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Truths Stranger than Fiction:
British Travel Writing on China, 1880-1916

by

May Caroline Chan

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(English)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2005

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A dissertation entitled

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British Travel Writing on China, 1880-1916

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University of Wisconsin-Madison
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

May Caroline Chan

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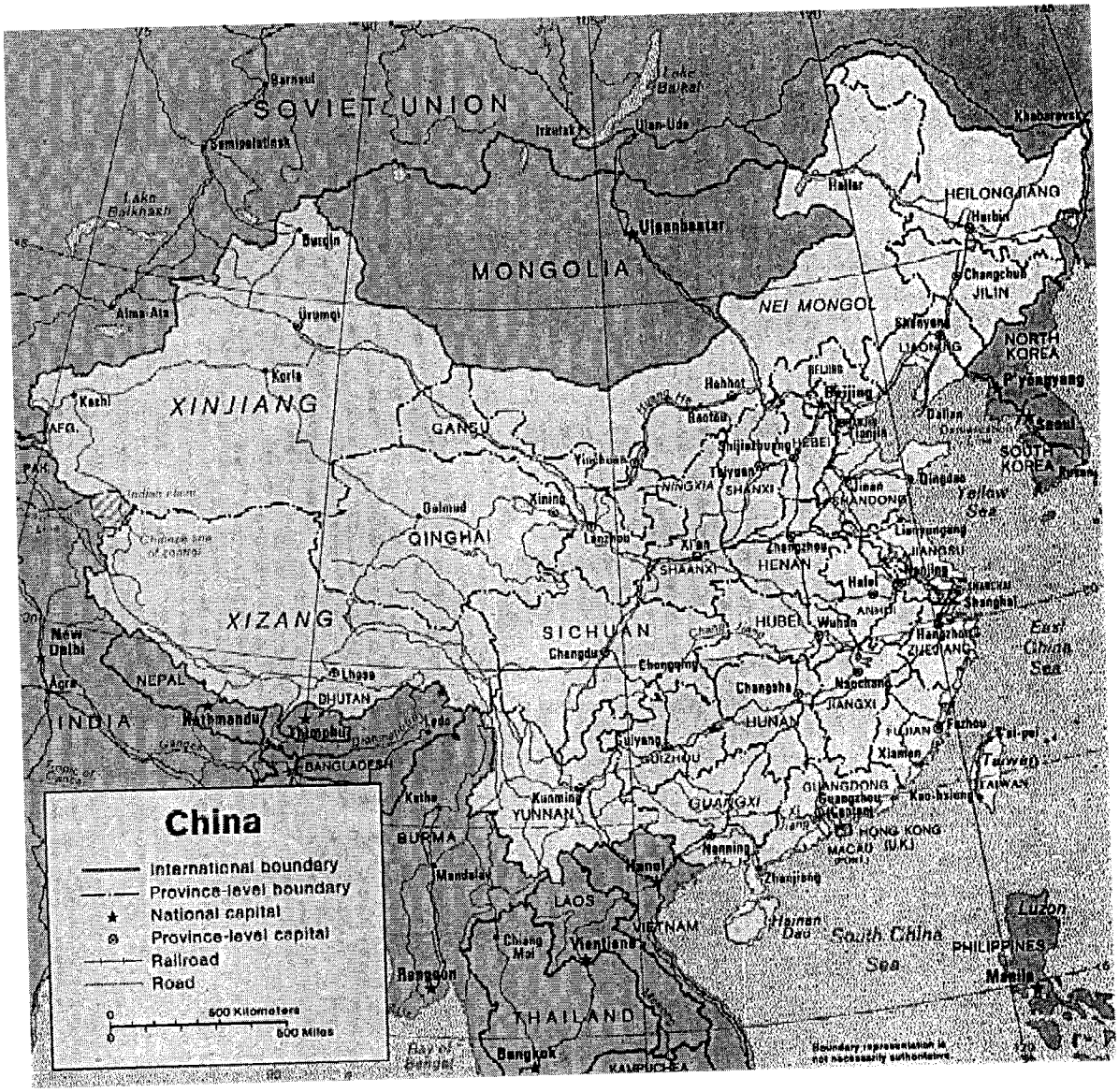
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Map of People's Republic of China and Provinces
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20. Foreign Encroachments

Map of European Treaty Ports
From John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, China: A New History, 202.

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Chapter 1. Introduction to British Victorian Travel Narratives and their Construction of China: Facts, Fictions, and Empire Building

This project seeks out a symbolic order imposed on the British reading of China and the Chinese, as a means of moving literary interpretation of travel narratives beyond an exclusively historical orientation towards interpreting narrative. The focus on the travel narrative's relationship to the historical moment represents a significant starting point for this analysis of British Victorian narratives of travel in China, as used in Susan Schoenbauer Thurin's 1999 study, Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907. Thurin's work has not only helped establish China as a new region of literary analysis in travel writing by British Victorians, but suggests a number of avenues for exploration. Firstly, Thurin examines a coterie of six writers because they "form a little community that strengthens their credibility as interpreters of China and the British presence there" (16). However, a great number of works by British travelers in China have not yet been examined for their relevance to Victorian literary studies on empire. Secondly, Thurin splits her analysis up between male and female narratives, and globetrotters and long-term residents of China, which potentially limits the varieties of perspectives shaping the hopes for expanding the British empire to China. This project complicates the range of voices and viewpoints of the British travelers by analyzing the different categories of experience as having different motivations and imperatives for traveling in China. Thirdly, she writes of how "Victorian travel writing about China reflects the crossover of [fiction as an outgrowth of travel writing] in enhancing – or fictionalizing – experience with sensational details . . . and self-exoticism" (22). Thurin's terms "fictionalizing" and "self-exoticism" gesture toward the literary issues presented by these travel narratives in

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their efforts to perform multiple tasks, from narrating the viability of China as a new imperial region, to narrating the travelers' self-development.

The literary tasks of describing this area and recounting the stories of those who chose to exercise their vocations there have been relegated to non-fiction travel narratives. A strong causal link exists between historical events in Anglo-Chinese relations and the appearance of increasing numbers of travel narratives from the middle of the nineteenth century into the Edwardian period. Because China had established strict rules quarantining foreign traders in Canton [Kwangtung] for parts of the year, for reasons based on the tea growing season, the British narratives written about that period are rare and come mostly from East India Company men.

Travelers going to China followed two urges: the urge to travel into a mysterious, Oriental empire and the urge to write about the experience. Thurin states that "[m]any submitted to the urge to write about their experience" (14), producing more than a hundred travel descriptions and narratives between 1842 and 1916, with increasing numbers of publications coming out in the 1880s, the starting period for this project. These writers have also responded to the undertone of incredulity connected to visiting what was once considered a highly advanced society with a grand empire, left in ruins for the Victorian travelers to ponder as they experience the height of their imperial growth abroad. This project focuses on narratives written by Archibald Little, entrepreneur and merchant, author of Mount Omi and Beyond (1888); Timothy Richard, Baptist missionary, author of Forty-five Years in China (1916); Isabella Bird [Bishop], travel writer and geographer, author of The Yangtze Valley and

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Beyond (1899); and Rudyard Kipling, writer and globetrotting tourist, author of From Sea to Sea (1889, 1900).

Travel narratives written by British Victorian travelers visiting China include authors from a wide variety of backgrounds and occupations. Our concerns lie with the perceptions of travelers who wrote travel narratives during a period of changing social and political paradigms in the Chinese Empire, as well as a period of vibrant growth for the British Empire. In her study of British Victorian travel narratives about China, Thurin groups travelers into "two streams of travel writers: long-term foreign residents and 'globetrotters'" (15). I have used her term "globetrotters" for middle-class tourists, to designate a group comparable to the more commonly discussed missionaries, merchants, and professional travelers, instead of making the globetrotter the second major category of travelers. By making the globetrotter a category, she grants a great deal of credibility to the short-term observer of China, claiming that "While the accounts of longtime residents of China reflect a greater depth of understanding of the culture, history, and language than those of short-term travelers, globetrotters compensate by research" (23). Within these two groups she examines several writers of varying occupations, leaving the ubiquitous missionary to be discussed as a "subject" rather than as a discrete set of authors proposing individual viewpoints on their China experience (14). Though Thurin's work is significant for linking travel narrative with the historical moment, and for delineating a specific area of analysis, the categories she has chosen to shape her analyses have been revised in this project. Thurin's categories are based on the length of time spent away from home, thereby affecting their perspective on the life lived in China.

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Certain occupations do dictate specific lengths of residence or travel, and also establish specific identities that the authors challenge or adhere to in their interactions with native people. But Thurin's organization of authors actually suggests the greater importance of different occupational agendas within the imperial project, which is the principle that organizes this study of travel narratives. One's work or vocation greatly influences the organization of the experience of being abroad, even more than one's length of residence in a place. This study's organization of narrative by the author's occupational reasons for traveling offers a stronger and more varied foundation for understanding the perspectives put forth in the narratives, particularly in regard to how they contribute to writing about empire building in a semicolonial region, as China is referred to in the 1999 edition of The Oxford History of the British Empire. The occupational focus also gives rise to different fictions and truths in each narrative, because of the necessity to be persuaded of certain ideas – such as the need for greater Chinese reliance upon new, imported technologies to improve their material comforts – in order to continue performing work duties expected of the authors in their everyday lives.

The occupational categorization of authors and their narratives in this study represents an attention to the class issues underlying the different occupations chosen by each author. Each of the travelers' class origins not only leads them to travel in a particular manner, but it also predisposes them to see certain things more vividly than otherwise. The merchant, Archibald Little, and Rudyard Kipling in his youthful guise as the globetrotter, both represent the middle-class men who must rely upon their own production for a livelihood, after a somewhat ordinary education geared toward gainful employment. Little was educated for the most part in Germany, where technical education in engineering had become a prominent

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feature of the curricula, and Kipling was educated at the United Services College, an obscure secondary school teaching boys enough to follow their fathers' military careers, or their fathers' colonial enterprises, notably plantations in India. This similar background yields different viewpoints in their narratives; Little embraces the technical, logical training while he moves away from his original tea merchant duties, while Kipling more actively performs the desire to get out of the middleclassness of his background. Where Little, like many men, sees the Empire (or the informal empire, in China's case) as the means to achieve that illustrious life that otherwise would be denied him, Kipling has to leave the Empire in order to use it as the fodder to fuel his literary distinction. Timothy Richard's residence in China affords him a recognition similar to the kind Little achieves, though he reaches it by becoming a missionary, a path often chosen by members of the lower working classes. The two characteristics complement each other in creating a real sympathy for the rural people, not simply because of his religious vocation. Richard's point of view presents the ordinary people and the way they labor, as a way of recalling for the reader his boyhood in the Welsh agricultural life, presented to the reader at the beginning of the narrative as if to suggest he nearly missed his vocation in China because of family needs. Isabella Bird Bishop occupies an ambiguous place in this male-dominated hierarchy of class and occupational agendas, because her middleclassness is infused by a coating of elitism, whether from her family connections to more famous, wealthier people (notably the Kingsley family, or the Bird family's Norman antecedents), and the enforced leisure of the unmarried woman with invalid parents. Kay Chubbuck, the editor of Bird Bishop's letters to her sister Henrietta, finds Bird Bishopexplaining her unmarried state as the result of an inability to find a partner of the same background and class: she was "technically a

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'de Byrd,' a member of 'that very old Warwickshire family . . . connected with several families of the English nobility" (Chubbuck 17). Bird Bishop therefore is coded by class and connections to be the professional traveler, able to make her living from the writings about these travels, following in a long line of similarly leisured travelers making the Grand Tour to finish their educations.[1] Any other occupation attached to Bird Bishop, such as scientific researcher, or benefactor of missionary hospitals, must remain secondary to her first vocation as professional traveler, as a matter of class. Consequently her narrative deemphasizes the tasks performed for her secondary occupations, and promotes an unhurried, regal image of travel.

What should be noted, amidst the details of each traveler's class origins, is how each traveler refashions his or her chosen occupation's tasks, in response to the semicolonial nature of the British presence in China. Fewer workers in China, whether part of the British imperial government or part of private enterprises, are the result of an unofficial imperial effort. The British have certain skeleton institutions in place at specific treaty ports, enough to maintain a nominal presence, but beyond the Crown Colony of Hong Kong, Britain hesitates to annex China or to make more official colonies from it; part of this hesitation lies in the high cost of maintaining the official parts of the Empire. Because of this less formalized colonial context, the roles of workers are looser, capable of more self-definition. The redefinition of occupations, both individual and political, becomes the ideological work in these travel narratives. The semicolonial nature of China defies definition as well as the expectations of the world's largest empire, so that those working within this milieu must reshape their tasks in order to maintain their sense of Britishness and purpose.

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[1] According to Kay Chubbuck, Bird once wrote about this to John Murray, her publisher. See Letter from Isabella Bird to John Murray III, 24 February 1878, John Murray Archives, London.

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Backgrounds to this Project

Like the multifaceted origins of the travel narrative genre, this project also has numerous intellectual foundations. The following section will first discuss postcolonial and poststructural works which establish the parameters of cultural misperceptions for this project's discussion. The uses of photography will then be discussed in relation to Barthes' later works on Asia. The discussion of travel narrative criticism will complete this section on this project's theoretical backgrounds.

This study of British Victorian travel narratives responds to many of the points laid out in Edward Said's study of European views of the East, Orientalism. He makes it clear that his work focuses on the "Anglo-French-American experience of the Arabs and Islam, which for almost a thousand years together stood for the Orient" (17) and leaves out the areas that are more often associated with the term "Oriental," such as India, Japan, and China. The rationale for this narrowing down comes from the influence of Biblical studies on the evolution of disciplinary knowledge concerning the Orient; the study of Christianity and its ancient connections to Islam sustain continued developments in linguistics and interest in the exotic East as the cradle of Christianity. The Near East simultaneously seems near and far to people in Britain, as the exotic peoples, languages, and cultures come from a foundation far away from the Western European context, but Oriental studies "domesticates" this knowledge and allows for the West to define itself by differentiation from the West's conception of the East. As it concerns this project, Said's work does not address how the Anglo-French-American experience constructs Orientalism after travel and imperial efforts annex farther locations to the East, thereby rendering the Arab world the better known origin for Easternness. The

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Orientalism of East Asia derives from the European encounter with non-Islamic socio-religious sources, where Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist practices offer different paradigms for social structures, and at the same time, the foundations for being perceived as very alien to Western Judeo-Christian cultures. This ontological difference renders Said's thesis less specific in relation to regional differences in Orientalisms, and when considering that which emerged from China. By opening up Said's theories to a broader regional focus, as well as more class-based discussion, this study also endeavors to open up the range of regions and classes examined in postcolonial studies.

However, Said's thesis certainly assists in understanding the Victorian traveler. Both traveler and tourist in East Asia are faced with the exotic surface that can prove ultimately impossible to penetrate because of cultural differences at very fundamental levels, at the same time providing a sense of pleasure in the surfaces themselves. Roland Barthes's works on Japan and China illustrate Said's critique of Western constructs of the East in Orientalism. Barthes writes about his visits to the Far East regarding such interpretative impenetrability in two separate works: he discusses a visit to Japan in The Empire of Signs (1970) and a visit to the People's Republic of China in the wake of the Cultural Revolution in Alors la Chine? (1975). Barthes sees the dedication to truth, fullness, and depth as the foundations of the Western myth of being able to dig deep to find true authenticity in foreign cultures.

In the two works above, Barthes shows an unwillingness, perhaps even an inability, to perform the structural analysis he had previously been known to conduct on European cultural myths in the groundbreaking Mythologies (1957). This hermeneutic inertia comes from polarizing East from West, not unlike Rudyard Kipling's often-quoted line from "The Ballad of

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East and West" (1890): "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." In The Empire of Signs, Barthes discusses the European invention of the Japanese through the examination of exoticized objects and concepts such as chopsticks, their "unknown language" and pachinko (a game similar to pinball). Like other travelers, he shows the reader he has reached the important landmarks. But he leaves them as intact surfaces rather than penetrating beneath them to discover more commonplace human needs fulfilled by these late twentieth-century artifacts of Japanese culture. He qualifies this form of appreciation for Japanese culture by declaring that "Orient and Occident cannot be taken here as 'realities' to be compared and contrasted historically, philosophically, culturally, politically." His intellectual detachment from the sights seen is rationalized further as the result of entering into a contact zone with a culture completely alien to his own: "I am not lovingly gazing toward an Oriental essence – to me the Orient is a matter of indifference, merely providing a reserve of features whose manipulation – whose invented interplay – allows me to 'entertain' the idea of an unheard-of symbolic system, one altogether detached from our own" (3). Japan is Barthes's semiology laboratory, where he can play, create, and alter signs and signifieds at will, with less concern for its humanistic consequences. He is less attached to the meaning of the signs, coming from the outsider culture. In the course of examining the signs of Japanese culture, ones that are stereotypical cultural landmarks usually targeted for his deconstructive work, he declares that the "*inside* no longer commands the *outside*" of the puppets that are people in this culture (emphasis original, 62).

Barthes brings this regard for the integrity of signs to his visit to People's Republic of China, where the revolutionary spirit continued to hold out hope for disillusioned French

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academics involved in the 1968 Paris strikes. Strangely enough, despite this context of change which attracted him in the first place, Barthes perpetuates the Western tendency to dehistoricize the Chinese people, the landscape, and the continued underlying beliefs that the Chinese are inscrutable, unchanging Oriental Others shaped by an unchanged, ancient culture. In Alors la chine? he advances the following proposition to his reader: "[W]e reach a vast country, very old and very new, where the meaning is discreet to the point of disappearing. From this moment on, a new field is discovered: that of delicacy, or even better (I take a chance with the word, leaving the response for later): blandness" (8). Barthes's terms indicate abstractions and generalizations passed down from prior visitors with preconceived notions of reinforcing Oriental difference. The inscrutable Chinese face of nineteenth-century writings has now lost its appeal to analysis and deconstruction, turning impenetrable. As Adrienne Rich notes in "Notes toward a Politics of Location," "[t]he discourse has never really changed; it is wearingly abstract" (220), reinforced by using Lillian Smith's explanation that abstraction is "deadly sameness" (qtd. in Rich 221). Therefore, to Barthes, individual differences are smoothed out into the sign of the bland Chinese face, deadened and incapable of adequate expression for the Western eye.

Barthes's reluctance to break up these surfaces becomes most useful in the analysis of photographs used to illustrate three of this project's narratives. The photographs of China illustrate perspectives colored by the individual's relationship to his or her British identity, as well as by his or her interest in supporting the truth of the cultural markers coded as "Chinese" by readers and previous travelers. The surfaces recorded by the photographs are to be regarded as signs, representative of the photographer's interiority. The notion of the punctum as reliant

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upon the viewer's subjectivity and experiences comes from Barthes's Camera Lucida (1980), where he discusses the death of the photographer in relation to the viewer's ability to attribute significance to the photographic sign, which in turn leads to the concept of photographs as *memento mori*. The photographs taken on a trip are of things that no longer exist except animated by the viewer's imagination. We see this in his photograph of the Guatemalean nuns passing soldiers on the street; this moment no longer exists, and it is probable that the subjects and the situations are faded from memory as well. Altogether Barthes's thinking on the Far East and photography work to create a way into understanding the use of photographs in the narratives, constituting a parallel narrative in themselves, though one that records dead scenes, dead cultures. The consideration of subjective response moves the photographic narrative beyond simply making the proof of one's presence, such as the kind that caused eighteenth-century travelers to supply illustrations and aquatints in "an attempt to supplement verbal descriptions. But in the eyes of contemporary readers, the pictures cannot compensate for faulty words" (Batten 109). What Barthes offers us is the notion that pictures and words are not commensurate at all, and ought to be treated as very different entities. Though many studies of travel narratives focus almost exclusively on the verbal text, the photographic narrative in these narratives is seen as forming a symbiotic relationship with the verbal text, whether subversive or supportive. Even in the narrative that shows no photographs, Rudyard Kipling's "From Sea to Sea," the text is haunted by the photographs taken by his traveling companion, the Professor. We are made to imagine what that visual narrative recorded of Kipling's vision of the diasporic danger in overseas Chinese men.

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Travel writing criticism draws heavily upon Said and Barthes, but many foundational studies, ones which attempt to establish more general principles for tourism and travel, tend to focus on the European travel experience. Studies on travel in Africa and the Indian subcontinent are currently categorized frequently with postcolonial studies, though a large number of works exist concerning travel on the African continent, which contains the places most frequented by travelers in the British Empire. In an effort to see travel in semicolonial China as a separate entity from more formally colonized regions, those works attempting to construct a broader sense of travel have been used more as foundations to this project's thesis.

Current criticism on travel narratives rely heavily on works such as Dean MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (1976); Paul Fussell, Abroad: British Literary Traveling Between the Wars (1980); Martin Green, Seven Types of Adventure Tale: An Etiology of a Major Genre (1991); and James Buzard's The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918 (1993). What these works, particularly MacCannell, Fussell, and Buzard endeavor to do, is to find diversity in travelers according to their purpose in traveling. Hence the division between tourist and traveler becomes the necessary polarity for critics seeking to categorize and understand travel narratives. The feminist critics also utilize these categories though with somewhat less success, for Isabella Bird Bishop is often drawn into both globetrotter (tourist) or traveler groupings.

The difference between tourist and traveler, according to MacCannell and Fussell, rests on the viewer's reaction to the exotic and new visual stimuli in their travels. Penetrating below surfaces comprises a traveler's modus operandi because of the need to survive within the new culture. For the seasoned traveler, then, the superficiality of appearances can be peeled away to

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reveal truths, the underlying structure of a culture. Claude Lévi-Strauss, writing in The Raw and the Cooked, breaks down native myths about cooking and consumption into commonplaces seen in other cultures. As a structural anthropologist, this interpretative method elucidates narrative structures in folktales by showing how a seemingly foreign, primitive people actually share a similar background to their investigators' cultures. This is very similar to Barthes's earlier structuralist work, such as Mythologies. But as we have seen, even the preeminent semiologist is reluctant to peel away the layers of visual cultural difference, as though the layers themselves comprise the truth as Westerners can only apprehend it in China. This dissertation project is interested in how travelers use a similar hermeneutic to represent the Chinese to their British Victorian readers. Rather than showing the Chinese to be wholly foreign and mired in arcane tradition, the narratives suggest the native Chinese show more frequently a shared humanity with the travelers, albeit in disguise.

Feminist studies on travel narratives respond to more traditionally styled analyses that assume the travelers are all white European males traveling for leisure, and look to similar male precedents in previous centuries' travel practices to assist in narrative analysis. Karen Lawrence writes of the feminist perspective in travel writing as a response to the "monarch of all I survey" tendency driving men's travel narratives. In her effort to avoid broad generalizations about the differences between narratives authored by males and females, she writes that "in general, women writers of travel have tended to mistrust the rhetoric of mastery, conquest, and quest that has funded a good deal of male fictional and nonfictional travel" (20). Instead, skepticism or mistrust of quests and destinations seem to mark the female writer's sense of agency (20). In addition to the psychological mistrust of a phallocentric quest,

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Lawrence writes about the women's travel writing as appropriating the plots, genres, and tropes of travel and adventure in order to expand the scope of women's writing. In this sense, women's travel writing falls into the danger of being the follower in the footsteps of a prior traveler; in the generic sense, this formulation of women's travel writing is haunted by "belatedness" and of never being able to be truly original because of its hybridizing of older forms of representation rather than outright invention. As Lawrence concedes, "The search to make it new is crucial to travel writing, from voyages of exploration to tourism. Even voyages of discovery betray anxiety that someone else's marker has preceded the explorer both geographically and textually" (24). Lawrence's comment suggests the masculine ethos of travel is at stake here as the standard way to conceive of travel, as women travelers perform their own pathbreaking through territory hitherto unseen by European women. The anxiety of influence derives from a patriarchal desire to control the organization of power and space. The male travelers have taken this anxiety to their movement into spaces undefined by their predecessors; we see this triumphal movement in the missionary Timothy Richard, who seeks new mission fields for conversions. At the same time, to confound Lawrence's theory, Isabella Bird moves through space, blazing a trail for men to follow her.

While a separation of gendered writings is very useful to analyze travel narratives in relation to traditional women's domestic roles and frequently used narrative plots, local contexts are potentially erased in favor of essential, gendered characteristics. Such generalizations of how women write on the road has limited usefulness when faced with women's writing in a specific period, with its unique opportunities for women, and in a specific geopolitical situation. When examining Isabella Bird Bishop's narrative, the sense of

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belatedness and anxiety over performing the role of a follower is exposed as a cultural construct arising from writings about well-traveled, better-administrated areas. Bird Bishop's indefatigable progress through East Asia received great public acclaim and peer recognition, most notably her attempt to reach Tibet via Szechuan. Her detailed map of China is later borrowed for other narratives, including Archibald Little's Mount Omi, and her achievements described in Yangtze Valley and Beyond are often cited by various male authors turning to her for authoritative reference. Moreover, the gendered reactions described in other female travel narratives do not hold for Bird because of a very different cultural and political context. For instance, an episode where Isabella Bird Bishop and a few native carriers fend off native male mobs who chant "kill the foreign devil woman," arises from a political and cultural context unlike the ones faced by Mary Kingsley or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. And unlike these women, Bird Bishop endeavors to avoid female European dress because such form-fitting attire was deemed "obscene" by Chinese country people. In China, Bird could not count on the prestige of whiteness or Europeanness to pave the way through Szechuan Province, because such self-perceived privilege, frequently performed by white women by insisting upon European-style dress, acts more as an obstruction to her safety and communication with natives. While travel narratives written about other wild parts of the empire will discuss difficulties, even dangerous situations with native peoples, writers such as Kingsley and Montagu are part of the larger group of women authors, or European authors, who can rely upon a tacit understanding of white British imperialism in the native population. Bird's experiences of native violence directed toward her do not differ greatly from those described by

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male writers traveling through China, none of whom could count upon their Britishness to provide crowd control and harmonious relations with natives.

Lawrence's discussion of women's travel writing as appropriation and revision of male travel writers' genres, tropes and plots represents a significant feminist response to the prevalence of studies endeavoring to categorize travel writings in literary terms. Other feminist literary critics working to introduce greater diversity in the discussion of travelers include Chloe Chard, Sara Mills, Susan Morgan, and Mary Louise Pratt. However, in the process of introducing women travelers these critics have also fallen into the same path of relying upon relatively privileged, white Europeans because of the nature of the discourse, its socioeconomic origins, and Britain's population during the period under investigation. With this perspective of seeking to diversify the discussion on travel writing, these critics have inadvertently reinforced a degree of homogeneity and performed an analysis that yields some broad generalizations about women on the road. In the process, these critics have also accepted the same paradigm for colonial and imperial power balances, namely that the white Briton has the upper hand in dealing with the native.

Marco Polo's Adventures and the Victorian Imagination about China

In the late nineteenth century, many British readers eagerly read Sir Henry Yule's translation and scholarly interpretation of Marco Polo's thirteenth-century narrative about his sojourn in China, and his return to Italy after many years' absence. Though scholars today suspect the truth of this story, proposing that the Polos never went past Turkey, or remained on the outskirts of the Chinese Empire on the Silk Road, Marco Polo's story held great value for the Victorians. Yule's narrative (1875) is packed with footnotes giving modern-day equivalents

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for the places visited, and at times, lengthy explanations about the technology supposedly introduced by Marco Polo, his father, and his uncle. But after a long period of residence, the original mercantile ambition transmuted into consultant positions to the Mongol Emperor of China, permitting Polo the position as a provincial administrator, not unusual in what is painted as a cosmopolitan court drawing people from all over the known world. There came a time when the Polo family decamped for Italy, and though the Mongol emperor loaded them up with riches and royal insignia guaranteeing them safe passage back across the seas, the greater part of these gifts had been seized or disappeared in accidents before their homecoming in Venice. The final paragraph of the narrative speaks to this saving grace, as if we are hearing Polo rebuke the doubting Polo relatives at the feast where the Polo travelers arrived unannounced.

> And you may be sure that but for that lucky chance, we should never have got away in spite of all our trouble, and never have got back to our country again. But I believe it was God's pleasure that we should get back in order that people might learn about the things that the world contains. For according to what has been said in the introduction at the beginning of the Book, there never was a man, be he Christian or Saracen or Tartar or Heathen, who ever traveled over so much of the world as did that noble and illustrious citizen of the City of Venice, Messer Marco the son of Messer Nicolo Polo. (Conclusion, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, ed. Henry Yule, 1875)

The travel narratives about British travelers to China that have been considered for this project frequently feature a returned traveler who tells his audience how they nearly missed hearing the story in its entirety because of unbelievable, but true dangers or enticements along the way threatening to stop his progress.[2] From such a tale the future travelers in the audience can learn "about the things that the world contains," as Marco Polo's narrator tells us above. With the

[2] The earlier narratives about travels to China, and journeys among the native people, invoke this theme more frequently than those of the travelers later in the century who embark upon group tours, or use popular methods of transport. See Robert Fortune, William C. Hunter, Charles (Karl Friedrich August) Gützlaff, and Clarke Abel.

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enlargement of the world from his adventures – for Polo the world now reaches all the way from the Adriatic Sea to the China Sea – also come more potential detours on the return journey. Marco Polo's narrative of his adventures has remained a vital part of Western culture for its evocation of the traveler's experience of fantastic Eastern cities, riches, and power, as well as fueling an ongoing controversy about its veracity. These fairytale features, in addition to the possibility of seeing a civilization paradoxically so alien yet so advanced according to Western standards, constitutes the allure of traveling to China, according to the stories of Europeans traveling to China centuries after Polo's own purported journey. For British Victorians who write about their travels to China, Marco Polo's story remains a fundamental motif of their journeys though they no longer expect a largely hospitable and enlightened society after centuries of changed Western attitudes and increased Chinese wariness.

Polo's narrative would not exist without his cellmate Rusticano of Pisa, who transcribed the story during their imprisonment together, decades after Polo's reported return from China, and momentary fame. Because of such mediation from a mysterious and unreliable narrator, the narrative has been reinterpreted, analyzed, and even reenacted numerous times since its original publication. The constant return to the story, perhaps true, perhaps apocryphal, indicates that Marco Polo's narrative of travel and return has been enshrined and received as the primary experience of the European in China. The significance of Polo's narrative for this study lies in the production of a Western myth about China, which is the basis of nineteenth-century travelers' nostalgia for a mythical "Old China." Myths come from an oral tradition, oftentimes performing the desire of ordinary people to rationalize the occurrence of unexpected events and the existence of natural phenomena, and to explain people's presence in the world. Quests for

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riches often form part of myths, and into modern times, create the foundation for romance tales, both oral and written. Such tales have variations because they are transmitted orally over a long period of time before transcription by different scribes. Polo's erratic and unreliable conditions of narrative production, if they are true, suggest a form of mythmaking, as his tale relies upon memory for events long past and a scribe of dubious integrity. Polo's story forms a foundational myth with which the British travelers, particularly merchants, must contend when they embark upon their work in China, while creating their own myths about the Chinese as remaining stuck in the time period depicted by Polo's narrative.

Marco Polo's narrative offers a prototype romance of Oriental riches and royal preference to the Victorian reader, who could choose from numerous editions, including Colonel Henry Yule's comprehensively annotated and popular version of the tale. Victorians were fascinated by the figure of the traveler who returns home after many years in China to tell a fantastic tale and to live like a prince. Unlike Polo, who entered into the service of the Mongol emperor ruling over a strong Chinese Empire, the Victorian travelers featured in this project write about an "opened" China, a weakened shadow of an empire that the Western imperial powers increasingly hope to divide and conquer. For some Victorian travelers who published their accounts of visiting China after the Opium War of 1842, the appeal of such a narrative lay in the idea that a Westerner could effect significant change or even take part in governance. Even for those travelers uninterested in fostering political or social change, writing a personal narrative about China indicates an intrepidness beyond ordinary means because organized travel services to China did not become more commonplace until late in the century.

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Historical Context for Victorian Travel Narratives About China

The examination of travel narratives written about China sheds light on less well-defined areas of the world where the British exerted economic influence, nearly to the point of being labeled colonialism by native peoples, though the British would hesitate to attach the same name. Historians are somewhat unsure as to the extent of British imperial influence over a country such as China, with its existing Ching [Qing] imperial structure ruled by the Manchus, a foreign people from the north, and its long-standing tributuary system with smaller neighbor countries occupying the nominal position of colonized states. Many historians now describe the British presence in China as part of what is "best described as parts of a British informal empire" (Porter 8), as Andrew Porter defines his use of the term in the introduction to The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III, The Nineteenth Century (1999). In this intermediate category of territories that are not designated colonies, but where Britain "both wanted and directly or indirectly exercised a dominant political and economic influence" (Porter 8), a range of relationships exists between Britain and these regions. "They were areas of control without responsibility," writes Porter, "their subordinate position shaped by the workings of the 'imperialism of free trade'" (Porter 8). But some writers, such as Susan Bayly, writing in her essay, "The Evolution of Colonial Cultures: Nineteenth-Century Asia," refers to China as part of the "invisible empire" where colonial culture makes inroads into the population and establishes the importance of British cultural power in Chinese people through their overseas counterparts.

Definitions for "informal empire" focus on the effect of the British, and their expected gains from this loose form of controlling China's economy. Osterhammel defines informal

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empire with the following characteristics: 1) legal privilege for foreigners (including extraterritoriality, the privilege of foreign exemption from Chinese jurisdiction); 2) a free trade regime imposed from outside; and 3) the deployment of instruments of intervention such as the gunboat and the 'imperial' consul, who was often a Briton acting a quasi-diplomatic mediator between British business interests and Chinese government (Osterhammel 148-9). At times the travel narratives in this project more accurately describe a situation that might be better termed "semicolonial" because of the effect on native people and institutions. Part of this distinction lies in the fact that the British controlled Hong Kong as a Crown Colony, and effectively had control over Shanghai through its International Concession area, while many of their treaty ports seemed to exist more on paper than in reality. These legal and political concessions from the Chinese were never enforced because of lack of capital, insurmountable engineering difficulties, or local resistance to the British (Osterhammel 152-3). Native Chinese living in Hong Kong or Shanghai experienced the more formal parts of Empire, while the informal empire's effects had a greater impact on the political and social consciousness of the population in proximity to the treaty ports. According to Osterhammel, the informal and formal empire altogether caused the same effect of colonialism, which is that "the indigenous population derived economic benefits from the foreign presence . . . gained under the shadow of racial discrimination and cultural humiliation" (164).

A significant percentage of the nineteenth-century British Empire's wealth came from opium sales in a triangular trade pattern with India and China.[3] Historian Gregory Blue states

[3] Britain's history in the Americas is also of a triangular trade involving slave labor producing the commodity, in this case, sugar: "Only twenty-five years after the Pilgrims first landed, New Englanders were doing a triangulated trade. The best fish [cod] was always sold in Spain. Bilbao, with its wine, fruit, iron, and coal, became a major trading partner with Boston. The New Englanders then sailed to the West Indies, where some Spanish goods along

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that the sale of Indian opium was an "essential part" of the export triangle, and that revenues from opium financed British military campaigns in India (Blue 32-4). In an effort to balance out trade deficits to China caused by the tea trade, Britain began to import opium through Chinese middlemen in Canton. The opium was grown on Indian plantations and shipped out on East India clippers, as part of the East India Company monopoly's business in China, despite its contraband status with the Chinese government. When the East India charter was revoked at the conclusion of the Opium War (1842), this trade continued to flourish until the 1880s when the British stopped imports into the country, and China started growing its own poppies. China is important in the British imperial economy, as best seen through its economic link with India, but its significance is eclipsed towards the end of the nineteenth century, when Britain is getting raw materials from Africa, especially minerals from South Africa. China's place in British trade overseas had declined after the middle of the nineteenth century, never quite fulfilling the promise that politicians once saw.[4]

Because economic interest in China competes and gives way to other parts of the world which are official parts of the Empire, and start to yield greater profits, references to "China" or things Chinese in English literature of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century come to signify opium in the ordinary English household, and vice versa. Indirect references to opium, opiates, and drugs would qualify under this rubric, in the same way that gemstones are often signs for India and things Indian. Wilkie Collins uses this economic and cultural link in

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with the cheapest cod were sold, and sugar, molasses, tobacco, cotton, and salt were bought. The ship would return to Boston... They had made money at every stop" (81). See Mark Kurlansky, Cod: A Biography of the Fish That Changed the World.

[4] Martin Lynn notes, "British aggression never achieved the optimistic ambitions that Palmerston and Elgin entertained in the 1840s and 1850s. Britain failed successfully to impose its will on China in these years, a fact Palmerston recognized with his belief that repeated military assaults were necessary. The Chinese economy responded only weakly to these incursions" (116).

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The Moonstone (1868), as the means of attributing mysterious, sinister origins to the enormous Indian moonstone that Rachel Verinder inherits on her birthday, causing chaos and outrage to erupt from the center of her "quiet English home," as her faithful servant Gabriel Betteredge calls it. As the means of eliciting the secrets surrounding the gem's disappearance, the hybrid figure of Ezra Jennings uses laudanum, a commonly used opiate, to experiment with opening up sealed parts of Franklin Blake's subconscious and memory. Opium's orientalist associations here are used as a subversive, seemingly ordinary item that has the potential to wreck the strongest things, in this case, a close-knit loving family. Oriental features seen in Jennings emphasize disreputable Asian origins of opium and the body's addiction to the substance. Between the Indian gemstone and the opiates, The Moonstone's use of these tropes supports the sinister characterization of the East when it comes West. Despite the fact that opium shipped into China was grown mostly in India until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, opium is attributed to the Chinese in this novel, and remains a Chinese trope through the end of the nineteenth century.

The opium trope is a negative form of *chinoiserie*, the fashion craze of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which caused all things Chinese to be viewed as positive additions to the English home.[5] When Chinese ideas and designs were imported into British homes many literary works also played with the wise detachment attributed to the Chinese people. This educated, measured viewpoint is most notable in Oliver Goldsmith's epistolary work, The Citizen of the World (1762), featuring the gradually Anglicized Fum Hoam's mild critiques on English culture. His subject position as a trustworthy outsider reveals an outdated perception of

[5] For the history attached to French and British chinoiserie, see Dawn Jacobson, John M. MacKenzie, Oliver R. Impey, Cathay Invoked: Chinoiserie, a Celestial Empire in the West, and Adolf Reichwein.

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equality between the two nationalities, in keeping with what Adolf Reichwein has deemed a mutually "benevolent" view, based on respect for Chinese Confucian political morality (Reichwein 18). Reichwein argues that by 1700 this unquestioned respect for China had dissipated, replaced by a debate over the Confucian social political theory in relation to Enlightenment ideals of independent thought and empiricism. Domestic chinoiserie took some time to catch up with this intellectual disaffection, and when it did, if the "former boundless admiration of China was to be regarded as grotesque," then this newer suspicion of the Chinese Oriental as a tradition-bound, secretive figure is the subject of an equally grotesque, uncritical contempt (Reichwein 151).

But upon the ratification of the Tientsin Treaty closing the first Opium War (1839-1842), China conceded Britain the rights to establish six coastal settlements, or "treaty ports" (Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo, and Shanghai), the island of Hong Kong for a Crown Colony, and monetary compensation for the confiscated opium. Nowhere in the treaty was the opium trade mentioned as having legal or illegal status as a result of this war. Besides the fact that the Ching government adamantly wanted opium outlawed and would not compromise, a possible explanation for this seeming omission derives from the more recent, ongoing debate over the cause(s) for this war. Gregory Blue reiterates Indian historian Tan Chung's analysis of the many possible causes of the Opium War, and criticizes the notion taken by historians that opium was conveniently the coveted commodity of the moment, and that "the war was essentially about balancing trade and gaining access to the Chinese market [. . .] the war could have been over molasses if the Chinese government had been impeding access to a market for

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that" (35).[6] The idea that opium was the occasion, rather than the cause, of international conflict comes from Harvard historian John King Fairbank, whose view of nineteenth-century China (according to Tan) has led to many mid-twentieth century interpretations that rest on a more dualistic foundation, such as "traditional vs. progressive," "cultural conflict vs. economic conflict," and similarly broad labels.[7] We can see Tan Chung's writings expressive of a more general burgeoning scholarly interest in postcolonial studies, especially given his Indian university affiliation from the early 1970s to the 1980s.[8]

It is assumed that more recent works have a wider perspective on the political and economic aims of the British empire when compared to older histories, though contemporary nineteenth century works often show more interest in China's role than presently lead us to believe. Cassell's Illustrated History of England (1872) presents this unexpected vista, which examines all British military experiences in China with painstaking detail and illustrations. Cassell's perspective on the Opium War takes an internationalist view, which still elevates England above the other parts of the Empire as the teacher: " . . .an armament was sent forth to teach the Chinese the principles of international law, which they had never recognised, perhaps never heard of, as they regarded all other nations in the light of barbarians, and therefore utterly unworthy of notice" (vii: 464). In addition, as part of the history of "England", Cassell's takes care to quote Sir James Graham's remark that one-sixth of Great Britain and India's whole

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[6] See also Tan Chung, China and the Brave New World: A Study of the Origins of the Opium War (1840-42), and Triton and Dragon.

[7] Tan, Triton and Dragon, 10, 130. This collection of essays reveals a Marxian, nearly anti-Western perspective useful for starting a postcolonial interpretation, especially given the author's expertise in the Chinese language (see essay entitled, "On Sinocentrism: A Critique" [1973]). However, his polemical position contra Fairbank becomes heavy-handed as does his treatment of the British as acting entirely in concert as opium dealers of all different levels.

[8] Jawaharlal Nehru University in India.

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united revenue depended on commercial relations with China (vii: 464), an idea usually seen only in contemporaneous histories centered on China. This contrasts greatly with a more recent publication, The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886 (1998), part of the New Oxford History of England, where K. Theodore Hoppen deems the Opium War to be "minor" (156), a necessary act of aggression, and yet, part of a random pattern of annexations rather than a grand plan. Clearly the Victorians felt the British presence in China was a significant matter concerning their interests in India, though this has been largely forgotten.

By 1922, Arthur D. Innes writes of "The China War" in A History of England and the British Empire, a possible reaction to the international trauma wrought by "the Great War" mentioned in the preface. For Innes, the Opium War was "not indeed disasterous, but by no means glorious, and somewhat sordid, in the Farthest East" (218). Following Cassell's lead, he also notes a "considerable revenue" from the China opium trade feeding the Indian government. What emerges from Cassells and Innes is a gradual sense of relativism regarding England's affairs with China, creating a nationalistic self-reflexivity by no means shared unanimously by other historians who believe that the parliamentary-oriented narrative of the Anglo-China relationship in the nineteenth century is the "correct" one.

Recent historiography of the British Empire has grown to include the outer reaches of the empire, though it is still possible to read a history of the British Empire without seeing more than India or Africa. Prominent historians revisiting narratives of well-traversed concepts in British colonial studies are sometimes liable to create a less complex picture of the empire, especially when they are producing general studies about the British Empire. The renowned Marxian historian Eric Hobsbawm works the economic narrative in Industry and Empire (1968)

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so carefully that he cannot afford to expand his focus to include the faraway reaches that Arthur Innes and Cassell's considered to be relevant to understanding "England." For Hobsbawm, the economics at home drove a foreign policy dependent on "invisible dealings" (123) that favored not only the "opening" of China but also the independence of Latin America (125). Denis Judd, author of Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present (1996) presents a popular history text that takes unsurprising positions on progress, empire as a source of pride, and the prominence of India as the Eastern imperial concern. In fact, Chapter Seven of his text is called "The Great Indian Uprising" and mentions that the length required to put down the Sepoy Uprising resulted partly from the delay in getting the troops out of Hong Kong – without mentioning the start of the Arrow War a few months earlier as the reason for their posting in the Crown Colony. Judd revisits basic themes about imperialism without offering a challenge to the monolithic view he has espoused. These readings represent a continued simplification of how the "East" was constructed, and an erasure of the less illustrious struggles for more imperial power. Places where the British had partial success and partial failure, such as China, potentially introduce more variables into the conceptualization of empire put forth in these works.

The historical narratives often focus on the Opium War and the economic impact of the opium trade in the Anglo-Chinese relationship, causing most Victorian and postcolonial studies to suture the opium trope with China, a correlation that many nineteenth-century travelers also reify in their observations and narratives. Travelers to China nearly always spend time discussing opium, opium addicts, or even the trade, as in the case of Archibald Little. Opium-related objects number among the sights that must be seen, otherwise one has not truly seen

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China; in a similar fashion, Marco Polo's failure to indicate he had witnessed tea-drinking marks his narrative suspect in many readers' eyes. Being a member of the mercantile class Little is somewhat defensive about the origins of his presence in China, and refuses to acknowledge that the British were the sole means of introducing opium to the Chinese:

> It is annoying to find the English name everywhere associated with the forcible introduction of this beneficent and at the same time pernicious drug. Of course it is useless to tell Chinamen that opium must have been used in China long before the old East India Company introduced it. The Portuguese were the first to bring opium from India to sell in China, and it is certain that they would not have brought it, had they not found a ready sale for it. (Gorges 284)

British pride in this successful trade melts away in favor of attributing this innovation to the Portuguese, who are routinely maligned in descriptions of Macao's decrepitude and its dogmatic adherence to Catholicism. The claim to be simply suppliers for an existing addiction frees merchants from the imputation of abetting vices or worse, the decay of a society. Taking this questionable position allows merchants to continue exerting their energies for change in China, as Little does in relation to technological innovations.

Disputes over British involvement in the opium trade form the backdrop for the 1850s, when the Taiping Movement (1851-1864) and the Arrow Incident or Second Opium War (1856-1859) overlap, the latter event traditionally receiving much more attention from British historians writing on China because its causes and outcomes are more concretely defined in relation to imperial goals. Because it was a lengthy civil war carried out in the western provinces, it can be argued that the Taiping Movement did not directly impact British residents of China, nor affect the economy, in same way the two wars did. Without British players on this stage, later Victorian historians were prevented from pursuing their tendency of seeking out

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the "heroic" vein in an epic plot.[9] Perhaps the differing historiographical treatment lies in the level of British agency in causing the encounters, as the Arrow Incident was a dispute over British property and rights, exacerbated to "dissolution" in Sir John Davis's words, because of diplomatic brinksmanship. But more relevant to domestic observers, the Arrow Incident caused the delay of the troops required for putting down the Sepoy Uprising in India, as well as provoking a fierce debate in Parliament, causing the year's session (1857) to end prematurely.

This neglect is unfortunate because the Taipings were the direct result of proselytizing done by early missionaries. The Taiping Movement represents Chinese interpretation and implementation of Christianity, using a civil code legislating community sharing of resources that a number of twentieth-century writers consider to be one of the first expressions of communist tendencies.[10] Westerners rejected this brand of Chinese Christianity for being based on a corrupted doctrine, and eventually sided with the Ching imperial forces in putting them down. War and Christianity overlap in this mid-Victorian incident. But most British writers ignore it in histories of the Empire, and give it short shrift in histories of China, perhaps because the Chinese converts used Christianity to empower themselves for change, rather than remain under the supervision of their Western teachers.

References to the Taiping Movement in histories indicates whether or not the history is about "empire" or about "China," and whether the author wishes to simply discuss the Taiping corruption of Christian doctrines, or examine British "neutrality" more closely. For the average late nineteenth-century reader or armchair imperialist, it is a chance to read about a moment of British neutrality in the face of Taiping earnestness for Christian brotherhood. The Taiping

[9] See Southgate 39.

[10] This is especially true of Chinese historians; see Tan Chung, Vincent Shih, and Ssu-yu Teng. See also Marx (19).

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Movement produced two other significant markers in British imperial history: Charles Gordon begins his ill-fated military fame by leading Chinese Imperial troops against Taiping China, and Christian missionaries look to this moment for showing the consequence of improperly performed mission work, because the Taipings allegedly mangled Christian teachings into a mockery.[11] Overall, it is usually depicted a moment of British innocence in the face of Chinese corruption. But as botanist Robert Fortune ironically described British hypocrisy in his travel narrative about collecting plant samples, "this is what we call being neutral!" (128). For the Americans and English readily supplied arms and ammunition to the insurgents before rejecting them in favor of preserving the Ching dynasty and its hold over the Chinese empire, which in turn was believed to bring greater long-term stability for business and political interests.

Historian Beverley Southgate notes that "the actual rejection of potential information is thus a major factor in understanding our mechanisms of perception" (60), so British historians since the late nineteenth century can be seen as working with a model of Anglo-Chinese history that is primarily focused on major confrontations. Instead, Southgate's remark suggests that historians may need to do more work in examining how Western influence – particularly from missionaries – actually caused a significant military victory for preserving the Chinese empire in the middle of the nineteenth century, because of the Taiping Movement's defeat. Sir John Davis, British Plenipotentiary in China in the early 1850s, would have been likely to hear about the Taiping cult beginnings in the western fringe of Guangdong (Canton), as the Crown Colony

[11] Charles "Chinese" Gordon was allowed to raise troops of Chinese soldiers on behalf of the Ching Government of China as military advisor to the effort to put down the Taiping Army. Gordon later fought elsewhere for imperial efforts, finally meeting his end (or to some admirers, a martyrdom) in 1885 at Khartoum.

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of Hong Kong is situated on the eastern coast of that same province.[12] "There can be no doubt," he writes in a two volume study of China's history, customs and culture, "whatever of the existing insurrection in China having been the result of our own war" (ii, 412).

The absence of British discussion on the Taipings may be a disavowal of how the Chinese transmuted Western teachings into a form of power too threatening to the imperial project in the more benign area of religion and social reform. The Taiping brand of Christianity derived from the missionaries' efforts at haphazardly translating the Bible into Chinese.[13] In fact, the future Heavenly King, Hong Xiuquan, received six, instead of ten commandments in his first set of Bible translations.

Writing in 1857, between the Taiping Movement and the Arrow War, the botanist Robert Fortune, who traveled incognito through the countryside in order to smuggle the first Chinese tea plants to Assam and Darjeeling, puts aside his usual genial attitude towards Chinese peasants when referring to the Taiping as "so-called Christians." His interpretation correlates to the general British view – both in Britain and in China – about these Chinese Christian peasants: "[The Taiping Bible] is certainly an extraordinary one. If we understand it aright, and if it really be what it professes, and an exposition of the religious belief of the

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[12] In March 1851, Hong Xiuquan, the self-styled Heavenly King and visionary founder of the "God -worshipers," formally declared the existence of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, with its center at the city of Yongan, Guangxi province, immediately west of Guangtung province. See Jonathan Spence, God's Chinese Son, 133-4.

[13] A number of missionary sources can be enumerated in the origins of the Taiping Movement. Edwin Stevens, an American missionary, likely gave Hong Xiuquan, later the Heavenly King, his first Chinese-language Christian tracts, as translated by Liang Afa, who was converted and trained by the Scottish Protestant missionary William Milne in 1816. A physician and missionary from Pomerania, Charles Gutzlaff translated the Bible in Hong Kong (1852/3), which the Taipings eventually used exclusively, much to the distress of some later missionaries visiting the Taiping. His sometime fellow missionary partner, the American Issachar Roberts, had initially refused to give baptism to Hong Xiuquan at the start of the Taiping movement, but later joined them for a two year period at their capital in Nanjing. Gutzlaff recounted his early clandestine missionary tours of China in Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China, in 1831, 1832, and 1833. He often dressed in Chinese clothing while spreading the gospel to avoid attracting the attention of government officials. See also Spence, God's Chinese Son.

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insurgents, we must conclude their Christianity to be a sham, and their leaders fanatics or knaves" (17). The use of an absolute standard of Christianity keeps the British from a merger with a popular native Chinese movement capable of overthrowing the foreign Ching regime in China. Instead, the British prefer to be aligned with the imperial throne, no matter how difficult that relationship is and will continue to be. The officials reject the friendly overtures of the Heavenly King (who called James Bruce, Lord Elgin, a "brother" whose coming was foretold in a dream [Spence 263]) yet the historians writing in this period and well into the early twentieth century continue to emphasize a general sense of Chinese hostility towards the British.

British insistence on a strict interpretation of their Christian beliefs as a prerequisite for the credible Westernization of the Chinese seems to correspond to equally strict delineations of what the Taipings would tolerate in their would-be nation. The Taipings refused to engage in the opium trade, so their spreading appeal through the country would effectively tie up a main source of revenue for the British. The mercantile quarter therefore withheld their potential support, while the missionaries found themselves at odds with the syncretic Christianity promulgated by the Taiping. The British expatriates, along with many of their American cousins, found the cultural and religious divide easier to reinforce when weighing the economic factors. Yet this may not have been the most politically strategic move, because the relationship between the two groups could have yielded a stronger atmosphere for the British presence in China, especially given the Heavenly King's desire to welcome his English "brother." It would seem that the surprising level of interest in a Western religion and epistemology – though metamorphosed into a uniquely Chinese product – would be the strong

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foundation for a working relationship, instead of an antagonistic one. At the very bottom of this disavowal, then, is the adherence to imagery; namely, the image of how imperial rule by the white man ought to operate.

Part of this ideal image is the maintenance or "restoration of order in the empire," which Cassell's Illustrated History sees as the paramount importance for the British in China, overriding the "cruelty and perfidy of the imperialists, however that might be" (76). At the same time, this view casts the Taiping not as romantic populists ready to bring a Chinese dynasty back to the throne after generations of Mongol rule, but as "worse" than the imperialists. The Taiping were seen as capable of creating disorder to the degree that foreign development would be forced to cease, because most foreign development needed the cooperation of the Ching government. The desire to help preserve the Chinese Empire leads the British to disregard an opportunity for an alliance, and to allow British mercenaries to fight for the Ching government. Cassell's is one of the few histories to discuss General Charles Gordon's military service for China and training of all-Chinese troops, since his glorious career reached its pinnacle in the African desert. The reason why he is discussed at all is spelled out for the reader as "a singular state of relations existing between Great Britain and the Celestial Empire" (IX:13). This phrase hints at the parity of equals in empire building, though for a brief moment. Together, the British and the Ching eradicate the Taiping Movement. The military partnership is an expediency and not repeated again later in the history and writings about China and Britain.

Though the narratives chosen for this project focus on the period of 1880 to 1916, two writers, Archibald Little and Timothy Richard, have living memories of the Taiping

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Movement. For Richard in particular, the Taipings affected his daily life because of his proximity to their settlements, but also on the intellectual level of how to better understand the Chinese and their relationship to Christianity.[14] His interest in a more culturally sensitive version of Christian teaching has the ultimate goal of mass conversion on the Taiping scale. His writings about missionary training reflect this influence and hope. Little hardly speaks of the Taipings except as a memory of his early days, a sign of the wilder times that the British presence has since quelled.

The Arrow War or Incident (1856-60) derives its name from the ship which originally provoked the conflict between the two nations. Unlike the previous conflict, various names have been given to this one: it is also referred to on occasion as the Second Opium War, though illegal seizure and foreigners' rights were the more prominent issues at stake than opium itself. This was also true of the first war, where opium was also the underground issue. The Arrow was seized by Ching officials on suspicion of opium smuggling, though it carried British insignia (which had expired three days previous). The British plenipotentiary quickly built up the Arrow's cause as a British grievance against draconian Ching regulations, though initially acknowledging that the ship had an entirely Chinese crew, and the British license had expired. But the British stood their ground on the principle that any vessel flying British colors should not be seized without just cause, if at all. Unresolved, the quarrel led to armed hostilities and revisiting previous sites of contention, such as British access to Canton (the depot of opium

[14] Reverend Arthur Evans Moule of the Church Missionary Society (London), is far less reticent about his experience of the Taipings, who occupied the city of Ningpo in December 1861. For Christmas, the search for holly boughs turns macabre. "We were soon benighted, and had despaired of finding the holly, when my companion, who was in front, discovered it by running his head into a holly-bush. We cut off boughs in the darkness, and were delighted on reaching home to find quantities of berries on them. But the desolation of the country was terrible, and we saw great numbers of dead bodies. . . . Our walk home was one of real peril" (52-3).

