogenisation found throughout writings on empire – but rather to explore the extent to which other modes of representation existed in adventure writing. In the context of the project, this chapter primarily addresses the question of how adventure narratives can complicate or reinforce our current understandings of how empire was represented. Just as the preceding chapter did for adventurous males, this chapter uses

representation in adventure accounts to create a more detailed image of contemporary visions of the people who made adventurous travel possible. Though the focus of this chapter is on indigenous people in the role of servants, insights how natives were represented could equally have been gained from other groupings, such as the indigenous elite or children.

The focus of this chapter is on those individuals who I will be referring to as the primary indigenous servant(s) of the professional adventurer. It is necessary to clarify what is meant by the term “primary servant” as it is based more on relationships than responsibilities. This is a fluid category that includes guides and translators as well as any head servant. A gentleman’s requirements on an expedition differed considerably from when at home, rendering more specific titles in use in Britain – such as butler, housekeeper, or valet – relatively unhelpful. In addition, the size of an expedition played a role in determining the duties assigned to the primary servant, as did cultural norms and expectations. On a small expedition in India, for example, a *khansama* may act as butler, cook, translator, and housekeeper. Other primary or lead positions included the lead mule or camel driver. The majority of indigenous people hired for expedition work were hired as porters or bearers, often referred to as “coolies”. In certain cases in India, this work was counted towards one’s required public service, known as *begar*, and was therefore unpaid.¹ Where animals were used to carry goods instead of people, as was the case in the Sudan and in South America, the animal drivers were the most common indigenous servants. Translators were a rarity among employees of the professional adventurers for two primary reasons: professional adventurers generally operated on more limited budgets and with smaller teams than military or exploratory expeditions, and many prided themselves on their language abilities and the rapidity with which they could acquire new tongues. Where the professional adventurer did not speak the native language, any servant who was able to act in the capacity of the translator, however cursorily, became the primary servant because of the high level of trust required for the relationship to function. A servant employed in the same capacity as his associates could become the primary servant if he displayed characteristics that were of use to the professional adventurer. Two of Savage Landor’s mule drivers became his primary servants after demonstrating their bravery and loyalty to him while one of Knight’s porters rose to the position through his

¹ Keith Ian MacDonald, “Push and Shove: The Spatial History and the Construction of a Portering Economy in Northern Pakistan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 2 (Apr., 1998): 288.

intelligence and initiative.² Personality naturally played a role as well. Guides and pilots are another group that were essential to the success of an expedition, although their presence as primary servants is less common than one would initially expect. This is due in large part to the limited scale of their work: most had small regions through which they led the adventurer, transferring their charges to another guide once they had reached the limits of their local knowledge, or, certainly in some cases, the limits of their patience and interest in guiding the adventurer. This is particularly true of pilots, who typically only remained with a vessel through a very specific, dangerous stretch of river or coastline. At any one time a professional adventurer typically only had one primary servant, though there were cases where one primary servant's employment was for a limited duration and another servant was trained for the role. In cases where multiple servants were given greater responsibilities, slight distinctions were made making one the truly primary servant. It was not unusual for race to be the deciding factor, as seen in Savage Landor's treatment of two of his servants in South America.³ A further means of distinguishing the primary indigenous servant is that he is identifiable by name, a courtesy not afforded to the vast majority of indigenous individuals that the adventurer introduces to the reader. It is quite difficult, then, to assign a function-related title to the indigenous workers who ended up being the closest to the professional adventurer and primary servant is thus the most effective term for conveying a sense of the role.

Differences of Experience

The accounts of the professional adventurers were only one small facet of the imperial cultural imaginary that developed in the metropole between 1880 and 1914. A durable cultural

² E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 232; A. Henry Savage-Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1 (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), 61.

³ For example, his decision to allow his white servant Alcides, rather than his black servant Filipe, to help bathe him and to steer the canoe. Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, 301; vol. 2, 3.

imaginary relies on a level of uniformity across its contributing source materials, allowing ideas, representations, and tropes to be reinforced through repetition. The majority of travel accounts written during the nineteenth century were written about forms of travel that already existed within well-defined generic conventions: exploration and leisure travel. Exploration accounts like those detailing Burton and Speke's search for the source of the Nile and Stanley's Emin Pasha Relief expedition developed and sustained imaginings of a small band of white explorers accompanied by large teams of native porters.⁴ Traveller and tourist accounts were likewise peopled with an array of recognisable Western characters: among the more common were the hotel manager, the general store and/or pub owner, and the imperial entrepreneur. The cultural imaginary that emerged during this period reflected these assumptions regarding how adventurous travel should happen as well as who the adventurer should encounter. As discussed in the preceding chapter, members of this cast of characters did make an appearance in many adventure accounts but their presence tended to be of short duration and have minimal impact. The experience of the professional adventurer differed in three main ways from the explorers and travellers who were their contemporaries: their isolation, their lack of external support, and the purpose behind their travel.

The most influential factor is the relative isolation of the adventurer in contrast to the traveller or tourist, something that created a situation in which native peoples were more likely to be understood as individuals. Changes in travel had made it increasingly difficult for the average traveller to be "alone" in a foreign land. During the nineteenth century the travel company, such as Thomas Cook and Co., and the guidebook, notably the red-backed Baedekers and the Murray guides, came to dominate travel and tourism, organizing transportation, providing routes, and suggesting everything from which museums and historical sites to visit to lists of hotels and restaurants to patronize and to avoid. In *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic* (1889), Knight brings a Baedeker with him to the Netherlands but quickly decides against following its suggestions,

⁴ See for example: Henry M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa or the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin Governor of Equatoria* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891); John Hanning Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1863); Richard Francis Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860).

describing it as a ‘malignant spirit’ that ‘driv[es] on the weary wretch from lion to lion’.⁵ With a travel company or a guide, traveling alone was fairly impossible as everyone was directed to the same locations and presented with the same itineraries. The world of the traveller became relatively circumscribed even as more of the world became (relatively) easily accessible to a greater proportion of the population. Even in the far-off and exotic settings of popular travel accounts, the traveller was likely to find him or herself in the company of other travellers. Conan Doyle’s experience on the Nile in 1896 provides a perfect example of this, for although in Wadi Halfa the ‘outpost of civilization’ from which Kitchener was launching his attack into the Sudan, he was still ‘with a drove of helpless tourists’.⁶ This was not an entirely new phenomenon since earlier generations of travellers had relied on the travel accounts of their predecessors to guide their own trips. In his work on how Egypt was experienced by Victorian travellers, Derek Gregory explains that travel accounts were essential reading while preparing for and during an Egyptian journey.⁷ The primary difference in the latter half of the nineteenth century lay in the sheer volume of people now travelling. As Louis Turner and John Ash note in their work on the rise of international tourism, by the middle of the nineteenth century advancements in travel technology and the development of travel companies had ‘removed the last major obstacles in the organised way of mass tourism’.⁸

Contrast this with the experiences of the professional adventurers who were unlikely to come into contact with other Westerners for any significant period of time. Chapter 2 discussed the settings in which the professional adventurer was most likely to spend a prolonged period of time in the company of other adventurous males. Contact with other Western males was of an even shorter duration and typically included those met while passing through a town or city, such as when purchasing supplies, staying at a hotel, or dining and drinking at a restaurant or bar. These included both the owners of these establishments and fellow patrons. Explorers

⁵ E. F. Knight, *The ‘Falcon’ on the Baltic: From Hammersmith to Copenhagen in 1887* (Santa Barbara, CA: The Narrative Press, 2003), 58.

⁶ Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 129.

⁷ Derek Gregory, “Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and the cultures of travel,” in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, ed. James Duncan and Derek Gregory (London: Routledge, 1999), 117.

⁸ Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Horde: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery* (London: Constable, 1975), 52-53.

experienced many of the same conditions. Many expeditions, however, would have included multiple Westerners, especially when the goals were scientific and various forms of data collection were necessary. Additionally, there is the question of scale. Professional adventurers typically employed smaller numbers of indigenous workers, making it far easier for them to present their followers as individuals. Knight noted that one of the reasons he was able to obtain a visa for travel in Gilgit despite the majority of civilian visas being denied by the Gilgit Agency was because he 'did not require large trains of coolies'.⁹ Special correspondents were the most likely to travel with fellow reporters and while many travelled alone, they would often form small camps of two or three correspondents while on a campaign. Even when travelling with an army unit the correspondents were generally kept slightly separated from the main force or under the supervision of a small group of officers, further limiting their interaction with other Westerners. During the Dongola campaign in the Sudan, for example, the special correspondents were allotted a separate camp site and while marching were not permitted to join the main body of troops until a certain position had been reached.¹⁰ These working conditions, coupled with the desire to secure a scoop, led to increased opportunities to develop their acquaintances with native populations as they could provide information that was not available from official sources. In Madagascar, for instance, Knight cultivated a network of informants that included 'Creole [...] Indian and Arab traders' as each group had access to different sources of information.¹¹ For professional adventurers engaged in other forms of adventurous travel, the likelihood of spending considerable amounts of time with other Western men was even less. Occasionally professional adventurers would be temporarily joined on their expeditions by local officials, missionaries, or doctors travelling in the same direction. Two such instances are when Knight briefly travelled alongside Hamilton Bower as both men were headed to the Tibetan city of Leh and when in Madagascar Knight travelled towards the capital Antananarivo with an English

⁹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 184-185.

¹⁰ E. F. Knight, *Letters from the Sudan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), 202, 296; A. Hilliard Atteridge, *Towards Khartoum: The Story of the Soudan War of 1896* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1897), 184.

¹¹ E. F. Knight, *Madagascar in War Time: The 'Times' Special Correspondent's Experiences Among the Hovas during the French Invasion of 1895* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 154.

missionary returning to his mission station.¹² These temporary acquaintanceships did not significantly alter the isolated nature of their travels and often served as a means of introducing the professional adventurer to indigenous peoples – in the form of translators, guides or porters drawn from the community in which the local official lived or worked. In the cases mentioned above, Knight is introduced to Hamilton Bower’s Pathan companion and in Madagascar Knight was able to hire a more congenial native escort from his missionary companion’s station.¹³ Knight’s South American expeditions are a counterpoint to this, as on both the *Falcon* and *Alerte* he travelled with a small group of British men in circumstances more resembling adventurous leisure travel, but this was highly unusual.

Research on the agency of indigenous peoples has suggested that the power of the isolated imperial agent has been exaggerated and that their authority was largely reliant on the cooperation of indigenous authorities. For example, Elazar Barkan’s work on the purchase of royal icons from the Kuba Kingdom in Central Africa demonstrates how isolated imperial agents could only be successful if they engaged in ‘intricate politicking’ and had a member of the indigenous elite supporting them.¹⁴ Unlike the explorer, the professional adventurer rarely had external support for their expedition – with the exception of the war correspondent, who was financed by an editor. In this regard they have more in common with the traveller who has funded their personal leisure travel. Support could come in the form of financial contributions; letters of recommendation to local dignitaries and officials; advice and the loan of equipment from learned societies; or in the case of state-sponsored expeditions, of the use of governmental property and military escorts. Should the professional adventurer run into trouble while in the wilderness, it was highly unlikely that any sort of relief mission would be launched. David Livingstone is the obvious counter-example of this lack of support, as his “rescue” was launched by the *New York Herald*, an American newspaper to which he had no connection. Livingstone is not, however, a truly representative case, as by the time of his disappearance into the African interior in 1866 he was associated with the London Missionary Society and the Royal

¹² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 13-14; Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, 8-9.

¹³ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 92; Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, 118.

¹⁴ Elazar Barkan, “Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain,” *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 2 (Apr., 1994): 201.

Geographical Society, organisations with influential networks of contacts around the world.¹⁵ This absence of support in the usual cases gave the professional adventurer more freedom to pursue his own interest and goals while on an expedition but also removed the expectation of a safety net. While any Westerner could reasonably expect to be welcomed in by local authorities, any support beyond a few meals and shelter for a day or two could not be assumed, especially at remote outposts reliant on rationed stores brought in from a regional hub. In the Sudan, for example, though granted access to water supplies, correspondents were required to provide their own fodder for their animals and were at certain points even banned from purchasing camels (depending on the army's requirements).¹⁶ These circumstances rendered the professional adventurer more cognisant of his isolation and of his resulting reliance on indigenous support. The lack of support could extend to shape the entire expedition, as political influence could be necessary to secure the appropriate visas and letters of introduction. Whymper's expedition to climb the Andes of Ecuador was conceived of initially as a Himalayan expedition before changes in the political climate rendered that inadvisable. Chile, Peru and Bolivia were then considered as alternatives, but without adequate support from the British government, all of these regions were impracticable.¹⁷

Intimately linked with support for adventurous travel was its purpose. Here again the professional adventurer has more in common with the traveller than with the explorer, despite their occasional claims to the contrary. An exploratory expedition was undertaken with a scientific, ethnographic, or geographical purpose. This purpose could be vague – 'to secure useful scientific results' about the Arctic – or detailed – 'to survey and report on the geological and botanical features [...] of the Cockscomb Mountains'.¹⁸ Either way, it existed and the success of the expedition could therefore be quantified in terms of the extent of territory mapped, the weather data recorded, the number of botanical specimens collected, or by any other

¹⁵ Clare Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers and Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 22, 24, 29.

¹⁶ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 83, 261.

¹⁷ Edward Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (London: John Murray, 1892), xi.

¹⁸ Clements Markham, "The Arctic Expedition of 1875-76," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 21, no. 6 (1876-1877): 537; J. Bellamy, "Expedition to the Cockscomb Mountains, British Honduras," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, New Monthly Series* 11, no. 9 (Sep., 1899): 542.

applicable criteria. The purpose of an adventure expedition was far more nebulous. Adventure is ultimately a personal experience and as such has little objectively visible value to anyone other than the individual undergoing it. Even the war correspondent, who could argue that his adventure's purpose was to keep his readership informed, was largely engaged in a self-indulgent practice after the rise of Reuters which erased the need for each paper to send its own representative. In this regard it is akin to leisure travel, which in an immediate sense only benefits the traveller. Its product, the adventure account, has the purpose of entertaining and/or educating its audience. The published adventure account, which one could argue was the actual purpose of the adventure, could become a literary success but aside from surviving to tell one's story there were often few other tangible markers of an adventurer's success. Knight's hunt for treasure on Trinidad islet did not yield any buried Portuguese gold, but it was still a successful adventure. Savage Landor failed to reach Lhasa, but his trek across Tibet was certainly an adventure and succeeded in cementing his career as a literary and social celebrity. Savage Landor is quite candid about the purpose behind his African expedition: 'having one day taken it into my head to go across Africa [...] I proceeded to the Charing Cross railway station to inquire at what time the continental train would leave the next morning'.¹⁹ Quite simply, he wanted to go, so he went. Regardless of how they justified their adventures, the underlying purpose of most professional adventurer's adventures was a personal desire or need for the experience. Though the professional adventurers' experiences of empire had the potential to differ greatly from those of other explorers and travellers, the narratives they produced were subsumed within the Voyages and Travels genre. It is this genre as a whole that has informed the dominant narrative surrounding traveller's representations of indigenous peoples.

¹⁹ A. Henry Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa: An Account of the Country and People of Eastern, Central and Western Africa as seen during a Twelve Months' Journey from Djibouti to Cape Verde*, vol 1. (London: Hurst and Blackett ltd, 1907), 2.

The Dominant Narrative

Since the study of travel writing has become an accepted academic field, how travellers represented those indigenous peoples with whom they came into contact has been one of the more prominent foci of research. The consensus that has emerged is that, as in other forms of colonial literature, indigenous peoples are homogenised and dehumanised in order to justify the imperial project, whether religious, economic or political.²⁰ One of the strongest arguments for researching the adventure account is that it can provide more complexity to the dominant narrative that research into travel writing has developed. This does not challenge the validity of that dominant narrative itself in relation to travel writing but rather suggests that the study of the adventure account may yield new understandings of how English explorers, adventurers, and travellers interacted with the wider world and its inhabitants. As Nigel Leask has shown, travel accounts were the second most popular form of writing during the Victorian period, after the novel – reaching what some historians considered ‘flood-tide proportions’.²¹ Leask qualifies this assertion, noting that exact readership ‘is hard to quantify’ but when the popularity of novels that feature travel or are set in foreign locations are considered alongside the more traditional definition of travel writing, the scale of reading material featuring travel is apparent. Comparing the sheer quantity and variety of travel and adventure accounts produced between 1870 and 1914 with the rather limited number that have been thoroughly studied would suggest that the more complex relationship between Westerner and native that must have existed in reality is represented in some of these texts.

Two works have been central to the theorisation of the homogenising language of the travel account: James Clifford’s *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art*, and Mary Louise Pratt’s *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Clifford approaches the subject through an interrogation of Said’s *Orientalism*, formulating an

²⁰ Aside from works on travel and orientalism already discussed, some of these works include: Gail Ching-Liang Low, *White Skins/Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1996); Giordano Nanni, *The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Carey J. Snyder, *British Fiction and Cross-Cultural Encounters: Ethnographic Modernism from Wells to Wolfe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

²¹ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: ‘From an Antique Land’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 11.

understanding of how observers from different cultures represent one another. Clifford concludes that ethnographers and other writers have a ‘tendency to dichotomize the human continuum into we-they contrasts and to essentialise the resultant “other”’.²² This “essentialisation” is then used to ‘create static images’ of the Other, with the result that the reality of cultural interaction ‘is flattened into an asserted authority on one side and a generalization on the other’.²³ Michael Pickering expands on this in his work on the cultural role of stereotyping, exploring how this form of cultural interaction is used to support existing power structures and ‘impos[e] a sense of order on the social world’.²⁴ Pickering also highlights the distinctions between categorisation and stereotyping. The first is a necessary process through which neutral ‘categories of representation’ are developed which remain fluid and change as new information and experiences are introduced, and the latter is a process that exaggerates and homogenises traits, features, and characteristics, negative and positive, as it creates a rigid group characterisation that resists change regardless of proof of its fallibility and inaccuracy.²⁵ These distinctions are useful when examining the language used in Victorian travel accounts of other cultures and peoples both in Europe and further afield. Pratt builds on this theoretical foundation. A central figure in the study of ethnography in relation to travel writing, Pratt examines how the language used in travel accounts contributes to this practice of essentialisation. As Pratt explains, the physical description of a single subject, generally an adult male, was used by ethnographers and travel writers to create a timeless Other that could be observed and analysed.²⁶ She looks not only at how language produces the homogenised other but also how it can be employed to remove the human from the observed landscape. They are two related rhetorical devices, linked by the shared goals of creating order and reaffirming the traveller’s position as the outside observer.²⁷

²² James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1988), 256.

²³ Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, 263.

²⁴ Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 3.

²⁵ Pickering, *Stereotyping*, 42, 10.

²⁶ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 64.

²⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 64, 76.

This placement of the observing self outside of the environment allows the author to present their subject as the “static images” described by Clifford.

This narrative of the homogenised Other in travel writing has been further refined over the years. Joan-Pau Rubiés explores in depth the order-creating function of ethnographic writing in travel accounts. He argues that the inclusion of homogenising ethnographic descriptions was linked to ‘the emergence of a basic set of analytical categories, expressed in different genres and languages, and of the changes in emphasis and assumptions within those languages’.²⁸ He notes as well that the similarity of descriptive categories over time reinforces the argument for ethnography as a tool of order.²⁹ One of these analytical categories which dominated Victorian writing about native peoples was that of the “Primitive”. Pickering explores the concept of the Primitive in depth, explaining how, like other forms of essentialising description, it was a category set apart in time, stating: ‘In anthropology and travel writing, cultural difference was transformed into the historical and the historical into evolution along a unilinear scale that became the key to evaluation of social development and progress’.³⁰ Being seen to exist outside of time meant that so-called Primitive tribes were incapable of change without an outside influence, justifying the interference of imperial powers in the name of bringing progress and civilisation. Not all indigenous peoples were considered primitive. Nineteenth century racial hierarchies often reserved the designation for those ethnic groups already struggling to survive the pressures created by imperial expansion, notably the Fuegians in Tierra del Fuego and the Bushmen in southern Africa.³¹ Describing indigenous peoples as primitive allowed the author to further distance their subject from themselves and the modern world and render them an identifiable, orderable subject. More common than the Primitive tribe in the works of the professional adventurer was the Primitive practice or structure. Primitive was thus used by these authors as a catch-all term for anything they wished to emphasise as being out-dated or of poor quality, from the ‘primitive ideas of strategy’ of the Tibetan army to the primitive staircases in

²⁸ Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Travel Writings and Ethnography,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 251.

²⁹ Rubiés, “Travel Writings and Ethnography,” 252.

³⁰ Pickering, *Stereotyping*, 54.

³¹ Mary Louise Pratt, “Scratches on the Face of the Country: Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen,” *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn, 1985): 135.

the Hunza fort.³² Dawson argues that when writers included indigenous characters they were either ‘envisaged as friendly “Man Friday” figures, who side with the hero in his conflict, or enemies of the quest, to be fought and overcome’.³³ Christopher Parker’s assertion that this stereotyping is indicative of an ultimately benign racism, ‘without venom’, is highly problematic, but his suggestion that it was the product of a hierarchical world view that ‘embraced the concept of class as well as race’ is valid.³⁴ This dichotomisation is not limited to fiction: native tribes were often divided along similar lines in ethnographic and scientific accounts. Darwin, for instance, presented the Patagonian Indians and the Fuegians in such terms in *The Voyage of the Beagle*, with the former as noble savages and the latter as simply savage, thus allowing him to make generalised claims on both racial hierarchies and colonial policies.³⁵ A related rhetorical device used to create distance between the author and native peoples highlighted by Barbara Korte in *English Travel Writing* is the separation of descriptions of people from those of place. When travel writers describe the land through which they are travelling and its inhabitants separately, Korte argues, the land becomes symbolically unpopulated.³⁶ The narrative of essentialising language in travel accounts has become so deeply ingrained in the study of these texts that sources which contradict it, such as traveller Amelia Edwards’s references to her African servants by name, are classed as “unusual” and not further interrogated.³⁷

The use of violence is another integral element of the dominant narrative surrounding travel writing. Violence against indigenous peoples, both those employed by the traveller and

³² Edmund Candler, *The Unveiling of Lhasa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 145; Algernon Durand, *The Making of A Frontier: Five Years’ Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, and the Eastern Hindu-Kush* (London: John Murray, 1900), 159.

³³ Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), 60.

³⁴ Christopher Parker, “Race and Empire in the Stories of R. M. Ballantyne,” in *Literature and Imperialism*, ed. Robert Giddings (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1991), 46.

³⁵ Virginia Richter, “Charles Darwin in Patagonia: Descriptive Strategies in the *Beagle Diary* (1831-6) and *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1845),” in *British Narratives of Exploration: Case Studies of the Self and Other*, ed. Frederic Regard (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009), 170-171.

³⁶ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), 92.

³⁷ Laura E. Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855-1902* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 178.

those with whom he or she came into contact, was accepted as an unfortunate necessity. There were, however, limits to acceptable violence. H. M. Stanley revelled in the nickname “Bula Matari” (“breaker of rocks”) bestowed on him by the Congolese for his displays of violent physical strength.³⁸ Ultimately, however, his brutality towards native porters on the Emin Pasha Relief expedition was in no small part responsible for the erosion of his popular reputation. Jordanna Bailkin’s work on the scenarios in which the use of deadly violence against Indians by Britons was considered murder makes it clear that a ‘right to brutality’ was ensconced in colonial legal systems.³⁹ Zahid Chaudhary has similarly shown that photographs of native victims of imperial violence could be used to promote political narratives of the necessity of “civilising” measures.⁴⁰ Violence was such a common theme in accounts of imperial expansion that, as Berenson has shown in his work on Stanley and Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, explorers who made an effort to avoid using violence were hailed as civilising ideals.⁴¹ Laura Franey’s work on Victorian travel writing and violence does challenge the dominant narrative to a certain extent, suggesting that the individualisation of native peoples in travel accounts was done to further justify the imperial project. She argues that indigenous individuals were described so that ‘readers of travel narratives could envision individual people being placed under the traveller’s sovereign rule and extrapolate from there to whole clans, tribes, or nations’.⁴² In the context of her research, identifying the individual was a highly negative and destructive act, intrinsically linked with the violent marking of indigenous bodies by Victorian travellers. Her argument, however, is perhaps not so different from the one she critiques. If an English audience is expected to have read the interaction between the travel writer and the indigenous individual as

³⁸ Felix Driver, “Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire,” *Past & Present* 133 (November 1991): 138; Henry Morton Stanley, Dorothy Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley* (Cambridge, MA.: The Riverside Press, 1909), 400.

³⁹ Jordanna Bailkin, “The Boot and the Spleen: When Was Murder Possible in British India?,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48, no. 2 (Apr., 2006): 464.

⁴⁰ Zahid Chaudhary, “Phantasmagoric Aesthetics: Colonial Violence and the Management of Perception,” *Cultural Critique* 59 (Winter, 2005): 105.

⁴¹ Edward Berenson, “Charisma and the Making of Imperial Heroes in Britain and France, 1880-1914,” in *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 34.

⁴² Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence*, 24.

representative of the project of colonisation as a whole, the battered body of the indigenous individual is as dehumanising and homogenising a representation of native peoples as that of the undifferentiated mass.

Though having a dominant cultural framework to work from provides one with the benefit of an established base from which to pursue further research, there is the risk of relying too heavily on it and seeing it in sources where it does not apply. This is particularly problematic in the case of relatively unknown source material where, regardless of intent, an analysis that forces the material to fit the framework regardless of its suitability is less likely to be challenged. Although this misuse of sources provides further support for the author's narrative, it masks any alternative insights the material may be able to present. A glaring example of this comes from Karen Sands-O'Connor's *Soon Come Home to this Island: West Indians in British Children's Literature*. She uses Knight's *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* and *Cruise of the 'Alerte'* as evidence of the erasure of native peoples in British travel accounts, writing that these works 'suggest, in documentary-style narration, that the island of Trinidad was at the time deserted' and thus 'his words could have been a metaphor for the British experience in the West Indies. Having been enticed by the promise of Spanish riches, Britain begins a hunt for treasure; however it finds only empty and fruitless worlds that rapidly become burdensome'.⁴³ This has the appearance of a sound argument and had Knight indeed erased the inhabitants (West Indian and British) from his narrative it would have been an egregious bit of imperial erasure. However, in her desire to fit the source material into the dominant narrative of travel writing homogenizing or erasing native peoples, she has found evidence where it does not exist. Knight's two accounts deal with Trinidad islet, a tiny uninhabited volcanic island off the coast of Brazil, not the Trinidad island in the West Indies that she is discussing.⁴⁴ This sort of blind attribution of racial stereotyping prevents the true complexity of the relationship between travel and adventure authors and indigenous peoples from being explored.

⁴³ Karen Sands-O'Connor, *Soon Come Home to this Island: West Indians in British Children's Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 59.

⁴⁴ As by the second page of *Cruise of the 'Alerte'* Knight has provided not only a map and description of where the islet is located but the geographical coordinates as well and discusses the islands relative position to the South American mainland throughout the text, it is difficult to see how the islet could have been taken for Trinidad island. This sort of misuse of lesser-known works of travel and adventure is further evidence of the need to devote more energy to the field.

Homogenisation in the Travel Account

As discussed above, one of the integral aspects of the Othering of indigenous peoples is the use of homogenising language. Writing on representations of the Other, Mick Gidley explains that homogenising language in travel accounts is revealed by ‘the emergence of “*the Arab*”, “*the African*”, “*the South Seas Islander*”, and so on, [emphasis in original]’ – creating broad observational categories which deny individuality.⁴⁵ This form of othering is seen throughout the adventure accounts. According to Durand, the Pathan is ‘bloodthirsty’ while the Chitralis ‘lack the tenacity and grit which is wanted to [...] make real soldiers’.⁴⁶ Comparing the African troops fighting under Kitchener, Knight found that ‘the fellah is naturally devoid of military enthusiasm [...] and his highest ambition is to be left alone to live the peaceful life of a cultivator of the soil’ while the Sudanese troops ‘possess a high courage, [...] as their one aim then is to at once get to close quarters with the enemy with cold steel’ but they ‘are somewhat clumsy’.⁴⁷ Savage Landor was particularly scathing in his assessment of the Brazilians who he believed ‘care little for the trouble of developing their beautiful land’ due to ‘racial apathy’ and he declared that they possessed ‘their own way of thinking, which is not ours, and which is to us almost incomprehensible [...] a characteristic which is purely racial’.⁴⁸ What is intriguing, however, is that in the adventure account, observations regarding other Europeans employ the same homogenising language. Ranging from Knight’s frequent comments on the tidiness of the Dutch to the rigidity of the Germans and the decadence of the Italians, these comments present an essentialised vision of European peoples that mirrors the presentation of indigenous peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Americas.⁴⁹ Compare, for example, these two statements on cleanliness:

⁴⁵ Mick Gidley, ed., *Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992), 3.

⁴⁶ Durand, *The Making of A Frontier*, 141, 84.

⁴⁷ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 36-37.

⁴⁸ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1., 6, 10.

⁴⁹ E. F. Knight, *The ‘Falcon’ on the Baltic: A Coasting Voyage from Hammersmith to Copenhagen in a Three-Ton Yacht* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 75, 120, 171; E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Falcon’: A Voyage to South America in a 30-Ton Yacht* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887), 186.

‘Paraguayans are the cleanest people in the world, as well as the most good-tempered’ and ‘This Dutch love of cleanliness is a fidgety mania’.⁵⁰ Both descriptions attribute a single trait to an entire ethnicity while simultaneously linking it with psychological roots – cleanliness a result of temperament or mania. Even the physical descriptions given adhere to the same structural format: a list of physical features (with an emphasis on the relative attractiveness of the women) followed by a description of their clothing and character traits. Thus, the women of the Dutch island of Marken are distinguished by their ‘fresh and clear complexions’ and ‘plump faces,’ and those of Paraguay ‘have large dark and fine eyes’ and ‘small hands and feet,’ while the Tibetan nuns of Ladak ‘had their heads shaven like the monks, and were not attractive-looking creatures’.⁵¹ His fellow Englishmen were not free from the adventure account writer’s homogenising gaze. Bennet Burleigh, a popular Victorian special correspondent writing for the *Telegraph*, described all actions undertaken by the soldiers of Kitchener’s Sudan army as the act of the singular ‘Mr. Tommy Atkins’; for example ‘Mr. Tommy Atkins had much real soldierly training’ and ‘Tommy spread his blanket upon the pebbles or desert sand’.⁵² Indeed, his use of the singular form is even more reductionist than the more common “Tommies” or “Jack Tars” (interchangeable with “Blue-jackets”) for members Royal Navy, found in most war correspondents’ accounts and the popular poetry of the day, most famously Rudyard Kipling’s, ‘Tommy’.⁵³ Though the homogenised portrait painted of English military personnel was generally favourable, not all descriptions of fellow Englishmen were so positive. According to Knight, English sailors living in South America were ‘the most disreputable and debased-looking of the lot, [...] worse than worthless’, and ‘drunken shirkers of work’.⁵⁴ His comments on the English were not limited to runaway sailors, who could be seen as a socially-distinct, outcast

⁵⁰ Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 255; Knight, *‘Falcon’ on the Baltic*, 75.

⁵¹ Knight, *‘Falcon’ on the Baltic*, 88; Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 243; E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 204.

⁵² Bennet Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa or the Re-Conquest of the Soudan 1898* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1898), 103-104.

⁵³ Rudyard Kipling, *Departmental Ditties and Ballads and Barrack Room Ballads* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915), 146-149.

⁵⁴ Knight, *The Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 187.

group. In his autobiography Knight criticises the lack of hospitality shown to travellers by the stereotypical English villager in comparison with that shown by some of his European counterparts: ‘we have no lack of these local prejudices, and “here comes a stranger, let’s heave a brick at him” expresses the sentiment of many of our countrymen’.⁵⁵ Though perhaps an exaggeration, if even the country village, a core component of British identity during the nineteenth century, is treated to a homogenising presentation it may be necessary to re-evaluate its usage as a rhetorical device in travel writing in general and the adventure account in particular. It could be argued that Knight, as an upper middle class city dweller, viewed the rural inhabitants of England as a distinct sub-group, keeping his use of homogenising language roughly within the parameters established by the dominant narrative. However, even the elite of the society to which Knight belonged receive the same treatment, for he describes yacht sailors as a ‘spoilt class’ and he will only go on an extended sailing expedition with someone who ‘had nothing to do with Cowes’.⁵⁶ If, as so many have argued, the function of homogenising language in travel writing during the Victorian era was only to justify the ideology and practices of imperialism, these critical visions of the elite and the “heart” of British society pose a challenge to this view and encourage us to question what other purposes this language may have had or have been intended to have.⁵⁷ At its most basic level, homogenising language is used because it is easy and effective. It is easier for the author to attribute a trait or practice to an entire group than it is to accurately specify whom it may pertain to and it is easier for an audience to be presented with a simple, straightforward attribution of traits, etc., than a nuanced one. Categorical statements regarding a population reinforce the professional adventurer’s claims to authority as an eyewitness: the audience is reassured that the professional adventurer “knows” what the country and its inhabitants are like because he has made these unequivocal, homogenising statements. Considering the fact that homogenising language was used to describe other Europeans, it would seem that it was also a tool of nationalism. Apart from race, homogenising language was used to reaffirm the class and gender boundaries that were

⁵⁵ E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 33.

⁵⁶ Knight, ‘*Falcon*’ on the *Baltic*, 11-12.

⁵⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, Laura Franey, and Michael Pickering, among others, all support this view of the function of homogenizing language in travel writing in their works cited above.

becoming increasingly permeable over the course of the mid- to late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The threat posed to elite male control of government and society by an expanding franchise, wider access to information through the increase in literacy, and women's increasing participation in the world outside the home could not be fully contained but homogenising language provided a means of reminding everyone of their "rightful place". This view of the application of homogenising language seems to be supported by Joanna de Groot's argument that 'the pervasiveness of racial images and categories [were] based on interaction rather than competition with those other equally important markers of identity and difference' including class and gender.⁵⁸ Homogenising language is undoubtedly a tool of control. Its usage was particularly prominent and effective in imperial contexts but its application was not limited to an external Other, it was used with similar effect against the internal Others that threatened the established order – women and the working classes.

Mutual Reliance and Power Sharing

As discussed in Chapter 1, the image of the adventurer as a larger-than-life character, perfectly capable of taming the wilderness and its peoples on his own, is one that, while it may perhaps have appealed to the adventurer's self-image, had little basis in reality. Adventure accounts reveal an awareness, on the part of the adventurer, of his own vulnerability and reliance upon the lead servant or guide that results in representations of these primary servants as individuals, rather than as a homogenised presence. The locations conducive to a successful adventure were generally not the safest or easiest to access. Professional adventurers faced severe climates, strenuous terrain, and wild animals. In terms of human difficulties, the professional adventurer confronted occasionally antagonistic inhabitants or sparse populations and even friendly encounters were made more challenging by language barriers. Part of the allure of these regions as territories of adventure was their limited accessibility. Territories of adventure were typically areas not frequented by Westerners. Without official support or

⁵⁸ Joanna de Groot, *Empire and History Writing in Britain c. 1750-2012* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 110.

patronage, the professional adventurer had limited options when confronted with hazardous situations. Coupled with their isolation, these factors resulted in an increased awareness of their reliance on their indigenous servants. The special skills of the professional adventurer, however, such as reading maps and compasses, maintained a balance of power. Without his indigenous servants, the professional adventurer could be unable to proceed or put at risk of harm, but without the adventurer those who had followed him could be lost in unfamiliar territory. As this section will demonstrate, Knight's relationship with his primary servant during the first leg of his expedition through the North Western frontier of British India is a prime example of a relationship characterised by mutual reliance and shared authority, seen particularly in Knight's description of the concept of "*dastur*", his refusal to use violence against his primary servant, and the accessing of indigenous knowledge networks.

From March through June of 1891, Knight was accompanied by Babu Khan, a Muslim living in Mumbai, who acted as his *khansamah*, or head servant, as he travelled from Mumbai to Leh. Despite the brevity of their working relationship, Babu Khan is a powerful presence in *Where Three Empires Meet*. The foundation of the relationship between Knight and Babu Khan was their mutual acceptance of shared power. Babu Khan's authority is made apparent through Knight's admissions of powerlessness in regards to Babu Khan's 'dastur'. 'Dastur' is defined by Knight as a 'customary commission' and, more sarcastically, as 'customary anything else'.⁵⁹ Hamilton Bower, the government agent with whom Knight travels to Leh, describes dastur as 'the god of India'.⁶⁰ It is the pleading of dastur, the insistence on following custom, which allows native people to maintain or reclaim some of their authority and autonomy in the face of encroaching colonial power. Babu Khan employs it most frequently in relation to food, arguably the most important element of an expedition's management. According to Knight, requesting simple meals was 'in vain' as Babu Khan's desire to cook multiple-course meals was 'unalterable'.⁶¹ More seriously perhaps, the monthly re-tinning of the cooking pans and the subsequent 'poisoning' he endured was something Knight 'had to put up with'.⁶² Knight goes so

⁵⁹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 49.

⁶⁰ Bower, *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet*, 16.

⁶¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 55-56.

⁶² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 50.

far in describing the arrangement made between Babu Khan and Bower's khansamah for the cooking of meals as to state that a 'different system might have been more convenient, but could not have been permitted by our masters, the servants'.⁶³ Obviously Knight employs humour in his descriptions of his relationship with his servant but his underlying inability to alter Babu Khan's behaviour is still presented as fact.

Knight does indeed appear to be unable to force Babu Khan to follow his instructions. However, the use of violence by both Englishmen and native elites against servants and porters who disobeyed orders was common and, as Bailkin's work has shown, was socially accepted through the idea of 'the right to brutality'.⁶⁴ Knight himself acknowledges that many newly arrived Englishmen 'commence their Indian career by making a rule of beating a servant who dares utter the objectionable word' – the 'word' being *dastur*, with its associated assumption of challenging English authority and methods.⁶⁵ The accounts of Bower and Durand, support this. Bower presents the example of being encouraged to beat the leaders of any village that refused to supply him with porters or oxen until they acquiesced.⁶⁶ Durand describes having to intervene in a case where a messenger who requested a more valuable payment as *dastur* was threatened by his employer with death and the enslavement of his family.⁶⁷ Less dramatic incidents included the theft of porters' wages by the sepoy in charge of them and the *begar* system under which villagers could be forced to labour as porters for transport or engineering work.⁶⁸ The use, or at the very least the threat, of force was clearly an accepted means of ensuring compliance with instructions. Additionally, as these examples make clear, there was little to no social stigma attached to using violence against indigenous servants, making it unlikely that Knight would have avoided using (or admitting to using) violence for fear of social censure.