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trade in the south) and official Ching recognition of the British of equals by allowing a British representative in Peking.

Battles fought in this war have a distinct East vs. West flavor, where the Europeans put aside their differences in a common cause. According to William Francis Collier, in his textbook for children living in the Canadian provinces, History of the British Empire (1876), the "most remarkable event of the war was the seizure of Canton by the French and British troops" (329). Even the children of the Empire needed to know about this victory because of its symbolic value. Though China was a battleground for European imperial desires, feeding the scramble for Asia at the end of the century, whenever a European power entered a challenge to the Ching, the old animosities were laid aside – this tendency to band together as "white people" or "Westerners" becomes necessary for survival later in the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. Collier's short description of the Arrow War's outcome reinforces the East-West gap: "Despatches from the East afterwards announced that a treaty had been made, throwing all China open to the missionaries and merchants of Europe" (329). The temporary alliances underscore a tacit understanding that what is good for one's trade – material or spiritual – is also good for the rest.

The sudden eruption of the Sepoy Uprising in Calcutta, India in May 1857 interrupted the course of this conflict soon after its start. Reading the histories about either conflict, one would not be able to tell that troops were diverted from China to India, and back to China again. Also, it is easy for the reader to assume pale-faced British men primarily fought in the Opium War and the Arrow War; in fact, the Sepoys comprised a majority of the military

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detachment sent to fight the Ching imperial forces.[15] In fact, the first war between the Chinese and the British featured a significant number of Sepoys, as would each British military endeavor in China. In addition, one cannot determine what happened on the ground as the Anglo-Chinese conflict was suspended on the British side – none of the writers detail whether or not the Chinese waited politely, or continued to pellet the British. In any case, the British disdain for Chinese military power would predispose them to consider the war "postponed" and any attacks from the Chinese to be wholly negligible, either in the context of the expatriates in China or in the general scheme of British imperial activities.

The Arrow War produced a widely read revisionist interpretation of the British imperial agenda in China, one that would continue to reverberate long afterwards. Karl Marx's articles written for the New York Daily Tribune in 1857 amplify his assertion that Britain has utilized "false etiquette and a mistaken policy" (January 7, 1857) in the Anglo-Chinese relationship leading to the Arrow War. Marx's views may have been more on the fringes of mainstream political thought for the time, but not entirely unsupported by those in power, and as later histories indicate, were not disregarded by other writers and thinkers.[16] For the first time, a non-religious counterpoint emerges to question the British business of Indian opium in China.

Marx's invective links together the licit and illicit sides of the China trade, while implicating every ordinary Briton in causing the disturbance abroad (and as it turns out, at home).

> How silent is the press of England upon the outrageous violations of the treaty daily practiced by foreigners living in China under British protection! We hear nothing of the illicit opium trade . . .

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[15] See also Cambridge Illustrated History of the British Empire.

[16] See J.A. Hobson.

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> the majority of the people out of China care little about the social and moral condition of that country; . . . Thus, the English people at home, who look no farther than the grocer's where they buy their tea, are prepared to swallow all the misrepresentations . . . (March 22, 1857 New York Daily Tribune, qtd. Marx and Engels 107)

His belief that the British tea dealers were self-serving enough to manipulate patriotic rhetoric of "national glory" and "commercial interests" would have touched upon the sensibilities of a population increasingly accustomed to an unstable self-representation, yet a highly stable self-identity built upon the common use of household products, such as tea. In the chapter of Imperial Leather entitled "Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising," Anne McClintock writes of how ordinary domestic commodities became vehicles for imperial rhetoric. She cites tea tins in her list of household items with stamped images of colonial conquest. Similar tea tins are still exported from England today.

"The less glorious successes in China," writes James Franck Bright in 1890, "passed out of public sight, hidden by the terrible scenes of the Indian Mutiny" (292). We see this eclipsing of one portion of imperial activity for another in the histories of the British Empire continue down to contemporary historiography. Much has been made of 1857 and its terrible events shaking the British faith in the Indian colony and empire as an enterprise; articles, books, conferences center on this year's tragic events. What is interesting and unsaid lies in the unusual coincidence of the two events concerning all parts of the golden triangle. Defending India was crucial for the imperial project to continue, whether on a figurative level or on a practical level – all those civil servants and family lives built on sending sons and daughters to

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India, continuing the special status of the "Anglo-Indian," like the figure of Peter Walsh, the third-generation Anglo-Indian in Virginia Woolf's novel Mrs. Dalloway.

For the British interested in expanding their influence in China, the end of the Arrow War meant more treaty ports, including the numerous, small cities clustered around the Yangtze River basin of Western China. Some of these newer settlements never achieved economic sustainability, with just a few diplomatic personnel keeping guard over fragments of literal and legalistic territory. Some others, such as Chungking, became popular and necessary landing places for British travelers and homes in exile, as it was for Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Little. The increased presence of official British personnel opened up more avenues for travel and trade, which in turn brought an increase in travel narratives in the decades after the Arrow War. By the time Isabella Bird travels into the Yangtze Valley of Western China in 1898, a sense of optimism prevails among the British that their treaty ports will be longlasting, and their influence over the increasingly chaotic Chinese government will increase. The goal would be to achieve dominion over China of the kind seen in India, not an unrealistic goal in the minds of British residents and travelers in China during this period. But this sense of optimism would be challenged by other European powers setting up their own spheres of influence (for example, the Germans in Tsingtao) and most dramatically by the Boxer Movement, with its Siege of Peking in 1900. For the British and other Europeans living in China, this event had the same impact as the 1857 Sepoy Uprising in Calcutta.

The Boxers of the 1890s were a group of anti-foreign, anti-Christian Chinese who believed themselves empowered with magical powers, to the point of being immune to swords, bullets, and injury. Unlike the Taiping Movement, the Boxers lacked a charismatic leader or an

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organizational structure. Instead, it was a populist movement rooted in Chinese popular culture, fusing religion, theater, magic, and martial arts in their rituals. The rituals granted magical powers to each participant through mass spirit possession, or a form of channeling. Each Boxer would have the divine spirit enter his/her body while in a state of frenzied trance. According to historian Diana Preston in her recent (2000) study of the European and American experience during the Boxer Rebellion, "the movement's meteoric rise was above all a heartfelt response to desperate and worsening conditions in northern China and an increasing sense of impotence" (24). The public displays for their rituals, where the Boxers showed off the exercises earning them their English name, served to spread public enthusiasm for Chinese potential as a people and a culture, when both seemed equally embattled by the Mongol Ching dynasty and encroaching Western powers.

To ordinary Chinese, the Europeans and the Americans seemed more entrenched by the 1890s, with their missionaries, orphanages, telegraph wires, trains, and steamships – in short, transplanted infrastructure, communications, and institutions. The latter technologies, according to Preston, caused acute suffering to the laborers in traditional forms of transportation. The Boxers drew upon native resentment of the economic changes as well as misinformed beliefs about Westerners' appetites for Chinese bodies to fuel their enterprises. In this case, the Boxers made literal this metaphor for propaganda purposes. Indignant anti-foreigner activists promoted misconceptions such as Westerners' voracious need for pregnant Chinese women's eyes, blood, and nipples to be used in nefarious scientific purposes. Similarly, the Boxers capitalized on superstitious fears about technology; some Chinese believed the windblown telegraph wires sounded like spirits in torment, and that mines

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disturbed earth spirits (Preston 28-30). Economic resentment, unemployment, and cultural clashes propelled the Boxers forward to lay siege to Peking's Foreign Legation in June 1900.

Surrounded by the Boxers, who were supported by Ching imperial troops, the Westerners huddled together in the British compound for two months. This experience caused one of the first international collaborations, both within the siege walls, and outside, where the "Allies" gathered themselves, albeit slowly. In this collection of rescuers were those who would be some of the Great Powers in the East Asian version of the Great Game: United States, France, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, and Japan. United against the Boxers, and by extension, the Ching imperial forces, the "Great Powers" were, according to Andrew Porter, better able to delimit the boundaries of Western identity. The inclusion of Japanese in the besieged Foreign Legation is symbolic here for having their Europeanization recognized, and their Asianness subsumed. While the Russo-Japanese War anchored their reputation for modern warfare, this experience likely reinforced their assimilation of Europeanness to individual diplomats during the incarceration. This close contact, in turn, according to Preston, could only help solidify the Japanese alliance with the Westerners, instead of giving them a chance to demonstrate their eastern exoticism in close quarters.

Until very recently, histories about the British Empire written after 1900 reluctantly discussed the Boxer Rebellion, implicitly suggesting it would be a minor incident in the vicissitudes of empire building rather than a significant moment in Anglo-Chinese relations and European alliances. In 1922, Arthur Innes published A History of England and the British Empire in four volumes, with a substantial section on the Boxer Rebellion covering innumerable pages. Afterwards, he writes of how Europe had "a disposition to believe that the

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celestial empire might provide opportunities for European expansion" (509-10), though China could awaken at any moment with disastrous consequences for would-be imperialists. At once, Innes comprehends the imperial desire of the West with the lessons learned from the Boxers. But the imperial desire is unquenched at the time he writes, and would remain so until the end of World War II, when the British Empire's disintegration becomes manifest by India's independence movements. Preston's study marks a new direction for British interest in the subject by devoting an entire volume to a detailed description and analysis of the event. But this interpretation has not moved beyond the imperially-oriented mindset Innes put forth in his volume.

Nearly all travel narratives written or published after 1900 refer to the Boxers as a watershed moment in Anglo-Chinese relations, one that boded poorly. Archibald Little felt the need to remind the reader that his pilgrimage to Mount Omi represented a more peaceful time that everyone should try to recall and endeavor to recover. Richard tells the reader of his prediction of such an event, and how he plays Cassandra to the unbelieving legislators and clergymen in his circle. The reader of travel narratives written after 1900 can sense an undertone of deterioration in the relationship between the governments and in the possibility of long-term residence in a society undergoing enormous political and economic upheavals. When a traveler can casually mention a visit to the Forbidden City to see the Emperor's throne, for instance, when it had once been impossible to gain an audience at all, we come to understand that the Western construct of China is also changing. Not only do the narratives record a lengthy, arduous paradigm shift in Chinese society, but they also record the necessity to shift British consciousness about how to perceive China. As we will see below, Western

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constructions about the Far East prevail well into the twentieth century and beyond, because stereotypes are more beautiful, picturesque, and sometimes more narratable than reality.

The Lying Traveler: Travel Literature as a Hybridized, Problematic Genre

Travel writing is characterized by what Casey Blanton has called "a complex, impure heritage" (5) because it derives from various forms of representing private reactions to a very public, foreign sphere. Blanton describes the multifarious nature of Victorian women's travel writing as naturally drawing upon textual production from the domestic sphere: "the genesis of women's authorship was typically found in the private sphere: in diaries, letters, and photo albums – texts that remained close to the home and family" (57). It is a feminized genre, according to Blanton's assessment, which is part of his interpretation of Mary Kingsley's work, but travel writing's generic composition may be better described as a rather androgynous one, capable of crossing borders. The androgyny of this hybridized genre more accurately reflects the complexity facing all travelers who endeavor to use multiple means of representing the equally multifaceted experience of travel. In Michael Kowaleski's list of travel writing's origins, he suggests the genre borrows from some more masculine-coded genres as well as those coded feminine: "memoir, journalism, letters, guidebooks, confessional narrative, and most important, fiction" (7). Both writers qualify the statement that travel writing "involves border crossings both literal and figurative" (Kowaleski 7), and point toward the fluidity of the border between fiction and non-fiction. Kowaleski's reference to fiction as one of the origins of travel writing is somewhat ironic, as eighteenth-century audiences perceived fiction to be inferior to the pleasurable instruction offered by travel writings.[17]

[17] See Batten.

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Fictionality in travel literature, however, is a matter of audience perceptions developed by prior reading and consensus of what constitutes truth and facts in one's society. The return of Marco Polo to his native Venice clearly illustrates this problem of audience reception and the insistence on the truth. Marco Polo, his father and uncle returned to Venice dressed in the shabbiest of clothing, insisting on their identities and story of returning from China to a group of disbelieving family members. Their story became credible, it is said, the moment the Polos slit open their coats for jewels and gems to pour out of the linings. Later on, Polo's published narrative earned him the nickname, "Il Milione," in reference to the millions of lies he put forth as his true story of traveling to and from China. Truth is a highly contested concept in travel narratives, particularly because we are so reliant upon a single voice to guide us through the chaos of foreign lands and peoples. According to Percy G. Adams, writing in Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800 (1962), travel writing "provides a rich field of opportunity for liars – who, of course, also claim to be telling the truth" (qtd. Henderson 240). Clearly a liar is always someone else – not the traveler writer him/herself – in this configuration, the liar is always a person who has not received adequate credit for having a unique interpretation of events as they impinge upon his or her consciousness. Even labeling someone else a liar points to a very black-and-white perspective on literary productions about visiting foreign lands. It is limited by the idea of travel narrative as a form of journalism. To Henderson, "travel writing, though it may present itself as mere factual reportage, is in fact a highly selective and self-conscious genre. Although the casual reader may expect strict truthfulness from travel writers – why read travel books if they aren't 'true'? – their works are inevitably circumscribed by text and tradition" (244). Though dubious, the tales told by so-called lying travelers are alluring to those

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who stay at home, and provide a sort of intellectual fodder for those who would claim to identify what is "real" or "true" or even "factual" from the drama and exaggerations. Such need to demarcate the objective facts of another person's experience is an exercise in establishing certainties and knowledge about one's own world and the empirical faculties required in apprehending one's surroundings.

A country is represented by the familiar, repetitive descriptions of landmarks as much as by an author's subjective response. The reality of one's experience is shaped, then, by this convention of the travel narrative, which derives from a long literary history and often presents a reader with the impression that the author is lying because descriptions and impressions have dropped out. But according to Charles L. Batten, Jr.'s study of eighteenth-century travel narrative conventions, certain omissions occur because the writer is bound by readerly expectations to write about particular spots, "in order to give a comprehensive or novel or balanced picture of a foreign country. . . . Absence of a particular kind of description in a travel book scarcely proves that its author was inattentive or unappreciative" (4). The absence of a familiar landmark, such as the Tower of Pisa for travelers in Italy, or the missing discussion on tea drinking in Marco Polo's narrative, would mark one's narrative as faulty and possibly untrue because no one could conceive of missing this sight, and because the guides would be likely to bring visitors to such sites as a matter of course. Because of a knowledgeable reader's memory of reading other such descriptions in travel literature, even a traveler's slightly different reactions to the same monument or vista may have the ring of untruth to the armchair traveler.

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When it comes to visiting China, the truth of one's experiences becomes difficult to gauge because of a common, continued perception throughout the nineteenth century that it is the mysterious, faraway land of highly civilized people. In many areas of the British Empire, and in other places visited by British travelers, the expectation is the reverse; most travelers expect to meet with inferior degrees of civilization, even savagery. But with China, all travelers admit to being in awe of the ancient, highly intellectual culture with its scholarly elite in positions of governmental power. At the same time, the average traveler in China pinpoints varying degrees of rough behaviors in more plebian lifestyles, represented by some of the more sought-after, lurid landmarks. These stereotypical sights, commonly believed by readers at home to be representative of Chinese culture, often prove capable of causing misunderstandings between the two cultures: the cloistered woman's bound foot, sedan chairs with porters, dog and cat restaurants, remote Christian missions, volatile mobs, reports of infanticide, corrupt Buddhist priests, decrepit opium addicts, effete scholar-officials, and hostile local magistrates. Such tropes become rote repetitions, almost markers indicating the authenticity of the landscape, not unlike the reader's expectation of eighteenth-century Grand Tourists to write about European cities "in a similar order, often picking out identical sights in each city to criticize and discuss" in order for readers to gauge the veracity of the descriptions. Batten writes that "[t]his practice ultimately dictated obligatory routes to be followed and sights to be seen" (62) for the eighteenth-century reader to avoid labeling him a "Lying Traveller." As the list above shows, the European list of Chinese cultural landmarks consists of human oddities and curiosities, more than creative endeavors or feats of engineering. Because China's interest for Western readers rests a great deal on its cultural difference and intellectual

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achievements, the technology and architectural landmarks pale in comparison; in fact, most authors make a point of noting the decrepitude of most Chinese buildings as another means of proving their visit occurred. The variability in cultural and social landmarks, as compared to the relative stolidity of architectural descriptions, means travelers' accounts about China do not correlate closely, thereby creating an inherent sense of doubt concerning the authors' actual experiences.

These cultural landmarks become touchstones for comparison and contrast with the unexpected: friendly villagers, beautiful women with natural feet, helpful mandarins, and politely inquisitive intellectuals, to name some surprises for the Victorian readers of these narratives. These realities, which demonstrate a common sense of humanity often sought by travelers, recall the joyous discoveries in Marco Polo's narrative. Therefore the country depicted by the four authors in this project offer a challenge to the Victorian reader's reliance upon time-worn sinophobic tropes. The assumed non-fictional nature of nineteenth-century travel narrative begins to seem porous when challenged by reported experiences of the humanity and change in what had been deemed a moribund, tradition-bound culture. While these images serve to neutralize the negativity of the stereotypes and complicate the discourse of traveling through China, they simultaneously bring a degree of discredit upon the writer. The positive descriptions also work in favor of those readers seeking increased efforts to colonize more sections of China, with its seemingly friendly and welcoming inhabitants.

Chapter Descriptions

Each of the following chapters focuses on individual narratives, organized to reflect occupational agendas rather than chronology. Because occupational agendas determine a great

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deal of the authors' experiences in China, certain pairs of narratives can be usefully extracted from the sequence. Archibald Little's merchant status is juxtaposed with Timothy Richard's missionary work in a pairing that reflects the tension between the two groups of workers, ones whose goals, methods of operation, and length of tenure in China rival each other. Missionaries and merchants could hardly ignore each other in the late nineteenth-century British Empire, as mission work is often seen to incite native unrest against Westerners, disrupting mercantile efforts, which require conservative community patterns of consumption.

Entitled "Nearing God through Science and Modernity: Timothy Richard and the Missionary Narrative of Enlightenment," Chapter 2 examines how the pioneering Baptist Missionary Society member narrates a Chinese world amenable to logical, scientific-minded educators in Forty-Five years in China (1916). Though the publication date is the latest of the four narratives, Richard's work actually shows the farthest historical reach, back to the Taiping Uprisings of the 1850s. This account of working in a spiritual wilderness is a narrative of scientific progress and modernity undertaken in the name of God, with the aim of bringing China into Christian nationhood. While Richard's work to "improve" the lot of his native Christians through scientific and technological means is not innovative, the unusual desire to preserve native religious structures veers towards unorthodoxy, close to the position once held by Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci, whose ideas of grafting certain religious practices onto Christian beliefs were discredited by the Vatican in the late seventeenth century and eventually caused the Ming emperor to expel the Jesuits from the Forbidden City. Richard's work tends toward the effacement of a particular Christian God in favor of a new orthodoxy: scientific and technological logic. From this narrative we can see the fiction of China as a future nation, and

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how the Christian God used to inculcate the values of technological progress is itself also a fiction created and manipulated by missionaries. In many ways, this narrative most closely resembles Marco Polo's work because of the lengthy stay, declaration of personal influence, and public recognition from Chinese politicians.

Chapter 3, "The Merchant's Pilgrimage: Archibald Little's Travels to Mount Omi and Tarchendo," examines how the former tea merchant, entrepreneur, and Royal Geographical Society member based in Chungking goes on a salubrious summer pilgrimage to Buddhist sites on Mount Omi, and then to the city of Tarchendo on Tibet's border. Like Richard, he is a long-term resident of China who still thinks of Britain as his home. And like Richard, he is a champion of both indigenous religious practice and Western technology. However, his love of Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian practices generally rests upon their antiquity and picturesqueness (as they manifest in temple architecture in this narrative) more than their potential to strengthen people's inner lives. By setting up a materially-oriented nostalgia, however faulty, his entrepreneurial schemes for introducing technological innovations find a stable ground. In this way, Little's narrative contributes to the discourse of "improving" or "reforming" the tradition-bound Chinese lifestyle centered on menial labor by showing the discrepancy between current conditions and the future, one featuring a cleaner, more efficient technology and services.

In Chapter 4, "'A Globe-trotter is a Brute': Rudyard Kipling's Tour of the Boundaries of Empire and Fiction in 'From Sea to Sea,'" we see the anxiety of influence on the male traveler aggravated to the degree of near madness, as Kipling himself admits at intervals. The letters written to the Allahabad [India] Pioneer newspaper comprise the collection entitled

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"From Sea to Sea." His observations of the Chinese in Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Canton reveal a fear that the "yellow peril" is as great a threat to British imperial interests in East and Southeast Asia as the Russian encroachment upon on the Indian subcontinent. The young Kipling takes a Cook's tour through Southeast Asia, China and Japan en route to San Francisco, just prior to his debut on London's literary scene in late 1889. Globetrotters comprise a larger percentage of travelers by the end of the nineteenth century, and their fleeting experiences of the empire and semicolonial areas contribute to public opinion on imperial expansion after the return home. China is not merely a country to Kipling, as shown in these letters, but a diasporic nation-empire rivaling Britain's colonizing abilities in Asia. His inflammatory prose borders on pure fiction and shows how sinophobia remains rampant even in a period of numerous travelers' books about China.

The famous traveler Isabella Bird Bishop wrote The Yangtze Valley and Beyond (1899) with a dedication to Lord Robert Cecil, the Marquess of Salisbury, who was a strong supporter of imperial expansion in competition with the other European powers. This narrative is the focus of Chapter 5, "Isabella Bird Bishop's Travels in China's Yangtze Valley: Victorian Travel Narrative Preserving British Imperial Desires in China," which examines how Bird Bishop's history of her travels, using a dramatic narrative style, contributes to motivating imperialists and would-be colonists to move more decisively to help secure valuable land for its proper uses, from those unable to see the wealth they possess. At the same time, Bird Bishop's narrative demonstrates a vast interest and affection for the native Chinese people. We can see this in her discussion of the continued conflict with Westerners over the introduction of opium products, a matter of serious social malaise within the Chinese population. In writing about

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women such as Bird Bishop, the label of "Victorian lady traveler," to use Dorothy Middleton's term from her early study of women travelers, is insufficient because the significance of her work to later travelers comes from writing a definitive reference work as well as a picture of a country that seems to threaten chaos at every turn. It is a deceptive position, for her experiences, particularly those in China, meant that for the British at home, "The voice of Mrs. Bishop was now of some account in the land" (Barr 263). Through her travel narrative a unique female traveler contributes to the historiography of empire-building in the Far East, and the record of what was on offer to those who would enter as the "queen of all I survey."

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Chapter 2. Nearing God through Science and Modernity: Timothy Richard and the Missionary Narrative of Enlightenment

Introduction: Timothy Richard, Missionary

In Charlotte Brontë's novel Jane Eyre, the missionary St. John Rivers shows promise of being a rigid enforcer of Christian teachings to native Indians. This mission to enlighten the heathen masses is expected to end in martyrdom. His character exemplifies the selfless Christian worker in the field, in a master narrative combining idealized missionary mortality and early Christian histories of martyrs. While the martyred missionary plot explains the motivations of many called to service, and those who succumbed while performing their duty to God, it does not serve to tell the story of those who received the calling, survived the transition to a new land, and thrived many years in their mission fields. The martyred missionary plot leaves the reader with unanswered questions, such as, what would have happened if St. John survived fever or never contracted one? How would he have lived many years in the field? What would eventually be his successes and disillusionments?

Of course these questions are salient if the reader can conceive of the missionary's inner life as worthy of examination, and that s/he would be capable of relating the experience of living among native peoples without entirely denigrating their cultural and social training. The missionary opportunities discussed in Jane Eyre and the figure of St. John Rivers are, for readers concerned with postcolonial theory, troubling accessories to the British imperial machine, thereby rendering the missionary aspects of the novel suspect. Within this scope of inquiry it might even be argued that because of the missionary's inextricable links to British merchants and the opium trade, the imperative to single out and analyze a single missionary text would be a means of glorifying an agent of the violence inherent in the conjunction of

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cross, Crown, and commerce. However, this project recognizes the variety and range of those choosing the missionary career, as well as the vastly different responses to the encounter with native peoples. Because the choice of a clerical career was so prevalent in nineteenth-century Britain, the missionary is arguably an extension of that popular vocational path. Furthermore, the missionary is the first British figure to make a significant journey through nineteenth-century China. As travel writing goes, the missionary's tale cannot be ignored.

This chapter focuses on an iconoclastic missionary whose career and personal narrative eschew the ideals espoused by St. John Rivers. Instead of early martyrdom as the pinnacle of successful missionary work, Timothy Richard (1845-1919) of the Baptist Missionary Society spent forty-five years in China, most of them as a married family man working for educational reform. One of his biographers, William Soothill, praises his role in establishing a strong Protestant missionary presence as well as an interested voice in the 1898 Chinese Reform Movement. The title of Richard's narrative, Forty-five Years in China, emphasizes his sustained efforts at conversion, unlike St. John Rivers' projected short burst of glory. In contrast to many missionary narratives of the same period, Richard challenges the missionary goal of teaching the natives that the end of suffering is in heaven. Instead, he sees that it ought to be accomplished in the earthly realm as well. His ideal program for Chinese educational reform emphasizes science education and technological progress as equals to studying the Bible. Richard goes a step further in his eclectic pedagogy to propose that Chinese traditional beliefs share conceptual similarities to Christianity, a belief that later causes him ecclesiastical differences with missionary colleagues.

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The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (1997 ed.) cites Richard as an "outstanding pioneer" for the Baptist Missionary Society in China. Richard's ideas on educational reform for the Chinese and their missionary teachers attracted numerous admirers amongst his peers, such as his first biographer and contemporary, W.E. Soothill. Soothill was not only a longtime Methodist missionary in Wenchow, but also highly prolific with his personal narrative A Mission in China (1907), "the translator of the Wenchow New Testament, Author of The Student's Pocket Chinese Dictionary, Compiler of the Wenchow Romanised System, etc." Soothill's biography, entitled Timothy Richard of China: Seer, Statesman, Missionary and the Most Disinterested Adviser the Chinese Ever Had (1924), fills in Richard's awkward silences about disagreements with colleagues, carefully detailing Richard's motivations behind his actions. Because of Soothill's academic and ecclesiastical reputation, as well as his close relationship with Richard, this biography yields good insight into the qualities that continue to be recognized by later authors.

No doubt Richard's seemingly unorthodox ways, as numerous colleagues labeled them, were actually the vanguard of China's future reformation, if continued interest indicates recognition of his contributions. These books juxtapose the concept of "Christian" with "Reformer" in their assessments of Richard's accomplishments. The most recent study focuses on famine relief policies by Paul Richard Bohr (1972). The early to mid-twentieth century books authored by B. Reeve (biography, 1912), E.W. Price Evans (1945), Brenda Holloway (1945), and Albert Garnier (1945) are aimed more at church history readers. The publication dates for these works closely correlate to the tumultuous changes in recent Chinese history.

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Celebrating Richard's work at these transitional moments of Chinese history affirms his foresight in advocating reform through education and religion.

Richard's narrative shows two different goals in relation to modernity and its foundation in skepticism. The first one can be seen in the content of his narrative, namely his belief that there is one single system ordering the universe, and its mysteries are best elucidated by demonstrations of its workings. Modernity would best describe Richard's mode for reform because he endeavors to eradicate deeply entrenched native religious ideas. As a set of concepts reaching back to the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment, modernity uproots traditional thought patterns and behaviors, many of them based upon the notion of a divinely ordained universe. An educated individual's ability to think for oneself leaves religious dogma behind for the more rational, empirical view of man's place in the world. However, changing the human condition threatens the natural order as explained by native religions and philosophies, where "the chains of superstition by which they were bound in the theory of Yin yang and the five elements . . . explained all the mysterious wonders of heaven and earth" (Richard 55). In addition to the Taoist ordering of the natural world, Chinese society as experienced by Richard and his contemporaries is also a Confucian patriarchy, the product of a social and religious dogma Richard endeavors to modify. Men of various occupations warrant prescribed levels of power and respect, with the Emperor at the top of the scale and the soldier at the bottom, because this is the "Way" as discussed in Confucius's Analects. The high degree of attention paid to one's ancestors and family lineage seems, to Richard's contemporaries, the means of detracting necessary attention to the conditions of the present and its effects on the future.

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Because the principles of Confucianism infiltrate every level of Chinese life, it would be more accurately described as an ethical dogma built upon a social paradigm of benevolence.

The narrative's second goal is to tell the story of Richard's career chronologically with proofs of his conversion success. His goals are to show how science and religion are not mutually exclusive, so that photographs of his mission work and his supporters demonstrate the strength of his proposition. Photographs play a significant role in Richard's narrative of his life in China, as they contradict the common images of Chinese squalor and backwardness with empirical evidence of natives creating order through British Baptist influence and reform. Just as the written narrative is one means for missionaries to prove their long years of work in China have had some spiritual profit, the photographs go a step further towards supporting the various claims that justified their work in the first place, especially the professed "millions" in China needing salvation. From the 1880s onwards, photography becomes the commonplace means of offering "the truth" to the reader. Just as Isabella Bird Bishop's photographs confirmed the wild desolation of western China, and Archibald Little's photographs worked to convince the reader of the danger in the Yangtze River's famous Gorges, many photographs taken for missionary narratives work to confirm J. Hudson Taylor's notion of "China's Millions" and the progress made in bringing enlightenment to them. If we read the photographs as a distinct narrative responding to remarks ridiculing the futility of their calling, then this select body of photographs posits a very earnest rebuttal to the claim of missionary worthlessness. Because Richard also must face the skepticism of his own peers, the photographs must also demonstrate the efficacy of his method to them.

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Richard's desire to better educate the Chinese in science derives from both this impulse to separate the average Chinese person from social/religious dogmas, and to teach that the Christian God can relieve earthly suffering. Bohr writes, "Like the Protestant liberals in the West, Richard emphasized a social interpretation of the Kingdom of God, which he 'understood . . . to take cognizance of all in this world as well as the next, in a word, of man – *body* and *soul*' (172; qtd from Richard, Conversion 2:57). More concretely, Bohr describes the worldly manifestation of the kingdom of God in China through Richard's vision: "a theologically-informed program of modernization which called for the reform of Chinese thought and institutions through the adoption of the salient elements of Western civilization: science, technology, and Christianity. Only in this way could the Chinese attain national salvation; that is, wealth and strength for the state and a better life for the common man" (172). Yet this desire to teach science and its empirically-based skepticism conflicts – at a very fundamental level – with his mission of instilling strong Christian ethics in the Chinese because of the desire to retain older forms of social relationships while introducing new forms of movement and communication which ultimately disrupt those older forms of human connection. In this chapter I argue that Richard's narrative shows the tension between a missionary vocation and a Promethean impulse to bring modernity to the Chinese people, which he sees as complementary means to ameliorating poor living conditions for the common man.

Victorian Novels and Their Representation of the Missionary Enterprise

William Wilberforce, the Evangelical politician famous for his anti-slavery parliamentary work, declared in the late 1820s, "It is the duty of every man to promote the

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happiness of his fellow creatures to the utmost of his power" (qtd. in Pope 5).[18] As it turns out, this Evangelical creed is problematic when confronted with one's "duty" vis-à-vis British nationalism, and the religious imperative to save others for their future happiness. In tension with these pressures to serve a greater whole is the Evangelical teaching that each individual has the liberty of discernment and conscience, enabling a highly personal connection to the Divine, in addition to one's own agenda for what constitutes happiness (via selflessness), and lastly, for our purposes, how one recounts that happiness for the edification of others.

In their depictions of missionaries, travel, and empire, Victorian novels have used the satirical figure of the excited, enthusiastic missionary (or mission supporter) to criticize the enterprise of converting natives in wild places as an expensive, materially-concerned endeavor for churches and charismatic leaders; Mrs. Jellyby in Bleak House by Charles Dickens is a well-known example to most readers.[19] Individual evangelistic enthusiasm of evangelically-minded characters allow the mission leaders to overwork them for the sake of God and salvation. The prevalence of evangelical figures in Victorian fiction reflects the fact that missionary work was a common topic of discussion throughout the nineteenth century, not only for religious reasons but also because it offered opportunities to young people in different parts

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[18] See William Wilberforce.

[19] Susan McAllister writes, "Allan Woodcourt in Charles Dickens's Bleak House is a major missionary figure. As a doctor willing to help the lower class of London, he shares his medical talent and mercy in much the same way as the medical missionaries abroad did. Allan has dedicated his life to home missions where he meets Jo, the street urchin" whose description recalls the foreign heathen" (93). However, in 1978 Norris Pope writes in no uncertain terms about Dickens's dislike of overseas missionaries. He cites a passage from Pickwick Papers (1836-7) showing how Dickens found reform-minded Londoners hypocritical for giving equal attention (in the form of petitions) to abolishing slavery abroad, while rejecting interference with the current factory system in England; as Pope describes it, "the irony was clear: slavery abroad is abhorrent, but slavery at home is useful and profitable" (99). Furthermore, in an anonymous essay published in The Examiner, Dickens writes, "the history of all African effort, hitherto, is a history of wasted European life, squandered European money, and blighted European hope – in which the generous English have borne a great share" (qtd in Pope 99). Dickens does not hesitate to make his views known in multiple and diverse venues, problematizing McAllister's argument, despite its intriguing but flawed New Historicist reading.

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of the empire. According to Elisabeth Jay, "major and minor novels alike confirm the historians' acclamation of Evangelicalism as one of the two most important influences of Victorian society" (6). Central to criticisms of missionary goals, such as that from Dickens, is the teaching of modernity to an infantilized, "backwards" population, only to teach them how to reproduce lower-class deference to middle-class ideology, particularly its emphasis on domesticity. Natives of backwards countries would be educated well enough, but not enough to become equal colleagues to their British teachers.

Charlotte Brontë's novel Jane Eyre (1847) appears decades prior to the publication of Timothy Richard's missionary narrative, but her novel usefully presents the social background of missionaries, their critics, and the readers of missionary narratives during Evangelicalism's period of greatest sway. Brontë's depiction of the missionary's context provides us with the background conditions for Richard's call to service, which occurred after an international revival movement in which he was baptized. Richard writes that this movement "swept almost like a prairie fire over America, North Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Norway, and Sweden in 1858-60, the most godless men suddenly breaking down and becoming converted" (22).

Charlotte Brontë's portrayal of the self-renunciating Evangelical anticipating martyrdom in India offers what is perhaps the Victorian novel's strongest vision of the missionary endeavor. For many twenty-first century secularly-oriented readers of Jane Eyre, St. John Rivers is an inscrutable character, even a sinister one, and literary critics endeavor to define the reasons for any attractions he may provoke despite deep suspicion over his rigid religiosity. Maria LaMonaca, in rereading Jane Eyre's conclusion to be an irresolution of Jane's choice between domesticity and faith, presents his character as conflicted yet fascinating:

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"saintly, devoted Christian . . . viewed in many circles as a most eligible bachelor . . . clearly self-aggrandizing, manipulative, inflexible, and legalistic . . . [who] buckles under the weight of his own perfection" (250). Likewise, J. Jeffrey Franklin, writing on the overlapping discourses of spirituality in the novel, sees St. John as a most complex character because of Jane's ambivalence toward him, an ambivalence deriving from the mixture of personal integrity, piety, and negative Calvinistic traits reminiscent of Mr. Brocklehurst, the one-time master of Lowood School (466). These critics do not seek to redeem Rivers as a positive character, but suggest his negative portrayal as a structural tool for Jane's later development, as other studies explore.

Literary critics lately have interpreted the character St. John Rivers as a key figure in Jane's *Bildungsroman* (Rich, Franklin, LaMonaca, Thormählen), offering a viable vocational path. Franklin goes so far as to declare that Jane chooses to be a missionary of love and sympathy to Rochester – obeying God in a non-idolatrous way, free of masculine mediation – rather than being subjugated to St. John's "doctrine of endurance" which is "more a matter of personal ambition" (467). LaMonaca reminds readers that it is possible to interpret Jane's choice as one between faith and domesticity, and that her choice of becoming Rochester's wife-nurse at Ferndean is ultimately unsatisfactory to one who once dreamed of traveling to faraway lands, as an escape from her cousins' abuses at Gateshead (257). Jane reacts to St. John's presentation of Christianity, in these interpretations, as a temptation into a form of domesticity that threatens to be even more rigid and stifling than the one she ultimately embarks upon at Ferndean, because missionary domesticity will be a continuous struggle against two masculine agendas, not simply one: St. John's desire for glory, and St. John's interpretation of God's work. In these interpretations, St. John is seen as extending the promise of a heaven after death,

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after enduring this world's sufferings, so that to the present-day reader Jane appears to have chosen moderation, but possibly one that admits to human weakness for material comfort within the context of an Evangelically-influenced culture.

Jane Eyre shows us that an Evangelical missionary will see the world in extremes, forcing others to select ideas or modes of action that seem opposed to one another. As the scion of an ancient family, St. John has the choice of marrying the adoring heiress Rosamond Oliver as well as reestablishing the Rivers family influence in the region, or to become a missionary to India, with his cousin Jane as his helpmeet-wife. By choosing the latter he forgoes the material comforts of domesticity in favor of glorious self-sacrifice. Many present-day readers would find it easy to agree with Mr. Oliver on his assessment of St. John Rivers's missionary ambitions: "He accounted it a pity that so fine and talented a young man should have formed the design of going out as a missionary; it was quite throwing a valuable life away" (413). Given his education, family history, and the security offered by a marriage to Rosamond Oliver, it is easy to see how St. John could have become a source of strength in his home community. Brontë uses Jane Eyre's appearance in his family circle to bring out a missionary's struggle to choose, deciding whether his potential lies in forwarding a Christian nation abroad or solidifying traditional ties in his homeland.

St. John's character is one of suppressed passion, tightly bound by a hierarchal structure of righteousness.[20] He believes that his desire for Rosamund Oliver consists of "a last conflict with human weakness" (405) which he is sure to overcome. To do so, he wills himself to pour his passion into doing religious battle in India, where he can actively put down heathenism and

[20] Salman Rushdie parodies St. John Rivers's suppressed desires in his depiction of Oliver D'Aeth's lust for Aurora da Gama in The Moor's Last Sigh (1995).

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its unrestrained sensuality. He tells Jane that "God had an errand for me; to bear which afar, to deliver it well, skill and strength, courage and eloquence, the best qualifications of soldier, statesmen and orator . . . for these all centre in the good missionary" (404-5). St. John sees himself as part of a divinely ordained hierarchy, a "martial" one, per LaMonaca (248), charged with imparting the Gospel to the benighted. His list of ideal missionary qualifications fills the role of lawgiver, rather than a teacher of a new belief and lifestyle. Franklin's interpretation agrees with St. John's role as lawgiver as he endeavors to lay claims to Jane for "[his] Sovereign's service", in an effort to subjugate her "as if she were the Indian village he will colonize" (468). Though he speaks about religious law, it is not unlike the imperial project of bringing the secular civil code to the Indian people in order to mold them into orderliness.[21] Quite ominously, for those who will come under St. John's influence, his sister Diana notes, "he forgets, pitilessly, the feelings and claims of little people, in pursuing his own large views" (463). Here is a teacher incapable of entering into his students' subjective positions, including their prior experiences with religion and education, because they do not fit his agenda for change. His first pupil, Jane, experiences his narrowly focused notion of useful education.

Jane notices that her cousin's self-renunciatory trait requires that his partner be the same, as he begins to press her into becoming the perfect missionary helpmeet. St. John's insistence on Jane's abrupt shift to studying Hindustani foreshadows a future inflexibility in teaching Christian doctrine. In teaching Jane, St. John shows his ability to disregard a person's background and context for what would be a more glorious future. His demand that Jane switch to studying Hindustani does not acknowledge any significance in her prior German lessons

[21] See Bhabha 102-22.

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with his sister Diana, a course of study that is actually more useful for future governess posts. During his tutelage, Jane finds herself denying more and more parts of her self-expression, whereas she was loved by Rochester for her fearless speech. Jane's sessions with her would-be husband are filled with dread of saying the wrong thing, as well as a sense of "servitude." In order to please St. John, it is imperative to "disown half my nature, stifle half my faculties, wrest my tastes from their original bent, force myself to the adoption for which I had no natural vocation. . . . The thing was as impossible as to mould my irregular features to his correct and classic pattern" (444). St. John creates a space that expects seriousness and complete obedience. Having secured Jane's obedience to his desires, he uses legalistic rhetoric to convince Jane that her destiny is to be his wife in India: " It is what I want . . .. Jane you would not repent marrying me; be certain of that; we *must* be married. I repeat it: there is no other way" (454). Unlike Jane, he cannot see themselves as siblings or platonic partners in the field, but only as a married couple, which is to him the only option. The call to duty is ominous, spoken like a death sentence for Jane's soul. Brontë shows how eliminating parts of the self in order to please a patriarchal figure – as St. John decidedly becomes upon the death of his father and uncle – diminishes the self that is already inherently divine and spiritual. Jane experiences the threat of reeducation similar to that experienced by Indians under missionary teachings and colonial rule.

Jane ultimately rejects St. John's efforts at colonization in order to affirm her spirituality beyond religion, in the spirit of love beyond St. John's prescribed forms of expressing love. Her earnest request for a "sign" from God telling her to marry St. John Rivers

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is answered by the mysterious call from Mr. Rochester: "Jane! Jane! Jane!"[22] It is the famous "mental travelling" or mesmeric scene many readers have pondered for possible supernatural or spiritualist underpinnings. But in the context of missionary discourse, the "inexpressible feeling" that takes over Jane's whole body, causing her to hear a voice, can be interpreted as a calling. It is a call to love at the very moment she asks for divine guidance as to whether following duty, as Mrs. Rivers, is adequate for her. As Mrs. Rochester, Jane eventually fulfills both imperatives of love and duty. This interpretation of Jane's choice agrees with Franklin, who goes on to emphasize not only the rejection of Calvinistic Evangelicalism but to affirm an unnamed, rejuvenated spirituality, "a secular spiritualism that returns . . . to the *form* of Christian morality but that perhaps serves other, additional social goals" (480). Unlike her cousin, Jane is seen by Franklin as a missionary figure capable of seeing the claims and feelings of little people, having been one of them herself very recently.

Vocation and education lie at the center of Jane's dilemma, because she must choose how she will learn her role in life, and how to behave in relation to her teacher. Becoming Rochester's wife may not appear to be most satisfactory, as it cannot deliver from the seclusion of "moldy" Ferndean or continuous ministering to her husband's needs, with the added duties of becoming a mother. But Jane has been offered the means of learning an alternative means of becoming a wife. Rochester's injuries prevent him from dominating the household and his wife, as he might have expected to while at Thornfield. Instead, she becomes his eyes and right hand, indispensable to his decision-making and daily existence. Teaching her how to be his

[22] See Sutherland 59-65.

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"right-hand man" also means he learns how to compromise and view her work as equal to what his would have been.

St. John presents the educational agenda that erases identity, prior experiences, and passions. This erasure allows a student to take on his or her new persona of a subjugated student who must assimilate and wholeheartedly accept St. John's teachings because he is the servant of an all-knowing God, and is likewise "omniscient" (LaMonaca 250). In the earthly realm of suffering, therefore, St. John has no colleagues and nothing more to learn. According to missionary narratives such as Richard's, this stereotype of the Evangelical missionary who harbors infallible ideas of God, and focuses on saving innumerable (and nonindividuated) heathen bodies for Heaven, cannot hold when one enters into the field filled with unique individuals. Rigid pedagogical methods, such as those St. John utilizes with Jane, threaten to keep native students from becoming believers with an unmediated, intimate relationship with God because of the fear of angering God's intermediary. Jane Eyre's Ferndean existence offers a glimmer of hope for a more progressive future with Rochester, where they will continue to become more equal partners in marriage. Jane's choice, therefore, is one that Richard's narrative agrees with for its emphasis on individual thought, its roots in a direct relationship with the spiritual, sympathetic God, and its respectful means of educating individuals to create positive community change in the earthly realm. Richard's relationship to native Chinese converts resembles Jane's relationship to Rochester at the close of Jane Eyre, because it is not possible to predict the outcomes of such unorthodox relationships within their respective contexts, as the histories of missions and Victorian marriages offer few precedents.

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Historicizing Missionary Narratives

The type of religious worker represented by St. John Rivers did not suddenly arise during the early nineteenth century's Evangelical movements, but draws upon a long history of work abroad. Narratives of travel in China authored by members of missionary societies have the longest genealogy of all the narratives discussed in this dissertation, reaching far back to the earliest narratives of European encounters with the Other.[23] During the period examined in this project, 1880-1916, missionaries produced a higher volume of narratives than ever before because the Chinese imperial government permitted more missions and Westerners to establish themselves in the country. This growth increased markedly after the mid 1870s for all mission workers, when China officially conceded more privileges to the French Catholics in compensation for the 1870 Tientsin Massacre, directed against their missionaries.

The prolific writing from missionaries suggest their view of texts as their armory, whether as weapons for conversion or defensive means of proving their worth. In his 1905 essay, "Missionaries in China," Alexander Michie's evidence for this idea comes from the heavy volume of missionary writing, which would be expected of Evangelical Protestants testifying to a personal relationship with God, and of their triumphs in saving souls. "From the official reports of missionaries," begins Michie's reading list, "from their contributions to their own periodicals, from the diaries and personal letters which occasionally obtain the like publicity, and from conversations with individuals belonging to several sections, the general deduction to be drawn is that their attitude toward Chinese ethics, philosophy, and religion is that of war to the knife" (35-6). Michie sees the missionaries aggressively moving to convert

[23] See Percy Adams for his densely packed comparative study of travel writing from various European literatures.

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the Chinese through an erasure of their existing culture, with scanty regard for native opinion.[24] In eliminating the old traditional religions, another old-fashioned religious tradition seems to have taken its place, rather than changing the paradigm altogether. Failure to be really progressive lies with the missionaries themselves, according to his interpretation of the texts written by and for their seemingly insular community. His critique of missionary work suggests characters similar to St. John Rivers are writing only for each other, without really examining their mission critically, in relation to those being converted. Michie's generalizations leave out the efforts of real missionaries such as Richard, who is marginalized by many of his peers precisely because he does not heed the motivation cited above by Michie. Instead of continually reading other Protestants' memoirs, Richard's reading list includes the latest science texts for laypersons: Huxley's Elementary Lessons in Physiology, "books on Astronomy, Electricity, Chemistry, Geology, . . . Engineering, Workshop Tools; books on Medicine and various Industries . . ." (160). From wide reading comes individual motivation and thought, which in turn leads to a stronger direct relationship to God, ideas supported by Richard's interest in promoting progress by teaching Chinese students how to think independently of traditional social hierarchies and ideas of education.

"Protestantism had always been a 'book religion,'" write Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall in their historical study on the rise of the English middle class, "laying emphasis on the importance of private reading and thought" (156). Individuals were taught to read and think for themselves, thereby achieving a more intimate communion with God through this process of literate individuation. This bookish tendency derived from Enlightenment and

[24] Many missionaries did not actually espouse this erasure; Richard is a prominent example of this preservationist stance.

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Romantic ideals, and was highlighted by the Evangelical movement. Evangelical emphasis on literacy spawned a highly literature-focused culture in the provincial middle classes during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, with religiously oriented texts forming the core of this canon. The proliferation of religious publications starting from this period contributes to nation building, according to historian Linda Colley: "Throughout Great Britain, ordinary men and women now had increased access to religious material in their own language. . . . This enormously enhanced access to print was a vital part of the conviction that Protestant Britons were peculiarly privileged" (42). Colley notes that 130 new titles are listed under the category of religion in the upscale Gentleman's Magazine of 1750, not including provincial publishers and titles already published.

The influence of popularized, literate Protestantism continued well into the Victorian era, which many readers and scholars see in the influence of "Mrs. Grundy" on Mudie's Circulating Library and the debates over content. According to Richard Altick, Evangelicalism's success in the middle classes drove the newly changed attitude towards novels in the mid-nineteenth century. The effort to distinguish themselves from the more frivolous and immoral lower and upper classes manifested in highly regulated middle-class households with morally sanitary atmospheres. Novels once thought "godly" became perceived as "profane" literature, excluding numerous works so that the Bible and Paradise Lost became preferred Sunday readings for the family circle.[25] The tightening circle of

[25] Altick cites the example of Anthony Trollope's submission of his novel Rachel Ray for submission to Good Words in 1863, and its subsequent rejection because of questionable material (Refer to Trollope's Autobiography for details on this episode, 124-7. See also Margaret Beetham's discussion of Christian women's magazines, 48-56; and the discussion in Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850 by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, on Evangelicalism's influence on the rise of the middle class through their literacy (Part One).

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acceptable family reading would have opened up the space for missionaries' published personal letters and diaries, as well as their longer travel narratives. Because of the focus on work for Christ in the heathen fields, the missionaries' travel narratives could easily encompass lurid and sometimes questionable moments without offense; consider the dual role played by National Geographic Magazine as both semi-pornography and educational publication in the twentieth century. Undoubtedly missionary tales had great impact on Victorian youth, predisposing many of them to consider the Empire and outlying areas as reasonable alternatives for future vocations and a means to find adventure.

The general popularity of religiously oriented publications appears to have continued from the end of the nineteenth century into the early part of the twentieth century, if missionary narrative publication records give any indication. Although the narratives on China discussed in this chapter typically do not achieve the popularity attained by David Livingstone's Missionary Travels (25 editions), J. Hudson Taylor's works come close with seventeen editions of his memoir Retrospect and more than five editions of his other works calling attention to China's needs. Grace Stott, one of Hudson Taylor's earliest China Inland Missionaries, saw her narrative of pioneering China Inland Mission work go through four editions between 1897 and 1904. Her first edition was published simultaneously in New York and London, similar to other missionary publications with dual publication releases on either side of the Atlantic. Some authors, such as Richard's biographer W.E. Soothill, had already established a public reputation from publishing other China-related works.[26] His expertise in Chinese language and history,

[26] His 1907 narrative, entitled A Mission in China, was released simultaneously in the United States under the title A Typical Mission in China. The reasons for this change are not clear, though the American publisher is a partnership between F.H. Revell of New York and the Young People's Missionary Movement.

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affirmed by his publication of reference books, lent enough credibility to attract respectable notices from reviewers in England.

The historical conditions surrounding their presence in China, as well as their original evangelical imperative, have rendered missionaries' narratives of their experiences generally suspect in our present secular context, and perhaps even more so within the context of narratives about China. As in other parts of the British empire, the missionaries called to China occupy a troubled space between oppressor and champion for the native people, especially during this period of the "Scramble for China," to paraphrase the familiar term from African colonial history. The scholarly suspicion arising from these two contexts have relegated this group of travelers' narratives to obscurity, despite the real internal conflicts expressed by some of the writers relative to their official functions.

European missionary presence in nineteenth-century China is complicated by close proximity to the opium trade and military forces, causing many literary critics to suspect extraterritorial motives lurk beneath their proclaimed religious mission. Indeed, many early missionaries found themselves traveling on the same ships that brought opium to Chinese compradors in the treaty ports, then preaching against opium addiction within their native congregations. The same business that they abhorred as a corruption of their Christian enterprise simultaneously provided the reason for the British government to supply military protection, and provided the civilian supports (transportation, communication, population centers in cities) needed for the missionary presence to continue.

History shows that missionary activities caused a number of Chinese conflicts with Europeans in the nineteenth century, strongly supporting the reasons for scholarly ambivalence

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and suspicion towards the missionaries. In each case, violence erupted because of a desire to surpress the social changes wrought by Christians, whether native or European. The Taiping Uprising (1850-54) was the result of a Chinese Christian bringing peasants together in an attempt to set up a new kingdom of God (with Chinese, instead of Manchu, rulers). This charismatic leader, Hong Xiuquan, came to be converted as the result of receiving a Chinese translation of the Bible by Charles Gutzlaff, one of the early successful nineteenth-century missionaries in China. The Tientsin Massacre (1870) resulted from native Chinese outrage over rumors circulated about Catholic missionaries and their dismemberment of children for "useful" body parts.[27] Anti-missionary agitation and violence continued intermittently and exploded in the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. While the Victorian scholar usually knows about the missionaries' part in the angry debate over the opium trade, their religious affiliation has rendered them more negligible than the integral players they are in these events of Anglo-Chinese history. But this neglect may reflect our more secular world, since the Victorians clearly did not view missionary work abroad as a minor concern, its prominence marked by Parliamentary debate and common everyday discourse.[28]

In her unpublished dissertation (1997) Susan McAllister points out that missionary narratives have been marginalized in the regular critical discourse on postcolonial theory, despite the fact they were widely read in their day. The religious nature of the narratives may

[27] See Diana Preston's discussion of anti-Christian violence leading up to the Boxer Rebellion, which included the Tientsin Massacre.

[28] Because of the 1870 Tientsin Massacre, the "missionary question" was posed in Parliament, specifically focusing on those working in China.

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have helped their success, because of numerous mission supporters.[29] Their numbers would have been quite high in the 1880s, as another Evangelical wave swept over Britain. The reasoning for present-day scholarly marginalization comes from the common perception that missionaries were opportunistic accessories to British imperial desires, instead of being the more ambivalent, questioning individuals that McAllister examines.[30] She, too, looks to the missionary figures in Victorian fiction for their cultural context and popular reception as workers in the field.

Susan Schoenbauer Thurin supports McAllister's observation, declaring that missionaries in China would be handled as a "subject" rather than as individual authors, despite their easy fit into the first of her two "streams" of travel writers as "long-term foreign residents."[31] Thurin's use of the phrase "objects of touristic interest" to describe Victorian views on missionaries falls into a long-standing tradition of implicating their religious impulse in the earnest promotion of imperialism. Such objectification perpetuates their status as the collective subject of the "missionary question" that became a Parliamentary debate in 1871 after the Tientsin Massacre, which was directed against missionaries. The safety of British missionaries abroad became a widely discussed matter in public discourse, because of their conflicting desires for diplomatic protection and the freedom to move beyond safe zones to evangelize and itinerate.

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[29] "[T]he cultural nuances and tensions of these narratives," writes McAllister, "which, though ignored by many critics, show the ways missionaries represented markers of cultural difference between themselves and the Chinese" (41).

[30] For these interpretations of missionaries in the imperial project, see Mary Louise Pratt; Abdul JanMohamed; Norman Lewis; T.O. Beidelman; Winfried Baumgart; Julian Pettifer and Richard Bradley. See also new historicist readings, for example Jerome Ch'en.

[31] Her second category is "globetrotter," the more leisure-oriented traveler who usually includes China in a round-the-world itinerary. See Thurin 14.

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McAllister's analysis serves to open up the genre of travel narratives to include those heavily focused on religious vocation. To ignore religious vocation and interest in the imperial project would be to discount a greater part of the Victorian experience; displacement of Victorians into the colonies or would-be colonies does not erase this interest from home. As scholars of the period must be adept in their knowledge of the ecclesiastical movements in order to have a full understanding of social movements and influences, understanding the missionary perspective in travel writing brings greater complexity to the imperial project instead of relying upon any hackneyed missionary stereotypes.

For the purposes of this discussion, McAllister's argument helps to acknowledge the divide between secular and religious Victorian literature, and the loss incurred when religiously-oriented travel literature and its own set of narrative strategies are banished to the periphery of academic study. This chapter's analysis uses her work, one emerging from a new historicist perspective, as a point of departure for discussing the ways missionaries and their experiences constitute legitimate texts for literary critics interested in narratology.