Perhaps if, at this point in his trek, Knight had been alone and in more isolated regions he would have effectively been forced to keep Babu Khan in his employment as finding another

⁶³ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 94.

⁶⁴ Bailkin, "The Boot and the Spleen: When Was Murder Possible in British India?," 464.

⁶⁵ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 49.

⁶⁶ Bower, *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet*, 136-137.

⁶⁷ Durand, *The Making of A Frontier*, 49.

⁶⁸ Durand, *The Making of A Frontier*, 15; Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 68.

English-speaking khansamah would have been difficult (if not impossible). Yet during the period of Babu Khan's employment, Knight is travelling with two government-sponsored missions through the trade centres of the North Western frontier of British India. He is, therefore, in an ideal situation for finding a servant more amenable to his wishes. He is not, in fact, powerless against Babu Khan and his dastur but has chosen to relinquish some of his control of the management of the expedition to his servant. In fact, Knight appears to be aware of the element of resistance to colonial authority inherent in the use of dastur. He calls it the 'Guardian Angel of the East', a custom 'always favourable to the Asiatic as against the European'.⁶⁹ Using the term "Guardian Angel" has a double effect. First, it links an Eastern custom with Western popular religion, a link that reshapes the way it is conceptualised by Western audiences, and second, it suggests that the people of "the East" need to be protected from British imperialism. Knight was a vocal supporter of the British presence on the Indian subcontinent, yet this line suggests an awareness of the detrimental effects of colonialism. Though throughout the passage Knight seems to be complaining about the practice and lamenting its effect on his expedition and health, his continued employment of Babu Khan when considered in tandem with his acknowledgement of the subversive aspect of dastur, signals his tacit approval of its use and his willingness to negotiate power with an individual who has proven his capabilities.

The day-to-day translating that the primary servant provided ensured that supplies could be purchased and lodging secured. It also helped to provide the professional adventurer with information regarding the region and the customs of its peoples. In communities reluctant to share information with outsiders, the primary indigenous servant could act as an intermediary, passing on knowledge gained in conversation with local people, information which could prove highly beneficial to an adventurer acting as a special correspondent. Knight, very clearly an outsider, was not privy to local gossip. Babu Khan, however, was able to intermingle with local populations and return to Knight with local knowledge, often recounted by Knight as 'a tale he had heard in the bazaar'.⁷⁰ On 15 June 1891, *The Times* published a despatch from Knight

⁶⁹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 50.

⁷⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 229. Interestingly, 'a tale from the bazaar' was a common means for informants to disguise their sources. For instance, Edmund Candler, teaching in Northern India, received a warning that "some of the boys standing in the bazaar [sic] were plotting to beat [him] severely" for not giving them a holiday. Edmund Candler Correspondent, British Library Archives, Add MS 89079/1/18.

regarding the murder in the Gilgit region of an English big game hunter named Lennard; a despatch Knight had sent on the basis of Babu Khan's bazaar-gathered intelligence.⁷¹ As faulty intelligence could cost a correspondent their reputation and even their post, Knight's willingness to trust information that he had been given by Babu Khan is evidence of how highly he regarded his native servant's ability to glean accurate information from bazaar gossip. As Knight and Lennard met later and travelled together, the rumour was quite clearly false but Knight never blames his source and merely states that 'how the story originated I do not know'.⁷² In the published despatch it is stated that 'though it [the report of Lennard's death] lacks confirmation it is generally believed to be true', erasing rumours as the source of the report and shielding Babu Khan as the reason for its believability.⁷³ As with the omission of the act of translation, this statement situates the special correspondent as the source of all information, a position which again elevates his credibility while at the same time potentially exposing him to criticism should a story be proven inaccurate. Interestingly, in his published accounts, Knight challenges this conception of the all-knowing special correspondent by detailing how he received certain pieces of information. In addition to the bazaar story of Babu Khan already discussed, there are many revealing anecdotes explaining the networks and contacts developed (and generally concealed) by special correspondents in order to receive information. His account of the war in Madagascar in 1895 is particularly full of these trade secrets. In one instance he describes the network he had built to obtain reliable information, explaining that it included 'Creole traders, some of whom had business relations with high officials', 'natives behind the scenes' who attended Cabinet meetings and eavesdropped on the 'strange doings in the palace', and 'British subjects too, Indian and Arab traders' who had access to information from 'places on the French line of march'.⁷⁴ This admission destroys the image of the all-knowing special correspondent and replaces it with a far more interesting picture of an individual who was capable of building a network of relationships based on mutual trust and who valued that network enough to admit his inability to perform his duties as a journalist without it. Rather than presenting himself as an

⁷¹ "India," *The Times*, June 15, 1891, 5.

⁷² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 229.

⁷³ "India," *The Times*, June 15 1891, 5.

⁷⁴ E. F. Knight, *Madagascar in War Time: The 'Times' Special Correspondent's Experiences Among the Hovas during the French Invasion of 1895* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 154.

elevated observer over a homogenised Other, Knight's explanation of Babu Khan's and others' roles as intermediaries situates him within a network where he must rely on the knowledge, abilities, and connections of his native informants.

The example of Knight and Babu Kahn provides an ideal case study for a relationship between adventurer and primary servant that was markedly shaped by mutual reliance and a willingness on the part of the adventurer to negotiate control with the primary servant. Using the tradition of *dastur* as a partial excuse for his willingness to defer to Babu Kahn in certain circumstances allowed Knight to avoid any potential criticisms his audiences might have had regarding this sharing of power or the suggestion that it was some personal failing that prevented him from exerting the expected level of authority of a European male over his indigenous domestics. His refusal to use violence against Babu Kahn to assert his authority is indicative of Knight having chosen to have a working relationship with his primary servant that included an element of mutual respect. On the peripheries of empire, a certain amount of trust was required for any master-servant relationship to function. While Knight allowing Babu Kahn to be in charge of the purchase of food (with the giving of *dastur* that these purchases involved included) could be chalked up to efficiency or a desire not to do that work himself, Knight's use of information that Babu Kahn provided him suggests that a far greater level of trust existed between the two men. This is not to say that acknowledging his reliance on the primary servant or lack of complete control of an expedition came easily or naturally to the professional adventurer, however. The next section examines one of the ways in which this conflict between the expected authority of the professional adventurer and the reality of his situation was addressed.

Innate Superiority

Among the most common tropes of imperial interactions with indigenous peoples is that of the recognition of the innate superiority of the Western male. This trope presents indigenous peoples as being able to identify that the Westerner who has appeared in their midst or hired them is superior and should be obeyed. This was sometimes a delayed response, requiring some

display on the part of the Westerner before it was granted. The most frequent were displays of weaponry, either used against the natives themselves or in hunting, while literature emphasised the more “mystical” displays. Franey has written on the use of violence to acquire or maintain control during the Victorian period and argues that violence against indigenous peoples allowed the imperial traveller to foreground their own physical presence, in both reality and in their travel accounts.⁷⁵ In the adventure accounts, the demonstrating of a firearm’s accuracy serves the same purpose. In *Madagascar in War Time*, Knight records an incident in which he was able to protect his party by dramatically loading his revolver.⁷⁶ The most famous example of the mystical form of display comes from Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines* when Allan Quatermain uses a *Farmer’s Almanac* to predict an eclipse, convincing the Kukuanas that he is a god.⁷⁷ Robert H. MacDonald places cleverness, as demonstrated by these sorts of displays, with strength as essential to the success of the imperial mission and its narrative.⁷⁸ The professional adventurer was not exempt from a desire to show his audiences that he possessed the ability to convince indigenous peoples of his innate superiority. In his *In the Forbidden Land*, Savage Landor writes about pulling similar stunts in order to convince his captors that he possessed supernatural abilities. These included chanting at a dried sponge that had been dropped into a puddle (as if reciting an incantation to make it grow in size) and explaining that the colour changes on undeveloped photographic plates when exposed to light were actually omens of his captors’ impending deaths.⁷⁹ What the adventure accounts do to complicate the dominant narrative is provide examples of alterative strategies for coping when their expected superiority was not recognised. In situations where the professional adventurer was dependent on his primary servant, and thus could not jeopardise the success of his expedition through the employment of overt violence, actual and textual techniques existed to either regain control (or at least the illusion of it) or to reassure audiences that the seeming subversion of the racial hierarchy was in

⁷⁵ Franey, *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence*, 11.

⁷⁶ Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, 55-56.

⁷⁷ H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon’s Mines* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 108-116.

⁷⁸ Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 32-33.

⁷⁹ Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, 154, 156-157.

actuality a comedic moment allowed by the adventurer. This section will first examine the use of mockery in the published account to lessen the impact of the professional adventurer's inability to assert his superiority. It will then deconstruct one interaction between Savage Landor and his servants that demonstrates how covert violence could be an effective substitute for overt violence when the professional adventurer's superiority, and therefore authority, were being challenged.

Regardless of any respect or affection that may have existed between the two, an awareness of his reliance on his primary indigenous servant did not necessarily generate positive feelings on the part of the professional adventurer towards their servant. In some instances the resentment felt by the professional adventurer is apparent in their published accounts. Apart from any personal resentment, a primary servant's unwillingness to accept the supposed superiority of the white adventurer, or possession of talents surpassing those of the adventurer suggested to metropolitan audiences that the author must lack the civilising, masculine traits necessary to be an effective representative of British imperialism. In an age where fears of degeneration were rife, as discussed in the previous chapter, this was a particularly worrying possibility. Reluctance to accept or admit that a servant's abilities equal or outmatch the professional adventurer's own, despite the latter's awareness of this fact, were coupled with a need to convince audiences of the unimportance of such breaches. Derision was a commonly used tool here, in which belittling the indigenous servant could occur without completely masking their essential role. Whympers' querulous personality and tone ensure that this is one of his most common rhetorical tools. The majority of Whympers' criticisms are directed at Jean-Antoine Carrel, his primary climbing guide. Though Carrel was Swiss, Whympers used his lack of formal education, rural heritage, and lower economic status to situate him as an inferior. The language used by Whympers to describe him mirrors that used to describe racial Others and his studies of the effect of high elevations on the human body – conducted on Carrel without Carrel's knowledge – resemble ethnographic accounts of indigenous peoples across the globe. Whympers makes a point of assigning Carrel menial or humiliating tasks in an apparent effort to show Carrel that he has no special status above the Ecuadorian porters. He describes what he is doing as giving Carrel 'a very mean and menial occupation – almost as bad as carrying home washing for a Chinaman, which on the Pacific Coast is considered the lowest depth of degradation that can befall a human being'.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Edward Whympers, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (London: John Murray, 1892), 207-208.

After describing his initial observations of Carrel's struggle to breathe easily on their first Andean ascent, Whymper reassures his audience that 'it should not be understood, from anything which may have been said, that I discussed the subject with the Carrels, for I considered it best to leave them in ignorance of the fact that they were the subjects of a scientific enquiry'.⁸¹ Carrel, though in actuality a European climber on par with Whymper, is treated as a scientific subject undeserving of Whymper's confidence. The two men had a history prior to the Ecuadorian expedition: Whymper and Carrel had climbed together multiple times in the Alps, sometimes in competition with one another. Most famously, in July 1865 the disastrous first ascent of the Matterhorn by Whymper was followed three days later by Carrel and Jean-Baptiste Bich.⁸² In order to belittle Carrel's accomplishments, his positive traits and actions are treated as flaws. Carrel's skills as a mountaineer enabled him to climb quickly while reconnoitring a route, leading Whymper to refer to him as an 'impetuous person' who 'always endeavoured to be in front'.⁸³ Considering that Carrel was employed as a guide, his presence at the front should not have been problematic. Whymper's primary means of justifying his presence as the leader of the expedition, when he was not, in fact, generally leading, had to largely be done retroactively through his written account, as alienating Carrel would have jeopardised the success of his expedition.

Where Three Empires Meet provides an additional example that illustrates Homi Bhabha's argument that mimicry was a destabilising force within the empire.⁸⁴ Subhana, a Kashmiri servant, who would later replace Babu Khan as Knight's khansama and primary servant had been placed in charge of the cameras and had developed an ability to judge what Knight would be interested in photographing. While travelling in Ladak Knight passed a sculpture of a Buddhist figure carved into a hillside, with Subhana 'awaiting me with a broad smile on his face [having] come to the conclusion that this idol was just the sort of thing I should

⁸¹ Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 53. Jean-Antoine Carrel's cousin Louis was also present, hence Whymper's use of the plural.

⁸² C. D. Cunningham, *Pioneers of the Alps* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1888), 127.

⁸³ Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 190.

⁸⁴ Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 153-155.

like to photograph, and he was evidently highly pleased with himself'.⁸⁵ Knight continues that although Subhana 'hit the mark as a rule', he occasionally 'found him patiently waiting for me, with camera ready, before some object so entirely devoid of any sort of interest that it was puzzling to conjecture by what strange workings of his mind he had come to consider it pictorially valuable'.⁸⁶ Knight mocks Subhana's pride at his ability to recognise what Knight considered worthy of photographing and chooses to emphasise that when the servant was incorrect he was egregiously so. Knight does not state whether or not Subhana was correct in his deduction and his derisive description of the moment would lead an audience to assume that Subhana had been overconfident in his evaluation of the photographic value of the statue. However, the inclusion of Knight's photograph of the sculpture in question on the facing page validates Subhana's judgement. The West's artistic heritage was held up as an indicator of Europe's advanced state of civilisation. Photography, as not only an art but as the product of fairly recent scientific advances, was doubly an indicator of Western superiority.⁸⁷ By mimicking Knight's artistic eye, Subhana disrupts the imperial hierarchy, because, as Bhabha explains 'mimicry repeats rather than re-presents' which 'disclos[es] the ambivalence of colonial discourse'.⁸⁸ By belittling Subhana's artistic eye, then, Knight is able to reassure his audiences that it is not merely possession of a camera that renders one capable of producing a scientific and artistic record.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the British had become somewhat accustomed to accommodating the religious traditions of the populations they ruled. The Indian Uprising had provided the most dramatic evidence for the need to respect the religious beliefs of subject peoples, but lesser disturbances, such as an 1846 riot in Lahore sparked by the abuse of a herd of cattle by a British soldier, had ensured that even travellers briefly passing through a region understood the necessity of accommodation.⁸⁹ The prohibition on eating beef while in India was

⁸⁵ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 144.

⁸⁶ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 144.

⁸⁷ Philippa Levine, "The Mobile Camera: Bodies, Anthropologists, and the Victorian Optic," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 37, no. 5 (2015):473-474.

⁸⁸ Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 155.

⁸⁹ Amarpal Singh, *The Second Anglo-Sikh War* (Stroud: Amberley, 2017), 24.

difficult for many British adventurers to tolerate but to break it meant risking imprisonment or expulsion from a province.⁹⁰ Knight captures the sense of great personal sacrifice felt, writing: ‘the Englishman must forswear his national diet while he is a dweller in Kashmir, so for the next nine months [...] I never tasted beef’.⁹¹ If religious prohibitions were followed with resentment, superstitions and lesser traditions were treated with derision, particularly when it was expedient for the professional adventurer to “respect” them. Even when mocking a servant’s superstitions, the professional adventurer was occasionally forced to acknowledge their power and alter their plans or behaviours to accommodate them. When Knight’s pilot through the Reconcavo basin in Bahia, Brazil ran the *Falcon* aground on a sandbar, he may not have believed the pilot’s claim that the obstruction had been raised by a mermaid that he had neglected to give a present to a few days previously, but he did have to accept the futility of attempting to argue that tides and wind conditions were more likely culprits for the sandbar’s appearance.⁹² He may have doubted the pilot’s beliefs but could not sail through the basin without him, rendering Knight’s superior scientific knowledge irrelevant. The dangers of mocking a superstition were also brought home to Knight on their return through the basin. When the pilot informed Knight that they had passed through the rocky areas and had only sandbars to contend with, Knight responded by quipping ‘But a mermaid can move even rocks’, a possibility that terrified the pilot and nearly ended their journey.⁹³ The professional adventurer, regardless of his supposed innate superiority and the scientific knowledge that came with it, was powerless in the face of indigenous beliefs, which could only be challenged and derided in the pages of the published account.

The ability of a small island nation to dominate and maintain control over a massive portion of the globe with a small number of soldiers and imperial servants was taken as evidence for the innate superiority of the Western male. Respect and obedience from indigenous peoples were taken as expected by a society ‘convinced of the superiority of the metropolitan culture and the inferiority and appropriate subordination of colonised peoples in the empire’ to quote

⁹⁰ Ian Copland, “What to Do about Cows?: Princely versus British Approaches to a South Asian Dilemma,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68, no. 1 (2005): 61-66.

⁹¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 16.

⁹² Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 343-344.

⁹³ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 345.

Douglas Lorimer.⁹⁴ Writing about the inability to maintain control over one's indigenous employees, then, was a dramatic break from the norm. Of course a willingness to relinquish some control appears in various accounts, as in the case of Knight and Babu Kahn, but there is typically an undercurrent of choice. Knight "allows" Babu Kahn to share control with him rather than being incapable of asserting himself. This complete lack of control over his men is most common in Savage Landor's *Across Unknown South America* (though he does struggle to retain any of his baggage carriers on the majority of his expeditions) and provides evidence of the alternative means of asserting authority used by the professional adventurer. Savage Landor had hired a small group of men in Goyaz, Brazil to drive his mule train and carry his baggage to the mouth of the Amazon, a journey which ended up taking nearly eight months, due in no small part to the resistance of his men. They refused to work, discarded provisions in the hope that it would force Savage Landor to turn around, and, more than once, made threats and plotted to murder Savage Landor.⁹⁵ What makes Savage Landor's portrayal of his struggles with these men so interesting is the way in which his efforts to control them are forced to become covert and psychological due to their mutual reliance on one another.

Two of the men hired, Alcides Ferrerio dos Santos and Filippe da Costa de Britto (referred to throughout as 'Filippe the negro' as there was a 'white Filippe' as well), remained with Savage Landor for the duration of the expedition and were trusted with the most responsibility, due to their loyalty and temperament. Though both could be considered his primary servants, Savage Landor's belief in the validity of Victorian notions of a racial hierarchy resulted in his regarding Alcides as his primary servant rather than Filippe, evidenced by variations in the responsibilities given to the two men, such as placing Alcides in charge of steering the canoe rather than Filippe.⁹⁶ Introducing them, Savage Landor writes that 'if nothing else can be said in praise of Araguay, it must be said in justice that it can produce some men of great courage and faithfulness'.⁹⁷ While he provides each man's ethnic background (Alcides is described as a 'German Brazilian' and Filippe as 'a pure negro'), which gives some insight into

⁹⁴ Douglas Lorimer, *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 62.

⁹⁵ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, 133, 150, 222, 408-409; vol. 2, 253, 256.

⁹⁶ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 3.

⁹⁷ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, 61.

the racial diversity of Brazilian society, Savage Landor refers to both men as ‘natives of Araguay’, subsuming any racial differences within a provincial designation.⁹⁸

References to his inability to maintain order among his men are rife in Savage Landor’s account. In this particular instance, the men mutinied and threatened to shoot Savage Landor unless they were immediately paid up and discharged. Rather than using violence or threats to re-establish his dominance, Savage Landor used a more subtle and subversive method that still included an element of corporal punishment:

Faithful Alcides, who had a fiery temper, seized his rifle and was about to fire at them, when I took the weapon from him.

“Do not shoot them, Alcides; these men have been good (*sic*) [sarcastic *sic* in original] until now because they were in good health. They are bad now because they are ill. I will cure them.”

And so saying I felt the pulse and forehead of the astonished rioters.

“Yes, indeed, these men are very, very ill. They need medicine. Alcides, get the castor oil – the large tin.”

I had two kinds of castor oil: one tasteless – *pour facon de parler* – for my own use and cases of serious illness; another in large tins, of the commonest kind, with an odour that would kill an ox, which I used occasionally for punishment on my men when they were disobedient.

Alcides, who quickly entered into the spirit of that little joke, immediately produced the deadly tin, collecting upon the ground the four cups belonging to the strikers. Taking my instructions, he poured some four ounces of the sickening oil into each cup – and perhaps a little more. I handed a cup to each man and saw that he drank it. They all eventually did so, with comic grimaces and oaths. The men, I must tell you, had great faith in my powers as a medicine man. Once or twice before I had already cured them of insignificant ailments, and whenever I told them seriously that they were ill they believed, in their ignorance, that they were really ill.

This done, and to put them again in a good temper, I patted them on the back and, handing each of them a fish-hook and a line, sent them all to fish in the river, saying that as they were so ill I would delay my departure until the afternoon.⁹⁹

Savage Landor presents this scene as a humorous piece of evidence for the success of his personal approach to leadership, minimising the cruelty of his actions. In Chapter 1, Savage Landor’s attempts to retrospectively cast himself as a proponent of nonviolent leadership and conflict resolution is discussed in detail. His South American expedition was his last major

⁹⁸ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, 61.

⁹⁹ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, 150-152.

expedition and occurred nine years after his travels through the Philippines, where his self-adulation for his peaceful ways began in earnest. In the preface to *Across Unknown South America*, he wrote that one of the primary results of the expedition had been to demonstrate ‘that it is possible to cross an entire continent [...] in the company of dangerous and lazy criminals without any weapon for protection – not even a penknife – and to bring forth from such poor material remarkable qualities of endurance, courage, and almost superhuman energy’.¹⁰⁰ It may more accurately be stated that he provided future explorers and travellers with alternative forms of violence less likely to immediately arouse criticism. This anecdote, which essentially amounts to using poison to break down resistance, demonstrates the hollowness of his claims to nonviolence or at the very least the limits of what was considered active violence.

A firm believer in the healing powers of castor oil – he used it to treat everything from fevers to lightning strikes – Savage Landor’s prescribing of it would not have seemed immediately suspicious to his men. Savage Landor exploits the trust of his men in order to poison them and in so doing subverts the trope of the explorer as healer. Much like the assertion of authority through pseudo-mystical means, the adventurous male’s ability to provide medical treatments for native peoples was presented as further evidence of the superiority of the Western male. Manufacturers of medicine chests used explorers to market their wares: as Tim Young remarks, marketing for items like the ‘Livingstone Medicine Chest’ included relevant extracts from published narratives.¹⁰¹ By the fourth edition of Francis Galton’s *The Art of Travel* (1867) the trope was so widespread that he found it necessary to warn his readers that those who believed ‘that savages will hail them as demigods’ for their healing abilities were likely to be disappointed as most were ‘impracticable cases’ that they would be unable to help.¹⁰² As Knight noted in *Where Three Empires Meet*, ‘I was a sahib, and that in their eyes was a sufficient qualification for medical practice’.¹⁰³ By manipulating the one area in which his men were

¹⁰⁰ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, viii.

¹⁰¹ Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 176.

¹⁰² Francis Galton, *The Art of Travel; or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries* (London: John Murray, 1867), 14.

¹⁰³ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 239.

willing to submit to his supposed superiority, Savage Landor is able to force them to comply with his orders.

The covert use of violence was not limited to artificial means: a proxy could be used to administer violence on behalf of the professional adventurer, whether knowingly or not. An example of this form of covert violence can be seen in how Knight dealt with rising tensions between his employees that he had not been able to address in a more conventional manner. Rather than using corporal punishment, Knight and the two other gentlemen on board encourage the two crewmen to fight one another in order to ease the tensions between the two working men on the *Falcon*. He explains the situation thus: 'The monotonous life, good food, and light work of the river cruise had made the boys [the crewmen] wax over-plethoric and hence irritable. They were always wrangling, and this contest was necessary to clear the atmosphere'.¹⁰⁴ Unable to maintain order himself, Knight needs to find an alternative means to keep the ship running peacefully. He allows Arthur and Jim – the two men in question – to engage in physical violence so that he does not have to. In his account, the fact violence is a tool of control is further masked as he describes the act of demanding that Arthur and Jim settle their dispute by fighting in front of the gentlemen as them being 'allowed to exhibit their pugilistic skill'.¹⁰⁵ It is a minor distinction that recasts the entire scene from one of corporal punishment used as entertainment to one of jovial sportsmanship.

The belief that European or American men in general, and the British in particular, possessed an innate superiority nurtured by a public school education and Christian values that placed them at the top of the racial hierarchy and were therefore especially suited to ruling the world was a powerful one. At its extreme, it resulted in men like James Brooke, the first White Rajah of Sarawak who carved out kingdoms for themselves (and the Crown) on the peripheries of empire and were immortalised in novels like Kipling's *The Man Who Would Be King* and Conrad's *Lord Jim*.¹⁰⁶ The exploits of these real and fictional imperial agents contributed to the cultural imaginary, fostering the belief that all British men on the peripheries of empire should be able to wield the same sort of force and have his superiority recognised by the native peoples

¹⁰⁴ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 242.

¹⁰⁵ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 242.

¹⁰⁶ Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 74-75.

with whom he came in contact. The reality was far different, obviously, but in order not to appear to have failed to live up to his audience's ideals and expectations, the professional adventurer had to employ alternative strategies to assert his authority or at the very least mask his deficiencies with mockery.

Return to the Metropole

The adventure account always ends with the professional adventurer's return to civilisation, either in the form of an emergence from the wilderness and return to a regional hub or in a return to the metropole. Baggage is sold or left in the care of a local firm, baths are had, beards are shaved off and new clothes donned, and servants and bearers are paid off.¹⁰⁷ These are the ritualised steps that make the distinction between the world of the adventure and that of home definite. Conventionally, indigenous servants are a part of the adventure world and therefore have no place in the civilised one. This was not due to a prejudice against indigenous servants, but rather a question of skill set. Rozina Visram has masterfully shown that since the advent of British involvement in India, British officials returning to England on leave or after retiring from the civil service in India would bring favourite servants with them. She writes that the primary reasons for a servant to be brought from India were: 'reluctance to leave behind a favourite, faithful servant; a wish to recreate the nostalgic splendour of Indian life in England; to minister to the needs of the family and children during the long and arduous sea voyage [...]; merely as a status symbol or curiosity'.¹⁰⁸ The primary difference here then, is that of transferable skills. Indian servants were brought to England because of their domestic training and assumed natural affinity for domestic servitude, while the professional adventurer's primary servant's skills

¹⁰⁷ Some instances of this include: Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 366; Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, v. 2, 202, 208; Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 337, 339, 357-358; Whympier, *Travel Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 389.

¹⁰⁸ Rozina Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947* (London: Pluto Press Ltd., 1986), 12.

reflected the nature of his employment.¹⁰⁹ The ability to lead a party through uncharted countryside, translate, and efficiently set up and break camp were of little use in London. When Savage Landor first hires Chanden Sing in the town of Almora on his way to Tibet, he attempts to polish Savage Landor's boots with his hairbrush and hits him in the face with a soda water bottle cork – making it clear that he 'was not much of a valet'.¹¹⁰ On the expedition, however, Chanden Sing demonstrated his 'strength of character and courage' and 'turned out later to be a real hero'.¹¹¹ It is Savage Landor's maintenance of his relationships with primary servants following his return to the metropole that will be investigated in this section as it provides an alternative to the traditional separation between the worlds of home and adventure and suggests that deeper, more complex relationships could exist.

Although most relationships between professional adventurers and their primary indigenous servants ended with the end of the expedition, there were of course exceptions when an adventurer made a second trip to the same region or required their specialised skills on a similar expedition in another location. When Bennet Burleigh returned to the Sudan in 1897, he discovered that his servant during the Arabi Pasha Uprising, a Greek named Mekali, was sailing on the same ship out of Suez in order to go 'to Suakim as an interpreter or mule cicerone'.¹¹² However, Burleigh continues, 'as ours was a mutually pleasant recognition he threw up his post and instantly re-entered my service, journeying with me to Trinkitat'.¹¹³ Although (according to Burleigh) Mekali was not Egyptian or Sudanese but a fellow European, as discussed in the chapter on adventurous males, Greeks and other Southern and Eastern Europeans were viewed as inferior, particularly those who made their livings by following the army. Translating was an essential employment that would have been better paid than the average labourer. Interestingly, Burleigh does not mention any financial inducements given to Mekali, but rather emphasizes that

¹⁰⁹ E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 18-19.

¹¹⁰ A. H. Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land: An Account of a Journey into Tibet Capture by the Tibetan Lamas and Soldiers, Imprisonment, Torture and Ultimate Release*, Vol. 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1909), 9-10.

¹¹¹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 164.

¹¹² Bennet Burleigh, *Desert Warfare: Being the Chronicle of the Eastern Soudan Campaign* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1884), 29.

¹¹³ Burleigh, *Desert Warfare*, 30.

seeing one another was a pleasant experience for both men. One may infer, then, that at least in Burleigh's eyes, Mekali chose to work with Burleigh again due to their personal relationship. Whymper's relationship with Jean-Antoine Carrel provides another example of a partnership that extended beyond the boundaries of a single expedition. After having climbed with Whymper for several years in the Alps during the 1860s, Carrel joined Whymper on his expedition to climb the Ecuadorean Andes. It is clear from Whymper's writings that there was no affection between the two men and it was Whymper's need for a strong climber and Carrel's desire to climb new summits that brought them together again. There was also a financial incentive for Carrel, who was paid for his services and allowed to hire a second guide of his choosing (after Whymper's other two choices refused).¹¹⁴

Savage Landor's continuation of his relationships with his servants by bringing them from the periphery to the metropole provides an unusual circumstance for the analysis of how indigenous servants were represented. Following his expeditions in Africa and Tibet, Savage Landor brought his primary servant, Chanden Sing and Adem, respectively, back to Florence and England with him.¹¹⁵ Both men feature extensively in their respective accounts and in *Everywhere*, their relationships with him evidently having a profound impact on Savage Landor. Chanden Sing and Adem remained with Savage Landor for roughly a year and though nominally they continued to be employed as servants, this could not have been due to their suitability for the job, as neither man was particularly well suited to such work. Chanden Sing, in particular, as suggested from the anecdotes above, struggled to adjust to his new role. Not only did both men lack appropriate training but – as Visram also notes – upon reaching Britain, the continued employment of Indian servants brought back to the metropole was rare as attested to by advertisements for employment placed by Indians and by the establishment of charitable institutions such as the Ayahs' Home.¹¹⁶

Apart from the drama of Savage Landor's capture and torture in Tibet, one of the aspects of the expedition that most resonated with audiences was that Chanden Sing had chosen to

¹¹⁴ Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, xii.

¹¹⁵ He attempted to bring Philippe and Alcides back but was unable to convince either man to remain in his service.

¹¹⁶ Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes*, 29-30.

remain with Savage Landor and was tortured alongside him.¹¹⁷ The loyalty displayed by Chanden Sing appeared to confirm the narrative that had been put forth since the Indian Uprising that the nobler ‘races’ of the subcontinent had remained loyal to the British.¹¹⁸ Savage Landor’s reluctance to part with Chanden Sing is understandable in light of their shared trauma. The nature of their shared experiences also made it impossible for a traditional master-servant relationship to be maintained upon their arrival first in Italy and then in England. Chanden Sing’s role in Savage Landor’s adventures and survival could be seen an ideal narrative of unquestioning loyalty engendered by the white man’s supposed innate superiority. Unsurprisingly, then, his role was much publicised.¹¹⁹ Upon their arrival in Florence, Chanden Sing ‘was naturally treated in the house more like a member of the family than a servant, and was accordingly spoilt by everybody’.¹²⁰ During his recuperation in Florence, Savage Landor received a private audience with King Umberto I and Queen Margherita who ‘express[ed] a desire to see also [...] the faithful Indian’.¹²¹ In his autobiography, Savage Landor describes the event humorously, as Chanden Sing had requested to borrow a pair of his patent leather shoes for the occasion but had not realised what the consequences of wearing shoes that were too small would be. His looks of pain are attributed by the Queen to ‘the tortures of Tibet prey[ing] on his mind’ and Savage Landor chooses to encourage this belief rather than explain what was actually causing Chanden Sing’s ‘ghastly grimaces’.¹²² This allows both men to retain a level of dignity and increases Chanden Sing’s value, as his present, visible suffering seems to indicate how extreme his unnecessary sufferings in Tibet were. It also creates a moment of humorous intimacy as they are the only two who know what is actually going on.

¹¹⁷ Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, vol. 2, 107-112, 128. A porter, Mansing, had also remained with Savage Landor but had not accompanied him to England. Mansing was largely ignored by the press, possibly due to his position as a porter rather than a servant and the fact that he remained in India.

¹¹⁸ Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 77.

¹¹⁹ See for example: “Mr Landor’s Health,” *Daily Mail*, 25 Nov., 1897, 5; “Exploration of Thibet,” *Glasgow Herald*, 4 Oct., 1897, 7.

¹²⁰ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 190.

¹²¹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 191.

¹²² Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 192-3.

Chanden Sing continued to receive media attention after their arrival in London. The pair's attendance at a tea party at the House of Commons was recorded by the *Sporting Gazette*, with Chanden Sing being described as 'a very dark and handsome Indian [...] highly intelligent [...] and pleased when his master told him of the different members and for what they were famous'. It continues: 'He would not eat even a vegetarian sandwich prepared by a dog of a Christian, and shook his head vigorously at the offer of a House Commons bun, but strawberries he seemed to delight in, explaining that they were to be found in the hills of his native land, but not in the plains'.¹²³ The passage foregrounds Chanden Sing's Otherness by emphasising his skin colour and that his dietary choices were the result of religious belief. However, by noting that it is Chanden Sing himself who explains where strawberries grow in India, he is accorded a position not typically given to servants. Savage Landor, who one expects to be at the centre of events, is there to explain things to and entertain Chanden Sing, subverting the norms of the master-servant relationship.

The measures taken by Savage Landor to accommodate Chanden Sing's religious beliefs provide further reasons for why these relationships were not typically maintained following the close of an expedition. Having become aware of the significance of caste restrictions while in India and Tibet, Savage Landor took steps to make it possible for Chanden Sing to maintain caste requirements relating to food preparation. Outside of the house he made 'special arrangements with a neighbouring butcher so that the Indian could go and cut with his own knife the pieces of lamb or mutton he liked best' while in the kitchen he instructed his cook 'to beware her shadow never by any chance be cast on Chanden Sing's food' and to make this contamination less likely he 'altered the position of the electric lights in the kitchen so that all shadows should be projected away from the fireplace'.¹²⁴ Caste restrictions surrounding food preparation varied regionally and most commonly focused on ingredients and the physical preparation of the food, but certain groups also adhered to the belief that contamination could occur through the touch of a shadow.¹²⁵ For the majority of people returning to Britain from service in the colonies, Indian servants were maintained because they were less expensive than

¹²³ "The Man About Town," *The Sporting Gazette*, 23 July, 1898, 953.

¹²⁴ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 198.

¹²⁵ Edward Blunt, *The Caste System of Northern India with Special Reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 97.

their British counterparts; renovating one's home in order to accommodate their religious needs would have been considered a needless expense. Caste was largely regarded by the British in India as an out-dated socio-religious system partly responsible for the subcontinent's lack of economic and political development.¹²⁶ It came to be seen as a useful tool for social control, but was not respected in and of itself.¹²⁷ For Savage Landor to not only acknowledge the necessity of following caste restrictions but to make their application possible demonstrates that Chandan Sing was not asked to accompany him solely as a novelty but that a level of esteem and affection existed between the two men. This affection is further suggested by how Savage Landor ended Chandan Sing's employment. Visram's research has shown that for the vast majority of servants brought from India there were ultimately three outcomes of their arrival at the metropole: they were retained in their position until the retirement or death of either party; they were released from employment and attempted to find similar positions in Britain; or they were released from employment and had to find a temporary position that would include travel back to India.¹²⁸ Unusually, Chandan Sing, after a year with Savage Landor in London, was pensioned off with his P. & O. tickets paid for and was given a gun and a small farm in India.¹²⁹ Lacking any corroborating account from Chandan Sing or explicit declaration of emotion from Savage Landor, money becomes the closest measure of affection. From Visram's work it is clear that there were no societal norms that Savage Landor was following when paying Chandan Sing for his services, suggesting that this choice was based upon another, personal, motive.

The second primary servant with whom Savage Landor maintained a relationship following his return from an expedition was Adem, a Somali Savage Landor had hired in Dire Dawa to act as his guide and lead servant. Following the expedition, Adem accompanied him to Italy and England following their crossing of the African continent. Unlike Chandan Sing, who is introduced by name the first time he appears in the narrative, Savage Landor does not name Adem until page 170 of the account, having referred to him previously only as 'the Somali'.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001), 40, 52.

¹²⁷ Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 50, 65, 72.

¹²⁸ Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes*, 15-17.

¹²⁹ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 204.

Savage Landor's inability to assert his authority over his indigenous servants appears in this account as well, as Adem is described as the only man 'who remained faithful to the very end, notwithstanding the severe hardships and sufferings which he had to endure'.¹³¹ Adem's position as the primary servant is cemented, much like Alcides and Philippe's, by aiding in the restoration of Savage Landor's authority. Though the remedy this time involved tying the rebellious men to trees in the desert until they 'eventually quieted down, [and] promised to behave themselves' rather than the judicious prescribing of castor oil, the effect was the same. As if to reinforce the importance of this incident, it is at this moment in the text that Adem is first referred to by name.¹³² Adem plays a smaller role in Savage Landor's narrative (and in subsequent press coverage of the expedition) but he does still subvert the expected narrative. Savage Landor expresses his regret over how Adem responds to the Paris sights: 'Nothing surprised him, the big buildings, the churches, the great bridges. "White men have good heads," was his invariable reply'.¹³³ Rather than being stunned and impressed by his surroundings, he accepts them as a matter of course. While this response acknowledges that the modern city is the natural environment of the Westerner, it is an unsatisfying, rather anticlimactic moment. Adem's lack of awe seems to suggest that there is nothing inherently impressive in these buildings and engineering marvels. It raises questions of self-worth for the Westerner when he sees how he is viewed by the Other: if something is not marvelled at, is it really so marvellous? Even the incredible was rendered blasé by Adem who was 'astonished' by seeing a female circus performer 'who jumped from the ground on to the bare back of a horse'; his shock and delight came, however, from his 'idea that all English women could do the same'.¹³⁴ Adem is finally impressed by the English (or at least by English women) but it is because of a misunderstanding, rather than anything real.