Richard's Precedents for Missionary Iconoclasm

Missionary precedents exist for the efficacy of mixing science with religion in the endeavor to bring social and educational reform to native peoples. Medical missionaries stand out in the contemporary criticism as being most useful in performing actual services to native populations. Fellow missionaries cite many conversions attributed to being started by the medical miracles performed by these specially trained workers. Many Victorian missionary narratives about China cite the influences of David Livingstone, medical missionary to Africa,

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and Charles Gutzlaff, the first successful medical missionary in China.[32] These Protestant forebears offer successful techniques for making converts, and are considered heroes. Based on this precedent, Richard's educational agenda utilizing scientific experiments and the latest apparatus would not have been entirely novel or controversial. Jesuit missionaries in Peking during the late eighteenth century brought astronomical instruments, some of which can still be seen today, and introduced new methods of organizing information, dramatically presented in historian Jonathan Spence's book on the best known Jesuit, Matteo Ricci.

Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci's 1616 narrative is a frequent reference because it presents a controversial precedent for missionary success. Better known to Victorian missionaries as a cautionary tale about Catholic missionary failings, Ricci's methodology was eventually deemed unorthodox by the Vatican because it did not insist on the purity of Christian practice being transmitted. Richard's own unorthodoxy, as pronounced by his Protestant contemporaries, emulates Ricci's aim in making conversions among the upper-class, educated Chinese.

Ricci's most infamous instance of mixing Christian rituals with Chinese cultural traditions has become part of the so-called "Rites controversy" which precipitated a break between the Chinese Emperor and the Vatican in the early 1600s. Ricci would place the Christian altar before the Chinese ancestor display typically found in each home. The new convert was to pray before this altar, at the same time paying respects to his ancestors. This arrangement seemed to be a means of making a transition between the new faith and Confucian family tradition. While this made conversion easier, debate grew over the validity of this and

[32] See David Livingstone and Charles Gutzlaff.

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other modified practices among the different religious orders. This internecine warfare led to the overall discreditation of Catholics at the Imperial Court, and their eventual banishment from the Emperor's inner circle. In turn, the Vatican declared Ricci's approach invalid.[33] To continue using the combined altar, for example, would dilute Christian teachings and missionary authority. Unfortunately for the Christians, they could not fully grasp the non-religious nature of the Confucian imperative to pay respect to one's ancestors, because the forms often appear religious. In fact, no god-like qualities are ever attributed to the ancestors in these ceremonies or elsewhere in Confucian daily practices, which are focused primarily on mundane behaviors.[34]

Far less tolerant of religious imagery than the Catholics, the Protestant conversion process often included a violent destruction of "idols." These included shrines to household gods, and tablets inscribed with family names. In the early days of Protestant missionary work, the discourse of conversion focused a great deal on convincing new converts and Inquirers to demolish such imagery.[35] Richard views this hatred for idolatry as hatred for Chinese culture. In response to a missionary proudly announcing a convert's imminent destruction of his family altar, Richard asks, "When he burns his tablet, I suppose you will at the same time burn your parents' photographs?" (146). His interpretation of indigenous Chinese customs admits to

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[33] Jacques Gernet puts forth the assertion that the Jesuit influence over China would have been deeper and longer lasting if the "conciliatory attitude adopted by Matteo Ricci to Chinese customs and usages had not provoked reactions among his colleagues as soon as the great missionary was dead and if it had not in the end been repudiated by the Church. This was the famous 'dispute over Chinese rites' which poisoned relations between China and Europe in the eighteenth century" where the debate centered on a metaphysical point of whether or not Chinese religious rites centered on a long-past divine Revelation or whether they were rooted in agnosticism and atheism (517).

[34] "Ancestors are treated like living beings, who although dead, are still believed to have rights and duties," according to folklorists Carol Stepanchuk and Charles Wong (68).

[35] A distinction between these two items rests on their religious or cultural function. Ancestral tablets represent Confucian practice, which is not religious, but encourages cultural cohesion. Household shrines are more religious in nature, usually Buddhist.

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praiseworthy qualities and religion's connections to family history, rather than simply labeling adherence to indigenous iconography as "sinfulness." The equation of a tablet to the family portrait photograph shows his view they are both forms of recording technology: the two formats achieve the same aim of preserving links with one's past, and are both objects assigned great value to the point of fetishism, though capable of being viewed by outsiders as being worthless.

Apostle of Modernity: China's Conversion through Science Education

Readerly interest in British travel narratives about nineteenth-century China lies in the seemingly evident lack of modernity in China and its people. This perception is supported on a material level by highly visible obstructions to travel, such as those appearing in the infrastructure (roads in particular) and sanitary conditions. Chinese deficiencies are not only ones requiring technological or scientific changes, but also need social change, as when travelers eagerly report the sight of infanticides and cloistered women with tightly bound feet. These two sights are rarely seen by travelers, but are used as tropes for justifying Western intervention in an oppressive, tradition-bound society.

Missionaries are no exception to this general trend, as they wish to disabuse the Chinese of their idolatrous practices for the enlightenment of Christianity. Many of them work to change their communities through changing mundane practices, such as teaching them English-style domesticity.[36] The impetus for change lies in changing belief systems, but for Richard, the rationale for converting the Chinese to Christianity via exposure to modern science and technology comes from actual experiences with famine relief.

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[36] See Hannah Davies, affiliated with the China Inland Mission, for her discussion of teaching young girls how to enjoy cleanliness and routine.

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Ricci's adoption of the Chinese scholar's dress allowed entry into the highest circles, thereby granting social legitimacy to the new faith; such cross-dressing would be adopted later by nineteenth-century British missionaries as the safest means of infiltrating the Chinese mainland. The need to dress Chinese-style offered some physical safety to early missionaries such as Richard, because of their few numbers during mid-century. While he discovers actual cross-dressing to be efficacious in bringing religious enlightenment to the people, Richard adopts the notion of cross-dressing in his conversion rhetoric, in his efforts to teach the literati the means to a Christian salvation through scientific discourse. He "dresses" God's work in the form of the natural phenomena analyzed in scientific experiments.

"I maintain that the study of science ought to be held in as much reverence as religion, for it deals with the laws of God" (Richard 123), Richard writes, as his narrative's progress talks more about the scientific education he undertakes for the educated elites of Ching-chow-fu, his missionary posting for a decade. Science as another form of gospel is reiterated throughout his narrative, as well as Soothill's biography. Yet neither man ventures to point out the fundamental paradox of this statement and its cognates: the empirical skepticism of scientific work must eventually run counter to the inculcation of religious training. In fact, he sees scientific education as part of a destiny manifested through controlling the environment: "[Western civilization] sought to discover the workings of God in Nature, and to apply the laws of Nature to the service of mankind. This was in obedience to God's command to Adam to have dominion over all things" (122).

Richard's use of science education is related to Livingstone and Gutzlaff's reliance on their medical skills to start natives on the path to conversion. Many Victorian travel writers on

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China hesitate to discount missionary endeavors in the case of medical missionaries because curing diseases and saving opium overdoses are acts of salvation in themselves. Even less overtly religious individuals, such as Isabella Bird Bishop, gave money freely to those rendering medical assistance to the Chinese.[37] By seeing the "miracle" performed, whether bringing an opium overdose back from the brink of death or nursing cholera patients, the Chinese would be exposed to a new way of preserving life. Such a dramatic change would be good cause to listen to the other new ideas at the mission house.

In contrast to the more populist approach taken by many Protestant missionaries, Richard theorized that the conversion of Chinese people to Christianity would be best achieved through the teaching of science to the literati, or the intellectual elite. The literati were often highly educated, albeit in how to write about the Classics required on Imperial examinations. Richard's conceptualization of this top-down method comes from personal experience with typical methods, and an understanding of Chinese social hierarchy. His interest in the wealthier, more influential class does not push the poor and needy aside, as the narrative consistently notes the conversion of local villagers. Instead, he follows the precedent set by Catholic missionaries, notably the Jesuits who were well received in court during the previous dynasty. According to his biographer Soothill, Richard believed that "the enlightenment of the educated classes" was the means of causing "truth" to progress more rapidly through the Chinese population because the intellectual elite controlled the government. The trickle-down effect would be most effective, "as water flows downhill more easily than it is pumped up, so truth

[37] In 1897, during her journey through the Yangtze Valley to the eastern boundary of Szechuan Province, she donated the funds to start a mission hospital, named for her sister, in Paoning Fu, Szechuan (The Yangtze Valley and Beyond, II, 11).

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will progress more rapidly when it is advocated by educated men, and men in influential positions" (Soothill 122).

The impulse toward presenting modernity as inextricably tied to the educational process starts with his own training, by agitating for modern changes to a more traditional curriculum based in "barren metaphysical and theological studies" (Richard 25). As a young student at Haverfordwest Theological College in Pembrokeshire (1865-9), Richard is one of the student activists demanding curriculum reform, namely "living languages . . . universal history, covering such lands as Egypt, Babylon, India, and China" and "science with its modern applications" (Richard 25). The mid-Victorian world has made inroads into the countries named, and the financial successes of Britain's industrial North comes from technological advances. The student agitators, who are willing to risk expulsion for this challenge to academic authority, clearly seek to link religion to the greater world, which grows larger and more diverse all the time, given the demand for "living" languages and different countries comprising the British imperium.

Student activism is a fond memory for Richard, for he claims his long history of iconoclasm starts at Pembrokeshire with this "revolution." "I mention this incident because in all my after missionary life I endeavoured to seek the methods most productive of results, rather than adhere to old ones not adjusted to the changing needs of the times" (26). He acknowledges that the greater effect of his active work did not adhere completely, as the college returned to its older curriculum fifteen years after his graduation. In contrast to his later reform work, this change was sudden and forced upon the greater whole by top-level administrators. The episode proves his ability to effect sudden change, but exposes the shallow

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roots of sudden paradigm change when the subjects of reform do not receive adequate preparation and constructive recontextualization of older ideas.

Chaotic Beginnings: The Spiritual Wilderness of China as Arena for Developing Methodology

This section will outline Richard's commonplaces with his missionary colleagues, and show where he departs from their ideas, particularly in the earliest stages of establishing a presence. Even from Richard's early days when he was one of a handful of religious workers, numerous sects were represented. At times competition would break out not only between sects, but within the same sect's missionary workers, as was the case with Richard during the middle of his career. The chaos in transmitting Christian teachings complements the missionaries' perception of a greater chaos lying all around them in the form of ancestor-worshipping, idolatrous Chinese. Richard's accomplishments include not only taking a lesson from the chaos of the Shansi famine, which will be discussed in the next section, but also in being observant enough at the early stages of mission settlement to assess best practices for future workers, and record them for posterity. His work for reforming China also brought about attempts to reform the reformers themselves.

On February 24, 1870, Richard arrived in Chefoo, China, one of the British treaty ports opened in 1860 as part of the concessions from the Arrow or Second Opium War. At the time, he was only the second Baptist missionary in China; he became the sole BMS representative in China after his colleague's death from typhus a few months later. Because Richard was the sole BMS missionary in China for years, he was obliged to work efficiently, and to create a significant presence in a short period of time. The early section of Forty-five Years in China rehearses the tropes employed by his missionary writers, such as itinerations combined with

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Bible-selling, and street-side preaching. Walking tours, or itinerations, comprise this section's short journeys through rural China where he sold Bibles and preached in the streets. Setting up an impromptu pulpit on the street corner frequently attracted attention, in the same way native storytellers would ply their trade in public spaces. These are methods that had been used frequently in Britain during the Great Awakening movement, so the early missionaries often fall back on these traditional methods, after having learned the language. But knowledge of Chinese language alone does not bring success, as missionaries relying on these techniques could not know that they offered an exotic curiosity, rather than education towards a new religious paradigm.

The mid-century missionaries were not the first to bring Christianity to China, but the enormity of the population and its resistance to conversion often left them feeling like pioneers, or apostles wandering into a new territory. In most towns and villages they received peaceful attention from natives who purchased the Bibles, but relatively few had declared themselves Christian in 1870. Some of these encounters resemble explorer tales, such as Richard's 1871 itineration into Manchuria and Korea. This episode has been divided into ten subsections, the first three labeled, "Threatened Shipwreck," "Sunstroke," "Robbers." He prefaces this portion of the narrative with an overview, "[w]e had an adventurous journey, and narrowly escaped capture in Korea" (Forty-five 37), which indicates less religious than sheer survival concerns dominated the itineration, to the point where Richard tells of how he and his partner, Robert Lilley, debated whether they should use their revolvers on the very people they wished to convert. Part of the adventure lies in being Europeans in remote areas where they are rarely seen, so the Bibles recede in importance compared to their unusual bodies: "[T]hey did not

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want anything from us. They had heard there were foreigners travelling through the country, and as they had never seen any before, they had merely come to look at us" (41). The announcements that Richard and Lilley are selling books mitigate the commotion caused by their exotic appearance, but by no means does Bible-selling form the focus of this subnarrative because of the need to react to their frequently dangerous circumstances. Missionaries' need to react to Chinese natives and their actions frequently precludes more thoughtful, active agency, so that existing ways of conveying the Gospel seem haphazard and do not reach the greatest number of people.

Because China had virtually no Christians, the goal of the pioneering missionaries was to accrue a significant number of believers, creating a spiritual body count that could be relied upon as tangible proof of effective conversion. China's missionaries were known to toil years before counting one true convert, causing a body count of converts to be a common feature in missionary discourse. These numbers, sent home to Britain, would represent the solid evidence of positive influence to home supporters. The reliance on an empirically-based calculation of believers runs counter to the entire enterprise of missionary work, which has few formulas designed to elicit personal belief in the Christian God. Even the count of believers in most missionary narratives might be dubious. Richard is no exception to this common practice of counting converts, as a means of demonstrating his efficacy in the field, but he proves to be extremely interested in the mathematics of missions. At the end of his career, he goes so far as to calculate totals for all of China: as of January 1893, 1266 missionaries (out of worldwide total of 7,401) work in China with 40,350 communicants, with a ratio of 33 believers per missionary. He compares this with the worldwide total of 681,000 communicants, at a ratio of

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97 believers per missionary (Conversion by the Million 286). More so than the other missionary writers, he scoffs at the notion that Rice Christians have joined his ranks, deflecting accusations of using false converts to inflate his claims of success.

The definition of a Rice Christian helps missions define whether or not they have a convert with a lifelong commitment, as well as being able to label the converts with new job titles, such as "Deacon." Missionaries often used food and shelter as inducements to potential adherents, which gave rise to the Rice Christians. Rice Christians refer to people who deemed themselves "Christian" to take advantage of the food and shelter at the mission. But the Rice Christian tended to run away from the mission if the supply of rice (in Chinese, the same word for "food," "dinner," or "meal") stopped, or if the local community started to persecute Christians. Another common plot of the Rice Christian was to enter the Christian mission community for the sake of avoiding starvation, and after shamming a conversion experience would drift away again after conditions improved on the outside. Such individuals in all mission fields tended to inflate the statistics on conversions, but it can be argued that such a designation would depend upon the optimism of the minister, whether it was a peaceful or troubled period for Christian missions, and the local agricultural conditions. Many times Rice Christians were impoverished farmers and peasants who were driven to accept such assistance. This is an opportunistic figure who highlights the problems of missionary work, though it is not unique to China. False converts are not wanted in the mission rolls, so suspicions against their appearance dampen the enthusiasm to woo more adherents, not to mention the effort to ameliorate suffering in general.

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Despite this falling-off of some inquirers or converts, missionary narratives make little of this phenomenon, preferring to mark the departure of troublesome native Christians as a sad but necessary step for the happiness of the whole, concentrating instead on those who they have "saved" whether by physical or spiritual means. Indeed, they make little distinction of how one is saved, because suffering takes varied forms, some requiring material assistance as the best means of salvation. Richard notes that he never had any Rice Christians among his flock, as he counts nearly a thousand converts at the end of three years.

In the problem of the Rice Christians, Richard would see that native religions have not loosened their appeal, and it would not suffice for the Christians to be assiduous proselytizers or teachers in this context, where popular appeal cannot be deciphered. At the earliest stages of his career, Richard began to study Chinese religions in order to understand why Buddhism had quickly taken such a strong hold on the Chinese, whereas Christianity did not achieve the same popularity upon its introduction to the country. "It occurred to me," he writes, "that the best way to make Christianity indigenous was to adopt Chinese methods of propagation. The main problem was to present Christianity in such a way that it would commend itself to the conscience of the Chinese as superior to anything they themselves possessed" (Forty-five Years 107). From studying the native religions he was able to see how successful "propagation" could occur by appealing to certain needs in the population. Each of the different religions fulfilled a different yearning to bring order to the world, as he was able to assess for later missionaries.

Unlike other itinerant missionaries, he is alert to the efficacy of certain methods. For instance, he notices that streetside preaching is ineffective, but that donning Chinese garments and entering private homes allows more personal contact to start. The natives could finally

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situate him within their context as a man, from his Chinese dress, simply based on the visual paradigm current to the region. Analytical, methodical, and experimental, Richard brought scientific approaches to solving problems in this spiritual wilderness, where even the reality of a mission house would be many years away.

The memory of unenlightened masses haunts Richard at the end of his career, just as it did for his contemporary, J. Hudson Taylor, and in his late career he published a two volume book entitled Conversion by the Million (1907) where he baldly states his desires for the eventual conversion of the entire country. Here he lays out his missionary theory and techniques to interested parties. This collection of essays, articles, and biographical pieces offers future missionaries the fruits of his experience in a highly populous spiritual wilderness. The rhetoric of the prescriptive essays acknowledges readers' suspicions of religion, salvation, and the idea of "methodology" being mixed together, as though religion should always stand independently of the material world. While many of the same ideas appear in his personal narrative, Forty-five Years in China, the writing on these ideas in Conversion by the Million is more succinct and didactic. In Richard's reasoning, he shows how the religious worker comes from the secular, technologically-changing world and cannot divorce him or herself from it in order to persuade new followers of their relevance: "All missionaries come to China now by steamers and not by the slow sailing vessels which had to round the Cape. All urgent messages are now sent by telegraph and not even by swift-footed messengers. Why should we follow antiquated methods of mission work when the new produces results a thousand times better" (Conversion 179). From having followed what he considers haphazard measures, Richard discusses three major areas of mission work that bear reform: reaching the masses through their

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traditional leaders (in a trickle-down effect); establishing Christianity as the kingdom of God "not only in the hearts of men but also in the institutions on earth" (Conversion 13), and lastly, cultivating the converted, or "the worthy" who naturally become excellent ambassadors within their own communities.

The Shansi Famine: Richard's Touchstone for Reform

The chaos encountered early in his career culminates in the devastation of the Shansi (Province) Famine, where his reform ideas seem to crystallize in response to the poor public planning he observes. This incident forms the climax of his actual missionary work as narrated in Forty-five Years in China, in terms of events and narrative. Though he comes in contact with many Chinese men who have been involved in the Taiping Rebellion, then the Reform Movement, Richard himself is not embroiled in truly dangerous political turmoil, unlike his colleague Arthur Evans Moule of the Church Missionary Society, who resides in Ningpo during the Taiping siege (1861).[38] So the inclusion of this diary excerpt lends some credibility as regards the kind of work that lay readers would clearly label as direct help to the Chinese people, as it was sent to Shanghai and then London as a means of raising relief funds. This section's significance is marked also by stylistic difference. In Chapter 5, section 5, entitled "Famine Relief in Shansi" narrative style changes to reproduce his diary of that period, in order to show a sense of immediacy, as fresh impressions that have remained with him over the years.

While he was still establishing a stable Baptist presence in the Chefoo area, Richard played a prominent role in famine relief for two different provinces. The drought of 1876-8 in

[38] See Chapters 2 ("The T'aip'ing Rebellion, 1861-1864") and 3 ("The T'aip'ing Rebellion: Its Close and Consequences") in Moule.

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North China led to famine in Shantung Province (1876) and then a far worse one in Shansi Province (1877). These events were part of the Great Famine of 1876-9 where nine of the eighteen provinces of China lost a total of fifteen to twenty million people. Both Richard and his BMS colleague, Rev. A.J. Jones, believed that the needs presented by the Shansi famine indicated they were called to a "direct leading from God to open up the interior of China" (Forty-five 125). It is also clear that Richard's effectiveness in Shantung Province attracted the attention of the Famine Relief Committee in Shanghai, and thereby sent Richard from his new home base of Ching-chow-fu to work in Shansi Province.

While the first famine helped to establish his public reputation in China, the famine in Shansi Province emerged as a catastrophe that helped define his mission goals. Where his description of the Shantung Province famine balances the images of suffering, missionary heroism, and native awakenings upon receiving relief, his writing on Shansi Province reflects a profound horror, helplessness, and reevaluation of missionary efforts to prevent suffering.

His narrative reproduces the diary he kept during the Shansi Famine of 1878, when he worked to bring relief and supplies to this area. His entry for January 30, 1878 registers a shocking sight: "Saw fourteen dead on the roadside. One had only a stocking on. His corpse was being dragged by a dog, so light it was. . . . A third corpse was a feast to a score of screaming crows and magpies. There were fat pheasants, rabbits, foxes, and wolves, but men and women had no means of living" (130). The animals can thrive because they rely upon instinct. The people's lack of instinct appears as an inability to see the edible game around them, who are growing fat for the lack of predators. Animals cannot help because they must not count on humans, but humans in this case cannot count on their fellow human beings as well.

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Richard ruefully writes of officials' fears of innovative ways to alleviate the suffering, whether through movement to Manchuria for its plentiful grain, or to learn new techniques from the West, because "they alone were civilized, that they had nothing to learn from the barbarians." Even worse, Richard reports, "[s]ome of the officials in the neighbouring provinces actually forbade export of grain to Shansi" (Forty-five 135). These aggravated difficulties of transport, or "communication," form the basis of his memorials to the Chinese Ambassador in London in order to encourage the Chinese to learn practical, scientific means of averting famines in other countries, rather than attributing public calamities to the will of Heaven as controlled by the Emperor. Possibly the most horrifying part of these examples derives from the knowledge that the widespread could have been averted, with the collaboration of public-minded, educated people.

In his entry of February 2, 1878, after he has traveled further south in the province, he sees extreme devastation that cannot be helped by his immediate intervention. Richard has been granted 2000 taels in cash to assist people in need, but money has no value where there is nothing to buy, nor enough able-bodied people to perform services such as burials.

> It was early in the morning when I approached the city gate. On one side was a pile of naked dead men, heaped on top of each other as though they were pigs in a slaughter-house. On the other side was a similar heap of dead women, their clothing having been taken away to pawn for food. Carts were there to take the corpses away to two great pits . . . (132).

Such scenes recall gothic fiction, where the protagonist enters a new city or castle, where its natives are depicted as savages or half-animals. Richard's description suggests apocalypse, with the pits of hell for these unsaved souls. The continued scenes of horror bring up a reaction familiar to the protagonists in a gothic novel; it begins to dawns upon Richard, who writes on

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February 4, 1878, that he "began to doubt my sense or my sanity, amid such scenes of horror. Was I among the living or among the tormented dead?" (133).

In these scenes God seems to be absent, as an old man asks him why God would punish them with the famine. No miracles or wonders of organization occur in these diary entries, where the only sense of order comes from the decapitated heads in cages indicating the promised punishment for those using violence to alleviate individual suffering. The diary section ends with the terse remark that the end of this hellish fortnight finds them "back in T'ai-yuan-fu, and thankful we were for a respite from the awful sights which we had seen from day to day on our travels" (134).

Timothy Richard, Science Educator

Once returned from the famine-stricken areas, and having sent off his diary as proof of the people's suffering, Richard sets about satisfying his need to "study the cause of human suffering" not only in China but worldwide. Unsurprisingly, his conclusion favors Western civilization, for having an "advantage" due to its ability to harness nature for humankind's greater well-being (Forty-five 158). "This was," he explains, "in obedience to God's command to Adam to have dominion over all things. In applying the laws of science to the needs of man, Western nations had made marvellous inventions that were little less wonderful than miracles" (158). Interestingly, his statement relegates Chinese intellectual accomplishments, such as the inventions of gunpowder and paper, and further insinuates that such accomplishments of the past did not respond to imperative human needs. As an society unenlightened by Christianity, it is also innocent of scientific knowledge, as science according to Richard's point of view, works in the service of God's will. As regards intellectual history, Richard has constructed a

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Christianized modernity, one which places God at the center of the universe, at the top of the chain of being, yet one who has allowed his creations to become capable of controlling themselves by teasing out the mysteries of nature.

Bearing in mind this Christianized ethic of modernity, Richard began to organize fellow missionaries, diplomats, and other politically powerful people within his reach. These outreach efforts included a set of three recommendations to Tseng Kwoh Chuen, the Governor of Shansi Province. Recommended changes include large scale emigration to Manchuria and other places where cheap grain was plentiful; the construction of public works such as railways; and a famine tax to be levied on provinces not suffering from famine (137). The second recommendation best addresses Richard's second notion of missionary ethics, that God exists not only on the spiritual plane but also in human institutions meant to end earthly suffering. In recommending the use of technology, such as the railway, as the means to alleviating future suffering while creating new industries and employments, Richard confronted the problem of persuading the government of modern management for large populations.

As his tool for persuasion, he embarks upon science education for the intellectual elite of his area. The science lectures combine his prescribed interests in reaching traditional social leaders and in learning timely, relevant material best suited to helping present conditions. The rationale for setting up these lectures occupies more space and offers more detail than other more conventional missionary teaching activities, as though they require more justification to colleagues reading his narrative.

> I was convinced that if I could lecture to the officials and scholars and interest them in these miracles of science, I would be able to point out to them ways in which they could utilize the forces of God in nature for the benefit of their fellow-

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> countrymen. In this way I could influence them to build railways, to open minds, to avert recurrences of famine (158).

Travel narratives frequently feature such reflective writing when there arise moments of deviance from normative traveler behavior. In this case, normative missionary-traveler behavior would focus more on the individual souls saved in the community, and the teachings of Christianity whereby these impoverished souls would learn to bring orderliness into their home lives. No longer would the more conventional missionary activities suffice for Richard; where once his daily schedule of missionary work with BMS converts in Ching-chow-fu centered on pastoral care and developing the native Baptist presence through teacher education and translations (110), he now aspires to influence the nation through his local efforts in Tai-yuan-fu: "Besides the officials of the province, and the students of the Chinese colleges, there were a few hundreds of expectant officials who, later, would be given posts in other parts of the Empire, and through whom beneficial results might accrue to other provinces" (158).

To prepare for these science lectures, Richard and his wife collected significant quantities of the newest books and apparatus, a description which emphasizes the materiality of their enterprise. Indeed, lecturing is not enough persuasive because demonstrations are required for empirical proof of the ideas propagated. In order to supply himself with the necessary equipment, the Richards lived on the barest minimum expenses, "living in a Chinese house, wearing Chinese clothes, and eating Chinese food" as well as renting a reputedly haunted house at an extremely low rate. The greatest assistance of all came in the form of an inheritance of a thousand pounds, spent over the course of four years (1880-4) for this collection of materials. Though his list of textbooks is remarkable for the range of areas representing the modern world : "books on Astronomy, Electricity, Chemistry, Geology, Natural History, Engineering,

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Workshop Tools; books on Medicine and various Industries; standard Histories of various nations; the Literature of Asia, 'Encyclopaedia Brittanica' . . . 'Chambers's Encyclopaedia,'" (160), the apparatus collected emphasize the verification of empirical evidence and practical knowledge of technology.

> Telescope, microscope, spectroscope, hand dynamo, . . . Wimshurst machine, induction coil, various galvanic batteries, galvanometer, Geissler tubes, voltmeter, electrometer, pocket sextant, pocket aneroids. I also had magic lanterns worked by oxy-hydrogen, spirits of wine, acetylene, with the latest set of astronomical slides, natural history slides on Australia, Africa, America, etc., botanical slides on tea, coffee, cocoa, india-rubber, sugar-cane, etc., and scientific slides. I also ordered a complete photographic outfit. . . . I also procured a sewing machine. (160)

The list of equipment procured reads like a chemistry set for today's young students, who are expected to see the wonders of science in order to develop further interest in future study. The emphasis on visual stimulus can also be seen in the pieces of equipment designed to measure volts, air pressure, degrees, and other units of measurement. Indeed, Richard's "syllabus" for his lectures includes the visual impact of such gadgets: "5. The miracles of electricity as seen in the dynamo . . . 6. The miracles of light, as seen in the magic lantern and photography . . ." (160). In each of his proposed seven subjects listed, the scientific or technological area under discussion is always categorized under "miracles." The complete list in his narrative is as follows:

1. The astronomical miracle discovered by Copernicus.
2. The miracles of chemistry.
3. The miracles of mechanics, such as the lathe and other tools, leading to the sewing-machine and bicycle, etc.
4. The miracles of electricity as seen in the dynamo, utilized for light and power transmission.
5. The miracles of light, as seen in the magic lantern and photography.

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6. The miracles of medicine and surgery. (160)

For his future students, then, the old adage that "seeing is believing" takes on a deeper spiritual and nationalistic meaning; if they can see the wonders of nature as God's work, there is a chance they may come to believe that technology and its concomitant changes, as further uses of God's work, can only help nineteenth-century Chinese join the international community.

The audience response to Richard's live demonstrations is not unlike that which might be expected from an interested British audience, supporting his selection of intellectual elites for special education. Though he notes the status of his officials in stating that "[f]or three years I delivered monthly lectures to the officials and scholars at their own request" (161), nowhere does Richard refer to the purported indifference or disdain characterizing European views of Chinese intellectual arrogance. Instead, Richard actually succeeds in shocking and surprising them, as he describes the accident during a demonstration of hydrogen's combustible qualities. Upon applying a match to the glass tube containing the specimen, Richard unexpectedly creates a huge explosion "like the firing of a pistol, and the cork of the flask shot up through the paper ceiling" (162). The frightened audience reluctantly agrees to listen to Richard's explanation of the chemical reasons for the accident, performing the experiment again with no explosive results, and "the great astonishment of all" (162). Richard is a shrewd performer-educator after all, letting them "go away, in full possession of their lives and in peace of mind" (162). During this section of the narrative where Richard recalls his more dramatic teaching moments, he characterizes his audience as a group interested in spectacle, but without drawing upon their ethnic or social backgrounds in order to explain the degree to which their interest brings them to the lectures.

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Soothill has written about these lectures as being memorable not only because of the occasional shocks received by audience members, but from the instructor point of view, for Richard's courage in teaching an unknown subject for the greatest good.

> It is certain that all the officials of any importance throughout the province first became acquainted with Western science through the very remarkable 'experiments' performed in their presence by this remarkable man, who had to learn nearly everything from books. His exhibitions of the power of electricity were especially marvellous to them; yet it must be borne in mind that electrical development, even in the West, was still in its infancy. (Soothill 123)

By erasing the attribute of ethnically-based ignorance from his listeners, Richard looks past the dogmatic categories set out for him to find willing and eager students, noting that it was "a common occurrence for the most intelligent to remain behind and ask further questions on the subjects I had brought before them" (162). These are images of Richard as a Promethean hero, bringing light and enlightenment in a dramatic gesture, breaking down the older system of ordering the universe for his pupils. But he carefully reminds the reader to remember his role as a messenger of a Christian God: "In all the lectures I pointed out how God had provided infinite powers for man's use in the forces of Nature, in ignorance of which men lived like drudges and slaves. . . . The matter of supreme importance was that we should study all the laws of God in Nature, so as to gain the benefits that God intended to bestow upon us when He stored all these forces for our use, and then show our gratitude for all His loving-kindness by obeying His spiritual laws" (163). Scientific principles turn into spiritual laws to be obeyed, in Richard's rhetoric, which ultimately reifies the older structure of combined Confucianism and Buddhism that he wishes to modify. He has depersonalized the individual's obligation to the

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universe, by removing one's obligation to his or her direct ancestors, and shifts the obligation to obeying the Christian God as father, and Nature as the mother.

"The Miracle of Light" and Enlightenment as Demonstrated in Photography

While most of the items procured by the Richards teach about phenomena and technology that require more large-scale works, such as a voltmeter measuring the electricity required for powering different forms of communication, the photographic set is one of the few items on the list that Richard uses personally. The remark that "my Chinese schoolmaster who helped me in taking photographs" suggests ongoing practice with the equipment producing usable results, including the unattributed photographs in his narrative, and the schoolmaster-assistant who becomes "the best photographer in the province" (160). The presence of photographs in his narrative thereby acquires an additional layer of meaning beyond functioning as proof of missionary successes. The quality of the narrative's many images become proof of his success as a photographer, then as a teacher of the native photographer. At least one person has successfully converted to the gospel of technological advance as a communication tool, and the evidence of one newly skilled worker plying his trade gives credence to Richard's notion of starting community reform with individuals possessing a known degree of visibility.

The portraits of his powerfully connected converts pay respect, as a genre, to the use of photographs as proofs of conversion successes, but Richard's narrative push harder on the portraits as evidence of his pedagogy's success, and of gathering influence with leaders. Unlike many photographs of converts taken by missionaries, which frequently show groups of Chinese faces so numerous as to render them anonymous, Richard's narrative visually values the

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Chinese as individuals. Four such photographs (out of a total of sixteen) display the human side of Richard's efforts to go beyond popular native stereotypes to be better acquainted with the motivations and people influencing Chinese society, complementing his unique, intensive study of Chinese religions in order to discover better ways to change Chinese religious interests. Two such photographs stand out as representatives of this tendency to show Chinese individuals according to their social status, and to present them in postures that controvert the common situations discussed and confronted by many missionaries.

For most missionaries, the intellectual elite, or the literati, proved to be most resistant to Western religion and technology. Missionaries occasionally report on a friendly member of the literati, but it is extremely rare to be fully accepted by these rigorously trained scholars in the Chinese literary tradition. Richard estimates that out of the enormous category of the literati, who "play such an important part in the government of China," there exist 44,036 potentially interested persons, as he reports in the 1891 Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge (Forty-five 221). During the tumultuous period of the Reform Movement (1895-8) when Japan's humiliation of China's armed forces demanded attention, a select number of Hanlin Academy members expressed interest in reforming their country's infrastructure, industries, and educational systems. Richard's photograph of himself seated among the members of the elite Hanlin Academy is evidence of this new interest in reform, as it points to a level of acceptance hitherto unknown to missionaries (Figure 1). Richard sits in the top row with three other Academicians, wrapped up in a blanket. He looks undignified in comparison to his companions as four of the scholars wear wadded outer jackets and keep their hands in what appear to be muffs. Richard's companions appear solemn but not hostile; the hint of a smile

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crosses the face of the scholar to Richard's right. Although the Academicians are not identified by name, the photographer has moved close enough to the group of six men to show their individual reactions to having their portrait taken. These men belong to a class stereotypically interested in inciting riot against missionaries and their new ways, but they are at peace with Richard, one of the most active and well-connected reformers. This photograph would be considered a triumph for Richard and an elegy for collaborative reform efforts, based on the amity displayed and the abrupt crushing of China's nascent Reform Movement. That this partnering impulse could be photographed suggests the formerly xenophobic Hanlin Academy is adopting a modern gesture towards the international community in the effort to reform China's worldview.

Because of the common link between local administrators and the literati, missionaries do not frequently develop strong relationships with their local administrators, who sometimes wield great influence over missionary prospects in some regions, so these connections are treated very formally in the narrative. Because the path to administrative work for the Chinese Empire comes from having excelled in literary scholarship and the rigorous examination system, administrators are scholars who hold political offices. Richard acknowledges the intertwined relationship between the two groups as he counts "the chief mandarins, together with the High Examiners, Educational Inspectors of counties, Professors of colleges, and a small percentage of the *literati*" (221) comprising the 44,036 persons potentially interested in reform issues. A supportive relationship with a local administrator can confer many benefits onto a missionary, such as a positive, non-violent reputation, protection from riots, and rental

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privileges.[39] At a time when most missionaries write about the indifference and obstacles encountered with provincial governments, an unequal dynamic prevails between the administrator and the missionary, because each one answers to a different higher authority and agenda. Consequently, friendly intimacy does not usually occur between two such persons.



TIMOTHY RICHARD AND MEMBERS OF THE HANLIN ACADEMY.

Figure 1.

A portrait of Shansi Provincial Governor Ts'en Ch'un-Hsüan with his two sons (Figure 2) shows Richard has not only achieved his goal of reaching Chinese leaders, but also gained a degree of intimacy in the Governor's family circle by 1901. Here the Governor appears more approachable, as he is not wearing the official black cap with button and the regalia draped on his chest. Though he does not openly show affection to his two sons, it is clear to the viewer

[39] Missionaries were often accused of being heinous practices in the service of Christianity, such as stealing eyes from beggar babies, or taking in unsuspecting women for their body parts. Such rumors and beliefs directly caused the Tientsin Massacre (1870), where numerous French Catholic missionaries were tortured and murdered.

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that these are two treasured children, particularly the younger one who is dressed in a feminine manner, following a common belief that the gods hoping to take boys away by disease could be tricked into seeing a girl. The older son stands protected behind his father's left elbow, and it seems that the younger son is holding his father's hand through the sleeve, unseen by the camera. The image appears to be very traditionally oriented because of the subjects' clothing and family presentation. All three males wear long skirts, long sleeves and cloth shoes in luxurious materials. The presentation of sons signals pride in his family, as these two boys will carry on the family name. But not unlike the photograph discussed in the previous section, this photograph records the movement away from tradition. The Governor has moved away from a formal portrait of himself as administrator wearing the mandarin button, and has allowed family members to be photographed with him. Furthermore, the Governor has decisively broken from his own educational tradition to begin a new one in his province, much to Richard's pleasure.

The photograph expresses Richard's materializing hopes for the future of Shansi Province, where he had done a great deal of his mission work, including famine relief. During the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, missionaries were massacred when the "infamous" Governor Yü Hsien did not stop the slaughter of the foreign workers. Shansi University's initial founding comes from the restitution made by the Chinese Imperial Government for missionary lives lost. With this funding, in 1901, also came the unequivocal support of Governor Ts'en Ch'un-Hsüan, who held views completely opposite to his obstructionist predecessor. When a lower-level official attempts to interfere in the Governor's development of the University, Richard says, "[h]e instantly ordered this official to hand over belonging to his Chinese University and

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to leave T'ai-yuan-fu that very day. If he remained a day longer, he did so at his peril" (301). Governor Ts'en later holds a dinner in Richard's honor, where Richard publicly toasts the Governor for his kindness, and congratulates the gathered officials and gentry on having in him "a Governor who had initiated two undertakings greater than anything that had ever been accomplished before in Shansi – the founding of a modern University so as to be abreast of other nations in education, and the commencing of a railway in Shansi, from which the people would derive immense benefit" (301-2). The two undertakings are echoed in the photograph of the Governor with his two sons, both looking forward to a very different future than one experienced by the father, but based on the necessity to consider the well-being of descendents more than upholding the ancestors' traditions. Richard's public recognition of this break with traditional behavior calls attention to this leader's influence trickling through the population, whether it be through his high-level listeners, or through the beneficiaries of the new public services.

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GOVERNOR TS'EN CH'UN-HSÜAN AND HIS TWO SONS.

Figure 2.

Modernity as Ecumenism: Teaching Tolerance

Richard's narrative proposes that greater conversion successes come not from eradicating the indigenous traditional beliefs, but by an ecumenical attitude toward them as valid religious foundations. Richard's contemporaries considered his conversion methods unorthodox, as the majority viewed native Chinese religions as resolutely heathen and opposed to monotheistic Christianity. Richard believed in minimizing the Western imperative for

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changing China because of the inherent strengths of Chinese culture and religious practices. But his ideas bordered on the "heresy" practiced by Matteo Ricci.

Not only was he interested in other Christian sects, Richard read widely in Eastern religions as part of his effort to understand their hold on the Chinese imagination. His list of purchased books for the lectures of 1881-1884 include the following eclectic texts: Standard theological books on Romanism and Protestantism – German, American, British, High Church, Low Church and Broad Church, and Nonconformist to guard myself against being a one-sided Christian; books on the Comparative Study of Religion, Church History, and biographies; a complete set of Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East"; a complete set of the Buddhist Tripitaka (not translated from Sanskrit but most accurately translated into Chinese)" (159). By his continual readings in Chinese religious materials he claimed to possess the "vocabulary of religious terms that was intelligible to the Chinese" (86). Richard does not specify what terms he uses to help his translations, though he claims to avoid using transliterated names and Western concepts. "The Chinese hated foreign things," he writes, "and adopting our Lord's method of appeals to conscience rather than appealing to an authority the Chinese did not recognize" (86). Other missionaries are far more specific on what constitute the objectionable terms: the Chinese term for a monotheistic God, for example, did not exist because the concept does not exist in Chinese culture. The commonly used term for "god" coincide with the words for the Emperor. Based on these semantics, Richard is correct in pointing out a fundamental paradigm shift would be needed in order for successful conversions to become more widespread. Semantic confusion arose between missionaries of different sects questioning native Inquirers (those in the process of religious training for conversion) from different

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regions. In some ways, naming is a European issue, according to W.E. Soothill, who notes that Buddhists and Taoists are "Dissenters" in China, as are the Muslims and Christians, when coming from a Confucianist perspective. "As a matter of fact," he writes, "Confucianism is not a Chinese term at all; it is of European invention" (237).

The inadvertent by-product of this education was his continued belief that Buddhism inherently possessed Christian characteristics. "I was greatly struck by the Christian nature of the teaching of [The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana School of Religion]," he writes with great excitement, which increases when he discovers "Nor was I the only one who remarked at the resemblance" (335).[40] Richard's paradigm for how Christianity and Chinese religions exist in relation to each other threatens the European missionary's belief in self superiority. His tolerance of existing native forms, or "idols," is iconoclastic, breaking the mold of the superior missionary as modeled by St. John Rivers.

It is no wonder that three years later, in 1881, J. Hudson Taylor, the founder of the China Inland Mission, caused what Richard calls "A Regrettable Severance" over his views. "Our [BMS] relations with the members of the Inland Mission had been of the friendliest," writes Richard, "But Mr. Hudson Taylor [. . .] broke our harmony by ordering his members [. . .] to have a separate place of worship, on the ground that I was not orthodox. This came as a great surprise" (153). Richard's personal reaction to this incident, like his reaction to separating from the BMS, is vague and suggests that past differences do not need digging up when a

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[40] While he refers to a group of high-level ecclesiastics at the Centenary Conference of Missions in Shanghai (1907) including bishops from the Greek church, the Anglican church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as Arthur Lloyd, a professor in a Tokyo college with a Cambridge University degree, this belief in the "Christian nature" of Buddhism or Asian religion emerges in India. James Long (1814-87), a CMS missionary in Bengal, also espoused this belief as it related to Hinduism or Islam, even stating to fellow Europeans that the Bible was a thoroughly Oriental book adapted to the thought and taste of Orientals (Oddie 195-6; see Third Anniversary Report of the Family Literary Club with the Anniversary Address by the Rev. James Long).

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common united front is of utmost importance. "I see nothing to regret in my attitude at the time," he claims, "although even to this day its consequences follow me" (153).[41] For Soothill, this diffidence stems from his open-minded attitude towards religious workers: "He believed in the good in men; he believed in the good in their religions, and to him it was ever incredible that anyone . . . should not make use of the good work done by his Christian predecessors, even though they were Roman or Greek Catholics, and anathema to many of his brethren, as his brethren were to them" (111).

Conclusion: Reshaping the Missionary

Richard's narrative ends having shown not only what appears to be a different outcome from St. John Rivers's martyrdom, but a new kind of domestic order in the native Chinese community which includes his own personal domestic situation complete with a wife and daughters. The active reshaping of Chinese society through converting its wealthier, more educated members has been the operating principle of Richard's narrative of nation building, reiterated in his missionary manifesto, Conversion by the Million. The idea of reshaping society using existing paradigms, rather than erasing them emerges again in Soothill's biography, where Richard is described as arguing for the missionary's role in China as one that seeks not to separate the native Christian converts into a new nation, but to build up the nation that already exists with the new knowledge and understanding of Western Christianity transformed into a native Chinese Christianity. Belief in the Christian God, therefore, does not divide people from each other but brings them closer together, as demonstrated by his theory that "communication" represented by railways brings national cohesion.

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[41] Taylor was equally reticent, according to the chronicler of CIM history. See Broomhall.

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And yet the benign tone Richard adopts throughout his personal narrative is betrayed by the more strident tone in Conversion by the Million. He has difficulty hiding his large-scale ambitions to gain numerous adherents, and cannot help boasting of his high-profile successes among the literati and well-connected. Though he claims to have made great strides by the end of his career, achievements in education supported by numerous awards and public recognitions, Richard ultimately does not achieve the grand dream of bringing a nation to the Christian God. He fails, as St. John Rivers does, with perhaps less pathos but with more a sense of futility for all the years of hard work he has invested. Though Richard succeeded in teaching numerous native students who proceeded to pass on more teachings, the sweeping success he envisioned involving millions of Chinese converts was already achieved prior to his arrival in China, and after his departure from China. These successes were the Taiping Emperor, Hong Xiuquan, and the founder of the Chinese Revolution, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Both were influenced by Western Christian missionaries seeking converts. Both reached millions of Chinese with the promise of progress and change.

The entrepreneur Archibald Little notes derisively in his first personal narrative that the Taiping leader, Hong Xiuquan (1813-64), was "one of the very few genuine Christian converts ever made in China" (Through the Yang-tse Gorges 136-7). And a terrifying one he was, wreaking death and devastation on the Western Chinese countryside for more than a decade (1851-64) in his divinely guided quest to add "Emperor of China" to his erstwhile titles, Son of God and King of Heaven. Timothy Richard sums up the overall effect on Chinese feelings towards Christians as the result of this movement: "The number of lives lost during the thirteen years of the Taiping rule has been variously estimated at from twenty to fifty millions. Small

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wonder that there remained a legacy of hatred against Christianity, a hatred which has scarcely yet melted away" (186). Many historians since Little's time agree that the Taiping movement resulted from an unusually successful conversion of a failed Classics scholar who was able to galvanize a disafffected rural population; had the Taiping succeeded, China would have been a more Westernized and Christianized country in a shorter space of time.[42] This legacy of a native Christian movement would later, argue some historians, become the foundation for the 1912 Chinese Revolution, also dominated by Christian-oriented leaders.

Hong Xiuquan became the most prolific native Christian preacher in China, despite missionary efforts to separate his brand of Christianity from their more "orthodox" Christianity. At first, missionaries wanted to embrace the Taipings because they seemed very orthodox Christian, and advocated equal rights for women, unbinding the feet of female converts in the process. But missionaries who had close contact with the Taipings (American Issachar Roberts, most notably) grew disillusioned with their muddled theology. Like their disapproval of Matteo Ricci's syncretic version of Catholicism, Victorian British (and American) missionaries disdained Hong Xiuquan's reworked Christian doctrine, declaring it heresy.[43]

Yet the missionaries could not overlook the achievements of this Christian convert who had "misread" the Bible, especially in ability to reach out to the many thousands of disenfranchised Chinese in Western China, to the point where anti-Manchu forces endorsed his movement as an assist to their own.[44] The populist impulse of the Taiping movement cannot be

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[42] See Jonathan D. Spence's reinterpretation of the Taiping rebel culture in God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan.

[43] See Gernet 545-63, and Spence, God's Chinese Son.

[44] Anti-Manchu forces believed that true Chinese rule, which ended when the Ming Dynasty fell, needed to return in order for China to be great once more.

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denied, in the final analysis, because their short-lived achievement numerically eclipsed all the missionaries' efforts, which yielded far fewer converts over the decades. But the matter of Taiping doctrinal impurity rendered this point irrelevant for the missionaries. Perhaps in response to this knowledge, many missionary narratives conclude in a triumphant tone, enumerating the converts they have made over the years. Unlike the "false" converts made by Hong Xiuquan, these students of Western missionaries had received the "true" teachings, which included lessons on Western progress. Richard's narrative of inculcating trust in empiricism and technology is no exception to this trend.

Richard's achievement is not entirely spurious, for his work together with that of other Westerners helped established the foundations for the critical mass of educated men and women who embarked upon the Chinese Revolution (1912) that effectively ended the Ching dynasty and imperial rule in China. Many important persons involved in the Chinese Revolution were educated abroad in Western-style subjects, and the support for the Revolution came from expatriate Chinese communities around the world. In this sense Richard's desires for greater communication were fulfilled by the fomenting of reform by these Revolutionaries. It is no mere coincidence that the Chinese Revolution was led by a medical physician. Sun Yat-Sen set out to cure the corrupt body politic of the Chinese nation using modern notions of personhood and agency. Not unlike Richard, who witnessed the Shansi famine in his early years, Dr. Sun was determined to utilize the means of communication and its accompanying technology to bring the Chinese people into a consciousness of their role relative to other nations and peoples. Richard and his brethren would never achieve the glory dreamed by St. John Rivers, but they contributed to the vision of a paradigm shift, even what some might

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perceive as apocalyptic reform. Certainly in this sense the notion of progress is fulfilled, even to the point of the bloody progress that the missionary is accused of espousing in the imperial project.

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Chapter 3. The Merchant's Pilgrimage: Archibald Little's Travels to Mount Omi and Tarchendo

Introduction: The Merchant's Tale

The missionary does not typically make disparaging remarks in print about the merchant, in a concession to their odd relationship shaped by a mutual need for a European presence in China's wilderness. Timothy Richard, the Baptist missionary discussed in the previous chapter, approaches the mercantile presence non-judgmentally, accepting the incompatible nature of the merchant-missionary relationship with its disagreements concerning the opium trade and missionary incursions into politically unstable territories. The missionary and the merchant in China coexist in a tense, mutually distrustful alliance during the late nineteenth century, where merchants' narratives frequently offer more examples of hostility toward the religious workers, who in turn treat the merchants quite lightly if at all in their narratives about bringing Christianity to China. To the tea merchant and steamship entrepreneur Archibald Little, who spends most of his adult life in China, the uneasy alliance between missionaries and merchants emerges out of a similar desire to proselytize to the native population. But one peddles a religious doctrine, the other secular, and both are on offer to the same pool of prospective buyers, as he notes below.

> But we who have to make our living in China, merchants or missionaries, are not disinterested onlookers. We both have our gospel to preach to unwilling ears, and we both assume that outside our gospel, in the one case Free Trade, in the other Christianity, there is no salvation. Force has been freely applied in both cases, and each propaganda accuses the other of being a hindrance to its own success. (Gorges 3)

The Chinese from the western provinces, such as Szechuan, see the British national character as marked by its interest in salesmanship, whether it be Bibles or opium. Much to Little's chagrin,

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the Chinese often see the products sold by either missionary or merchant as both fully representative of English life, as noted in one of his conversations below recounting a typical sort of conversation about salesmanship.

> Whenever I stop and enter into conversation, I am invariably asked two questions: (1) 'Are you selling books?' suggested by the remembrance of the Bible colporteurs, who seem to have been ubiquitous. (2) 'Have you any cure for opium?' When I answer, 'No,' and that foreigners never smoke opium, they appear incredulous, and ask, 'Why did you teach us to smoke it?'" (Gorges 39-40)

According to Little's 1888 narrative, Through the Yangtze Gorges, the merchants and missionaries resent each other because their doctrines, or "propaganda" are perceived to be two different Protestant sects fighting over the same presentation of God, while they each see themselves differing over the methods to social change. Little's use of the politically-inflected term "propaganda" reveals a common aim to inculcate, even brainwash, as he cites the idea of "force" as a method in salesmanship, tendencies towards Western products in Chinese society, and to situate the old ways as "superstition" to be cleared away.

He calls the merchants's doctrine "Free Trade," but it might be more accurately labeled "Progress" because he is interested in selling the ideas of greater efficiency and productivity for a market economy, which in turn bring about large-scale technological and lifestyle changes on a community level. In a society still reliant upon bamboo contraptions (as seen in the salt works) and primitive agrarian methods which employ significant numbers of workers, the introduction of labor-saving devices threatens traditional workers' livelihoods with obsolescence. Regular Yangtze River steamship service is Little's major sales project, one

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which would ensure reliable transportation on a river that employed many workers to pull boats through treacherous rapids, but never fully gains popular acceptance in his lifetime.

The British have clearly achieved a degree of colonization through the sale of these products, especially those made of opium. But the native man's incredulous response to what has really been sold to them, specifically a lifestyle change, illustrates the merchant's problem in China as one that insists not only upon one party's progressiveness but the other party's backwardness, even if that backwardness is covertly reinforced by the sale of a Western, and therefore purportedly "modern" item. The conversation above shows how native Chinese realize the British have not really sold them the real means to progress and scientific inquiry, as practiced in England and Europe. Instead the Chinese have been led down a path that predisposes them to appear needy and ignorant, in part because of a newfound addiction to foreign imports at a level designed to make them less capable of independent thought. Opium sales have left the buyers stuck in this cycle because its technology improves so as to make the buyers more addicted to stronger doses. The Chinese have learned to smoke opium and make it a part of their world, but because they are well aware of how this import threatens community and national dissolution, they also seek a new technology to solve the problems that have accompanied this form of Western learning. This latter technology does not interest the British, and their only contribution to this endeavor is to gradually stop opium imports into China. Little is indignant over being blamed for this addiction to foreignness; his response is defensive, telling the reader that the British opium sellers had only continued the trade that the Portuguese introduced earlier.

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As a commercial traveler Little often finds himself answering questions about the missionary agenda, even though he believes that "Missionary work is the greatest of the many problems propounded to the Chinese by the presence of the barbarian" (April 16, 1883, Gleanings from Fifty Years in China). He is obliged to defend the missionaries as a matter of national solidarity, despite the work of missionaries to denigrate commercial activity for its longstanding relationship to the opium trade. Little makes clear his distaste for this task: "Reading Chinese, and contradicting the absurd myths in regard to missionaries, current amongst all classes in China (little as I myself appreciate their work), has occupied me throughout a somewhat wearisome day" (Gorges 54). At some level, despite his fundamental dislike for missionary work, Little fulfills the unspoken imperative to protect his fellow European (often British) from being misconstrued. The grudging defense arises from Little's perception of their common bond to be selling new paradigms, which links the two groups together in a tense relationship, one playing significant roles in a nationalistic exercise of power the Western sphere of influence in China.

In the nineteenth century, merchants made up the majority of the British expatriate communities in China because their business activities ranging from tea, opium, import/export items and banking were justifications for a continued British presence. Though I see them as long-term travelers who make series of shorter work-related journeys in China, British merchants could be categorized as expatriates or exiles, long-term residents focused on economic gain made possible by the British empire's semicolonial interests in China. Like the missionaries, members of the business class were among the earliest British residents in China, dating back to the days of the East India Company monopoly and the factories at Canton. But

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merchants resented missionaries in great part because the latter would strike out for less populated areas which then required British military intervention to assure their safety. The risks taken by the missionaries seemed, to the merchants, of a careless nature to discredit the British in China.

Such long-term residence – often decades spent in China's expatriate communities – causes the merchants to experience nostalgia as the psychological result of voluntary exile. Nostalgia creates the space for the quest for tradition, because nostalgia is usually a desire for a solid foundation in the midst of chaos and change. Literary critic Caren Kaplan discusses the expatriate traveler in her study, Questions of Travel (1996) as one who has "negotiated fears of dependency and rationalized otherwise baldly ambitious or venal concerns. The expatriates felt their own cultures were exhausted and drained of significance" while older cultures were better able to offer traditions or customs to those from "younger" cultures (44). Her subsequent discussion of Dean MacCannell's 1976 study, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class and Malcolm Cowley's 1951 study, Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s, present the use of and quest for tradition as a conceptual linchpin for constructing modernity. Idealization of exile, according to Kaplan, allows expatriation to bring both personal liberation and professional development. In Archibald Little's case, embracing traditional Chinese culture, particularly religion and language, allows him the means to deflect possible accusations of being "baldly ambitious or venal" (Kaplan 44) while showing love for his erstwhile home. The journey to Mount Omi in 1892 is therefore a quest for traditional religious values on China's most sacred site, in the midst of a period when Little's professional interests are

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engaged in negotiations with the Chinese government to radically change the nature of water transportation on the upper Yangtze River.