Savage Landor's close relationship with his primary servants is also evident in his inclusion of photographs of his primary servants in his accounts and autobiography. These

¹³⁰ Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 32, 52, 60, 64, 65, 170.

¹³¹ Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 9.

¹³² Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 170-171.

¹³³ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 389.

¹³⁴ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 390.

images are in the form of studio portraits alongside snapshots, staged photographs in the field, and illustrations. The inclusion of these images is made unusual by where the studio portraits are placed: in three of his accounts – *In the Forbidden Land, Across Coveted Lands* (vol. 2), and *Across Widest Africa* (vol. 1) – the servant’s portrait is the frontispiece. This level of recognition of the essential role played by the lead servant in the success of an expedition far surpasses that found in most accounts. The staging of the portraits, as typical European studio portraits, lessens the extent to which the servant is being presented as an Other. Though dressed in “exotic” ethnic dress, the portraits do not resemble the ethnographic photographs and illustrations found elsewhere in Savage Landor’s works, evidence that it was a choice to portray these men in a more individualistic fashion. The portrait of Chanden Sing in *Everywhere* is particularly interesting (Fig. 3). It is the only portrait photograph included in the book that is not of Savage Landor or his immediate family. While the staging of the photograph, with Savage Landor standing and Chanden Sing at his feet, conforms to norms surrounding the depiction of indigenous servants, it is its inclusion in his autobiography that makes it notable. It is a posed studio portrait taken after the expedition yet labelled ‘In Camp, Author with his faithful servant, Chanden Sing’. That it was not actually taken during the expedition is evidenced by both men’s attire and appearance. Savage Landor’s face is deeply lined as it was following his tortures in Tibet and his boots are not among the footwear he brought on the expedition. Chanden Sing’s outfit sets the timing of the photograph more certainly, as upon their return to Florence from Tibet, Savage Landor’s parents had given Chanden Sing ‘a handsome uniform of black serge, silk braiding and silver buttons, [and] yards and yards of silk for a new black turban’, which is what Chanden Sing is wearing.¹³⁵ Both men are holding rifles and look equally stoic. Though Chanden Sing is not looking directly at the camera his pose and all black outfit make him a focal point of the image. The photograph, and its inclusion in the autobiography, affirms that Savage Landor held Chanden Sing in high regard and wanted to have his role in the expedition memorialised.

¹³⁵ Savage Landor, *Everywhere*, 190. In all images of Chanden Sing from the expedition, his turban is white.



Figure 3: Savage Landor and Chanden Sing, from *Everywhere: The Memoirs of an Explorer*

Conclusions

The dominant narrative surrounding the representation of indigenous peoples has been developed over the years through careful scholarship in an ever-expanding field and provides a valuable framework for research into the British empire. Essentialising and homogenising language that reduces indigenous peoples to a single, static Other with racially attributable traits was a common and powerful means of creating a narrative of control and of justifying the imperial project for audiences in the metropole. Physical violence, or the threat of violence, was likewise integral to both the act of, and the narrative recounting of, exploration and adventurous travel. Thus, the dominant narrative provides us with a useful foundation for research into the interactions between professional adventurers and their primary servants. As this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, however, examining a wider range of adventure accounts has the potential to strengthen, complicate, and challenge the narrative, allowing for the development of a more complex understanding of how indigenous individuals were represented and the underlying relationships that generated these representations. Less constrained by the dictates of literary genre than explorers and leisure travellers and without the burden of military or governmental funding, professional adventurers could present indigenous individuals and their relationships with them in a more nuanced fashion.

The use of homogenising language, rather than being explicitly a tool of imperial control, was also used to the same effect against internal Others. Relationships with primary servants that involved mutual reliance and the sharing of power existed and professional adventurers were at times willing to acknowledge how indebted they were to their primary servants. At other times, resentment over their inability to fully assert their authority in the expected manner led to mockery and attempts to minimise the contributions of the primary servant. Violence could not always be used overtly to maintain control and the accounts of the professional adventurers provide examples of the usage of covert violence to achieve the same ends. Though Savage Landor may be seen as an outlier none of his depictions of relationships with servants in the field or upon his return raised any comment in the press, suggesting that his behaviour was not as unusual as modern scholarship would lead us to believe.

Chapter 4: Aesthetic Landscape

The language of the aesthetics of beauty is a key aspect of the travel or adventure account but it is not so straightforward as might be supposed. Concepts of beauty are fluid and subjective. The myriad of terms that have been developed in order to describe the beautiful show to some extent that it is a more complex concept than mere visual attractiveness. Eighteenth century attempts to theorise aesthetics were intrinsically linked with the growth of empire and the increase in travel. Umberto Eco explains the connection by describing the period as ‘an age of travellers anxious to get to know new landscapes and new customs [...] in order to savour new pleasures and new emotions. This led to the development of a taste for things that were exotic, interesting, curious, different and astounding’.¹ The historical relationship between ways of thinking and writing about beauty and travel provides important context for the use of aesthetically oriented language by the professional adventurers. This chapter examines how the language of aesthetics – specifically constructions of beauty – was used in adventure accounts. It examines the different rhetorical modes engendered by each location, arguing that the special correspondents and professional adventurers worked within, and manipulated, existing conceptual frameworks in order to legitimise their presence and authority, shape public opinion, and encourage imperial goals and ideals. In conjunction with the subsequent chapter, this chapter employs close readings of landscape descriptions within adventure accounts in order to show how the professional adventurers built on the existing cultural imaginary as a way of ensuring that their vision of the wider world was accepted and therefore capable of influencing metropolitan perceptions of empire. As the theoretical and colloquial usage of the language of beauty varies, it is essential to begin by establishing what is meant when the terminology of beauty is used, particularly in regards to ideas of the “picturesque” and the “sublime”.

Reverend William Gilpin is widely considered to be the founder of the aesthetic theory of the picturesque with his 1768 *Essay on Prints*, a manual for aspiring landscape painters and art collectors. The picturesque is, at its simplest, what makes an attractive painting. Gilpin expanded on his theory in several other works, developing extensive lists of rules for the perfect

¹ Umberto Eco, *On Beauty*, trans. Alastair McEwen (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004), 282.

composition. At its core, however, remained roughness, either natural or creatively added by the painter. For example, ruins were more picturesque than well-maintained buildings and, to quote Gilpin, in order to create a picturesque scene one must ‘turn the lawn into a piece of broken ground: plant rugged oaks instead of flowering shrubs [...] scatter around a few stones, and brushwood’.² Tools such as the Claude glass (a small convex mirror used to “flatten” landscapes into picturesque scenes) and Claude lenses (tinted lenses used to give landscapes the appropriate romantic hues) – the selfie-stick and Instagram filters of their day – were developed to allow sight-seers to convert any landscape into a picturesque and paintable one, demonstrating the growing relationship between artistic trends and increased travel during the early eighteenth century.³ Later contributors to the picturesque, most notably Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price, were more concerned with aesthetic theory than landscape painting and critiqued and refined Gilpin’s ideas, using the picturesque as a framework through which to view emerging trends in English gardening.⁴ By the mid-eighteenth century, the picturesque had moved beyond simple aesthetics to become a means of signalling one’s respectability. For example, Kim Ian Michasiw notes that novelists such as Jane Austen used an understanding of the picturesque as an easily understood indicator of a given character’s social class, taste, and/or respectability.⁵

If the picturesque had its origins in the gentle landscapes of the English countryside and garden, the Victorian sublime can be viewed as the product of the Alps. The concept of the sublime was initially developed by Pseudo-Longinus in the first century BCE. In Pseudo-Longinus’ theorisation, the sublime ‘was an expression of grand and noble passions’ and as such was found in works of art that reflected the emotions of the creator while inspiring emotions in the viewer.⁶ Nature, then, had no part in the sublime. In the eighteenth century, philosophers, among them Edmund Burke, Emmanuel Kant, and Joseph Addison, began to modernise the

² William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape* (London, 1792): 5-8, quoted in David Marshall, “The Problem of the Picturesque,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (Spring, 2002): 415.

³ Marshall, “The Problem of the Picturesque,” 420.

⁴ Kim Ian Michasiw, “Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque,” *Representations* 38 (Spring, 1992): 81, 83.

⁵ Michasiw, “Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque,” 95.

⁶ Eco, *On Beauty*, 278.

theory of the sublime, and although their conceptualisations of it differed greatly the presence of the sublime in nature was central. Addison and Burke made a clear distinction between the sublime and the beautiful, finding the sublime in nature and only a reflection of it possible in art.⁷ For Addison, the sublime was best expressed as ‘greatness,’ and he explained the sensation of the sublime thus: ‘we are flung into a pleasing astonishment at such unbounded views, and feel a delightful stillness and amazement in the soul at the apprehension of such views’.⁸ Kant did not reject the possibility of a beautiful sublime and divided the sublime into two categories: the mathematical and the dynamic sublime. The distinction between the two, as clarified by Umberto Eco, is that the former inspires an ‘impression of infinite vastness’ and the latter, ‘of infinite power’.⁹ It is primarily this emotional aspect of experiencing the sublime in nature that has been retained in popular understandings of the concept.

The sublime moved beyond the attractive to the awe-inspiring. Marjorie Nicolson’s *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory* traces the development of the aesthetics of the sublime from its textual roots in Greek mythology and foundational Judeo-Christian texts through to the poetics of the Romantic period. She defines the sublime as arising from and shaped by ‘emotional responses [...] to the mighty, the majestic, the mysterious aspects of Nature, to a sense of vastness and spaciousness’.¹⁰ The Victorian conception of the sublime was inseparable from Romantic poetry and new ways of regarding nature, but Nicolson notes that it was also linked to developments in the physical sciences and contemporary religious debates.¹¹ This mental linking between the sublime and the poetic persists – even in academic works such as Roger Scruton’s introduction to the theorisation and philosophy of beauty, poetry is used as a means of describing the concept of beauty when prose becomes inadequate.¹² Unlike the picturesque, which was originally intended as a practical guide for converting the observed

⁷ Eco, *On Beauty*, 290.

⁸ Joseph Addison, *Works*, ed. G. W. Greene (New York, 1857), quoted in Marjorie Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963), 314.

⁹ Eco, *On Beauty*, 294.

¹⁰ Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, 27.

¹¹ Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory*, 110-112, 180-181.

¹² Roger Scruton, *Beauty: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55, 56, 65.

landscape into a painting, the sublime had less tangible applications. The emotional and spiritual quality of the sublime landscape were central to its theorisation and while the term picturesque could be used to denote any attractive landscape or scenic feature, the sublime was typically reserved for visually striking landscapes, such as mountain ranges or stormy seas.

The aesthetic discourses of the picturesque and sublime both influence the landscape descriptions of the adventure accounts, their usage demonstrating their ubiquity as well as their ability to rapidly convey an understanding of the regions travelled through to audiences at home. By the mid- to late-nineteenth century, both the picturesque and the sublime had become part of the aesthetic language available, though much of their originally theoretical backgrounds were disregarded. Describing a scene as picturesque freed an author from having to fully describe their surroundings; there was an accepted conception of what was considered a picturesque scene, and with minor mental adjustments for season or location (often also based more on tropes and imaginings than any actual experience or viewed images) the audience could be reasonably expected to generate an appropriate mental image. So, for example, when E. F. Knight arrives in Islamabad he may simply state ‘we entered the town of Islamabad, a picturesque place of one thousand houses or so’ and expect his audience to fill in the descriptive gaps.¹³

The dominance of this style was such that some authors felt the need to subvert it or at the very least announce their refusal or inability to participate. A. H. Savage Landor is one such case. Though he uses the word “picturesque” to describe nearly everything he sees (it appears fifty-seven times in his *Across Unknown South America*), he seems uncomfortable with more expressive or detailed language of the beautiful. After briefly describing a chain of islands in the Arinos River he declares that ‘not being a poet, I cannot find appropriate language to describe their wonderful charm’.¹⁴ Perhaps fears of comparisons being drawn between himself and his grandfather, the poet Walter Savage-Landor, prevented Savage Landor from indulging in the language of the aesthetics of beauty employed by his fellow professional adventurers. It is more likely, however, that his abandonment of the poetic was a subversive choice. The clearest

¹³ E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), 71.

¹⁴ A. H. Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2 (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), 95.

evidence for this possibility is his direct satirization of the language of the beautiful, an example of which follows:

As I went round to explore the island while my men were cooking the dinner, I discovered a small lake in the centre of the island, a most poetic spot, with the neat, delightful vegetation all round it reflected as in a mirror in the golden waters, which reproduced in a deeper tone the rich sunset tints of the sky above. I sat down to look at the beautiful scene. The poetry vanished in a moment. Millions of ants swarmed all over me the moment I sat down upon the ground, and bit me with such fury that I had to remove my clothes in the greatest haste and jump into the water. That raised a cloud of mosquitoes, which made it most uncomfortable for me when I came out again and was busy searching for ants in my clothes.¹⁵

This passage begins as a standard employment of picturesque language – a lone wanderer stumbles upon a beautiful scene and is so moved by its beauty that he must sit and contemplate it. Reality, in the form of stinging ants, immediately intrudes and is coupled with humour as Savage Landor leaps from land to water and back and must deal, while naked, with mosquitos and ants. Effective satire requires a well-developed knowledge of the original on the part of both the creator and the intended audience.

The space of adventure was an integral element of the personal adventure account. Whether presented in a manner that adhered closely to the expected style or in one that challenged norms and verged on parody, the landscape could not be ignored – by author or audience. As these three sections on South America, the Northwest Frontier of British India, and the Sudan will demonstrate, each type of landscape, however poorly known by British audiences was expected to conform to certain aesthetic forms, an expectation that provided the professional adventurers with both an aesthetic vocabulary to provide a foundation for their descriptions and in conjunction with this, with something against which they can define themselves, their style and their contribution to the cultural imaginary.

¹⁵ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 81.

South America

The use of poetry and the language of the picturesque and sublime was a literary device employed by the professional adventurers in their South American accounts, in stark contrast to, though often in tandem with, their use of economic and scientific language. The integration of poetic quotations, used singly or combined with the language of the picturesque and sublime, acted to describe “exotic” landscapes in relatable terms for audiences and enhanced the authors’ literary reputations. Existing scenic tropes, such as that of the “tropics”, provided the special correspondents with an established conceptual framework to work within but also limited how regions like South America could be described without straining the credulity of the metropolitan audience. In this section, the legitimising power of the language of the aesthetics of beauty through the use of poetic quotations will be examined through E. F. Knight and W. H. Hudson’s use of Alfred Lord Tennyson’s ‘The Lotos-Eaters’ and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s ‘The Slave’s Dream’. The scenic trope of the tropics allowed the African and North American settings of these poems to be transposed onto a South American landscape.

Bruce Greenfield has identified the language of beauty as one of his four ‘modes of rhetoric’ used to establish authority in travel writing. He argues that for professional adventurers, the ‘invoking of their own aesthetic responses’ to the landscape’s ‘natural beauty and grandeur [was] an authorization of their presence’.¹⁶ In addition Greenfield notes that the ‘self-conscious resort to the vocabulary of art’, which could be expanded to include the use of poetic quotations, represents a desire to communicate the scene to ‘a civilized observer’.¹⁷ The language of beauty can thus be seen as a tool used by the special correspondents and professional adventurers to further legitimise their presence and publishing. Unlike scientists, explorers, or missionaries, the professional adventurers rarely had an official justification for being on the fringes of empire – the obvious exception to this being the war correspondents on assignment at the front. Even when special correspondents were tasked by their editors with an assignment, this was rarely considered by the public to be a valid justification; the most notable example of this is Stanley’s

¹⁶ Bruce Greenfield, “The Problem of the Discoverer’s Authority in Lewis and Clark’s History,” in *Macropolitics of Nineteenth-Century Literature: Nationalism, Exoticism, Imperialism*, ed. Jonathan Arac and Harriet Ritvo (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 17.

¹⁷ Greenfield, “The Problem of the Discoverer’s Authority in Lewis and Clark’s History,” 26.

search for Livingstone, which was derided as a publicity stunt created to increase newspaper sales in a time of relative peace.¹⁸ Although the reading public had a voracious appetite for travel and adventure accounts, the high volume of publications meant that there were serious differences in quality of prose and many accounts simply retold the same trip as organised by a Baedeker or Murray guidebook.

The use of poetry worked towards this end: by incorporating the works of celebrated poets into their adventure accounts, the professional adventurers and special correspondents were calling attention to their position as authors and attempting to insert themselves into the literary hierarchy and elevate the prose of their accounts above that of the average travel writer. The position of the journalist in Victorian society was an unusual one, both essential and reviled. Simultaneous developments in print and transportation technologies, coupled with reductions in taxes on newspapers, led to an enormous surge in newspaper production and readership.¹⁹ By the latter half of the nineteenth century this expansion had resulted in an immense diversification, with newspapers and periodicals catering to every class, political leaning, gender, and age group.²⁰ Newspapers, and the journalists who contributed to them, had become an integral part of Victorian society. At the same time, however, journalists were tied to the rise in sensationalism and blamed for the moral and mental degeneration of the working classes. Special correspondents were largely free from this stigma, as war reporting was seen as a sort of public service, where correspondents overcame bureaucratic hurdles and military reticence to present the public with an “honest” account of the front but this did not guarantee them recognition as authors.²¹ However, the Victorian standard of anonymous journalism made it more difficult for correspondents to create a lasting literary legacy. Converting despatches into adventure accounts

¹⁸ Felix Driver, “Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire,” *Past & Present* 133 (November, 1991): 147.

¹⁹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 204-205.

²⁰ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London and New York: Methuen, 1987), 71; Laurence Davies, “‘A Sideways Ending to it All’: G.W. Steevens, Blackwood, and the *Daily Mail*,” in *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930*, ed. David Finklestein (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 241.

²¹ Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (New York: Andre Deutsch, 1975), 39, 42.

was an essential part of this legitimising process but it also generated its own difficulties. Although travel writing in general had been established since the seventeenth century as an appropriate and educational genre, adventure writing was often seen as the purview of the cheap periodicals, “penny-dreadfuls”, and other forms of sensationalistic fiction. There was delicate balance that had to be achieved – writing despatches that were exciting and engaging enough to create an audience and secure a publishing contract but not so exciting that they became unbelievable or attracted the wrong sort of audience.

The importance of establishing a literary reputation is particularly apparent when one considers the applications made to the Royal Literary Fund by the wives of Frank Scudamore and Edmund Candler. Scudamore had covered nearly every major military campaign from the 1870s-1900s but had only produced one book, a memoir published in 1925. Candler, on the other hand, had covered one campaign which yielded an adventure account and also written an additional adventure account, a series of novels, and an educational text on paraphrasing. Although both Scudamore’s wife and Candler’s widow emphasised the men’s work as special correspondents in their petitions to the RLF, the committee focused solely on their books, ignoring the journalistic and magazine work of both. Candler’s petition was settled in a month and a half with a grant of £300 while Scudamore’s was initially rejected and a second petition the following year approved for only £50.²² This is in marked contrast with the Civil List Pension requests made by both; Scudamore received the full £100 given to war correspondents in recognition of their services, while Candler received a reduced pension of £75.²³ The writing of both men was deemed worthy of a literary pension but it was form and quantity rather than quality that ultimately decided the amount. Scudamore’s wife had attempted to strengthen her petition by soliciting letters of support not only from military commanders and editors familiar with her husband, but also from Arthur Conan Doyle, who wrote that Scudamore was a ‘distinguished writer and War Correspondent’.²⁴ This mirrors the use of poetry in the adventure accounts – an author held in esteem by the literary establishment is made a part of the work of

²² Frank Scudamore and Olive Candler Petitions to the Royal Literary Fund, 17 June 1927- 26 April 1935, 28 February 1926- 30 July 1926. Royal Literary Fund Case Files, 96 RLF 1/3361 and 3261, British Library (hereafter cited as RLF Petitions). A further £25 was granted to May Scudamore in 1933 and again in 1934.

²³ H. J. C. Marshall to Sir Patrick Gower, 30 July 1926. RLF Petitions.

²⁴ Arthur Conan Doyle to H. J. C. Marshall, 25 March 1930. RLF Petitions.

the special correspondent, attempting to increase the literary merit of the latter by its relationship with the former. Thus, as was seen with the use of economic and scientific language, the special correspondents and professional adventurers appropriated accepted discourses in order to legitimise their presence in these regions and the publishing of their adventure accounts.

The inclusion of the work of a celebrated poet was intended to inform the audience that not only was the text culturally relevant and of high literary merit, but also that the author was educated and aware of trends. The selection of poetic quotations, then, reflected more than an author's personal preferences. For an author early in their career, as Knight and Hudson were at the time of their first South American publications, an establishment figure such as Tennyson was a sensible choice.²⁵ Tennyson's 'The Lotos-Eaters', originally published in 1832 and in an edited form in 1842, is nominally a retelling of that section of Homer's *Odyssey* from the perspective of Odysseus' sailors. The poem opens with the landing on the isle, followed by the Choric Song which details the allure of the island, the lotus, and the peace of idleness and forgetfulness. While some scholars have argued that the poem was written as a critique of the government during the Reform Bill crisis of 1830 and the dangers of an idle Parliament, it is unlikely to have been understood in those terms by its audiences.²⁶ A far more likely interpretation is as a warning against the dangers of opium use. Although Tennyson was assumed to be an opium addict, he was staunchly opposed to the use of the drug, even at the height of its popularity in Victorian Britain.²⁷ Critics have read 'The Lotos-Eaters' as a condemnation of the drug and its influence on the mind and will.²⁸ This reading works in tandem with the retelling of a story from the *Odyssey* and seems far more likely to have been how audiences, including Knight and Hudson, would have understood the piece.

The poem appears in Knight's *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* as part of his introduction to Paraguay. Upon arriving in the country, he briefly recounts the recent history of the country,

²⁵ Tennyson's 'The Daisy' and 'Ulysses' are also quoted by Knight and Hudson, respectively, in the same adventure accounts.

²⁶ Francis O'Gorman, "Tennyson's 'The Lotus-Eaters' and the Politics of the 1830s," *Victorian Review* 30, no. 1 (2004): 4-5.

²⁷ Roger Platizky, "'Like Dull Narcotics, Numbing Pain': Speculations on Tennyson and Opium," *Victorian Poetry* 40, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 209.

²⁸ Platizky, "'Like Dull Narcotics, Numbing Pain,'" 211.

detailing the War of the Triple Alliance from 1864-1870 which had destroyed Paraguay's government and decimated its population. Before continuing on to discuss Paraguay's resources, geography and population, Knight quotes 'The Lotos-Eaters':

Paraguay is indeed a beautiful and voluptuous land; a tropical forest cloven by broad, fair rivers, with gardens fair as those of the Hesperides intervening between the places of denser-growth – a realm, of lotus-eaters, where the worn mariner might well be tempted, like the followers of Ulysses, to wax weary of the “fields of barren foam,” and cry, –

“We will return no more; our island home
Is far beyond the wave; we will no longer roam”.²⁹

First, the positioning of the quotation seem to indicate that the beauty and allure of the country are more important than its economic potential, which is not mentioned until the following paragraph. This is a highly gendered description, feminising the landscape through the use of words like 'voluptuous' and highlighting how its beauty is 'tempt[ing]' to male travellers. Knight suggests a continuity between the ancient sailors and his own crew. The domestic image of the garden, made mythic through the reference to the Hesperides continues this feminisation, rendering the tropical jungle managed and controllable.

Knight's reference to both the Hesperides and Ulysses indicates that he considered the poem to be a retelling of the Odyssey story rather than a political allegory. Indeed, as a sailor and adventurer, 'The Lotos-Eaters' must have resonated with Knight, though perhaps more from the standpoint of the restless captain uncomfortable with the seductive pull of the lush tropical climate. Further evidence for this comes from the lines directly following the passage quoted above:

There are, indeed, certain men who have come here from Europe, and the lazy influence of the soft, beautiful climate has eaten into their souls, and they have stayed in the “land of streams,” unwilling to return, settling on these gentle hills that slope to the broad Paraguay, amid groves of orange-trees, bananas, and papaws, with white-robed, silent Indian women serving them as slaves.³⁰

²⁹ E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Falcon': A Voyage to South America in a 30-Ton Yacht*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1887), 234.

³⁰ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 234.

The language used to describe the landscape of Paraguay is that of beauty and plenty; the land is ‘soft’ and ‘gentle’ and food is abundant. However, there is a marked contrast between how he describes the land and how he describes the European men who have chosen to reside there. These men are presented as being influenced not by any rational, economic considerations, but by a ‘lazy influence’ which has ‘eaten into their souls’ and turned them into individuals who are so disinclined to work that they have women to serve them ‘as slaves’. One of the primary justifications for British imperialism was the supposed ‘civilising’ influence of the hard-working, Christian Englishman. This passage may indicate that Knight has to an extent rejected that argument or at least come to believe that moral influence can flow in both directions. His negative perception of the effects of South America may also be reflective of personal loss – two of the friends who accompanied Knight on the expedition decide to stay in Paraguay and start orange plantations, forcing Knight to find a new crew for his cruise back across the Atlantic. The contrast in tone within this passage is evident and extreme; while the landscape may be picturesque there is nothing elevated or noble about choosing to remain there. Elsewhere in the text Knight has praised the efforts of European settlers in South America and provided advice for those interested in emigrating, praising in particular the educated and determined arrivals who are prepared to work hard and are able to resist the temptations of inexpensive alcohol and limited infrastructure.³¹ It should also be noted that it is likely that Knight’s personal antipathy towards being stationary inflects how he sees and represents the lives of “lazy” settlers, although the concept of the unfit European immigrant will return in the discussion of economic landscape descriptions. Within a single landscape description, Knight’s inclusion of poetic quotations has proved his literary merit while his criticism of a certain type of European settler has affirmed that he is writing from a position of authority on the region, thus doubly legitimising the publishing of his account.

W. H. Hudson, a naturalist and adventurer who spent his youth in South America before immigrating to England, incorporates the ‘Lotos-Eaters’ into his *Idle Days in Patagonia* in a very different fashion to Knight. Although not explicitly used in reference to a landscape, the poem is still used to conjure images of tropical beauty and exoticness. Appearing at the end of a digressive chapter on the effects of eye colour in animals and humans, Hudson imagines possible eye colours for various indigenous peoples:

³¹ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 94, 222.

For many very dark-skinned tribes nothing more beautiful than the ruby-red iris could be imagined; while sea-green eyes would have best suited dusky-pale Polynesians and languid peaceful tribes like the one described in Tennyson's poem:

And round about the keel with faces pale,
Dark faces pale against that rosy flame,
The mild-eyed melancholy Lotos-eaters came.³²

Hudson employs the poem to emphasise the appearance and characteristics of certain indigenous groups, though with the exception of the Polynesians he offers no specifics, merely stereotyped characteristics. However, by linking his quotation of the poem with Polynesian tribes Hudson too associates 'The Lotos-Eaters' with the tropics. Hudson believes that the 'various races and tribes of men, differing in the colour of their skins and in the climates and conditions they live in' should have eye-colours that reflect these differences.³³ This reflects a commonly held belief in the effect of the landscape and climate on racial traits. Hudson also associates the blue eyes of northern Europe with

atmospheric phenomena rather than with solid matter, inorganic or animal. It is the hue of the void, expressionless sky; of shadows on far-off hill and cloud; of water under certain conditions of the atmosphere, and of the unsubstantial summer haze,
whose margin fades
For ever and for ever as I move.³⁴

This second quotation comes from Tennyson's 'Ulysses' and further shows Hudson's association of eye-colour and landscape. While it would have been a simple matter to equate blue eyes with exact regional landscape features or phenomena, Hudson chooses to employ the aesthetic language of beauty to create an emotive landscape comparison; all of his comparisons are ethereal and emphasise the elevated and unassailable position of the blue-eyed European. This extended linkage Hudson makes between landscape and eye-colour indicates his belief that the two are connected. Therefore, by using 'The Lotos-Eaters' in his description of the 'languid' Polynesian Islanders, Hudson was also using it to describe the tropical landscape.

³² William Henry Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923), 179.

³³ Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia*, 179.

³⁴ Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia*, 186.

The popularity of Tennyson with special correspondents and other adventurers is partially explained by his place within the literary canon and general popularity in the Victorian period and partially by Tennyson's own affinity for travel writing. As David Riede explains in his study of Tennyson's poetry in relation to the imperial imagination, Tennyson was heavily inspired by 'books of exploration and discovery and [...] Orientalist writings'.³⁵ In fact, Riede links 'The Lotos-Eaters' with both Homer and 'a passage describing the idyllic lassitude of a colonialist dream in [Washington] Irving's [*Life and Voyages of Christopher*] *Columbus*'.³⁶ Tennyson, then, was emotionally and intellectually, if not actively, involved in the British imperial project. With their thematic undercurrent of imperial expansion and desire, the appreciation professional adventurers had for Tennyson's poems becomes clearer. However, the question remains as to why 'The Lotos-Eaters' should have associated with South America. There are no geographical indicators in the text and its two most common readings, would have suggested a North African (where Herodotus sites Homer's lotus eaters) or Asian (the associations between opium and 'the Orient' were deeply ingrained by the late nineteenth century) setting. David Arnold's work *The Tropics and the Travelling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856*, provides some insight into this apparent discrepancy. According to Arnold, conceptions of the empire were shaped by 'scenic tropes,' generalised ideas about a region that 'were summoned up from personal, often childhood, experiences, [...] originated from works of science and travel, while others existed nowhere except in fiction and fantasy'.³⁷ Dividing the world into 'temperate' and 'tropical' zones provided nations with imperial aspirations with an additional means of justifying their encroachments on the rest of the world. The scenic tropes, though sometimes specific to a single colony, were applied across geographical bounds to link areas as diverse as India and the West Indies, the 'twin "tropical" territories' of the British Empire.³⁸ The scenic trope of the tropics was marked by duality, both paradisiacal and deadly. As Stephen Keck notes, 'Europeans associated many things with the tropics: as an environment they were places of extensive

³⁵ David G Riede, "Tennyson's Poetics of Melancholy and the Imperial Imagination," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 40, no. 4, The Nineteenth Century (Autumn 2000): 664.

³⁶ Riede, "Tennyson's Poetics of Melancholy and the Imperial Imagination," 671.

³⁷ David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 7.

³⁸ Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze*, 54.

foliation, interesting and dangerous animals, intense heat and nasty diseases'.³⁹ These tropical imaginings were shaped by scientific and medical writings, travel accounts, and popular fiction. The factual and the fantastic responded to and reinforced one another, resulting in the dissemination of the trope of the tropics into contemporary conceptions of much of the wider world. With such broadly defined characteristics, the independent countries of South America could easily be assimilated into this overarching tropical vision.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 'The Slave's Dream' is another poem frequently used in adventure accounts depicting South America. As with 'The Lotos-Eaters,' the poem is not explicitly related to South America. Written as part of a series as a favour for an abolitionist politician and friend, 'The Slave's Dream' was Longfellow's contribution to the anti-slavery movement in the United States and recounts the dying dream of an elderly slave.⁴⁰ Its origins in a North American political battle and its reference to 'ungathered rice' sets the poem in either South Carolina or Georgia, the two states in which slave-produced rice was the dominant crop.⁴¹ Only the first and last stanza of the poem are set in the rice fields, the rest of the poem is an idealised imagining of life in Africa. The poem includes the most popular contemporary imagery of Africa – exotic wild animals (lions, hyenas, flamingos and hippopotami are all mentioned), tribal warriors, and extreme landscapes (both desert and forest). It is a very Victorian, unmistakably Other, Africa. This does not prevent it from being used to embellish descriptions of South America.

'The Slave's Dream' appears in Knight's *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* during their stay in Rio de Janeiro. After describing an elderly hat weaver who had been a king in Africa and was still treated as such by his fellow weavers, Knight writes: 'the old king, sitting the while blinking sleepily, taking no interest in the proceedings, apathetic beneath the burdens of his many years, and now, I should imagine, hardly remembering and regretting those days when – "At furious speed he rode/ Along the Niger's bank"''.⁴² Although Knight uses the poem as a closing to this

³⁹ Stephen L. Keck, "Picturesque Burma: British Travel Writing 1890-1914," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 3 (October 2004): 387.

⁴⁰ Frederick J. Blue, "The Poet and the Reformer: Longfellow, Sumner, and the Bonds of Male Friendship, 1837-1874," *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no. 2 (Summer, 1995): 278.

⁴¹ Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2003), 129-130.

⁴² Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 46.

physical description, the lines chosen ‘At furious speed he rode/ Along the Niger's bank’ are again related to landscape. Rather than quoting the lines from the poem that describe the slave as a young king, Knight selects a line that places the landscape, and in particular the river Niger, in the forefront. Knight is presented with an individual and selects an image of the landscape to best capture his existence. It could be that for Knight the evocative power of the poem is such that he is incapable of “seeing” the former king without its mediation and the line he has chosen reflects an inability to separate the African from an imagined Africa, regardless of the man’s physical presence before him in South America. British expeditions into the interior of Africa had been focused on following rivers to their source or across the continent, giving rivers an important place in British imaginings of Africa. Referencing the Niger, Knight taps into one of his audience’s most evocative cultural representations of Africa. The idealised landscape then, either of South America or Africa, is central to how Knight understands and interacts with the world.

Hudson employs ‘The Slave’s Dream’ in an even more abstract manner. In one of his many digressions from the main narrative, Hudson describes the experience of the newly-arrived English settler in South America. After detailing the hazards, both physical and moral, that await in the major port cities, Hudson’s hale and hearty youth ‘hurries a thousand miles away, while ever “Before him, like a blood-red flag,” [f]lutters and shines the dream that lures him on’.⁴³ His insertion of the single line ‘before him like a blood-red flag’ does little to enhance the passage and the line itself is not particularly distinct. This provides further evidence for the argument that poetry could be employed solely to enhance an author’s literariness – the poem is included simply to show Hudson’s familiarity with popular, respected contemporary poetry. While the poem is not used to directly describe the landscape, it cannot be fully separated from the uniquely South American context it is used within.

Some scholars, such as Charlotte Pearce, have explored the relationship between Longfellow and South America but these connections appear to be largely superficial, based primarily on Longfellow’s correspondence with various South American statesmen and poets.⁴⁴ While there is some evidence that Longfellow had intended to write on Latin American subjects, he was considered the ‘premier poet of the American nineteenth-century’ and his work

⁴³ Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia*, 79.

⁴⁴ Charlotte A. Pearce, “Longfellow and Spanish America,” *Hispania* 58, no. 4 (December 1975): 923-924.

thematically and symbolically tied with the United States.⁴⁵ His popularity among professional adventurers in South America, then, is unclear, unless it can be related more generally to the form of masculinity he espoused. Eric Haralson explores how the rise and fall of Longfellow's popularity were intrinsically linked with his espousal of a 'sentimental masculinity'.⁴⁶ He describes sentimental masculinity as a cross-gendered embrace of emotion, patience, and self-expression.⁴⁷ This form of masculinity, though at odds with the stereotyped representation of the special correspondents and professional adventurers as hard-drinking, rollicking ruffians, provided them with a framework in which their use of the language of the aesthetics of beauty and descriptions of the effects of landscape on their emotions could still be viewed as manly. Additionally, some special correspondents may also have felt an affinity for Longfellow stemming from his lectures and poems defining writing as a form of skilled labour. Jill Anderson explains how Longfellow's equation of the poet with the blacksmith recast writing as masculine labour that attributed to the author the qualities of 'resolve, striving, [and] action' that were 'stressed by an emerging body of prescriptive literature directed toward young men' as essential to 'the successful achievement of middle-class manhood'.⁴⁸ The use of Longfellow may have had less to do with the picturesque content of his poems and more to do with his masculinisation of the use of poetic language and the aesthetics of beauty.

North Western Frontier of the British Empire in India

The aesthetic language of adventure accounts of the North Western frontiers of the British Empire in India are shaped by three coexisting discourses: the familiar tropical India, the harshness of the Himalayas and the idyllic Kashmir Valley. The accounts therefore move

⁴⁵ Eric L. Haralson, "Mars in Petticoats: Longfellow and Sentimental Masculinity," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51, no. 3 (December 1996): 327.

⁴⁶ Haralson, "Mars in Petticoats," 329.

⁴⁷ Haralson, "Mars in Petticoats," 330-331.

⁴⁸ Jill Anderson, "'Be up and Doing': Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Poetic Labor," *Journal of American Studies* 37, no. 1 (April, 2003): 2.

between the sublime and the picturesque, heavily influenced by contemporary imaginings of the region, as the professional adventurers themselves move through the subcontinent. The varying applications of the sublime reflect the constraints placed upon the special correspondents and professional adventurers in contrast with other figures while descriptions of the Valley of Kashmir are situated within an historical discourse of mythicisation. Classical allusions serve much the same purpose in Asia as poetry did in South America, with the additional goal of placing British involvement in the region into an overarching narrative of a Western presence in and commentary on the Indian subcontinent.

The trope of the tropics, already discussed in reference to South America, was equally important in shaping the British public's understandings of the Indian subcontinent. India was divided into temperate and tropical zones, a division with social and cultural reverberations. In his work on the development of the trope of the tropics, David Arnold examines how India became "tropical" and in particular emphasises the role of medical texts. Arguments regarding India's suitability for European settlement led to the publishing of a series of medical texts on the climate and diseases of India which 'increasingly differentiated the climate and environment of eastern India from Europe' and linked disease with 'miasmatic landscapes' and 'the tangled, menacing malarial vegetation that constituted tropical nature'.⁴⁹ Climate, then, like racial characteristics, could be another product of landscape. As James Beattie explains, the belief in miasma as the cause of disease meant that for Victorians in India 'scent and sight alerted settlers to dangerous areas', such as swamps, attributing sinister powers to the very air of certain landscapes.⁵⁰ The growth of hill stations accentuated the ideological component of this tropical/temperate division. The hill stations provided colonial officials and their families with an escape from the heat and disease of southern and eastern India. Stations such as Simla and Murree were built on European lines, with bungalows set in orderly rows amid cottage gardens divided by broad streets. The Englishness of these retreats in the hills and their status as a refuge heightened the association of the temperate with safety, purity, cleanliness and order.⁵¹ In her

⁴⁹ David Arnold, "India's Place in the Tropical World, 1770-1930," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 7-8.

⁵⁰ James Beattie, "Imperial Landscapes of Health: Place, Plants and People between India and Australia, 1800s-1900s," *Health and History* 14, no. 1 (2012): 104.

work on the transposition of the picturesque onto Indian landscapes, Romita Ray shows how the tea gardens of the hill stations became the Indian picturesque ideal, as ‘deep-seated concerns about the body were conflated with the language of flowers’; if traditional English flowers could flourish in a landscape, so too could English settlers.⁵² Literature was integral in introducing the audience of the metropole to these images of India. These literary portrayals were then repeated or referenced in travel accounts, reinforcing their validity. In this passage from the opening chapter of Knight’s *Where Three Empires Meet* this relationship between literature and travel account is made explicit: ‘We gradually ascended, the air getting perceptibly cooler, till we reached the dak bungalow or post-house – it is scarcely necessary to translate the word in these days of Rudyard Kipling – of Tret, which is twenty-five miles from Rawal Pindi’.⁵³ Knight directly acknowledges that his audience’s knowledge of travel in India has come from Rudyard Kipling’s Indian stories. What is more interesting, however, is what Knight omits; there is no further description of the dak bungalow, the first that he had seen. Thus, for the audience Kipling’s fictionalised dak bungalow becomes Knight’s experienced dak bungalow, and the authenticity of the literary India is reinforced with the complicity of the travel account.

Knight’s experiences of tropical India are limited almost entirely to his arrival in Mumbai and his journey to Srinagar, where his expedition commences. He refers to his journey in ‘the burning East’ as ‘rather a unique one’ since he dealt more with snow than heat.⁵⁴ Despite a large portion of the Indian subcontinent falling within the temperate zone, it is the image of the tropical India that is dominant, forcing Knight to clarify (though its Himalayan setting should make the presence of snow fairly reasonable), that his experiences were atypical. Knight’s tropical India is that of a tourist, with visits to the Caves of Elephanta, the Tower of Silence, and the Taj Mahal.⁵⁵ Though aspects of this landscape are ‘magical’ it receives little other

⁵¹ E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 86.

⁵² Romita Ray, *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013), 80-81.

⁵³ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 4.

⁵⁴ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 2.

⁵⁵ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 2.

description.⁵⁶ This lack of description (two weeks of travel are condensed into a single paragraph) could be indicative of Knight's desire to further distinguish his account from the generic travel account or guide. In his account of a Baltic cruise, Knight had already made his feelings about guidebooks exceedingly clear, declaring that the Baedeker was an 'awful red book' that accompanies the tourist 'like a malignant spirit'.⁵⁷ By neglecting to describe the landscape of tropical India, Knight affirms the accuracy of the tourists and guidebook's India while placing his work alongside those of exploration, which rarely deign to describe the well-known ports from which they embark. This is taken to an extreme in Hamilton Bower's *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet*. An explorer on an intelligence-gathering mission for the Indian Government, Bower reduces his entire two-week journey from Simla to Srinagar to only two sentences.⁵⁸ The picturesque India of the guidebooks and traveller's tales was not suited to the adventure account.

The hills and mountains of the Lake District and the Alps that so moved and inspired the Romantic poets and the theorists of the sublime were dwarfed by even the foothills of the Himalayas. Although commercial photography would eventually reduce the landscape to the 'half-inch Himalayas' that filled Victorian albums and postcards, earlier travellers to the region struggled to adequately convey the magnitude of the scene.⁵⁹ It is in the Himalayas that the language of the sublime is used most frequently, though even in these accounts one sees how far removed from its theorisation the concept of the sublime has become. The special correspondents and professional adventurers were among those early travellers and the usage of the language of the aesthetics of beauty shaped their descriptions of the region, yet social positions and differing standards influenced how the sublime was employed.

⁵⁶ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 2.

⁵⁷ E. F. Knight, *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: From Hammersmith to Copenhagen in 1887* (Santa Barbara, CA: The Narrative Press, 2003), 58.

⁵⁸ "On the 4th April 1891 I left Simla, and having paid a flying visit to my regiment en route, arrived at Srinagar on the 16th. At Murree the snow lay deep, and the road for the first stage or two was in a very bad state; in one place the tonga capsized, very nearly sending all hands over the cliff; however, we picked ourselves up and soon were under weigh again, none the worse." Hamilton Bower, *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet* (London: Rivington, Percival and Co., 1894), 4-5.

⁵⁹ Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 69.

E. F. Knight's usage of the sublime seems most inspired by the theories of Addison and Burke for scenes he describes as sublime are rarely coupled with adjectives of beauty. The view from the ruined temple at Martund is 'a sublime one. These gigantic ruins stand in the middle of a solitary waste, commanding a magnificent view over the Vale of Kashmir and the Himalayan ranges – an impressive relic of the bygone days of Kashmir greatness'.⁶⁰ The overwhelming sense of this scene is awe inspired by the scale of both the mountains and the destruction. The temple is located on the hills above a town in a relatively populous part of the region and Knight encounters 'two Brahmins nearby' who explain that it is the site of an annual pilgrimage, supporting the argument that Knight's use of the phrase 'solitary waste' is an effort to capture the emotional effect of the sight, rather than provide the audience with an accurate description.⁶¹ Indeed, in John Burke's popular photograph of the temple taken in 1868 and reproduced in the *Illustrated London News*, cultivated fields and roads are plainly visible, providing further evidence that Knight's description is not strictly bound by realism.⁶² Likewise, although Knight describes Nanga Parbat's beauty, when he tries to express the sublimity of the scene it is one of 'sublime desolation'.⁶³ Perhaps it is because he finds the mountain 'indescribably beautiful' that he turns to the language of the sublime, with its associated emotions and cultural currency in the hopes that his audience will be better able to conceive of the experience of the sight.⁶⁴ Knight's use of sublime to describe the city of Hunza emphasises the "greatness" stressed by Addison:

This massive fortress, which has been for hundreds of years the secure stronghold of the robber kings, inviolate until that day, stands thus boldly out, set in the midst of a sublime landscape. It would be difficult in the world to find a situation more magnificent; but on looking from Samaya one does not even notice at first the distant Hunza capital – dwarfed as it is by the gigantic scale of the surrounding scenery, it appears merely as some insignificant mole-hill.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 72.

⁶¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 72-73.

⁶² Omar Khan, *From Kashmir to Kabul: The Photographs of John Burke and William Baker, 1860-1900* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002), 82-83.

⁶³ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 298.

⁶⁴ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 276.

⁶⁵ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 471.

Every element of this description reinforces the visual effect of size: the fortress is striking because it is ‘massive’ yet it vanishes because of its ‘gigantic’ surroundings. Knight not only offers the reader the scene, he captures the experience of viewing it; the sublimity of the landscape becomes an active experience as perception shifts and the scale of objects is reassessed.

In Algernon Durand’s use of the sublime one finds the transformative awe of the Kantian dynamic sublime. The following passage captures what Scruton explains as the true motivation of aesthetic language – the desire to ‘give voice to an encounter’ with beauty.⁶⁶

It always seems to me that it is only in the heart of the great mountains, thousands of feet above the last trace of human habitation, when you lie by some time-worn rock, lulled by a silence which can be felt, and gazing at the eternal snows, that the real voice of Nature speaks to you. Then truly do the heavens declare the glory of God; you feel the pulse of the All-pervading Presence, the beauty and sublimity of Nature sink into your soul, and for the moment the mysterious veil which falls between us and the light wavers and half fades away.⁶⁷

The active nature of Durand’s sublime is clear; experiencing the sublime of the Himalayas requires physical exertion as well as a sort of inner focus or clarity. In fact, the scene itself is hardly described. The majority of the focus is placed on the effort needed to reach the verge of the sublime and on the emotional and spiritual experience that results. Durand’s position as a political officer assures his legitimacy. He is able to speak on mystical encounters with the sublime without damaging his reputation or being relegated to the position of the unserious dilettante. The same is seen with Francis Younghusband, whose reputation was maintained in spite of his spiritual experiences. As Laurie Hovell McMillin demonstrates, it was Younghusband’s 1910 text which translated the sublime experience of Tibet into the language of the Evangelical epiphany, finally providing a socially acceptable framework for the expression of these experiences.⁶⁸ With tenuous claims to authority or justifications for their presence in the

⁶⁶ Scruton, *Beauty*, 61.

⁶⁷ Algernon Durand, *The Making of A Frontier: Five Years’ Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, and the Eastern Hindu-Kush* (London: John Murray, 1900), 215.

⁶⁸ Laurie Hovell McMillin, “Enlightenment Travels: The Making of Epiphany in Tibet,” in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, eds. James Duncan and Derek Gregory, (London: Routledge, 1999), 64.

region, the professional adventurers are not in a position to flout social or religious conventions by discussing their personal experiences of the dynamic sublime. This is clear in Edmund Candler's account of his time in Tibet. The transformative power of the sublime is presented as influencing Candler's opinion on the religious devotion of the Buddhist Lamas. During two months in Tibet he moves from regarding them as simply followers of a 'meaningless' and 'decayed' series of rituals to the Lamas as 'absorbed in the sublime and universal'.⁶⁹ There is no change in the religious practices of the Tibetan Buddhists, the change occurs within Candler, yet his rather tenuous position as a junior correspondent financially dependent on the sales of his forthcoming adventure account make a revelation of that nature ill-advised. The language of the sublime is accessible to both types of authors but its usage is informed by the reasons for their presence in India. The contrast between Knight and Durand's usage of the sublime reinforces how ubiquitous the term had become – both usages would have been understood and considered valid. The sublime had become so ubiquitous in fact that it had transcended its philosophical origins. Indeed, George S. Robertson's description of one of his officers as 'possessed of that sublime tact' shows how diverse popular understandings of the sublime had become.⁷⁰ Durand also uses a looser definition of sublime when he describes Robertson as being characterised by a 'sublime disregard for odds'.⁷¹ Durand's ability to use the sublime to describe a transcendent spiritual experience and his friend's bravery demonstrates how fluid the concept had become and argues for its diffusion from the world of aesthetic philosophy into popular discourse.

Situated between the familiar tropical of southern and eastern Indian and the sublime heights of the Himalaya existed the kingdom of Kashmir. The Kashmir Valley had seen almost continuous waves of conquest for centuries, since the late 1700s passing from Afghan to Sikh to English control before being sold to Gulab Singh in the 1846 Treaty of Amritsar, when it was incorporated into the self-governing Dogra State.⁷² Depictions of Kashmir as a new Eden preceded British interest in the region; the Mughal emperors were reputedly the first to describe

⁶⁹ Edmund Candler, *The Unveiling of Lhasa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 78-79.

⁷⁰ George Robertson, *Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905), 217.

⁷¹ Durand, *The Making of A Frontier*, 280.

⁷² Türkkaya Ataöv, *Kashmir and Neighbours: Tale, Terror, Truce* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 35-36.

the region as ‘paradise on earth’.⁷³ In Ananya Jahanara Kabir’s work on representations of Kashmir, she traces the reinvigoration of the regions paradisiacal mythos to developments in photography which allowed the region to be depicted in an exciting new way at the moment when the British Empire’s political and economic interests in the region peaked.⁷⁴ There was a narrative continuity in presenting Kashmir as a paradise that Knight’s first appraisal of the region indicates: ‘it was a land of running water, of fruit, and flowers, and birds, and sweet odours, that made one think that the beauties of far-famed Kashmir had not been exaggerated by the Oriental poets’.⁷⁵ By continuing this trend, the professional adventurer placed himself within it while at the same time his referencing of it showed his literary credentials and status among the educated literary elite.

Knight continues to support his descriptions of the beauties of Kashmir with poetic or historical references. After a brief journey through a number of villages surrounding Srinagar accompanying a Settlement Officer on his tax and revenue assessment survey, Knight returns to the capital and confirms his initial impression of the landscape with an afternoon spent picnicking in the company of members of the ‘British summer colony’:

No more delicious spots can be found for open-air revelry than the fair gardens that surround the capital of Kashmir, where sloping lawns, beautiful groves, flashing cascades and fountains, marble terraces and pavilions, combine to form ideal places for the purpose. Indeed, the genius of picnic seems to rule the whole shores of the Dal; the desire for careless pleasure, feasting and flirting is inspired by the cool breeze that blows over the broad lake through these pleasant groves and gardens; and this is not to be wondered at, for were not these planted by those grand old picnickers, the Emperors Akbar, Jehangir [sic], and Aurungzebe [sic]? Often did the fair Noormehal and other ancient queens of beauty picnic in these sweet retreats.⁷⁶

The landscape is experienced both visually and through the sensations it evokes. As with Paraguay, gardens are used to assert the femininity of the landscape; the gardens are ‘fair’ and inspire one with flirtatiousness and a desire for pleasure. One of the central aspects of the

⁷³ Kabir, *Territory of Desire*, 5.

⁷⁴ Kabir, *Territory of Desire*, 66.

⁷⁵ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 19.

⁷⁶ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 85.

othering of the Orient was that of sensuality.⁷⁷ Knight uses this stereotypical image to heighten his description, without needing to actually describe one single landscape location. The authority of Knight's representation of the lake shore is validated by his casual inclusion of the names of three Mughal Emperors. Listing the names of three early modern monarchs indicates that Knight is well-educated on the history of the region, while referring to them as 'grand old picnicians' makes the reference seem personal, almost casual, as if Knight himself is another old picnicher, providing an aspect of historical continuity to his presentation of the Valley of Kashmir.

Durand's *The Making of the Frontier* is superficially a political biography, yet his initial description of Kashmir focuses solely on the affective beauty of the landscape. He leads his readers into Kashmir, narrating the journey from the railway terminus at Rawal Pindi to the crossing of the Wular Lake where he writes:

The scene as your boat steals out into the lake an hour or more before sunrise is one never to be forgotten; many a time did I get up to enjoy it, and each time new beauties revealed themselves. It always reminded me of a picture of the Dutch School in varying gradations of pearly greys. The night has passed, and the cold, clear light of dawn steals over every feature of the scenery. The great snow mountains stand out white and pure against the cloudless sky, in which the morning star still burns; not a touch of pink has yet warmed their silent summits. Reed beds, swathed in gently-moving mist, and long grassy promontories, on which stand motionless cattle, project into the lake in ever-varying outline as the boat glides on, all showing grey in the yet sunless light.⁷⁸

The passage captures not only the physical beauty of the landscape, but also its effect on Durand. The pure white of the mountains reminds the reader that they have left the miasmatic tropics for the healthy, 'pure' temperate zone. Though Durand does not use the term picturesque, he does liken the landscape to a painting, albeit more in terms of coloration than composition. Less directly than Knight, Durand is calling on an outside authority to validate his description of Kashmir; if the Valley resembles a celebrated style of painting, then it must be deserving of the praise given it. As both Knight and Durand's representations of the Valley of Kashmir have shown, the value of an aesthetic description rested not only on its ability to convey an accurate representation of a scene but also in its ability to draw on artistic, cultural and historical

⁷⁷ David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 180.

⁷⁸ Durand, *The Making of A Frontier*, 7.

precedents and examples. There was more to presenting beauty than making an adventure account more attractive – it served to legitimise the presence and publishing of the professional adventurer by demonstrating their knowledge and literary lineage.

Sudan

In general, aesthetic landscape descriptions are limited in the adventure accounts of the Sudan.⁷⁹ This can be traced to the purpose of these accounts: the war correspondents were not in the Sudan on a whim or in search of adventure, they were accompanying a military expedition in order to keep the reading public at home informed. There was no need to justify their presence or demonstrate their literary merit as their purpose was already clear, understood, and accepted. Additionally, as Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener have noted, travel writing was closely linked with the Victorian phenomenon of the ‘geographical novel’, novels whose narrative arcs were ‘defined not so much by historical or fictional events as by the simple transversal of space’.⁸⁰ With an actual campaign to follow, the accounts of the Sudan move away from the geographical and towards a more traditional episodic narrative. Adventure accounts of the Sudan, though infused with the same aesthetic discourses, do not often emphasise the picturesque or sublime nature of the landscape, instead taking advantage of the primacy of their narratives to manipulate existing representations of “the desert” to recast the landscape as one in need of and deserving of British intervention, a mode of representation that is shared between aesthetic and economic landscape descriptions.

‘The scenery, it must be owned, was monotonous, and yet not without haunting beauty. Mile on mile, hour on hour, we glided through sheer desert’.⁸¹ Recently arrived in the Sudan and

⁷⁹ I will be using ‘the Sudan’ to describe the entire region covered by the special correspondents during the 1880s and 1890s. This region now encompasses parts of the countries of Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda.

⁸⁰ Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener, “The Romance of the Outlands: The *Fin-de-siècle* Adventure Story between History and Geography” *Yearbook of English Studies* 41, no. 2 (2011): 106.

⁸¹ G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1915), 28.

travelling from Wadi Halfa to Abu Hamad, George Warrington Steeven's description of the beauty of the Sudan is influenced by the emotional effect it has had on him. This is reflective of how the language of the aesthetics of beauty is employed to describe the Nile belt and the Sudanese desert; it is an affective beauty, rather than one reliant on scenic features or traditionally picturesque elements. Indeed, Knight describes the Nile landscape as having a 'picturesque fascination of its own' in spite of the 'weird-looking waste' that shape its 'gloomy wilderness'.⁸² While the English picturesque did embrace irregularity, those features were typically placed within a traditionally attractive landscape. The Sudan was also a landscape at war: the heat, mirages, storms, and sand all seemed at times to conspire against the Anglo-Egyptian army and the landscape descriptions of the war correspondents capture this imagined antagonistic relationship. Mirages in particular challenged established landscape vocabulary, as they appeared to be an almost active force with potentially deadly consequences that temporarily altered the landscape despite being intangible phenomena. Yet the war correspondents also found the mirages beautiful and intriguing, the most aesthetically pleasing aspects of the landscape. It is in the descriptions of the mirage where one finds the greatest contrast between the language of the aesthetics of beauty and that of conflict. The mirage hides troops and disguises landmarks in order 'to draw the unfortunate traveller to his destruction', but it also transforms the desert into 'an enchanted land' of 'pleasant hills from which rivers flowed in broad belts of rippling blue' and renders the sky 'alive with quivering passionate heat'.⁸³ The language used expresses the contrast between the emotional response to the sublime beauty of the desert landscape and mirages while acknowledging the deceptive, illusory aspect of the landscape.

As explored above in regards to the tropics, the development of a scenic trope was a complex and gradual process, with a cultural imagining of a region slowly coming into being through the transfer of ideas between travellers' accounts, medical texts, fiction, and accounts of travel and exploration. The Sudan presents an interesting contrast to this trend; over the course of only two decades, the public conception of the Sudan was created almost entirely by the adventure accounts of the war correspondents. Although Egypt had become well-known to

⁸² E. F. Knight, *Letters from the Sudan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), 27.

⁸³ Bennet Burleigh, *Desert Warfare: Being the Chronicle of the Eastern Soudan Campaign* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1884), 180; Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 81, 85; Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 134.

European travellers, and therefore metropolitan populations, since Napoleon's 1798 invasion and the monumental text, the *Description de l'Égypte*, it produced, few travellers journeyed past Cairo and even fewer descended the Nile as far as Aswan. Additionally, the seasonal vagaries of the Nile and the difficulties in navigating the Cataracts limited major economic and military incursions. Throughout the nineteenth century British involvement in the region was high, though their physical presence was limited to a series of fortified towns and ports near the coast and in the state of Equatoria. Khartoum had been used by the British government as a base of operations in their efforts to suppress the slave trade in Central and Eastern Africa, under the authority of Sir Samuel Baker from 1869 to 1873 and from 1874 to 1880 under Charles Gordon. Baker and Gordon had both produced accounts of their time in the Sudan but prior to 1880 depictions of the Sudan were extremely limited, especially in comparison with other British spheres of influence in Africa. The appearance of the charismatic mystic, Mohammed Ahmad, in 1881 sparked a religious independence movement, commonly known as Mahdism which rapidly spread across the region, challenging British supremacy. British military engagement in the Sudan can be divided into three phases, though there is some overlap between the first and second. The initial phase in 1883 was an extension of the Anglo-Egyptian War and ended with the crushing defeat of the Anglo-Egyptian army at the Battle of El Obeid. The second phase (1884-1885) revolved around the evacuation of foreign nationals from the Sudan and ended with the siege of Khartoum and the belated mission to relieve General Gordon. The final phase from 1895 to 1899 was led by the new Sirdar, Herbert Kitchener. The Mahdist armies were destroyed at the Battle of Omdurman and the war was symbolically brought to a close with a pilgrimage to Gordon's home in Khartoum. These extended conflicts meant that the explosion in travel and tourism had been unable to reach the Sudan during these decades.

Each phase of the British war in the Sudan was covered by war correspondents and their newspaper despatches were swiftly followed by their published accounts. As Richard Fulton argues, the exhaustive press coverage coupled with the emotionally-charged nature of the conflict, generated a 'Sudan Sensation' that 'touched virtually every Briton in some way', uniting a public which had previously been divided over British involvement.⁸⁴ The rapidity with which these accounts appeared and the large number of titles reflected this rising interest in the

⁸⁴ Richard Fulton, "The Sudan Sensation of 1898," *Victorian Periodical Review* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 38.

Sudan among the reading public at home and throughout the empire. The works of the special correspondents, published in rapid succession in two major waves created the cultural image of the Sudan; their dispatches had kept the public informed and traced the events of the wars, while the subsequent publishing of their accounts reinforced the imagery and language they had initially put forth. The unsettled nature of the region following the fall of Khartoum meant that the accounts of 1884-5 could not be immediately followed and challenged by those of travellers, scientists, or novelists, allowing the special correspondents' presentation of the Sudan to remain dominant and generally unquestioned. Fictional accounts of the early phase of the war, such as G. A. Henty's 1891 *The Dash for Khartoum*, were published between the two major waves and often pulled historical, ethnographic, and scenic details from special correspondents' published accounts.⁸⁵ The division of Kitchener's campaign in the Sudan into two separate 'seasons' also gave correspondents the opportunity to present the region without outside influence. The presence of the same correspondents during multiple phases of the war, such as Bennet Burleigh and Frank Scudamore, lead to increased continuity while the camaraderie between these 'old Sudan campaigners' and newly arrived correspondents provided guidance and leadership.⁸⁶ Further highlighting the dominance of the special correspondents over the perception of the Sudan comes from Conan Doyle. While staying in Egypt Conan Doyle journeyed down the Nile from Aswan to Wadi Halfa. This trip, which inspired his novel *Tragedy of the Korosko* (1897) and short story 'The Three Correspondents' (1896), was organised and guided by a group of special correspondents, led by Knight and Scudamore, who informed and mediated his entire experience.⁸⁷ Conan Doyle's Sudan experience and the resultant novel, its theatrical adaptation and two film adaptations, were informed by the special correspondents and their perception of the region.⁸⁸ The reading public had by this time become accustomed to the image of the Sudan

⁸⁵ Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), 79.

⁸⁶ E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 193.

⁸⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 138-141.

⁸⁸ The play, *Fires of Fate*, debuted in 1909. The film adaptations of the same name were released in 1923 and 1932.

offered by the special correspondents and a scenic trope was established with little outside influence and in roughly twenty years.

The most unique aspect of aesthetic descriptions of the Sudan is the subversion of traditional images of the desert through the transference of human experiences onto the landscape in order to create a more sympathetic image of the region. The Sudan's beauty is linked with the emotional effects it produces and in this same fashion the landscape is humanised by attributing to it the same characteristics and experiences as those describing it. A controversial military engagement, the war in the Sudan had divided public opinion and a reluctant government's limited financial support had ultimately been responsible for the failure to reach Khartoum in time to lift the siege and for the limited resources available for Kitchener's campaign. By humanising the landscape, the special correspondents sought to shape public perception of the region, lessening its alien, deadly nature and encouraging support for its incorporation into the wider British Empire. If Africa could be made to seem English, perhaps it was worth the involvement after all. The primary characteristics attributed to the Sudanese deserts were thirst, reflecting the lived English experience, and purity, reflecting an English ideal.

Thirst and the efforts one must go to in order to assuage it are common themes of adventure accounts of the Sudan. Keeping the army and its transport (both camels and locomotives) watered was one of the great challenges of the campaign, as the correspondents frequently note. Their own thirst is also a common topic: Steevens jokingly muses that thirst would be the Sudan's greatest export for 'there is so much thirst [there] – such a limitless thirst as might supply the world's whole population richly: on the other side there are millions of our fellow-creatures, surrounded by every liquor that art can devise and patience perfect, but wanting the thirst to drink withal'.⁸⁹ Knight describes in detail how water is transported as well as the fear of being 'hopelessly lost amid these burning sands, [with] the scanty supply of water in the leaky skins ever diminishing'.⁹⁰ It is not only the living that suffer from thirst however, the desert landscape thirsts as well. The concept of the thirsty desert is not one created by the special correspondents but their usage of it to garner sympathy for the plight of the desert is innovative.

⁸⁹ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, 198.

⁹⁰ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 92.

The special correspondents use the same adjectives to describe their own thirst as they use to describe that of the land. The windstorms of the Sudan are parching and away from the banks of the Nile it is ‘a parched country’ that suffers as much as the English correspondents and officers do.⁹¹ Steevens twice describes the land as ‘lapping’, although not in reference to actual water. When a unit of Egyptian soldiers sacrifice four goats for luck in battle ‘the sand lap[s] their blood’ and the edge of a small ravine ‘lapped up’ against the countryside.⁹² The thirst of the desert is so extreme that it is devouring itself yet despite references to the Mahdist armies being ‘blood-thirsty’, the land is apparently not thirsting for English blood. In Steevens’ eyes, the land symbolically accepts the sacrifice made to it by the Egyptian soldiers, who have, much less symbolically also accepted their own potential sacrifice for British imperial aims, placing both, apparently willingly, under British influence. When regarded in tandem with the discussions of the economic possibilities of the region if under modern (English-controlled) cultivation, the landscape’s thirst takes on another dimension: the English presence in the Sudan could rescue the land.

A central aspect of the British imperial mission was the desire to bring Christian civilisation to the rest of the world. Missionaries were at the forefront of spreading Christianity but colonial and military officials played a role as well. The Indian Office employee and the gentleman officer were meant to embody the values of the home country, leading by their physical and moral example. Most commonly associated with English womanhood, purity was an ideal that operated on multiple levels: physical purity or cleanliness distanced the colonisers from the peoples and places they ruled while religious or spiritual purity elevated them above those subjugated, “unenlightened” populations. Fears surrounding maintaining racial purity shaped social interactions and even official policy throughout the empire while the “defilement” of the women of Kanpur became the defining image of the Indian Uprising and a rallying point against those unwilling to support aggressive foreign and colonial policy.⁹³ Africa as a continent was defined as Europe’s negative reflection; the brightness of Western enlightenment and purity was contrasted with that of “darkest Africa”, a benighted continent trapped in primitive

⁹¹ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 101, 214.

⁹² Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 89, 224.

⁹³ Collingham, *Imperial Bodies*, 134.

savagery.⁹⁴ To portray the Sudan as an outpost of purity, then, was to convert a Western attribute into an African one, using a standard trope to alter perceptions of a region that the special correspondents believed would benefit from an English presence. There is some precedent for this association; Michel Roux traces the desire to present desert landscapes as pure ones to the fact that the earliest representations of deserts in Europe were in the Bible and in stories of saints and hermits, creating a link between the two.⁹⁵

Victorian medical thought posited that landscape, climate, health, and racial character were intrinsically linked. As discussed above, it was generally believed that the heat and miasma of the tropics had resulted in weak, lazy races and threatened the Englishman with illness and degeneration. By emphasising the purity of the Sudanese climate, the special correspondents were associating the Sudan with a characteristic seen as inherently English. Knight is the strongest proponent of the purity of the Sudanese climate. He contrasts the heat of the desert during the day with the ‘cool, pure, bracing air of the desert after sunset’ that encourages a ‘refreshing sleep’.⁹⁶ On a later ride through the desert Knight repeats this formula declaring that ‘one sleeps the most refreshing of sleeps as one lies on one's blanket under the starlit sky, breathing the purest air in the world’.⁹⁷ The cold, pure air of the Himalayan foothills was one of the positives of the hill stations, a fact Knight would have been aware of, having recently returned from his year on the North Western frontier of British India. The appearance of a cholera epidemic at the Ferkeh camp does not dampen his conviction and it even provides him with further evidence to support his conclusions: ‘When the red water comes down the Nile and cleanses the foreshore of the filth now accumulated there cholera ought to disappear; it is difficult to see how it could remain long in a climate so dry and healthy, with the wind, from whichever quarter it blows, coming straight over the great desert, purer than the sea itself’.⁹⁸ Disease is attributed to the army camped on the Nile’s banks, not on the river or climate; in fact

⁹⁴ Logan, *Narrating Africa*, 18.

⁹⁵ Michel Roux, *Le Désert de sable: Le Sahara dans l’imaginaire des Français (1900-1994)* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1996), 21, 26.

⁹⁶ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 58.

⁹⁷ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 86-87.

⁹⁸ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 186.

it is the river that will purify the landscape. The invaders have brought disease into a pure landscape and it is the landscape itself that will protect these same invaders by washing away the cholera to return the environment to its natural state.

Conclusions

The language of the picturesque and the sublime inflected the landscape representations of the professional adventurers. It allowed them to situate unfamiliar landscapes within an established frame of reference for their audiences, rendering these spaces less alien, without sacrificing their 'exotic' allure. Once a landscape could be understood, it was easier for it to be assimilated into the cultural imaginary. Poetry provided an effective means of doing this for tropical landscapes, as the associated trope of the tropics was already quite well established. The use of the sublime to describe the landscapes of the North Western frontiers of the British Empire in India reflected the language used to describe mountainous regions closer to home, primarily the Alps, and situated this part of the subcontinent within an existing narrative of domination. The war correspondent's depictions of the Sudan were uncontested and accepted as accurate because of how isolated the region had been during the 1880s and 1890s. They were able to use their descriptions to highlight the beauty of the region and render a continued British presence there more attractive. As has been shown in this chapter, aesthetic language in the adventure accounts served a more complex purpose than helping audiences to visualise the settings in which the adventures occur; aesthetic language could be deployed to support an author's claims to authority, push a political position, and shape audience's emotional responses to the British Empire. These purposes, from the literary to the political, make it clear that the adventure account was more than merely escapist literature and made an important contribution to the formation and maintenance of the cultural imaginary, shaping how metropolitan audiences conceived of the spaces of the British Empire.

Chapter 5: Economic Landscape

Movement through a landscape is an essential element of the adventure account. As few professional adventurers were involved in the discovery or mapping of new territory, their feats were those of movement: across continents, over oceans, through jungles, up and down rivers, and around the world (though typically in longer than eighty days). The titles of many of the adventure accounts place movement in the forefront: Knight's *Cruises of the Falcon* and the *Alerte*; Savage Landor's *Across Widest Africa, Across Coveted Lands, and Across Unknown South America*; and others including the terms "a ride", "journey across", "towards", "wanderings", and "travel".¹ Movement not only provided the substance of the adventure, it also served to qualify the adventurer as an eyewitness. As they passed through these varied landscapes the professional adventurers acquired or were at least assumed to have acquired knowledge of the climate, produce, and nature of the landscapes of empire. Professional adventurers used their published accounts to encourage British investment and emigration to the imperial peripheries by representing landscapes as fertile but neglected spaces and by emphasizing the physical similarities between Britain and the colonies in order to make it easier for audiences to conceive of these landscapes as belonging to Britain, rather than to the indigenous Other. As seen with aesthetic descriptions, references to authorities – both literary and scientific or economic – are used to reinforce the arguments being made by the adventurers. The distinction between 'aesthetic' and 'economic' landscape descriptions is fairly artificial: in most cases, the economic and aesthetic appear together, often in the same paragraph, sometimes even in the same sentence. Despite this overlap, the economic/aesthetic structure is a useful one because it represents two of the most prominent modes of seeing or comprehending the British Empire.

The audience for the professional adventurers' advertising of the peripheries varies across and even within accounts. Their calls to emigrate or invest are directed at three main groups,

¹ Some of these titles include: A. Hilliard Atteridge, *Towards Khartoum: The Story of the Soudan War of 1896* (London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1897); Hamilton Bower, *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet* (London: Rivington, Percival and Co., 1894); Frederick Burnaby, *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1895); Frederick Burnaby, *On Horseback Through Asia Minor* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877).

which can overlap. The first is the readership as individuals: these are the individuals who may be interested in personally investing or emigrating or perhaps in participating in a trade venture. The second is the readership as the public: as special correspondents, many of the professional adventurers were aware of their potential power to influence government by informing public opinion or urging action. One of the masters of the art of manipulating public opinion in order to achieve a desired result from the government was W. T. Stead, who used of his position as editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* to generate public support for war against Turkey in response to the massacres of Bulgarians and to whip up public support for sending Gordon to the Sudan.² There is obvious overlap between these two groups as both consist of the adventure accounts' primary audience. The third group is members of the government: while parliamentary voting records are easy to access, it is difficult to say whether or not any individual Member of Parliament's vote was influenced by his having read a certain adventure account. In certain cases, however, a record does exist. Alongside a scathing indictment of the boots issued to the soldiers in G. W. Steevens' *With Kitchener to Khartum* is a footnote that traces how his criticisms were used in Parliament by Joseph Powell Williams, Financial Secretary to the War Office, and Lord Lansdowne, then Secretary of State for War, in debates.³ Thus, while it was unlikely that suggestions for particular imperial investments put forward in an adventure account would directly influence the powers-that-be, at least not in a quantifiable way, there was no harm in trying. The economic advice and musings put forward by the professional adventurers reflect these different audiences, ranging from thoughts on the viability of independent farmers homesteading a particular territory to calls for the implementation of empire-wide policies. As will be seen, however, much of the same language is used to describe economic landscapes, regardless of the intended audience.

Most professional adventurers do not appear to have had a clear financial motive for encouraging investment and emigration. Some had either attempted to invest in the colonies or at least been tempted to, suggesting that they believed individually in the soundness of such schemes. Milton Prior had considered abandoning his career as an illustrator after Cecil Rhodes

² Stéphanie Prévost, "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question (1875-1911)", *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013): 3-4; Halik Kochanski, *Sir Garnet Wolseley: Victorian Hero* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1999), 151-152.

³ G. W. Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1915), 69-71.

personally encouraged him to remain in South Africa and offered to ‘make [his] fortune for [him]’.⁴ Early in his career, in 1883, Knight became involved with a more complex scheme led by Henry McIver to build a trade settlement in New Guinea that was ultimately quashed by Lord Derby before it could set out. In *Reminiscences* Knight appears to have remained convinced of the scheme’s legitimacy, suggesting that it was because ‘we had no big names or capital at the back of us’ that they were branded ‘buccaneers’, an injustice which caused him ‘to turn back to peaceable book writing’ and abandon foreign investments.⁵ In reality, McIver had failed to consider the British government’s stance on annexing the island before advertising for investors and Lord Derby had simply used his position as Secretary for the Colonies to enforce the Pacific Islanders’ Protection Acts of 1872 and 1875.⁶ As these abortive attempts at colonial investment indicate, the professional adventurers did not typically have personal experience of successfully exploiting the financial opportunities they suggested. Similarly, the majority of professional adventurers who made their primary living as special correspondents rather than through the publication of adventure accounts did not earn enough to be able to invest. This is demonstrated by the petitions made to the Royal Literary Fund by Atteridge and by Candler and Scudamore’s wives for aid.⁷ Their support for investment and emigration, then, can be assumed to stem from something other than personal financial gain. For many, like Knight, that motivation would appear to be a strongly held belief in the importance and righteousness of the British Empire. Apart from his selection as one of only four journalists invited to accompany the tour, his account of the Royal Tour of the Empire of the future King George V and Queen Mary in 1901 provides further evidence of this belief. As the book opens, he praises previous generations of British emigrants to the colonies, writing that ‘in those broad lands of vast horizons the men of our race seem younger in spirit, imbued with a more generous enthusiasm’.⁸ His position on the

⁴ Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 266.

⁵ E. F. Knight, *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), 95.

⁶ “The McIver Expedition to New Guinea,” *South Australian Advertiser*, December 10, 1883, 6.

⁷ Royal Literary Fund Applications, 96 RLF 1/3261, 3361, 3598. British Library.

⁸ E. F. Knight, *With the Royal Tour: A Narrative of the Recent Tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York through Greater Britain, including His Royal Highness’s Speech Delivered at the Guildhall, on December 5, 1901* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1902), 3.

righteousness of the empire can be clearly seen in his reflection on the royal tour: ‘The royal progress was a splendid success; an immense good to the Empire is certain to come of it; and Britons [...] have reason indeed to be grateful to the Prince of Wales for the great patriotic service he has wrought in carrying out, with such tact and earnestness, the desire of the great Queen who has passed away’.⁹ This glowing description of the eight-month cruise makes it clear how devoted Knight was to both the idea of the British Empire and to its continuation.

The terms “wild” and “wilderness” will be used to describe those landscapes not under intensive European-style cultivation. Many of these landscapes were neither truly wild nor as empty as the professional adventurers claimed, but the term recognises the professional adventurers’ inability or unwillingness to acknowledge the validity of how lands were being used by indigenous peoples when these forms did not resemble British ideas of cultivation. Additionally, at the turn of the century the idea that wilderness spaces were worthy of protection was becoming more widely accepted which reflects the belief that Britain and other European powers, as bringers of civilisation, had a duty to the environments they encountered in Africa and Asia. This perceived duty took many forms, from the need to convert “wasted” spaces into productive ones, which will be discussed in greater detail below, to the desire to protect environments from both indigenous and European encroachments. In his work on how wilderness landscapes are conceived of by those who observe them, Wayne Ouderkirk classifies both of these responses to the environment. The first, he writes, stems from a ‘mechanistic attitude toward nature’ that foregrounds ‘human desire and intention’ and reduces nature to ‘a mere stock of literally raw material upon which we are to impose our designs and improve it’.¹⁰ The desire to curtail indigenous activities in wilderness landscapes Ouderkirk explains comes from the belief that these landscapes ‘are supposed to be wild in this “received” concept of wild, which includes in its meaning, “devoid of permanent human residents”’.¹¹ As Richard Grove has shown, the conservation of jungle landscapes was an important part of imperial policy in its tropical colonies from at least the mid-eighteenth century while the development of game

⁹ Knight, *With the Royal Tour*, 402.

¹⁰ Wayne Ouderkirk, “On Wilderness and People: A View from Mt. Marcy,” in *Wilderness Debate Rages On: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate*, ed. Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicott (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), 439.