The tendency for nostalgia in merchant narratives frequently excludes the interpretation of the British opium trade as an illicit enterprise. The social problems resulting from growing numbers of addicts also go unaddressed because Chinese opium usage, according to the British perspective, is a matter of choice, just as it is back in England. Selective memory permits merchants like Little to promote their new technologies and concomitant economic disruptions without reflection upon past collective records of socioeconomic disruption. Silences in merchant narratives vis-à-vis the origins of British trade and influence in China derive from the collective amnesia about the aggressive contraband opium trade starting in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, Little rarely mentions the opium crops and its users on his three and a half month journey with his wife Alicia, though Szechuan province has many opium farmers.[45] The Littles embark upon this summer vacation, from 7 July to 26 September 1892 to evade the cholera outbreak in Chungking, a city on the banks of the Yangtze River in Szechuan, eventually making their way to Tarchendo, on the border of Szechuan Province and Tibet before turning back toward Chungking. The title of the narrative, Mount Omi and Beyond: A Record of Travel on the Thibetan Border, as well as the Introduction, show the sacred mountain's significance as the original trajectory of their travels. Mount Omi receives the bulk of their attentions, for its "towering cliffs" and connection to the "breezy heights of the

[45] There is one photograph of a poppy field, entitled "Chinese Agriculture – Fields of Opium Poppies in Flower" (38) and the barest mention of the farmers and their lives.

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mountains, which extend unbroken to the Himalayas, and far beyond" (3). Little's Introduction focuses on the comfort and beauty he and Alicia expected to find on Mount Omi:

> Once there one is in a paradise of Nature, seasoned by the romance of history, the traditions of Buddhism at the time when it was a living, growing faith, and the aesthetic results of this vitality, which have survived in the unnumerable ruins of a glorious past, which still decorate the mountain. (3)

This romantic vision supplies the imagery for their pilgrimage, or quest for China's beauty, which is not to be found in their present location in Chungking, surrounded by unending funeral trains and coffin bearers. The Littles seek "vitality," "Nature" and other "living, growing" things, rather than the reminder of what European visitors often considered to be an obsession with death and its materialistic rituals. Reinforcing the sense of a romantic quest is the description of Mount Omi and its sacred haunts as part of a lofty mountain chain, evoking Percy Bysshe Shelley's Mont Blanc and its tantalizing inaccessibility.

The Preface represents China as the revivified medieval past of Little's imagination, and the Introduction situates the Littles' journey as an aesthetic and quasi-religious quest. In the text of the narrative, Archibald Little uses the tropes of medievalism and religion to situate Western China – including Britain's sphere of influence centered on the western Yangtze River – as a place mired in outdated teachings, and therefore ready for Western enlightenment and technological change following the path taken by Europe during its Renaissance enlightenment. The visual text, comprised of photographs taken by his wife Alicia, reinforce their quest for medieval China with images of picturesque ruins and peasants. Little's rhetorical use of catalogues, scientifically precise measurements of phenomena, and the continual labelling of objects betray the latent desire to turn what he sees into a commodity, to exploit the raw

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material he sees, rather than bringing an enlightenment that would enable the Chinese to climb out of the medieval darkness depicted in the narrative.

The Introduction somewhat misleads the reader, as it does not suggest that more than the second half of the journey (Chapters VII to XVI) is actually consumed by the party's efforts to reach Tarchendo, the border town between Tibet and Szechuan. By Chapter VI the Littles have crossed and left behind Mount Omi, having decided that it is too soon to return to Chungking, and that the sacred mountain did not fully supply their need for an experience of old, romantic China in the days when Buddhism was a revitalizing force in the land. Mount Omi does not entirely satisfy Little's interest in seeking "a picture of China as it exists far removed from Western influence" (v), while Tibet's prohibited access to Western visitors clearly marks it as the site where medieval-age religiosity and its lifestyle would be most likely preserved. Thus the travelers' revised goal of visiting Tarchendo (Ta Chien Lu to Chinese speakers) as their best means of reaching fabled Tibet fits in better with their earlier expectations for a pilgrimage.

Little's quest to see the remnants of an older, "vital" form of Buddhism, rather than its present-day "degenerate" incarnation derives from his belief that the Chinese have continued to live within a medieval framework of religiously ordered social custom unrelieved by some form of intellectual enlightenment from religious dogma, as experienced by Western Europeans. Little states this belief in the Preface, as a means of setting the stage for his progress through the wilderness. By going past the mountain ranges in Western China and living in Chungking, he says that "one finds one's self *en plein moyen age*, and is enabled to realise the lives of our ancestors before the Reformation awakened men to think for themselves,

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and started them on the course which has left the Chinese, once our superiors, so far behind" (Mount Omi v). The analogy's intellectual foundation is established here, acknowledging China's former ascendant position. This remark also starts off the aesthetic discussion of this journey, with the reference to an immersion in a past lifestyle, enabling the traveler to "realise" the lives of his medieval ancestors. Little carries the aesthetic interest further to an individual material level, when he explains: "we realise there how our ancestors managed to live contentedly, as they undoubtedly did, in such, to us, utter discomfort. No newspapers, no public post, no roads beyond foot trails, no street cleaning, no drains, no fires in winter, and no ice in summer" (v-vi). This is a lament from someone accustomed to a well-developed Western European urban infrastructure and frequent communication with others through diverse means. The word "realise" evokes the idea of rendering, as well as the notion of making physically real what would exist otherwise as an intellectual concept. Contrasting this negative rendering of medieval-style Western China is his observation that "we have the brilliant costumes of the Middle Ages pervading China to-day, all but the very poorest being richly and gracefully clad" (vi). These selected prefatory remarks set up China's picturesqueness, as well as his claim that Chinese buildings "seem to grow up intrinsically picturesque . . . in harmony with the surroundings" (vi). In nineteenth-century Britain, medievalism had already found great popularity with people seeking more purity in their increasingly industrialized lives, and visual arts represented one effective means for people such as William Morris and John Ruskin to promote idealized artisanal production. In Little's narrative we find him using similar material forms of medievalism and picturesqueness to construct an image of feudal Chineseness, a culture that suggests a golden era of solid morals, yet one ultimately destined for systemic

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change. The visual pleasure in viewing feudal relics in their natural setting emphasizes the timelessness of China and its people, while reinforcing the Littles in their chosen subject positions as Westerners free from religious and cultural dogmatism.

The tone of the Preface differs substantially from that of the narrative itself because it was written in September 1900, a few months after the Boxer Rebellion occurred, shaking complacency in Britain's relationship with China. The uprising of anger against Europeans disrupts the paradigm for the Anglo-Chinese relationships Little has used throughout his narrative, rendering his depiction of China and its people a record of the past. It has become difficult, if not impossible, to presume a general Western superiority to the native Chinese. The historical context for Little's Preface, in combination with his self-identification as a longtime resident of China, grants a sense of urgency and heightened relevancy to his desire to see the past preserved. However, the concluding thought in the Preface is that "we may hope for a real opening up of the country with resulting prosperity and peace" (viii) if the Allies, comprising the European powers and Japan, would intervene to overthrow the current dynastic rulers for a more "progressive" ruler. Fears of losing the China he once knew are outweighed by the continued desire for "opening up" to trade and increased consumerism, starting with the country's acceptance of improved infrastructure technology, such as railways, waterworks, and steamships, as represented by his job description for a progressive ruler.

Reviewers of the day found it difficult to categorize Little's writing because of his many interests and activities, as seen in his London Times obituary. "Though not an explorer in the usual sense of the word, Mr Little did much useful geographical work in the interior of Asia," writes the anonymous author, who goes on to note this long-time entrepreneur was

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"[a]ssociated with many industrial enterprises, especially mining, in Szechuan, yet [he] found time to write a good deal on the internal politics of China, always from an exceedingly sympathetic and considerate standpoint" (Times Friday 6 Nov 1908, 13). By the time of his death Little had achieved a respectable reputation in letters, as The New York Times noted in their review of his posthumous collection, Gleanings from Fifty Years in China, which starts with the sentence, "Through the death of Mr. Archibald Little, a few years ago, scholarship and humanism, as applied to the Orient, suffered a great loss." The reviewer lauds his remarkable achievements in the business world, such as ownership of the steamship company whose steamer's maiden voyage from Shanghai to Chungking in 1898 presented a new method of transportation, or for discovering the "best coal-mine in the world, apart from the Cardiff" in Szechuan, where he had plans for building a business. "Circumstances led him into the arena of industrial endeavor," wrote the anonymous reviewer, "though Nature had better fitted him for the life of the student and the pursuit of literature" (NYT 14 May 1911, 11). Little's official vocation as a businessman seems to have become tangential, and a condition to be revisited from time to time, as a rationale for being in China. This merchant's life, as offered in this unofficial obituary masked as a book review, suggests that writing is used as a means of recalling his original purpose or vocation.

Well regarded for his writing in the two works, Through the Yangtze Gorges and Mount Omi, Little was seen by reviewers as one of the preeminent analysts of contemporary Chinese politics and Anglo-Chinese relations. For instance, the publication of Through the Yangtze Gorges coincided with two other studies on the "Far Eastern question," but to the reviewer, Little's work is deemed "of greater value" than the other two, and furthermore, its treatment of

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Szechuan trade and physiography of the Yangtze River basin render it "the best handbook we yet possess to the region which we have been taught to look upon as our special sphere of interest in China" ("Books of the Week," Times Saturday 17 December 1898, 15). Because Little fulfills a need to know more about this area of potential imperial expansion, which would inevitably yield economic expansion for those at the metropolitan center, the reviewer considers Through the Yangtze Gorges to be a "great public utility."

Many Victorian writers recognize Little's credentials for writing on China's state of commerce and natural resources as the natural result of his long years in business. Little's clarity on this mission causes the writing in Through the Yangtze Gorges to eclipse other publications; for example in the same article, the reviewer describes the author of another work on China as one who writes as if "[t]here is no intrinsic evidence to show [he] has any special knowledge of his subject or any peculiar qualifications for dealing with it other than a more or less careful and intelligent study of contemporary literature and journalism" ("Books of the Week," 15). The subtext of the London Times review, and possibly for all other public praise for Little's work, is that his writing comes from a context of well-publicized work to bring technology and economic change to the western Chinese provinces.[46] The intrinsic value and special knowledge in Little's writing derives from an earnestness and sincerity that comes from being on location and a long-term commitment to better control over the British sphere of

[46] Little's name appears in articles and notices from the London Times typically in the context of the negotiation of steamship business with China's government, and the actual navigation of the Yangtze River's treacherous rapids themselves. "New Markets for Trade in China," Tuesday, 18 January 1887; "The Navigation of the Upper Yangtze," Saturday, 17 December 1887; "The Upper Yangtze as a Trade Route," Saturday, February 26 1887; "The Navigation of the Upper Yangtze," Monday, 30 January 1888; "The Navigation of the Upper Yangtze," Saturday, 16 May 1888; "The Navigation of the Upper Yangtze," Friday, 14 June 1889; "The Navigation of the Upper Yangtze: Its Present Position," Monday, 21 October 1889; "The Navigation of the Yang-tzse Rapids," Thursday, 5 May 1898; "The Navigation of the Yang-tzse Rapids," Saturday, 6 May 1899.

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influence in the Yangtze River Basin. These qualities are confirmed by praise from an anonymous Times reviewer, who says Little "has qualifications possessed by few Englishmen for writing about *la vie intime* of the Chinese" in Mount Omi ("Reviews of Books," Thursday, August 29, 1901).

Mount Omi endeavors to be scientific-minded as well as interested in Chinese religious life, for Little is also a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. His membership in the RGS suggests a somewhat troubled history, according to his archived letters and his wife Alicia's subsequent correspondence with the RGS Secretary, because of various troubles with securing necessary geographical works for his reference and producing quality work informed by precedents. The letters show a desire to be more than a paying member, which he is at intervals starting from 1866, finally paying £10.10 for life membership in 1893. His letter dated 17 October 1892 is posted to the RGS after his return to Chungking. It is a letter that talks about Chungking's high death toll from cholera, and how he and Alicia flee to Tachienlu to escape the contagion. He also expresses a desire to produce work concerning the more urban area of Chungking that could suit RGS interests: "Is there anything a non-traveller could investigate hereabouts worth recording in your Proceedings?" Having finished his summer travels he seeks a new project, but considers himself a "non-traveller" because of his current status at home. He has already produced the letters comprising Mount Omi by this time, but without a needed reference work, as he requests an RGS copy of Baber's Travels in Western China, having just covered "a good deal of his ground" and was sorry not to have this work with him, as his copy was destroyed in the Ichang riots.

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Alicia Little's letters to the RGS shed more light upon her husband's desires for institutional recognition of his efforts. In a letter dated 10 November 1908, responding to condolences sent by Mr Scott Keltie, she writes that "My husband dearly loved the Geographical Society and was always sorry that he had never read a paper there, owing to the times not fitting." The archives holds an unfinished paper of Little's tentatively titled "Up the Yangtze in Search of Trade by A J Little FRGS" with an introduction labeled "The Physiography of the Yangtze Valley." It is incomplete, comprising solely of the introduction that appears to be the geographical discussion from his 1888 work on the Yangtze Gorges, with a written promise of "two more chapters and an appendix to come." The introduction itself ends abruptly in mid-sentence, as though he has been torn away from the project by an urgent matter. Despite such evidence of incomplete contributions to the RGS, lay readers of Little's work remark upon its significance, as his fellow writers about China frequently reference his 1888 work. The desire to be recognized for his efforts as an actively contributing geographer appears posthumously in a letter written by his wife Alicia to Leonard Darwin, the RGS Secretary, where she asks if there "might be made an honourable title by there being a distinction made between those, who simply subscribed to the Society and those who in one way or other had done something to advance the study of geography" (10 November 1908). Mount Omi, then, is clearly one of Little's bids for serious scientific recognition by peers and the product of work in the field. But his work coheres around a thread of nostalgia, a China that is about to pass into history as Japan has done with its feudal past.

Despite the fact that his livelihood is continually obstructed by feng-shui practitioners fearful of disturbing earth spirits, Little is the rare man of business who evinces great interest in

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Chinese culture, and possesses strong language skills. Literary critic Susan Schoenbauer Thurin observes an "inherent paradox" in how Little perceives China, as he simultaneously criticizes its backwardness, yet "romanticizes the timelessness of Chinese civilization" (77). My argument in this chapter endeavors to explore the purpose served by this paradoxical posture. As seen in Little's narrative of his quasi-religious detailed in Mount Omi and Beyond, British merchants sell the notion of progress to the Chinese people, while continuing their false nostalgia for a "purer" Chinese culture, one where religion actively supports communities and institutions, instead of necropolises focused on propitiating the dead in baroque fashion. Many Western travelers of the nineteenth century remark upon the exceeding concern with death and the afterlife, reaching into all parts of life from the regular respect paid to one's ancestors with special ceremonies, advance purchase of coffins, elaborate funeral services, and the ongoing concerns for financing such obsequies that overshadow the human lives in progress.

The nostalgia for a medieval Chinese Buddhist society reinforces Chinese inferiority or backwardness, thereby highlighting its contrast with British superiority and progress. Archibald Little's relationships to native Chinese people and religious practices as presented in Mount Omi and Beyond perpetuate this problematic position, where his travel narrative depicts the contradictory desire by the British merchant figure to strengthening their western China sphere of influence into a robust colony, while retaining its image as an Iron Age kingdom run by Buddhist priests.

Businessmen Abroad in China

The subset of travel narratives written by long-time British merchants in China has, like missionary narratives, received little critical attention for academic or institutional reasons, and

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presently still resides on the margins of scholarly interest. This lack comes in part from their visibility: Thurin asserts that "few merchants have left memoirs about their work in China" (57).[47] The number of merchants in China had been historically low, and they increased only after the Opium War ended in 1842. British merchants had been in Southern China since the late eighteenth century and the sale of opium to Chinese middlemen played an integral part in the success of the British Empire in the East. Historically and economically speaking, narratives written by British merchants in China potentially hold a great deal of significance for literary scholars, because the high value of Indian opium sales in China fueled the splendor of the Indian Raj; their perceptions in this obscured process enact the struggle to imagine success and their role in empire building.[48] The subjectivity presented in these narratives, reflections on the mercantile British identity under the Chinese government's anti-foreigner constraints, is relevant to postcolonial theory with its interest in how British imperial interests were often fueled by economic interests in certain areas before official administration entered the scene. [49]

"To the merchant's eye," writes Thurin, "China sometimes appears either as a commodity or something to be commodified, and his travel becomes infused with the methods of business" (57). The merchant's eye for financial transactions and production of goods marks Little's two major narratives, Through the Yangtze Gorges (1888) and Mount Omi and

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[47] For other merchants' voices about their China experience see the narratives of Maurice Collis; Thomas Thornville Cooper, G.F. Davidson; and William C. Hunter.

[48] The importance of China in the East India Trade is beginning to enter the more public consciousness about British imperial interests, as evidenced by the British Library exhibit, "Trading Places" (July 2002-October 2002), where the space given to the Chinese is considerable, and nearly equal to that given over to discussing the Anglo-Indians.

[49] See Susan Schoenbauer Thurin for her reading of Archibald Little's works on China; few other works have endeavored to tackle this subject. for other works about merchants and literature (specifically novels), see the collection of essays in The Representation of Business in English Literature (Ed. Arthur Pollard); Christina Crosby, and Jennifer Wicke, as well as the often cited works by Ivan Melada and Norman Russell.

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Beyond. As a British businessman he gained fame for bringing steamships up the Yangtze River to Chungking, speeding up the 14,000 mile trip from Shanghai and overcoming the fearsome Yangtze Gorges. His narratives are marked by a similar attention to the working life of China: salt works operations, coal mine operations, and the frustrations of money exchange. According to Thurin, this viewpoint continually sees business opportunities, if not for himself, then for British businessmen in general: "geological features betray valuable natural resources; abundant agricultural production invites foreign trade; ancient modes of transportation portend modern makeover" (78-9). Added to this attention, remarks Thurin, is Little's constant interest in turning a profit on these opportunities that crop up along his routes, further emphasizing his entrepreneurial bent. However, she remarks a few pages later that his travels, particularly those undertaken to Mount Omi, have Little "acting out of character," where his persona as a merchant-traveler shows up in the text as various anxieties over his self-presentation. "As a rule," Thurin notes, "foreign merchants traveled little in China. . . . To some extent these patterns were a response to the treaty-port regulations in that foreign businesses and housing were confined to the concession areas" (60).

Merchants typically did not travel from the treaty ports, in part because they could not speak the language, often priding themselves on possessing no more than a few words of Chinese after decades in residence. But Little, according to Thurin, broke from this typical pattern with his facility in speaking Chinese and traveling Chinese style. He is very proud of his ability to get along with the Chinese natives in Szechuan province of Western China: "Of course the few foreign travellers here all speak the language, and hence we are not regarded, as we are on the Coast, as 'speechless' barbarians" (208-9). The ability to speak, yet still be a

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"barbarian," enables him to occupy two subject positions at the same time: the outsider capable of expressing his difference from the insiders, yet one who understands feng shui, the food, the language; he considers himself somewhat of a European-looking Chinese.

Little's ability to speak authoritatively on feng shui to native Chinese marks his difference from other British residents in China, and speaks to his deep interest in spiritual matters deriving from ancient chthonic traditions. Feng shui is an art of divination with a written history dating back to Shang dynasty (1766-1046 BCE), the earliest documented historical period in Chinese history. At that time, diviners interpreted the cracks in heated animal bones to answer questions. The basis of feng shui lies in the belief of an elemental force, *qi*, which runs through all parts of nature, including humans. By the late nineteenth century, feng shui becomes a belief in the force of destiny or fate, firmly attached to the geographic locations of people and their activities. At its most elemental, feng shui's principles concern the ability to catch the wind, and attract water (a metaphor for wealth and prosperity). During Little's journey to Mount Omi, he encounters native people who ask him advice on the placement of houses or household items in relation to their family fortunes. The prevalent belief in feng shui, a more indigenous spiritual practice, does not actively compete with Buddhism, which has set up its temples on Mount Omi and elsewhere. But ongoing native interest in feng shui point to its ability to fulfill real needs felt by numerous parts of the population, more so than the Buddhist religion that the Littles find in such disarray upon their arrival on Mount Omi. Little's ability to speak confidently about how to increase one's fortune via feng shui also points to his long-term investment in the Chinese, not simply as potential consumers for his steamship enterprise, but as people whose fortunes he hopes to improve.

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Little's pride in occupying these two subject positions derives from his ability to speak either English and Chinese at moments when he needs to be part of the dominant group. His linguistic versatility is also matched by his ability to move between two discourses about religion: 1) the spiritual poverty in the native population induced by the Protestant missionary efforts; and 2) the problematic, though sustaining religious structures of Chinese Buddhism. Through his engagement with both discourses, modernization and its concomitant material changes are problematized as spiritual crisis, particularly in his narrative Mount Omi and Beyond.

For some Victorian writers, the British merchants in China have collectively become a monster that has yet to be slain. According to Sir Charles Dilke in 1875, the merchants are "fire-eating," and he thinks poorly of their notion that "China should be forced to do what they desire, and that force should be used at the caprice of any gunboat captain" (Greater Britain 592). Merchants do not receive a hearty welcome in Dilke's narrative because they espouse what he perceived as a heavy-handed agenda for change. His invocation of a monster, or a dragon, points out the problematic nature of nostalgia: the merchants obviously forward British economic interests, particularly with the lucrative opium trade, but they present a menace to a society that has not sought or prepared for change in its economic structure, which in turn undermines social stability. In a sense, where Britain should be identified with St. George, according to the nation's mythology of itself as an advocate of fairness, it is now identified with the dragon to be slain.

The merchant-writer's selective use of nostalgia establishes a contradiction within the logic of the merchant's discourse on how China should become more modernized in relation to

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its traditional lifestyles. On the one hand, Little ridicules the quaintness of the old ways, but at the same time demonstrates a strong affection and respect for traditional Chinese beliefs not unlike the kinds of remarks Marco Polo makes about everyday life in China in this fifteenth century narrative. Pointing out quaintness creates a condescending tone, which may be attributed to the British sense of their own technological superiority and visions of how to fulfill their desires for dominating the Chinese market. This tone becomes especially pronounced when Little takes issue with the problems of travelling around China, not only pointing out the mandarins' backwardness expressed as a hesitation to adopt steamer service, but also lamenting the absence of railways that would also help expedite the movement of people and products. In a sense, this is a negative version of nostalgia, where the poor service and quality of conveniences ought not to be revisited, though they continue to haunt the people of China during Little's tenure in China. Negative nostalgia goes on to form the rationale for Little's existence as a purposeful one – it highlights his difference.

It is difficult to reconcile the image of the progress-minded merchant with someone who finds the greatest comfort in China's ancient religious practices. The difficulty increases when we realize that these religious or spiritual practices become the tools of his native opponents. Taoism and Buddhism are represented by the temples, whose priests object to the incursion of Christianity and Western teachings, but lay practictioners of feng shui typically react most violently against implementing Western technology, such as the full-scale introduction of the railroads. It may be because of such objections that Little took up the study of feng shui in the first place, in order to better understand and counter objections to the disruption of their livelihoods, their perceptions of the comfort as supported by the feng shui of

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their natural surroundings. Their objections to Western innovations also come from the collective experience with a prior "innovation" or novelty – the British sale of Indian opium to a susceptible Chinese population.

Little's Narrative Structure as a Pilgrimage Diary

Little tells the reader that the material presented in Mount Omi and Beyond originally appeared in the columns of the North China Herald (vii), presenting his quotidian adventures to a general audience of British and American expatriates. The diary concept and its record of daily happenings, which may be assumed to have appeared in the columns as well, offer a mundane structure for the Littles' pilgrimage to Mount Omi and the edge of Tibet. The chronological and episodic narrative structure convey the strong sense of simplicity, so that the reader may be inclined to credit the veracity of things described. No matter how far the Littles travel, or how seemingly exotic the aboriginal people may seem toward the end of the narrative, the strategy of marking the passage of days with the knowledge that this is meant to be a summer holiday, grounds the whole experience for readers who are likely to get lost seeking the locations on the enclosed map. No matter how long a chapter may seem, and how close they go to Tibet, the reader always knows the Littles must return home to their duties. This circularity marks this narrative from the rest of the ones examined in this dissertation, because it offers a metonym for how the China Hands, or the long-time expatriates, viewed their lives in China: they are always destined to circle back to home in England, in the same way they are obligated to circle back to their home bases in the treaty port cities.

Looking more closely at the first chapter's structure gives the blueprint for the other chapters as stages on the journey. One chapter will include all the days' entries for the stage

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described in the chapter title. Notable landmarks for the local region have been chosen to designate the different stages and therefore the chapters themselves. "Chapter I: Chungking to the Brine Wells River" begins with the time, date, temperature readings and weight carried by coolies. He is meticulous in noting measurements and quantities in order to set up the most accurate picture possible, as can be seen this section of the first paragraph, where he discusses the literal weight of his wealth after having given the time, date, and location of departure.

> . . . seven coolies carrying each eighty catties (107 lbs.) of our clothing, bedding, money, and "stores" for three months' consumption; . . . It is well to remember that the only coin current in the Chinese Empire is the copper "cash," of which a thousand strung by their centre hole on a straw rope makes a "string" or *tiao*. Such a string weighs 8 lbs. Ten strings equal in value just a sovereign, and form a load of 80 lbs. (4)

Measurements made of material items gain significance when related to their impact on human labor, which Little emphasizes when he notes that "the happy possessor of one pound sterling, if he takes it with him in coin of the realm, requires a special porter to carry it" (4-5). Western capital, then, is a burden to the lower classes, whether they shoulder it as a coolie or shoulder their own financial losses incurred when foreign capital displaces their jobs with technological innovations.

The chapters are each marked with ongoing measurements and the porters' work resulting from these measurements. Episodic/installment structure allows daily data collection of measurements, measuring things that directly impact their travel, making their journey more about inspection and less about seeking better health and introspection. As can be seen from the start of the first paragraph, the day's activities are duly noted from the time the Littles awake until bedtime. The early chapters feature more meticulous notation of activities and the time of

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day. In Chapter I, the day passes with a great deal of observation and activity between time checks: "On July 7, 1897, after a last good home-breakfast, we set off in the usual smoky mist of Chungking at 7.15 A.M." (4); "We left Fu Tou Kuan at 9.30 (15 li)" (5); "arrived at the village of Tsan Pu at 11 A.M." (5-6); and at the end of the day, "A heavy and delightfully cooling thunderstorm wound up a day which we found far less disagreeable than we had any right to anticipate at this season" (6). Between these times Little has taken great care to note precise directions as well as air pressure readings taken with his aneroid. For instance, in the same entry for July 7, 1897, he notes that at 1 P.M.

> . . . we started again and traversed the nearest to Chungking of the remarkable 'cross ranges' that intersect the sandstone plateau of Szechuan in a N.E. and S.W. direction. Steep flights of steps led us up to the pass – just 1000 feet from the foot by my aneroid, through a group of steep fir-clad hills rising 300 to 400 feet higher. (6)

The references to geographical directions show a great deal of attention paid to marking their precise location in space, while the aneroid measurements show the same concern in terms of altitude. The aneroid is one of the tools that helps gives structure to their days, requiring deliberate effort to stop and set up for Little to make this measurement. The porters must first boil water for plunging in the aneroid; when the water boils the aneroid is able to register the correct air pressure. Consistent measurement enables Little to see the progress in his ascents and descents, and aligns him with the work performed by the Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society. At the end of the Preface he thanks the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society as well as Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, a Fellow who has given permission to reproduce her map of Western China. The pleasure in this holiday lies partly in the accumulation of such souvenirs.

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Little's self-portrait suggests this impulse to record the geography of a region that is about to be lost through modernization. The serious, scientific adventurer is an image reinforced by the frontispiece, a portrait of Little (Figure 3). He wears a watch chain with his tweed travelling suit that might have been taken on the journey to Mount Omi. Little's portrait in tweed affirms the tone of rural simplicity – a country gentleman accustomed to walks in the wood suggested by the structure of his diary entries, while the prominent watch chain indicates his active observation and measurement of the world as well as a mercantile affiliation. Rather than looking directly into the camera and thereby confronting the reader's eyes, as do Isabella Bird Bishop and Timothy Richard, he looks to his right with a searching expression. The frontispieces in the others' narratives confront the reader with their distinguished status, whether an imposing Bird Bishop in her formal Manchu dress, or a smiling Richard in his black clergyman's suit.[50] Little is not so certain, and relies upon his work to impress the reader.

[50] The original editions of The Yangtze Valley and Beyond (1899) feature this full-length portrait of Bird Bishop, but the Virago/Beacon Press reprint (1985, ed. Pat Barr) has substituted a group portrait entitled "Tibetan Lamas Masked for a Religious Dance."

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Figure 3.

The Narrative Significance of Data Collection

The narrative's episodic or installment structure allows daily collection of scientific-related data, its social power over the native population, as well as the recorded observations of native technologies such as they are. When these narrative concerns are combined with a search for the authentic religious life in western China, the absence of technological innovation becomes conflated with a similar absence of spiritual rectitude.

In Mount Omi Little demonstrates his obsession with labeling new and unusual sights with both English and Chinese names. Directly after giving the Chinese names he gives literal translations of the words comprising the term, as an assist in understanding the origins of the object viewed. Readers of travel narratives related to the British Empire are accustomed to seeing things named and described, sometimes with the native terms along with an English

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term, but the consistency of this naming and definition bears remark because it signals a desire to teach readers a native vocabulary, even a vernacular. In putting the Chinese vocabulary side-by-side with the newer, English term easily understood by readers, Little acts the part of an anthropologist who records the native ways as they exist before they encounter with the industrialized world, or in some eyes, the changes wrought by the European presence in China. One commonly occurring instance of this naming,which also appears in other narratives, is the reference to men serving the local yamen officials. The Littles are escorted by "two ragged (invariably opium smokers) *tsai jen*, or 'runners from their *yamên*'" (42). He neglects to define yamen, a term well known to those living and traveling in China defined as the regional office responsible for foreigners' safety issues. These terms, tsai jen and yamen, represent a current political situation where local officials are attempting to grasp control of the changes wrought by foreigners in their midst. While this is a common definition that most traveler-writers must define and illustrate for their readers, Little undertakes more quaint terms that represent local agrarian lifestyles. On 21 July 1892, he and Alicia pass through "the crowded, dirty, but fairly wide street of the market town of *Chên Chia Ch'ang* (Chên family market)" (58). Unlike Isabella Bird Bishop, who encounters a deserted market town and dismisses it without finding out its name, Little shows us how the town's importance rests upon a clan, the basic unit of Chinese villages. The definition of the town's name shows the reader how ancient social custom is still vital, with an institution that is perhaps somewhat resistant to foreign influences. At the same time, the disorder of the family-dominated market economy can be better managed, as implied in the presentation of the scene and the literal translation of the town's name as part of a quaint, old-fashioned country landscape.

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In Chapter V, "On the Sacred Mountain's Side," Little's interest in native religious practices results in translations of pilgrims' salutations, as a form of collecting souvenirs, ones that are acquired through close contact with natives. In the entry for 30 July 1892, the Littles continue their ascent of Mount Omi, where they meet crowds of pilgrims, who have spent the night on the summit and are now returning home. "*Teh Fu*, they reply to our salute, 'Acquire bliss'; or *Teh Liao Fu*, 'We have acquired bliss' – and seen the glory of Buddha, their ecstatic faces would seem to add" (78). These pilgrims seem to be greeting the Littles as fellow pilgrims. Such discourse is familiar to readers of missionary narratives, with their vocabulary of enlightenment. Little's interest in native religious practices at this mundane level recalls Timothy Richard's work to understand the same, in order to make analogies between Christianity and native religions. Here Little's presentation of native pilgrims visiting Buddhist shrines shows the living religious feeling that Timothy Richard attempts to utilize for the purposes of propagating Christianity, but Little shows how the expression of Buddhist faith is valid in itself in showing a path to happiness and salvation. At the same time, Little uses terminology to indicate practices similar to those from antique Christianity. He describes a temple where two towers are visible from the courtyard. The second one is "famous for its Jou shên, or 'flesh and blood' idol, in the body of an aged abbot who was canonised 100 years ago" (79). This definition recalls gothic death-in-life images from Matthew Lewis's The Monk, and brings to life the respected religious practices of meditation and self-denial by feeding readers' ongoing interest in lurid, exotic sights. The many temples on Mount Omi offer the potential backdrops for many such grotesque scenes, though Little does not seek them out with that intention.

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Little also does not count the innumerable temples, but he is very conscientious about tracking the innumerable miles walked by his entourage. From Chapter III, "From Tsz' Lui Ching to Kiating Fu," he ends his letter with the practical details of the daily journey, from the number of persons required to carry the materials, to the amount of money paid to each porter, to the mileage. "A full day's journey is 90 *li* (27 miles), and a short day's 60 *li* (18 miles)" (36). He expects the reader to do the calculations of 3 li to one mile from now on, and to be adept at understanding the mileage that characterizes a slow day of travel, such as "To-day, owing to the bad night's rest and delay at Tzs' [sic] Liu Ching, we stopped after covering half a 't'san' (stage), only 14 miles" (36). Little's ongoing use of the *li* measurement without its conversion into miles offers another means for the reader to enter into the Chinese world through language, but it initially causes a sense of alienation from the enterprise because the measurement term may seem detached from the British or American reader's conceptions of measuring distances. Though travelers are always concerned about covering distances and marking down miles, the meticulous nature of this duty may be attributed in part to the accountancy characteristic of those who have worked as business clerks and to Little's personal interest in RGS recognition for this journal. He does not go so far as to provide an appendix listing the total daily mileages as Isabella Bird Bishop does at the end of Yangtze Valley and Beyond. Rather than being scientific or mathematical about the mileages for others to be able to chart on the maps, Little appears to be using the mileage counts for effect. When he does not achieve the day's expected mileage, he turns the narrative focus onto the hardships of travel, though many of these miles are undertaken in sedan chairs or later on in boats and the hardship lies in the author's inability to drive the convoy harder.

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Like other travelers, whether RGS Fellows or ordinary citizens on tour, the temperature and weather conditions are always of utmost concern, particularly when the transportation methods used by Little's convoy expose them to the elements. Little's conscientious accounting of mileage extends to taking regular measurements of the temperature and air pressure. The temperature readings help create a sense of ascent, as seen in his multiple measurements for July 9, 1892. At 650 feet above sea level, it is 90°F inside their lodgings; later in the day, they "ascended to the cooler air (86°) of Hoang-Ko-Shu ('banyan tree') 430 feet, arriving at 6.45" (9). While ascending Mount Omi the temperature is tied to the increasing altitude and the increasing level of physical comfort, but once they reach the temples the measurements drop out of the entries except as part of his expressions of delight at being physically revitalized. "A glorious morning after last night's storm. Started at five o'clock, the sun just gilding the heights above us, the thermometer 60° Fahrenheit, and an air so balmy that to breathe it was to breakfast" (July 30, 1892; 77-8). He doesn't mention temperature again until the party leaves Mount Omi to ascend the Saiking Shan, the highest mountain in its group and the first major destination on their subsequent journey to Tarchendo (Ta Chien Lu in Chinese). "During our three days on the mountain," he writes, "the range of the thermometer was from 44 ° night minimum to 63° day maximum" (128). In the entry for August 19, 1892, he uses the measurements as a means of comparing their experiences on the two mountains: "We thought our ruinous lodging a delightful change from our ditch-encircled room at Omi, and only wished we had come on here sooner. We boiled our thermometer twice daily, as on Omi, and made the height 11,100 feet as against Omi's 10,500" (129). High altitudes, low temperatures, and rustic lodgings altogether make for an invigorating stay, and the text suggests that this interest in

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temperature is not only scientific but a monastic, self-abnegating exercise designed to cleanse their bodies and souls. The "ruinous" lodging suggests such feeling, not unlike the sacrifices made by the ecstatic, and physically tested pilgrims they see descending Mount Omi.

The instruments for measurements are members of the convoy, sometimes playing parts in the drama of their progress. In some cases, Little's measurements allow him to situate himself in relation to his predecessors, both geographical and literary. On August 1, 1892, he reports that he "Boiled the thermometer and made the height just 16,500 feet, as against Baber's 10,800 feet, but boiling in an open pot is, according to [Edward] Whymper, not reliable" (86). To measure air pressure he uses an aneroid, whose readings measure the force made upon an elastic lid to a hollow container. This force comes from the pressure made when water is boiled, where the increased air pressure in higher altitudes causes water to be boiled at lower heating temperatures. The aneroid therefore must always be heated in a pot of water, and can only be used when the party has stopped for a meal on the road.

The conditions of constructed scientific necessity, combined with physical necessity, and certain measuring tools requiring careful attention altogether create scenes where Little and his party present themselves as the invading European force, as they do on August 12, 1892:

> At length we reached an isolated cottage called Ming Seng Chan, or the 'Bright Enclosure,' . . . Here the tiffin was quickly spread, our coolies by this time being adepts at taking possession of a cottage, sweeping it out, rubbing down the one table, and upon it spreading our white table-cloth, while the owners stand round helpless in open-mouthed astonishment. Meanwhile the cook has got his charcoal *fenglu* (furnace) under way, we boiled our thermometer, which the peasants are always much disappointed that we do not afterwards eat, and sat down to a most enjoyable repast (107)

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With a white table cloth and "coolies" taking over a dwelling, regardless of its inhabitants, Little evokes the stereotypical image of the empire man, one in the service of a greater power, namely scientific inquiry and progress. The actual measurement of temperature or air pressure, appearing at regular intervals in the daily accounts, is the result of making small, but dramatic science demonstrations to native Chinese. When we compare his narrative to Timothy Richard's description of performing science demonstrations as education, Little is more deliberately situating science and technology as weapons, even using native bodies as the proxy agents in this land assault. He clearly hopes to gain the upper hand with less educated members of society, paving the way for his future material comfort.

Little conveys the primitive nature of China's technological capabilities solely through verbal narrative than with photograph proofs, which could have been taken with his wife's camera. For instance, there are no photographs in the narrative that record the mundane act of boiling the thermometer or aneroid, nor does he present photographic proof of the instruments being used on August 1, 1892 when he asserts the inaccuracy of well-established figures calculated by Baber for the mountainous altitude. He states that they "Boiled the thermometer and made the height just 16,500 feet, as against Baber's 10,000 feet" and then backs away from this challenge, by acknowledges the possibility that his instrumentation is to blame: "but boiling in an open pot is, according to Whymper, not reliable" (86). He uses one authority to apologize for the ineptitude of one instrument, while refraining from the use of another instrument to record the instrument reading that gives him a fleeting moment of pride. The camera, the thermometer, and the aneroid all appear in descriptions of camp even more frequently than his wife does. The instruments play characters as well as justify Little's

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geographical purpose on this pilgrimage, and the camera notably has an eye for the quaint, picturesque old China that will be displaced by the Western technologies Little and his mercantile cohort wish to sell to the government.

The camera as a character with a selective vision of the picturesque becomes evident with its inability to produce visions of the industrial complex. When the Littles visit the salt manufacturer at Tsz Liu Ching, he imagines how the manager sees "a foreign man and woman and an uncanny machine on three legs" (28), all of whom are somewhat objectionable visitors, liable to take away his manufacturing secrets. In this description of their visit, Alicia Little has already taken pictures of the ravine, then after this introduction to the manager, takes a few more pictures of the brine water wheel apparatus (used to move the brine from the well up to the evaporating vats) turned by water buffaloes inside the salt works. Whether the manager's fears prevailed or if the photographic equipment failed, Little's finished narrative presents no photographs of the salt works or the gas works described in their stop at Tsz Liu Ching. The quaintness of the bamboo tubes and the iron fittings are better conveyed through verbal narrative than photographs, which may show bamboo tubes to look just like tubes made in European factories. Through adherence to the verbal narrative without corresponding visual materials, Little wishes to protect his own failure with technology, as in the possible faulty use of the boiled thermometer, he also wishes to bolster an image of the Chinese industrial works as precariously built, primitive efforts ready to benefit from more advanced training in technology from Europe and America. In reality, the Chinese were well ahead of the Europeans and the Americans in the search for salt. In Salt: A World History, Mark Kurlansky, investigates the role played by salt production in the global economy and finds the Chinese at

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Zigong, Shaanxi province (north of Szechuan) had the expertise to drill deeper (over 3,300 feet) by 1835, using the bamboo apparatus that Little ridicules. In contrast, an American in 1850 would be cheered for the achievement of having drilled 69.5 feet in Titusville, Pennsylvania (Kurlansky 376).

It would be plausible to lose photographs from the vagaries of travel. However, Little makes a point of telling the reader of photographs taken in the course of narrative events, and neglects to follow up their absence with any remarks explaining their absence by technical or human error. However, rather than the sense of loss, the number of illustrations listed in the table of contents for Mount Omi suggests the body of photographs went through deliberate editing to preserve a coherence in the visual narrative. The sixteen photographs include ten landscape images, some of which include agricultural or religious images, one of a Chinese family at home, four images of religious structures, and one frontispiece featuring the author. The prevalence of landscape and religious structures affirms the pilgrimage stated in the book's title, and the agricultural scenes affirm the pastoral nature of Szechuan province, though one of the agricultural photographs shows terraced fields of opium poppies, as if to mock the innocent pastoral.

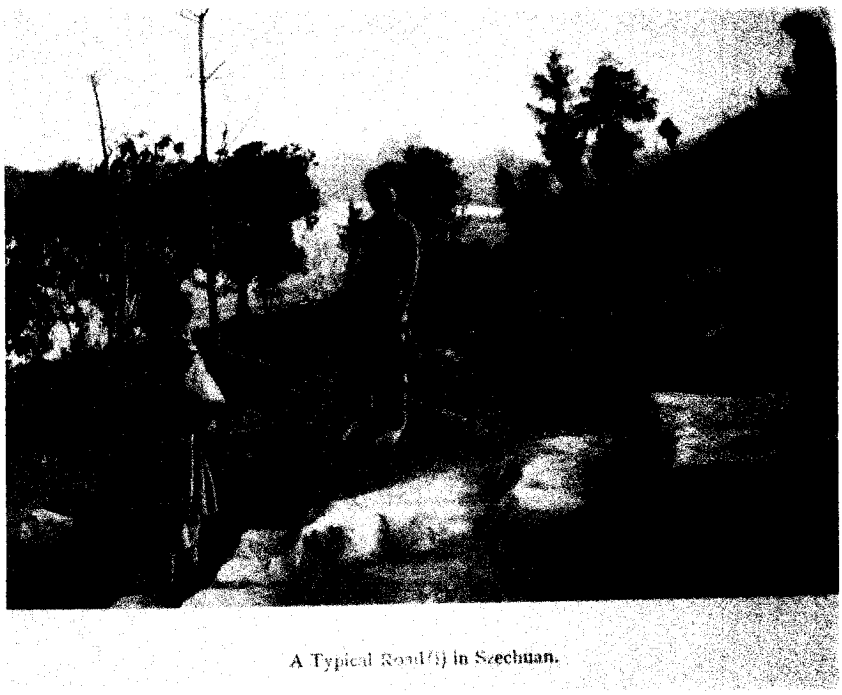
Nowhere do we see photographs of industry or native technology, such as the salt works of Tsz Liu Ching described in Chapter II, "The Brine Wells." The nearest approach to a photograph depicting native technical prowess, without reference to religious or social observances, is the photograph entitled, "A Typical Road (!) in Szechuan" (52), which mocks the public works once maintained by the government but allowed to lapse into utter decrepitude by their mishandling of funds (Figure 4). In this photograph the road takes the foreground but is

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not the focus of the image at all. The large, somewhat uneven stone slabs form a set of steps inclining up a riverbank amidst a field of stone outcrops and scrubby plant growth. The reader must determine which part of the photograph is the real road and which is not, but the natives pictured at the center of the image make their way through this chaos frequently. In the lower left is an ill-dressed woman of uncertain age, and behind her a youngish, barefoot man naked to the waist, perched on top of a rock adjacent to the "road." Looking at these two characters we can see the road's regular users are peasants threading their way through the countryside. But it is a rough kind of travel, one where the road hardly seems to make a difference in their hardscrabble existence, which is marked in their faces and the young woman's empty basket on her back. With road building technology becoming a speciality in Britain and the colonies, Little's photograph clearly shows a place for the British or the Americans to make their mark, should the Chinese Government give them the chance to introduce their machines and engineers.

In the photograph entitled "High Road to the Capital of Szechuan (Cheng Tu), showing Grave-mounds on each side . . ." (Figure 5), the road, though no wider than the width of an average-sized man with his arms outstretched, looks surprisingly smooth and well-maintained in contrast to the rough path laid out in the other image. Numerous native travelers can be seen resting on the roadside, which means they are resting on burial mounds. This road snakes up into the top left corner of the photograph, leading into the fort city with its fortified buildings. This image arguably shows that there is some semblance of viable infrastructure in Western China and is used by many people.

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A Typical Road(?) in Szechuan.

Figure 4.

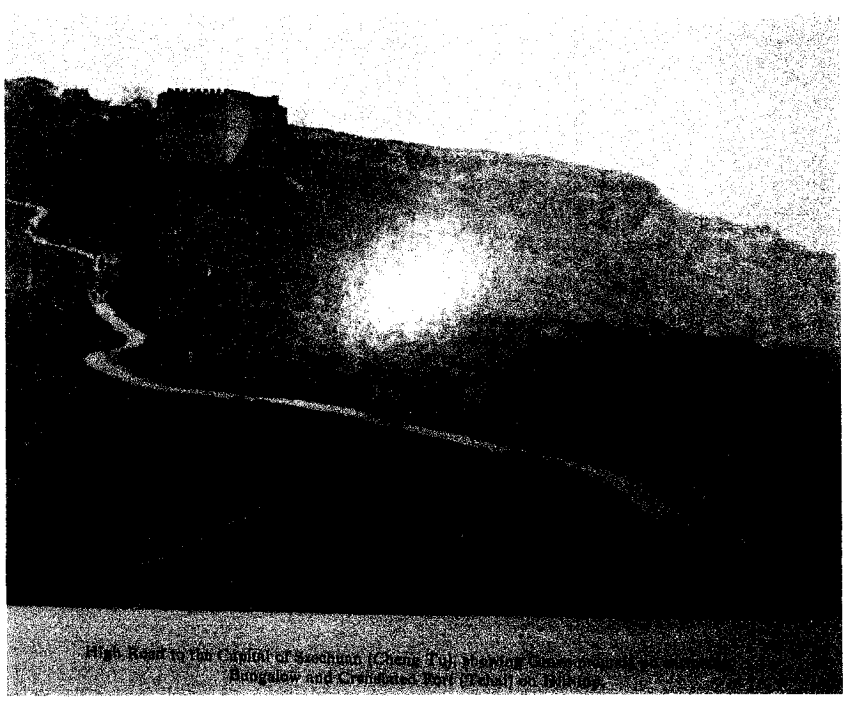


Figure 5.

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The Salt Works: Interrogating Chineseness Through Technology

Commodity and exchange surround the Littles as they begin their journey to Mount Omi in Szechuan Province. Like Marco Polo's eye for products sold on the market, Little's curiosity about technology introduces various passages about how products, such as salt, are made for the Chinese market. This interest is not unusual for him, as his 1888 narrative is subtitled "Trade and Travel in Western China," but observations about technology and apparent deficiencies or marvels emphasize the material nature of his life and the concept of "Westernness" for sale. Not unlike the start of Geoffrey Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales, the pilgrims bring a great interest in material life to their pilgrimage. But instead of allegories about relationships, Little presents us with an allegory of a nation's foundation, which is rooted in primitive production.

The text is forced to move between the two seemingly disparate discourses of technology and religion, which Little links through his collection of information on both worlds. It is an ongoing, underlying interrogation of the term "Chinese" in contrast to the term "Western," to which it is always placed in opposition. This project emerges in the reader's view as he crosses the great red sandstone basin of western Szechuan Province, made famous by Baron von Richthofen's description of the area. Like the Baron, most people think of it as a vast wasteland, rather than what the Littles encounter in their crossing:

> And now a change came over the prospect; we were still journeying through paddy-fields, but in front of us the western horizon was defined by another of the 'cross ranges' which break up the sandstone basin, and on its level summit tall erections, unlike anything Chinese as far as our experience hitherto had led us to understand the term, stood forth boldly against the evening sky. (22)

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The term "Chinese" does not include any provision for technical accomplishments beyond the requisite references to gunpowder, paper, and some hydraulic engineering along the Grand Canal. These technologies come from the deepest recesses of China's past, while these "tall erections" appear to be starkly industrial, standing "boldly" against the sunset. These are the salt wells of Tsz' Liu Ching, appearing in Chapter II ("The Brine Wells") and have been in operation for many years, as seen in the use of conduits made of bamboo and reservoirs cut into rock. This facility's apparatus extracts salt at the rate of three tons of product daily and fascinates Little enough to warrant a detailed description of the different moving parts as he discusses the making of salt in great detail.

Quaintness evokes a premodern society, and the traveler is often fascinated by how a less technological society works. Dean MacCannell's sociological study on the tourist notes that visiting workplaces on vacation is a "perversion of the aim of leisure" (57). In fact, such a viewer fetishizes work done by others in order to permit self-reflection and transcendence. Though MacCannell claims that "[w]ork displays are not central to tourism itself," the contrast it affords the tourist contributes to the more fundamental transformation of society from industrial to modern. In this case, the traveling entrepreneur turns his vacation into a working moment. Little's interest in work performed by native Chinese constitutes a primary interest for his travels and contributes to the affirmation of a society in need of a fundamental transformation. After viewing the salt and gas works of Kung Ching, a neighboring town to Tsz' Tsu Ling where the Littles tour a salt factory, Little assesses the work display represented by the physical plants and determines there will be place for his technical expertise in China when the Chinese realize they can bring these factories to a higher pitch of productivity. "My

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suggestion to the managers of the works we went over, that they should use the gas to drive a steam-engine, was made a decade too soon," he writes optimistically, "not that they did not appear thoroughly to appreciate its advantages, judging by their intelligent inquiries as to the cost, efficiency, &c" (32). Little's optimism comes also from examining the already existing social conditions, which points to a formidable potential workforce, when combined with European or American educational innovations.

> every traveller is struck by the superiority in energy and intelligence which the lower and middle classes display when compared with their ignorant and conceited superiors, the gentry so-called, who are the real enemies of that progress and prosperity which would raise China to a front rank among the nations of the earth. The nineteenth century has seen our own "Tory," once synonymous with the "stupid" party, converted to the doctrine of progress: may we not unnaturally look for a like metamorphosis in the coming twentieth century here in China? (32)

When comparing the Chinese to others, such as India and France (which are to Little places where significant strains of religious and social dogma have inhibited systemic change), he finds the Chinese to be anything but quaint. He claims they are freer from religious dogma, caste traditions, and class boundaries than the people in Europe and India. From the rickety vision of the salt works Little constructs a futuristic vision of China, one that seems inaccessible to him and his compatriots.

The rapt attention paid to this quaint salt-extracting operation would cause the reader to believe this salt manufacturing plant is an unusual phenomenon, potentially eclipsing the quieter description about what is really an industrial complex on the banks of the Tsz Liu Ching river. In reality, a small city of refuge, or a "chai" exists at the level top of the summit, where houses have been built for people of different classes, and resemble a walled Chinese city (23).

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Below this top level, where people reside, the salt manufacturers operate numerous brine wells. Interestingly, Little notes that "[b]oth banks of the river here are lined with the towers of oil wells as well as the heights above" (27). The nearby landscape looks like a set of "colossal spiderwebs" consisting of innumerable brine and gas ducts which form part of the supply chain to the many factories, and "to meet this every kind of rough appliance known to the Chinese is employed" (31). A grudging admiration emerges here for the unexpectedly industrialized Chinese, who have clearly been working these resources for a significant period of time without much notice from Europeans. But the sight of the primitive materials – bamboo, iron, and stone – keep this awe in check.

> The [bottom of the] bamboo dipper, or pump, a tube of bamboo about thirty feet long and three inches in diameter . . . is raised clear above the surface, the attendant forces up the valve with a heavy, hook-shaped piece of iron, and the brine bushes out into a wooden tub, in the bottom of which is inserted a bamboo tube, which conveys the brine to the evaporating vats situated on a lower level. This tube held about 300 lbs. weight of brine, and occupied a quarter of an hour in raising. (Mt. Omi 28)

Little's eye for technical detail is brought to bear on how a portion of Chinese society makes its living and highlights the backwardness of Chinese ingenuity. It is a quaint scene of Chinese technology, where materials such as iron, bamboo tubes, and wooden tubs evoke the medieval scene the Littles seek to find in the temples on Mount Omi. The technology produces a rough product as well; instead of pure white salt crystals, a coarse, greyish product emerges. This perspective on the non-mechanized nature of Chinese workmanship is not uncommon. From the chapter entitled "John Chinaman at Work" in James Dyer Ball's glossary of things Chinese (The Chinese at Home, 1911), tools are consistently describes as "primitive," "curious," with "Every kind of iron or steel work . . . produced in a very rude manner" (319).

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Earlier in the letter dated July 14, 1892, which includes the description of the salt manufacturer and the surrounding industrial complex, Little notes the difficulty of defining the term "Western," which is implicitly superior to its opposing term, "Chinese." Until then, he has not defined himself as anything but as one of many "foreign residents" (1), or in facetious terms as "a great British merchant" (6). He defines himself either as Western or European, and the usage patterns indicate the two different attitudes towards newness. "European" appears to be the better term to explain who he really is, while "Western" designates a separate, authoritative character who is presented to the Chinese in public situations. He explains that the term "Western" is used as the gauge of superiority, in the context of declaring the Szechuan Chinese to be consistently respectful to those traveling in the sedan chair. Such accommodation is "a necessary voucher of respectability for a 'Western,'" he states authoritatively, offering useful information to the future traveler in rural Szechuan Province, and directly enters into the definition or translation for his term "Western" in the same way he has translated the Chinese terms for everything he sees. Western, according to Little, is "a term which includes Americans more certainly does the word 'European'" in these parts of China where he is traveling (27). As Little approaches the Szechuan border market towns, he more readily refers to himself as European, such as a reference to his "European pride" being hurt by the practical abandonment of the sedan chair in favor of traveling on foot. He typically places the term "Western" as a noun rather than a modifier, as when talking about the "order-loving 'Western'" (23). Nevertheless he is clear on the Westerner's merits as different from the European's: "The shipyards of Hong-kong and Shanghai show of what excellent work Chinese are capable under European guidance, and it will not be long before the conservative upper class sees the need of

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Western learning and allow the country to profit by it" (32). The British have demonstrated the best of European citymaking, but Little's use of the term "Western" implies that an infusion of American influence will make for an even stronger hybrid influence. The ongoing varied usage of the terms "European" and "Western" suggest that the latter term represents the more aggressive side of those endeavoring to redefine the term "Chinese." Defining the Chinese is a more profitable intellectual game for Little, as shown in his observations, because no matter how he defines himself, it is the way he defines his potential consumer base that will eventually yield rewards. For the immediate time, the reward is the privilege conferred by their use of sedan chairs.