¹¹ Ouderkirk, “On Wilderness and People,” 441.

reserves in Africa began in the mid-nineteenth century in response to concerns about the declining numbers of native game animals.¹² Although the extent to which “wilderness” is a definable physical reality or a social construct for understanding and interacting with certain types of landscape remains a contentious issue among environmentalists, geographers, and environmental historians it is a valuable concept for understanding the economic landscape descriptions employed by the professional adventurers exactly because of the theoretical place it occupies between the concrete and the cultural imaginary.¹³

In *Imperial Eyes*, Mary Louise Pratt uses Richard Burton’s description of Lake Tanganyika as a prime example of the “monarch-of-all-I-survey” scene, a scene which places the author-viewer, and thus the audience, in a position above the landscape so that the act of seeing may be turned into an act of control. Burton’s description of the lake veers from what he is seeing to how he imagines it could appear, for in its true state it ‘wants but a little of the neatness and finish of art – mosques and kiosks, palaces and villas, gardens and orchards – contrasting with the profuse lavishness and magnificence of nature’.¹⁴ Pratt suggests that ‘in Burton’s rendering, if we take it literally, the aesthetic qualities of the landscape constitute the social and material value of the discovery to the explorers’ home culture, at the same time as its aesthetic deficiencies suggest a need for social and material intervention by the home culture’.¹⁵ The improvements that Burton imagines are all the result of human intervention in the landscape and its transformation from a wild space to a familiar, productive one. New technologies contributed to the ubiquity of this mode of seeing during the nineteenth century as photographs taken from the monarch-of-all-I-survey position became popular. Writing on the creation of the American wilderness, Kevin DeLuca and Anne Demo have shown that photographs within this ‘view tradition [...] visually enacted the colonizing imperative of manifest destiny by domesticating the

¹² Richard E. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.

¹³ Michael P. Nelson and J. Baird Callicott’s *The Great New Wilderness Debate* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998) and *Wilderness Debate Rages On* (2008) are important collections that approach the question of wilderness from a wide range of angles.

¹⁴ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 202.

¹⁵ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 205.

American landscape for Victorian sensibilities'.¹⁶ The monarch-of-all-I-survey scene is one of the primary ways in which the professional adventurer presents the landscape as an economic rather than an aesthetic site because it allows for large swathes of a landscape to be described at once and it conveys an aura of authority, as the name suggests.

This chapter will first present an overview of the physical realities of each landscape and how that contributed to the suggestions made by the professional adventurers. It will then move to examine how professional adventurers wrote about the productive potential of wild landscapes. These descriptions not only attempt to portray the peripheries as fertile and attractive but also suggest that indigenous peoples are at fault for not exploiting the landscape. As this section will demonstrate, this argument made it possible for the exploitation of the landscape by Europeans to be depicted as a moral activity that furthered civilisation, an act akin to missionary work. It will then explore how the professional adventurers used quotations from literary and scientific sources to support their descriptions. As with literary references in aesthetic descriptions, these serve as an appeal to authority, which simultaneously reinforced the professional adventurer's position as an expert. The final section will examine the use and purpose of comparative descriptions, where the professional adventurer likened the peripheral landscape to a familiar British one. These comparisons are striking because they are so at odds with the generic tone of the adventure account. My contention is that although comparing peripheral landscapes with metropolitan ones undermined efforts to portray them as exotic realms of adventure, its actual purpose was to make it easier for audiences to envision these spaces as British ones, reducing the fears and tensions generated by the physical space of the indigenous Other. As with the four preceding chapters, this chapter examines representation as a means for understanding the extent to which personal adventure accounts contributed to how metropolitan audiences conceived of the empire. The prominence of economic landscape descriptions in these accounts confirms the cultural importance of the personal adventure narrative as it shows that the reading public were willing to assume that the professional adventurer's position as an eye witness qualified him to proclaim on any number of topics.

There were two main types of colonies within the British Empire: settler colonies and extraction colonies. The settler colonies included Canada, South Africa, Australia and New

¹⁶ Kevin DeLuca and Anne Demo, "Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness," *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (Oct., 2001): 546.

Zealand. As in extraction colonies, the primary exports of the settler colonies were raw materials and foodstuffs, such as wheat, however, as Eric Richards has stated the success of these colonies depended on a continuous stream of ‘capital, entrepreneurship and people committed for future gains at a great distance’ in order to be successful.¹⁷ In the 1890s in particular, Antoinette Burton has noted, ‘a series of socio-economic crises and liberal government responses there produced a variety of progressive outcomes’ which served as exemplars for Britain, suggesting that the peripheries offered more than just economic opportunities.¹⁸ Though not an official part of the British Empire, South America, particularly Brazil and Paraguay, is presented by the professional adventurers in the same terms as the settlement colonies. The unsettled political situation of many of the young countries of South America that persisted for much of the nineteenth century is either overlooked or presented as a positive feature for the potential immigrant. In some instances this was merely used to suggest that strict government oversight and interference were unlikely or that the mercenary entrepreneur may be able to rely on support from local consuls who held greater power due to the various local governments’ reliance on British economic support.¹⁹ In the case of Paraguay, the war with Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay (1864-1870) had decimated the male population, which was advertised as leaving the land, and its female population, without a protector.²⁰ This war provided one reviewer with a dramatic example of how this assumption of an endemic institutional inability to function without European intervention coloured British perceptions of South America: ‘less than twenty years ago Paraguay was a cultivated garden. A terrible and prolonged war destroyed its manhood, and

¹⁷ Eric Richards, “Darién and the psychology of Scottish adventurism in the 1690s,” in *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, ed. Andrekos Varnava (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 29.

¹⁸ Antoinette Burton, “New narratives of imperial politics in the nineteenth century,” in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 220.

¹⁹ Edward Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator* (London: John Murray, 1892) xiii. Whymper provides one example of how useful these connections could be as his communications with the Ecuadorian Consul-General in Great Britain led to his baggage being transported and stored by government agents.

²⁰ José Alfredo Fornos Peñalba, “Draft Dodgers, War Resisters and Turbulent Gauchos: The War of the Triple Alliance,” *The Americas* 38, no. 4 (Apr., 1982): 477.

made the country a jungle haunted by man-eating beasts of prey'.²¹ In the dominant cultural imaginary, tropical landscapes were unstable ones, demanding constant attention and investment, a belief that the professional adventurers played upon when it supported their plans for the region. Many of the economic opportunities that the professional adventurer advertised the land as offering were part of a reality that had largely ceased to exist by the 1880s. As Corey Ross illustrates, the rubber industry in South America 'was controlled by a small group of rubber magnates who drew their supplies from a network of local strong-men, or *seringalistas*', essentially dividing the Amazon interior into rough 'fiefdoms in the jungle' that were constantly being expanded.²² This was not a system that encouraged the establishment of small, independent plantations. Neither was it one that was particularly attractive to potential immigrants hoping for financial independence and an element of freedom: every stage in the production of rubber, from harvest to transport to processing, was controlled by the same small number of individuals. Aside from rubber, tobacco, coffee and oranges were highly recommended by the professional adventurers as potentially lucrative crops for British settlers to invest in.²³

The North Western frontiers of the British Empire in India were less accessible to investors and there was little incentive for immigration. On-going border disputes with Afghanistan, Tibet, and the small states surrounding British India, disputes that occasionally turned violent, rendered the North Western provinces too volatile for settlement or substantial non-governmental investment. The Gilgit Agency had only been established in 1889 but the Indian Army had already engaged in two "small wars" against native kingdoms by 1895, providing further proof of the region's resistance to British domination. Although the landscape is depicted as being fertile, with a particular emphasis on the gardens and orchards surrounding many of the villages in Kashmir, emigration for agricultural purposes was not actively encouraged. The potential exports from the region that most attracted the professional

²¹ "Literature," *Leeds Mercury*, October 26, 1892, 3.

²² Corey Ross, *Ecology and Power in the Age of Empire: Europe and the Transformation of the Tropical World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 101-102.

²³ E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Falcon': A Voyage to South America in a 30-Ton Yacht* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887), 265; A. H. Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1 (London and New York: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913), 35.

adventurers' attention were fabrics and fibres, namely cashmere and pashmina.²⁴ Frederick Burnaby in *A Ride to Khiva* was particularly impressed by these 'gossamer-like webs of goats'-hair' and felt 'convinced that if some of our London tradespeople were to send their travelling-agents to those parts, a very profitable return would be made on the capital invested'.²⁵ His language suggests that opportunities did exist for investment by individuals in spite of any difficulties posed by the landscape and its inhabitants. While Knight argues that the main purpose of the Gilgit Road is to facilitate the transport of troops and supplies to the border forts on the edges of the province, his statement that 'Kashmir will become an exporter of grain, ghee, and other agricultural produce; she is so, indeed, on a small scale, at the present moment, despite the heavy expenses of transport by road' implies that the modern road will reduce these costs and therefore increase the profitability of trade with Kashmir.²⁶ One of the more bizarre suggestions for potential trade opportunities comes, unsurprisingly, from Savage Landor whose name was associated with a scheme to circumvent the Chinese monopoly on the tea trade with Tibet by means of 'a wire-rope line stretching across the great Jelep-la-Pass' to India.²⁷

British investment in Egypt had been a deciding factor in the invasion of the country and the establishment of an unofficial, or "veiled", protectorate. Protecting the Suez Canal, Britain's direct line to India, was essential and the maintenance of an outpost on the Red Sea littoral helped to guarantee the safety of ships passing through. After the fall of Khartoum, the Sudan south of Wadi Halfa and the Red Sea ports – including Suakin – had largely been abandoned by the British. When the French began to evaluate the possibility of establishing uninterrupted trade communication between their coastal colonies, the Niger, and the Nile, it revived fears about British trade dominance in the region should the security of the canal be compromised.²⁸ The Sudan had been closed off from foreign investment and exploitation between 1884-1898 and

²⁴ Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 66; Frederick Burnaby, *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1895), 126.

²⁵ Frederick Burnaby, *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia* (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1895), 126.

²⁶ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 44, 68-69.

²⁷ "Tea by Wire", *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, September 3, 1901, 4.

²⁸ Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 122.

prior to that had been under the control of the Egyptian government so much of the economic projections made by the war correspondents were rather fantastical. They argued that once restored, the region would produce impressive quantities of ‘gum, ivory, [and] ostrich feathers’ along with ‘cattle, goats, dates, and dhurra’ and ‘oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and bananas’.²⁹ While some did admit that ‘scientific irrigation’ would have to be introduced on a massive scale before any reliable returns on investment could be expected, this was presented as a simple step rather than a major undertaking.³⁰ As with the North Western frontier of British India, emigration and settlement were not encouraged, though by the end of the Anglo-Sudan war, this was less to do with native hostilities and more because of the climate.

Potential

Wilderness landscapes are presented as uncultivated rather than wild or natural in order to reinforce the idea that British settlement or investment in them was a part of the civilising mission of empire and – by extension – emblematic of progress and encouraging of both individual and governmental involvement. The discussion of the sublime in the previous chapter showed how landscapes which were once considered worthless, such as mountains, had come to be seen as necessary spiritual and aesthetic spaces due in large part to the artistic works of the Romantic period. This re-evaluation of the non-economic value of wilderness landscapes was occurring simultaneously with the development of wilderness conservation thought in the United States, which would ultimately see large tracts of land protected from development in the shape of the national park system.³¹ Game reserves throughout the African colonies worked in a similar fashion, restricting access and activity in order to protect native species and their habitats – albeit principally for the enjoyment of European visitors and landowners.³² By the late nineteenth-

²⁹ E. F. Knight, *Letters from the Sudan* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1897), 6, 260.

³⁰ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 309.

³¹ Denise D. Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Toward a New Genealogy of Public History* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 39-43.

century then, wilderness had acquired a meaning that was not necessarily concomitant with exploitation. Though a wilderness landscape may suit the core adventure narrative, reframing these landscapes as uncultivated – rather than uncultivable – limited the likelihood that these spaces will be associated with protection and suggested the possibility of their economic exploitation.

Economic descriptions of landscape do not always take the form of overt calls for investment, which break up the narrative and call attention to the professional adventurer's position. In some instances, the aesthetic and economic landscape descriptions are presented discretely, as if to distance the site of adventure from the financial suggestions being made. In others, the two are blended to create a seamless aesthetic/economic description, in which one aspect reinforces the other. The potential of the landscape is central here because it allows the professional adventurer to build figuratively on the observed landscape. Thus in Knight's description of the town of Bellavista, Paraguay as 'embowered in a grove of oranges; each house [...] surrounded by a plantation of these dark-foliaged trees, now covered with golden fruit', the emphasis is on the aesthetic beauty of the trees but the economic potential is suggested by the use of the word "plantation" rather than the more appropriate garden or grove as these trees were not cultivated for the purpose of trade or export.³³ The Galla region of Abyssinia provides Savage Landor with an occasion to blend the aesthetic and economic: 'its picturesque mountain masses are well wooded and the valleys are regular gardens. The climate is ideal, water for irrigation plentiful, and the soil so fertile that it will produce anything with the minimum of labour'.³⁴ Though initially describing the beauty of the region, its productive potential rapidly becomes the focus of the description.

Savage Landor's trek down the Arinos River of Brazil provides insight into how economic interests coloured landscape descriptions. Early on he notices that 'quantities of rubber trees, absolutely going to waste, were to be seen now on one side, then on the other, where the

³² E. I. Steinhart, "Hunters, Poachers and Gamekeepers: Towards a Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya," *The Journal of African History* 30, no. 2 (1989): 258.

³³ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 222.

³⁴ Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 120-121. The Galla region that Savage Landor refers to is an historical province that occupies most of what is now central Ethiopia.

banks were wooded'.³⁵ Further downstream there is 'a wealthy growth of rubber trees on both sides' and later 'again rubber was plentiful, and absolutely untouched by the collector's hand'.³⁶ Though "wealthy" could be used to suggest that the growth is dense and verdant, its economic connotations would probably have been prominent in the minds of readers. Interestingly, he is able to deduce that 'there was plenty of rubber of excellent quality near the water', despite the fact that the quality of finished rubber depended on far more than the apparent health or size of the tree. Even when focusing on the beauty of the scene, the economic still creeps in: 'Immense quantities of rubber trees stood majestically so far unknown and untouched in the luxuriant forest'.³⁷ These trees are not growing in groves or forests, but in "quantities" – and thus were likened to a product rather than a feature of the landscape. As Lesley Wiley shows, placing a 'stress on the superabundance and wondrousness of tropical nature' had been initially established in Christopher Columbus' writings and continued through the twentieth century.³⁸ Without ever making the economic potential of the landscape explicit, the language that Savage Landor uses to describe the rubber trees makes that clarification unnecessary.

Calls for investment were not always abstract suggestions for the anonymous reader. In some accounts they were directly linked with the work of the professional adventurer. For Algernon Durand, converting a wilderness landscape into a productive one was central to the success of the Gilgit Agency. Whether or not it would be possible to muster and provide supplies for the necessary troops stationed in the Agency was one of the primary concerns when deciding whether or not military action was possible. The entire region located on the far side of the Shandur Pass from the Agency's headquarters at Gilgit was inaccessible to baggage animals for most of the year due to weather conditions and the absence of reliable transport.³⁹ The Gilgit Road went some way to ameliorating the situation, as it made transport by baggage carts possible but Durand believed that 'the whole secret of supply for the Gilgit troops lay in extending

³⁵ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 37.

³⁶ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 52, 56.

³⁷ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 106.

³⁸ Lesley Wylie, *Colonial Tropes and Postcolonial Tricks: Rewriting the Tropics in the novella de la selva* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009), 41.

³⁹ Algernon Durand, *The Making of A Frontier: Five Years' Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, and the Eastern Hindu-Kush* (London: John Murray, 1900), 59, 230-231.

cultivation' which would require the conversion of 'thousands of acres of waste land' into cultivatable land.⁴⁰ Supply was also the primary issue addressed by the correspondents regarding the maintenance of a British presence in the Sudan. Championing Kitchener's railroad and the construction feats of the Royal Engineers was nearly always accompanied by commentary on the lack of funding being provided by the government. As most of these accounts were compiled from despatches sent as the war progressed, there was a definite purpose to these comments: if the newspapers had goaded Parliament into sending Gordon and reignited public interest in the region a decade later, it was conceivable that they could also generate enough pressure to increase Kitchener's budget. The plan to build a railway across the desert at a distance from the Nile was praised as 'an extraordinary feat' as impressive as 'a railway laid upon the sea [...] an iron line built across the awful furrowed chaos of the moon's surface'.⁴¹ Yet this work that 'from a strategical point of view [...] should be completed as soon as possible' was delayed because 'the requisite funds were not forthcoming' for the war was being fought 'at a tithe of the expense' of Wolseley's failed campaign to rescue Gordon.⁴² Burleigh quieted any potential criticism that funds had already been allocated for the purpose by arguing that with 'little more than it would take to promote an English railway bill in Parliament – materials were bought, and the line was begun and carried successfully through' for a 232 mile stretch of Kitchener's railroad.⁴³ Any concern that the railway would serve no purpose once the war was over was likewise assuaged with the reassurance that 'our road-maker, old or new, is a great apostle of civilisation and commerce': Kitchener's road would benefit the troops now and investors later.⁴⁴ The railroad's utility for potential future trade was demonstrated by how greatly it reduced travel times from Wadi Halfa to Berber – the journey was reduced from 'eighteen days by camel and steamer to twenty-four hours'.⁴⁵ Awareness of the power they possessed to shape public opinion

⁴⁰ Durand, *The Making of A Frontier*, 232.

⁴¹ Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa*, 96.

⁴² Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 22, 42; Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 20.

⁴³ Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa*, 12.

⁴⁴ Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa*, 45.

⁴⁵ Edward M. Spiers, *The Victorian Soldier in Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 144.

and use it to achieve desired political outcomes is evident in how the war correspondents presented the building of the railway to their audiences. The language used is dramatic, emphasising the relationship between the railroad and victory while referencing earlier failures in order to remind the reader of the cost to national prestige that had followed an earlier unwillingness to provide adequate funding for a campaign. Potential is thus presented both in economic terms, from the trade possibilities presented by the railroad and in terms of national pride, with the railroad being presented as the only way to keep the troops supplied as they moved towards Omdurman and to redemption for the fall of Khartoum.

The city plays an important, though peripheral, role in the adventure narrative. Cities provide the starting and ending points of the adventure, they are where the professional adventurer stocks up on supplies, rests or plans the next phase of the adventure, and they are the source for most of their insights into local politics and culture. Despite their importance to the overall success of the adventure, the professional adventurer rarely discusses them in detail as they are static spaces that place limits on the professional adventurer's scope for activity. Describing cities allowed the professional adventurer to comment on the wealth and opportunities offered on the peripheries for those less suited to the rigors of homesteading. Two types of potential are discernable in the representation of cities on the periphery: as evidence of the viability of investment and of the need for expansion or improvement. Likening peripheral imperial cities to European counterparts showed that the modernisation of frontier landscapes was viable, providing reassurance to audiences while the negative features that distinguished them from familiar urban spaces – most frequently the absence or poor quality of European-style hotels and restaurants – provided examples of the kinds of opportunities available to the entrepreneurial colonist. Hotels serve as one of the key ways in which the professional adventurer establishes the relative level of civilisation of the city, with the possession of more than one European-run hotel at the apex and the single-room muleteers' shed at the bottom. The adventure account functioned in much the same fashion as the guidebook for larger cities, as the professional adventurer provided enough identifying details to distinguish the best hotels. So the reader is introduced to 'Mr. Keenan, the popular host of the English hotel at Rosario'; 'M. Albert, a Frenchman' who kept the hotel in Villa Maria; the 'most honest Italian' running 'a capital' hotel in Tarma; the good hotel at Dire Dawa kept by a Greek gentleman, a 'Mr.

Michailidis'; and the 'truculent Corsican' running the central hotel in Quito.⁴⁶ Providing the nationality of the proprietor of each of these hotels not only gave audiences a frame of reference for the type of hotel being described, it also made it appear a viable opportunity for investment, especially when considered in conjunction with discussions of the expansion of railway lines and the rapidity of steam travel. That Europeans have made successes of businesses established in colonial cities also reassures readers that it is a suitable living as many of the professional adventurers, especially Savage Landor, are explicit about the level of financial gain it is possible to achieve in various ventures and whether or not this would be sufficient for a European. For example, the burgeoning wool trade with Tibet is encouraged because 'Englishmen who have taken up this enterprise at Darjeeling are making large profits' while trade in Abyssinia and French Somalia is discouraged as it is better suited to 'Hindu merchants' who are 'contented with comparatively small profits; and [...] manage to do business successfully with a small capital' but 'French and English merchants could not run a business at a profit'.⁴⁷ The potential evidenced by the absence of expected features in urban landscapes related to the lack of competition that would be faced by a new business.

Describing South America as an exploitable paradise, with money – in the form of rubber – growing on trees, left the professional adventurer awkwardly placed when confronted with examples of failed attempts at colonisation. Meeting members of agricultural schemes was a common theme in accounts of travel through South America, particularly Brazil. Describing the successes of these schemes allowed for glowing accounts of fertile land transforming the lives of those who tended it. The settlement of Petropolis is held up by Knight as the idyllic result of the meeting between South America's soil and climate and Europe's industrious peasantry. Established on Emperor Pedro II's estate in 1843 for a group of German colonists, by the time of Knight's visit in 1881, Petropolis could be described as 'a model village in which there is no sordid house, no poverty, all is clean, tidy, and prosperous-looking. For some miles round where the forest is cleared, are the little farms of the happy and contented people'.⁴⁸ The landscape has

⁴⁶ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 80, 108; Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 388; Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, 17; Whympers, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 170.

⁴⁷ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 159; Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 8.

⁴⁸ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 61-62.

been considerably altered to reflect a European ideal. It was still a predominantly European community, and Knight considered it a respite from the ‘half-naked negroes and the barbarism of the slave plantations which surround this little oasis of liberty’.⁴⁹ For metropolitan audiences, this was confirmation that European immigrant farming was not only economically beneficial but could be seen as morally superior to both pre-capitalist forms of society and local farming methods.

Failed schemes, however, posed the problem of where blame should lie. If it was the land, then immigration was riskier than it had been earlier claimed. If it was the people, then it became a harsh critique of English and European working class immigrants. If blame could be assigned to the organisations and governments who were responsible for the scheme, however, then its failure was one that could be avoided by future British immigrants to South America. In *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, Knight provides his audience with two examples of failed schemes, one which is the responsibility of the immigrants themselves and another which is the fault of the Paraguayan government. The first group Knight refers to as the Henley colony, a ‘strange crew of young English gentlemen with the ostensible object of cattle farming’ initially consisting of fifty young men but eventually reaching nearly one hundred.⁵⁰ Knight attributes their general failure as cattle ranchers to the fact that they were ‘unsteady, fresh from school and college and regiment, without any practical knowledge of anything’ and more interested in ‘caña drinking and horse-racing’ than in learning to use the land.⁵¹ He is clear on where the blame lies in situations like this: ‘fiascos in the way of emigration are frequent out here, and bring discredit on this fine country; whereas it is the folly, or worse, of people at home that is really to blame’.⁵² The land is thus absolved from any blame in no uncertain terms, with human error, which any of Knight’s audience considering emigrating could avoid, being presented as responsible.⁵³

⁴⁹ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 61-62.

⁵⁰ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 93; W. H. Koebel, *British Exploits in South America: A History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade, in Latin-America* (New York: The Century Co., 1917), 505.

⁵¹ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 93.

⁵² Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 94.

⁵³ Trevor Harris’ work on the Welsh colony in Patagonia provides an additional example of an emigration scheme that failed due to a confluence of factors, largely political and social, that similarly absolve the

Reassuringly, this bears no relation to the economic potential of the landscape.

The most dramatic case of a failed scheme is that of the Lincolnshire Farmers. Orchestrated in order to secure a loan from a British firm, the Lincolnshire Farmer scheme was organised in 1872 and included 794 men, women, and children who had been convinced to emigrate by a series of fabrications regarding the climate and what land and support they would be provided with upon arrival.⁵⁴ None had agricultural experience. Upon their arrival in Asunción it was realised that nothing had been prepared for them and there would be no support given by either the government or the firm behind the initial loan. By the summer of 1873 the colony had collapsed and various efforts were implemented to rescue the sickly, starving emigrants.⁵⁵ While riding across the Pampas Knight met a railway worker who had been one of the Lincolnshire Farmers, leading Knight to reflect on why the scheme had failed so spectacularly. According to Knight, rather than farmers the emigrants had been ‘roughs from London, the offscourings of the Dials and Whitechapel, rusty acrobats, race-meeting minstrels, and the like, not unaccompanied by a large following of dirty, noisy women and puny children’ who were ‘so helpless and ignorant that they could not even put their hands to building huts to cover them’.⁵⁶ He continues: ‘some of the specimens of the British working-man one sees in South America are verily strange beasts, and not calculated to do credit to their fatherland’.⁵⁷ He briefly acknowledges that the land that had been allotted for the scheme consisted of ‘uncleared jungle alternating with swamp’ with a tropical climate perfectly suited to produce ‘deadly miasma’ but that is treated as a minor issue alongside the greater one of individual and institutional failings.⁵⁸ That the jungle is dangerous is never a question. As discussed in the

land from responsibility for the failure. Trevor Harris, “A place to speak the ‘language of heaven’?: Patagonia as a land of broken Welsh promise,” in *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, ed. Andrekos Varnava (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 125-143.

⁵⁴ Harris Gaylord Warren, “The “Lincolnshire Farmers” in Paraguay: An Abortive Emigration Scheme of 1872-1873,” *The Americas* 21, no. 3 (Jan., 1965): 246-247, 251.

⁵⁵ Warren, “The “Lincolnshire Farmers”,” 257-259.

⁵⁶ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 95.

⁵⁷ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 95.

⁵⁸ Knight, *Cruise of the ‘Falcon’*, 95.

previous chapter, the cultural imaginary surrounding the tropical world was centred on its duality: it was a fertile wonderland, but a dangerous one. Furthermore, by referring to the participants in these various failed schemes as ‘strange beasts’, Knight creates additional distance between his audience and those who were unable to exploit the landscape. Like animals they were unable to build huts or work the soil. The use of the word “strange” also serves to reassure audiences, as it suggests that these are unusual specimens of British manhood and that the potential investor or emigrant reading can be confident in their superiority.

The writings of W. H. Hudson provide a rare counterpoint to this vision of the wild landscape as one of wasted potential. An early environmentalist and naturalist who used his works as a platform to argue for the protection of wilderness landscapes, Hudson was highly critical of the contention that converting “waste” landscapes to farmland or pasturage was beneficial. *The Naturalist in La Plata*, for example, is constructed primarily of chapters on various native animal species and his interactions with them over the course of his travels. Its first chapter, however, is a passionate rant against the assertion that cultivated landscapes were preferable to wild ones, writing from the position of the coloniser:

It is permissible to lament the altered aspect of the earth's surface, together with the disappearance of numberless noble and beautiful forms, both of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. For he cannot find it in his heart to love the forms by which they are replaced; these are cultivated and domesticated, and have only become useful to man at the cost of that grace and spirit which freedom and wildness give. In numbers they are many – twenty-five millions of sheep in this district, fifty millions in that, a hundred millions in a third – but how few are the species in place of those destroyed? and when the owner of many sheep and much wheat desires variety – for he possesses this instinctive desire, albeit in conflict with and overborne by the perverted instinct of destruction – what is there left to him, beyond his very own, except the weeds that spring up in his fields under all skies, ringing him round with old-world monotonous forms, as tenacious of their undesired union with him as the rats and cockroaches that inhabit his house?⁵⁹

The economic landscape – Savage Landor’s ‘quantities of trees’ – is envisioned by Hudson here as one marked by destruction and desolation. Though financially worthwhile, this landscape is seen as morally and spiritually empty, placing humanity’s need for wild spaces in contrast with the capitalist desire for profit. Hudson does not provide an alternative suggestion for potential

⁵⁹ William Henry Hudson, *The Naturalist in La Plata* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1922), 1-2.

immigrants to South America, though he does not actively discourage his audience from emigrating.

In a later chapter on the coypu, a semi-aquatic rodent that had once been common throughout the territory surrounding Buenos Aires but whose population had been decimated by an epidemic, Hudson returns to his criticisms of the conversion of “waste” landscapes into productive ones:

What a blessed thing it would be for poor rabbit-worried Australia if a similar plague should visit that country, and fall on the right animal! On the other hand, what a calamity if the infection, wide-spread, incurable, and swift as the wind in its course, should attack the too-numerous sheep! And who knows what mysterious, unheard-of retributions that revengeful deity Nature may not be meditating in her secret heart for the loss of her wild four-footed children slain by settlers, and the spoiling of her ancient beautiful order!⁶⁰

This comment begins in such a way that Hudson initially appears sympathetic to the plight of Australian ranchers and farmers, stating that it would be a blessing for a similar epidemic to reduce the rabbit population. Yet as it continues it becomes obvious that in his opinion the ‘right animal’ is not the rabbit but the ‘too-numerous sheep’. By the end it has become something of a curse, a threat that those who have been focused on profit at the expense of the natural landscape should heed. The idea of timeless nature, ‘her ancient beautiful order’, is something often seen in relation to the primitive but here Hudson uses it to suggest that these untouched landscapes are preferable to those that have been modernised and made more productive. Unlike his contemporaries, Hudson places little value on landscapes that have been converted into exploited spaces, focusing instead on what has been or will be lost in the transition from wilderness to tamed landscape. Whereas Knight and Savage Landor do not anticipate, or choose not to discuss, the potential cost of converting these landscapes – outside of the actual financial burden of introducing the infrastructure necessary to make these spaces accessible or connect them with trade routes – Hudson approaches the question from a different perspective. Though a relatively rare position among professional adventurers, Hudson’s stance is the one that makes the most sense from a purely professional viewpoint, for if the wild spaces are converted into agricultural ones, where would be left for the professional adventurer to adventure? The success of their profession was dependent on the existence of these untamed landscapes. As noted in a review in

⁶⁰ Hudson, *The Naturalist in La Plata*, 13.

the *Graphic* of Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*, by the early 1890s 'nearly every vacant spot on the map has been overrun and written about' and Knight's popularity rested on his 'happy knack of hitting upon not the few absolutely unexplored regions but those which are least hackneyed'.⁶¹ Yet Knight's own arguments for increased colonisation and financial investment ran counter to this necessary for his success. As the popularity of *Cruise of the 'Alerte'* – and in fact the expedition being possible – had been dependent on the islet he had visited ten years previously in *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* remaining uninhabited, one would assume he would have had some awareness of the risks inherent in promoting the exploitation of wild spaces.

Morality of Investment

Emphasising the potential inherent in a wilderness landscape required the professional adventurer to provide an explanation for why it was not yet being exploited. The most reliable explanation was to lay the blame at the feet of the indigenous inhabitants who were presented as either unable to recognise the land's value or incapable of exploiting it. The argument that wilderness land was uncultivated due to some failing on the part of the indigenous people and that it was therefore almost a duty for Western investors or immigrants to cultivate it was prevalent. Livingstone had been one of the early proponents of introducing capitalism as the first stage in "civilising" indigenous peoples.⁶² This became a popular formula that converted economic exploitation of a region into participation in the civilising mission of empire. Don Mitchell's work on the utility of conceptualizing landscape as a verb rather than a noun is relevant here. When the landscape is viewed as 'a process by which social and subjective identities are formed' it becomes a participant in history, rather than just a backdrop.⁶³ This view

⁶¹ "The Englishman Abroad," *Graphic*, April 22, 1893, 447.

⁶² Andrew Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002), 24-25.

⁶³ Don Mitchell, "Landscape and Surplus Value: the Making of the Ordinary in Brentwood, CA," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994): 10.

of landscape acknowledges its changing nature and humanity's power to exert itself towards the creation of a desired landscape.

The links between a racial hierarchy and the ability to properly take advantage of the landscape were not limited to a binary vision of the British as the sole race capable of exploiting the land. While travelling through Kashmir with Bower and Bower's Pathan orderlies, Knight records that one of the orderlies voiced his opinion on the landscape:

“What pasture for goats and sheep!” he exclaimed. “What corn-fields! Why has not somebody taken this country from the people? These miserable Kashmiris do not deserve to have it. They could not fight for it. Why don't the Black Mountain men come down on this? I wish I was raiding here with a lot of good Pathans! Why don't the English take it?”⁶⁴

The Kashmiris are spoken of as not ‘deserving’ the fertile land on which they reside. The Pathans had emerged in popular culture in the wake of the Uprising as a loyal, courageous race who displayed the martial attributes necessary to be considered appropriately masculine.⁶⁵ That a Pathan soldier recognizes the economic potential of the landscape is considered evidence of the validity of this hierarchy, especially as he declares that the land should be seized by either the British or the Pathans. An ability to exploit the land is presented as a positive attribute, one that insures a people's survival and their right to do so.

Landscape descriptions in the adventure accounts contribute to this belief even when not explicitly mentioning indigenous inhabitants. Here Savage Landor continues to comment on the banks of the Arinos: ‘The scene, in its wonderful quietude, was most impressive. It made one's heart bleed to think that such rich land should lie unknown and unexploited in these enlightened and enterprising days of the twentieth century’.⁶⁶ Somehow the inaccessibility of this river and the danger of navigating it, which had contributed greatly to the adventurous nature of Savage Landor's expedition in other passages in the account, are forgotten when criticising the Brazilian natives for their lack of industry. The connection between capitalism and the civilising mission is explicit: it is emotionally painful for him to observe ‘unexploited’ land and he suggests that

⁶⁴ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 96.

⁶⁵ Rob Johnson, *True to Their Salt: Indigenous Personnel in Western Armed Forces* (London: Hurst & Co., 2017), 16-18, 88.

⁶⁶ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 64.

converting virgin forest to plantations would be ‘enlightened’, a word long associated with Western civilisation and progress. Savage Landor uses the expression ‘made one’s heart bleed’ multiple times to describe his reaction to seeing uncultivated wilderness.⁶⁷ More than sorrow, the expression is intended to convey pity, a sentiment in line with the belief that there is something inherently wrong with the existence of wilderness, that uncultivated land is somehow neglected rather than natural.

Savage Landor’s use of the word ‘collector’ for the rubber harvesters is an interesting linguistic choice because it makes the act of farming more passive. “Harvest” is a word more associated with the physicality of actions like reaping, picking, gathering, threshing and winnowing, while the act of “collecting” is more associated with leisure activities, such as collecting seashells or butterflies. It emphasizes how little effort is assumed to be expended in the production of rubber, which suggests to audiences that, though in use, these trees are not being used to their full potential. Collecting also has negative connotations in association with taxation. The collector of taxes takes something that has been earned by another and redistributes it. Regardless of the essential nature of taxation and his small role, the tax collector himself is not a popular man with the majority of the population. The rubber collector is similarly profiting off of something that does not belong to him. The collector exists in a liminal zone halfway between the industrious European farmer who toils on his farm, struggling against the elements in order to survive and the “lazy noble savage”, whose surroundings are so bountiful that he does not need to cultivate the soil.

Justifying the exploitation of landscapes that were not being aggressively cultivated under the guise of civilizing morality required the personal character of the inhabitants of the land to be called into question. The town of Corumbahyba, Brazil is held up by Savage Landor as an example of the relationship between the moral deficiencies of its inhabitants and the lack of intensive cultivation:

A reflection of the people's mentality was to be discovered at a glance in examining the articles that were for sale in the only shop in the village. There, remember, you were in a country which, from an agricultural point of view, could be made of immense value. Now, did you notice any implements in the shop which suggested agricultural pursuits of any kind whatever? No; what you found were patent leather dress shoes, elaborately embroidered top-boots, fancy

⁶⁷ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol.1, 349; vol. 2, 64, 83

neckties, gaudy gilt and silver spurs of immense size, bottles of powerful perfumes, fancy soaps, mirrors, combs, and highly-coloured calicoes, beer, fire-water, and other such articles of luxury.⁶⁸

Savage Landor puts considerable care into cataloguing the contents of the shop, with each item being meant to contribute to the reader's critical conception of the inhabitants. The items are all intended to suggest a vice of some sort: vanity, idleness, or drunkenness. The adjectives used to describe the items further highlight the moral failings of the people. Not only are these items luxuries, they are 'gaudy', 'high-coloured', and 'strong' ones. It is implied that they are desired by those who cannot distinguish true luxury from its poor-quality copy. The fact that the landscape 'could be of much value' is mentioned to make the connection between the items available for purchase and the characterisation of the people overt. There is no consideration of the existence of alternative means of purchasing or acquiring tools, either as communal property, travelling merchants, or using self-produced tools. Asking the reader what they see in the shop places the reader within the scene, further heightening its impact.

The portering economy encouraged by the drive to improve infrastructure across British India contributed to the "waste" of cultivatable land that the professional adventurers so lamented. Though both factors are discussed, the interrelationship between the two is rarely acknowledged in adventure accounts. Knight regrets that the *begar* system 'has to be carried on in the summer months, when the passes are open, at the very season that the villagers are needed in their fields, the crops suffering from their absence', addressing the impossibility of those chosen for the *begar* being able to maintain their farms at the same time.⁶⁹ In the case of the lands surrounding Gilgit, despite acknowledging that their cultivation has lapsed due to the *begar*, Knight does not believe that the indigenous inhabitants are capable of bringing them back into cultivation without the oversight of the British agent. For although these are the same lands that Knight has frequently described as fertile, the indigenous farmer is only able 'to earn his bare living from his fields' because they 'cultivate the land on a very wasteful sort of *metayer* system'.⁷⁰ Knight writes: 'Colonel Durand is doing his utmost to promote the colonisation of all

⁶⁸ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 1, 67-68.

⁶⁹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 69.

⁷⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 66, 62. "Metayer" is a derivation of "*metayage*", a form of sharecropping.

cultivable lands on the Gilgit road, and the country, I imagine, will present a very different aspect in a few years'.⁷¹ The use of the word "colonisation" is interesting here, as it suggests that helping displaced peasants return to their ancestral lands is not the actual intention of the government and that there is the potential for interested parties to control a portion of the 'oases of green, irrigated fields and orchards' that are envisioned as being ready to emerge from the 'dreary desert'.⁷²

The emphasis on the morality of investing in the region is most striking in descriptions of the Sudan. Though public support for the war was widespread due to the fervour generated by the national desire to "avenge Gordon", the government was not willing to extend considerable financial support for Kitchener's campaign. The initial 1884-1885 campaign to rescue Gordon had been similarly hampered by Gladstone's reluctance to allocate funds for the mission, leading to parliamentary wrangling that had delayed its starting for months, with fatal consequences for Gordon and the remnants of the Khartoum garrison – though it was Gordon's refusal to follow orders to evacuate the garrison that had necessitated the relief effort.⁷³ All of the correspondents focused on how much Kitchener had been able to accomplish with so little, with the construction of the railroad from Wadi Halfa to Khartoum as the ultimate symbol of British ingenuity and ability. The railway was linked with the future financial stability of the region for 'when the light railway had served its purpose the permanent line could take its place for the trade of the Sudan will eventually find its outlet to the north by the Nile valley, as was the case of old, and the Suakin route will fall into disuse after the downfall of Mahdism has completely opened the country'.⁷⁴ As Suakin was under British control, the loss of that trade route could threaten their supremacy in the region, especially with the fears surrounding French encroachment so the opportunity to replace it with a reliable, controlled route was very appealing. Contemporary analyses of British imperial economic policy also reinforced this idea that investment in the Sudan was morally right. In 1924's *Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire*, L. C. A. Knowles describes the establishment of the veiled protectorate as Egypt being 'rescued by

⁷¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 307.

⁷² Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 308.

⁷³ Kochanski, *Sir Garnet Wolseley*, 154, 158.

⁷⁴ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 44.

England from anarchy approaching that of the Middle Ages' with British-funded infrastructure and military presence in the Sudan being Egypt's 'economic salvation'.⁷⁵ Knowles use of "middle ages" to describe the conditions in which the Sudanese lived betrays a belief that there is something inherently wrong with the indigenous peoples if they are unable to progress past a certain point, ensuring that the connection between British investment and the development of civilisation is made by readers.

As the Dongola campaign came to an end, Knight proposed that the British government should control the redistribution of the lands of the Dongola Province because of its potential value. He suggests a scheme in which the British government offers 'grants of fertile land, [and] gifts of stock and seed-corn' to induce migration from Egypt and northern Sudan, the expense of which would 'be well repaid by the revenue which is certain to accrue within a few years'.⁷⁶ His vision for the future extends beyond the obviously fertile lands adjacent to the Nile, as he believed that 'the flat plain could be easily irrigated and brought under cultivation for many miles inland'.⁷⁷ He reassures his audience that 'the fertility of the province has not been exaggerated. The soil and climate are adapted for the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and grain, and magnificent crops can be raised'.⁷⁸ Though he is arguing for colonisation by Egyptian peasant farmers rather than European immigrants, the crops he lists are all cash crops designed for export. Here the land itself does not offer direct opportunities for financial gain, but successful cultivation of the land does have the potential to provide British entrepreneurs with opportunities for trade. Knight's views were reflected in Kitchener's initial policy as Governor-General regarding land registration, which 'sought to promote the interests of indigenous elites'.⁷⁹

G. W. Steevens presents a far less positive image of Sudan's economic capabilities with regards to trade, describing it as 'a poor country' whose only wealth came from the trade in

⁷⁵ L. C. A. Knowles, *The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire* (London: Routledge & Sons, 1924), 52.

⁷⁶ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 311-312.

⁷⁷ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 309.

⁷⁸ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 308-309.

⁷⁹ Steven Serels, "Political Landscaping: Land Registration, the Definition of Ownership and the Evolution of Colonial Objectives in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1899-1924," *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 60.

slaves and ivory. While Knight is confident in the regions ability to produce quantities of valuable of trade goods Steevens is more circumspect, writing ‘gum-arabic and ostrich feathers and Dongola dates will hardly buy cotton stuffs enough for Lancashire to feel the difference’.⁸⁰ Yet even Steevens’ ‘miserable Sudan – beggarly, empty, weed-grown, rank with blood’ has the potential to benefit the metropole.⁸¹ Rather than use the landscape for its vegetable or animal produce, he suggests maintaining control over the region to exploit its human produce. Steevens argues that the Sudan is a prime ‘field for recruiting’ and that Britain deserves to control it as ‘we have made the Egyptian army, and we have saved Egypt with it’ and these future recruits will allow Britain ‘to repay the debt to ourselves’.⁸² While the other products of the region are judged to be relatively valueless, Steevens and the other war correspondents had already positively appraised this human produce of the Nile and the desert. The Sudanese soldier was a ‘natural fighter’, whose body could be used as ‘studied for Hercules’, and who resembled ‘black marble statues, all alike as in the ancient temples [...] so typical of the Berber landscape’.⁸³ This final description merges the soldier with the landscape, rendering him as inhuman and timeless as the land itself and making the viewing of these men as an exploitable resource easier to accept. This language linking the Sudanese with the landscape does not only appear in Steevens’ account. Knight attributes the Bedouin’s martial prowess with their being ‘true children of the desert’ and the language reappears in Burleigh’s description of the Sudanese as ‘the children of Nature’.⁸⁴ The language used not only situates them on a lower tier in the racial hierarchy but emphasises their existence as a product of the landscape.

⁸⁰ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 318-319.

⁸¹ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 320.

⁸² Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartum*, 323.

⁸³ Steevens, *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, 16, 78, 90.

⁸⁴ Knight, *Letters from the Sudan*, 69; Bennet Burleigh, *Sirdar and Khalifa or the Re-Conquest of the Soudan 1898* (London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1898), 129.

Appeal to Scientific and Literary Authority

The previous chapter addressed the ways in which the quoting of poetry could convey an aura of authority to the aesthetic descriptions given by the professional adventurer, reinforcing the authority of the eyewitness with that of the artist. A similar rhetorical device emerges in the economic landscape descriptions, with the professional adventurer turning to scientific and literary texts to support their descriptions and assertions. Outside of their role as eyewitnesses to places and events, the professional adventurer had little claim to authority but this did not prevent their accounts from being treated as trustworthy texts on political climates and economic development. For instance, Knight's *Cruise of the 'Falcon'* was used twelve years after its publication to sell the less engagingly titled *Paraguay: the Land and the People, Natural Wealth and Commercial Capabilities*, with one review beginning with a brief summary of Knight's 'brilliant narrative' and his reflections on the socioeconomic condition of Paraguay.⁸⁵ Similarly, an announcement for Knight's upcoming *Where Three Empires Meet* described the future book as including 'an explanation of our present policy in Kashmir' intimating that Knight was capable of explaining a complex political situation due to his status as an eyewitness, rather than any training or education in any relevant field.⁸⁶ References to scientific, literary and political texts helped to convince audiences of the suitability of the professional adventurer to speak as an expert on a wide range of subjects. Scientific authorities are themselves sometimes consulted when possible or authority in one field is used to claim authority in another. Knight, for example cites a conversation with Charles Ledger as evidence for the coca leaf's dangerous properties, describing him as 'Mr. Ledger, of Tucuman, the discoverer of that most useful species of quinine-tree that bears his name, the *Cinchona ledgeriana*', an introduction that could reasonably lead audiences to assume that Ledger had a background in botany or medicine when in reality Ledger was an entrepreneurial alpaca farmer who employed a talented native botanist who had discovered the seeds and provided them to Ledger.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ "Literature", *Leeds Mercury*, October 26, 1892, 3.

⁸⁶ "London Correspondence", *Birmingham Daily Post*, January 28, 1893, 5.

⁸⁷ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 181; David E. Allen, "The Life of Charles Ledger (1818-1905): Alpacas and Quinine," *Medical History* 33, no. 3 (Jul., 1989): 388.

The use of scientific names for animals, plants and rocks is one of the ways that the professional adventurer attempts to prove his authority. The ordering of the world within a uniform classificatory system was an essential characteristic of Victorian science, reflecting the belief that the natural world could be known and – more importantly – catalogued. It also asserted the importance and value of this scientific way of knowing over indigenous knowledge forms.⁸⁸ As David Arnold argues in *The Tropics and the Travelling Gaze*, the popularity of the term ‘scientific traveller’ to describe those travellers that recorded their observations on the flora and fauna of the peripheries not only reflected ‘the contemporary Western passion for scientific inquiry [...] but also [was] part of an evolving strategy within colonial epistemology [...] to use direct European observation to supplement or even displace the written texts (mainly in Sanskrit and Persian) and the high-caste intermediaries’ that had previously been relied upon for information about imperial landscapes.⁸⁹ Thus, to provide just a very few examples, one sees Knight describing landscapes with ‘a few scattered and stunted pencil cedars (*Juniperus excelsa*)’, Candler commenting that ‘red-billed choughs [are] the commonest of the *Corvidæ* at these heights’, Hudson describing the habits of ‘the large black leaf-cutting ant (*Ecodoma*)’, and Savage Landor remarking that one of his men ‘returned with some fine *jacú* (*Penelope cristata*) he had shot’.⁹⁰ There is little purpose for the inclusion of the Latin name for these species outside of making the professional adventurer appear an authority on the flora and fauna of a region as scientific-minded audiences would most likely already have been familiar with the Latin names and for those without a knowledge of Latin the names are fairly meaningless. Though they often passed unremarked, an inaccurate identification occasionally undermined the reputation of the professional adventurer. Knight’s labelling of the pencil cedar as *Juniperus excelsa* is evidence of the former case, as *Juniperus excelsa* actually refers to, rather unsurprisingly, a species of juniper, which, though they share the same taxonomic Order as cedars, are from a different

⁸⁸ Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 4.

⁸⁹ David Arnold, *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 30-31.

⁹⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 112; Edmund Candler, *The Unveiling of Lhasa*. London: Edward Arnold, 1905), 27; W. H. Hudson, *Idle Days in Patagonia* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1917), 133; Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 205.

Family.⁹¹ In the latter case, one review of Savage Landor's *Across Unknown South America* highlighted that he had mistaken 'iron cemented rocks' for lava flows and volcanic craters throughout, throwing the accuracy of all of his other scientific statements into doubt and leading the reviewer to conclude that it was 'not worthy of review space' and 'quite out of the rank of books that can be regarded as contributing to any branch of science'.⁹² Savage Landor's desire to present himself as an authority on every branch of the natural sciences and ethnography ultimately resulted in the contrary, with all of his work being regarded as the work of an overconfident amateur at best and, at worst, that of a charlatan. To avoid this demonstration of their ignorance without sacrificing their position as authorities, professional adventurers would occasionally admit their own ignorance as to the exact species of plant or animal or type of rock and suggest that scientists could consult their observations or collections and verify types for themselves. This made an initial concession to their lack of knowledge but made it appear that the professional adventurer occupied a place within the network of scientists and learned societies that controlled Victorian and Edwardian science. This practice was not limited to adventurers for as MacKenzie notes, in his early works Livingstone too 'set about elevating his own scientific work in Africa by repeated references to notable scientists of the day'.⁹³ Knight is particularly adept at this manner of asserting authority by association. In one instance, after being unable to identify the species of 'the forest of dead trees' that covered Trinidad Islet, Knight writes:

On sending this specimen to Kew I was informed that the wood "probably belongs to the family Myrtaceæ, and possibly to the species *Eugenia*." I find that this species includes the pimento or allspice, the rose-apple, and other aromatic and fruit-producing trees; so that desert Trinidad may at one time have been a delicious spice-island.⁹⁴

⁹¹ *The Hillier Manual of Trees and Shrubs* (Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1993), 583, 608.

⁹² J. C. Branner, "Reviewed Work: *Across Unknown South America* by Henry Savage Landor", *Science* 39, no. 1007 (Apr., 1914): 578.

⁹³ John M. MacKenzie, "The iconography of the exemplary life: the case of David Livingstone," in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, ed. Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 88.

⁹⁴ E. F. Knight, *The Cruise of the 'Alerte': The Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1913), 158.

Not only does this passage allow Knight to suggest that he has contacts at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew and is thus affiliated with a prominent scientific institution, his use of “I find” suggests to the audience that Knight himself possesses a certain amount of botanical knowledge that allows him to draw connections between the types of trees and accurately envision Trinidad’s past.

Whymper, on the other hand and perhaps unsurprisingly, places himself in direct antagonism with the published authorities of the day, using his first-hand experience and observations to contradict common beliefs surrounding the effect of altitude on the human body. Throughout his account, Whymper quotes liberally from explorers, climbers, and medical authorities on altitude sickness before deconstructing their arguments in favour of his own personal theories about the problem. At times, his frustration with inaccurate information provided by previous explorers is made clear to the reader. Early in the account he reflects on planning a route up Chimborazo, writing ‘I had relied implicitly upon the accounts of Humboldt and Boussingault, and accepted without reserve their statements that they had in 1802 and 1831 respectively reached the heights of 19,286 and 19,698 feet’.⁹⁵ He is at first generous in his critique of their accounts of the climb, suggesting that it seemed ‘probable that the times which were occupied were incorrectly noted’.⁹⁶ Upon finally seeing and examining the peak more closely, however, Whymper admits that he ‘was roughly disillusionized’ for although their accounts of reaching that elevation without having to cross a glacier had been accepted as fact for nearly a century, this was impossible:

Accepting its height as 21,425 feet, a fair notion could be formed where 19,500 feet would come; and it was evident that no one could stand at that elevation, at any part of the mountain, without having glaciers in front, behind, and upon each side, and that no one could gain that elevation without, also, *passing over* glacier [emphasis in original].⁹⁷

His frustration, and that of other professional adventurers, stemmed in large part from the fact that his initial plans had been made with the assumption that his predecessors, though perhaps making minor alterations to times and elevations to make their feats seem even more impressive,

⁹⁵ Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 27.

⁹⁶ Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 32.

⁹⁷ Whymper, *Travels Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*, 32.

had been honest about their achievements. In this situation, Whympers is able to use his discovery of a presumed authority's falsehoods to challenge the entirety of their work and assert himself as the only individual who is truly knowledgeable about the region. It proved to be an effective strategy. In response to adventurer Paul Fountain's account of his travels in South America and his claim that it is impossible to reach the summit of Cotopaxi, the reviewer suggests Fountain 'borrow a copy of Mr. Whympers' book and declares that 'it will readily be judged from this example that Mr. Fountain must not be taken as an authority' on South America.⁹⁸ By asserting his authority over his predecessors, Whympers managed to become the authority against which future accounts were judged.

Savage Landor uses French explorer Jean-Baptiste Marchand's map of the villages alongside the Nile and Congo tributaries from the latter's 1896-1898 Congo-Nile Mission to similar effect. He frequently corrects Marchand's spelling – 'At 1.35 in the afternoon we came to Yakuaje (Marchand's Yakouetch)' – and though he reminds readers that 'that villages in Central Africa have a way of constantly changing their position' he is sure to note whenever a village is not where Marchand had situated it. In the case of Djema, for example, he emphasises that 'the distance between the Djema visited by me and the Djema on the maps was, if I remember right, some fourteen or sixteen kilometres'.⁹⁹ This combination of criticism and justification is doubly beneficial for Savage Landor in that it allows him to assert that his surveying work is more accurate than that of a government-sponsored expedition while also providing an excuse should any of his mapping be proven later to be inaccurate. Furthermore, it plays into the imperial rivalry between France and Britain and allows him to implicitly suggest that Britain's claims to authority in the region are stronger as they are based on more accurate information. Though less successful than Whympers at having himself viewed as a replacement authority, Savage Landor's challenging of Marchand's findings ensures that his work will be linked in his audience's minds with the more famous expedition.

⁹⁸ "The Manly Traveller," *The Times*, June 23, 1914, 6.

⁹⁹ Savage Landor, *Across Widest Africa*, vol. 1, 272; vol. 2, 69, 30.

Comparisons

As demonstrated above, representing the imperial landscape as one of limitless economic promise served an obvious purpose: to make the empire, both formal and informal, appear attractive to potential investors and emigrants. The rationale for likening these landscapes to familiar British scenes is less obviously discernable. Audiences reading adventure narratives in search of the exotic were likely to have been slightly disappointed to discover that the wild corners of the world bore more in common with the familiar English countryside than they had previously assumed. In general, these comparisons seem to exist to assuage fears surrounding the alien nature of these peripheral landscapes. In his work on traditions of landscape writing, John Wylie has described this process of reframing the landscape of the Other with the language of the familiar as ‘subduing strangeness’.¹⁰⁰ Viewing indigenous peoples as the Other enabled Victorian imperialists to justify their treatment of them. Othering the landscape did not necessarily provide the same benefits. A landscape that was too strange could not be understood and failure to understand suggested that the Victorian approach to scientific knowledge must be in some way flawed. Emphasising the unusual aspects of a landscape could be an effective descriptive tool. Describing the desert as resembling the moon was evocative, however, it was not appealing. Subduing the strangeness of the landscape through comparisons with more familiar landscapes renders them knowable. In certain scenarios, the comparisons are broad, focusing on such aspects as general colour impressions. In Madagascar, for example, Knight found that ‘the rich colouring of the earth, [...] is of the red and reddish-brown tints one sees in some parts of Devonshire’.¹⁰¹ In others, they are references to specific locations, such as upon his arrival at St John’s, Newfoundland, when Knight remarked that it ‘bore a singular resemblance to the entrance to Polperro harbour as seen from within’.¹⁰² As this section will demonstrate, likening peripheral landscapes to familiar metropolitan ones made them more accessible to audiences, in effect colonising them anew by further erasing the presence of the indigenous Other. These comparisons appear throughout the works of the professional adventurer in spite of

¹⁰⁰ John Wylie, *Landscape* (London: Routledge, 2007), 131.

¹⁰¹ Knight, *Madagascar in War Time*, 140.

¹⁰² Knight, *With the Royal Tour*, 386.

the challenges they posed to the established cultural imaginary that the professional adventurers relied on for the continuing appeal of their accounts.

This was not a rhetorical device that can be solely attributed to the professional adventurers. Near the conclusion of *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, Knight describes the approach to Barbados, remarking that 'as we approached it, its often-remarked likeness to the Isle of Wight, as viewed from the sea, struck me. It is about the same size as the English island, and, like it, is covered with verdure'.¹⁰³ While it is true that the two islands are roughly the same size and that this comparison has been in use from the seventeenth century to the present day, the suggestion that they bear any other resemblance is less common.¹⁰⁴ In the *Nautical Magazine of July 1838*'s account of the Cornwallis' recent voyage, Henry Davy writes: 'viewing the N. E. part of Barbados, its extraordinary resemblance to that part of the Isle of Wight from St. Catherine's Point towards Dunnose, with the ridge of hill and undercliff, is particularly striking'.¹⁰⁵ This is a very specific comparison but with the exception of having white rock cliffs, there is little to no actual resemblance between the two islands. As his description continues, Knight even acknowledges this fact, stating: 'but the verdure of Barbados, when seen nearer, proves to be that of the sugar-cane, which is planted over the whole island from the mountain-tops to the seashore'.¹⁰⁶ What is interesting to note is that the major difference that Knight highlights for his audience is the primary economic appeal of the island.

Having promoted the landscape of Paraguay as an economic paradise ripe for exploitation by British emigrants and investors, Knight provides his audience with similar reassurance regarding the indigenous population. His description of a religious festival at Areguá serves this purpose admirably:

¹⁰³ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 362.

¹⁰⁴ See for example sources as varied as: Robert Schomburgk, *The History of Barbados* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans), 8; John T. Gilmore, "The Rock: Island and Identity in Barbados" in *New Soundings in Postcolonial Writing: Critical and Creative Contours*, Janet Wilson and Chris Ringrose, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 66; Paul Weaver, "Rum and cricket with the locals in Barbados," *The Guardian Online*, February 10, 2009.

¹⁰⁵ Henry Davy, "Passages of her Majesty's Ship Cornwallis, Capt. Sir Richard Grant, between North America, and the West India Islands, in the Winter of 1837", *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1838: A Journal of Papers on Subjects connected with Maritime Affairs* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & co., 1838) 433-434.

¹⁰⁶ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 362.

It was a happy, childish assembly; there were no quarrels, and none of the men seemed to carry knives behind them – very different, indeed, from the wild, murderous race-meetings of the gauchos of the Pampas. The revellers, indeed, bore far more resemblance to clean children at a school-treat in an English village than to anything else I can think of.¹⁰⁷

This description renders the population of the small town harmless in two ways: by infantilizing them and by comparing them with a segment of the metropolitan population. Knight had reached Areguá after eleven months of travelling through South America, attending various local festivals, dances, and religious events. The likelihood that an assembly of adults celebrating the feast day of Saint Rose of Lima would be so distinct from any of these events that it can only be compared to a children's party is so low as to suggest that Knight was intentionally attempting to reassure his audience as to the qualities of the Paraguayan people. His reference to the absence of knives, unlike at similar events in the Pampas which he had previously recounted in detail, adds further credence to this theory.¹⁰⁸ The gauchos are presented as a type against which the positive qualities of the Paraguayans can be measured, much like how the desolate Pampas is contrasted with the fertile jungle. It allows Knight to reassure his audience with the claims that although the people of Paraguay are too immature as a society to cultivate the landscape, they would be as harmless as school children and not resist investment by British colonists.

If one examines how a single comparison was employed across imperial landscapes it is possible to see that these comparative descriptions served some purpose beyond simply providing metropolitan audiences with a local visual reference. Throughout his career, Knight used Devon as a landscape reference, ranging from broad scenic comparisons to ones that were limited to a specific area within the county. An analysis of the extent of these comparisons will require a brief deviation from the three regional case studies that form the basis of this project. It is possible that it was affection for or familiarity with the region rather than physical similarities that led Knight to see it reflected in the peripheral landscapes he travelled to; he had written *Where Three Empires Meet* while staying with one of his sisters in Talland and may have spent a considerable amount of time there throughout his life.¹⁰⁹ Knight does not appear to have

¹⁰⁷ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 260.

¹⁰⁸ Knight, *Cruise of the 'Falcon'*, 151-156.

travelled much in England (his childhood was spent largely in Somerset and northern France) and his other experiences of the country do appear to be limited to London and the countryside along the Thames. Devon, then, was likely to have been his best-known “wild” English landscape. Devon has already been mentioned once before as a reference point, with the red soil of Madagascar suggesting the southwestern county to Knight. The county appears twice in *Where Three Empires Meet*, the first time early in the narrative as Knight is travelling towards Leh. Knight writes: ‘Near the junction of the Dras and Sum we rode through a typical Tibetan oasis. It was as a bit of Devonshire in springtime dropped down in the midst of sands and crags arid as those round Aden’.¹¹⁰ Using Aden as a contrast to Devon reminds the audience of the extent of the British Empire; both England and the Middle East are being called upon to describe Central Asia and all of these lands fall under the influence of the Empire. As he continued through Tibet, the view of the village of Saspul also struck Knight as reminiscent of Devon as they reached the top of a hill and:

saw before us the orchards of the oasis of Saspul, behind which, in striking contrast, were wastes of yellow sand and reddish gravel glowing in the sunshine, and still farther off was a great range of dark mountains with snow-covered peaks – Devonshire, the Sahara, and the Alps seeming to combine to form this incongruous landscape.¹¹¹

Devon in these instances would appear to simply be synonymous with “green” or “fertile”, a usage that confirms that it was being used less as an accurate descriptor and more as a positive suggestion. Whether or not the mountainous lowlands of Tibet actually resembled the English countryside is less important than the reassurance provided that personnel and funds invested in the region were not being wasted.

His inclusion on the royal tour of the empire provided Knight with further occasions to use Devonshire as a reference point: outside of Christchurch he ‘was astonished to find how wonderfully English was the land’ with ‘deep lanes like those of Devon’.¹¹² The rest of New

¹⁰⁹ Muriel Jerram, “Recollections of a Talland Childhood in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,” self published memoir, 14-15.

¹¹⁰ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 118.

¹¹¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, 162.

¹¹² Knight, *With the Royal Tour*, 217.

Zealand struck him as offering colonists ‘happy comfort amid the soft scenery of South Devon or the garden of Kent’; the mouth of the Dart River at Hobart consisted of ‘the scenery of some of our South Devon coast on a large scale’; Vancouver Island had the same climate as ‘our South Devon health resorts’; and the countryside surrounding London, Ontario ‘recall[ed] bits of Devon and Kent’.¹¹³ Knight is reminded of Devonshire on four continents; in the mountains, towns, and from the sea; by the land and by the weather. It is difficult to see how a comparison could have any real resonance with audiences when it is used for such a disparate range of landscapes. In the cases of its use in regard to settler colonies, the references to Devonshire render the landscape familiar and suggest to audiences that what was once an alien landscape has been transformed into an English one by its settlers. This reading is reinforced by how Knight continues his description of New Zealand as an island where ‘every tree, fruit, flower, and cereal of Great Britain thrives with a renewed vigour’.¹¹⁴ The potentials for economic exploitation raised by this description are obvious. Returning to the fears of racial degeneration discussed in Chapter 2, the statement that British plants grow with ‘renewed vigour’ reflects similar worries surrounding the productivity of British soil. However, if the land of the colonies can be conceived of as merely England writ large, it is less that these younger lands are better or more productive than that they are simply larger reflections of Britain. This range of examples demonstrates the power inherent in comparisons between peripheral and metropolitan landscapes. A reader unfamiliar with Devonshire may develop a rather fantastic image of the county (and its climate!) from this selection of comparisons but presenting audiences with an accurate geographical impression was not their purpose. The professional adventurer used metropolitan landscapes to convince audiences of the economic potential of the colonies for emigrants and investors and to reinforce imperial dominance over the peripheries.

Outside of direct geographical comparisons, one of the most common ways in which a landscape was rendered familiar was by describing it as an English garden or park. The garden had long been established as an iconic element of the British landscape. By the early eighteenth-century, national garden styles were being developed that made it possible for a visitor to distinguish between an English garden and, for example, a French or Italian one, with each of

¹¹³ Knight, *With the Royal Tour*, 227, 237, 347, 374.

¹¹⁴ Knight, *With the Royal Tour*, 227.

these styles being thought to reflect national characteristics.¹¹⁵ On a deeper level, they represented man's mastery over nature and were therefore a perfect symbol of imperial power. Garden designers such as Capability Brown reshaped their clients' properties to create ideal aesthetic spaces as gardens became essential public and domestic spaces, increasing in importance through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹¹⁶ Brown's work was in fact referred to by critics as 'place-making' and he was accused of having 'uprooted the landscape and replaced nature with [...] a new artificiality'.¹¹⁷ Distinctions were made between the more traditional "gardener" and the large-scale garden designers, who for a time were referred to as "landscape architects", though both were seen to be essential to the creation and maintenance of the ideal English landscape.¹¹⁸ In her insightful work on the social history of English gardens, Jane Brown has argued that the Empire contributed to the status of English gardens among those who spent extended periods of time in the colonies because 'the strongest desires and emotions were always attached to coming home, where the climate would allow proper gardening, in comparison with those purposeless struggles in the heat and the dust'.¹¹⁹ Indeed, because of the emotions attached, it was during the Victorian era that affection for gardens became an 'intense adoration' that 'raised the English garden to symbolic status'.¹²⁰ Botanical gardens were even more direct embodiments of the British Empire's reach. William and Joseph Hooker's transformation of Kew Gardens from a palace garden to a repository and research centre for the world's flora inspired the creation of similar botanical gardens in imperial hubs, most notably in Calcutta and Peradeniya, Sri Lanka.¹²¹ Creating a botanical garden first required the collection of

¹¹⁵ David Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (Spring, 2002): 416.

¹¹⁶ John Phibbs, *Capability Brown: Designing the English Landscape* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016), 268-269.

¹¹⁷ Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," 417.

¹¹⁸ Jane Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise: A Social History of Gardens and Gardening* (London: HarperCollins, 2000), 230.

¹¹⁹ Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise*, 303.

¹²⁰ Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise*, 303.

¹²¹ David Arnold, "India's place in the Tropical World," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 1 (Jan., 1998): 4; Stuart McCook, "Managing Monocultures: Coffee, the Coffee Rust, and the

specimens from around the empire and subsequently their categorisation. As noted above, this cataloguing of the world's fauna fit well within the Victorian program of classificatory science which was – in itself – a mechanism for asserting British authority over the natural world. In addition, the crossbreeding of species to improve their hardiness, productivity, or suitability for transplant to other parts of the empire reinforced beliefs in the superiority of British science and civilisation. The intensive cultivation during the 1870s of tea strains that would be productive in Sri Lanka to replace the coffee crops destroyed by the coffee rust is a prime example of how important the garden was outside of its cultural aesthetic value.¹²² From the 1840s, botanical gardens had also begun attempting to recreate imperial habitats – generally tropical – the most famous being the Palm House at Kew.¹²³ Being able to “step into” a foreign landscape helped to subdue its strangeness and provided visible evidence of British mastery over nature. The image of the park landscape was more stable, its enduring associations with the landed gentry ensuring that little changed in the purpose and appearance of parks during the nineteenth century.

Humphry Repton, a landscape and garden designer considered by many to be Brown's successor, described the park as ‘that portion of wood and lawn which is seen from the windows of a mansion [...] it must appear to have no boundary’.¹²⁴ While size was not a defining characteristic, Repton's definition makes it clear that a park had limited purpose and that only certain types of flora were acceptable.

To describe a wilderness landscape as a garden or park, then, was to suggest that not only was it a safe, recognisable space it was one that was suited to control. It should be noted that this was not a universal trend among professional adventurers. Some, such as Knight, reserved the word garden for actual gardens. Savage Landor, however, frequently uses these terms to describe the Brazilian jungle surrounding the Arinos River. The Arinos stretches 423 miles across Mato-Grosso province and contains dozens of small islands (that are constantly being formed and eroded) as well as a series of small waterfalls before it joins the Juruena, which, in turn, then joins the Tapajós. At one point early in their cruise he notes that ‘the river was so wonderfully

Science of Working Landscapes,” in *Knowing Global Environments: New Historical Perspectives on the Field Sciences*, ed. Jeremy Vetter (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 90.

¹²² McCook, “Managing Monocultures,” 100.

¹²³ Brown, *The Pursuit of Paradise*, 213.

¹²⁴ R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *A Norfolk Gallery* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1948), 205.

tidy that, had it not been for its great breadth, one would have felt as if going through a watercourse in England'.¹²⁵ Water features were a popular aspect of larger English gardens and water gardens were themselves an important garden form.¹²⁶ His equation of tidiness or cleanliness with maintained English landscapes continues on the next page:

The forests of that country, especially in the central region where I was then travelling, were wonderfully clean, when once you entered them, although, when seen from the river, they appeared impenetrable. Near the water, owing to the moisture, there was frequently a thick but narrow belt, only a few metres wide, of dense growth. Beyond it, when you were in the forest itself, nothing grew under the trees, and the ground was just as clean as the best kept English park.¹²⁷

And again, describing one of the small islands in the Arinos that he mapped and named “Elizabeth R.” Savage Landor writes, ‘The latter had most gorgeous vegetation upon it; so tidy was everything in the thick forest, and the ground under it so clean that you might have imagined yourself in an English park’.¹²⁸ In all three of these descriptions, cleanliness is the primary feature that suggests the resemblance to an English park to Savage Landor. Tidiness and cleanliness are adjectives that suggest human intervention. The garden requires a gardener, or – in the case of the larger properties or estates bring conjured up in these descriptions – a large staff dedicated to maintaining the grounds. On a domestic scale, John Tosh has highlighted that by the mid-Victorian period gardening had itself emerged as a popular hobby for middle-class men.¹²⁹ The garden, then, could be both passively and actively enjoyed and was seen as an aspect of domestic life.

In the longer passage above, Savage Landor does not contrast “clean” with “dirty” but rather with “impenetrable”, which makes it appear that it is ease of access rather than the neatness itself that is the most important. One way to clean a garden is to remove unwanted plants. A clean garden, then, is one that only has the desired plants in the appropriate places just

¹²⁵ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 57.

¹²⁶ Gertrude Jekyll, *Wall and Water Gardens* (London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1913), 123-191.

¹²⁷ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 59.

¹²⁸ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 95.

¹²⁹ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), 32-33.

as a clean park, a clear lawn, or a controlled wood. Following on from this, for the jungle to be garden-like, the desired plants, in this case rubber trees, should not be surrounded by unwanted growth: the vines, grasses, fungi, and non-exploitable trees that form the imagined jungle. Throughout Savage Landor's account of the river cruise the rubber trees growing along the banks are presented as an exploitable resource but there would be no reason to harvest the rubber if it could not be easily transported to market. The clean nature of the landscape, then, is an important contributing factor in evaluating its economic worth. That these descriptions were meant to encourage investment or emigration, rather than to contribute to the adventure narrative, is further supported by drawing a contrast between the garden imagery and the narrative portrayal of navigating the river. Savage Landor's adventurous descriptions of the Arinos include its many rapids and whirlpools, which 'got worse and worse as [they] went down the stream', an area in which it was necessary to portage their canoe and at one point refers to a long section of the river as being 'all the time on troubled waters, with rocky banks and innumerable obstacles all the way'.¹³⁰ This is the expected content of the adventure account, not the fertile, tidy garden.

As Simon Ryan has shown in his work on the mapping of Australia, cartography and the language of landscape description 'offers the clearest display possible of the European erasure of, and subsequent projection upon, other cultures' because using certain words allows a landscape to be read as 'a "blank"', a space on the map that is empty of anything that they have not placed there.¹³¹ The example that he draws on is describing a desert as a sea, but I would argue that the word garden functions in much the same way. Gardens are home to plants and the adventurer passing through a forest is in the same position as the visitor to a garden, a temporary presence. No one lives in a garden. Thus if a landscape is presented as a garden and it is inhabited by indigenous peoples, it is they who are out of place. Similarly, gardens and parks are governed by rules of behaviour that proscribe certain activities for certain individuals. The owner of the garden may pick its flowers or use its produce or hunt in the park, but the visitor may not. By the same logic, indigenous agricultural and hunting practices may be reconceptualised as no longer appropriate once Europeans have developed an interest in the landscape.

¹³⁰ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, rapids: 86, 99, 102, 113, 320, portaging: 204-206, quote: 212.

¹³¹ Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, 118-120.

Alongside its domestic connotations, the garden or park also had a function in the public sphere. By the late nineteenth century, the proponents of public gardens in cities argued that they were necessary to improve the health of the inhabitants, with social reformer Octavia Hill famously describing gardens as the ‘lungs for the city’.¹³² This imagery was widespread and conjured up images of gardens providing oases of healthy air amid the smog of the metropole. This is directly in contrast with one of the most common tropes relating to the jungle, that of it being filled by deadly miasma, air made poisonous by the rotting vegetation, smells, and heat of the tropics.¹³³ This belief in the deadliness of tropical air was widespread and influenced everything from daily schedules and diet to home construction.¹³⁴ Miasma was as essential a part of the cultural imaginary of the jungle as the heat and the exuberant plant life that contributed to it. The connection for readers would have been clear: a garden within a jungle would function in the same way as a garden in a city, providing clean, healthy air that was safe for an Englishman to breathe. The earliest public gardens in London had opened in the wake of the Great Fire of 1666 but as H. L. Malchow has shown, the nineteenth century saw a rise in their popularity across society and a movement to incorporate more green spaces into urban environments.¹³⁵ The organised grounds of the public garden suggest pathways, the ability to move freely through the landscape along preordained routes. In an imperial context, for a foreign landscape to be described in terms of free public access contributes to the erasure of any indigenous claims to the land. The garden paths in this context are the routes explored by the explorers and professional adventurers who “opened” the country to travel, investment, and emigration.

Richard Grove’s work on the relationship between imperial expansion and the tropics from the 1600s to the late nineteenth century has examined the cultural importance of the search

¹³² H. L. Malchow, “Public Gardens and Social Action in Late Victorian London”, *Victorian Studies* 29, no. 1 (Autumn, 1985): 99.

¹³³ David Arnold, *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture and European Expansion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 151-152.

¹³⁴ E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 82-84. Housekeeping guides for India provide insight into the routines and suggestions that had been developed to protect the British constitution from the effects of the tropical climate. The most thorough of these is: Flora Annie Steel, *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook: Giving the duties of mistress and servants the general management of the house and practical recipes for cooking in all its branches* (London: William Heinemann, 1909).

¹³⁵ Malchow, “Public Gardens and Social Action”, 100-101.

for new “Edens” and the ways in which this quest contributed to how tropical landscapes were seen and represented, which further complicates the use of the term garden by the professional adventurers.¹³⁶ Describing these landscapes in the language of the perfect garden elevated them above other imperial landscapes, both metropolitan and peripheral, and as Grove has demonstrated, contributed to the movement towards conservation.¹³⁷ Conservation fit within the imperial mission, for although the exploitation of the colonies was essential to the spread and survival of the British Empire, conservation supported and reinforced the belief in the inherent superiority of the European male who needed to protect the landscape from its original inhabitants. Taking the analogy further, the original inhabitants of the garden (Adam and Eve/indigenous inhabitants) have lost the privilege of living in Eden through their own failings (desire for knowledge/inability to introduce industrial capitalist exploitation).

There is an interesting contradiction in Savage Landor’s celebration of the tidiness of the Brazilian jungle, as the lack of plant and animal life would later contribute to his near-death from starvation while attempting to cross the section of Amazonas province from the Tapajós River to the Madeira River. The tidy park that is so pleasing on the eye transforms into a nightmarish landscape in which ‘there is no fish, no game, no fruit, no vegetables, and no possible way of cultivating the land, [...] no inhabitants’.¹³⁸ Here Savage Landor breaks down the cultural imaginary of the tropical landscape as one of abundance and replaces an image of a landscape where animals and disease are the primary threats with one where absence is the threat in and of itself. The earlier landscape of bountiful ‘quantities’ of rubber trees so attractive to the potential emigrant or investor is contrasted with one from which nothing can be gained. The extreme contrast makes the earlier landscape appear even more attractive to potential investors because it suggests that it is limited and special and thus more valuable.

¹³⁶ Richard Grove, “Conserving Eden: The (European) East India Companies and Their Environmental Policies on St. Helena, Mauritius and in Western India, 1660-1854,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 2 (Apr., 1993): 326.

¹³⁷ Grove, *Green Imperialism*, 38-40.

¹³⁸ Savage Landor, *Across Unknown South America*, vol. 2, 272.