Corrupt Spirituality: Mount Omi and Religious Structures

The decrepitude of China's infrastructure, shown in the photograph of the Szechuan road, extends to the erosion of spiritual life, if religious institutions and clergy represent the outward signs of a people's inner life. The combination of Little's textual description of the temples as cash-hungry, competitive institutions and the photographs of their overall run-down condition suggest that Little's search for medieval China has yielded a starker picture of spiritual decay, visually supported by physical decay. Altogether, this spiritual decay appears to support the introduction of a new discourse on easing people's lives through the new "gospel," technology.

At the start of the narrative, Little expects a purer form of religious life on Mount Omi, where believers making special pilgrimages signal a social consensus on its religious purity and significance. He points out that its unique degree of purity derives from ancient times, when Pusien [Samanta Bhadra Bodhisattva, the god of action] came from India to establish himself

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and Buddhism on Mount Omi. Thus it is a "specially sacred" site (63) because it commemorates the introduction of religious enlightenment to the Chinese.

Little embarks on his pilgrimage with an idealistic view of the monasteries as having been mostly protected from the ravages of time and human desire. The introduction to Mount Omi includes his assertion of what a visit to the sacred mountain will offer: "Once there one is in a paradise of Nature, seasoned by the romance of history, the traditions of Buddhism at the time when it was a living, growing faith, and the aesthetic results of this vitality, . . . which still decorate the mountain" (3). The idealistic picture painted of Mount Omi insists upon a lack of change, especially a disregard for everything outside of the monasteries. Little's use of the word "romance" to describe history suggests a pastoral setting devoid of human politics and desires; the romance of history is used to structure, and even decorate, a show. The art works celebrating faith are decorative relics to Little, symbolic of the tradition-bound dogmas of the Chinese. However, the offering of hospitality at a temple in exchange for a substantial cash payment comes to problematize the vision he has established for the start of this journey. Each Buddhist monastery's need for capital and physical repairs, which results in the head abbot's unabashed requests for donations, directly counters the timeless idealism that Little uses to paint his picture of Mount Omi.

Though himself a businessman, Little has small patience for the business talk of Buddhist priests seeking donations, especially when it is directly tied to paying for hospitality, which he requires to be nearly gratis. On July 27, 1892, Little writes about a luncheon with a Buddhist priest, their host at a temple at the foot of Mount Omi. The reception area suggests a comfortable establishment, with silk embroideries decorating the furnishings, carved rosewood

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pieces, and numerous hors d'oeuvres laid out. The Chief Priest confers upon the Littles "a distinguished honor" while they nibble at the lunch table for an hour. During this period, he says the hour of nibbling coincided with "hearing till we were tired out of the poverty of the temple and its pressing needs" (67). In the end, the priests argue with Little on how stingy his contribution is, in contrast to the one left by an American missionary, and snatch the brush from Little's hands as he writes the smaller figure in the donation record book. The Littles find themselves haggling over the privilege to stay in a temple more than once, as they traverse Mount Omi. At the "Thousand Buddhas' Shrine," they are abruptly turned away for their refusal to pay the chief priest's named price. Little believes this named price is high enough so as to be the means of keeping out Westerners and their potential to offend or shock the native pilgrims. His attitude in such episodes shows a disbelief at the materiality of these religious workers, as well as a belief that religious institutions should not expect to extract an income from laypersons who ask to use their facilities as hotels. He expects to be treated as a charity case in receiving cheap lodgings, while simultaneously expecting the priests will treat him as a guest worthy of special honors and elaborate meals. His disillusionment over the close tie between the spiritual and material conditions in the contemporary Buddhist monastery causes him to see the spiritual life on Mount Omi to seem materially corrupt, in turn casting a long shadow over a moral system that he had hoped to find in a more robust state.

The Littles visit a small number of the monasteries on a mountain encrusted with numerous such establishments in various stages of decay, but the few examples presented in detail show Little's discomfort over an unspoken desire to separate the material from the spiritual. The "striking analogy" for them arises from the nighttime reading of Thomas

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Carlyle's Past and Present, which the Littles can use to make a comparison between the monasteries on their journey and those from medieval England. The following selection he reproduces in the narrative describes the monks's motivations for entering into spiritual seclusion, with a similar desire to separate the religious life from the everyday problems of the outside world. Carlyle, as Little tells us, presents them with a picture of

> the same rough simplicity of life; the same dependence on the character of the abbot for the prosperity of the institution; the difference in manners of the individual monks; some, ignorant peasant lads knowing nothing of the world beyond their own immediate surroundings; others, men who had lived in the world as merchants or soliders, had become disgusted with the outside life, shaved their heads and donned the monastic garb, spending the remainder of their lives in prayer and fasting; some, it is whispered, seeking in the monastery a refuge from crime and hoping to crown remorse in life-long penance. (Mount Omi 86)

The characters entering religious orders are the same in the medieval English scene as for the Chinese scene. Neither set of characters truly finds an escape from the material world, because utter seclusion from the effects of money and desire does not mean the men have transcended the pull of such forces. In reality, as Little experiences, such isolation causes a greater pull to feed those forces, which are rooted in basic human needs for certain material comfort, such as food and shelter. This selection from Carlyle appears to represent a moment where Little is confronted with the fiction he has created about China's spiritual life as housed on this mountaintop. But Little does not acknowledge this use of Carlyle as an self-reflective interpretative tool, preferring to adopt Carlyle's position as a critic of society's materialistic attitudes.

Carlyle's work functions both as a celebration of a "golden age" and as a social critique on his contemporary context. It can also be seen that Carlyle hardly celebrates his own

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historical moment as having made progress from the former age – in fact, the critique proposes that only the outer forms have changed. This idea of dressing the old in newer fashions appears in Sartor Resartus as the character Herr Teuefelsdrockh. Past and Present (1843) is, as Richard Altick states in his introduction to the 1977 edition, an "occasional piece" yet as social criticism is "part of the major fabric of Carlyle's thought and writing" (xi). Carlyle's lengthy exposition of twelfth-century St. Edmundsbury draws upon the early nineteenth-century wave of interest in medievalism, whether in literature (Sir Walter Scott's novels) or in architecture (Neo-Gothic style buildings). The notable feature of Carlyle's essays is the striking similarity between the hierarchical, bureaucratic monastery and the businessman's life in early Victorian England. Mammonism, which Carlyle labels as a "gospel" in Book IV, underlies the newer society as surely as the belief in God did for the men of St. Edmundsbury. In Little's exclamation over the great similarity in the twelfth-century abbots and the Buddhist monks on Mount Omi lies the "cash-payment" nexus, represented by the businessman figure who links the two religious orders together. But Little's narrative leaves this figure out of his description of their interest in this Carlyle volume.

Conclusion: The Veneer of Romance in Medieval Tarchendo

Like many British visitors, the Littles find their pilgrimage rewarded when they reach the town of Tarchendo, on the border of Szechuan Province and Tibet, where they find a stronger sense of religious spirit believed to be lost on Mount Omi. Tarchendo itself is a "cheerful, busy place" where the brick-tea trade is at its height and all those wishing to travel between China and Tibet must pass through this meeting place of human variety. Little feels more at home where the women have natural feet, the men are "more manly and self-

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respecting," (171), capable of handling firearms, and "the numerous races represented give an endless variety to the picture" (182).

The Tibetans are a conquered people, but Little cannot really understand how these vibrant, capable people have been run over by a more effete nation that calls them "Mantse" or savages.[51] Their physical beauty consistently receives attention in the narrative, as does their general good nature towards foreigners. Other writers, such as Isabella Bird Bishop, have noted the same characteristics of those living in Somo Territory, at times attributing this goodwill towards the Europeans to an openmindedness borne of their situation as a crossroads between Central Asia and China; sometimes the friendliness is claimed to come from a sense of common origins, as the Mantse Tibetans have been described as having physical characteristics similar to Europeans in the travel narratives of this period.[52]

Little approaches this crossroads between South Asia, Central Asia, and China proper with great interest and a narrative freshness. The catalogue of plant life signals a natural life that seems to have been stamped out in China. His listing of the different plants he sees is reminiscent of someone who has grown accustomed to a grey landscape and starts to see vivid colors for the first time. On the Tung riverbanks, two days before reaching Tarchendo, he talks about the difficulty of describing the "tranquil beauty" of their path because nature is bursting with profusion.

> The flora to-day also was remarkably fine, mostly purple in colour, while on the Washan the prevailing shade was blue. We specially noticed a convolvulus with small dark-purple flowers, garlanding cassia trees and everything near it in prodigal profusion [. . .] We also passed trees with berries of the size of

[51] Bird Bishop refers to the same people by the name "Man-tze" in Yangtze Valley and Beyond.

[52] See Bird Bishop, The Yangtze Valley and Beyond, and Tibetan Pictures.

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> hawthorn berries, one kind red with black spots, the other of a brilliant yellow, both edible and pleasing to the taste. Intensely blue forget-me-nots . . . (167)

This sense of life is reinforced by the brilliant colors and varieties of the plant life, in a kind of primeval forest. In fact the forest image is one that often attaches to the Tibetan people, because of their history as hunters, while the Chinese are linked to the deforestation of ancient woods to feed constantly increasing numbers of people. "Wherever a tiny valley or easier slope renders cultivation practicable," Little reminds the reader, "there the more industrious Chinese have pressed in and driven back the aborigines on to the barren mountains" (171). But the Tibetans are not merely the savages the Chinese have made them to be. Little's catalogue ends with the observation of activities more closely aligned to the Chinese lifestyle: "We also passed many handsome, spacious and elaborately carved sepulchres: we noticed more than one coal seam among the exposed nearly vertical strata of shales, into some of which burrows had been driven" (167). The catalogue is balanced between the natural and the man-made worlds, more so than in an ordinary description of the Chinese lands the Littles have left behind in Szechuan, where the cities of tombs and sepulchres in a patchy, dusty plain would not be an unusual sight.

In terms of the natural life, its people's activities, and the city's architecture, Tarchendo is the medieval city-state run by the priests, the remnant of religious history that Little has been disappointed not to find on Mount Omi. At four o'clock in the afternoon of 4 September 1892, the party reaches the top of a ridge where they can look down upon Tarchendo, pinned into a valley by the dramatic mountains.

> there lay the goal of our voyage, Ta Chien Lu, with its curved roofs and guilded pinnacles, surrounded by a mediaeval wall, most romantically situated at a point where the valley bifurcates, walled in by gigantic and extraordinarily steep mountains, and

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> roofed over by a dark cloud layer, . . . the wild-looking city, with its crenelated battlements and old-world pavilions surmounting the gates (178)

The physical appearance of this walled city, which manages to contain all its activity inside, as if maintaining a necessary appearance of self-defense, has already earned Little's admiration for appearing like an isolated temple, where time itself has difficulty penetrating the steep mountain passes. "Romantically situated" describes not only the man-made walls of the city but also its near-sublime location in an impossible valley. We can hear an echo of Samuel Johnson's Rasselas in this description of the city in the mountains, found at the end of a long journey. In fact, the Littles had not originally meant to make this journey to the border of Tibet, though this narrative positions it as the climax of their travels. After their stay in Tarchendo, the following chapter is entitled, "Back in China Again," which begins with a description of certain coolies stealing from their caravan and Little's poor negotiations with a local police force over his compensation.

Within the city walls Little finds the monastery buildings themselves to be less decrepit than those seen on Mount Omi, but the strength of the lamaserai, the monastery, in Tibetan culture and government causes Little to see a vibrant religious life continue to flourish, despite the Chinese repression of their sovereignty. The description of flower called "Tibetan Brightness" metaphorizes Little's view of the city architecture, dominated by the lamaserai and its buildings. He writes of this flower, a brilliant orange aster growing in window boxes, in the midst of describing the lamaserai quadrangle, as a means of showing how Tibetan Buddhism is a living social organism. His description begins drably, with the blank wall of the lower story, but "the second story is lit by a row of gaily painted windows, from the sills of which depended

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long narrow boxes full of brilliant orange blossoms . . . These are the homes of the monks, looking gay and cheerful as an undergraduate's rooms" (183). A youthful attitude prevails in this monastery, as well as a strong integration of religion and everyday life.

The disadvantage of this better integrated, living religious component of everyday life emerges when Little endeavors to make Tibetan Buddhism into keepsakes to bring back to China. Where the monks of Mount Omi could not extract enough money out of Little for giving hospitality or dinner, the monks in Tarchendo maintain a silent dignity that intimidates Little into a silence of his own, instead of engaging in verbal sparring as he had done earlier. One reason for this dignified silence is the language barrier: not everyone in Tarchendo understands or speaks Chinese, and the Littles do not speak the Tibetan languages. Unlike the haggling monks of Mount Omi, the Lamas "assumed an impassive stare and neither spoke nor moved" when the Littles attempt to photograph them and are beset by their monastery watchdogs (184). This ominous silence signals a more formidable form of the muscularity that the ordinary Tibetan man had impressed upon them earlier, and this silent intimidation is reinforced by the sight of "[t]wo human skulls forming the crowning ornament in the richest part of the temple roof" (185). Photography is deemed a poor means of acquiring keepsakes of this isolated, ancient culture, so Little turns to bargaining for the religious relics held by ordinary people, and even stealing others. The Tibetans of this city are devout and pray incessantly, carrying with them small prayer wheels, or writing sacred rubrics on portable slate slabs. The Littles manage to abstract two of the most portable slate tablets, on the "trust that the diminution of the pile of several thousand stones brought no harm on anybody," and proceeded to spend the rest of their time in bargaining for what they call "curios." Little writes that they"were not very successful;

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extravagant prices were demanded for what most people call rubbish, and no price would tempt any of the Tibetans who crowded around us to part with the prayer wheel which nearly every one carried in his hand, nor with the amulet, a prayer written on paper, which was worn round the neck in an elaborately worked and bejewelled silver casket" (185). Unfortunately, Little finally shows himself to be more interested in the collection of religious artifacts, not unlike a tourist in search of souvenirs. In a place where he finally sees the older medieval culture in its robust religious state, his focus turns not on how these people are able to dedicate themselves daily, even hourly, to this lama-dominated lifestyle but on how he can bring some bits of this medievalism back to the nineteenth century, as a sign that he has made contact with "real" Buddhism.

The problem here lies in the utter failure to remember that Buddhism is a religion that insists upon the instability of the life here on earth, and Little's endeavors to grab a portion of it in what he believes to be its purest form demonstrates his data collecting impulse is at work once more, this time in an anthropological sense. At the end of the section on Tarchendo the day's entry ends on the physical concerns of the weary traveler:

> Perhaps if we had only bought our furs immediately on arrival, and so avoided getting ill . . . Ta Chien Lu has a most excellent market, containing all the European needs, the produce of the pastoral Thibetan, as well as the vegetables and the dainties of the agricultural Chinese, and our supper this evening of spiced mutton, potatoes, cabbage, and native cheese left nothing to be desired.
>
> During our four days stay the temperature ranged from 50° to 76° in the shade. (190)

He has not remarked at all upon the religious state he has lived in for four days, preferring to talk about how unusually civilized this border town is. Perhaps it is because his head has been

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turned by the Tibetan Mantse, but not toward the overtly religious part of their society. His poeticized wish to become one of them, seen in the epilogue, undercuts the mastery constantly displayed by scientific instruments and data collection. He writes about "Barbarians – gentle and simple! / How I long for your firesides so trim! / Who treated the Far-Western savage / As one of your own kith and kin" (268). He identifies with the handsome, manly Tibetan who keeps his physical abilities in check while allowing the Chinese to rule him. Little himself must return to Chungking where his life is ruled and blocked by how the Chinese choose to treat his business ideas. The visit to Tarchendo is a reminder of Little's own life to be resumed in Chungking.

The narrative does not end with his return to Chungking and a description of a routine resumed. Instead, the reader ends on a note of confusion in the concluding chapter, as Little inserts two letters from a later trip to Djangla and Sungpa, other Mantse territories, north of Tarchendo, in 1897. The narrative's use of the diary form reinforces the lack of telos by the unexpected addition of this later trip. The purported freshness and immediacy of his installments masks the subtext of eternal, unchanging China – the days pass without seeing a new future – it is a matter of making it through one arduous day at a time. It is also an evasion of closure on this narrative, one which we expect him to describe as a round-trip journey in 1892. The addition of two letters, coming five years after the original trip, also suggests that the passage of time has little true meaning for Little in his search for the authentic, because he believes he has found it in Tarchendo. This romanticization, as Thurin describes his idealization of Chinese history, forms the basis of Little's assertions that he knows the Chinese well enough at a spiritual level to give them another way of thinking about their world. It is

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clear from his description of Tarchendo that the active, living spiritual life is still a "pastoral," using his word to describe Tibetan food in contrast to the "agricultural dainties" of the somewhat more technologically advanced Chinese. Having a strong grasp of this pastoral history means he is not deliberately effacing it, but has been trying to preserve it, by attempting to take away physical remnants of it for safekeeping. But if they resist preservation of their ways, then perhaps it would be better to bring them the reasons for wanting to preserve their culture. In the epilogue's last lines, he writes, "Fate urges relentless our feet; / And your health-giving wind-swept plateau now / Remains but a memory sweet" (268). Soon, in Little's conception of China's future, places like Tarchendo are likely to become fleeting memories, or marred museums to the past, as he witnessed in Mount Omi's temples.

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Chapter 4. 'A Globe-trotter is a Brute': Rudyard Kipling's Tour of the Boundaries of Empire and Fiction in "From Sea to Sea"

Introduction

Unlike the other authors in this project, the globetrotter encounters China as a short-term visitor, a tourist who often travels in the company of other tourists. The shorter period of exposure to China and its people tends to illuminate culturally-instilled stereotypes held by such travelers, as well as their visceral reactions to how these preconceptions are challenged by exposure to real life. The globetrotter's responses to China (along with all the other places on their itineraries) seem more spontaneous, if only because they squeeze as much sightseeing as possible into a limited-term group tour, such as the kind organized by the popular travel agency, Thomas Cook and Son. This chapter is concerned with the shipgoing globetrotter on a worldwide cruise, on the sort of holiday that remained the ideal romance for many would-be armchair travelers well into the twentieth century.

One of the great dangers of a globetrotter's impressions lies in the idea of his/her illumination of the world's different cultures and people, as they emerge from momentary glimpses of "local color" during short sojourns in different cities or towns. The first problem is that the traveler's gaze has been rendered a superficial glance by the practical challenges established by a package tour, notably the length of time spent in a place, combined with an itinerary that often lists numerous ports of call. Some travelers in this situation begin to see with a jaded eye that all places and people are the same. James Buzard notes this problem manifesting first in the guidebooks or travelogues read by a prospective tourist with Cook's Tours:

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> The middle-class tourist on a much-anticipated and limited holiday required a more finely calibrated gauge of the value of various destinations than had hitherto seemed necessary: Florence thus became a five-day city, 'Rome and environs' merited a fortnight, and so on. This arithmetical alloting of cultural time contributed to the guidebooks' authority as arbiters of cultural value and assisted critics in their figuring of 'the tourist' as the consciousness perfectly obedient to institutional directives. (Beaten Track 287)

The second problem lies at the other extreme of emotional expression: some travelers have their latent biases pushed up to the surface, blossoming forth in great profusion, similar to the way a disease manifests itself. Leslie Stephen, writing in the early period of Cook's ascendancy, uses disease as a metaphor to describe the touristic mode, writing that "We are supposed to travel mainly in search of the beautiful and the picturesque; and yet the faculty which takes pleasure in such things is frequently in a state of almost complete atrophy" (Buzard 91-2).[53] The globetrotting tourist clearly vacillates between extreme states because of the extra stimuli presented to a consciousness typically unaccustomed to so much change, and in many cases, resistant to change. These people do not have the time built into their occupational agendas to learn how to see new faces and surroundings as furnishings for new homes, particularly the Chinese faces that plague the collective western psyche as the "yellow peril." We see such a challenge to the middle-class perception of the world in Rudyard Kipling's travels out of India on a Cook's ticket.

From March to September 1889, Rudyard Kipling followed various groups of globetrotting tourists from Calcutta to London, via Burma, Malaysia, China, Japan, and San Francisco, reporting his observations to the Anglo-Indian readership of The Pioneer. The South and East Asian letters in "From Sea to Sea" criticize his middle-class travel companions for

[53] See "Vacations" by 'A Cynic" 168-81.

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their superficial appreciation of their new surroundings, at the same time struggling to express a similar curiosity and awe about the same new sights. This contradictory pattern of thought produces a travel narrative that causes the reader to question its fictiveness and its realism in relation to representing Kipling's view of Southeast and East Asia. These letters express misanthropic and racist thoughts, revealing the tension in Kipling's efforts to make distinctions between himself and other globetrotting tourists, as well as to separate himself racially from Asian Others in his brand-new world. This pessimistic perspective on British viability in Asia emerges at the historical moment when the Empire experiences its greatest expansion, which further adds to any perceptions of fiction in this set of letters.

Notwithstanding Kipling's difficulties with fellow Anglo-Indians and his yearly fevers, Angus Wilson has written of Kipling's departure from India as a fall from "paradise" notably in terms of literary imagination and the secure sense of British superiority. In Kipling's version of paradise an unspoken sense of Law prevails, namely the notion that the British possess unquestioned power, whether military, administrative, mercantile, moral, or cultural in its aspect. The subjects of this Law all know their places, as well as when they have broken its edicts, in the same way a social consensus, a "fragile gentility" governs the society in "A Friend's Friend." Leaving this paradise where everyone knows the rules puts Kipling in the midst of a paradigm shift, leaving him with few inner resources for how to assess new stimuli, notably the numerous Chinese men and their culture in exile.

Kipling and Jevon the Globetrotter

Prior to becoming a globetrotter himself, Kipling wrote of taking revenge upon one in his short story, "A Friend's Friend." This revenge tale recounted by a savagely angered narrator

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is one of his earliest stories, first published in the Lahore Civil and Military Gazette (No. 32, 2 May 1887) and later collected in Plain Tales from the Hills (1890). It illustrates an Anglo-Indian community's consensus on its governance by a"fragile gentility" (12) as described by David Trotter in the 1987 edition, disrupted by the boorishness of a newly leisured, upwardly mobile man.

Upon a friend's request, the narrator introduces the globetrotter Mr. Jevon to his friends and neighbors, with the customary hospitality toward a fellow Briton. The stranger begins on a good footing, avoiding the verbal missteps of the ordinary globetrotting tourist. For instance, he notably does not refer to the narrator's community as "colonists" nor change his dress to fit a preconceived notion of Anglo-Indian costume. These unusual features suggest Jevon is ready to behave as gentlemanly he would at home in England. However, Jevon's overdrinking at the local dance strips away his inhibitions and the veneer of gentility, at the same time exposing the weaknesses in the community's indiscriminate hospitality and stilted social code. His presumption of intimacy and prestige in the tight social circle offends all women, which in turn insults the men and their construction of genteel Society. Jevon's incontinence in words and behavior is denounced by one matron as being "unfit for decent society" (232), but we never actually hear the incendiary words themselves.

The narrator makes it clear that this is not the globetrotter's normal effect on an Anglo-Indian community. The narrator has mistaken the tourist for a harmless, stupid passerby with no impact on his world. He says, at the height of exasperation, "how on earth could I have known that this innocent, fluffy G.T. [globetrotter] would break out in this scandalous fashion?" (233). Yet Jevon's behaviors betray the metropolitan center's perspective – hardly an

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innocent one – about the colonies and the expatriates who live there. His encounters with women show a trace adherence to the idea of female licentiousness or looseness in the warmer areas of the Empire. Perhaps this is why he proposes to three women in the space of one night, despite one being already affianced. Both Jevon and the Anglo-Indian community play out different fictions about what roles people play when they take part in the economy of the British Empire. The community must maintain strict rules of decorum, in order to define their difference from the Indian natives, while the visiting globetrotter sees the colonists more as "native" with its deficiencies, so his behavior presumes a cultural superiority to these long-exiled Britons.

The narrator's reference to Jevon's "scandalous behavior" is supported by a rather enigmatic description of its antecedents and sources: "he had gone round the world nearly, and his vocabulary was cosmopolitan, though mainly Japanese, which he had picked up at a low tea-house in Hakodate [Japan]" (233). Kipling's own description of a teahouse luncheon makes this clearer, telling mostly of attractive female attention circling around the foreign male tourists, who seem to be unmanned by their lack of shoes and the use of chopsticks. The Japanese teahouse as a symbol of Jevon's licentiousness is amplified by the narrator's description of the language used in these transactions, a cosmopolitan vocabulary showing the trace of his travels, which altogether sound like "low whistling," a lower-class, street-wise means of getting a woman's attention. This visitor may lack the usual defects relative to the discourse of Anglo-Indian society because he retains the most destructive perspective of all, which is to conceive of the colony's residents as feminized, weak prey for his appetite to be "appreciated," the desire that also drives his unsuccessful attempts to usurp the orchestra

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conductor's podium. But the globetrotter's modus operandi is to perceive of all sights as food for his insatiable need for stimulation and newness.

The narrator's world can resume its normal course of functioning only without Jevon, and proceeds to eliminate him starting with an embalmment using party food. While in a catatonic state of inebriation, the men plaster him with multicolored gelatine, topping him with a capful of meringue, and tie ham frills around the shoulders, neck, and wrists. Isinglass, the major component of jellies, is used to wax his moustache. An extremely long red cloth wraps him from neck to toes like a winding sheet. The food Jevon hardly tasted in his efforts to consume more intangible offerings becomes the means of consuming him, engulfing him in order to have him swallowed up by the night. The men are furious, exacting justice on this casual passerby wishing to mock their work, their Englishness, their corporation as a colonial body politic. Angus Wilson writes that this "story fails but the almost hysteric sense of fragility and menace still comes across" (70), which it does so when the narrator notes emphatically, "[w]e were so angry that we hardly laughed at all" (234). A strong emphasis on "we" and passionate response to the preservation of that collective pronoun's meaning in this community lurks beneath the surface in "From Sea to Sea" as Kipling warily watches and reports on the more narratable of the globetrotters around him. Being outnumbered and having declared a conditional alliance with the former enemy makes vengeance on globetrotters a subdued act, a weak echo of what Jevon's revengers accomplished.

Rudyard Kipling's Mission as the Undercover Globetrotter

The narrator of "A Friend's Friend" marvels that Jevon was put on a wagon headed to the river, and nothing was ever heard of him again, dead or alive. But justice is incomplete, as

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the unnamed friend warrants having his life wrecked for introducing Jevon, and for wrecking the narrator's reputation with that introduction. Kipling's departure from India in 1899, as recorded in the letters comprising the collection "From Sea to Sea," seems to take over this search for adequate compensation for the violence done to the exile community's sense of confidence, particularly the violence of being labeled indiscriminately by the transitory viewer of Asian life. In the first such letter written for his Anglo-Indian readers of the prestigious English-language Allahabad (Eastern India) newspaper The Pioneer, he enumerates himself among the ranks of the ubiquitous helmeted, deck-shoed leisure travelers facing the prospect of a lengthy period of leisure travel. Here Kipling declares his intent to infiltrate the ranks of Cook's tourists, to savagely critique the enterprise that brings short-term British tourists and their inept sightseeing-driven views to India:

> I thought of India, maligned and silent India, given up to the ill-considered wanderings of such as he – of the land whose people are too busy to reply to the libels upon their life and manners. It was my destiny to avenge India upon nothing less than three-quarters of the world. The idea necessitated sacrifices, – painful sacrifices, – for I had to become a Globe-trotter, with a helmet and deck-shoes. (I: 208)

Kipling puts himself forward as the avenging hero of a harried but meek India. To accomplish his self-assigned mission, he dons the disguise of one who enjoys a limited prosperity and boundless optimism for upward mobility. His rhetoric draws upon the argument for banning suttee – widow burning upon a husband's death – where the British colonial administration felt the imperative to protect widows practically pushed onto a burning pyre. Because their native men supposedly see little interest in safeguarding the welfare of their women, and in turn, the welfare of their culture, compassion toward native women is used to position the white male as

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superior to the Indian male.[54] Kipling must safeguard his India when those who take advantage of her – many globetrotters might be able to declare connections to India as partial sources of their incomes – do not care for her future and reputation.

In the same letter, Kipling assesses his prey above decks. A globetrotter has displaced Kipling physically and verbally by assuming a superiority derived from his "objective" view on the Empire, implying a detached, scientific, and better informed opinion. For Kipling, this stranger's onboard welcome is the dilettante's arrogance based on superficial knowledge of expatriate, colonial life.

> Then came by the person that I most hate, – a Globe-trotter. He, sitting in my chair, discussed India with the unbridled arrogance of five weeks on a Cook's ticket. He was from England and had dropped his manners in the Suez Canal. "I assure you," said he, "that you who live so close to the actual facts of things cannot form dispassionate judgments of their merits. You are too near. Now I . . ." he waved his hand modestly and left me to fill the gaps.
>
> I considered him, from his new helmet to his deck-shoes, and I perceived that he was but an ordinary man. (From Sea to Sea I: 208)

This first impression of a fellow passenger, one of many who remain anonymous except when their incredible utterances or behaviors reveal the essential globetrotter, recalls the figure of Jevon from "A Friend's Friend." "Dispassionate judgments" seem to be this man's metier, as if forming such detached views are the aim of the traveler. This detachment, as we will see, troubles Kipling, along with the fact this overly confident figure is his double. Both men have bought the same kind of ticket, same dressing kit, and can be described by the same moniker,

[54] For more recent interpretations of the function of Britain's suttee ban, postcolonial scholars have put forth significant essays, notably Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988).

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"Globe-trotter." Kipling will be engaged in a struggle with this character throughout the voyage, resulting in wildly vacillating assessments of sights seen.

This anonymous globetrotter's motivations for voyaging are not explored in the text, but because Kipling describes him as a carrier of the Cook's ticket, it is safe to assume he is a man who has purchased a term of leisure. "They are only travelling round the world for pleasure," Kipling writes, "and that sort of dissipation leads to the forming of hasty and intemperate opinions," which appears to be his rationale that at least half of them ought to be thrown overboard (I: 26). In contrast, Kipling travels with occupational goals: to report to the Pioneer newspaper in India on his impressions, while taking a long-needed break after seven non-stop years of daily production. He tells the reader of these goals early in the series of letters, as a means of distancing himself from the undefined mob of globetrotters. But this distinction between the Pioneer correspondent and his fellow passengers is not entirely clear because Kipling's opinions are also newly formed and rarely fully informed by readings on the areas visited.

While his correspondent status and the need for a vacation are documented reasons for Kipling's voyage, this rupture with his life in India stems directly from a political need to separate him from simmering political disagreements aggravated by his newspaper writings. As Angus Wilson writes in his study, The Strange Ride of Rudyard Kipling, "It was, perhaps, to remove a brilliant but increasingly embarassing reporter that Sir George Allen suggested that the *Pioneer* pay his passage for a trip abroad in return for articles" (119). Kipling's work for Anglo-Indian newspapers, however, had allowed him to write the short fiction that was beginning to receive favorable notices from London critics and publishers. Consequently,

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Kipling's departure from India is also an optimistic move in anticipation of a great literary reputation, toward what his mother called the "literary heart"of the Empire, where Kipling's changing prospects prompted taking the risk of abandoning a middle-class existence in India. These different circumstances warranted emigration, making this Cook's Excursion a less carefree affair than usual. Wilson notes that all these circumstances combine to "free[ ] him for a new life and a wider, more demanding artistic scene" (119). After this leavetaking, Kipling would return to India only once more in 1891, for a short visit to his parents living in Lahore.

One typical reason for globetrotting is the doctor's prescription for a salubrious ocean-going vacation. According to numerous biographers this motivation also applies to Kipling, despite his reluctance to discuss this hint of weakness. According to biographer Harry Ricketts, Kipling's illness frequently manifested itself in the form of temporary nervous breakdowns brought on by stress.[55] Kipling's textual references to his ill health are vague and suggest a lingering physical malaise. In the first letter of "From Sea to Sea" he refers to himself as a "dying man," perhaps metaphorically referring to an Anglo-Indian self that has contracted a terminal disease. "Then all the aspects of life changed, as," he writes, " . . . the appearance of his room grows strange to a dying man when he sees it upon the last morning, and knows that it will confront him no more" (I:209). India is his metaphorical room, keeping him confined by the small society which eventually estranges him. By the end of this paragraph, Kipling declares himself "dead, and looked upon the old life without interest and without concern" (I:209), as one killed by his confinement to the room. As the narrative progresses he becomes nostalgic for the boredom of the old room, while new space challenges his ability to look at life

[55] Wilson also refers to the tendency toward emotional collapse, as one of the particular reasons for Kipling to embark on the worldwide tour.

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with interest. His ravings against the Chinese and globetrotters are constructed as reactions to social circumstances in the new environment. Illness metaphorically reemerges in the narrative as sinophobia, a fearful fascination with the Chinese appearing in his new space. He later sees his malaise inverted by other globetrotters who are dying in their rooms, inured to the continuously changing, alienating scenery around them.

Kipling the Globetrotter and the Unnarratable Yellow Peril

Yellow peril appears, for Kipling, as the sense of Chinese encroachment on British efforts in various parts of Southeast Asia and East Asia. Many readers of Victorian literature see this trope emerge as the opium smoker (usually a lone Chinese man), the filthy opium den, and the opium addict's distinctive appearance in London crowds. Kipling's letters on this part of his travels multiples this solitary figure's sinister aspect, which includes near invisibility marked by an effeminate masculinity, and presents a latent mob threat to British hegemony in Asia. In Kipling's narrative, particularly Part I of "From Sea to Sea," China is not simply the decaying empire that we have seen described in many narratives but a diasporic nation with enough burgeoning powers to present a "yellow peril" to the British presence in East Asia. The overseas Chinese have, for example, firmly established themselves in Singapore as traders in greater numbers than the British, a discomforting observation for Kipling's eye for imperial strength.

Though the Chinese and their attributed sinister powers haunt Kipling well into his stay in San Francisco, California, they do not resurface later in subsequent short stories. No need exists for the Chinese to be fictionalized further because Kipling has already constructed them as potential malefactors in his narrative. His colloquies with the Professor on the Chinese,

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combined with the letters' consistent rehearsal of negative Chinese stereotypes suggest that Kipling treated this last set of dispatches to the Pioneer as creative journalism – where fiction marries non-fiction through the rubric of travel writing. The larger project of his creative journalism endeavors to expose local threats to British imperialism, through the vehicle of positioning himself as a potential victim of the everpresent Chinese.

Such negativity fits a formula, one that Kipling has already used in his short story "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows," with scenery and illicit activities that recall scenes in "City of Dreadful Night." The latter concerns his nocturnal wanderings through areas where native Indian, Eurasians, and overseas Chinese carry on their desperate lives far away from the plush Anglo-Indian world. The Oriental Other in these examples is either sinister, or, as in the case of the opium den owner Fung-Tching in "The Gate of the Hundred Sorrows" abets the destructive behaviors of others. Kipling's perception of what makes Chinese men socially acceptable, therefore, depends upon their latency for antisocial or illicit behavior. The Chinese diaspora, represented by prosperous Chinese men with families and by many less wealthy Chinese workers in southeast Asia, goes against Kipling's conception of this marginal, antisocial group, as well as the conception of English civility as the dominant ethic.

David Spurr has written cogently on past and present journalistic uses of setting up native Others within a preconceived Eurocentric framework. Many of his examples, particularly those of African governments put forward picturesqueness, authenticity, and a perceived desire to be European. This construction of the Third World, for Spurr, leads to the uniformity in narrating the stories of various peoples, in turn homogenizing and distancing the Western experience of the Third World and its people, and more importantly for our reading of

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Kipling, "to neutralize the disturbing aspects of social reality, and to minimize the importance of relations of power in creating the conditions under which people live" (Spurr 51). Kipling performs a homogenization and distancing from the globetrotters and then the Asian Others, which makes his own individuality and civility more noticeable. If everyone in the same group tells the same story, we have a neutralization of social reality in favor of a convenient fictiveness. A world without significant power differentials becomes a utopia or a dystopia; Kipling offers the Anglo-Indian reader a dystopia where the British Empire experiences decline, with the globetrotters unwitting witnesses, at the same time the Chinese spread their culture and economy.

Defying Boundaries of Genre and Taste: "From Sea to Sea" and Its Lack of Critical Attention

Kipling is no stranger to representing dystopia, despite his love for India. His short stories show the human foibles behind Anglo-India, which contributed to the fictions and power relations of real life. This world was shown by tightly plotted short stories which initially drew praise for their technical merit. The stories appeared in the newspapers, with its rigid space requirements. His aesthetic development, however, was not affected by seemingly unaesthetic considerations as space requirements. In fact, space requirements left him free to concentrate on content, as if given a haiku poem structure. He writes of this surprising freedom in the midst of great restriction in Rewards and Fairies:

> I made my own experiments in the weights, colours, perfumes, and attributes of words, either as read aloud, so that they may hold the ear, or, scattered over the page, draw the eye. There is no line of my verse or prose which has not been mouthed till the tongue has made all smooth, and memory, after many recitals, has mechanically slipped the grosser superfluities. (III; qtd. in Dobreé 13)

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His description of fine-tuning the realism of his writing reads oddly when considering the strict deadlines of the newspaper world, some of which he has told the reader about in the autobiography Something of Myself.

The letters to The Pioneer seem to be a release from mundane spatial concerns, leading to the author's freedom from an externally reinforced sense of what is "good" work; many biographers enjoy telling the story of how his poetry was rated "very good" by the Muslim foreman on Kipling's side of the newspaper printing office by its ability to come up to "proper length today," filling up an awkward space in the newspaper (Birkenhead 85). Here we see the newspaper's imperatives driving one determination of quality, which must have worked to structure Kipling's literary contributions to the publication. Without this determination of quality, mathematically rough as it might be, the author's release from the rules results in experimentation and change. For Kipling, then, the travel correspondence sent to the Pioneer moves his creativity away from simply fulfilling externally imposed restrictions to a better sense of what constitutes quality in the process of creations.

The pieces in "From Sea to Sea" represent experiments, as more ephemeral pieces that might be categorized under multiple labels, whether belle lettres, journalism, or travel writing. Overall, Kipling critics have not paid much attention to "From Sea to Sea." The reasons for scant attention may arise as much from its indefinite genre as from its troubled publishing history, his naive expressions of impolitic, reactionary opinions, and its structure, a collection of smaller works which includes this collection of letters to The Pioneer newspaper. Perhaps one of the most telling reasons for a low level of interest in "From Sea to Sea," ranging from the Kipling Society membership to academic scholars, rests with the middlebrow nature of

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Kipling's participation in a Cook's excursion tour at the very moment when he first distinguished himself by his views on Anglo-India. The short stories and poems originally published in Civil and Military Gazette, were later reprinted as Plain Tales from the Hills and Departmental Ditties, In London his coming was viewed as "a new literary star arising in the East, and [critics] were on the watch for him" (Carrington xix). Viewed in this fashion Kipling's tone in "From Sea to Sea" could be interpreted as one of embarrassment not only for his countrymen but for being forced to see new lands using a tightly defined frame of reference, namely a guidebook or its equivalents (tour guide, steamer making multiple stops).

The collection of letters comprising From Sea to Sea is only one collection in the two volume set of travel writings. His travel writing on India also appears, in two different collections of articles, entitled "Letters of Marque" and "City of Dreadful Night." As a collection of journalistic correspondence and short pieces of travel writing, the two volumes of From Sea to Sea do not comfortably merge into an oeuvre comprised of short stories and novels because of its structural difference from the more famous works, and the more ephemeral nature of the individual pieces within the collections.

The letters in "From Sea to Sea" record some rather brusque assessments of different countries and their people, notably offending San Franciscan pride in one letter. "When the City of Peking steamed through the Golden Gate," he writes, "I saw with great joy that the block-house which guarded the mouth of the 'finest harbour in the world, Sir,' could be silenced by two gunboats from Hong Kong with safety, comfort, and despatch" (I: 471-2). This assessment caused public uproar upon publication, from its suggestion that San Francisco's military preparedness had been overrated, from his uninformed evaluation of the possibility for

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a British invasion. Such remarks, to biographer Charles Carrington, represent a writer with very simplistic, even juvenile approaches to seeing the world, and presenting his opinions in like manner: "The letters he wrote to the Pioneer were damning enough and, since they were not secured by copyright, they were reprinted with horrified gusto in America" (125). This, combined with Carrington's remark about Kipling culling pieces, indicates editing was an imperative. It is easy to see why they were avidly reprinted for wide distribution, for Americans at the turn of the twentieth century are begin to see themselves situated more firmly in the international political scene than ever before. Such criticism would be liable to goad pro-expansionist and pro-militarist forces in the United States. Editing must have left out much of Kipling's brusqueness, but enough remains for us to see why Kipling needed to secure copyright, if only to prevent his rash remarks being used unscruplously in the future.

The copyright problems concerning From Sea to Sea stemmed in part from the lack of international copyright laws and from Kipling's belief that these pieces were "articles he wrote light-heartedly for the Pioneer . . . never meant to be perpetuated. He was on holiday" (Carrington 121). The younger Kipling originally treated his last Pioneer pieces as easy meal tickets, but the older Kipling, assisted by the cares of family, would see in them a sort of literary worth requiring preservation. Because of these different financial and publishing conditions, From Sea to Sea was published in February 1900 by A.P. Watt, Kipling's agent, when he"had at last succeeded in securing the rights in Rudyard's old articles written for the Allahabad Pioneer [in 1898], and all that he was willing to keep in print was reissued in the volume From Sea to Sea, fully protected by copyright at last" (Carrington 286). What we have

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is a record of a middle-class man seeking to distinguish himself through the use of a very middle-class device for self-improvement: Cook's Tours.

Cook's Excursion Services as the Means to Middle-Class Uniqueness

Paul Fussell has written of the distinction between "travel" and "tourism" in Abroad (1980), his famous study of travel literature between the World Wars, defining a difference that subsequent literary and cultural critics have relied upon since. His definition includes the notion of the "explorer," a word rarely seen in our present-day discussions of people moving around an increasingly well-visited world, except for those who are independently wealthy (Sir Ranulph Fiennes of England, for example) or who are sponsored by the Geographical Societies (National Geographic Society in the United States, for example). "All three make journeys, but the explorer seeks the undiscovered," says Fussell, granting this pioneer figure the privileged position, as he goes on to situate the rest: "the traveler 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" (39). The explorer has laid the groundwork for a tour operator's work in "herding" the timid, yet interested person "toward the security of pure cliché" (38, 39).

It requires popularization for tourism to gain the foothold that it does in the public imagination during Kipling's time. James Buzard, writing in The Beaten Track, notes that the definition of a tourist does rest on "a rough consensus: it can conjure up in our imaginations a personality profile, a life-style, perhaps a class identification, and a host of scenarios in which 'the tourist' performs some characteristic act. The tourist is the dupe of fashion, following blindly where authentic travellers have gone with open eyes and free spirits" (1).

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Taking a Cook's tour is a cultural phenomenon of the masses during the late Victorian era, but a phenomenon based upon the desire to distinguish oneself from the masses of seemingly less-informed, less-traveled Britons. Ian Ousby, writing on the development of taste rising from domestic tourism in Regency England, describes travel as acting upon the desire for self-improvement where "travel quickly converts these judgements into practical, local and specific terms. In doing so, it creates a habit of vision and a corresponding habit of blindness . . ." (5). Ousby shows how taste, formed by the eighteenth century's tendencies for domestic tourism, shapes the nineteenth century cultural motivation for Cook's tours. The habits formed by a cultural consensus are internalized by individuals, further contributing to the future and ongoing changes in taste, in Ousby's formulation.

Many literary critics interested in travel narratives have directed their attentions to narratives written about the Grand Tour, which is a spiritual ancestor to Cook's Tours. Taking a Grand Tour had once been the way for more privileged wealthy young men to "finish" their educations abroad before embarking upon their professions and careers at home. The increasing availability of routes, information (in the form of guidebooks and guides), improved transportation, and better economic circumstances, turned the Grand Tour into a more commonplace activity for more Britons. Lynne Withey describes the British Grand Tourists as a manifestation of increased national prosperity in her study of Cook's tours: "The grand tour was largely a British invention, mainly because Britain, as the wealthiest nation in the world, had a substantial upper class with enough money and leisure to travel" (6-7). With higher incomes came more education and desires for stronger cultural connection with the sources of culture in Europe. In addition, many educated Britons felt isolated from the rest of Europe and

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from the sources of Western history and culture" (7). These tendencies increased as Britain grew in power and wealth in the nineteenth century, allowing the middle-classes to secure some periods of leisure during the year through their work and savings. Cook's tours served the semi-leisured by condensing the sightseeing and cultural exposure of months on the Grand Tour into a matter of densely packed days. Travel becomes more democratized and more accessible, because of faster, more frequent ships and tour operators such as Thomas Cook and Son offering numerous economical ways to embark upon journeys. By the 1880s, the term "globe-trotter" had become more commonplace, as had the presence of the leisure traveller, in great part because of Cook's travel services that Kipling claimed to detest so much.

The globetrotter sometimes traveled because, as Harry de Windt writes in his globe-trotting narrative, "we literally had no reason to give, except the one so dear to most Englishmen: 'The country had been crossed by so few travellers before'" (2).[56] From this more genteel leisurely motivation for near-constant movement over lengthy periods of time and great distances, the notion of travel for travel's sake becomes a reality for the middle-class by the latter part of the nineteenth century, turning the activity of being transported to see sights into a mark of status. The increased facility to visit formerly more remote areas within the British sphere of influence causes some locations to become popular way-stations on the way to other destinations. When Cairo and Port Said mark more common ports of call for passengers, then formerly distant places such as Paris and Rome become less exotic and seemingly more accessible to less leisured people who wish to take a short tour.

[56] DeWindt and his travel companion take the overland route from Peking, China, to Calais, France.

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Such increased mobility and variety of services do not go unnoticed by those who travel on their own, such as Henry James, who made frequent trips to the Continent. On one such visit to Thusis, Switzerland in 1873, he declares a seasoned traveler's disdain for herds of tourists too fearful to seek their own enjoyments, but catches himself feeling envious for the convenience they enjoy.

> The parapet of the bridge was adorned with as many gazers as that of the Pont-Neuf when one of its classic anglers has proclaimed a bite, and I was obliged to confess that I had missed the full force of a sensation. If the reader's sympathies are touched by my discomfiture, I may remind him that though, as a fastidious few, we laugh at Mr. Cook, the great *entrepreneur* of travel, with his coupons and his caravans of 'personally-conducted' sight-seers, we have all pretty well come to belong to his party in one way or another. . . . I have even fancied that it is a sadly ineffectual pride that prevents us from buying one of Mr. Cook's little bundles of tickets, and saving our percentage, whatever it is, of money and trouble. (629-30)

James realizes that once travel has become easier and more democratized, through Cook's efforts, everyone is of the same "party" and must adjust his or ideas of travel to accommodate the presence of this tourist phenomenon, whether or not such services are ever used. His great complaint is the dilution of feeling when looking upon a vista that is crowded; numerous viewers do not make for a picturesque nor contemplative scene. And yet he knows his individual, idiosyncratic form of travel is party to the problem of dilution by the most mundane needs: "but wherever, in desperate quest of the untrodden, we carry our much-labelled luggage, our bad French, our demand for a sitz-bath and pale ale, we rub off the primal bloom of local color and establish a precedent for unlimited intrusion" (630). Unlike Kipling, James can see how each individual participant's journeying adds up to the manufacture of the "brute" who wishes to receive the most cursory information and the greater efficiency in reaching the

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destination. Bradshaw's Guide (1903) considers the requirements of both travelers and tourists journeying through Asia in its statement of purpose:

> The quickest, shortest, and cheapest is not necessarily the best . . . but an initial mistake is less likely to be made if the itineraries of the several routes are at least glanced at before a ticket is taken or a passage booked. Both experienced travellers and enthusiastic tourists read up the guide-books *before* arriving at the places they intend to visit, and thus not only save time, but also rarely fail to see the things they expect to interest them. (xxvii)

The Bradshaw guide endeavors to be a commonplace repository of information versatile enough to unite the traveler and tourist. This expectation of a common need for education aligns with how James sees similarities in their entrances and impacts on local cultures, inevitably changing the "native" atmosphere for future visitors. But the Bradshaw goes beyond James in seeing the traveler and tourist as variants on the same species of curiosity seeker. They are both less adventurous and unique because they both consult this guidebook for advice and cautions.

Kipling mentions guidebooks along his journey through Southeast and East Asia, but usually in a derisive fashion. Nevertheless he follows the same procedure of reading about popular destinations and then makes the pilgrimage in order to say he has been there. The distinction Kipling makes between himself and his fellow passengers arises only from his own feeling of superiority, but in reality, as a traveler, he is really a tourist who has never been anywhere on his own. Unlike the more experienced, seasoned traveler such as Henry James, Kipling does not demonstrate a strong knowledge of what has already been written on the different locations he visits, and writes mostly about his emotional reactions to the sights seen relative to how he has been taught the world – that is, the Anglocentric world – is organized.

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Kipling's best-known material – short stories and poetry – centers upon India and his intimate knowledge of Anglo-Indian life, constituting a kind of travel literature for readers in Britain. His success comes from the ability to convey the reader into a very tight-knit community and illustrate its concerns with an insider's perspective. This achievement marks Kipling as a traveler, according to Paul Fussell, who writes of travel as work, the kind resulting in "the formation of the judgment" (39). Kipling's judgement of new places has been shaped by his work and travels in India, as well as the childhood years spent in England as a young expatriate stranger. But after his return to India and seven years of newspaper work, he has encountered few really new sights that demand change and integration into his internal apparatus for understanding how new cultures and places could be meaningful to him.

Unlike his fellow travelers, Kipling's use of Cook's Tours came not simply because of his class standing and economic constraints, but through personal connections. According to Charles Carrington's biography, Kipling's father, Lockwood, frequently received interesting, well-connected visitors when he was Curator of the Lahore Museum, to his son's benefit. "No less a man than F.H. Cook (manager of Thomas Cook & Son) had visited Lockwood at Lahore, and the personal attention of the world's leading travel-agency was given to Ruddy's globe-trotting" (118). Kipling's grumblings about his middlebrow fellow passengers onboard the steamers are perhaps justified by this slight edge over his travelling peers, but he remains, for all intents and purposes, a man traveling on a Cook's ticket.

Despite his misgivings about joining the leisure travel enterprise and its globetrotter brethren, Kipling solidly belongs to the targeted category of middle-class consumers that the company of Thomas Cook and Son worked to capture with their services. Moreover, he speaks

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highly of the firm's head, referring to him as "the great J.M. himself" (Something of Myself 89). Kipling would eventually make three lengthy voyages with the help of Cook's services, so his initial protestations against the globetrotter role recorded in "From Sea to Sea" fade away in favor of having practical needs handled properly on a lengthy holiday.

Narrating through Dialogue: Kipling's Imaginary Travel Companions

While he battles with what a number of biographers call an emotional malaise, Kipling's close friends Professor and Mrs. Hill embark on this voyage to help Mrs. Hill regain her strength after surviving meningitis. Professor Hill's companionship contributes to the structure of "From Sea to Sea," by playing the benign interlocutor and foil to the young reporter working undercover as a globetrotter. As a narrative reinforcement of his difference from fellow tourists, Kipling's letters feature conversations and short excursions with a Professor, with whom he discusses moments of disgust and impatience with his fellow travelers as well as the natives.

Although the Professor is a real person who accompanied Kipling on this voyage, we are made to think he is a figment of the imagination provoking dialogue in Kipling's head and on the page. Professor Hill's presence in the travel narrative creates a useful dialogue with the young, impressionable twenty-four year old Kipling, whose irritated reactions to the British and American globetrotters are matched by professed hatred for the numerous overseas Chinese he sees on the first half of his trip. As "The Professor," Alec Hill is a measured voice of reason, telling his young friend to go to sleep when idealistic political rhetoric has wound him up to a fever pitch late at night, or questioning the emotion that seems to drive Kipling's ferocious remarks. Hill's role as the reasonable, educated Englishman is reinforced by his regular use of

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the camera, collecting images at each destination. Strangely enough, none of the photographs enter the narrative, unlike other travel narratives of this period. Nor is he described, so we are unsure whether or not the Professor has also adopted the hated globetrotter garb.

The Professor character is a single man, contrary to the real-life married Professor Hill, a deliberate discrepancy that permits a close ongoing relationship between the two male figures. It seems that the construction of the Professor's character is flat without the inclusion of his marriage, particularly because Kipling was emotionally, but platonically invested in Mrs. Hill. Edmonia "Ted" Hill, according to biographers, occupied a large place in Kipling's emotional life as his confidante until his marriage to Caroline Balestier, so this erasure serves a purpose.[57] The omission of the Professor's real-life emotional partner shows how the author, as interlocutor, has constructed his conversation partner to be unattached to anyone else's emotional needs, therefore better able to provide the contrast with Kipling's bursts of youthful indignation and enthusiasms.

Many biographers and literary critics find Kipling's greatest silences and omissions in his writings surround those he most cared about, as if to preserve their privacy in his memory rather than dissect them in public. For instance, Kipling's memoir, Something of Myself [1937], does not discuss his feelings or motivations during major life events, such as his abrupt marriage to Caroline Balestier after her brother's death, and his son's death in World War I. Kipling's contemporaries found such behavior mysterious, and literary scholars have continued to feel the same way, leading to many speculative interpretations about his personal life and its

[57] In fact, Kipling entered into an engagement with Mrs. Hill's younger sister when he visited the Hills in Beaver, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Hill's hometown.

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relationship to his writings. Elliot L. Gilbert draws upon the prevailing psychoanalytic criticisms as a means of interpreting the "silent presence" of what is left unsaid as an integral part of his artistic project to explore the discrepancy between words and action, "mediated or inevitably distorted by language" (111). Silence there, for critics such as Gilbert, becomes the medium for preserving the integrity of personal experience, untainted by society's judgements. Silent moments in Kipling's texts, where his childhood trauma of separation from his beloved India and parents to live with the repressive Aunty Rosa, should remind us that "it is silence that reveals the deepest truth and produces the highest art" (116). This is true for the reader, who is left to imagine the personal life of the Professor while he travels with Kipling the globetrotter. The Professor's shadowy presence acts as a foil for Kipling's fearful, overwrought criticisms of the seemingly pervasive Chinese.

The narrative omission of Ted Hill, his real-life confidante, allows Kipling's globetrotting reporter persona to confide in his readers. One way he does this is through the comedy of telling the reader of losing his heart to beautiful native women he sees at different ports of call but must leave behind. The flowery language is bombastic, and intended to amuse the reader: "They [the waitresses in the tea-house] went away, but not empty-handed, for thou, oh, O-Toyo, didst take away my heart – same which I gave to the Burmese girl in the Shway Dagon pagoda" (I: 325). In his fleeting encounters with attractive women Kipling indulges readily in romantic rhetoric. The women remain distant, unattainable. But opportunities for more carnal encounters are presented as unappealing and distasteful; the Japanese habit of communal bathing, for example, leaves him embarassed and annoyed, to the amusement of the native women who surprise him in the bathhouse. Omitting the private emotional link to a

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woman, no matter how unrequited, and referring instead to fleeting encounters with young native women permits Kipling to use a familiar trope of the Grand Tour – the education in sensual pleasures tacitly permitted by changes in climate and culture. Lynne Withey notes that Boswell had "in mind the pleasures of the flesh more than the intellect" (8) when he declared himself "determined to try all experiments with a soul and body" during his Grand Tour (qtd. in Withey 8).[58]

Kipling's Narrative Treatment of Globetrotters

Kipling's references to his encounters with women gesture toward an interest in experimentation, in the masculine tradition of the Grand Tour, but his encounters with fellow passengers (other than the Professor) on the steamer leave him cold. From the homogeneity of fellow passengers, only a few figures stand out from this faceless crowd as being narratable, notably two boys and an older Eastern European widow. They are what society perceives as helpless beings at the mercy of adult male hegemony, and Kipling uses them to show the globetrotter figure as pitable, reactive, and lacking in agency. Their situations excite the imagination, causing Kipling to reintroduce similar figures later, either in another letter, or in another work entirely.