Conclusions

Economic landscape descriptions ultimately had little to do with the economic realities of the empire. Instead, they functioned as a tool for familiarising landscapes and placing a moral value on the development of – and investment in – the peripheries. As such, they provide little insight into the objective appearance of these landscape but they do show the extent to which ideas of unexploited potential and the maintenance of empire shaped conceptions of the world. Subduing the strangeness of the peripheral landscape renders it harmless and allows it to more easily be incorporated into the imagined territory of the British Empire because it transforms it from the land that is inherently Other to one that belongs within the cultural understanding of the British audience. Describing a landscape as a garden or a park helped to subdue the strangeness of the landscape and reformulate it into accessible images. The economic landscape that has been reformulated in such a manner is more easily conceived of as part of the British Empire and as land that is available and ripe for economic exploitation, regardless of the tensions that are inherent in attempting to fit one form of landscape into the mould of another. An uncultivated jungle will never be a tidy English garden but through the language of the garden the professional adventurer is able to obscure the differences and ease some of those tensions, rendering the tropical landscape familiar.

Conclusion

I have, so far as is possible, confined myself to a narrative of my own experiences, to a plain statement of what I myself saw, without attempting to theorise as to what ought to be done or left undone on the frontier.

E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*¹

Hastily written, and when the author was in broken health from wounds and tortures endured in the Forbidden Land, this book was not intended as a literary effort, but merely as an unvarnished record of a journey of exploration taken in Tibet in the year 1897.

A. H. Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*²

The preface provided the professional adventurer with a platform from which he could pre-emptively excuse himself from any concerns raised about what he had written. It was “hastily written” and a personal narrative; if the adventure account did not align with expectations, statements of this nature looked to explain why. Yet at the same time, these prefaces served to reassert the authority of the professional adventurer and the legitimacy of his views. He had been there and seen everything first-hand; had his critics? Even the excuses regarding the quality of the prose could be used as evidence of the trustworthiness of the professional adventurer’s accounts, for the author of a fictionalised account surely would have put more effort into the writing. Knight and Savage Landor’s claims to being mere recorders of reality belie their active involvement in the production of the cultural imaginary of the British Empire.

Representations can be powerful. The combination of the audience’s distance from the setting of the account, the apparent authority of the author, and the enchanting quality of a well-

¹ E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893), vii.

² A. H. Savage Landor, *In the Forbidden Land: An Account of a Journey into Tibet, Capture by the Tibetan Lamas and Soldiers, Imprisonment, Torture and Ultimate Release* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1898), v.

spun narrative give the professional adventurers' representations of the people and landscapes of empire a force equivalent to fact. Without corroborating – or dissenting – accounts from their indigenous companions, and with the absence of any substantial archival record, the representation is all that remains. While the question of “what happened” remains intriguing, the question of “what were people willing to believe had happened” reveals far more about British society. Throughout this thesis I have argued that the adventure account presented audiences with an image of the peripheries of the British Empire that complicated the dominant understandings of its people and landscapes as often as it reinforced them. The careers of the professional adventurers naturally took them around the world and provided them with opportunities to draw comparisons and make connections between these varied outposts. While they may never have become as knowledgeable about an area as the scientist or colonial official who spent his entire professional life in one region, the accessibility and interest of their accounts – whether published as despatches in the newspapers or as books – brought them large audiences that, by and large, trusted their insights.

There is value in studying the works of the professional adventurers, especially those that have been largely forgotten. The accounts of the professional adventurers existed alongside those of the explorers, scientists, administrators, travellers, and novelists, and like these accounts of their contemporaries, helped to shape how society viewed the Empire. The study of travel writing is so young that it should not have a canon of texts that is already ossifying. Expanding the number of works deemed worthy of study only makes the field as a whole richer. Like the adventure novels that were read by young and old alike, the adventure accounts responded to a subconscious need in British society. The period from 1880-1914 was one of technological advancements and social change that provoked fears of racial degeneration and raised doubts about Britain's ability to maintain her position in the world. Tales of adventure, whether fictional or based on fact, helped to assuage those fears while also providing escapist entertainment.

This project began with a brief examination of the lives of E. F. Knight and A. H. Savage Landor, two men who built their careers around the pursuit of adventure. Their lives, writing styles, and approaches to adventuring differed greatly and by examining their works in tandem it is possible to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the adventure account as a text and as a contributing feature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century cultural imaginary of the British Empire. Knight's works adhered more closely to the standards of the genre and his

career followed a more conventional path, with the majority of his adventures dictated by the editors of the newspapers that employed him as a war correspondent. Savage Landor, on the other hand, revelled in flouting conventions in both his writing and his career. His secondary career as an artist and his financial independence granted him greater freedom than the majority of his contemporaries in the planning of his expeditions. Though successful during their lifetimes, neither man's fame was able to endure the wave of change that followed in the wake of the First World War. Professional adventurers were actively involved in fashioning their own identities. These identities were malleable and responded to the needs and desires of the world around them. Both men used their autobiographies as a means of creating final versions of themselves, the content of which was sometimes at odds with their initial accounts. Savage Landor abandoned violence – at least narratively – once it no longer appealed to his audience. The autobiography provided Knight with an opportunity to retell the most compelling narratives of his career in such a way as to situate himself amidst the action, rather than as only an observer. Additionally, Knight sought to remake the image of the adventurer in his own likeness through his novels, though he appeared to be unable to reconcile the loss of his right arm with the persona he had cultivated. Their approaches to fame differed as well: Knight was a celebrated adventurer and war correspondent but not a celebrity, while Savage Landor achieved a level of celebrity based in part on his public appearances and social connections. An aspect of the image of the adventurer that has remained within the cultural imaginary is that of the adventurer as an independent and isolated figure. As has been demonstrated, this image had little basis in reality as the systems within which the professional adventurers worked limited their scope for independent action. Publishers, learned societies and other funding bodies, and the military were all able to exert power over expeditions and to shape the accounts produced. Having a deeper understanding of the works of Knight and Savage Landor makes it possible to draw more from how they chose to represent the people and landscapes of the British Empire.

Interactions with other Western men on the peripheries of the Empire provided the professional adventurer with opportunities to represent an ideal imperial masculinity. Members of the military, merchants and traders, and other adventurers were the types of men most often encountered and onto whom the professional adventurers projected the image of the martial masculine ideal. Describing these men allowed the professional adventurer to celebrate the traits he valued without explicitly claiming them for himself. Pluck emerged as one of the defining

characteristics of the martial masculine ideal. It brought more traditional notions of courage and bravery together with a youthful disregard for risk. The belief that certain “martial races” existed – among them the Scots and the Pathans – allowed the traits of martial masculinity to be appreciated and acknowledged in indigenous men without compromising the Victorian conception of a racial hierarchy. The language of sport, particularly of the games ethic and sportsmanship, cast imperial and military activities as enjoyable pastimes for which the young men of Britain had been trained since childhood. Not all adventurous males were deemed appropriate representatives of heroic masculinity: the Royal Engineers and imperial road builders were greatly esteemed but were not afforded the same manly recognition as the officers and explorers.

Community played an essential role in the masculine ideal. It blended elements of the domestic masculinity of the metropole that had dominated early to mid-nineteenth century conceptions of masculinity with the martial masculinity that accompanied the era of New Imperialism to create a homosocial domesticity. The professional adventurers countered metropolitan fears surrounding all-male communities by lauding the camaraderie between men on the peripheries. Acknowledgement of the importance of these personal relationships by men like Algernon Durand, and in Kipling’s short stories, further legitimised these relationships for metropolitan audiences. Camaraderie and friendship between adventurous males flourished in spite of the professional boundaries that should have hampered this level of intimacy. Friendships between war correspondents and between war correspondents and military officials existed amidst the competition to the first with a scoop and the antagonism between the press and the censors. The relationships between Knight, Scudamore, and Kitchener are indicative of this need for camaraderie. The creation of domestic spaces and the sharing of food – especially of tea – provided links with the metropole through the recreation of familial routines. The adventure account described the Western entrepreneur as a representative of a long and glorified tradition of merchant adventurers who had contributed to Britain’s rise.

The glorification of the entrepreneur as an adventurous male was a limited phenomenon, however, excluding essentially all non-Western Europeans. Negative portrayals of fellow adventurous males were rare but not unheard of and generally occurred when the individual in question had somehow hindered the progress of the professional adventurer. Criticisms varied but the most common unifying feature was the omission of the offending party’s name. By

omitting the names of the men they criticised, the professional adventurers essentially erased them from the historical narrative. The professional adventurers used their accounts to reinforce the hegemonic masculinity of the period 18800-1914. Yet their accounts also reveal that this imperial martial masculinity incorporated elements of the domestic, resulting in a masculine ideal that foregrounded relationships between men alongside the more traditionally expected values of pluck and sportsmanlike conduct.

Aside from their fellow adventurous males, the individuals with whom the professional adventurers were in closest contact were their primary servants. The primary servant was not an official role, but rather one that emerged through a combination of talent, necessity and/or affection. The relationships that existed between professional adventurers and their primary servants provide insight into the complexity of these interactions and in some instances challenge the dominant narrative that has been established by historians. Experiences of travel on the peripheries of empire differed for the professional adventurers: they were more isolated, had less external support, and had more personal motivations for their expeditions. These factors shaped how the professional adventurers experienced the empire and help to explain why their representations of indigenous peoples may have differed from those of their contemporaries. The use of homogenising language in the adventure account was near universal and while it was employed to create an essentialised Other, it was also used to similar effect against other Europeans, women, and class groups. It served as a simple way for the professional adventurer to assert his authority as an observer.

The willingness on the part of the professional adventurer to cede some of the control of the daily management of an expedition to a primary servant indicates that a certain level of trust – and potentially respect – existed. Knight and Babu Khan exemplified this type of relationship, with Knight feigning an inability to control Babu Khan to mask his active role in granting some control to Babu Khan. As members of a society that believed in a rigid racial hierarchy, many professional adventurers struggled with how to recognise when a primary servant's ability surpassed their own. In some instances, such as the relationship between Edward Whymper and Jean-Antoine Carrell, this discomfort manifested in the adventure account in the derision of the primary servant. This response belittled the talents of the primary servant without fully erasing them from the narrative. When his authority was challenged, the professional adventurer – ultimately dependent on the compliance of his men – had to find a means of regaining control

without further alienating them. For Savage Landor, this took the form of covert, manipulative violence: he masked his poisoning of his mule drivers with claims of medical necessity and was thus able to regain control of his party without directly challenging them. The use of covert violence adds nuance to the argument that agents of empire freely employed violence against their indigenous employees to ensure compliance. The return to the metropole provided a firm division between the world of the adventure and that of civilisation. Bringing an indigenous primary servant home for an extended period of time blurred that line and created a space in which the relationship could develop beyond the traditional master-servant framework. Savage Landor's relationships with Aden and particularly with Chandan Sing demonstrated a level of affection not typically seen in accounts of travel and exploration. By examining the accounts of the professional adventurers it becomes apparent that the difference of experience contributed to a mode of representation that complicates the dominant narrative informing the study of interactions between imperial agents and native populations.

The third section of this project moved from representations of people to representations of landscape. Unlike the other areas considered in this project, which were best approached thematically, the use of aesthetic language was more informed by regional factors. The physical realities of the landscape – or at least the cultural imaginaries vision of them – had a profound effect on how each region was represented. The two central concepts of aesthetic language informing these descriptions were the picturesque and the sublime. At the most basic level, the picturesque referred to landscapes that had the features of landscape paintings, and the sublime to those landscapes that inspired an emotional response, such as awe or fear. The trope of the tropics dictated the ways in which landscapes that fell within the equatorial belt were conceived of. Regardless of their differences, tropical regions as distinct as India and Brazil were described using the same language. They were presented as dualistic landscapes: lush yet deadly. Referring to poetry or literary sources when describing landscapes on the fringes of the British Empire provided the professional adventurer with a means of asserting his authority. This was particularly important for the war correspondents, as critiques of the sensationalism associated with late nineteenth century journalism had the potential to damage their credibility. In the case of South America, poems including Tennyson's 'The Lotus-Eaters' and Longfellow's 'The Slave's Dream' were used to support the professional adventurer's own descriptions of the South American landscape. Knight employed the 'The Lotus-Eaters' to emphasise the intoxicating

nature of the Paraguayan landscape, while at the same time casting a hint of moral judgement on those of his countrymen who were “seduced” by its charms. Hudson, likewise, used the poem to emphasise the exotic beauty of the tropics. The ‘Slave’s Dream’, despite actually depicting Africa, was used by Knight and Hudson to link individuals to the South American landscape.

Though the majority of the Indian subcontinent fell within the tropical range, the North Western frontier was defined by the Kashmir Valley and the Himalayas. The hill stations of the region presented authors with foreign landscapes onto which British conceptions of the picturesque could be transposed. Kipling’s stories of India served as a foundation onto which the professional adventurers could craft their representations. The sublime was the most commonly used aesthetic language to describe this frontier landscape, but how it was employed reflected social positions and personal emotional responses. Knight, for instance, associated the sublime with desolation, while for Algernon Durand and Francis Younghusband it possessed a transformative beauty linked with religious experiences. The language of religion reappears in descriptions of the Valley of Kashmir, joining poetic and historical references to present an idealised landscape. The idealisation of the landscape comes through in the accounts of the Sudan as well. Although the region obviously differs dramatically from the English countryside, the professional adventurers were still able to apply the language of the picturesque to the desert. The nature of the British presence in the Sudan had a profound effect on how it was described and resulted in an impressive uniformity of aesthetic language. Though Egypt had become a tourist destination by the mid-nineteenth century, the war in the Sudan and the difficulty of navigating past the Nile cataracts meant that the war correspondents were essentially the only authors who had access to the region. The most striking aspect of their descriptions of the desert is the emphasis on its purity. Representing the Sudan as a clean, healthy landscape made continued British involvement there more appealing. The use of aesthetic language to describe peripheral landscapes allowed the professional adventurers to associate themselves with established artistic and literary traditions, which reinforced their authority as eyewitnesses. It also gave them the ability to shape metropolitan perceptions of the landscapes of the empire.

The final chapter continued the examination of descriptions of landscape, moving from the aesthetic to the economic. Unlike aesthetic descriptions, which varied substantially depending on the landscape in question, economic representations displayed similarities across landscape types. Economic descriptions were employed by the professional adventurers to make

peripheral landscapes appear more appealing to potential emigrants and investors, though it is difficult to judge how effective this strategy was. Describing landscapes as wild or neglected spaces emphasised that their potential was not being met and that it would be possible for civilising, modern investors to convert them into productive landscapes. For example, elaborating on the trade potential opened up by Kitchener's railroad along the Nile reassured audiences that investment – whether financial or military – in the Sudan would not be wasted. Failed immigration schemes posed a challenge for the professional adventurer. In order to avoid making the landscape appear inhospitable (or perhaps more importantly, unprofitable) the professional adventurer diverted blame for the failure from the landscape to the sponsors and participants. W. H. Hudson acted as a counterpoint to this trend, arguing that wild landscapes were preferable to intensively cultivated ones.

The language of potential was at time accompanied by language suggesting that there was a moral element to investment in the imperial peripheries. The inability or lack of desire on the part of indigenous people to exploit the landscape was held up as evidence they did not deserve to be in possession of it. Both Knight and Savage Landor depicted the “waste” of cultivatable land by indigenous peoples as a moral failing. As was the case with aesthetic representations of landscape, the professional adventurers used scientific and literary sources to bolster their own authority. This commonly took the form of employing the scientific names of plants and animals to demonstrate the professional adventurer's inclusion in the scientific community. Mistakes in classification could seriously damage the professional adventurer's credibility, however. Challenging scientific authorities, as done with varying degrees of success by both Savage Landor and Edward Whymper, had the potential to allow the professional adventurer to usurp the position as the leading authority on the landscape. Comparing imperial landscapes with British ones was an effective way of rendering these territories familiar. In doing so, however, part of the excitement of the unknown integral to the adventure account was sacrificed. Knight's frequent use of Devon as a reference for diverse landscapes around the world suggests that it was a result more of his own familiarity with that part of the English countryside than any real similarities between it and New Zealand, Madagascar, Tibet or Vancouver Island. Likening imperial landscapes to English gardens or parks served a similar function while also narratively erasing indigenous inhabitants claims to the land. Savage Landor employed this language to particular effect in his descriptions of South America. Economic

landscape description did not necessarily have any connection with the economic realities that they offered. As with aesthetic representations, the economic representations of peripheral landscape given in these accounts gave the professional adventurers the opportunity to assert their authority and to promote the imperial project.

Throughout this thesis, then, the adventure account has been used to provide insight into how the British Empire was represented when there was very little at stake. These accounts were not the work of explorers, scientists, or civil servants furthering the cause of empire through official channels. In the words of their authors, the adventure accounts were only simple records of personal experience. Regardless of the truth of these claims, the works of the professional adventurers did occupy a distinct position in the literature of empire, existing in the space between official accounts and adventure novels. These accounts made the empire personal for their readers in a way that more official documents were unable to do. The experiences of the professional adventurers were shaped by a particular confluence of factors, not least influential of which was the personality of the professional adventurer himself. In the case of the war correspondents, the wars they covered were discrete incidents that could not be re-experienced. For the others, the planned expedition (and what actually ended up happening), their indigenous servants, supplies, modes of travel, and people encountered all contributed to shaping an experience, and thus an account, that could not be exactly replicated and contained a fair amount of human error. The very human nature of their experiences and their responses to the world around them added an air of legitimacy for audiences that made the empire that much more real. The adventure accounts of men like Knight and Savage Landor still retain their power to enthrall but they may also be used to develop a better understanding of the complexity of how the empire was seen and represented.

Bibliography

Archives

British Library Manuscripts Collection, London
 Archive of the Royal Literary Fund
 Blakeney Collection Vol. XXXIV
 Edmund Candler Correspondence

Broadcasters' Audience Research Board
 Viewing Data

Royal Geographical Society Archives, London.
 A. H. Savage Landor Correspondence
 Douglas Freshfield Correspondence
 John Scott Keltie Correspondence
Times Correspondence Block CB7, 1881-1910

Royal Institution Archives, London
 Lecture Records
 Minutes of General Meetings Vol. X
 Proceedings of the Royal Institution

University of Reading Special Collections
 Records of the Longman Group

Newspapers and Periodicals

Belfast News-Letter
Birmingham Daily Post
Daily Mail
Daily News
Freeman's Journal
Geographical Journal
Glasgow Herald
Graphic
The Guardian
John Bull
Leeds Mercury
Liverpool Mercury
Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser
Morning Post

The Nation
The Outlook
Reynold's Newspaper
St James Gazette
Sheffield Daily Telegraph
South Australian Advertiser
Sporting Gazette
The Times
Times of India
Times Literary Supplement
The Yorkshire Herald

Primary Sources

- Atteridge, A. Hilliard. *Towards Khartoum: The Story of the Soudan War of 1896*. London: A. D. Innes & Co., 1897.
- Bellamy, J. "Expedition to the Cockscomb Mountains, British Honduras," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, New Monthly Series* 11, no. 9 (Sep., 1899): 542-552.
- Blaikie, William Garden. *The Life of David Livingstone*. 1880. Reprint, London: John Murray, 1910.
- Blunt, Edward. *The Caste System of Northern India with Special Reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Booth, William. *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890.
- Bower, Hamilton. *Diary of a Journey Across Tibet*. London: Rivington, Percival and Co., 1894.
- Branner, J. C. "Reviewed Work: Across Unknown South America by Henry Savage Landor", *Science* 39, no. 1007 (Apr., 1914): 577-579.
- Bullard, F. Lauriston. *Famous War Correspondents*. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1914.
- Burleigh, Bennet. *Desert Warfare: Being the Chronicle of the Eastern Soudan Campaign*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1884.
- Burleigh, Bennet. *Sirdar and Khalifa, or The Re-Conquest of the Soudan*. London: Chapman & Hall, 1898.
- Burnaby, Frederick. *A Ride to Khiva: Travels and Adventures in Central Asia*. Sixteenth edition. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1895.

- Burnaby, Fred. *On Horseback Through Asia Minor*. 2 vols. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1877.
- Burnand, Francis C. *The Ride to Khiva: A Burlesque*. London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co., 1877.
- Burton, Richard Francis. *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860.
- Butler, William Francis. *Charles George Gordon*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1889.
- Candler, Edmund. *The Unveiling of Lhasa*. London: Edward Arnold, 1905.
- Churchill, Winston S. *Young Winston's Wars: The Original Despatches of Winston S. Churchill, War Correspondent, 1897-1900*. Edited by Frederick Woods. London: Leo Cooper, 1972.
- Churchill, Winston. *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan*. New and Revised Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902.
- Cobbold, Ralph. *Innermost Asia: Travel and Sport in the Pamirs*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.
- Colborne, Col. The Hon. J. *With Hicks Pasha in the Sudan: Being an Account of the Senaar Campaign in 1883*. 2nd edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885.
- Cunningham, C. D. *Pioneers of the Alps*. Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1888.
- Davis, Richard Harding. *The Congo and the Coasts of Africa*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.
- Davis, Richard Harding. *Notes of a War Correspondent*. 1910. Facsimile edition, Charleston, SC.: Bibliobazaar, 2007.
- Davy, Henry. "Passages of her Majesty's Ship Cornwallis, Capt. Sir Richard Grant, between North America, and the West India Islands, in the Winter of 1837" in *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1838: A Journal of Papers on Subjects connected with Maritime Affairs*, 433-443. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & co., 1838.
- Doyle, Arthur Conan. *A Desert Drama being The Tragedy of the Korosko*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1898.
- Doyle, Arthur Conan. *The Green Flag and Other Stories of War and Sport*. Colonial ed. London: George Bell & Sons, 1900.
- Doyle, Arthur Conan. *Memories and Adventures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

- Dunsterville, Major General L. C. *Stalky's Reminiscences*. 1928. Reprint, London: Jonathon Cape, 1930.
- Durand, Algernon George. *The Making of a Frontier: Five Years' Experiences and Adventures in Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Chitral, and the Eastern Hindu-Kush*. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1899.
- Galton, Francis. *The Art of Travel; or, Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries*. Fourth edition. London: John Murray, 1867.
- "Geography at the British Association Bristol, 1898." *The Geographical Journal* vol. 12, no. 4 (Oct., 1898): 377-385.
- Hadley, Frank A. "Whistler, the Man, as Told in Anecdote." *Brush and Pencil* 12, no. 5 (Aug., 1903): 334-338.
- Haggard, Lieut.-Col. Andrew. *Under Crescent and Star*. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1895.
- Haggard, H. Rider. *Allan Quatermain*. 1897. Reprint, London: Penguin Books, 1995.
- Haggard, H. Rider. *King Solomon's Mines*. 1885. Reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Henty, G. A. *The Dash for Khartoum: A Tale of the Nile Expedition*. London: Blackie & Son, 1892.
- Henty, G. A. *With Kitchener in the Soudan: A Story of Atbara and Omdurman*. London: Blackie & Son, 1903.
- Hudson, William Henry. *Adventures Among Birds*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1923.
- Hudson, William Henry. *Idle Days in Patagonia*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923.
- Hudson, William Henry. *The Naturalist in La Plata*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923.
- Jekyll, Gertrude. *Wall and Water Gardens*. London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1913.
- Jerram, Muriel. "Recollections of a Talland Childhood in the late 19th and early 20th centuries." Self-published, made available by Polperro, Cornish Gem. http://www.polperro.org/Jerram/Jerram_Recollections.pdf.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *The Day's Work*. 1908. Reprint, London: Macmillan & Co., 1927.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *Departmental Ditties and Ballads and Barrack Room Ballads*. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1915.

- Kipling, Rudyard. *Soldiers Three, The Story of the Gadsbys, In Black & White*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1900.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *Stalky & Co.* London: Macmillan, 1908.
- Knight, E. F. *Albania: A Narrative of Recent Travel*. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1880.
- Knight, E. F. *The Awakening of Turkey: A History of the Turkish Revolution*. London: John Milne, 1909.
- Knight, E.F. *The Cruise of the 'Alerte': The Narrative of a Search for Treasure on the Desert Island of Trinidad*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1890.
- Knight, E.F. *The Cruise of the 'Falcon': A Voyage to South America in a 30-Ton Yacht*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887.
- Knight, E. F. *A Desperate Voyage*. London: John Milne, 1898.
- Knight, E.F. *The 'Falcon' on the Baltic: A Coasting Voyage from Hammersmith to Copenhagen in a Three-Ton Yacht*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896.
- Knight, E. F. *The Harwich Naval Forces: Their Part in the Great War*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919.
- Knight, E.F. *Letters from the Sudan*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1897.
- Knight, E. F. *Madagascar in War Time: The 'Times' Special Correspondent's Experiences Among the Hovas during the French Invasion of 1895*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896.
- Knight, E. F. *Reminiscences: The Wanderings of a Yachtsman and War Correspondent*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923.
- Knight, E. F. *Rhodesia of To-day: a description of the present condition and the prospects of Matabeleland & Mashonaland*. London: Longmans, 1895.
- Knight, E. F. *Save Me from My Friends*. London: Longmans & Co., 1891.
- Knight, E. F. *Small-Boat Sailing*. London: John Murray, 1901.
- Knight, E. F. *South Africa after the War: a Narrative of Recent Travel*. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1903.
- Knight, E. F. *The Threatening Eye*. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1885.

- Knight, E. F. *The Union-Castle and the War: 1914-1919*. London: The Union Castle Mail Steamship Co., 1920.
- Knight, E.F. *Where Three Empires Meet: A Narrative of Recent Travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit, and the Adjoining Countries*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1893.
- Knight, E. F. *With the Royal Tour: A Narrative of the Recent Tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York through Greater Britain, including His Royal Highness's Speech Delivered at the Guildhall, on December 5, 1901*. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1902.
- Knowles, L. C. A. *The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire*. London: Routledge & Sons, 1924.
- Koebel, W. H. *British Exploits in South America: A History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade, in Latin-America*. New York: The Century Co., 1917.
- Livingstone, David. *Missionary Travels in South Africa; Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa*. London: John Murray, 1857.
- Markham, Clements. "The Arctic Expedition of 1875-76." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 21, no. 6 (1876-1877): 536-555.
- Marston, E. *How Stanley Wrote "In Darkest Africa": A Trip to Cairo and Back*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890.
- Mill, Hugh Robert. "Geographical Literature of the Month." *The Geographical Journal* 12, no. 5 (Nov., 1898): 536-548.
- Prior, Melton. *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*. London: Edward Arnold, 1912.
- Ransom, Arthur. *Peter Duck*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968.
- Robertson, George S. *Chitrál: The Story of a Minor Siege*. New and Cheaper Issue. London: Methuen & Co., 1905.
- Robertson, George S. *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*. New Edition. London: Lawrence & Bullen, Ltd., 1900.
- de Rougemont, Louis. "The Adventures of Louis de Rougemont." *The Wide World Magazine* vol. 3, nos. 13-14 (May-Jun., 1898): 1-15, 115-131.
- Sala, George Augustus. *The Life and Adventures of*. London: Cassell, 1895.

- Sala, George Augustus. *Under the Sun: Essays Mainly Written in Hot Countries*. London: Vizetelly & Co., 1886.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Across Coveted Lands, or A Journey from Flushing (Holland) to Calcutta, Overland*. New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1903.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Across Unknown South America*. 2 vols. London: Hodder and Stouhton, 1913.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Across Widest Africa: An Account of the Country and People of Eastern, Central and Western Africa as seen during a Twelve Months' Journey from Djibouti to Cape Verde*. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett ltd, 1907.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Alone with the Hairy Ainu. or, 3,800 Miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and A Cruise to the Kurile Islands*. London: John Murray, 1893.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *China and the Allies*. 2 vol. London: Heinemann, 1901.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Corea or Cho-sen: The Land of the Morning Calm*. London: William Heinemann, 1895. Facsimile edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Everywhere: the Memoirs of an Explorer*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1924.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research Travel among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *In the Forbidden Land: An Account of a Journey into Tibet, Capture by the Tibetan Lamas and Soldiers, Imprisonment, Torture and Ultimate Release*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1898.
- Savage Landor, A. H. *Tibet and Nepal: Painted and Described*. London: A. & C. Black, 1905.
- Scott, Robert Falcon. *The Voyage of the 'Discovery'*, 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1905.
- Scott, Robert F. *The Voyage of the 'Discovery'*. Cheap Edition. London: John Murray, 1929.
- Scudamore, Frank. *A Sheaf of Memories*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925.
- Seppings Wright, H. C. *Soudan, '96: The Adventures of a War Artist*. London: Horace Cox, 1897.
- Smiles, Samuel. *Lives of the Engineers, Vol. 5, The Locomotive: George and Robert Stephenson*. 1874. Popular Edition. London: John Murray, 1904.

- Smiles, Samuel. *Lives of the Engineers*, Vol. 2, *Harbours, Lighthouses, Bridges: Smeaton and Rennie*. New Edition. London: John Murray, 1874.
- Smiles, Samuel. *Lives of the Engineers*, Vol. 3, *History of Roads: Metcalfe; Telford*. New Edition. London: John Murray, 1874.
- Speke, John Hanning. *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1863.
- Stanley, Henry Morton and Dorothy Stanley. *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*. Cambridge, MA.: The Riverside Press, 1909.
- Stanley, Henry Morton. *In Darkest Africa or the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin Governor of Equatoria*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.
- Steel, Flora Annie and Grace Gardiner. *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook: Giving the duties of mistress and servants the general management of the house and practical recipes for cooking in all its branches*. 7th Edition. London: William Heinemann, 1909.
- Steevens, G. W. *With Kitchener to Khartum*. 1898. Reprint, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1915.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Essays in the Art of Writing*. Seventh Edition. London: Chatto & Windus, 1919.
- Stewart, Cosmo. "The Baptism of a Battery." In *'Blackwood' Tales from the Outposts: II Small Wars of Empire*, edited by L. A. Bethell, 27-68. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1933.
- Travel, Adventure, and Sport from 'Blackwood's Magazine'*. Six vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1889-1890.
- Vizetelly, Edward. *From Cyprus to Zanzibar by the Egyptian Delta: The Adventures of a Journalist in the Isle of Love, the Home of Miracles, and the Land of Cloves*. London: C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., 1901.
- Whymper, Edward. *Travel Amongst the Great Andes of the Equator*. London: John Murray, 1892.
- Wolseley, Garnet. *The Soldier's Pocket-book for Field Service*. Second edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1871.
- Younghusband, G. J. *The Story of the Guides*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1911.

Secondary Sources

- Abbott, John Lawrence. *John Hawkesworth: Eighteenth-Century Man of Letters*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.
- Adams, James Eli. *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Masculinity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Adams, Percy G. *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1983.
- Aguirre, Robert D. *Informal Empire: Mexico and Central America in Victorian Culture*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Alexander, Michael. *The True Blue: The Life and Adventures of Colonel Fred Burnaby 1842-85*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1957.
- Allen, David E. "The Life of Charles Ledger (1818-1905): Alpacas and Quinine." *Medical History* 33, no. 3 (Jul., 1989): 388-389.
- Allen, John L. "Lands of Myth, Waters of Wonder: The Place of the Imagination in the History of Geographical Exploration." In *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geography in Honor of John Kirkland Wright*, edited by David Lowenthal and Martyn Bowden, 41-61. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Alomes, Stephen. "Ceremonial Visions of Australia." *Journal of Australian Studies* 11 (1987): 49-58.
- Altick, Richard D. "The Literature of Imminent Democracy." In *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, edited by Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff, 215-228. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1959.
- Anderson, Jill. "'Be up and Doing': Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Poetic Labor." *Journal of American Studies* 37, no. 1 (April, 2003): 1-15.
- Arnold, David. "India's Place in the Tropical World, 1770-1930." *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 1 (1998): 1-21.
- Arnold, David. *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture, and European Expansion*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Arnold, David. *The Tropics and the Traveling Gaze: India, Landscape, and Science, 1800-1856*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2006.
- Ashfield, Andrew and Peter de Bolla, eds. *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Ataöv, Türkaya. *Kashmir and Neighbours: Tale, Terror, Truce*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Atkinson, Frank. *Dictionary of Literary Pseudonyms: a selection of popular modern writers in English*. 2nd ed. London: Clive Bingley, 1977.
- Attridge, Steve. *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture: Civil and Military Worlds*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Auerbach, Jeffrey A. "Imperial Boredom." *Common Knowledge* 11 no. 2 (Spring, 2005): 283-305.
- Auerbach, Jeffrey A. *Imperial Boredom: Monotony and the British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. London and New York: Methuen, 1987.
- Bailkin, Jordanna. "The Boot and the Spleen: When Was Murder Possible in British India?." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48, no. 2 (Apr., 2006): 462-493.
- Ballantyne, Tony. *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Banks, J.A. "The Challenge of Popular Culture: Introduction." In *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis*, edited by Philip Appleman, William A. Madden, and Michael Wolff, 199-214. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1959.
- Banville, Scott. "'Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday': The Geography of Class in Late-Victorian Britain." *Victorian Periodical Review* 41, no. 2 (Summer, 2008): 150-173.
- Barber, Giles. "The English-language Guide Book to Europe up to 1870." In *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, 93-106. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1999.
- Barkan, Elazar. "Post-Anti-Colonial Histories: Representing the Other in Imperial Britain." *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 2 (Apr., 1994): 180-203.
- Barnett, Clive. "Impure and Worldly Geography: The Africanist Discourse of the Royal Geographical Society, 1831-1873." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series 23, no. 2 (1998): 239-251.
- Barsham, Diana. *Arthur Conan Doyle and the Meaning of Masculinity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.

- Bassnett, Susan. "Travel Writing and Gender." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 225-241. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Baum, Richard. "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Boston Tradition." *Journal of the British Astronomical Association* 110, no. 1 (2000): 46-48.
- Baylen, Joseph O. "A Letter from Conan Doyle on the 'Novelist-Journalist'." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 12, no. 4 (Mar., 1958): 321-323.
- Bayly, C. A. *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Beattie, James. "Imperial Landscapes of Health: Place, Plants and People between India and Australia, 1800s-1900s." *Health and History* 14, no. 1 (2012): 100-120.
- Behdad, Ali. "The Politics of Adventure: Theories of Travel, Discourses of Power." In *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, edited by Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, 80-94. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Beinart, William. "Men, Science, Travel and Nature in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Cape." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 4 (Dec., 1998): 775-799.
- Beinart, William and Lotte Hughes. *Environment and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Berenson, Edward. "Charisma and the Making of Imperial Heroes in Britain and France, 1880-1914." In *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Edward Berenson and Eva Giloi, 21-40. New York: Berghahn Books, 2010.
- Berlin, Ira. *Generations of Captivity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2003.
- Bethell, Leslie. *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Bhabha, Homi. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, 152-160. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Bird, Dúnlaith. *Travelling in Different Skins: Gender Identity in European Women's Oriental Travelogues, 1850-1950*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Bivona, Daniel. *Desire and Contradiction: Imperial Visions and Domestic Debates in Victorian Literature*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

- Black, Barbara J. "The Pleasure of Your Company in Late-Victorian Clubland." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 32, no. 4 (Dec., 2010): 281-304.
- Blanton, Casey. *Travel Writing: The Self and The World*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Blue, Frederick J. "The Poet and the Reformer: Longfellow, Sumner, and the Bonds of Male Friendship, 1837-1874." *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no. 2 (Summer, 1995): 273-297.
- Blunt, Alison. *Travel Gender and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*. London: Guilford Press, 1994.
- Bogart, Michele H. "'Maine Memorial' and 'Pulitzer Fountain': A Study in Patronage and Process." *Winterthur Portfolio* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1986): 41-63.
- Bohls, Elizabeth A. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Boone, Joseph Allen. *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Boone, Joseph A. "Vacation Cruises: Or, the Homoerotics of Orientalism." *PMLA* 110, no. 1 (Jan., 1995): 89-107.
- Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992.
- Brandt, Anthony, ed. *The North Pole: A Narrative History*. Washington, D. C.: National Geographic, 2005.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Taming Cannibals: Race and the Victorians*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011.
- Bratton, J. S. "Of England, Home and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and Edwardian Juvenile Fiction." In *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 74-93. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Bresheeth, Haim. "Projecting Trauma." *Third Text* 20, no. 1 (Jan., 2006): 57-71.
- Bridges, Roy. "Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720-1914)." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 53-69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

- Briggs, Asa. *A History of Longmans and Their Books 1724-1990, Longevity in Publishing*. London: The British Library, 2008.
- Bristow, Joseph. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. London: Harper Collins Academic, 1991.
- Bristow, Joseph, ed. *The Oxford Book of Adventure Stories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Brock, William H. "The Making of an Editor: The Case of William Crookes." In *Culture and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Media*, edited by Louise Henson, Geoffrey Cantor, Gowan Dawson, Richard Noakes, Sally Shuttleworth and Jonathan R. Topham, 189-198. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- Brockway, Lucille H. *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Brown, Jane. *The Pursuit of Paradise: A Social History of Gardens and Gardening*. London: HarperCollins, 2000.
- Brown, Matthew, ed. *Informal Empire in Latin America: Culture, Commerce and Capital*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- Brown, Michael. "'Like a Devoted Army': Medicine, Heroic Masculinity, and the Military Paradigm in Victorian Britain." *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 3 (Jul. 2010): 592-622.
- Brown, Michael. "Cold Steel, Weak Flesh: Mechanism, Masculinity and the Anxieties of Late Victorian Empire." *Cultural and Social History* 14, no. 2 (2017): 155-181.
- Browning, Peter. *The Changing Nature of Warfare: The Development of Land Warfare from 1792 to 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Bruce-Lockhart, Jamie. "In the Raw: Some Reflections on Transcribing and Editing Lieutenant Hugh Clapperton's Writings on the Borno Mission of 1822-25." *History in Africa* 26 (1999): 157-195.
- Bruce-Lockhart, Jamie. *A Sailor in the Sahara: the life and travels of Hugh Clapperton, Commander RN*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2008.
- Bryce, Robert M. *Cook & Peary: The Polar Controversy, Resolved*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997.
- Burns, Sarah. "Old Maverick to Old Master: Whistler in the Public Eye in Turn-of-the-Century America," *The American Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (Spring, 1990): 28-49.