Two young boys show up in Letter VI shortly after Kipling bawls out his own childish frustration: "I want to go Home! I want to go back to India! I am miserable" (I: 260). Indeed, he has met two boys who would surpass him in their accumulation of worldly knowledge, for the they have been globetrotting with their parents. The first one is what Kipling calls "the

[58] See Lynne Withey, Chloe Chard (Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour) and Dennis Porter on the social education that a young man was often expected to receive while abroad, including sexual adventures with foreign, "exotic" women.

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American-German-Jew boy" who is "the most awful of all" because he is a hustler asking strangers to drink, "bossing lotteries on the run, and committing other atrocities" (I: 262). Awful because he has adopted the behaviors of a dissolute adult, this figure nevertheless has a hold on Kipling's imagination because of his ability to attract attention to himself with an exaggerated energy entirely divorced from the sightseeing, inert tourist.

For this boy, action is not about ticking off the list of sights seen, but rather securing some material satisfaction from his travels. While Kipling disdains the superficiality of tourists who visit destinations in order to fulfill a social expectation of what tourists are obligated to accomplish on tour, he finds this boy disregards everything onshore as utter superficiality. Every port presents the same worn attractions to him, while his real excitement lies in enumerating the different passengers he can swindle. He has reversed the adult passengers' regard for every port as another opportunity to exploit their vendors, their local color, and to add to their lists of sights seen. The tourist parents have produced a child who has become oversaturated by exotic sights and prefers to investigate tourist nature as the more exotic destination; the boy is an anti-tourist who does not efface local color by appearing on the native scene in the way James described earlier. Though Kipling's tone is disapproving, his description holds a tinge of respect for this unnamed child who understands that human nature is the greater unknown landscape compared to the continuously changing landscape he disdains to visit.

Perhaps this man-child recalls Kipling to himself, for his precociousness, as well as pushing the boundaries of what constitutes a child: in effect, this sort of noisy child cannot be real but fictional. His childhood can hardly seem plausible for the development into a

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productive adulthood, as his interests mark him for the penitentiary later in life. The unreal qualities of this man-child later become the stuff of fiction. Many critics have pointed to this figure as the inspiration for Harvey Cheyne in Captains Courageous (1897), the spoiled rich boy who must work for a living on a fishing boat after falling off an ocean liner, during nonstop globetrotting with his mother. This novel is another revenge on the globetrotter's mischief resulting from an inert lifestyle. When the effete life of the boy tourist is replaced by the necessities of hard work, the strong working man shines through.

Excessive leisure travel produces extremes, as the second boy, Albert, is half-dead and half-human from being dragged around the world. Like the first boy and other globetrotters, all his stimuli have been predetermined for him, as he has been restricted to safely pre-booked modes of transportation taking him around the world. Increasingly standardized tourist culture in Albert's case has produced a worn-out man-child who cannot take action, in contrast to the delinquent actions of his colleague. Though he has deemed the prior boy "the most awful of all," Albert is the "real monstrosity" of the ship, an eight-year-old American whom Kipling cannot truly call a boy because he has "the wearied appearance of an infant monkey" (I: 262). Albert's physical appearance fascinates Kipling because of its emaciation:"[t]here is no flesh on its bones," and has wearied eyes (I: 263). This unusual child's body is composed of the"bulk of abnormal experiences" capable of compression and inflation, causing his body to simultaneously wither from the lack of physical exertion, and to expand so grotesquely that he cannot easily exit through an eight-foot tall door. Most striking in this lengthy description is the boy's projection of satiety and ennui through his "wearied eyes" that Kipling believes will

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remain with him well into his middle age though Albert appears ancient well before his youth has begun.

The abnormal experiences Kipling refers to are Albert's two years of continuous travel with his parents. These travails include "a month in India; . . . Constantinople, Tripoli, Spain; has lived in tents and on horseback for thirty days and thirty nights, as it was careful to inform me; and has exhausted the round of this world's delights" (I: 263). Kipling relentlessly refers to Albert as "it" as though the surfeit of pleasure has made him inhuman. Oddly enough, this description of Albert's travels closely fulfills what Kipling claims the typical globetrotter actually needs to round out his inadequate travel experiences. From "Letters of Marque," his travels around India just prior to this voyage, Kipling observes a British globetrotter traveling with his spouse on a train from Jeypore [Jaipur]. The criticism leveled at this globetrotting couple centers on their cosseted, superficial encounter with Indian life:

> The Globe-trotter was great in the matter of hotels and food, but he had not lain under the shadow of a tonga in soft warm sand, eating cold pork with a pocket-knife, and thanking Providence who put sweet-water streams where wayfarers wanted them. He had not drunk out the brilliant cold-weather night in the company of the King of Loafers, a grimy scallawag with a six-days beard and an unholy knowledge of native States. ("Letters of Marque," 203)

From this picture of the protected tourist, then, Kipling's description of Albert implies he has done all the activities bringing him closer to a more thorough understanding of India. Albert is a tougher traveler than Kipling and his objects of derision, in terms of quantity, frequency, and the rough fashion Kipling deems worthy of a seasoned traveler. From this description we can see the definition of a real traveler includes an ability to endure physical hardship, dirt, and vigorous action. While Kipling admires these qualities emblematic of the robust adult man he

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himself would never be, such development becomes an abnormal thing in a small child with the shriveled body and jaded eyes.

Like the other American boy, Albert manifests his abnormal childishness in the form of moral laxity. Albert has one occupation in common with his unnamed compatriot: he "lives in the smoking-room financing the arrangements of the daily lottery" (I: 263). Albert's grand but unusual education has driven him to become the expert on the lottery and its organized speculation on chaos. His knowledge is imparted to an unwilling Kipling, who claims "I was afraid of it [Albert], but it followed me, and in a level expressionless voice began to tell me how lotteries were constructed. When I protested I knew, it continued without regard for my patience, volunteered to give me the names and idiosyncrasies of all on board" (I: 263). Where Kipling had been the child genius in his circle, he now has to contend with a more worldly, knowledgeable rival. In fact, we get a sense that Kipling is hounded by the idea of a globetrotter who has lost all capacity for wonder at the foreign exotic scenery presented to him.

Kipling pities Albert for having a scrambled brain from his unconventional education, where "incidents of Spain were baled into Turkey and India" (I: 263). Kipling's negative attitude towards Albert's extensive education derives from the perception that he has not been given structure and discipline, two qualities Kipling admires. "Some day," predicts Kipling, envisioning Albert's presumptuousness in describing the lottery translated to more traditional subjects, "a schoolmaster will get hold of it and try to educate it, and I should dearly like to see at which end he will begin. The head is too full already . . ." (I: 263). The globetrotter's faulty education about the world is liable to produce shoddy thinkers, according to this predictive model. However, Kipling does not wish to acknowledge that the education in human nature that

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Albert has received is a valuable one, particularly in the world that Kipling has created and presented to the British reading public. Albert's skill at reading men's idiosyncrasies is not what Kipling thinks the globetrotter should learn, but the lengthy period of travel with its redundant visual stimuli brings people like Albert to see that the nature of the British middle-class male becomes at once the real exotic and the same narrative played over and over.

The sadness haunting Albert's visage and demeanor becomes more palpable in the figure of the elderly Austrian-Croat woman whom Kipling encounters at the Victoria Hotel, Hong Kong. For her, as for the two boys, Kipling's travel for the sake of pleasure is a novel concept. This well-traveled widow has been trying to assuage her grief through travel. After she enumerates the places she has seen and will see, she explains her wandering as a sort of penance for being the survivor: "I travel for ever; I am – how you call? – *veuve* – widow. My husband, he was dead; and so I am sad – I am always sad *und* so I travel. I am alife of course, but I do not live" (I: 268-9). She clearly enunciates the death-in-life that the two young boys also endure, calling herself "a life" but one who does not live and enjoy everyday existence. The unnamed American boy is reputed to be dying, though for Kipling, "Unforunately, he does not die quickly enough" (I: 262). This widow would be likely to agree that death would be a welcome comfort, a relief from the life which is not being lived. Her remark affirms that globetrotting tourists are not really experiencing life, but are watching it as outsiders.

The widow is the last of the globetrotters with half-told stories, ones that might seem too fantastic for the ordinary pleasure traveler. Kipling wonders how his conversation with the widow began and why it closed, as a means of acknowledging the possibility of the reader's incredulity. "I shall never get an answer, but that conversation is true, every word of it. I see

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now where the fragmentary school of novelists get their material from" (I, 269). Gesturing towards the reader's possible disbelief at perpetual wanderers of these ages and situations shows Kipling's own difficulty in believing these persons exist and the effort he must make to see them as real people. We are liable to disbelieve a great deal of what these letters present regarding these three remarkable figures because of Kipling's exaggerated impressions, and the overall inconsistency in describing material detail in the globetrotter experience. What is believable in these three figures is the notion that sights become less exotic and wonderful, moving from the incredible excitement of initial viewings to the continuous flow of the beautiful images that become unreal. These three wanderers treat the stream of sights and destinations as one would treat a film with continuous footage of beautiful places and unusual customs, where only the fellow travelers or audience members are the real things warranting any attention.

Kipling has not yet reached this stage of ennui or satiety; in fact, he has only begun his travels when he meets these three veteran travelers. His depiction of the three tourists suggests that a continual detachment is likely to cause a living death of the emotions, most notably seen in the widow's case. Unlike these three figures he pities, Kipling cannot emotionally separate himself from the sights seen. He rails against this detached quality of the tourist, but his own emotional reactions to new stimuli are unchecked and threaten to extinguish his ability to see things as they are before passing judgment. The Professor character is the literary device reminding the Kipling-tourist character to be moderate and detached in his reactions to new things, particularly his alarmed reaction to the many Chinese seen throughout Southeast and East Asia. Whether distant or unable to detach, Kipling's depiction of and reactions to these

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globetrotters show him to be in dialogue with the problem of maintaining a childlike wonder at the vastness of the world as it is paraded on this tour. It also shows that Kipling's inability to be detached potentially yields paranoia. It also yields a negative attachment to the figure of the Chinese as England's rival in empire building.

Close Encounters with the Chinaman: The Spectre of Diaspora and a Stealth Empire

Kipling grudgingly has to adjust his world view to account for these sights of a very different empire emerging in Penang, Singapore, and later in Hong Kong and Canton. But his globetrotter-journalist persona wholeheartedly endorses Orientalist stereotypes of "John Chinaman." Kipling's narrative of travel through Penang and Singapore is more allegorical because he visits the gamut of Orientalist stereotypes, as if they are the significant landmarks in this landscape that is, to Kipling, unexpectedly populated extensively by expatriate Chinese workers.

The Chinese had already been doing business in Southeast Asia long before the time the British began to establish themselves in Singapore and Penang. In fact, many nineteenth-century British visitors observe that greater numbers of Chinese have larger bank accounts in the Straits Settlements (notably the Malay Peninsula's cities, Penang, Malacca, and Singapore) than their supposed British rulers. Such prosperity continues into this period, when the British viewed Singapore to be a strategically important post to maintain their hold on India. Kipling reiterates this observation as he adjusts to the continual sight of Chinese men: "They are all Chinese, except where they are French or Dutch or German. England is by the uninformed supposed to own the island. The rest belongs to China and the Continent, but chiefly China" (I: 251). He is frightened by their numbers in British Southeast Asia, and the pervasiveness of

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their cultural presence, because he perceives a threat to British interests. At the same time, in tourist terms, the strong Chinese presence alters the native qualities of these places he has come to see, to the point where he is convinced that he has "touched the borders of the Celestial Empire" (I: 251). "At Penang and Singapore," Carrington writes in his 1955 biography, "he first found himself face to face with the Chinese race, to whom he took an unaccountable dislike" (122). But it is not unaccountable at all; Kipling's writings about the Chinese in From Sea to Sea demonstrate a fear of the yellow peril as a political reality, one equal to the Russian threat that hung over British India.[59]

Kipling's fear and loathing for Chinese men come from his nighttime peregrinations with Calcutta policemen, recounted in the collection of feature stories entitled," City of Dreadful Night." In Chapter VIII of this collection, entitled "Deeper and Deeper Still," a policeman warns him never to enter a Chinese place alone, which piques Kipling's curiosity further as they enter the building. This visit to a Chinese gambling den allows him to metonymize the fascinating, but repulsive Chinese as the "pigtails" and wonders, "do they ever go to bed? – [they] are scuttling about the streets" (From Sea to Sea II: 257). The view of Chinese men as vermin is confirmed upon their intrusion upon a group of the men. The Englishmen, including Kipling, race to grab any of the thirteen "pigtails" without any known cause – it is a maintenance check, letting them know the police are vigilant. But it is also an opportunity to lay hands on random Chinese, allowing Kipling to report two discoveries: pigtails are made of silk, and Chinese have well-developed forearms (II: 258). This is one of his

[59] Angus Wilson writes, "And then from Penang onwards, the Russian menace is replaced by the yellow peril – the Chinese in Penang 'were the first army corps on the March of the Mongols. The scouts are at Calcutta, and flying column at Rangoon'" (137).

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few physical contacts during his nighttime wanderings. The sensuality in the facts hints at the sinister potential in these men whom Kipling notices "never gamble, these innocents." His policeman guide warns that the Chinese obsession for gambling inevitably leads to crime. Altogether the innocent appearance of the Chinese man will always, to Kipling, signal a calculating, obsessed criminal mind, and the quickly scattering men in this picture is an apt depiction of diaspora.

The Chinese he sees during his globetrotting adventure confront him with what he perceives to be a threat to his Anglo-Indian understanding of empire and the role played by the British in the Asian sphere. Kipling's first encounters with Chinese men on this trip appear in Letter III, where he describes the arrival in Penang, Malaysia. These men are menials and servants, whose presence brings comforts to the tourist's life. Upon meeting the Chinese servant named John, we are told his presence is a soothing one, because his talents and personal attentions have transmuted into a chicken dish: "Till then we had feared Chinamen, especially when they brought food, but now we will eat anything at their hands" (I: 244). In this service capacity the Chinese man offers nothing to fear, though he has fed them a chicken grown on "strange vegetables." But this amicable episode with Kipling's use of the name "John" masks another stereotype. In Britain and America "John Chinaman" was a commonly used name to refer to the Chinese man, accompanied by all the opprobrium of Chinese male stereotypes that Kipling revisits after he leaves John's company. Part of this stereotype includes feminization, such as the ability to cook food and serve it to white customers.

The trope of suspicious Chinese food remains latent when Kipling is being served, but reverts to the stereotype's negative value when Kipling later ponders the qualities

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representative of the Chinese palate after attending a performance of a Chinese opera. He has emerged from the show wondering about the collective social mind that allows the creation of such a "horrid din" and considers how to deal with a people "without nerves as without digestion, and, if reports speak truly, without morals" (I: 248-9). Art is linked to cooking, which are both cultural manifestations in turn connected to morals; the concatenation of these three terms demands that the reader see them in symbiosis, and that the failure in one term of the equation results in the failure of the rest. We see this in the subsequent remark about the so-called food he sees paraded in the street: "I saw cold boiled babies on a plate being carried through the heart of the town. They said it was only sucking-pig, but I knew better. Dead sucking-pigs don't grin with their eyes open" (I: 249). This cooked food has a prominent place in this community's public celebration, whatever it is. But to view it as a celebration of cannibalism pushes the common slander of Chinese killing unwanted female babies or preferring suspicious meats, implicates the Chinese at all three levels of the equation described above. In a 1999 biography, Henry Ricketts sees this scene as Kipling's sinophobia at times becoming "so extreme that it simply ran away with him" (123). Ricketts justifies this assertion by reminding the reader that this treatment of a child is uncharacteristic for someone so fond of children, and "here he allowed himself to talk about Chinese babies with a repellently gruesome jocularity" (123). If these babies do not qualify for sympathy, then Kipling may not see them as human, nor as being born of human parents, because the Chinese are not quite human.

This inhuman baby, if we are to accept Kipling's interpretation of this new world filled with Chinese people, comes from what appears to be an all-male population. Because Kipling

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neither discusses meeting nor seeing any Chinese woman, this so-called baby's existence seems even more mysterious. Even when his travels continue into Hong Kong and Canton, the one most sought-after sight of China – the Chinese woman with the bound foot – eludes his gaze, or at least he evades the implicitly requisite discussion for his readers back in India. The numerous coolies, for instance, are emigrant workers from China who have left their families behind. Their numbers seem infinite, in Kipling's view of the "thousands" and potentially, the "million" of workers required by the sunburned owner of the guano caves. In a sense they are reproducing asexually by replacing each other with successive immigrations. This reproduction intimidates Kipling as the defender of the Empire, with the difficulties of raising second and third generations of British children who would thrive and "did not run to leg and nose" (I: 252). He considers what India would be like at that very moment if it were "fit for permanent habitation for our kin" with all the ongoing efforts to lay railroads accomplished decades previous, securing the claims to India. The sacrifice of the young Chinese child, the future of the Chinese settlement, would be a welcome sight for Kipling, the ardent but thwarted supporter of British colonial longevity.

When Kipling sees John's compatriots en masse, his sense of security borne of self-perceived moral and cultural superiority dissipates quickly. During Kipling's unsuccessful but obligatory search for tourist trinkets in the native section of Penang, he tells the reader of finding "a large army of Chinese – more than I imagined existed in China itself – encamped in spacious streets and houses, some of them sending block-tin to Singapur, some of them driving fine carriages, others making shoes, chairs, clothes, and every other thing that a large town desires" (I: 245). This is no simple unwashed horde, but a heterogeneous population with a

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prosperity equal to the exapatriate Briton's. In fact, these wealthier Chinese are settled with thriving families. The figure of the Chinese man cannot simply be dismissed as an uneducated coolie in this setting, but instead appears to become a member of an invading "army" ready to take over when the British take a misstep. Kipling rightly recognizes the necessary apparatus for successful colonization in the Chinese population's ability to be self-sufficient in producing material goods.

The structure of this society makes it difficult for Kipling to dismiss the Chinese entirely, because a whole stratum of Penang natives – Malays – does not appear in this economy. Because of this absence, the emigrant Chinese population takes the place of the "native" who is to be kept in his place. Chinese workers fill a labor vacuum created by the overseas demand for local resources, a role that reportedly does not appeal to the Malay male population, which prefers a more leisured lifestyle predating the industrial and mercantile activities imposed by the Chinese, the Dutch, and then the British. The Chinese in Penang and Singapore not only provide the physical labor but also the mercantile expertise enough to create an exporting network throughout Southeast and East Asia independently of the British. This overseas Chinese network is an economic diaspora, comprised primarily of southern Chinese men seeking gainful employment not found in their home provinces. Usually named the "Straits Chinese," this diasporic population originated in the fourteenth century migrations of Southern Chinese who settled in the British Straits Settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, eventually developing a distinctive culture mixing Chinese with Malay customs. Migrations and movements between China and the Straits Settlements continue to shape the community Kipling sees at this time, in great part because of overseas Chinese ties to China,

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and because of economic privations in southern Chinese provinces. Such necessity mirrors the necessity of Kipling's British counterparts, who must go out into the Empire for various work opportunities as well. These Chinese workers do not usually enter into an administrative, bureaucratic structure but more often enter into an entrepreneurial endeavor with family or clan ties, if they are lucky, or menial labor situations as many travel writers have noticed in this region.

Straits Chinese workers and businessmen are able to seem busy and industrious in contrast to the "lazy, languid Englishmen in banians and white jackets stretched on the cane chairs" (I: 252). This imperviousness to the heat and its diseases makes the Chinese seem inhuman to Kipling, who cites Thomas DeQuincey's horror of Chinese "inhumaneness" as justification for stating this opinion. The ability to work hard in a "manifestly wicked" climate, the feasting on "offal begged from the steward and flavoured with insect-powder to keep the ants off" (I: 245), and the thriving families contribute to Kipling's assessment that these are not "nice" people. Though Kipling depicts the Chinese as worker ants, one cannot help but see his promotion of British alarm over the informal Chinese empire in this section of the narrative because of the work ethic that the seemingly lazy Englishman does not demonstrate.

The lifestyle of British expatriates in Singapore indicates possible reasons for why the Chinese have been capable of extending their diaspora so successfully onto the Malay Peninsula. Not only do they lack a visible work ethic, as demonstrated by contrast with the Chinese, but their culture centers upon conspicuous leisure. As Kipling mentions earlier, the working British expatriate appears to "lounge and loaf and seem to go to office at eleven" (I: 252). In Singapore, he sees all the English expatriates gathered at the Botanical Gardens to

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listen to music, as it is the "only place of recreation open to the inhabitants." (I: 256). His narrative of this Sunday in the garden shifts to an anthropomorphic description of the plants cultivated there, making this Botanical Garden seem highly unpleasant due to an overpopulation of creatures: "All the plants of the tropics grew there together, and the orchid-house was roofed with thin battens of wood – just enough to keep off the direct rays of the sun" (I: 257-8). The close similarity in air quality and temperature between the orchid house and the outside makes the reader question who really are the fragile plants in this scene. Some of the plants inside draw their nourishment "apparently from their own wooden labels," an image paralleled by how the English audience members are similarly nourished by Kipling's tart label "We Our Noble Selves" (I: 258). The general types found in a British expatriate community are trotted out for the reader, ranging from the young women, their mothers, the military men, to the merchants and their wives. These Noble Selves do not produce anything, as Kipling has seen the Chinese do, except the appearance of running things. He sees that leisure time is purchased by the superior ruling class for its cachet and ability to burnish the myth of oriental riches, though it also threatens to ruin them in the face of more industrious people.

"Is there really such a place as Hong-Kong?" The Temptations of the Crown Colony

Whatever emotional trauma Kipling endures at the sight of a diasporic China is assuaged by the thoroughly Europeanized pleasures of this bustling port. In Hong Kong an "Englishman walk[s] as Englishmen should – hurriedly and looking forward" (I: 269) because he has plenty of real business to transact. Kipling's pleasure comes from seeing how the Englishman's business potential can be realized in China, given the continual productiveness of the Hong Kong residents, where the accumulation of country shipping [British trade ships] is

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"so vast" and dirtied by continued contact with the Bund and by implication other ports. The microcosm of Hong Kong represents, according to Kipling's comparison of its socioeconomic vibrancy with India's, how Britain could increase its wealth by taking over all of China. He succinctly states this barely suppressed desire at the end of Letter VII: "Let us annex China" (I: 277).

The material progress made by the British is epitomized in Letter IX by the Taipan, or the chief executive officer of a large country shipping firm. Kipling admires the Taipan's success, which eclipses the Anglo-Indian "merchant prince of Calcutta." Kipling notes "the curious deference" paid to the Calcutta businessman, whose success could never hope to buy the affluence which surrounds the Taipan. This unnamed British Taipan is orientalized not only by his title but also by Kipling's description of his "palace" and influence:

> The *Taipan*'s palace, full of all things beautiful, and flowers more lovely than the gem-like cabinets they adorned, would have made happy half a hundred young men craving for luxury . . .
>
> If I were not going to be a Burman when I die I would be a *Taipan* at Hong-Kong. He knows so much and he deals so largely with Princes and Powers, and he has a flag of his own which he pins on to all his steamers. (I, 295)

It is a fantasy of Oriental riches come true. The fabulous wealth and control that escapes Anglo-Indians is more readily found in Hong Kong. In this description there is no fear this merchant will lose his grip over the structure that helped him gather such power. The Taipan's demonstration of his control is a recitation of the political and technological standing of Hong Kong business life, which appeals to Kipling's love of mechanics. Such evidence of his power causes Kipling to say he "knows so much" and to consider, facetiously, the Taipan role for his future reincarnation.

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But they are not all winners in Hong Kong, as Letter VIII presents Kipling's encounter with white prostitutes whose suffering seems emblematic of the moral and emotional pain of British expatriates seeking livelihoods in East Asia. This letter suggests the moral dissipation lying at the core of expatriate Anglophone communities, undermining the fiction of cohesiveness when outnumbered by Asians, as seen in the Singapore British community. Kipling starts to burrow toward this corrupt core by going off as an ordinary tourist to see "Life" or the "sporting life" as brothel life is often known. He alludes to this aspect of the Grand Tour tradition by considering how "an opulent papa sends his son and heir round the world to enlarge his mind" and whether he reflects "on the places into which the innocent strolls under the guidance of equally inexperienced friends" (I: 278), where the innocent unexperienced seek to a different form of "travel," a different form of landscape.

The problem with this education is the presence of white women as workers, particularly British women. During this tour of the Hong Kong brothels Kipling expresses a more sustained indignation over white men's disrespectful treatment of white women than in an earlier letter about being onboard the steamship Nawab (Letter VI). There he is outraged over the other globetrotters' indifference towards white stewardesses, whose behavior is "their concerted attempt at killing" her. One particular offense was that "[o]ne young Englishman let her take his cup, and actually did not turn round when he handed it! . . . Isn't it degrading?" (I: 262). Treating her like a native servant disrupts a delicate moral economy. His attitude towards the stewardess, who was "a real white woman," complements his depiction of India as the harried, meek female needing protection for her role as the repository of culture and civility. But the object requiring protection from the depredations of newly minted gentlemen shifts, as

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can be seen in Kipling's writing, which moves from Calcutta slums, to his shipboard observations, to the activity in the Hong Kong brothels.

His protective attitude only extends to the white Englishwoman, not even to the woman who might claim other British heritage. The Englishwoman, no matter her background, is the standard by which a society's refinement is measured; "[t]hat the world should hold French, German, and Italian ladies of the Ancient Profession is no great marvel," he writes in a fashion that would be clear to the man-about-town, "but it is to one who has lived in India something shocking to meet again Englishwomen in the same sisterhood" (I: 279). His protectiveness is justified by how Anglo-India caused its women to be relatively leisured, and even inert, for their livelihoods were somehow assured so as to make them all gentlewomen, more than if they were living in England. This feeling is complicated by Eurasians, or those who have both Indian and white English blood, as when Kipling is shocked to see a British soldier's Eurasian widow working as a Calcutta prostitute, who "has offended against the White race" by doing so. He explains further by saying that "Small wonder the natives fail to respect the Sahib, seeing what they see and knowing what they know" (II:256). The white prostitutes in Hong Kong represent a fall in the same way the Eurasian widow does: the collective honor and shame all lie in the white woman's body, which ought to be protected, according to the code of the Anglo-Indian that Kipling uses as his guideline for ethical behavior.

For all the efforts made to force native populations to treat women properly, seeing an Englishwoman treated like a native woman challenges the foundations of what enabled the British to have their power in India. Because Kipling perceives Hong Kong to be a superior colony to India based on administrative efficiency, the figure of an English prostitute in Hong

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Kong makes the problem of British honor even more salient. It is as though Kipling is asking himself, if Hong Kong is better run than India, why should an Englishwoman still have to sell her body? Efficiency and good administration means the preservation of the middle-class ideal of femininity should not be threatened. In Letter VIII on the Hong Kong brothels, Kipling revisits his role as the roving nighttime reporter for the Anglo-Indian press, recreating his "City of Dreadful Night" for the readers of these letters by spending a long night listening to a circle of increasingly intoxicated women and clients tell tales. Early in the night's excursion he admits Life is a "great thing" because of the champagne, meetings with men more knowledgeable about such resorts in "Frisco," and the sounds of American dialect, which evokes the idea of a rough work life in the wild West. But this exoticism is accompanied by the desperate manner of storytelling, where the tellers "chattered like daws and shovelled down the sickly liquor that made the rooms reek" (I:279). A drug releases the inner truth, or at the very least, the past scenes of wandering, unlike the globetrotters who wander in search of stimulus as if they have never seen anything worth the storytelling. We can see Kipling's increasing world-weariness in his observations that the circle of erstwhile friends has "All the jokes I had heard before at the other place. It is a poor sort of Life that cannot spring one new jest a day" (I: 280). For all their activities for the sake of pleasure, none of them are unique despite the stories of lawlessness. New growth does not happen here; in fact, degeneration lies at the heart of this seemingly successful island of exile, represented by the unnamed Englishwoman ("The Woman") and her colleague Corinthian Kate.[60]

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[60] According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the usage of "Corinthian" as a label denotes a dissipated person, usually male: "**1697** POTTER *Antiq. Greece* ii. 12 (T.) To act the Corinthian, is, to commit fornication, according to Hesychius. ***a*1700** B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew*, *Corinthian*, a very impudent, harden'd, brazen-fac'd Fellow. **1785**

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The stupefied Corinthian Kate and the hypochondriac Woman together form a symbiotic pair showing how the increasingly global empire leaves people adrift and rootless. While Kate lies unconscious from excess drink, the Woman accosts Kipling in search of medical advice. The Woman fears for her life, scared of cholera because she "thought she had it two days ago" and a neighbor died of it the previous week. As her appointed "Doctor," Kipling listens to her symptoms and diagnoses her as not having had the lethal disease because "cholera never attacked twice" (I: 283). She is suspicious of Kipling's amateur "diagnosis" of her good health, for he appears to hide something from her. The Woman's panic increases in the absence of a positive sign, and her subsequent ravings veer from the future to the past, then back to the present: "I won't be buried in Hong-Kong. That frightens me. When I die – of cholera – take me to 'Frisco and bury me there. . . . You didn't know Savile. He was my husband in the States. But I'm English, pure English. That's what I am" (I: 283-4). No longer rooted in the past, nor the future, nor in any place, she grabs for the solidity of the present; she knows she is English and that is permanent. A British diaspora is suggested and criticized in this depiction of the Woman's displacement and the company collected in this brothel. This suggestion of a diaspora compares unfavorably to the greater vision of the Chinese diaspora gathering strength, when the Woman is the representative worker in the British diaspora in this scene. Travel itself is also being criticized here, for this prostitute can have multiple places for her life to exist, rather than having travel be a privileged domain. The Woman's migrations for the sake of seeking her livelihood are similar to the migrations undertaken by the Chinese men seen in the Malay

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GROSE *Dict. Vulg. Tongue, Corinthians*, frequenters of brothels; also an impudent brazen faced fellow. **1879** FARRAR *St. Paul* (1883) 403 A reference to the immorality of the city may still be heard in the use of the word 'Corinthians' for profligate idlers." The use of "Tom and Jerry" according to the OED is of more recent popular culture: "**1821** P. EGAN (*title*), Life in London; the Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorne and his Elegant Friend, Corinthian Tom."

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Peninsula, but the gain is personal deterioration rather than a collective gain in power and prestige.

When the Woman finally falls asleep, Kipling observes the decrepitude of her worn body caused in part by the inner turbulence of her emotions; here we meet with the cynosure of the British Empire's motivation, which is structurally unsound. "Asleep she was not unlovely, but the mouth twitched and the body was shaken with shiverings, and there was no peace in her at all. Daylight showed her purple-eyed, slack-cheeked, and staring, racked with a headache and the nervous twitches. Indeed I was seeing Life" (I: 284-5). Here the word "Life" no longer comes with the gaudy, jolly connotations of the brothel; instead the word conjures the figure of the globetrotting widow who lives a continual slow death, seeking to forget the present. Corinthian Kate's awakening adds to this horror, for she clutches the mosquito-net for support, swearing in a "thick, sodden voice as I have never yet heard a man swear . . . cursed God and man and earth and heaven with puffed lips" (I: 286). Indeed Kipling is seeing femininity come down to a disastrous "Inferno." While he once felt the ship's stewardess was insulted by the Globetrotters, that figure now seems to be elevated in stature in comparison to these prostitutes. The physical deterioration described naturalistically manifests the moral unsoundness that Corinthian Kate unhesitatingly displays for Kipling.

The reader can only take this vision so far in analyzing the effect of tourism and imperial growth on British travel because Kipling the journalist-tourist has paid to see this vision of self-destruction. He capitalizes on the reader's illicit desires to visit a brothel, purchasing a lurid scenario fit for sexual adventure, but ultimately produces a disappointing and even appalling view on the condition of their fellow expatriates. He ends the Letter by telling

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the reader, "For the wholly insignificant sum of thirty dollars I had purchased information and disgust more than I required . . . Mine was the greater sin" (I: 287). At the center of the British imperial success that is Hong Kong lies this secret center of people who are uprooted from their homes out of economic necessity, possibly dying without the hope of ever finding that home again. The tourist has purchased a seemingly superficial perspective on the British imperial reach through Cook's Tours, but here the tourist of the Anglophone exile underworld has purchased a tour into an anguished place, which in turn challenges the notion of the "gay life" education traditionally found by young men on the Grand Tour.

Goblin Market: Kipling in Canton

After Hong Kong's affirmation of British superiority, which Kipling has dutifully and dubiously supplied to his Pioneer readers back in Allahabad, he takes the obligatory ninety mile steamer trip into Canton City made by many tourists who want to see the "real" China during their tight schedules. This trip shows many tourists how the British have actually wrought great changes onto Chinese life in Hong Kong, because of Canton's contrastingly grotesque character painted in Letter X. The short visit to Canton only intensifies Kipling's professed hatred of the "Chinaman" because it is the source of the inhuman figures he loathed in Singapore and Penang.

Kipling's fear and loathing for the Cantonese Chinese in their native land emerges directly at the start of Letter X, which is subtitled "Shows how I came to Goblin Market and took a scunner at it and cursed the Chinese people" (I: 302). Unlike Goblin Market of the Christina Rossetti poem, luscious fruits and produce do not entice the narrator of this letter, but instead the Goblins produce inhuman products that inspire loathing and disgust. He encounters

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the bewildering temple of the Five Hundred Genii with a Marco Polo figure among the statues of deities; the Temple of Horrors, a "sort of Chinese Madame Tussaud's" featuring tortured figures; and a Potter's Field where executions take place (I: 306-308). "Goblin Market, as [Kipling] called it," writes biographer Harry Ricketts, "after the Christina Rossetti poem – was again written up in the half-joking manner that he reserved for subjects that disturbed or frightened him" (124). Part of the loathing may come from the similarity to sights already seen in India or England, but it also arises from observations that the Chinese seem accustomed to "treat each other like dogs" instead of human beings (I: 309). These pictures of the Chinese are secretly coveted treats akin to the hothouse fruits sold at Rossetti's Goblin Market, for Kipling desires to have the Chinese erased from his sight.

Many visitors to Canton note the brutal capital punishment meted to the Chinese; Isabella Bird recorded this in graphic detail on her first visit to China in 1879, and Kipling follows this gruesome sightseeing trail with the help of a native guide, Ah Cum.[61] As with Kipling's attitude toward John, his Chinese servant in Penang, personal contact renders Ah Cum an exception to the undifferentiated masses of his countrymen. In fact, he appears right after Kipling declares once more his increased hatred of the Chinaman, and the "stinks" rise in concert with this foul mood. Ah Cum's ability to speak American-style English allows a verbal detachment on what he experiences with Kipling, as though Ah Cum is the intermediate step between a native and a tourist. We see this in Ah Cum's solicitude with the malodorous urban setting: " Very bad stink, this place. You come right along" (I: 305). He contradicts Kipling's generalization that "The Hindu is a sanitating saint compared to the Chinaman" (I: 305).

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[61] For Isabella Bird Bishop's account of Canton, including her observations of capital punishment meted to criminals, see "Letter IV (continued)" in The Golden Chersonese.

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Though he is trying to edify the reader about what the British must contend with in their imperial ambitions vis-à-vis their East Asian hopes, Kipling's tone indicates discomfort and resistance to becoming better informed because of his sinophobia, propelled by the hitherto unknown and new factors challenging his world shaped by British colonial structures and imperial significance. His imagination must make up for his imperial paradigm's inability to reshape a world view, and the Professor's voice brings this creative force to the surface.

The execution ground is a more macabre tourist attraction compared to the more typical kinds of tourist attractions. Some of the enticements come from what would be considered standard sights for tourist consumption: temples, churches, and souvenir stands. Like Rossetti's goblins, the Chinese goblins appear to entice and "despise" their would-be customers at the same time. The skilled handicrafts on offer in the streets provide fuel for Kipling's indignation that the Chinese are not mere work machines, but are human enough to create aesthetic pleasures. Kipling and the Professor admire an elaborately embroidered petticoat, and Kipling's response to his aesthetic appreciation of the item is to use violent terms such as "kill," "exterminate," "wipe . . . off the face of the earth" with regard to how the American Chinese population should be treated. He claims it is not a question of politics, when pressed by the Professor as to the reason for his reaction, but simply "because they are unlike any people I ever met before" (I: 306). Not only does this nation handily send off large numbers of colonists into British-ruled territories, with their manufacturing and shipping capabilities, but they also have the ability to create beauty. Their abilities as a people are clearly equal to those of the British, in Kipling's fearful estimation, and cause him to see that "They despise us. You can see it, and they aren't a bit afraid of us either" (I, 306). For Kipling there is a fear that these

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"yellow faces" are capable of catching and surpassing the white men without any regard for how things are to be done in a civilized nation. A Briton's moral censure would be meaningless in this environment, as he acknowledges when he tells the reader, "Never argue with anybody in Canton" because it is safest to agree with the Chinese man instantly (I: 305).

The Professor's rational voice reemerges at the end of this day spent in Canton, causing us to question Kipling's tourist perspective throughout Letter X. His answer to the Professor's interrogation of what sights were seen is an apocalyptic vision. He claims to have seen "A big blue sink of a city full of tunnels, all dark and inhabited by yellow devils, a city that Doré ought to have seen. . . . The Mongol will begin to march in his own good time. I intend to wait until he marches up to me" (I: 310-1).[62] Reference to Gustave Doré signals grotesque apocalyptic imagery, seen in his 1866 engravings for Paradise Lost, particularly Plates 43 and 44 where the Devil can be seen viewing the other fallen angels as a detached observer. But unlike the Devil in Milton's story Kipling sees himself as a potential victim of mob violence, when he tells the reader that "There was of course no incivility from the people, but the mere mob was terrifying" (I: 305). The Professor's response to this fearful view is to call it "intemperate libels on a hard-working nation" (I: 311). For Kipling this is insufficient to explain the vision, as he has seen Canton through "the medium of a fevered imagination" (I: 311). The disjunction between "his own subjective response and the Professor's calm rationality" (Ricketts 124) that

[62] Gustave Doré (1832-83) was the most popular and successful French book illustrator of the mid 19th century. Doré became very widely known for his illustrations to such books as Dante's *Inferno* (1861), *Don Quixote* (1862), and the Bible (1866), and he helped to give European currency to the illustrated book. His work is characterized by a rather naïve but highly spirited love of the grotesque and represents a commercialization of the Romantic taste for the bizarre. Drawings of London done in 1869-71 were more sober studies of the poorer quarters of the city and captured the attention of Vincent van Gogh.

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had already begun to emerge with the first sightings of the diasporic Chinese nation becomes more pronounced and violent.

The Chinese as Spectral Standard for Comparison: Travels through Japan

Travelling through Japan, the escalated verbal and emotional violence Kipling demonstrates upon close contact with Chinese people in Canton City dissipates to a simmering rage against Britain's East Asian imperial rivals and even a grudging respect at times. Against the Japanese, the Chinese appear to have certain advantages in their disdain for emulating Western culture. The emulative ethic of the new Japanese culture, arisen since Commodore Perry's forced entry into the country in July 1853, includes the restructuring of administrative and military agencies for European-style appearances, which Kipling perceives to be dishonest. The fluidity of Japan's transformation signals an untrustworthiness, an careless capacity for metamorphosis.

In contrast, the Chinese appear favorably in a spectral fashion amidst a gathering of sixty British tea merchants staying at the same Kyoto hotel where Kipling and the Professor have taken rooms. In answer to Kipling's question about whether the British tea merchant can actually trust his native Chinese buyer during the process of selecting teas for export to Britain, a Foochow merchant answers in the affirmative, "Of course we can . . . The Chinaman's a born merchant and full of backbone" (I: 366). This assessment affirms the Chinese diaspora's business acumen as seen in Singapore, where they have created a shadow colony to rival the British. His evaluation is supported by his colleague's contrast of the typical Chinese worker with his Japanese counterpart, where the Japanese worker is deemed untrustworthy for their purposes: "The Jap has no business savvy . . . a little huckster who can't see beyond his nose"

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(I: 366). While this last evaluation is a broad generalization that can be discounted partly because these are all tea merchants based in China rather than in Japan, their assessments of Chinese mercantile abilities emerges from their business-oriented discourse, which is heavily larded with references to their native Chinese partners. For Kipling, he perceives this feature of their discourse to be an "implied leaning upon native help, which, even allowing for the peculiarities of China, was rather startling" (I: 366-7). We might imagine his next question to be, "who is the one in charge here?"

Conversations with the tea merchants, who are named in Letter XV by the names of the Chinese cities where they are based, bring surprises to the sinophobe because mercantile trust in native Chinese people brings prosperity instead of ruin. The level of comfort emerging from the tea merchants' discourse seems strange to Kipling; he notes that "the tone of hope and almost contentment [ ] pervade[ ] their speech" (I: 367), which highlights for him how much India is a "grim and miserable community" by comparison, where Anglo-Indians cannot talk easily about "fortunes, success, money, money, and the pleasure, good living, and frequent trips to England that money brings" (I: 367). At that moment he recognizes himself within that grim and miserable community, and sees the contrast that forces him to earn the means of making the trip through writing about these comfortably situated men. The fiction of his class and the premises of this globetrotting tour fall aside to reveal an uncomfortable clarity at this moment.

But perhaps this is the point where Kipling has succumbed to the fiction created by China hands, in a tradition stretching back to Marco Polo. The tea merchants all belong to a brotherhood compelled to work according to the tea season, instead of taking part in a year-round trade, so that they have ample reason to leave China. Early in the century tea merchants

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were not allowed to stay in China past the designated season, and they have continued that tradition into Kipling's time. What Kipling neglects to mention to the reader, perhaps because it is better known to his readership both in India and England, is the fact that tea trade from China declined precipitously a few decades before Kipling meets these men. The greater part of tea shipped to Britain is grown on Indian tea plantations by this time, though it is often perceived to be a less delicate product, one which doctors claim can endanger consumer health. The callow Kipling has found himself amidst a group of older travelers who are accustomed to embellishing stories of their work not only to strangers but to each other. But perhaps Kipling is only playing the callow globetrotter in order to incite the Anglo-Indian Pioneer reader to make greater efforts for their community of colonists.

Perilous Revenge on the Yellow Peril in San Francisco

Though Kipling still "hates" the Chinese by the time he reaches San Francisco Bay, he has been given a memorable lesson in their abilities to persevere and create communities in alien territories. San Francisco in 1899 already counts a significant number of Chinese emigrés in the city's population, mostly males. Female immigration has been restricted by United States Immigration Service officials fearing family formation and the subsequent establishment of permanent Chinese communities, as has occurred in Singapore. Compared to his earlier diatribes about how the Chinese ought to be killed, exterminated, or "wiped off the face of the earth," we sense a shift of this sentiment to the white Americans he meets in San Francisco upon his arrival. His first impression of San Francisco is that "there is neither serenity nor indifference to be found in these parts" and that it is a "mad city – inhabited for the most part by perfectly insane people whose women are of a remarkable beauty" (I: 471). This description

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is similar to his description of Canton, as the magnification of Benares [Varanesi], and the crowd of people that are "so very many and so unhuman" (I: 304-5). It becomes evident, with this subtle shift of mood, that in San Francisco the sinophobia has lessened and manifests itself more generally as xenophobia.

Nevertheless, sinophobia emerges in Letter XXIII as a phenomenon outside of Kipling himself, and most pointedly in violent answer to his earlier desire to exterminate the Chinese, as he told the Professor in the visit to Canton city. When he reaches Market Street, the main street of downtown San Francisco, he sees a commotion: "a gathering of three or four – and something that glittered as it moved very swiftly" (I: 473). A Chinese man has been stabbed in the eye, and is "bleeding like a pig," while supported by an Irish man wearing "priest's cords in his hat and a small nickel-plated badge on his fat bosom" (I: 473). Indeed, he has seen his wish to kill the Chinese come to life, and with this vision also comes the ethnic mix he had predicted, though the Irish policeman endeavors to support the assaulted man instead of performing the deed himself. The irony is further compounded by the reference to a pig, as if this injured Chinese man has grown up from the suckling pig paraded around in Penang. But Kipling does not gloat or cheer as though increasingly horrified by the means of exacting the revenge he described back in Southeast Asia and East Asia.

The desire to have the Chinese killed manifests itself again during Kipling's wanderings about Chinatown, which is north of his lodgings at the Palace Hotel. Because he claims the crowding in this quarter leads to the construction of compressed buildings containing multiple floors and basements, he takes the reader down into the multilevel building. The building is "two-thirds below sight level" as icebergs keep most of their mass below the surface of the

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water, so he takes us down multiple floors and through multiple Orientalist stereotypes. "Downstairs I crawled past Chinamen in bunks, opium-smokers, brothels, and gambling hells, till I had reached the second cellar" and walks downstairs into yet another cellar where he finds men playing in a poker club. The heat, the depth of the cellar, and the silence point to a representation of hell, affirmed by the killing of the Chinese gambler by the Mexican player at the playing table with no other witnesses but the other two players and Kipling himself (I: 489).

He can smell the gunpowder, hear the victim's cough, see the bullet wound in the stomach – he realizes that he could be mistaken for the assailant, who has disappeared instantly upon the firing of his pistol. This wish-fulfillment has turned horrible for him, for he has heard the deathly coughing as the fellow-players turn out the light. He flees up the interminable stairs through the building where eerie silence reigns. Now his fear of the Chinese face is the result of fear for being falsely accused. It is a "deadly fear," one "compounded of past knowledge of the Oriental – only other white man – available witness – three stories underground – and the cough of the Chinaman" (I: 490). No longer is he simply a witness passing judgment on the scene before him, but he is possibly a creator of the scene that threatens to incarcerate him in a worse hell than the one he has just experienced. Now the Chinese man is a human with a death-cough, not a suckling pig, nor an automaton. Kipling's fear is to be falsely accused of killing another human.

Still, Kipling's bravado emerges at the end of this episode, which is not the Letter's conclusion. He gives advice to future tourists visiting San Francisco, telling them that "I would impress it upon you who follow after, do not knock about the Chinese quarters at night and alone. You may stumble across a picturesque piece of human nature that will unsteady your

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nerves for half a day" (I: 491). To offset the palpable fear expressed in the previous paragraphs describing his adventure, the reader is told to think of it as "picturesque" or as being somewhat manipulated and constructed for the most aesthetic view on the scene. This tactic makes ambiguous the strong feelings of self-preservation and fear that are so convincing while he makes his way in and out of the gambling den. Detachment is the way of the globetrotter, rather than engagement with the local people and their lives. By doing so he renders himself as superficial as the average globetrotter in evaluating the sights offered along the way.

Conclusion

Fear drives the construction of Kipling's new world view, with spaces carved out to keep the racial Others, and the Americans from infiltrating his protective layers to achieve the partial intimacy that he shares with the Professor. Though Cook's Tours were meant to teach people about the world, as far as the British could reach through their transport systems, Kipling has utterly failed in this task and has instead gathered more evidence for certain preconceived notions, such as his views on the Chinese. This failure is palpable on a personal level, as illuminated out by his great interest in the three globetrotters who do not truly live but are alive. The widow in particular shows how fear and grief cause a certain kind of blindness to the present wonders of the world.

Instead of gaining better health through the sea air onboard the ships, the globetrotter has "extreme cosmopolitanism," Kipling says, someone who "will be sick anywhere" (I: 312) without hesitation or self-consciousness. This statement also includes the idea of sickness as a spiritual or emotional malaise, as Kipling has illustrated through the different globetrotters, and even his own reaction to overseas Chinese. In contrast to Isabella Bird Bishop's spectacular

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health improvements during travel, the globetrotters have been depicted as having a greater tendency to uncover his or her illnesses, in part because such trips are meant to be beneficial for healing. Albert's premature wasting, Kipling's own insomnia, even the frail female globetrotters who "cannot exist without food between 9 a.m. and 1 p.m." (I: 261), are traveling in a sort of floating hospital where illnesses run their courses before embarking on the cure.

By the time Kipling reaches San Francisco, it is worth asking whether he has fulfilled the mission to avenge Anglo-India, by critiquing the globetrotter's indolent consumption of the world's cultures and sights. San Francisco is the halfway point on his trip to London, and it is where his consciousness stops its struggle between the middle-class globetrotter consumption of sights and the desire to make a new way of seeing the same sights. The consciousness of being British amongst Americans helps him rebuild the sense of cultural superiority shaken by his vision of the overseas Chinese empire in Asia.

San Francisco is the last place on the itinerary that Kipling's sinophobia has the opportunity to express itself because it is where his "fevered imagination" is resolved. By this point in the trip he sees individual Chinese persons killed or maimed, as a culmination of his fevered imagination that has afflicted his vision throughout the earlier portion of the trip taken with the Professor. The visions of violence done to the two different Chinese men seems to cure his affliction, as does realizing they are members of a marginal group in American society, rather than one that rivals the British in influence. In a sense he undergoes a visual cure, where Kipling literally sees the balance of power coming back into focus via the numbers of white faces outnumbering the faces of racial Others. Leaving Asia results in leaving behind the problem of how to interpret the sight of the large overseas Chinese diaspora, and its effect on

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Kipling's maintenance of cultural superiority. What is factual or fictional about the vision of the Chinese "army" in southeast Asia matters less upon Kipling's encounter with individual Chinese in San Francisco. Entering the United States brings Kipling back within the reaches of the British Empire, where Kipling's sense of cultural superiority can be validated by Americans in their postcolonial relationship with Britain.

Kipling's original mission to "avenge India" brings to mind Edward Said's description of the "modern Orientalist," one who sees himself as "a hero rescuing the Orient from the obscurity, alienation, and strangeness which he himself had properly distinguished" (Said 121). This figure simultaneously creates the mystery and attempts to dispel it through "objective" means, a contradiction in action but a necessary one keeping the Western Orientalist in control of knowledge and its deployment. Said talks about the Rosetta Stone as an example of how the modern Orientalist must utilize the older way of knowing the Orient in order to create new systems and techniques for the assertion of a "new" Orient. From this slab carved with three different ancient languages, nineteenth-century Orientalists from Jean-Francois Champillon onwards could finally read Egyptian hieroglyphics, a language that had been mysterious and locked, through the translations of the same passage in two different but related languages. From this groundbreaking event came the start of new work in ancient studies, such as the field of Egyptology. From the ability to interpret the signs came the ability to construct new specialized areas of knowledge and control.

For the audience of "From Sea to Sea" Kipling acts as one such modern Orientalist who has performed the action of obfuscation on the globetrotters as well as on the parts of Asia he visits as a globetrotter. The action of reinterpretation and subsequent creation of new fields of

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knowledge work is less clear because of the need for greater clarity on the overseas Chinese impact on the British Empire's efforts in Asia beyond what Kipling's impressionistic views. He has been able to give a better perspective on the globetrotter's world, though he did not stay in it for very long – one wonders what would have been produced had he traveled half as long as Albert had – and shows us how leisure travel is a stress-inducing exercise for unexperienced travelers requiring more time to assimilate the exposure to constant changes in environment and culture. While the globetrotters' world is less mysterious, the world of the shadow Chinese empire is made even more so by his writings. This further mystification comes from the use of dramatic stereotypes and rhetoric to express what he sees, which moves the reader away from realism to a type of fictionalized journalism. Perhaps this is what travel writing is, at its core, a literary enterprise whose use of rhetoric and metaphor is *de rigueur* because of subjective viewing as a fundamental part of the experience of travel. Kipling advocates "facts" as subjective, malleable things when he recounts his meeting with Mark Twain in Elmira, New York, in the last letter of "From Sea to Sea." Twain's last piece of advice to the younger author is that "facts, or what a man believes to be facts, are always delightful. That mathematical fellow believed in his facts. So did I. Get your facts first, and . . . then you can distort 'em as much as you please" (II: 196-7).

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Chapter 5: Isabella Bird Bishop's Travels in China's Yangtze Valley: Victorian Travel Narrative Preserving British Imperial Desires in China

Introduction

Of all the writers examined in this study, the traveler-writer Isabella Bird Bishop often sparks the most interest in today's readers of travel narratives.[63] Her work is increasingly anthologized in new collections of women's writings, and her adventurous femininity has been reinvented for the American consumer market as a mail-order catalogue ("Isabella Bird") which originally specialized in women's travel clothing.[64] Ironically, Bird Bishop would have eschewed such affiliations with women needing extra supports to go forward into lesser known places. In her biography of Bird Bishop, Pat Barr presents the surprising fact that Bird Bishop "did not have enough faith in or sympathy for the great majority of womankind to be any sort of suffragette" to enter the rancorous public debate over her nomination for membership to the all-male Royal Geographical Society. "Though she must have realised that the educational, social and professional restrictions imposed upon her sex cramped and frustrated her own natural development, particularly during her earlier years," Barr notes, "she seems always to have assumed that she was an inexplicable and not very laudable exception to the general rule, and that most women were neither deserving of nor particularly fitted for the greater freedoms allowed to men" (267-8). Indeed, on a personal level, the older Bird Bishop often appeared imperious toward other women travelers who came to meet their heroine, as traveler and painter Marianne North recalls, dazzled by the gold-brocaded, gold-slippered woman in an

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[63] Because this chapter examines her last published volume, I use the author's name as it appears on the cover, "Bird Bishop," while she names herself the title page inside as "Mrs. J.F. Bishop" followed by the line naming her as "Isabella L. Bird, F.R.G.S." underneath in smaller lettering.

[64] For a popular anthology, see for example Maiden Voyages: Writings of Women Travelers, edited by Mary Morris.

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oversized chair (Chubbuck 21). Aloofness from her traveling sisterhood shapes Bird Bishop's narrative as an effort to write a lasting historical record of her view, moving beyond the personally driven epistolary narrative style characterizing her earlier travel writings.

In 1894, Bird Bishop departed Britain for a journey through Japan, Korea, China, Manchuria, and Vladivostock. Out of this journey of three years and two months, she produced the two narratives, Korea and Her Neighbours (1897) and The Yangtze Valley and Beyond (1899). On this journey to China, she travels westward out of Shanghai on the Yangtze River, to Szechuan province in Western China. Once in Szechuan, her overland journey takes her in a large loop through the northwest, skirting the Somo Territory, home to an indigenous people conquered long ago by the Chinese, in an effort to cross the Szechuan border into a region marked "Sifan" on her map – a place referring to the other Western foreigner, the Tibetan. But Tibet is forbidden to her, as it has been for numerous explorers during this part of the nineteenth century, because the Chinese imperial government was successful in preventing the British from forging a path between India and China via Tibet. She follows in the footsteps of men who have faced violent retribution from Chinese agents charged with preventing this act of encouraging further British inroads into China, and this knowledge grants her narrative with an extra heroic edge over many of her female traveler colleagues.[65]

Bird Bishop's narrative represents not only a bid for historical significance but also synthesizes the genres of other contemporary British experiences seen in this project's

[65] Except for Annie Taylor, who was a missionary who was able to penetrate the border with great difficulty. Bird Bishop had great admiration for her, writing that "She impresses me as a woman of a very remarkable and powerful personality and her journey as the most remarkable of recent years. She is a religious enthusiast. Religious enthusiasm was the *motif* of her journey, and she believed herself to have been divinely aided" (Letter to Mr. Keltie, August 7, 1893). Rather than seeing Taylor as a rival in a race to reach Tibet, Bird Bishop is able to see hers as a completely different task from Taylor's missionary work.