- Burton, Antoinette. "New narratives of imperial politics in the nineteenth century." In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. Edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 212-229. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Buurma, Rachel Sagner. "Anonymity, Corporate Authority, and the Archive: The Production of Authorship in Late-Victorian England." *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 1 (Autumn, 2007): 15-42.
- Camerini, Jane. "Remains of the Day: Early Victorians in the Field." In *Victorian Science in Context*, edited by Bernard Lightman, 354-377. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Cameron, James M. R. "Agents and Agencies in Geography and Empire: the Case of George Grey." In *Geography and Imperialism 1820-1940*, edited by Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan, 13-35. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Canton, James. *From Cairo to Baghdad: British Travellers in Arabia*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011.
- Cardinal, Roger. "Romantic Travel." In *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, edited by Roy Porter, 135-155. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Carr, Helen. "Modernism and Travel (1880-1940)." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 70-86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Cawelti, John G. *Adventure, Mystery, and Romance: Formula Stories as Art and Popular Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Chamberlain, Muriel E. *'Pax Britannica'?: British Foreign Policy 1789-1914*. London: Longman, 1988.
- Chaudhary, Zahid. *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth Century India*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
- Chaudhary, Zahid. "Phantasmagoric Aesthetics: Colonial Violence and the Management of Perception." *Cultural Critique* 59 (Winter, 2005): 63-119.
- Chesney, Kellow. *The Victorian Underworld*. London: Pelican Books, 1974.
- Clark, Ronald. *The Early Alpine Guides*. London: Phoenix House, 1949.
- Clark, Scott. *Japan, A View from the Bath*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

- Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Cohen-Vrignaud, Gerard. *Radical Orientalism: Rights, Reform, and Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Collier, Peter and Rob Inkpen. "The RGS, Exploration and Empire and the Contested Nature of Surveying." *Area* 34, no. 3 (Sep., 2002): 273-283.
- Collingham, E. M. *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c.1800-1947*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Collits, Terry. "Theorizing Racism." In *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality*, edited by Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, 61-69. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Connell, R. W. and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (Dec., 2005): 829-859.
- Copland, Ian. "What to Do about Cows?: Princely versus British Approaches to a South Asian Dilemma." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 68, no. 1 (2005): 59-76.
- Couper, Pauline and Louise Ansell. "Researching the outdoors: exploring the unsettled frontier between science and adventure." *Area* 44 no. 1 (2012): 14-21.
- Cox, Jeffrey. *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Craicun, Adriana. "What is an Explorer?." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, no. 1 (Fall 2011): 29-51.
- Crook, Paul. "Social Darwinism and British "New Imperialism": Second Thoughts." *The European Legacy* 3, no. 1 (1998): 1-16.
- Cubitt, Geoffrey. "Introduction: Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives." In *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, edited by Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren, 1-26. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Cubitt, Geoffrey. *History and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007.
- Danahay, Martin A. "Male Masochism: A Model of Victorian Masculine Identity Formation." In *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, edited by David Amigoni, 87-104. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Dattan, Devin. "Comrades in Captivity: An Examination of the Antarctic Hut Communities of the Heroic Age of Polar Exploration." MA diss., University of York, 2013.

- Dattan, Devin. ““Why weren’t you in the fight? The next time I will see you go in!”: The Journalistic Culture and Self-Image of Victorian War Correspondents.” In *Reporting from the Wars 1850-2015: The Origins and Evolution of the War Correspondent*, edited by Barry Turner, Daniel Barredo Ibáñez, and Steven James Grattan, 23-38. Wilmington, DE: Vernon Press, 2018.
- Davies, Laurence. “‘A Sideways Ending to it All’: G.W. Steevens, Blackwood, and the *Daily Mail*.” In *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805-1930*, 236-258. Edited by David Finkelstein. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Davis, Mike. *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*. London: Verso, 2001.
- Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Deane, Bradley. *Masculinity and the New Imperialism: Rewriting Manhood in British Popular Literature, 1870-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Delap, Lucy. “‘Be Strong and Play the Man’: Anglican Masculinities in the Twentieth Century.” In *Men, Masculinities and Religious Change in Twentieth-Century Britain*, edited by Lucy Delap and Sue Morgan, 119-145. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Dellamora, Richard. *Masculine Desire: The Sexual Politics of Victorian Aestheticism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- DeLuca, Kevin and Anne Demo. “Imagining Nature and Erasing Class and Race: Carleton Watkins, John Muir, and the Construction of Wilderness.” *Environmental History* 6, no. 4 (Oct., 2001): 541-560.
- Demoor, Marysa. “When the King Becomes your Personal Enemy: W. T. Stead, King Leopold II, and the Congo Free State.” *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013): 1-13.
- Dingwall, Christopher. “Gardens in the Wild.” *Garden History* 22, no. 2 (Winter, 1994): 133-156.
- Dirks, Nicholas B. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Dodson, Michael S. *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture: India, 1770-1880*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Driver, Felix. “Distance and Disturbance: Travel, Exploration and Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 14 (2004): 73-92.

- Driver, Felix. *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2006.
- Driver, Felix. "Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire." *Past & Present* 133 (November, 1991): 134-166.
- Dunae, Patrick A. "Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914." *Victorian Studies* 24, no. 1 (Autumn, 1980): 105-121.
- Eakin, Paul John. *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Eco, Umberto, ed. *On Beauty*. Translated by Alastair McEwen. London: Secker & Warburg, 2004.
- Edwards, David B. "Mad Mullahs and Englishmen: Discourse in the Colonial Encounter." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 4. (Oct., 1989): 649-670.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth L. *Divine Art, Infernal Machine: The Reception of Printing in the West from First Impressions to the Sense of an Ending*. University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Elliott, Jane E. *Some Did It for Civilisation; Some Did It for Their Country: A Revised View of the Boxer War*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002.
- Etherington, Norman, ed. *Missions and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Fan, Fa-Ti. "Victorian Naturalists in China: Science and Informal Empire." *British Journal for the History of Science* 36, no. 1 (Mar., 2003): 1-26.
- Faught, C. Brad. *Gordon: Victorian Hero*. Washington D.C.: Potomac Books Inc., 2008.
- Fisher, John. "Official Responses to Foreign Travel at the British Foreign and India Offices before 1914." *The English Historical Review* 22, no. 498 (Sept., 2007): 937-964.
- Finkelstein, David. "Unravelling Speke: The Unknown Revision of an Africa Exploration Classic." *History in Africa* 30 (2003): 117-132.
- Fleming, Fergus. *Cassell's Tales of Endurance*. London: Phoenix, 2005.
- Forman, Ross G. "When Britons Brave Brazil: British Imperialism and the Adventure Tale in Latin America, 1850-1918." *Victorian Studies* 42, no. 3 (Spring, 1999-2000): 454-487.
- Francis, Martin. "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity." *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 3 (Sept., 2002): 637-652.

- Franey, Laura E. *Victorian Travel Writing and Imperial Violence: British Writing on Africa, 1855-1902*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Freedgood, Elaine. *Victorian Writing About Risk: Imagining a Safe England in a Dangerous World*. Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture, Vo. 29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Fromer, Julie. ““Deeply Indebted to the Tea-Plant”: Representations of English National Identity in Victorian Histories of Tea.” *Victorian Literature and Culture* 36, no. 2 (2008): 531-547.
- Fulton, Richard. “The Sudan Sensation of 1898.” *Victorian Periodical Review* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 37-63.
- Fussell, Paul. *Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Gann, L. H. and Peter Duignan. *The Rulers of British Africa, 1870-1914*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
- Gascoigne, John. “The Royal Society and the Emergence of Science as an Instrument of State Policy.” *British Journal for the History of Science* 32, no. 2 (June, 1999): 171-184.
- Geczy, Adam. *Fashion and Orientalism: Dress, textiles and Culture from the 17th to the 21st Century*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.
- Genette, Gerard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Gidley, Mick, ed. *Representing Others: White Views of Indigenous Peoples*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1992.
- Gikandi, Simon. *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Green, Martin. *The Adventurous Male: Chapters in the History of the White Male Mind*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.
- Green, Martin. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Green, Martin. *Seven Types of Adventure Tale: An Etiology of a Major Genre*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

- Greenfield, Bruce. "The Problem of the Discoverer's Authority in Lewis and Clark's History." In *Macropolitics of Nineteenth-Century Literature: Nationalism, Exoticism, Imperialism*, edited by Jonathan Arac and Harriet Ritvo, 12-36. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991.
- Gregory, Derek. "Scripting Egypt: Orientalism and Cultures of Travel." In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, edited by Duncan, James and Derek Gregory, 114-150. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Griffiths, Andrew. *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism, and the Fiction of Empire, 1870-1900*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Griffiths, Gareth. "The Myth of Authenticity: Representation, Discourse and Social Practice." In *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality*, edited by Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, 70-85. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Griffiths, Gareth. "Popular Imperial Adventure Fiction and the Discourse of Missionary Texts." In *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, edited by Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths, 51-66. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- de Groot, Joanna. *Empire and History Writing in Britain c. 1750-2012*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- de Groot, Joanna. "'Sex' and 'Race': the Construction of Language and Image in the Nineteenth Century." In *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Catherine Hall, 37-60. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- de Groot, Joanna. "'What should they know of England, who only England know?': Kipling on the boundaries of gender, art and empire." In *Imagining Nations*, edited by Geoffrey Cubitt, 173-189. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Grove, Richard. "Conserving Eden: The (European) East India Companies and Their Environmental Policies on St. Helena, Mauritius and in Western India, 1660-1854." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 2 (Apr., 1993): 318-351.
- Grove, Richard E. *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Guha, Ranajit. "The Small Voice of History". In *Subaltern Studies IX: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, edited by Shahid Amin and Dipesh Chakrabarty, 1-12. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Guttman, Allen. *Sports: The First Five Millennia*. Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.

- Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002.
- Hall, Catherine. "Going a-Trolloping: Imperial Man Travels the Empire." In *Gender and Imperialism*, edited by Clare Midgley, 180-199. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Hall, Catherine. *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. New York, Routledge, 1992.
- Hall, Catherine, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall. *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Hamlin, Christopher. "Good and Intimate Filth." In *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, edited by William A. Cohen and Ryan Johnson, 3-29. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Hammond, Andrew. "Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism." In *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, nos. 2-3 (June/September 2007): 201-218.
- Hampton, Mark. "The Press, Patriotism, and Public Discussion: C. P. Scott, the "Manchester Guardian", and the Boer War, 1899-1902." *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (Mar., 2001): 177-197.
- Hampton, Mark. *Visions of the Press in Britain, 1850-1950*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Hansen, Peter H. "Partners: Guides and Sherpas in the Alps and Himalayas, 1850s-1950s." In *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of the World*, edited by Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, 210-231. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.
- Haralson, Eric L. "Mars in Petticoats: Longfellow and Sentimental Masculinity." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51, no. 3 (December 1996): 327-355.
- Harper, Lila Marz. *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women's Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001.
- Harris, Trevor. "A place to speak the 'language of heaven'?: Patagonia as a land of broken Welsh promise." In *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, edited by Andrekos Varnava, 125-143. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- Harvey, Karen and Alexandra Shepard, "What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1500-1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (Apr., 2005): 274-280.

- Harvey, Penelope. "Landscape and Commerce: Creating Contexts for the Exercise of Power." In *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, edited by Barbara Bender and Margot Winer, 197-210. Oxford: Berg, 2001.
- Helly, Dorothy O. "'Informed' Opinion on Tropical Africa in Great Britain 1860-1890." *African Affairs* 68, no. 272 (Jul., 1969): 195-217.
- Herbert, F. "'Back to the Drawing Board': Map-Making and the Royal Geographical Society (1830-1990)." In *Dissemination of Cartographic Knowledge: Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography*, edited by M. Altić, I. Demhardt, and S. Vervust, 147-172. New York: Springer, 2018.
- Hichberger, J. W. M. *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- The Hillier Manual of Trees and Shrubs*. Sixth Edition. Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1993.
- Hinton, Perry R. *Stereotypes, Cognition and Culture*. Hove: Psychology Press, 2000.
- The History of the Times Vol. III: The Twentieth Century Test*. London: The Times Publishing Co., 1947.
- Hodgson, Pat. *The War Illustrators*. London: Osprey Publishing, 1977.
- Hooper, Glen and Tim Youngs, eds. *Perspectives on Travel Writing*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- Hopkirk, Peter. *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia*. London: John Murray, 2016.
- Hopkirk, Peter. *Trespassers on the Roof of the World: The Race for Lhasa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Horne, John. "Masculinity in politics and war in the age of nation-states and world wars, 1850-1950." In *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, edited by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh, 22-40. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Hulme, Peter and Tim Youngs. "Introduction." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 1-13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Hunt, Bruce J. "Doing Science in a Global Empire: Cable Telegraphy and Electrical Physics in Victorian Britain." In *Victorian Science in Context*, edited by Bernard Lightman, 312-333. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Huntford, Roland. *Scott and Amundsen*. London: Weidenfeld, 1993.

- Hyam, Ronald. *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992.
- Hyam, Ronald. *Understanding the British Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Hyde, Ralph. *Panoromania!: The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View*. London: Trefoil Publishing, 1988.
- Inden, Ronald B. *Imagining India*. London: Hurst & Co., 2000.
- Iwamura, Jane. *Virtual Orientalism: Asian Religions and American Popular Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Jackson, Ronald L. and Murali Balaji, eds. *Global Masculinities and Manhood*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2011.
- Jacob, Wilson Chacko. *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870-1940*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Jedrej, M. C. "The Southern Funj of the Sudan as a Frontier Society, 1820-1980." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46, no. 4 (Oct., 2004): 709-729.
- Johnson, Douglas H. "Prophecy and Mahdism in the Upper Nile: An Examination of Local Experiences of the Mahdiyya in the Southern Sudan." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 20, no. 1 (1993): 42-56.
- Johnson, Douglas H. "The Structure of a Legacy: Military Slavery in Northeast Africa." *Ethnohistory* 36, no. 1 (Winter, 1989): 72-88.
- Johnson, Rob. *True to Their Salt: Indigenous Personnel in Western Armed Forces*. London: Hurst & Co., 2017.
- Joshi, Priya. "Globalizing Victorian Studies." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 41, no. 2 (2011): 20-40.
- Judd, Denis. *Empire: The British Imperial Experience, from 1765 to the Present*. London: Fontana Press, 1996.
- Kabir, Ananya Jahanara. *Territory of Desire: Representing the Valley of Kashmir*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- Kaplan, Cora. "Imagining empire: history, fantasy and literature." In *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. Edited by Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, 191-211. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

- Karpoff, Jonathan M. "Public versus Private Initiative in Arctic Exploration: The Effects of Incentives and Organizational Structure." *Journal of Political Economy* 109, no. 1 (Feb., 2001): 38-78.
- Katz, Wendy R. *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Kearns, Gerry. "Geography, Geopolitics and Empire." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35 (2010): 187-203.
- Keay, John. *The Gilgit Game: The Explorers of the Western Himalayas, 1865-95*. London: John Murray, 1979.
- Keck, Stephen L. "Picturesque Burma: British Travel Writing 1890-1914." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 3 (October 2004): 387-414.
- Keighren, Innes M., Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell. *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773-1859*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Kennedy, Dane. *Britain and Empire, 1880-1945*. London: Routledge, 2009.
- Kennedy, Dane. "The perils of the midday sun: climactic anxieties in the colonial tropics." In *Imperialism and the Natural World*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 118-140. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Kestner, Joseph A. *Masculinities in British Adventure Fiction, 1880-1915*. Surrey: Ashgate, 2010.
- Kestner, Joseph A. *Masculinities in Victorian Painting*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995.
- Kestner, Joseph A. *Sherlock's Men: Masculinities, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- Kestner, Joseph A. "'Ulysses' and Victorian Battle Art." *James Joyce Quarterly* 41, no. 1/2 (Fall 2003-Winter, 2004): 89-101.
- Khan, Omar. *From Kashmir to Kabul: The Photographs of John Burke and William Baker, 1860-1900*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2002.
- Kiernan, Victor. *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes to Other Cultures in the Imperial Age*. 1969. London: Serif, 1995.
- King, C. Richard. *Media Images and Representations*. Philadelphia, Penn.: Chelsea House Publishers, 2006.

- King, Nicola. *Memory, Narrative, Identity: Remembering the Self*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Klein, Kerwin Lee. "In Search of Narrative Mastery: Postmodernism and the People without History." *History and Theory* 34, no. 4 (Dec., 1995): 275-298.
- Knightley, Phillip. *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker*. New York: Andre Deutsch, 1975.
- Kochanski, Halik. *Sir Garnet Wolseley: Victorian Hero*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1999.
- Korte, Barbara. *English Travel Writing: From Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*. Translated by Catherine Matthias. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.
- Kupinse, William. "The Indian Subject of Colonial Hygiene." In *Filth: Dirt, Disgust, and Modern Life*, edited by William A. Cohen and Ryan Johnson, 250-276. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Laden, Sonja. "Greenblattian Self-Fashioning and the Construction of 'Literary History'." In *Critical Self-Fashioning: Stephen Greenblatt and the New Historicism*, edited by Jürgen Pieters, 59-86. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Laing, Jennifer H. and Geoffrey I. Crouch. "Lone Wolves? Isolation and Solitude within the Frontier Travel Experience." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 91, no. 4 (2009): 325-342
- Lal, Vinay. "The Subaltern School and the Ascendancy of Indian History." In *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers, 237-270. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2002.
- Land, Isaac. "'Sinful Propensities': Piracy, Sodomy, and Empire in the Rhetoric of Naval Reform, 1770-1870." In *Discipline and the Other Body: Correction, Corporeality, Colonialism*, edited by Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao, 90-114. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Leask, Nigel. *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840: 'From an Antique Land'*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Levine, Philippa. "The Mobile Camera: Bodies, Anthropologists, and the Victorian Optic." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 37, no. 5 (2015): 473-490.
- Liddle, Dallas. "Salesmen, Sportsmen, Mentors: Anonymity and Mid-Victorian Theories of Journalism." *Victorian Studies* 41, no. 1 (Autumn, 1997): 31-68.
- Linklater, Eric. *The Art of Adventure*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1947.

- Livingstone, David N. "Tropical Climate and Moral Hygiene: The Anatomy of a Victorian Debate." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 32, no. 1 (Mar., 1999): 93-110.
- Livingstone, David N. and Charles W. J. Withers. "On Geography and Revolution." In *Geography and Revolution*, edited by David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers, 1-21. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005.
- Loftus, Donna. "The Self in Society: Middle-class Men and Autobiography." In *Life Writing and Victorian Culture*, edited by David Amigoni, 67-85. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Logan, Mawuena Kossi. *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1999.
- Loo, Tina. "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939." *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 296-319.
- Loomis, Chauncey C. "The Arctic Sublime." In *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, edited by U. C. Kneopflmacher and G. B. Tennyson, 95-112. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Lorcin, Patricia M. E. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1999.
- Lorimer, Douglas. *Science, Race Relations and Resistance: Britain, 1870-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Low, Gail Ching-Liang. *White Skins/Black Masks: Representation and Colonialism*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Lunn, Arnold. *Matterhorn Centenary*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965.
- MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- MacDonald, Keith Ian. "Push and Shove: The Spatial History and the Construction of a Portering Economy in Northern Pakistan." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 2 (Apr., 1998): 287-317.
- MacDonald, Robert H. *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- MacKenzie, John M. "Experts and Amateurs: tsetse, nagana and sleeping sickness in East and Central Africa." In *Imperialism and the Natural World*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 187-212. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

- MacKenzie, John M. "The Iconography of the Exemplary Life: the Case of David Livingstone." In *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives*, edited by Geoffrey Cubitt and Allen Warren, 84-104. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- MacKenzie, John M. "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian Times." In *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, edited by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 176-198. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- MacKenzie, John M., ed. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- MacKenzie, John M. "Passion or indifference? Popular imperialism in Britain: continuities and discontinuities over two centuries." In *European Empires and the People: Popular Responses to Imperialism in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Italy*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 57-89. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.
- MacKenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- MacKenzie, John M. "The Provincial Geographical Societies in Britain, 1884-1914." In *Geography and Imperialism 1820-1940*, edited by Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan, 93-124. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Mackie, Diane M., David L. Hamilton, Joshua Susskind, and Francine Rosselli. "Social Psychological Foundations of Stereotype Formation." In *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, edited by C. Neil Macrae, Charles Strangor and Miles Hewstone, 41-78. New York: Guilford Press, 1996.
- MacLaren, I. S. "Exploration/Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Author." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (Spring 1992): 39-68.
- MacLaren, I. S. "Explorers' and Travellers' Narratives: A Peregrination through Different Editions." *History in Africa* 30 (2003): 213-222.
- MacLaren, I. S. "From Exploration to Publication: the Evolution of a Nineteenth-century Arctic Narrative." *Arctic* 47 no. 1 (March 1994): 43-53.
- Malchow, H. L. "Public Gardens and Social Action in Late Victorian London." *Victorian Studies* 29, no. 1 (Autumn, 1985): 97-124.
- de Man, Paul. "Autobiography as De-facement." *MLN* 94, no. 5 (Dec., 1979): 919-30.

- Mangan, J. S. "'The Grit of Our Forefathers': Invented Traditions, Propaganda and Imperialism." In *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 113-139. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Markovits, Stefanie. "Rushing into Print: 'Participatory Journalism' during the Crimean War." *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 4 (Summer, 2008): 559-586.
- Marshall, David. "The Problem of the Picturesque." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (Spring, 2002): 413-437.
- Mathews, Joseph J. "Heralds of the Imperialistic Wars." *Military Affairs* 19, no. 3 (Autumn, 1955): 145-155.
- Maxwell, Richard and Katie Trumpener. "The Romance of the Outlands: The *Fin-de-siècle* Adventure Story between History and Geography." *Yearbook of English Studies* 41, no. 2 (2011): 106-124.
- Mayaram, Shail. "Subaltern." In *Concepts in Modern Indian Studies*, edited by Gita Dharampal-Frick, Monika Kirloskar-Steinbach, Rachel Dwyer, Jahnvi Phalkey, 259-262. New York: NYU Press, 2015.
- Mazower, Mark. "Travellers and the Oriental City, c. 1840-1920." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 59-111.
- McAleer, John and John M. MacKenzie, eds. *Exhibiting Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- McCook, Stuart. "Managing Monocultures: Coffee, the Coffee Rust, and the Science of Working Landscapes." In *Knowing Global Environments: New Historical Perspectives on the Field Sciences*, edited by Jeremy Vetter, 87-107. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011.
- McDevitt, Patrick F. *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880-1935*. New York: Palgrave, 2004.
- McDonald, Peter D. *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice, 1880-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- McEwan, Cheryl. *Gender, Geography and Empire: Victorian Women Travellers in West Africa*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2000.
- McLaughlin, Greg. *The War Correspondent*. Second Edition. London: Pluto Press, 2016.
- McLean, David. *War Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836-1856*. London: British Academic Press, 1995.

- McMillin, Laurie Hovell. "Enlightenment Travels: The Making of Epiphany in Tibet." In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, edited by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 49-69. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Meringolo, Denise D. *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Toward a New Genealogy of Public History*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012.
- Michasiw, Kim Ian. "Nine Revisionist Theses on the Picturesque." *Representations* 38 (Spring, 1992): 76-100.
- Miller, Dan. *W. H. Hudson and the Elusive Paradise*. London: Macmillan, 1990.
- Miller, John. "Adventures in the Volcano's Throat: Tropical Landscape and Bodily Horror in R. M. Ballantyne's "Blown to Bits"." *Victorian Review* 34, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 115-130.
- Mitchell, Don. "Landscape and Surplus Value: the Making of the Ordinary in Brentwood, CA." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (1994): 7-30.
- Moore-Harell, Alice. *Gordon and the Sudan: Prologue to the Mahdiyya, 1877-1880*. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2001.
- Morgan, Marjorie. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Morgan, Susan. *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books about Southeast Asia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996.
- Morris, James McGrath. "Man of the World." *The Wilson Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter, 2010): 28-33.
- Murray, Nicholas. *A Corkscrew is Most Useful: The Travellers of Empire*. London: Abacus, 2009.
- Nanni, Giordano. *The Colonisation of Time: Ritual, Routine and Resistance in the British Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.
- Nayar, Pramod K. "The Imperial Sublime: English Travel Writing and India, 1750-1820." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 2, no. 2 (Fall- Winter, 2002): 57-99.
- Nelson, Michael P. and J. Baird Callicott, eds. *Wilderness Debate Rages On: Continuing the Great New Wilderness Debate*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008.
- Nerlich, Michael. *The Ideology of Adventure: Studies in Modern Consciousness, 1100-1750*. 2 vols. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.
- Netton, Ian Richard, ed. *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*. London: Routledge, 2013.

- Nevill, H. L. *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1977.
- Newell, Stephanie. "Dirty Whites: "Ruffian-Writing" in Colonial West Africa." *Research in African Literatures* 39, no. 4 (Winter, 2008): 1-13.
- Newton, Charles. "Illustrated Books of the Middle East 1800-1850." In *Journeys through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, 107-118. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1999.
- Nicoll, Fergus. *The Mahdi of Sudan and the Death of General Gordon*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004.
- Nicolson, Marjorie. *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963.
- Ochonu, Moses E. *Colonialism by Proxy: Hausa Imperial Agents and Middle Belt Consciousness in Nigeria*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014.
- O'Gorman, Francis. "Tennyson's "The Lotus-Eaters" and the Politics of the 1830s." *Victorian Review* 30, no. 1 (2004): 1-20.
- Oulton, Carolyn W. de la L. *Romantic Friendship in Victorian Literature*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2007.
- Padget, Martin. "Travel, Exoticism, and the Writing of Region: Charles Fletcher Lummis and the "Creation of the Southwest." *Journal of the Southwest* 37, no. 3 (Autumn, 1995): 421-449.
- Parker, Christopher. "Race and Empire in the Stories of R. M. Ballantyne." In *Literature and Imperialism*, edited by Robert Giddings, 44-63. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1991.
- Pearce, Charlotte A. "Longfellow and Spanish America." *Hispania* 58, no. 4 (December 1975): 921-926.
- Peñalba, José Alfredo Fornos. "Draft Dodgers, War Resisters and Turbulent Gauchos: The War of the Triple Alliance." *The Americas* 38, no. 4 (Apr., 1982): 463-479.
- Pérez, Louis A. Jr. "The Meaning of the *Maine*: Causation and the Historiography of the Spanish American War." *Pacific Historical Review* 58, no. 3 (Aug., 1983)
- Pettitt, Clare. *Dr Livingstone, I presume? Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers and Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Pickering, Michael. *History, Experience and Cultural Studies*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997.

- Pickering, Michael. *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Pinault, David. *Horse of Karbala: Muslim Devotional Life in India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Platzky, Roger. "“Like Dull Narcotics, Numbing Pain”: Speculations on Tennyson and Opium.” *Victorian Poetry* 40, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 209-215.
- Porter, Bernard. *Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Porter, Dennis. *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Potter, Simon J. *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. "Fieldwork in Common Places." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 27-50. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. "Scratches on the Face of the Country: Or, What Mr. Barrow Saw in the Land of the Bushmen." In *Defining Travel: Diverse Visions*, edited by Susan L. Roberson, 132-152. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001.
- Preston, Ted. "The Private and Public Appeal of Self-Fashioning." *Journal of Nietzsche Studies*, no. 31 (Spring, 2006): 10-19.
- Prévost, Stéphanie. "W. T. Stead and the Eastern Question (1875-1911)." *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 16 (2013): 1-28.
- Price, Alyson. *Florence in the Nineteenth Century: A Guide to Original Sources in Florentine Archives and Libraries for Researchers into the English-Speaking Community*. Florence: The British Institute of Florence, 2011.
- Procida, Mary A. "A Tale Begun in Other Days: British Travelers in Tibet in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Social History* 30, no. 1 (Autumn, 1996): 185-208.
- Ramamurthy, Anandi. *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asia in British Advertising*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- Ray, Romita. *Under the Banyan Tree: Relocating the Picturesque in British India*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013.

- Richards, Eric. "Darién and the psychology of Scottish adventurism in the 1690s." In *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, edited by Andrekos Varnava, 26-46. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- Richards, Jeffrey. "'Passing the Love of Women': Manly Love and Victorian Society." In *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, edited by J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, 92-122. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Richter, Virginia. "Charles Darwin in Patagonia: Descriptive Strategies in the *Beagle Diary* (1831-6) and *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1845)." In *British Narratives of Exploration: Case Studies of the Self and Other*, edited by Frederic Regard, 167-178. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.
- Riede, David G. "Tennyson's Poetics of Melancholy and the Imperial Imagination." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 40, no. 4, *The Nineteenth Century* (Autumn 2000): 659-678.
- Riffenburgh, Beau. *The Myth of the Explorer: The Press, Sensationalism, and Geographical Discovery*. London and New York: Belhaven Press, 1993.
- Rigney, Ann. "Literature and the Longing for History." In *Critical Self-Fashioning: Stephen Greenblatt and the New Historicism*, edited by Jürgen Pieters, 21-43. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Ritvo, Harriet. *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- Robertson, David. "Mid-Victorians amongst the Alps." In *Nature and the Victorian Imagination*, edited by U. C. Kneopflmacher and G. B. Tennyson, 113-136. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Roh, David S., Betsy Huang, and Greta A. Niu, eds. *Techno-Orientalism: Imagining Asia in Speculative Fiction, History, and Media*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015.
- Roper, Michael and John Tosh. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Rose, Sonya O. "Fit to Fight but not to Vote?: Masculinity and Citizenship in Britain, 1832-1918." In *Representing Masculinity: Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*, edited by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark, 131-150. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Ross, Andrew. *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire*. London: Hambledon and London, 2002.

- Roth, Mitchel P. *Historical Dictionary of War Journalism*. Westport, Conn.; Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Roux, Michel. *Le Désert de sable: Le Sahara dans l'imaginaire des Français (1900-1994)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996.
- Roychodhury, Poulami. "Brothers and Others: Organizing Masculinity, Disorganizing Workers." *Social Problems* 61, no. 1 (Feb., 2014): 22-41.
- Rubiés, Joan-Pau. "Travel Writings and Ethnography." In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, 242-260. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Ryan, James R. "Imperial Landscapes: Photography, Geography and British Overseas Exploration, 1858-1872." In *Geography and Imperialism 1820-1940*, edited by Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan, 53-79. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Ryan, James R. "Photography, Visual Revolutions, and Victorian Geography." In *Geography and Revolution*, edited by David N. Livingstone and Charles W. J. Withers, 199-238. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005.
- Ryan, Simon. *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage Books, 1994.
- Said, Edward. *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Salhi, Zahia Smail. "The Maghreb and the Occident: towards the construction of an Occidental discourse." In *Orientalism Revisited: Art, Land and Voyage*, edited by Ian Richard Netton, 255-279. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Sands-O'Connor, Karen. *Soon Come Home to this Island: West Indians in British Children's Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Sattin, Anthony. *Lifting the Veil: British Society in Egypt, 1768-1956*. J. M. Dent & Sons, 1988.
- Saunders, Max. *Self Impression: Life Writing, Autobiografiction, and the Forms of Modern Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- van Schaik, Sam. *Tibet: A History*. New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 2011.

- Schippers, Mimi. "Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity, and Gender Hegemony." *Theory and Society* 36, no. 1 (Feb., 2007): 85-102.
- Schölch, Alexander. "The 'Men on the Spot' and the English Occupation of Egypt in 1882." *The Historical Journal* 19, no. 3 (Sept., 1976): 773-785.
- Scruton, Roger. *Beauty: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Searight, Sarah, ed. *Women Travellers in the Near East*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005.
- Sèbe, Berny. "Exhibiting the Empire in Print: The Press, the Publishing World and the Promotion of 'Greater Britain'." In *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire*, edited by John McAleer and John M. MacKenzie, 168-193. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015.
- Sèbe, Berny. *Heroic Imperialists in Africa: The Promotion of British and French Colonial Heroes, 1870-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Secord, Anne. "Corresponding Interests: Artisans and Gentlemen in Nineteenth-Century Natural History." *The British Journal for the History of Science* 27, no. 4 (Dec., 1994): 383-408.
- Secord, James A. "King of Siluria: Roderick Murchison and the Imperial Theme in Nineteenth-Century British Geology." *Victorian Studies* 25, no. 4 (Summer, 1982): 413-442.
- Serels, Steven. "Political Landscaping: Land Registration, the Definition of Ownership and the Evolution of Colonial Objectives in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1899-1924," *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 59-75.
- Shiekh, AB Rashid. "Changing Agrarian Landscape of Kashmir: A Case Study of Lawrence Settlement." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 73 (2012): 844-852.
- Singh, Amarpal. *The Second Anglo-Sikh War*. Stroud: Amberley, 2017.
- Sinha, Mrinalini. *The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Slemon, Stephen. "The Scramble for Post-Colonialism." In *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality*, edited by Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, 15-32. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Smith, Ian, ed. *The Apprenticeship of a Mountaineer: Edward Whymper's London Diary 1855-1859*. London: London Record Society, 2008.
- Snyder, Carey J. *British Fiction and Cross-Cultural Encounters: Ethnographic Modernism from Wells to Wolfe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

- Solnit, Rebecca. *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*. London: Verso, 2001.
- Spiers, Edward M. *The Victorian Soldier in Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Can the Subaltern Speak." In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 271-313. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987.
- Springhall, John O. "'Up Guards and At them!': British imperialism and popular art, 1880-1914." In *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, edited by John M. MacKenzie, 49-72. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Spurr, Jeffrey B. "Person and Place: The Construction of Ronald Graham's Persian Photo Album." *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 193-223.
- Sramek, Joseph. "'Face Him like a Briton': Tiger Hunting, Imperialism, and British Masculinity in Colonial India, 1800-1875." *Victorian Studies* 48, no. 4 (Summer, 2006): 659-680.
- Stafford, Robert A. *Scientist of Empire: Sir Roderick Murchison, Scientific Exploration and Victorian Imperialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Stangor, Charles and Mark Schaller. "Stereotypes as Individual and Collective Representations." In *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, edited by C. Neil Macrae, Charles Strangor and Miles Hewstone, 3-37. New York: Guilford Press, 1996.
- Strange, Julie-Marie. "Fatherhood, Providing, and Attachment in Late Victorian and Edwardian Working-Class Families." *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 4 (Dec., 2012): 1007-1027.
- Streets, Heather. *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Sullivan, Zohreh T. *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Sussman, Herbert. *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Tallmadge, John. "From Chronicle to Quest: The Shaping of Darwin's 'Voyage of the Beagle'." *Victorian Studies* 23, no. 3 (Spring, 1980): 325-345.
- Tate, E. N. "Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Paraguay, 1811-1870." *Ibero-amerikanisches Archiv* 5, no. 1 (1979): 39-70.

- Taylor, John. *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Thomas, Martin and Andrew Thompson. "Empire and Globalisation: from 'High Imperialism' to Decolonisation." *The International History Review* 36, no. 1 (2014): 142-170.
- Thompson, Brian. *Imperial Vanities: The Adventures of the Baker Brothers and Gordon of Khartoum*. London: Harper Collins, 2003.
- Thompson, Carl. *The Suffering Traveller and the Romantic Imagination*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.
- Tidrick, Kathryn. *Empire and the English Character: The Illusion of Authority*. London: Tauris Park Paperbacks, 2009.
- Tiffin, Sarah. "Java's Ruined *Candis* and the British Picturesque Ideal." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 72, no. 3 (2009): 525-558.
- Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Colonizing Nature: The Tropics in British Arts and Letters, 1760-1820*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Tosh, John. "Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The Family of Edward White Benson." In *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*, edited by Michael Roper and John Tosh, 44-73. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Tosh, John. "Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 455-472.
- Tosh, John. "Hegemonic Masculinity and Gender History." In *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, edited by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh, 41-58. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- Tosh, John. *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005.
- Tucker, Jennifer. "Photography as Witness, Detective, and Imposter: Visual Representation in Victorian Science." In *Victorian Science in Context*, edited by Bernard Lightman, 378-408. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Turner, Louis and John Ash. *The Golden Horde: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*. London: Constable, 1975.

- Venayre, Sylvain. *La Gloire de l'Aventure: Genèse d'une Mystique Moderne 1850-1940*. Paris: Aubier, 2002.
- Visram, Rozina. *Ayahs, Lascars, and Princes: Indians in Britain, 1700-1947*. London: Pluto Press Ltd., 1986.
- Warburg, Gabriel. "European Travellers and Administrators in Sudan before and after the Mahdiyya." *Middle Eastern Studies* 41, no. 1 (Jan., 2005): 55-77.
- Warburg, Gabriel. "The Turco-Egyptian Sudan: A Recent Historiographical Controversy." *Die Welt des Islams* 31, no. 2 (1991): 193-215.
- Warren, Harris Gaylord. "The "Lincolnshire Farmers" in Paraguay: An Abortive Emigration Scheme of 1872-1873." *The Americas* 21, no. 3 (Jan., 1965): 243-262.
- Wawn, Andrew. *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in 19th Century Britain*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002.
- Wheeler, Roxann. "Limited Visions of Africa: Geographies of Savagery and Civility in Early Eighteenth-Century Narratives." In *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, edited by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, 14-48. London: Routledge, 1999.
- White, Andrea. *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Wilkinson, Glenn R. "'The Blessings of War': The Depiction of Military Force in Edwardian Newspapers." *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 1 (Jan., 1998): 97-115.
- Wilkinson-Latham, Robert John. *From Our Special Correspondent: Victorian War Correspondents and Their Campaigns*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.
- Withers, Charles W. J. and Innes M. Keighren. "Travels into Print: Authoring, Editing and Narratives of Travel and Exploration, c.1815-c.1857." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 36, no. 4 (October 2011): 560-573.
- Withey, Lynne. *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel 1750-1915*. New York: Morrow, 1997.
- Wylie, John. *Landscape*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Wylie, Lesley. *Colonial Tropes and Postcolonial Tricks: Rewriting the Tropics in the novella de la selva*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2009.
- Yapp, Malcolm. "The Legend of the Great Game." In *Proceedings of the British Academy: 2000 Lectures and Memoirs*, 179-198. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

- Yoong-hee, Jo. "Joseon and Her People Shown in the Travel Report of Campbell in the Late 19th Century." *The Review of Korean Studies* 11, no. 1 (Mar., 2008): 47-66.
- Youngs, Tim. *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues, 1850-1900*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Zachs, William. "'An Illiterate Fellow of a Bookseller': John Murray and His Authors." In *A Genius for Letters: Booksellers and Bookselling from the 16th to the 20th Century*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, 123-144. Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1995.
- Zelizer, Barbie. *About to Die: How News Images Move the Public*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Zimmermann, Warren. "Jingoes, Goo-Goos, and the Rise of America's Empire." *The Wilson Quarterly* 22, no. 2 (Spring, 1998): 42-65.