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account its movement and adventure away at the metropolitan center, without settling permanently as an expatriate. She is a professional traveler who narrates her travels for a larger audience and earns a livelihood from her restlessness. We also see a regendering of her narrative style in the scientific moments of the narrative, which emerge most notably in epic catalogues enumerating Latin names of plants, aligning her work more closely with scientific explorers such as Robert Fortune, Sir Aurel Stein, Colborne Baber or Captain Gill.[66] Buried under this globetrotter narrative is sympathy with the missionary narrative, as she quietly endows mission hospitals on her journeys through Szechuan province, dedicating them either to her husband or to her sister Hennie. She uses geographical information from Chungking merchant and writer Archibald Little's "delightful" book (I: 207), to social reforms, represented by Alicia Little's anti-footbinding work or missionary work.[67] Her narrative's intertextuality most clearly highlights the relatively small world of British China, where for safety's sake the expatriates often learned about each other through word of mouth. More importantly, these references indicate a self-consciousness about how Bird Bishop chose the generic foundations for constructing her work: she has chosen to rely upon accepted narratives written by more experienced "China Hands" or expatriates to augment her relatively short visits there. Using these genres in synthesis structures her own experience so that details and themes considered

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[66] Scientific explorers of China are not included in this project, in part because they are frequently researched by students of the history of science. Robert Fortune, however, merits attention for his smuggling of tea plants from China to Northern India for the start of the great Indian tea plantations in the 1840s. Sir Aurel Stein was more a contemporary to Bird Bishop, conducting his archaeological research on the Western Chinese sections of the Silk Road in the early 1900s.

[67] Although she is anonymously mentioned in Bird Bishop's narrative as one of the women at Sin-tien-tze, Hannah Davies's narrative is encompassed well within the missionary category of narratives. From the generous contributions of an introduction and several photographs, it is evident Bird Bishop thought very highly of Davies. See also Alicia Little, Land of the Blue Gown and Intimate China for her own discussion of how she helped the anti-footbinding movement take hold in China.

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more characteristic of a female travel narrative, such as meetings with native women, surveillance of her body, and adjustments to new clothing, help create a comprehensive picture of a Chinese society.

Isabella Bird Bishop became one of late nineteenth-century Britain's best-known female travelers for her travel narratives and geographical contributions about Asia, which eventually earned her membership to the Royal Geographical Society (RGS).[68] Bird Bishop's work was distinguished from other women travelers and writers in the midst of the Royal Geographical Society membership controversy in 1893. The RGS "inherited" the women members of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society because the RGS extended its privileges to the latter group in the same year. Lord George Curzon publicly opposed this measure in a letter to the Times (31 May 1893) but named Bird Bishop as one of the two exceptions to the general unfitness of the proposed female candidates.[69] For Bird Bishop, the membership meant a marked change in status in relation to a chosen group of people: "It will be a great pleasure and interest to me to be no longer an outsider" (Letter to Dr. H.R. Miller, July 6, 1892). To be numbered among this select society meant a kind of androgynization. She remarks later, in a letter dated December 4, 1897, on her feeling of belongingness to a traveling cohort: "I hear myself so continually spoken of as 'the distinguished traveler' that I am arriving at the very natural conclusion that I am as well entitled to a medal as Mr. Curzon [Lord Curzon] or some others!" (Letter to Mr. Keltie, December 4, 1897). Bird Bishop self-consciously narrates her

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[68] She was distantly related to a contemporary and equally celebrated woman traveler, Mary Kingsley, who traveled in West Africa collecting biological specimens.

[69] The other exceptional woman traveler admitted to RGS membership was Mary Kingsley, whom Bird Bishop credits with having "effected more in a geographical direction" than she has in all her years of service (see Letter to Mr. Keltie, March 10, 1897). For a more detailed look at this debate, and Bird Bishop's response, see Dorothy Middleton. E[mily] G[eorgiana] Kemp was also a member of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, but did not receive the same consideration of RGS membership for her work.

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journey to Korea and then China's Yangtze Valley, having internalized this sense of moving beyond the female traveler category into a more publicly, scientifically recognized traveler company.

During her first visit to Southern China, documented in The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither (1883), Bird Bishop's status as a consumer of tourism is signaled, according to Paul Fussell's differentiation of tourists, travelers, and explorers, by her entrance into scenes previously discovered and prepared for her through "the arts of mass publicity" (39) or at least by the guidance of more experienced expatriates. The imperative to discover new paths in China is less important to Bird than, arguably, the work of sorting out personal politics. These issues include grief over her sister's death in 1880, personal emancipation from family, financial independence through a successful writing career, and the most significant recurring reason for her travels, the search for a cure to her chronic back pain which may have been psychosomatic in origin. In contrast, Bird Bishop's later work moves away from tourism as a solution to personal issues in favor of a more challenging, idiosyncratic form of travel and writing for a more politically motivated audience. This chapter examines her travel narrative about China from this period, namely the arduous journey taken in 1895-6 and recorded in The Yangtze Valley and Beyond (1899), which endeavors to be a definitive history of Britain's semicolonial China.

Backgrounds to The Yangtze Valley and Beyond

Bird Bishop dedicates The Yangtze Valley and Beyond to Lord Robert Cecil, the Marquess of Salisbury, who was a strong supporter of imperial expansion and Britain's competition with the other European powers. The dedication states:

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DEDICATED BY PERMISSION
TO THE
MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G.
WITH THE AUTHOR'S PROFOUND RESPECT, AND ADMIRATION
OF THE NOBLE AND DISINTERESTED SERVICES
WHICH HE HAS RENDERED TO THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

She has received a nod to attach the Marquess of Salisbury's name to this narrative, declaring open admiration of his work. Lord Robert Cecil, whose work as Prime Minister brought these ideas to the forefront of foreign policy, endeavored to keep Britain's imperial interests solely the product of its own work abroad, rather than that created through collaboration or negotiation with other countries. Few travel narratives of this period have such an auspicious political endorsement. Bird Bishop's history of her travels, using a dramatic narrative style, thereby endeavors to help motivating imperialists and would-be colonists to move more decisively to help secure natural resources from the Chinese, who seem unable to see the wealth they possess. At the same time, her narrative demonstrates a vast interest in and affection for the native Chinese people. We can see this in a closing chapter's sober discussion of the continued conflict with Westerners over the introduction of opium products, a matter of serious social malaise within the Chinese population. The narrative's closure upon this matter results in a somber tone cast upon the entire narrative, and affirms the imperialist interest signaled by the dedication to Lord Cecil.

As signaled in the dedication, Bird Bishop sees the possibility of contributing to the larger imperial project through this narrative. The use of a heroic narrative style supports her historiographic ambition, particularly in the telling of her small traveling company's violent confrontations with native men. While she endeavors to construct a record of the natural and

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human resources present in the Szechuan province, around the Yangtze river basin, the narrative consciously draws upon different values that comprise a useful history. Historian Beverley Southgate has written of the Victorian emphasis on the study of the heroic (39), focusing on the movement of one protagonist through time and space, stopping on occasion to demonstrate her witness of different political, religious, and social phenomena. Though this protagonist may sympathize with the local residents along her path, as Bird Bishop does when she visits in small rural village families, the hero is morally, educationally, technologically, and even physically superior to them, as she proves in various moments of combat with those who would stop her progress through the wilderness. In Bird Bishop's last published narrative, the Yangtze Valley is the region of her quest, and native Chinese men appear as her adversaries.

The late stage in Bird Bishop's writing represented by The Yangtze Valley differs greatly from the works that initially made her famous as a younger woman, notably her narratives about traveling to America. Her trips to America, recorded in the narratives entitled The Englishwoman in America (1856), The Hawaiian Archipelago: Six Months Among the Palm Groves, Coral Reefs and Volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands (1875), and A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains (1879), were made for both reasons of health and to search for a husband. Her Asian travels began in 1880, with a trip to Japan. Bird Bishop's travel cure relieved different ongoing physical ailments, starting with childhood illnesses weakening her health, and undergoing an operation for "spinal tumours" at age eighteen. By the time she left for a long sea voyage, prescribed by her doctors, a list of ailments plagued her. According to Kay Chubbuck, these were diverse symptoms:

> She had carbuncles on her spine, lesions on her legs. She suffered from fevers, headaches, rashes, nausea, rheumatism, chest pains,

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> muscle spasms and hair loss. She was troubled by abscesses on her feet and aching in her jaw; she was beset by 'neuralgia, pain in my bones, pricking like pins and needles in my limbs, excruciating nervousness, exhaustion, inflamed eyes, sore throat, swelling of the glands behind each ear, stupidity.' Often, she spent the whole day in bed but could not sleep: nightmares alternated with insomnia. The depression she experienced as a result of these symptoms was severe. (4-5)[70]

These symptoms point to the classic Victorian female neurasthenic, especially because these physical problems disappeared the moment she shipped off for new worlds. Some critics, such as biographer Olive Checkland, surmise an accumulation of medical symptoms in reaction to ongoing treatments. The treatments were often causing more problems and complications, such as the use of laudanum (an opiate), chlorodyne (combination of opium and cannabis), medicinal quantities of alcohol, and "bromide" (potassium bromide). Checkland surmises the relatively large amounts of bromide once even caused an overdose (31-2). Chubbuck believes that Bird Bishop actually suffered from carbunculosis, a "staphylococcus skin infection that results in large, infectious knobs on the back and spine . . . accompanied by fever, fatigue, inflammation and malaise" (6). This is now a rare disease, formerly prevalent in people living in less hygienic conditions, and "more endemic in Victorian Scotland than in the modern age" (6). Ironically, she never mentions the outbreak of this condition whenever traveling through China, a place regularly noted as an unsanitary place. Like many globetrotting tourists, she takes an ocean-going holiday for health reasons.

The psychological dependency upon medicines and chronic inflammations resulting from environmental conditions disappear when Bird Bishop embarks upon her first trip, taking her out of Britain to Australia, New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii), California, with a

[70] See letter from Isabella to Henrietta Bird, 8 November 1872 (John Murray Archives); see also Chubbuck 35.

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lengthy stay in Colorado, before returning to Scotland in 1873. The psychological component of her own ailments is revealed by her disbelief at the suffering of others, and the prose style of her letters, later to become narratives. In a letter to Hennie from Melbourne (October 13, 1872) she downplays her hostess's illness because of her own experiences: "I cant [sic] think Mrs Cameron in a state to warrant this constant anxiety. Except that she did lose the use of her limbs for 13 weeks she had no symptoms that I have not had . . . But she is partly recovered and it seems so sad to see the children never free from care if the danger really is exaggerated" (Chubbuck 35). Not unlike her fellow globetrotter, Rudyard Kipling, Bird Bishop finds concerns of others to be secondary to her own unique situation, where the author harbors anxiety over a self-perceived inferiority to others.

Until she was around forty years of age, Isabella Bird lived in her family's household, and her sister Henrietta (Hennie) became the targeted audience for her writings. Bird Bishop's earlier work is structured around letters sent to Hennie, in an epistolary style with a more emotionally responsive tone than her later work. As Pat Barr notes in her 1970 biography of Bird Bishop, "it was Isabella's whole-hearted effort to make her younger sister see what she had seen, share what she was doing, that made her letters so alive" (20). These letters were also circulated among select women friends in Edinburgh. Altogether her readership was exclusively female and closely bound to domesticity at the start, presenting the need for an emotional affirmation of the emotions and actions coming out of Bird Bishop's relocation to foreign scenes.

After the publication of Unbeaten Tracks in Japan in 1880 and Hennie's death from typhoid in the summer of that year, narratives are no longer dispatches "written more or less on

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the spot like war reports" (Barr 20) but journal entries written at the day's end, accompanied by photographs developed and printed by herself while en route to her destinations. The Yangtze Valley and Beyond represents the culmination of her struggles to find a new voice to take the place of one that focused primarily on Hennie's reaction. This new voice retains a female-centered focus and narrative voice, offering middle-class readers, especially women, respectable and interesting reading material, while attracting more scientific-minded readers. But the sense of spontaneity in the group of Asian travel narratives never quite recovers the energy of earlier writings about Hawaii and the American West (Barr).

The Yangtze Valley and Beyond was not a bestseller, as would be expected for the author of the popular narrative, A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains (1879), which was reprinted from its serial form in 1878, and remains her best known work today. Her writing style had changed dramatically from a more exuberant tone, which was a reason for the American travel narrative's great popularity, to a somber one after many travels, and the deaths of both Hennie and her husband, Dr. John Bishop. As her last published narrative, The Yangtze Valley and Beyond was originally published in two volumes with photographic plates and gilt edges, a work whose physical appearance makes a bid for cultural authority, and whose writing style reinforces this desire. Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, writing about the Bird Bishop's later work, suggests an encyclopedic tendency of her narrative because of her thorough treatment of background material and precedents: "Her letters to her publisher, John Murray, during the time of composition of the China book indicate her anxiety over factual details and her research being hampered by the difficulty of borrowing books by Colborne Baber and Capt. Gill, two sources she relied on for geographical information" (137). Baber and Gill are considered by

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many of Bird Bishop's contemporaries to have written a definitive history about Szechuan Province. Thurin tells us that this effort at producing The Yangtze Valley and Beyond meant that this was not "just another book of travels" but a "carefully researched tome" (137). Not unlike the period's multi-volume histories of China and its people, written by men who spent many years working either as missionaries or as members of the Consular Service, Bird Bishop endeavors to put forth a new history about China to affirm her RGS fellowship status. In so doing, she uses highly masculinized voices from institutions of church and state to move herself away from the female travel narrative. This anxiety of authorship draws upon both male and female precedents, but like her desire to be an insider with the male RGS travelers, Bird Bishop also wishes to be regarded more an insider with the coterie of writers about China, usually a male group with some political authority, rather than remaining a woman writer on China.

Bird Bishop's Struggle to Move Beyond the Beaten Track of Women's Travel Narrative

Many nineteenth-century readers found women's travel narratives captivating for the reason described by journalist W.G. Blaikie in July 1896: "It seems characteristic of the lady traveller to make and record those minute, varied, and vivid observations of life, character, and customs, of which her books are full. No man would be so painstaking and so patient" (61). This eye for detail is typically inferred by an audience assuming the author has been trained and informed by domestic concerns appropriate to gentlewomen. Such powers of observation would naturally seem to lend themselves to travel writing, and indeed, Blaikie suggests above that a woman's travel narrative is the more worthwhile way to learn about a new place. Bird Bishop's nomination to the Royal Geographic Society suggests an official recognition of the

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richness of detail gathered in women's travel narratives, while she clearly stood out as a hardy woman traveler whose travel habits approached those of male travelers.[71]

Blaikie's 1896 observations about the readability of myriad details represent a broadened notion of the "lady traveller" presented in Elizabeth Eastlake's 1845 Quarterly Review article, also entitled "Lady Travellers." Isabella Bird Bishop and her contemporaries (such as Constance Gordon Cumming, Alicia Little, Mary Gaunt, and Emily Georgiana Kemp) would hardly qualify as ladies in Eastlake's estimation because they actually have semi-professional agendas for traveling.[72] To clarify her distinction between "lady travellers" and "female writers who, having under the general name of tourists given the public an immense deal of extraneous information" Eastlake writes,

> [. . .] when, in short, ladies take all the trouble of travelling abroad merely to express those private opinions upon affairs in general which they could as well have given utterance to at home, we feel truly that it would be a grateful and very amusing task to bring their services before the public, but that it is not ours on this occasion to comprise them among so unpretending a class as that of the lady tourists. (100)

For Eastlake, the model lady traveler represents English womanhood at its best, in great part because of her haphazard education, predisposing her to scattered curiosity and interest in whatever appears. Thus, she is "unpretending" or disingenuous, while retaining a "decorous restraint of her manners, . . . nice, scrupulous, delicate, . . . yet simple, practical, useful" (100). Her disingenuousness about serious topics at home, including politics, extends to her outlook elsewhere. The tourist, many critics of travel writing agree, is more the dilettante who remains

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[71] Compare Bird Bishop's minimalist travel style with that of her closest rival, Constance ("Eka") Gordon Cumming, who usually insisted on traveling in comfort and style through the same countries.

[72] It must be noted here that Alicia Little is actually a long-term resident. She makes trips up and down the Yangtze River with her husband, Archibald Little, but in one instance Little travels to lecture for the Anti-Footbinding Movement as recounted in Land of the Blue Gown.

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outside of the environment being observed, while the traveler engages with one's surroundings and its people.[73] Eastlake's lady traveler, thus erroneously named even by her own definitions, remains apolitical, fastidious, and indiscriminating in her perceptions of the foreign cultures encountered on the road, not unlike Rudyard Kipling's definition of the globetrotter. In keeping with being the lady, she is very likely to notice domestic qualities of native life, such as sanitary conditions and clothing.

Eastlake's lady travelers would be very likely to euphemize offensive smells in her narrative, as a lady has no bowels or tolerance for the evidence of bodily functions.[74]The proper lady has been conditioned to consider odors or smells taboo, particularly those associated with food, because food is linked to bodily processes and its more primal needs, as discussed in Elizabeth Langland's critique of domestic ideology in Nobody's Angels. Langland's discussion of home architecture and domestic arrangements, a result of the middle-class woman's desire for asepsis, can be extrapolated as an influence on the "lady" traveler's perception of cultural encounter. Likewise, as smells and odors evoke more animalistic aspects of the otherwise controlled Victorian body, a close familiarity with domestic knowledge implied a rather intimate and publicly undiscussable understanding of the human body.

Half a century later, Isabella Bird Bishop's frequent attention to "mud," "dirt" and bodies covered with sores do not make her Asian narratives unladylike for Blaikie's purposes. They echo a similar interest from men's narratives. However, her attention to earthy details cause some offense over her motive, whether she wants to play the role of "lady" or "traveler."

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[73] See Graham Huggan, Ian Ousby, and Paul Fussell.

[74] See Elizabeth Langland's discussion of the middle-class woman's distaste for discussing bodily functions and smells in Chapter 2, "Material Angels: Wings of Clay" in her influential study of class and domesticity.

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Below, an anonymous reviewer of Korea and Her Neighbors (1898), the narrative published just prior to The Yangtze Valley and Beyond, expresses such dismay:

> Not a single discomfort is omitted; we are not spared an ounce of dust nor a single predatory insect. Inn after inn is more detestable than the last . . . it is all a little hard on the meritorious and sympathetic public which was guiltless from the beginning of sending out the forlorn pilgrim. We take it for granted that pilgrims shoulder the wallet and strap on the sandal shoon for love of the pilgrimage. Then why dilate on mud and dirt and starvation and hungry myriads who inhabit darkness? They are themselves apt to beget weariness and make the impatient reader inquire with an objurgatory sniff, 'Then why on earth did you go there?'" (anonymous reviewer qtd. in Barr 285)

Tension arises between a reader's two desires: to be fully apprised of the road's travails, but to forsake full disclosure in favor of continuing the romance. Empathy and identification with the woman traveler causes the reader to cheer for her triumphs, and wince at her difficulties. Reference to a "pilgrim" raises the self-renunciatory figure and draws upon the more sentimental, emotional side of travel, going all the way back to Chaucer's pilgrims to Canterbury, with the pilgrimage as the backdrop of human dramas. The use of the term here also implies a desire for more purity in thought and writing, usually attributed to women.

Though this anonymous reviewer complains about Bird Bishop's vivid description, Barr reminds us she has neglected some of the most basic concerns about a Victorian woman's wanderings away from home: "The modern reader may wonder how Isabella with her scrupulous regard for the feminine proprieties, dealt with matters of evacuation and personal hygiene during this and other journeys when men were a constant and close proximity. Surely the question must have occurred to many of her friends and readers; but it is doubtful if any summoned the courage to ask her, and certainly, she never mentioned the subject herself"

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(245). No proof exists as to her informal exchanges on this subject, which does not mean it was never discussed in private. Langland humorously discusses the euphemistic rhetorical handling of these bodily functions, leading her to conclude that "[l]adies, it seems, were not to have bowels" (43). In her biography of Bird Bishop, Pat Barr notices her silence on the topic of bodily functions while traveling exclusively with men. While its explication would hold interest for the modern reader, the silence on this subject reinforces her historical moment, class, and a sense of authenticity.

However, as discussed above, Bird Bishop felt little affinity for the sisterhood of travelers, and her narrative's discussion of the minute details and observations of native life strongly suggest a concerted effort to move away from the more feminine way of discussing travel. Bird Bishop's vivid description of Chinese public sanitation in the city of Kiu Hsien observes the boundaries of propriety while showing the tensions in doing so: "Incredible filth, indescribable odours, which ought to receive a strong Anglo-Saxon name, grime, forlornness, bustle, business, and discordant noises characterise Chinese cities . . ." (I: 355). The appropriate Anglo-Saxon words, though unprintable, conjure the precise sensation by their marked absence. The small cities of Szechuan province evoke the overall feeling of *unheimlichkeit* because of their disorderliness compared to what would have been back in Britain, but also because cities and large numbers of people made Bird Bishop uncomfortable. Dirtiness is more about displacement or a lack of order, as seen in the use of "discordant" and "forlornness." Things are not in their proper place, just as human wastes are not properly managed in order to prevent their maldodorous evidence.

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Just as Bird Bishop dispenses with prudishness in describing her reaction to local sanitary conditions, she also dispenses with the narrative necessity to enumerate her equipage. In the quotation below, she tells the reader of her preparation to leave the prefectural city, Kuan Hsien with an all-male entourage carrying scant food and clothing supplies, while she laments her missing scientific equipment:

> I started in my three-bearer chair, with five porters, two *chai-jen*, Mr. Kay, his servant, and Be-dien [Bird Bishop's translator]. As my European clothing had fallen to pieces, I was dressed as a Chinese and wore straw shoes. My baggage was all waterproof, and instead of oblong Japanese baskets and bundles protected by oiled paper, I had two deep, square bamboo baskets as better fitted for the mountains, and no loose packages but my camera. Unfortunately, as preventing accurate observations, a year before I had sent home the instruments lent to me by the Royal Geographical Society; a pony had rolled on my hypsometer, and an aneroid barometer kindly lent to me was not reliable. (100)

Bird Bishop presents the aspect of a beggar in rags, someone who has been forced to go native. She has no care for her European clothes (suggesting carelessness for her European identity), and it becomes clear in the narrative that she grows accustomed to wearing a hodgepodge outfit almost calculated to outrage native observers for its mismatched pieces. In fact, she sounds more like a runaway for not even having the tools that warrant her trip in the first place. The overall effect is a non-feminine lack of interest in the clothes and supplies for her journey, suggesting that she has cast her lot with the male traveler who lives off the land, in the style of those following Francis Galton's suggestions for rough living in his popular expedition guidebook, Art of Travel (1872).

In spite of Lady Eastlake's dislike of politicized narratives of foreign travel, women travelers are frequently read with special interest because they present a useful means of

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commenting upon gender politics back at the metropolitan center. In Bird Bishop's case, The Yangtze Valley and Beyond offers an opportunity for scholars to critique the restrictions on women's vocations back at the metropolitan center. Some of these studies, such as the ones by Sara Mills, Dea Birkett, and Shirley Foster, examine Bird Bishop's Asian travels, show a desire to make Bird Bishop's narrative fit more closely with their interests in maintaining the opposition between female emancipation and male hegemony, though not always very successfully when using Bird Bishop's narrative as a test subject. Mills, writing in Discourses of Difference (1991), presents the reader the challenge of reading women's travel writing from a position other than the male perspective, one seeing "eccentricity" (35) and "a strange mixture of the stereotypically colonial in content, style and trope . . . while at the same time unable to adopt a straightforwardly colonial voice" (9). She sees women's lack of official colonial administrative status as leading to a lack of narrative authority (115), where women's writing is paradoxically perceived as "trivial" (118) and "subversive" (119) because it works so much harder to be factual, giving excessive details and other authenticating mechanisms such as photographs and maps. It is a wonder that women's travel writing would be taken seriously at all, if we believe these conditions to be true for all readers of such narratives; while these conditions hold true for how the nineteenth century male reader would have been likely to approach a woman's narrative abroad, it does not suggest the large numbers of male readers who also lived abroad, met with female travelers, and would be more likely to engage more seriously with any traveler's perspective.

Though critics such as Dea Birkett wish to emphasize female agency in travel, there is a sense of ambiguity in attributing the source of this desire. In Spinsters Abroad (1989) she

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claims at the same time that women travelers experienced a desire to join their absent fathers in their travels, impressed with their fathers as "images of movement" and "freedom from domestic responsibilities" (17), while recognizing that the traveling woman also grew up influenced by traveling women missionary relatives, as is the case with Bird Bishop, who had a missionary aunt in India and other female relatives involved in evangelical work that typically required domestic travel (18-9). Birkett suggests an androgynous origin for seeing the advantages of travel in relation to the stultifying domestic female sphere, but this becomes a problematic argument for feminist travel writing. It is difficult to formulate a coherent female traveler identity when Birkett argues that "[a]ssuming different aspects of masculinity was one way in which women travellers could also assume power" (117), a position that still positions the male perspective and its agency to be the standard for movement through space, where women pick and choose masculine aspects to disguise themselves as the means of facilitating movement.[75]

Despite the difficulty in cutting a fresh path through literary territory where Bird Bishop does not clearly follow the example of other women, readers of The Yangtze Valley are able to see that this woman traveler journeys westward into uncomfortable and dangerous ways. In writing about women such as Bird Bishop, the label of "Victorian lady traveler," to use Dorothy Middleton's term from her early study of women traveler-writers, is insufficient because the significance of her work to later travelers comes more from writing a definitive reference work of a country that seems to threaten chaos at every turn than a psychological self-portrait revealed by movement through the picturesque. It is a deceptive position, for the

[75] See also Cheryl McEwan for the oddity of defining the category of "globetrotteresses" as distinct from "globetrotters," as well as the difficulty of situating her argument more solidly on a feminocentric footing.

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uniqueness of her experiences, particularly those in China, meant that "The voice of Mrs Bishop was now of some account in the land" (Barr 263). Through her travel narrative a female traveler contributes to the historiography of empire-building in the Far East, and the record of what was on offer to those who would enter as the "queen of all I survey," to paraphrase Mary Louise Pratt's assessment of the imperialist gaze. However, Bird Bishop's subjectivity in Yangtze Valley and Beyond presents a femininity that challenges the construction of the female traveler because of her ambivalent relationship toward maintaining a British femininity out in China.

Specific regional and historical conditions challenge the theories about traveling women because the reasons and conditions of individual travel in more remote, less traveled places are less dependable and systematic than those in well-traversed areas. Far more studies about travel narratives focus on Africa, the Near East, and India because these were "beaten tracks." These regions are already well-traveled by military men, government administrators, or missionaries, who are sometimes accompanied by their female companions, whether as wives or sisters. In Home and Harem (1996), Inderpal Grewal says that feminisms must be historically contextualized, and she does so by examining how English feminists articulate themselves in relation to the female other in India. She also contextualizes feminism in a geographically specific area, one that the British exalted above the other regions they administered in the British Empire (11). Focusing on how the home and harem switch places, Grewal looks at a more regularly traveled path to see how feminism operates while in transit, which in the end does not offer a fully realizable picture of women on the road in remote areas of the Empire (49-50). For women like Bird Bishop, traveling in the unofficial parts of the Empire results in a

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narrative that often defies ordinary categories of interpretation, such as the dualities of masculine/feminine, home/harem or home/away. Even when living at the metropolitan center, Bird Bishop never made for herself a real home after her husband's death, constantly changing residences in London and Scotland.

In Susan Morgan's work on British women in Southeast Asia, the discursive shaping of female subjectivity must be viewed in relation to the shaping of regional histories.[76] The unchanging lives led by native women are a history recorded by British women travelers, who in turn live in native style to varying degrees. By this means, history embodied in Chinese bodies, where history is lived out every day, in turn shapes British women's bodies. "Truth" of the native culture occurs in the "daily act of living the life that they also observed."[77] In Bird Bishop's case, by living like a Chinese person on the road, then she could be privy, even momentarily, to the subjectivity of the Orientalized Other – a psychic or psychological cross-dressing.

Bird Bishop's narrative exposes the constructedness of English femininity on the road through her physical appearance, abandoning form-fitting European clothing for billowy Chinese-style outfits that are worn without stays, and are composed of clothing pieces coded both male and female. In this regard, her narrative does align itself with numerous studies about female travelers who become androgynized through their travels, as discussed by Dea Birkett, and in discussions of Mary Kingsley's travels presented in studies by Mary Louise Pratt and

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[76] See Morgan, Place Matters and "Victorian Women."

[77] The tendency described here has been redacted for more recent feminist movements, as in Julia Kristeva's 1974 study, About Chinese Women, where she posited the importance of knowing the Chinese women in order to uncover the truth that Chinese culture is actually matriarchal. She applies Freudian theory to a non-Western paradigm.

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Karen Lawrence.[78] Their readings of Kingsley offers what may be the most useful way to understand Bird Bishop's narrative motivations. Kingsley offers what Pratt calls a model of the "explorer-woman" who "builds her own meaning-making apparatus out of the raw materials of the monarchic male discourse of domination and intervention" (213). In so doing, Pratt claims Kingsley creates a monarchic female discourse in Travels in West Africa (1897) that "denies dominance and parodies power" (213) because of her self-ironizing style. But this latter point that utilizes the concepts of denial, suppression, and imitation is where Pratt's analysis reaches its limits in helping to understand Bird Bishop. Bird Bishop does not wish to diminish herself, nor does her narrative discourse suggest the slightest self-effacement. For a better understanding of her kind of "monarchic female discourse," it is important to acknowledge the desire to achieve a heroic mode of action for the purpose of historiography, and to consider Karen Lawrence's view of Kingsley as not only an androgynized figure, approaching a feminized landscape, but one who sees the heroic in failure as well as success in conquest. "Instead of purposeful male 'quest' to the interior," Lawrence perceptively points out, acknowledging Kingsley's famous good humor, "Kingsley's travels and travel writing display an interest in having one's interest thwarted as part of the risk of travel" (135). Bird Bishop would be likely to agree with this idea, as she tells the reader of her improvised darkroom in a Yangtze riverboat. She prints photographs onboard, with a sense of "complacent superiority" over amateurs needing formal spaces and ideal conditions, because "When all these rough arrangements were successful, each print was a joy and a triumph, nor was there disgrace in failure" (Yangtze Valley, I: 231). Similarly, being prevented from crossing the Western

[78] See also Evelyn Bach, who focuses on Bird Bishop's American narratives.

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Szechuan border does not overshadow the greater triumph in having made the best attempt possible, using all the resources at hand. It is a self-sufficiency she attributes to a favorite axiom from General Charles "Chinese" Gordon: "'I am my own best servant,' and as a general rule I attend to the smallest detail of a journey in advance myself, down to every strap, buckle, and horseshoe" (II, 98). His is the ultimate triumph in failure, having died in battle at Khartoum (1885), and turned into Britain's imperial martyr for his efforts.

The traveler's altered sense of her own body's sufficiency is the narratable in the woman's travel narrative. Taking up literary critic D.A. Miller's categories of the narratable – that transgression is narratable, while adherence to the status quo does not warrant the attention of a plot – the middle-class female's lack of self-sufficiency is assumed by Victorian society, especially in the colonial setting. Her travels to the Far East are the means to fulfilling a pre-determined role, whether as wife, mother, or missionary, under the protection of British gunboats.[79] Unlike her sister, who seeks the safety behind barriers, the transgressive woman crosses the boundaries, whether they be marked by actual gates or an English costume, to seek the comforts created by non-patriarchal structures. The woman traveler is therefore transgressive because she assumes a degree of self-sufficiency and agency. If the woman traveler did not persevere in pushing herself forward, her agency would cease to exist in favor of a man's story of rescuing a woman, or a tragic tale of a transgressive woman.

What is narratable regarding the woman on the road seems to be contradicted in the realist novel about China, such as Alicia Little's A Marriage in China (1896). Little's narrative insists on the unnarratability of the self-sufficient woman – the missionary aunt – preferring

[79] Bird Bishop notes on various occasions (and not only in this narrative) that the British gunboats in the harbor are a reassuring sight when she stays at a treaty port or in the Crown Colony of Hong Kong.

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instead to explore the pathos of faltering, fragile Lilian Grey. The missionary aunt is widowed with children who also travel with her to and from different missions or back home to England on furlough. Her unnarratability is signaled by her obsession with her religious work, together with her self-imposed command to remain in China in the face of her economic hardships, and to treat brusquely her newly orphaned niece Lilian as the family's burden to be resolved. Lilian is set up as one who does not fit the status quo for British expatriate women in China, thereby making her progress a more questionable one. Such a narrative suggests that the general reader at the metropolitan center has assumptions about the well-traveled nature of the overseas missionary path, rendering the missionary aunt a denizen of what Suzanne Keen has referred to as the "narrative annex," where characters in narratives are sent into what we might perceive to be a parallel universe. In a sense, the travel writer, particularly the female travel writer, also enters into a narrative annex, a less-traveled path, but one that cannot occupy the same space as the novel concerning a heroine interested in a domestic marriage plot, as Lilian Grey is. The woman traveler in China, then, is only narratable when we are in the realm of non-fiction.

Miller's categories construe the colonial female as an Orientalized figure, similar to Edward Said's idea of the Orient as constructed through the British demarcation of non-white insufficiency from white sufficiency. Chloe Chard, writing on the Grand Tour, supports this exoticization of white femaleness in the instances of white women such as Lady Wortley Montagu becoming attractions to native viewers along their route. Montagu discusses this touristic exoticization in her description of visiting the harem, where the inhabitants inspect her clothing and the way it confines her body. Chard talks about this as the slippery "slide" from spectator to spectacle. In the bath house, Montagu is undressed by Turkish women who find her

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stays a fascinating form of marital restraint. In the scene's unfolding, Chard notes that Montagu acknowledges their gaze is "sharpened by a strong sense of cultural difference" (115).[80] A woman's whiteness has been negated by such specular conversion into being the object rather than the observer, turning her into an inadequate traveler and rendering her even more effeminate (115). However, as Montagu tells us in her writings about the Turkish harem, as an "adequate" traveler she continues "to scrutinise foreigners as they scrutinise her" (Chard 118), retaining the belief in her own power. By this logic, we have travel narratives written by women who are transgressive because of their abilities to survive without continual male protection, and at the same time, continually affirming their "whiteness" through the same demonstrations of ability, even under duress. The equation of transgressiveness with whiteness in a woman's narrative suggests potential difficulty in reading the woman's narrative as strictly non-fiction and factual.

Morgan reminds us that "[t]he working fiction about travel writings is that they are about real people and real places" ("Victorian Women" 210, my emphasis), reiterating Sara Mills claims that women's writing on the whole is "systematically judged to be exaggerated" (108). In his comparative study of travel literature, Percy Adams explores the doubt inherent in the traveler's true story in his chapter entitled "Truth-Lie Dichotomy," reminding us that the eighteenth-century reader would have seen that, among other means of ascertaining truth, "a travel account was a mixture of pleasure and profit and therefore must at times be a mixture of the false with the fact" (97). The nineteenth-century reader familiar with the fictional world of novels may not have thought to doubt the veracity of the travel writer, but the residue of such

[80] Lady Montagu notes, "I was in my travelling habit, which is a riding dress, and certainly appeared very extraordinary to them" (qtd. in Chard 115).

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thinking still affects qualities of the narrative because of its slippage between history and literature.

When reality is so fantastic compared to the reader's world, even the most mundane things are narratable; the armchair traveler at home is dying to know how Bird Bishop cooks her curry chicken every night in successively dirtier pig sties masquerading as Chinese village inns. We need to ask ourselves, are they really getting worse and worse, or is she making them increasingly unpalatable for effect? Answering this question requires reconsideration of the genre itself. Because it recounts a consciously entered, temporary situation where "instances of disequilibrium, suspense, and general insufficiency" exist, in keeping with D.A. Miller's notion of the narratable, travel writing enables fictionalizations. Our pleasure in this text arises from the women's heroic transcendence of their situations, regardless of the truth. In short, if Bird were able to get the best treatment on a regular basis, would the armchair traveler care to keep reading? Very likely not – she would want to read about how Bird survived the privations of a hostile China.

Elegy or grief, rather than any fear, gives form to the narrative structure of The Yangtze Valley when Bird Bishop travels in remote areas away from the security of European social and diplomatic supports. When thinking of home, Bird Bishop's thoughts are often of her losses: loved ones, and the sense of comfort conjured by the notion of home. In Bird Bishop's case, losing both her sister Henrietta ("Hennie") and husband John Bishop translates into funding medical missions in remote locations[81], as well as a changed approach to creating the travel

[81] In The Yangtze Valley and Beyond, Bird Bishop quietly mentions her contribution of funds to purchase land near Paoning Fu for a mission hospital in her sister's name (II: 11). Prior to this donation in 1896, Bird Bishop had established the John Bishop Memorial Hospital in Islamabad, and another one named for her sister in Beas in the Punjab. See Agnes Grainger Stewart 702.

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narrative. This translates into a loss of motivation for the epistolary narrative mode of prior works, those leading up to her trip to Japan in 1880.

Hennie's memory is always linked to home and hearth, so when Bird Bishop encounters a scene of domestic comfort in March 1896, her narrative dwells on the details.[82] In the mountains outside of Paoning Fu, a large provincial city in Western China, Bird Bishop encounters three women working for the China Inland Mission outpost at Sin-tien-tze. They are deemed to have had "remarkable success" with converting Chinese in this otherwise hostile countryside (II: 12).[83] The vicinity of Paoning Fu is considered hostile territory for foreigners though. At this resort-like setting in the mountains, Bird Bishop finds women have created and organized their private living space specifically for domestic comfort:

> [. . .] pre-eminently a 'lady's room,' furnished with bamboo tables, chairs, a lounge, and foot-stools, and a folding screen covered w/blue cotton, on which Christmas cards are prettily arranged. Blue cotton table-cloths, embroidered in white silk, covered the tables. The floor was matted. Chinese red scrolls hung on the whitewashed walls; there were books and flowering plants; and the room combined daintiness with solid comfort. (II:13-4)

Their comfort derives from a hybrid of English-Chinese aesthetics and materials, indicating an adaptation of former domestic ideas to their new environment and work. The versatility in mixing Chinese and English materials fascinates Bird Bishop, who once chafed at the ordinary

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[82] See Naomi Schor on the feminization of the detail, for the association of how primarily feminized realms of the ornamental and mundane are linked with careful attention to detail.

[83] Remarkable even in the Paoning Fu area, "a great centre of China Inland Mission work" (Bird Bishop II: 5), openness to the native Chinese is the key to their success, as recounted by Hannah Davies, one of the Sin-tien-tze missionaries: " 'One kind,' said he, 'are like you. They arrive at an inn and open their door, invite the people in, show us their books, and they talk to us and we talk to them; they eat our food and in our way; their books are written in our character and contain good words. These foreigners love us, and we love them; they would never hurt us, and we would never hurt them.'

" 'But the other kind of foreigners,' the boy continued, 'are different; they shut the door on reaching the inn, and will let no one see them; . . . they do not love us, and we do not love them" (170).

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domestic setting back in Edinburgh, because this image shows how a domestic scene founded in a British idea integrates a degree of characteristic Chinese interior decoration (bamboo, red scrolls). The bamboo and calligraphy of the scrolls evoke a domesticated wildness that the English missionaries faced daily in the rural mountain areas of Szechuan province. The level of detailed description speaks to the author's hunger for a refuge among familiar forms, given her recurring experiences with violent Chinese mobs and filthy inns. Bird Bishop's framing of the scene, like a photograph, focuses on what interests her, as much as what might fascinate the British armchair traveler who might be incredulous at the thought of this civilized spot existing in Western China. Though it is March 31st, the Christmas cards hardly seem incongruous. In fact, they add to the "daintiness" with their ability to conjure up the coziness of home during the holidays. "Whitewashed walls," "books and flowering plants" point to a domesticity not ordinarily found among the Chinese, and not even among the long-time English missionaries of Paoning Fu. These isolated women have transmuted their nostalgia into something to sustain themselves in this foreign wilderness. But Bird Bishop no longer has even the possibility of returning home to Hennie or John Bishop, or even to her old narrative home, only memories of shared warmth. Nostalgia and elegy are linked in this scene by the material objects and their ability to point at both the past and present.

Nostalgia or elegy for Victorian domesticity and the adaptation of femininity to foreign contexts produce narratives that revisit certain woman-centered themes accessible to the reading audience back home, but also provide evidence for the explorer's femininity. The common recurrence of the topics discussed in following sections (lodging, bodies, and clothing) shows how authors affirmed femininity in a Chinese context which continually

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challenged the travelers' value of themselves as British and female. Every woman traveler must hit these points of information familiar to the contemporary British reader. Simultaneously, she must avoid certain topics (bodily functions) in order to affirm her ladylike propriety, in turn affirming the reader's sensibilities about her social status. At the same time, the more "unsavory" topics are entered upon as confirmations of having seen China, and without touching upon certain key concepts deemed to be characteristic of the British and Chinese encounter, the author runs the risk of losing credibility with the reader, who has preconceived notions of what the British traveler in China ought to encounter. However, the nostalgic or elegiac tone in the narrative symbolizes a leavetaking of the subjective women's narrative in favor of the harder realities that Bird Bishop narrates, as part of the scramble for China in which she participates, indicated by her narrative's opening dedication. The pretty missionary home of women is isolated, only a temporary respite for Bird Bishop's movement through a wilderness, literal and literary.

Bird Bishop's Personal History of Violent Encounter

A woman's travel narrative is often deemed too subjective or emotional without being structured by intellectual rigor, or close encounters with native people, but Bird Bishop's narrative presents her reactions to some of the most threatening moments seen in narratives recounting travel through late nineteenth-century China.

Chapters and sometimes even single paragraphs abruptly shift between a more "objective" moment (the more empirical and measurable phenomena recorded by Bird Bishop and others) and a more "subjective" moment (the traveler's personal recorded reaction to the Chinese experience). In some cases, the objective tone can be seen as containing or confining

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the subjective tone to certain degrees, to prevent the potential for endless expansion of emotional reaction. Proper language exists to describe physical characteristics, whereas for women like Bird Bishop it does not fully exist to describe physical violence and its trauma. Reading the narrative as a rhetorical reaction to patriarchal norms, whether Chinese or British, presents a stronger interpretation of otherwise disjointed moods. The verbal expression of self becomes constricted, though the more self-renunciatory and socially acceptable aspect of elegy is allowed to emerge in a more pervasive way throughout the narrative.

The switch between perspectives demonstrating the personal effort to gain emotional control emerges markedly when she describes her reaction to an attack from the townsmen of Liang-shan Hsien, northwest Szechuan province, in late February 1897. Her sedan chair had been surrounded by a mob who physically threaten her.

> My nerves were somewhat shaken, and for some weeks I never entered the low-browed gate of a city without more or less apprehension.
>
> Liang-shan is an ancient and striking city. In the long, narrow main street, the houses turn deep-eaved gables . . . There are many fine temples (I, 324).

Anguished personal reaction in the first paragraph abruptly cuts off to shift into a more objective guidebook tone, as if the latter mode is a safe haven. A moment of personal confession has been safely enclosed within the discourse of her work. Here Bird Bishop seems to work consciously against what Sara Mills has discussed in the reception of women's travel writing as being autobiographical, confessional in tone, which "downgrades the value of texts as emotional overflow" (109). These moments of personal encounter with native hostility allegorize the battle for British superiority and imperial interests.

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The release of pure emotion becomes relief, as if feelings were waste products on the trail. Indeed, the anonymous reviewer of Bird Bishop's Korean narrative suggests as much in his express preference for the bowelless pilgrim. Writing about early March 1897, Bird Bishop finally unleashes her fury on paper after another mob incident in Siao-Kiao, a small town in Western Szechuan province. She abruptly cuts off her diatribe, her narrative release with an admission of physical relief in her verbal evacuation. "The mannerless, brutal, coarse, insolent, conceited, cowardly roughs of the Chinese towns, ignorant beyond all description, live in a state of filth which is indescribable and incredible, in an inconceivable beastliness of dirt, among odours which on existing words can describe . . . Having relieved my hoarded disgusts by these remarks, I will proceed with my narrative" (I: 364-5). After stoically enduring numerous verbal assaults from natives, this release seems natural and overdue to the reader. The rhetorical consequence of artificially cutting off her real emotional response in favor of "proceeding" with the objective mode results in stopping up her narrative with an apologia for mandarins' seeming lack of helpfulness to Europeans.

The narrative frequently shifts to the style seen in the second paragraph above. Abrupt narrative shifts like the kind above emerge when she is overwhelmed by her reactions to the human scene, propelling her to retreat into a physical description of the landscape or cursory facts about population and products manufactured in the region. In the paragraph following the statement "I often thought Chinese travelling an utter abomination!" she talks about human interests in this part of Szechuan:

> Even the most monotonous part of the route had many interests and some novelties. It is a marvel how the intense homogeneity of China, its apparent inflexibility and its actual grooviness, are incessantly disturbed by local custom. The race, it

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> is true, is always the same, and the general features of the costume; every Chinese not a convict has a shaven head and a long queue, and every woman hobbles on deformed feet; but when it comes to environments they differ from day to day, and sometimes from hour to hour. (I: 366)

Bird Bishop's means of transportation through Western China allows her to make these observations and at the same time aggravate the hostile confrontations, because she uses an open sedan chair. Chloe Chard's idea of the traveler transforming into the tourist attraction is affirmed by this symbol of power.[84] The sight of a woman carried aloft is an "abomination" to the all-male crowds, as much as walking down the street alone, claims Bird Bishop, as she begins the description of her arrival in Liang-shan Hsien, a small city north of Chungking on a Yangtze tributary. A photograph of herself seated in the open sedan chair is nowhere to be found, though it may have been an omission caused more by adverse environmental factors affecting photographic production rather than self-censorship. In Volume I she inserts a photograph of a "Lady's Sedan Chair (Chinese Propriety)" which is a closed box, with no woman to be seen inside or outside (Figure 6).[85] She confirms her violation of propriety in her recommendations for better English-Chinese relations in the future, advising the need to avoid two of her own violations of "scrupulous carefulness": "For instance, it is improper for a woman to 'ride' in a open chair . . . or to walk through the street of a town or village or to visit at native houses unattended by a middle-aged Chinese woman" (II: 316).

As a mode of transportation dependent upon human labor, the open sedan chair was used solely by the well-to-do. In fact, Bird Bishop and her rival in travel writing, Constance Gordon Cumming, both note that the richest and most powerful mandarins announce their

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[84] See Chloe Chard, "Women Who Transmute into Tourist Attractions."

[85] See I: 377.

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status by commanding the most carriers and servants clearing a path for the sedan chair traveling at the fastest possible speed. The abomination of a European woman appropriating this symbol of conquering power may be better understood by the implications of John Thomson's self-portrait, "As we went about Hong Kong [circa 1868-69]" (Figure 6). In this studio photograph he has seated himself in an open sedan chair carried by coolies. While the swagger of Thomson's pose may be interpreted as partly the consequence of the camera angle tilting up to suggest a more "heroic" appearance, he has lifted up one leg over a carrying pole and looks down disdainfully at the viewer. Thompson's posture moves in the direction of satirizing the European's self-importance. But the superciliousness of the gesture is unmistakable, whether the viewer interprets it as an earnest or mocking text. The open sedan chair, used literally as a prop in the photograph, is a staging area for the Europeans' physical difference and perceived economic aggression. Though Thomson may exaggerate here, his photograph offers sound insight into Bird Bishop's poor reception in small cities and towns.

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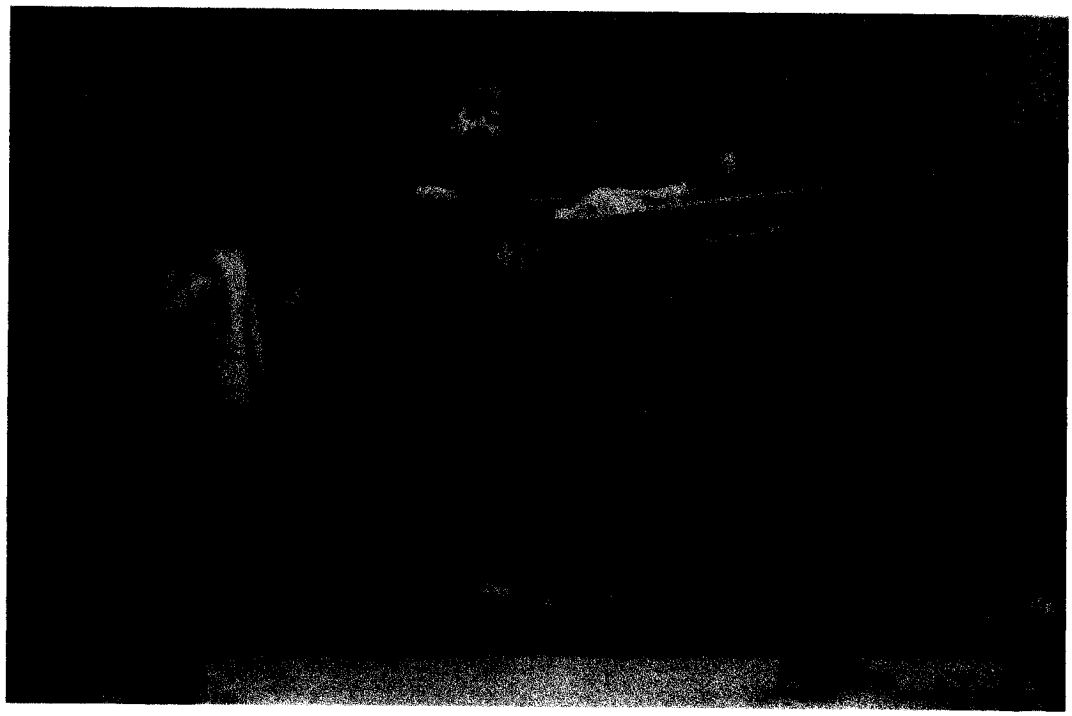
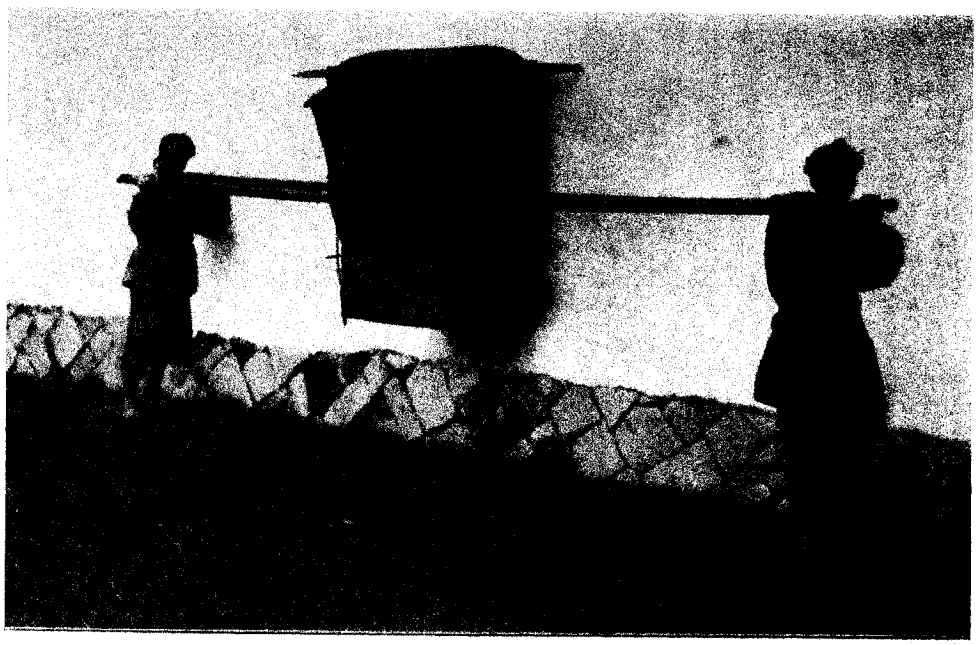


Figure 6.



377 LADY'S SEDAN CHAIR (CHINESE PROPRIETY)

Figure 7.

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On February 26, 1897, the first dramatic episode occurs near the city of Liang-shan Hsien. The first violent episode of the day occurs on the road, and the second one at the night's lodging. Until this point, the narrative's constant repetition of name-calling and mobs of men has taught the reader to expect drama, though not necessarily violence. The number of episodes pile up, inviting speculation about how this tension will be resolved. The explosion of violence satisfies the threat with action.

> men began to pour into the roadway from every quarter, hooting, and some ran ahead – always a bad sign. . . . The crowd became dense and noisy; there was much hooting and yelling. I recognised many cries of *Yang kwei-tze!*(foreign devil) and *'Child-eater!'* swelling into a roar; . . . my chair was struck repeatedly with sticks; mud and unsavoury missiles were thrown with excellent aim; a well-dressed man, bolder or more cowardly than the rest, hit me a smart whack across my chest, which left a weal; others from behind hit me across the shoulders; the howling was infernal: it was an angry Chinese mob. (I: 320)

Her boldest assailant is a well-dressed man, implying he is a scholar-leader. Indeed, many British observers claimed popular anti-foreigner actions were provoked by the literati, rather than working-class men. Actual physical contact from such a man transgresses what the Victorians assumed to be a universal, unspoken code of public male-female relations.[86] Therefore, the narration of this misadventure illuminates not only the simmering anger against an aggressive European presence in Western China, but also the British construction of the gentlewoman collapsing in the face of intercultural contact – she is simply another white face dressed in an outlandish outfit.[87]

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[86] See Langland (57) on how class markers in middle-class women's clothing enabled safe passage and respect in the most dangerous places.

[87] Bird Bishop recounts this episode briefly, combining her assaults, in a letter about her experience of Szechuanese unfriendliness to the Editor of the Times (28 September 1896, p. 9). Within a context of rather

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The violence described above is shocking because threats inherent in the verbal assaults along the journey have escalated into physical danger. These attacks are repeated to even worse effect a few hours later at the city of Peng Hsien, west of Liang-shan Hsien. "Volleys of stones hailed on the chair, and a big one hit me a severe blow at the back of my ear, knocking me forwards and stunning me. . . . I had a violent pain in my head, and the symptoms of concussion of the brain, and felt a mortifying inclination to cry. The cowards, as usual, attacked from behind" (I:64).

The tension of this drama is accompanied by the one brewing in the would-be domestic scene at the inn. Even in a "fine inn" she is harassed by a male crowd. As soon as her servant-translator Be-dien leaves to complain to the yamen officials, the mob begins to beat at her door. The narrative's dramatic tension increases, leading the reader to believe the worst is about to happen to a single, defenseless woman who has already been publicly attacked. "I deplored my helpless condition – faint, giddy, and with a cracking headache, and an unmannerly crowd of men ready to burst in. The bolt and barricade were on the verge of yielding, when the mandarin's secretary and another official arrived, and at once produced order" (I:66). In the end, we are relieved at the timely appearance of justice, but this dramatic moment of salvation is tempered greatly by Bird Bishop's belief that the local officials could have prevented the disturbance. The need for intervention by native male authority hardly diminishes the affective power of Bird Bishop's escape from danger, since her very status as an Englishwoman demands (for the late nineteenth-century reader) an authority to act on her behalf at the moment of extreme crisis.

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mundane sports statistics and weather forecasts, her adventure, though recounted in a more terse, journalistic style, again seems to fulfill a more dramatic function.

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The battle is only half over when entrance into the inn has been gained; the troubled possession of the room for the rest of the night shows the battle between Bird Bishop's will to be the observer of native life, while native men insist on keeping her in the position of the observed object. At country inns, flimsy cambric curtains test the civility of the locals, who constantly wish to satisfy their curiosity about her activities. Not initially listed as part of her traveling supplies, the curtains at first appear almost frivolous. But Bird Bishop finds them necessary to keep the "sloping eyes" at bay (I: 298). Cambric curtains deter these eyes, but ordinary walls do not, an oddity that Bird Bishop does not try to analyze. The men peep at her by slowly scraping holes into the plaster wall from the next room, followed by "the application of a succession of eyes to the hole, more whispering, and some giggling" (I: 305). The "row of patient eyes usually watched me for an hour, and with much gratification" her candlelit "barbarian proceedings." These men have the ability to turn Bird Bishop into the object of their gaze by manipulating familiar materials in order to frame their voyeurism. They will not touch the cambric curtains, a more authentically "foreign" material to these natives, enforcing the separateness of Western civilization that native-made plaster cannot offer. Putting up the curtains is a gesture that covers her person with her own resources, not unlike a tent that must be pitched in the ground in Galton's guidebook to traveling in the African bush.

Violent encounters with mobs of native men constitute the most dramatic highlights of the narrative's anti-foreigner plot, where the English traveler must always be on guard against the unpredictable Chinese natives. Bird Bishop supports the truth of this violent narrative thread with references to the 1895 missionary attacks at Tientsin. The drama of life and death in these mob scenes evokes the male adventure tale, similar to native attack scenes in Gulliver's

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Travels and Robinson Crusoe. The phenomenon of the all-male mob threatening bodily damage brings a sexualized twist to the adventure tale. That the sight of a white woman's body causes this violent outburst goes a long way towards affirming the suspicion that the highly civilized Chinese cannot be counted upon to recognize and respect the sanctity of a gentlewoman's person representing British interests. These individual battles metonymize the greater struggle to assert authority in the Yangtze River valley, the general area designated as the British sphere of influence.

Visual Narrative of History through Photography

Photography becomes more and more important to Bird Bishop's later travels in Asia, illustrating her narrative with images that have been regarded among the best ones housed in the Royal Geographical Society (London) photographic archives. Nearly eighty illustrations are sprinkled throughout the two volumes of The Yangtze Valley, where approximately thirty-five images are Bird Bishop's own photographic work. Many more images exist in the RGS archive, on glass plates; it is not known precisely how many glass plate negatives did not survive the rough conditions for exposure, processing, and transport. A number of reasons may exist for why certain "key" photographs do not appear in the narrative. Bird Bishop discusses the precarious state of maintaining a photographic practice on the road, such as the arduous nature of processing film and prints onboard small riverboats, and the frequent threats to the equipment from rocky terrain, damp weather, and accidents. She writes in The Yangtze Valley and Beyond with a sense of "complacent superiority" for her improvised darkroom; she discovered the best way to wash hypo solution (fixing agent) from film is to dangle it in the river. She does not gloss over recurring problems with space and existing materials, remarking

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that "Printing was a great difficulty, and I only overcame it by hanging the printing-frames over the side [of the boat]" and that the silty water could not be filtered fully, as she explains to the "critic" who "will see from some of the illustrations" (I:230). Given these impromptu accommodations for her work, she remarks that "When all these rough arrangements were successful, each print was a joy and a triumph, nor was there disgrace in failure" (I: 231). Any photographic image captured and printed under such conditions becomes valuable in itself.

Her interest in photography seems to have reinvigorated her travels, balancing out the grief and personal emptiness other critics have described as her motivations to continue her travels. In a letter to Mr. Keltie of the Royal Geographical Society, en route to England via Korea and Malta, she writes of her enthusiasm for this new skill:

> As you originally put me in the way of getting me a camera and starting on photographing through Mr Thomson [photographer famous for his images of China and East End London], you may be interested to hear that I am bringing back over 1200 photographs. I am almost ashamed to say that photography has become a complete craze. I like it better than any pursuit I ever undertook and if I should ever have time to give to the technique of the art, I hope to improve considerably. (March 10, 1897)

Nineteenth-century travel photography required the manipulation of glass plates and chemicals that were unwieldy even in regular studios, so Bird Bishop's ability to produce so many images to bring home indicates not simply the tourist's interest in taking snapshot souvenirs but an encyclopedic accounting of her Korean and Chinese experiences. The photographic archives of the RGS support this assertion, as numerous unpublished images from this Asian sojourn are housed there. Her dedication to photography required a great deal of technical facility and ingenuity on the road, suggesting a narrative imperative tied to this hobby.

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Bird Bishop's heavy reliance upon photographs in The Yangtze Valley points to the photographer's belief that many images must be taken before encountering a good one, but more importantly points to the nineteenth-century belief in photography's scientific realism. The reader of this narrative no longer relies solely upon the verbal narrative for proof of the Chinese empire's vast underused resources and its backwardness, but there are approximately one hundred photographs taken by Bird Bishop documenting the current state of China. The photographs comprising the visual narrative portray an old, sometimes decaying Chinese empire, not unlike those featured in Archibald Little's narrative as well as a rural frontier populated by an ancient, indigenous people. The sheer number and variety of the images in The Yangtze Valley cannot be categorized around a single theme because they show the range of occupations, buildings, landscapes to greater effect than Little's narrative, which features sixteen photographs (taken by his wife Alicia Little) and a map borrowed from Bird Bishop's work. The images in Bird Bishop's narrative altogether suggest an effort to show all parts of the Chinese experience that have begun to be incorporated into the British informal empire. Such an appropriation is signaled by the frontispiece, where Bird Bishop has been photographed in a studio, dressed in the Manchu costume that is her most frequently reproduced portrait (Figure 8). Dressing in the costume of China's non-native rulers signals her alignment with the foreign rulership, replacing the Manchurian body with the European body inside the official dress of the ruler. Clothing is a disguise that allows the foreign rulers to be interchangeable.

Clothing also marks weakness, as seen in the photographs of Chinese military men. Their appearance represents the Chinese sense of their superiority and hold over their East

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Asian tributary countries as a self-delusional and gravely faulty mindset. Part of the British experience in China includes poor perceptions of China's military, whose appearance and training seem outrageously ill-prepared compared to more Westernized forms of warfare. The Sino-Japanese War proved China's perceptions of military prowess to be disastrous, in the confrontations with Japan's armies newly trained and equipped with the Westernized machines and techniques for killing. Bird Bishop does not fail to satisfy the reader's curiosity about the Chinese Empire's military in her illustrations and photographs. The first volume contains a watercolor painting of "Chinese Soldiers" practicing with riflery but dressed in elaborate silky outfits (I: 132). Their military officer is a wan looking man with poor posture and even silkier garments (I: 133); the effeminacy of their warlike posture is emphasized by the watercolor genre used to depict them (Figure 9).



Figure 8.

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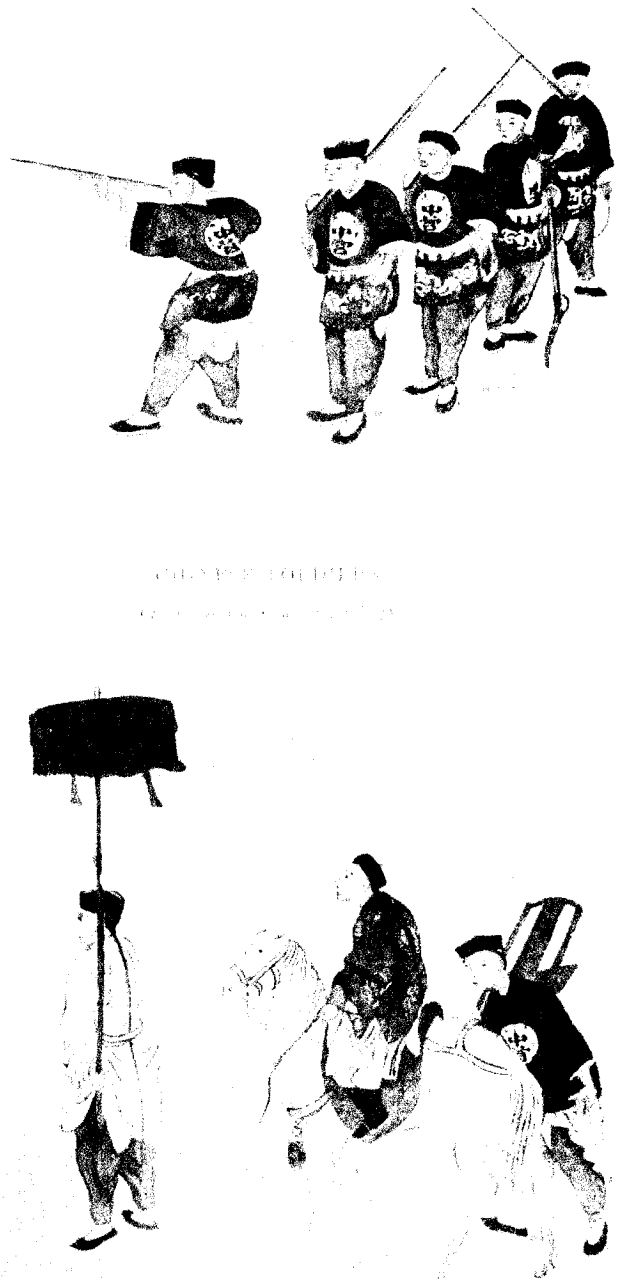


Figure 9.

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The second volume offers Bird Bishop's photographs of the soldiers she encountered, where the reality presents an even less effective-looking soldiery than suggested by the watercolors. A photograph entitled "Chung-King Soldiers, Customs Guard" (Figure 10) is among the last four images in the volume, and the silky garments of the watercolor paintings seem to have grown more exaggerated and more a matter of decoration than military necessity. These soldiers wear sandals made of strips of leather, and bear no arms, though they wear straw hats with outrageously wide brims, broad enough to be swept off their heads in the slightest breeze. Nothing in this image suggests the ability to protect or charge anyone going through customs, and even less the ability to protect themselves from aggression.



Figure 10.

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The photograph entitled "Chinese Officer and Spearmen, Mia-ko" (Figure 11) shows readers Bird Bishop's own adversary, the officer ordered to keep Bird Bishop from entering Tibet as she approaches the far Western border of Szechuan province. The bleak, rocky aspect emphasizes their isolation and engagement in a kind of defense seen in other native tribesmen elsewhere in the British Empire. Native men lining the pathway are dressed in their padded woolen clothing, bearing spears, while the Chinese officer sits astride a horse, with another soldier seated behind him. This seated officer directly faces Bird Bishop with a clear path between them. This man is named in her narrative as a dampening effect on the freedom she had experienced while moving through the Man-tze territory, where a non-Chinese indigenous population live. This armed Chinese mounted officer with baggage and servant descends and attaches himself to her party, with "orders to keep me in view, whether to help or hinder I knew not, but strongly suspected the latter" (II:183). This officer threatens the safety of the whole party because of his fear of the Man-tze Other, instilled in him through Chinese cultural training to have fear of these "savages" (the actual Chinese definition of the term "man-tze"). This photograph represents the ongoing battles between Bird Bishop and the *chai-jen* (local magistrates) and the yamen (officials in charge of foreigners) which we might read as a battle between the British and the Chinese government over gaining access to the Western border of Szechuan to establish the long-coveted path from India into Western China.

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193 CHINESE OFFICER AND SPEARMEN, MIA-KO

Figure 11.

Upon their approach to Somo Territory in Szechuan province bordering Tibet, Bird Bishop and her entourage use photography as a defensive weapon, to prevent the *chai-jen* from passing her and overtaking her traveling companion Mr. Kay, a lay member of the Church Missionary Society, and an additional interpreter to the original Chinese interpreter, Be-dien (II: 97). The *chai-jen* interest lies in keeping foreigners from exploring paths through Tibet into India. Bird Bishop follows many male travelers in this attempt to push the boundaries of the British sphere of influence, such as Captain Augustus Margary. Margary's search for a way through Szechuan to Tibet was cut short by local magistrates who ordered his murder in 1875. This murder excited the indignation of British officials to demand that all British nationals be

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protected on their passage through this region. Margary's death is evoked in the act of harassment by the Chinese soldier sent to "guard" Bird Bishop and colors the scene below. The party's hopes of reaching Somo are about to be killed off, but not without the use of technology to fight their battle.

> I had seen them [the other two chai-jen], with much mystery, slip a letter into his [third horseman] hand, after which he tried to get in front of me. I jumped out of the [sedan] chair, and set up my tripod on the narrow road, which he could not pass, and after a long attempt at photography, baffled by the wind, told him and the others to keep behind, and not to leave me. The horseman kept trying to get in front, but as the path is very narrow and mostly on the edge of a precipice, I managed to dodge him the whole way by holding a large umbrella first on one side, and then on the other!" (II: 148)

Bird Bishop's continual use of the camera throughout her journey and the highly descriptive nature of her narrative both lend themselves to Barthesian interpretation of photographs. Barthes's own facility at interpreting a culture's symbols (that is, his own Western culture's symbols of hegemony) found resistance in his attempt to read the Chinese, during his own trip to China in 1975.[88] Perhaps this earlier ambiguous effort at interpreting the Chinese prepared him for the analysis in Camera Lucida, which goes right to the point of what may attract both the narrator and the reader in Bird Bishop's scenes both photographed and unphotographed: "I understood at once that its existence (its 'adventure') derived from the co-presence of two discontinuous elements, heterogeneous in that they did not belong to the same world . . . the soldiers and the nuns" (23). Barthes' photograph, taken by Koen Wessing,, captures Sandinista soldiers and nuns on the same street corner, during Nicaragua's civil insurrections of the late 1970s to early 1980s (Figure 12). An overpowering sense of uneasiness

[88] See Alors la chine? And for an earlier Western-inflected interpretation of Japan, see The Empire of Signs.

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is expressed by the second nun clutching her cross as she crosses the street, looking at the soldiers who do not pay any heed to the sisters. The violent marriage of two disparate worlds in one frame also clearly applies to the scene recorded by Bird Bishop above, in the clash between the inadequate soldier and the Western camera, who becomes the proxy British soldier protecting Bird Bishop.



Figure 12.

The detail that jumps out at the viewer of Barthes' photograph is the nun clutching her cross as she looks at the soldiers, who do not return her gaze. This detail, or the punctum, in Barthes' terminology, attracts the eye because it causes the viewer to question his or her own system of beliefs. Such appeal to personal sentiment lies beyond the realm of propriety or taste, which are tied to specific places in time. The punctum, therefore, is separate from the studium,

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which Barthes defines with the question, "to what *date* does it refer me?" (my emphasis, 43). The photographic image freezes time, yet the affective power of the image lies in provoking the viewer to defy time, just as the photograph defies time by preserving the living moment of what has already passed into history. Setting up a camera to stop the Chinese officer symbolizes Bird Bishop's attempt to contain the action, as well as a defiance of death. If Margary had been pursued in a similar fashion, Bird Bishop endeavors to redress that mental photograph.

"My, What Big Feet You Have!": Footbinding as History

If the British body represents the site where colonial history is written, when history shapes literal and social bodies, then Bird Bishop's narrative recognizes this means of historiography in her portrait where she is dressed as a Manchu woman, and in her encounters with native women. Clothing expresses bodily anxiety, as seen in a close encounter narrated by traveler Mary Gaunt, who experienced episodes with Chinese women inspecting her with more than usual care, echoing Montagu's experience in the Turkish harem, and for her, recalling her encounter with lightly-clad native African women in her 1912 West African adventure.[89] The Chinese women focus on her feet, representing to her a very symbolic site of the social body's anxiety:

> They felt my boots so much, good, substantial, leather-built by Peter Yapp, that at last I judged they would like to see what was underneath, and took off a boot and stocking for their inspection, and the way they felt my foot up and down as if it were something they had never before met in their lives, amused me very much. At least at first it amused me, and then it saddened me. (Gaunt 194)

Gaunt feels sadness for women who have never known a healthy woman's foot. It occurs in a moment when she reveals herself as an object of study, reversing her subject position with

[89] See Alone in West Africa.

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people who are ostensibly her object of study. This familiar cultural encounter becomes a scene fraught with anxiety over agency. Cultural difference and self-awareness in both cases are driven by questioning the socially accepted restraints for the female body. Gaunt and Montagu, however, end up disempowered by the implicit cultural critique from the native inspectors. Their critique takes apart the culturally constructed material that allows their British bodies to take certain shapes, according to the degrees of constriction.

Acknowledgment of self-fashioning through fashion places British women's travel narratives in the most unique position of all British travelers to China when they enter into the discourse on Chinese women's bodies. Victorian mores, particularly those of the middle classes, are often characterized (even caricatured) by a prudish discourse on bodies and sexuality, notably the fearful treatment of "limbs" (ankles, feet).[90] To be so restrained at home makes the prevalence of the bound foot trope more laden with potential meaning. The traveler's inevitable discussion of the Chinese woman's foot clearly highlights self-repression and desires to control discourses on the body, as well as the fulfillment of authenticity issues – to have been in China, one needs to have seen this exotica. Bird signals the prevalence of the footbinding trope when she punctuates her section on footbinding with the remark, "[t]he footbinding process is too well known to need any description," after giving the anatomical details of the process. To be a woman in China only adds to the pressure of exploring this cultural phenomenon.

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[90] While Foucault's view of the Victorians is often common currency now, his characterization has flattened and simplified them when we consider his theory's easy linkage between the English and Continental Catholic thought. Michael Mason brings a more carefully considered perspective, tempered by regional specificity to bear on this stereotype, noting that others (French, Americans) often exaggerated the degree of prudery in English language of the day. "In general," Mason notes, "there is a suspiciously small repertoire of linguistic usages which is continually cited in the literature about English prudery" (130), where the French may have inadvertently originated the euphemisms through poor translations.

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Explicating Chinese women's bodies becomes the means of politicizing British women's bodies, using a foreign site to fight the ideological battles at home. Western feminism is sometimes better digested in its exoticized guise, a displacement discussed by feminist historians such as Antoinette Burton, who examines the moral conflicts between English and Indian women.[91] For Bird Bishop, the Englishwoman's body is discussed indirectly but effectively through participation in the ongoing dialogue about footbinding.[92] For instance, it is far easier to discuss the gory details of little girls' feet turning black with gangrene as a justification for their need to be free of patriarchal demands on their bodies, than it is for these Englishwomen to publicly demand the abolition of the corset. It is therefore easier to critique one's own group through this detour. Bird Bishop notes caustically, "the weak feminine nature desires to secure the admiration which in poetry, prose, and common speech is bestowed on the 'golden lilies'" (I: 349). Travel automatically places the writer in an outsider position relative to her own culture and the one observed, rendering her cultural critique objective in two different ways and yet doubly suspect.

For British travelers in the more colonized parts of the Empire, wearing English clothing represented power not only to the native observer, but also reassured the wearer of her inclusion in colonial society. According to Dea Birkett, the explorers were iconoclasts who "silently" rejected the usual dress code, while surrounded by fellow Europeans. Proper dress meant wearing the corset and full skirts, as for women in other British controlled areas. But "outside of the colonial compound, . . . they exploited and exaggerated these same trappings to

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[91] See Burdens of History, her study on British feminists working to repeal the Contagious Diseases Act of India from 1869 to 1886, an extension of the Contagious Diseases Act controlling prostitution in Britain.

[92] Bird Bishop footnotes Little's work with the Anti-Footbinding Movement in China in The Yangtze Valley.

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their own advantage, donning in the bush the symbols of colonialism they had shunned amongst Europeans" (116).[93] A double standard existed for a woman traveler's separate worlds; iconoclasm in the bush was marked by complete Victorian traveling dress, not going native. Where British power was more readily acknowledged by the natives, such a fashion show was more useful for gaining power and favors, but its efficacy is not supported by Bird, who claims she modifies her usual outfits for physical safety and comfort, yet not completely camouflaging herself, suggesting a desire for provocation and attention.

Even in the mission houses, amongst other British women, Western dress was not seen, as missionaries adopted Chinese costume to gain the trust of local natives. Their meticulous Chinese costume contrasts greatly with the "olla podrida" of the women travelers, to use Bird Bishop's term for her hybridized outfit. "I wore straw sandals over English tan shoes, to avoid slipping," she writes, "and this they regarded as a confession of foreign inferiority. I was wearing a Chinese woman's dress with a Japanese *kurumaya's* hat, the one perfect travelling hat, and English gloves and shoes, and this *olla podrida* was an annoyance to them" (I: 307). In one of the mob scenes discussed above, Mrs. Horsburgh, a missionary's wife, passes in safety because of her "closed chair" and "scrupulously accurate Chinese dress" (II: 62). European authority must masquerade or participate in cross-dressing with the Chinese style, affirming the old adage that China's conquerors become the conquered: while others may politically force their way into the Chinese population, the Chinese culture seduces and covers up the outsider's difference.

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[93] Birkett's idea in Spinsters Abroad is supported by Birgitta Ingemanson, who claims that the adherence to a strict clothing code was a means of carrying the stability of home partly as a façade of propriety for carrying out other more independent activities (5-6).

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English fashions were considered indecorous for showing off so much of the figure – the woman's waist was often noted as a point of great consternation, for instance.[94] In contrast, the bagginess and lack of stays in Chinese costume allowed for "full development of the figure," causing Bird to remark that Chinese costume is so comfortable, she cannot "take kindly to European dress" upon returning home (II: 350). Eschewing corset-wearing was the first step in the transition to loose-fitting Chinese clothing, but some women's bodies could not withstand the looseness for lack of adequate muscle tone. If English clothing symbolized power and protection for the traveler, discarding it suggests a disavowal of that patriarchal system's protection and controls, especially in discarding the corset and stays that constantly bind the sense of home to one's body. Adherence to these foundational garments symptomatize the colonial woman's obsession with affirming the boundary between white and Other. But is it a loss of power, when her figure, her womanliness, is granted the necessary space to realize itself in its natural shape? The power, then, comes from within herself, not from an imposed structure. Even though she appropriates parts of a different feminine aesthetic, the modified outfit androgynizes the woman traveler's body and her point of view.[95]

Bird Bishop's narrative constructs an exotic kind of English femininity expressed by a hybridized appearance, which can only exist in isolation from other Europeans and colonial institutions. Having taken liberties with replacing the parts of English femininity with various

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[94] E.G. Kemp and her sister unexpectedly meet with a woman in Yunnan who differed in her aesthetic assessment on British dress and decorum. " . . .although we did not understand anything she said, the subject was very obvious, as she pointed to her own waist (or rather the place where it should be visible) and then at ours, after which she made a small circle with her fingers and said, pointing at us, "Very pretty." Who would have dreamt that such a thing could have happened in China, where a visible waist is considered so extremely improper!" (219).

[95] For Alicia Little, partially adopting Chinese costume renders her androgynous to herself and her observers, as she recounts in Intimate China (1899).

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convenient parts of Chinese femininity or masculinity, this appearance becomes even more distinct when placed in contrast to the norms for either the English or Chinese community. Such women out on the trail become a community unto themselves. The descriptions given by Bird and Alicia Little represent instances that "present idealized worlds of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure" (166-7). Mary Louise Pratt terms this fantasy construction of the woman traveler and writer as a "feminotopia" (168). [96] This ideal state, like other utopias, exists in isolation from known society, and is shrouded in myth, such as the Somo Territory that Bird Bishop enters at the climax of her journey.

If feminotopia is predicated on isolation, then footbinding, to the British woman, reinforces a Chinese feminodystopia. Footbinding is the specter that haunts all British travelers to China, a sign of civilization's slavery to stifling tradition. Its image reminds the British of what they could have been, allowing to feel morally superior for espousing progress and greater equality of the sexes. It also forces some travelers, such as Bird Bishop, to reconsider how their own bodies are bound by culturally sanctioned apparatus. The freedom of a woman traveler emerges most clearly in the contrast with the physical imprisonment of Chinese women's feet. However, the traveler's freedom is elusive, ultimately contained by hegemonic controls, as Bird Bishop comes to discover in Somo Territory.

A veiled critique on corseting emerges in Bird Bishop's discussion of footbinding's horrors, which she notes has been rehearsed so many times that she need not revisit it, but does so anyway. The bound foot is a distinguishing feature of the Han Chinese woman, as the small waist is the hallmark of the Victorian British woman. The analogy between the two means of

[96] Pratt notes that the feminotopia in Chile takes on a "decidedly orientalist flavor" (168) in Maria Graham's travel narrative. This is also true for Bird and Little, suggesting that the autobiographical travel narrative is inherently an orientalist or exotic genre, one that constructs the traveler herself as the object of her own exoticizing gaze.

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shaping women's bodies and minds derives from the sociopolitical symbolism attached to women's body shape and its place in the struggle for imperial domination.

Rather than treating the bound foot merely as a literary trope, it is important to historicize it – reattach it to the body politic, so to speak. Just as the corset and stays affirm the British woman's sense of inclusion in a nationalistic image of the proper body by literally being tied into an ideology, the woman's bound foot at this late period of Chinese imperial history marks a similar nationalistic pride and resistance to cultural dilution. In her study of footbinding's links to pained beauty as constructed by centuries of Chinese literature and history, historian Dorothy Ko discusses the cultural necessity of continued footbinding. Because the Ching rulers banned footbinding, its continued practice became constructed as Han [Chinese] women's defiance of their northern conquerors. Neither footbinding nor queued hair were attributes adopted by the Manchus, reinforcing their special Other status as conquerors..[97] The British women's movement to unbind feet, then, would have been interpreted as unraveling further an already embattled Chinese identity, in line with the Manchu agenda.

Consequently, anti-footbinding movements would have been problematic but for the rhetoric of Western-style modernization introduced in the late nineteenth century. China's humiliating defeat by Westernized Japan in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) brought this issue to the forefront. At this moment of cultural encounter the woman's body was at once the scapegoat and the secret weapon for China's problems in international relations. The root cause of China's stagnation stemmed from women literally bound in feudalistic paradigms, in turn trapping men into corresponding roles. Since tightly bound feet degenerated, the liberation of

[97] In these travel narratives, the "Ching" [Qing] label refers to the dynasty and its administrative apparatus, which included Han Chinese, the largest ethnic group in China. Its ruling elite class, the Manchus, were originally conquerors from Northern Asia, Manchuria.

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women's feet meant freedom from stagnant, gangrenous tradition in favor of collective efforts – women and men joined together – to change China. No longer would unbinding feet mean pledging allegiance to the foreign conquerors, the Manchu/Ching. It became, instead, an affirmation of hope for a strong independent China capable of joining the ranks of conquerors.

Therefore, Bird Bishop reiterates a prevailing but rapidly outdated idea when she says that a woman with big feet is "either denationalised or vile" (I: 347), especially in Western China. Through most of her travels in this region, bound feet were commonly seen, even in the women assisting the trackers hauling boats over the Yangtze river rapids. For Han Chinese women, seeing Bird Bishop's "big feet" (she wore a size 3 shoe [I: 346]) was a good reason to totter in from neighboring villages (I: 392). In turn, Bird viewed Chinese women's feet as "hooves," suggesting a demonic character to this fashion. Indeed, her view of Chinese women throughout the narrative is anything but positive, except for a few moments when she has had enough rest and relaxation to regain equanimity.

In contrast to such conspicuous display, the Chinese women "greatly object to show their uncovered feet" (I: 349). The comment shows attempts at anthropological examination with possible intrusiveness, yet a certain respectfulness of control over the display of their own bodies, similar to Bird Bishop's hanging of the cambric curtain to keep the eyes at bay. Descriptions of such feet, sometimes accompanied by illustrations or photographs in other narratives, are as intrusive as illustrations of Victorian women's bodies without corsets. Bird Bishop's description of anatomical underdevelopment in these women's feet parallels the British medical discourse on women's bodies after years of corseting. "[T]he development of the muscles of the calf having been checked, tapers from the knee to the foot," she writes, a

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description which stands out more for discussing aborted development rather than the stereotypical litany of physical tortures inflicted (I: 349). Similarly, contemporary medical advice on corsets points out underdevelopment of muscles, malformed rib cages, and rearranged internal organs.

Despite Bird Bishop's relatively "free" feet, it becomes clear to the reader that she is as encumbered and imprisoned by her body as the Chinese women by their feet. Taking the tack of not making the "regular" stages on the overland journey according to the placement of country inns, she successfully avoids angry mob scenes, and the uncomfortable seclusion for the duration of the stay, as discussed above (I: 380). The alteration of her travel itinerary, because of commotion caused by male indignation over her physical appearance, actually brings her into closer contact with native women because she lodges in rural or village family homes, where women's requests for an "exhibit" are "cheerfully" responded to (I: 346). The irony of Bird Bishop's willing transformation into a local destination after avoiding painful spectacle seems lost on Bird Bishop as she enjoys the special status accorded to her in the more pastoral village setting.

Feminotopia and the Body: Isabella Bird Bishop in Somo Territory

When Bird Bishop encounters non-Han Chinese women at the Western edges of Szechuan province, she strongly identifies with the confident women, partly because of their "big feet": they are tall, healthy-looking, "with something of the ease and freedom of Englishwomen" (II: 86). We are led to interpret the latter remark as referring to mobility and equality between sexes, which the Chinese do not accord Bird Bishop at this juncture. The Chinese warn Bird of leaving Ching jurisdiction for the semi-autonomous aboriginal lands of

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the Man-tze, who are considered dangerous partly because these barbarians reputedly poison strangers' meals, and are ruled by "a very great queen" (II: 121), two qualities that directly undermine Chinese values as Bird has presented them.[98] The aboriginal women with the natural feet consistently emerge as positive models from Volume II's pivotal chapters on the Westernmost reaches of Bird's travels, as a counterpoint to the harassing patriarchal figures of Ching officials claiming she would be harmed through contact with the Man-tze. Ironically, in their demands to keep tight rein on Bird Bishop, the Ching fail to recall their label of "Barbarian" has also been given to the European. Both Bird and the Ching officials see the same thing: the similarity between the aboriginal women and the European woman. At an even more profound level, the Ching government is government by non-Han Chinese barbarians as well, further illuminating the constructedness of the boundaries between outsider and insider in Western China. Further supporting the barbarian label is the fact that Manchu women never bound their feet, deeming it a lowly Han Chinese practice.

Bird Bishop's daring visit to the Man-tze people in Somo Territory, a hitherto unexplored region just outside of Szechuan province's northwestern border, becomes not only the reason for her narrative's public recognition, but the "empty center" that solidifies her China experience. I call this the empty center of her narrative because she finds more intellectual and emotional nourishment in this "blank space" on British maps than in the rest of her China experience. As a result of absenting the Ching officials and Chinese natives from the picture, she gains a sense of belonging, though with "barbarians." This sense of commonality

[98] Though Ching China was ruled by the Dowager Empress Ci Xi, it should be noted that she was officially a regent during her entire reign, as women were barred from the line of succession.

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with the Man-tze derives in part from a perceived physical similarity, which in turn leads to perceived similarities in male-female social equality.

Upon entering Somo Territory, a veritable "fairy-land of beauty and fragrant and aromatic odours" (II: 166), she describes an Elysium where the people are free of Chinese officialdom and offer hospitality untainted by currency exchange or suspicions about Bird Bishop's motives for her travels. She has reached a form of Pratt's feminotopia, to hear her describe this scene and the women in it. The women, she notes more than once, are "really beautiful, after a European type" (II: 167, 218). In fact, she declares them so far from any "Mongolian characteristics" that it is "impossible not to believe that these tribes are an offshoot of the Aryan race" (II: 228).[99] This beauty, not merely physical but manifested as dignified carriage, ultimately derives from "big" feet and concomitant good health (their "patrimony"). Unlike the tottering, segregated Han Chinese women, these strong women are capable of leading their people as a tribal chief, and represent the natural, innocent people that the Chinese can never be.

In the end, when we look at the consequences of Bird's encounter with the Man-tze people on her narrative, I would argue that the episode's power lies in its ability to focus Bird Bishop's cumulative experiences in Ching-ruled, Han Chinese-populated China. Bird Bishop's assessments of the orally transmitted Man-tze history crystallize not only her feelings about China's ways but her struggles with a deeply patriarchal society, whether Chinese or British.

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[99] Bird Bishop qualifies this assertion of Europeanness, by indicating hesitation over a direct one-to-one correspondence with the idea that their Europeanness "recalls the Latin races" (II: 218), a less favored, southern group. In fact, she is partly right in pointing our the more Caucasian features of the Man-tze's physical appearance, as these people are part of the ethnic mixture characteristic of the Silk Road and Central Asian groups.

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Bird Bishop's indignation at Chinese domination of Somo Territory best illustrates these layers of resentment over the patriarchal nature of imperialism and colonialism.

> Many a blackened ruin of a once happy Man-tze hamlet stirs the travelers' wrath, and it is hardly less aggravating to find Chinese families comfortably living in the picturesque dwellings of the slaughtered or expatriated aborigines. There were many tales told of the treachery of the "Barbarians," and of the necessity of extirpating them – such tales as are to be heard in America, Australia, and every land in which the stronger race has ousted the weaker one. (II:132)

Her sympathy clearly lies with the Man-tze, whose very Chinese name recalls deeds done against them in the name of "necessity" and more ominously, in tales handed down so formally as to become "history" or legal code. Bird Bishop is repeatedly told Chinese tales of Man-tze natives bent on proffering poisoned meals, which could be interpreted as draconian justifications for extermination. However, Bird Bishop's prior encounters with groups of Chinese men ready to exterminate her make it easy to envision the fury of patriarchy wishing to assert its hegemony over the Otherness signaled by bodies and, in this case, the buildings which are continually noted as having unique though unexplained architecture.

The ominous reference to Chinese families complacently ensconced in the death scenes of other homes signals an anger towards heterosexist tradition. It is an image of necrophilia taken one step further than the intermittent descriptions of funeral practices and ancestor worship. The living family, in this case, metaphorically feeds off the ashes of the natural residents, whose morals are noted by Bird Bishop to be less than exemplary yet blameless as children. This necrophilic family, then, necessarily eliminates unnecessary members in order to perpetuate itself, as well as molding its acceptable members according to this imperative. We have already seen an example of this heterosexist patriarchal paradigm's death impulse in the

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Chinese woman's bound feet: dying and death actually form the means of economic survival, as small feet lead to marriages.

Lastly, we are asked to question the validity of the British imperial project when its mission takes on an Asian face. Throughout the narrative Bird Bishop presents the reader with short notes of missionary perseverance and the haplessness of English mercantilism ("There is no prospect for Manchester [fabrics] in that quarter" [II: 217]), suggesting the overall tenuousness of the British presence. Unlike many other writers, Bird Bishop does not make a direct correspondence between the British and the Chinese for their common interest in imperial domination, partly because she is able to make the distinction between the Han Chinese and the Manchu Ching government ruling them. But the moment narrated by Bird Bishop thrusts forward the brutality inherent in creating the means for domestic happiness within an empire, and provides a sobering counterpoint to the intoxicating air of freedom that, to her, pervades Somo Territory.

Bird Bishop's inspection of the dwelling as evidence of colonization and imperialist impulses brings us to close on her use of "tales" as a means of ascertaining truth-value of her observations during her travels. This is especially true in a territory for which she admits to finding few written accounts. In her imagination the beliefs about the Man-tze are passed on as tales, perpetuated through the imprecision of human memory and oral transmission. She has learned to discount the tales told by the Chinese because of their obvious intent to intimidate her and to contain the unknowable – the uncivilizable Man-tze – which keeps them in thrall of their own sensational stories about poisoned food and matriarchal society. On the other hand, her time with the Man-tze notes her collection of folklore that comprise their tribal identity

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(Chapter 33 in particular). Unlike the more historically-minded Chinese whose history has been passed down through centuries of writing, the Man-tze cannot remember why the unique towers were built; they cannot even remember when they were free of Chinese interference. In this sense, they are the "weaker" tribe, in comparison to the power wielded by Chinese narrative. The stories seem apocryphal to Bird Bishop, but they have created enough credibility to warrant action, hence the evacuation of Man-tze houses for Chinese colonists living out the master narrative of Chinese superiority.

We are left wondering about the work performed by Bird Bishop's narrative, given this moment of self-reflection. Her return to Ching-controlled areas of Szechuan province is narrated in a subdued manner to the end. In fact, her comments about the Chinese are less emotionally charged and show less affront, as she rapidly skims over the return route. In Volume II, the change in descriptive tone argues for a deeper realization that she cannot divorce herself from the British-Chinese relationship and all its tensions, especially not after witnessing the physical and metaphysical annihilation at the center of her Elysium. The fairy-land that enchants her is unmoored from the reality that shapes her identity and purpose – she cannot fully participate in a matriarchal, morally loose (in her estimation), bartering society, except as a momentary escape.[100]

Closure: The "grooviness of thought and action"

If we regard Bird Bishop's work to be a historical work, attempting to examine deeply the situation of one part of the Chinese empire that interests the British, then the last three chapters, entitled "The Opium Poppy and Its Use," "Notes on Protestant Missions in China"

[100] According to Pat Barr, a similar impulse drives her away from Hawaii, right after she considers settling there with Henrietta.

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and "Concluding Remarks" forward the opinions that would be used as reference for others seeking to define their understanding of Anglo-China. While these chapters include general observations from her travel through Western China, Bird Bishop attempts to render her opinions within the context of predecessors while maintaining her positive interest in the Chinese, as she had expressed to Mr. Keltie of the RGS, "I have never been in a country so rich and interesting in detail" (Letter, April 29, 1897). She outlines the entrenchment of Chinese responses to Westerners and their continued presence in China, using the phrase "grooviness of thought and action" to describe the stasis in late nineteenth-century Szechuan province. The word "grooviness" refers specifically to dogmatic thought patterns, particularly those that keep the Chinese in thrall to traditional observances of ancestral rites, the beliefs that natural spirits inhabit the earth (as in feng shui practices), and the strict adherence to family structures that demand significant attention to extravagant burials of elders (to the detriment of living descendents, in the eyes of most European observers). Grooviness, to European observers such as Bird Bishop, is the product of blind adherence to predecedent, for better or worse, without consideration for individual thought on new ideas for accomplishing tasks. What is apparent is less the "grooviness" of the Chinese in this closure, but a similar reluctance on the part of the British point of view to be flexible and open to new perspectives on the purpose of an empire and human resources.

Regarding opium, she comes down on the side of those wishing to be rid of the connection between British trade and opium. She also forwards the opinions of others who feel the population has many groups that are hopelessly mired in the downward spiral of addition.

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We are told of the social consequences of this collective addition, which she estimates to be eighty percent in men, and forty percent in women found in Szechuan Province's larger cities.

> From all that I have seen and heard among the Chinese themselves, I have come to believe that even moderate opium smoking involves enormous risks, and that excessive smoking brings in its train commercial, industrial and moral ruin and physical deterioration, and this on a scale so large as to threaten the national well-being and the physical future of the race. (II: 293-4)

This is not an unusual position to take, but the seriousness of her tone derives from her observation and experience, as she has at least once tried to save a native woman from an opium overdose. She ends her chapter with references to British consuls and Chinese statesmen writing on the pernicious habit of opium smoking. Heavily credentialed by those whose knowledge "cannot be gainsaid" (II: 296), and larded with information derived from her travels, Bird Bishop's opinion is constructed as one to be reckoned with.

The chapter about Protestant missions offers a clear explanation of their educational aims, and declares that 80,000 Chinese were declared Christians in 1898, though that number fluctuates with varying degrees of family pressure, and other reasons causing religious lapses. Despite her silence on the efficacy of missions, she demonstrates a healthy interest in some missionary work, even promoting it with her own funds. More importantly, she offers the reader an assessment of the healthy state of imperialistic Christianity: "after long and careful inquiry I believe to be [a large body of native Christians] to be fully up to the average mark of our churches at home in essential knowledge, and above it in practice, especially in propagandist zeal and liberality" (II: 304-5). She also actively professes her belief in the necessary function of Christianity in the imperial project:

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> At this time missions constitute so important a factor in the awakening of the empire, that no sensible or thoughtful person can ignore them without sacrificing his reputation for both sense and thoughtfulness. If I venture to write of myself at all in connection with the subject, it is but to say that I am not an enthusiast regarding foreign missions, but soberly believe hat to 'teach all nations' is the path of duty and hope. (II: 310)

This necessity arises from seeing the hopelessness in a great deal of Asian countries, including China, though she tells us in the "Concluding Remarks" chapter that China is not "breaking up" nor decaying, but rather weakening in the face of the "sphere of influence policy" whereby European imperialist powers carve out their own semicolonial areas (II: 322-23). In reality, she argues that the government of China currently experiences decay and disintegration through its mismanagement of power and finances. From this assessment, we may infer the suggestion that it is imperative for the British to show them proper government, particularly when there are good men who play mandarin roles, and where freedom is "the birthright of the people" in "one of the most democratic countries on earth" (II: 330).

Based on her Christianized point of view, we can see that this call to duty is to rescue the free men and women (soon-to-be freed from footbinding) from the iniquities of their foreign rulers, the Manchus, and give back to the native Chinese their "genius for self-government" (II: 331). In quoting the Marquess of Salisbury, who calls for the preservation of the Chinese Empire for aiding "its cause and our own," (II: 336), she calls for a stronger British Empire by avoiding the cost of fully annexing China, but to continue on this economic path to creating dependency upon the British. The costs of running and keeping India cause many politicians in this period to be wary of adding a large, unwieldy region to their Empire, though its ceremonial and symbolic uses yield profits that exceed the cost of running British India.

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Bird Bishop ends on the thought that China's future "depends very largely on the statesmanship and influence of Great Britain" (II: 348). In this statement lies the tension between the male and female narrative of how to reform semicolonial China into becoming part of the modern world. While the men have exclusive domain over statesmanship, it is the women who are exerting influence over the people, if we consider the work she has done in endowing mission hospitals, seeing other missionary women doing their work, and even beating back the Chinese military officer on her way to meet the Somo women, who appear to be the most liberated women in Szechuan Province, though not Chinese. In addition, her own work of two volumes is implied to be part of this influence. Having the sanction of a male-dominated organization, the Royal Geographical Society, complemented by the popular interest caused by her work in expressing her feminine perspective of her travels, it may be seen that Bird Bishop's concluding thoughts attempt to frame informed opinions for policy makers, using the language and references that carry merit in that world, but also to work in tandem with them as a special informant.

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Conclusion

Though each traveler shows readers the value of British interest in China, as well as the opportunities offered by occupations available in this part of the informal empire, each person's different adventures remain the fundamental reason for offering these narratives to the readers who have never set foot in China, nor have the opportunity to buy travel tickets. But these travelers' writings about China do more than simply entertain armchair travelers: they galvanize imperial discourse and the national identity that comes from it. While each narrative shows how the traveler redefines his or her occupational description beyond the received norm, each writer also stretches and redefines the travel narrative beyond the realm of light entertainment toward the political work performed of journalists, government agents, historians, or political observers. This highly politicized inflection, combined with each individual occupational agenda, contributes the discourse of imperial desire to possess and reshape China to be part of a British empire that attempts to claim economic but not legal, administrative sovereignty. A number of implications arise from this narrative context, some of which resonate into the current twenty-first century moment. These implications fall into the categories of ideological reevaluation, narrative production during significant historical moments, and continued sinophobic tendencies.

The travel narratives examined in this dissertation contribute to the scholarly reevaluation of actual work performed by individual participants in the business of building Britain's empire. When examined through the lens of occupational agendas, these narratives argue for the necessity of revising preexisting labels, roles and world views currently used in postcolonial studies. This reevaluation is especially needed in light of Timothy Richard's

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unusual form of missionary work, one that appears to privilege scientific thought as high as, or even higher than, Christian theology. Britain's work of making its presence known in China is performed by these individual workers, whose bodies are transformed and whose movements through a sometimes hostile space are recorded in these narratives. When considered as a conglomerate, the body of British workers in China altogether can change the prospect of British hopes to strengthen its presence in the midst of an increasingly ineffective Ching rulership over China.

The narratives written by Timothy Richard, Archibald Little, Rudyard Kipling, and Isabella Bird Bishop, argue for a broader vision of the individual roles involved in the work of empire-building. The stereotypes and expectations dictated by the names of occupational categories potentially limit the importance and significance of the semicolonial British presence in China, but each traveler rewrites these definitions as they travel through an equally undefined area of British influence. As the travelers' self-definitions emerge to challenge readerly expectations, the culturally-inculcated British definition of "China" becomes looser, thereby rendering China a shifting political target for British imperial acquisition, instead of the clearly decrepit, vulnerable remnant of its former self. These travelers' self-definitions also render the roles in empire building less defined, showing us that one figure can encompass various parts of the imperial agenda. Similar to the travelers' looser definitions of their occupations, the definition of "empire" is shown to be of limited use because China's unique political and cultural contexts force a redefinition of the work normally attached to designated roles within the imperial milieu. Whether they be terms such as "empire," "missionary,"

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"gentlewoman," or "tourist," each of these labels designate a role, sometimes bordering on stereotype or caricature, which exists in a matrix of Victorian stereotypes.

The readerly expectations attached to the different roles – missionary, merchant, globetrotting tourist, and female geographer – become the reader's landscape, as much as the natural and human landscapes of China. This metaphorical landscape with these travelers allows us to see that the stereotypes attached to these roles are more often distant landmarks, and not the most interesting places to visit, instead of fulfilling the more common expectations for each occupational role. What immediately comes to mind for each writer in this project, if we consider each one to be a character playing a role designated by his or her chosen occupation, is that these occupations have been the means of getting to China, where upon arrival the individual reshapes the role in an act of self-fashioning. We can see this very clearly in two travelers, such as Timothy Richard, the Baptist minister who believes the ways of God are demonstrated through science and technology, and Archibald Little, the former tea merchant who sees riches in the spiritual heritage of the native Chinese even greater than those he originally hoped to find in his Yangtze steamships. When these individuals, representatives of British imperial efforts, refashion themselves from the original identities of missionary or merchant, the imperial effort itself is refashioned and altered to fit the local conditions.

Definitions for the word "occupation" permit a better understanding of how individual agendas conflate with imperial desires. An individual's occupation, such as "missionary," designates that one's time is filled with duties, many of which shape his or her body through clothing or protective gestures. The missionary in China, for instance, is the rare clergyman who does not build his congregation by flashing his clerical collar and robes, but must dress in

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the traditional Chinese scholar's robes to gain credibility. For Richard, this situation gradually changed with the increased numbers of Europeans gaining access to small towns and villages. Over the course of time, Richard's narrative presents situations where his body is reshaped or reinterpreted to fit the field of his endeavors, just as the appearance of the Anglo-British body politic changes. We can see in the narration of Richard's tenure that the Anglo-Chinese population's occupation of space moves from a timid, disguised enterprise to one of more prominence. When the noun "occupation" is applied to the condition of a country, as in the phrase, "the occupation of China," it suggests a meaning similar to the term "semicolonial" that has been used throughout this project, as well as by historians interested in the nineteenth-century Anglo-Chinese relationship. In the aftermath of war, or as the result of one country's invasion of another, this word designates a de facto colonialism, where institutions of state and everyday life are rearranged by foreigners and their political theory. To have examined the occupational agendas of travelers is to investigate the synedochal structure relating the individual worker to the larger imperial project of annexing China, to paraphrase Kipling's idea of Britain's task at hand.

As the travelers refashion their identities through travel and narrative creation, they find that travel through late nineteenth-century China forces a reexamination of learned notions of native people. Stereotypes about native Chinese people frequently capitalize upon British fears about the Asian Other, such as the mutilation of women by binding their feet, the feminizing of men through drug addiction, and prolific population reproduction. Each of these common stereotypes represent fears about life's cheapness in this cultural context, which would be in turn inflicted upon the British should a violent confrontation ever occur. The authors find

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stereotypes about China are not often played out, and in fact dehumanize the experience, which in turn dehumanize both natives and travelers because of participation in the economy of fear. This is best seen when contrasting Rudyard Kipling's general inability to see past stereotypes about Chinese men, who are seen as faceless foot soldiers in the diasporic Chinese army, with Archibald Little's surprise at a Chinese family's delicate restraint in inquiring about his nationality and purpose in traveling. Little's wonder at the family's apparent sensitivity arises from seeing himself treated as a human in an individual meeting with this extended family, which Kipling's travel itinerary and linguistic ineptitude never permit. In these narratives the factor of time is the greatest one that enables stereotypes to fall, as we see in the crumbling of the writers' learned ideas of Britishness. Stereotypes based on notions of inherent British superiority relative to the Chinese Other are based on erroneous information about the Other's enervated culture and social structures. The stereotype about Britishness is the greatest myth exploded by these narratives, even as the writers strive to reify and assert its power abroad.

At the same time that the reading of these four travel narratives about China reevaluates the individual's work performed in the name of the British imperial enterprise, the narratives also point to the need for readers to reevaluate Britain's perceived ability to build and sustain a large empire. The production and consumption of travel narratives such as those examined in this project attempt, in part, to burnish the myth of mysterious, timeless China despite increasingly frequent contact between Europeans, native Chinese, and Ching administrative officials. The image of China that emerges from these narratives is a haunting image of a powerful, long-lived empire that can no longer sustain itself in the old way. Most notably in the narratives by Archibald Little and Isabella Bird, the travelers perceive late nineteenth-century

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China as a premonition of Britain's future imperial self, one riddled with administrative corruption and foreign development.

These narratives ultimately do not present the image of a moribund empire helplessly awaiting rapid annexation by Britain, but rather a country whose growing sense of nationalism – the sense of China for the Chinese – threatens not only the hopes of the European imperialists but also the continuation of the Chinese dynastic cycle itself. The travelers' narratives presented in this project show us a hidden strength in the native Han people of China, most notably seen in Kipling's correspondence with The Pioneer. China is anything but decrepit and passively awaiting its Western savior, because the British travelers cannot see the signs of vitality as they seek the material markers of progress and strength. In fact, these indications of nationalism often manifest in violent ways, such as the Boxer Movement.

Instead of examining China's popular unrest and economic problems, contemporary histories written about this period focus upon the corruption and decay as deriving from Peking's political resistance. To many historians, the Dowager Empress and her government are portrayed as eager, even desperate, to conserve the powers she had accumulated over the years. The ascendancy of the Dowager Empress figure redefines the terms of Chinese rulership, similar to how Queen Victoria redefined the monarchy's role in Britain. This is the site of resistance that suggests why the British have great difficulty in strengthening their hold over parts of China. The well-being of China differs from that of the Chinese Empire, if we consider the Chinese Empire to be one that relies upon the tributary system, the bordering nations that traditionally sent emissaries to pay tribute to the Chinese Emperor in exchange for peaceful relations. The Chinese Empire at the end of the nineteenth century is run by a woman who has

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changed her own identity over time, moving from concubine to the nominal ruler of China, using the regency of a minor as the acceptable façade for her work to redefine the Chinese Empire in the face of Western powers. While her rule is seen as a reactionary, conservative one, it is ultimately difficult to dismiss the metaphoric importance of two empires, each run by women, in conflict with each other in these narratives. Similar to Queen Victoria's reign, whose later period is marked by concerns with conserving power and building imperial interests abroad, the Dowager Empress of China .

As the traveler changes his or her own definition of what one's occupation or purpose ought to be while traveling through China, the picture of China as the future addition to the British Empire changes to reflect a more discouraging reality. Political commentators, including the travelers themselves, tell nineteenth-century readers that China is ripe for a new rulership, possibly by foreigners who can overcome the self-styled Ching, once the foreign Manchurians from Mongolia who also took advantage of the weakening Ming Dynasty in the late eighteenth century. This belief in China's political weakness is affirmed by its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, where the Ching rulers overestimated their capabilities without sufficient education in the Westernized ways of warfare used by the Japanese. Despite this omen, the reader is given the opportunity to see how difficult it would be to achieve the hopes to overcome the native Chinese and their Ching rulers.

Fear, desire, ideology – these narrative foundations for building this part of the informal empire point to a certain resistance to achieving a better understanding of China's significance to the British. As we see in ordinary, individual interactions between the traveler and a native person, these travel narratives are capable of showing an innate human ability to connect with

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another human being. Bird Bishop speaks warmly, for instance, about the villagers she meets when she stops overnight, far away from the maddened mobs of the larger prefectural cities and towns. But these narratives endeavor to paint a larger picture, which is that at the pinnacle of empire building, China presents Britain with a significant challenge to its objectives. A form of sinophobia drives the appearance of narratives at this historical moment, a fear that the Chinese Other will rise and overtake their teachers and superiors.

More recent appearances of travel narratives suggest sinophobia still operates in narrative production at specific historical moments. In the decade prior to the Crown Colony of Hong Kong's return to China, novelist Timothy Mo published a fictionalized travel narrative about the experience of early nineteenth-century East India Company men in Canton and Macao. This novel, An Insular Possession (1986), appeared during the period when the British government gradually wound up their business, and attempted to establish democratic measures, while wealthy residents established domiciles in various foreign countries. Mo's work is, at first glance, part of the nostalgia for imperial life and its material markers, as seen in collections produced by various clothing and interior designers, many of which are still popular today (such as The Bombay Company, and Ralph Lauren) for evoking the sense of a "lost" British gentility found in subtropical areas. However, this text's nostalgia more strongly evokes the troubled beginnings of the Crown colony, reminding residents and readers alike of the impending redemption of colonialism, rather than calling for a return to the past. Mixed with this nostalgia is the fear of what the Communist Chinese would do to the economic jewel that Hong Kong had become under British rule. A similar fear of Chinese power marks the period in which Mark Salzman's personal travel narrative appears (Iron and Silk, 1987).

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Accompanying Hong Kong's return to Mainland China is the beginning of Communist-sponsored capitalistic endeavors in specially demarcated "enterprise zones." Prior to 1989 Tienanmen Square's political confrontation between the people and their Communist rulers, this period of fledgling capitalism marks the beginning of the end for people who believe that capitalism would alter the worker's world wrought by the Communists. Salzman records both a nostalgia for the older world of timeless (and backward) China, while perpetuating a yearning for the Western progress that would bring China into the modern world, a wish that would eventually come true, as we see at the start of the new millennium. His is not precisely the same fear we see in Kipling's vision of the Chinese army overpowering the British imperialists in Southeast Asia, but rather a fear that the West is losing the mysterious, exotic East as it becomes more "modern" in the Western way of lifestyle, economics, and politics. When the East becomes more like the West, the power dynamic loses its charge when the East becomes more mundane and less interesting, less like the Other that helps to define the collective Western self. It is also a fear that there are no more dark places left to discover on the map, when the Easterner adopts the Westerner's ways. The Westerner no longer retains the cultural superiority of the teacher/missionary when this occurs, and we see this meeting of East and West in the four narratives examined for this dissertation, particularly the ones written by Timothy Richard and Archibald Little.

The sinophobic discourse is also marked by a nostalgia for the old China, seen most clearly in Archibald Little's search for an older, purer form of Buddhism, combined with the fear of what a new China would be. The reading of these narratives, as well as the other contemporary travel narratives forming this context, takes on a special relevance given the

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current international climate vis-à-vis China's status as the "workshop of the world." The sinophobic discourse emerging from the travel narratives, one that encompasses nostalgia, fear, desires for cultural inequality, and insistence upon the unnarratability of the Chinese, prevails to the present day, with China's economic might growing in the Pacific Rim region, enabling a newly developed middle-class population the means to venture out of China on holiday. This newfound Chinese tourism boom stems from the embrace of technology and manufacture, oftentimes for the Western countries that taught these skills and have subsequently abandoned the actual manufacture of many goods, ranging from textiles to computers to cars. Perhaps Kipling's fears of the economic army made up of Chinese men has come true to some extent today, but what remains most salient to most observers is the sense of fear for the exercise of this economic power, not the entrance into an international membership of nations through the exercise of technology and economics. Travel narratives such as those written by Richard, Little, Bird Bishop, and Kipling remind us of how far China has traveled from its emergence into awareness of internationalism, while they also point out how far the Western community must travel in order to efface the sinophobic foundations of its collective self-identity.

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Appendix: Bibliography of Travel Narratives by Occupation

Travel Narratives by Military and Diplomatic Service Personnel

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