

**NAVIGATING IDENTITIES: WOMEN'S TRAVEL NARRATIVES IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY**

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This dissertation argues that diurnal travel narratives written and published in the nineteenth century participated in the discourse of imperialism by articulating empire's influence in terms that readers outside of the realm of politics could understand: impact on daily life. Working primarily with texts written by women such as Emily Eden, Fanny Eden, and Emily Innes who traveled with governing members of the British colonial ruling class, this dissertation asserts that the minutiae included in their narratives—everything from the food writers ate and the people they met to worries about their inkstands and which furniture their pets favored—expose, but also act upon, the discourse of imperialism. Writing functions both as a product and as an activity in these journals, and I contend that its double role constitutes the crux of their power as agents of imperial discourse.

Scholars of travel writing such as Indira Ghose, Susan Morgan, and Susan Schoenbauer have introduced us to the notion that we need to consider genre, gender, and place when situating texts in a tradition of writing. In another vein, Dierdre David focuses on the rhetorical functions of epistolary travel writing. By combining those approaches, and identifying a sub-genre consisting of diurnal of travel writing, I illuminate the particular varieties of writing produced *because of* those contexts. Coupling contextual and rhetorical elements of creation as I do accomplishes two

things. First, by noting traces of the discursive process in diurnal travel narratives, I expand the notion of what writing entails, and, thus, what constitutes writing (and defining) imperial discourse. Secondly, recognizing the diurnal nature of the texts calls our attention to two phases of invention: initial composition and editing for publication. Because the narratives I study were privately written, but published for public consumption, they straddle the line between private correspondence and public media, a location that creates a perception of intimacy with the author and ignores the influential practice of constructing colonial impressions that they carry out. Thus, I investigate the link between the shared personal experiences recorded in these journals and the greater political significances they both reflect and enact.

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In *Up The Country*: *Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, Emily Eden draws attention to the problem of finding time to record events while she travels. She writes, “I have been obliged to give up the last five days to other letters, to the manifest disadvantage of my Journal, your unspeakable loss, and my own deep regret. It is just possible to do all we have to do –just not impossible to write it down *once*, but quite impossible either to live, or to write it over again.”¹ This sentence is followed by an attempt to “catch up,” which includes copious semicolons and dashes interspersed with phrases such as “I forgot to mention that...” and quick, unexplained shifts from one topic to the next.² Actually, though, Emily Eden *was* in a position to write quite frequently, recording details of her life in what we would now refer to as “real time.” Because she was an English woman who belonged to the British colonial ruling class in India, Eden had the resources, experiences, and time with which to write a particular type of travel narrative—one that chronicled events and thoughts on a daily basis, often only moments after they happened. Unlike travelers who were preoccupied with the practical problems of transport or their official business in an area, Eden, like other women in similar positions, had servants to attend to her transportation and did not serve a post herself. She had time to write at odd intervals throughout the day and to ponder the effects that minor events in her day had on her.

This dissertation studies one type of travel narrative that results from such a situation: the diurnal travel narrative. I propose that coupling social, historical, and geographical contexts with a study of the rhetoric of travel writing allows us to study how, far from separating living and writing, the task of keeping a travel diary became enmeshed in the identities that the women who wrote them constructed and clung to when they travelled or lived abroad. Diurnal travel narratives both archive and generate; as a result, by deigning minute details of the writers' lives worthy of recording, they make visible the process of writing Englishness. In *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations* Barbara Korte writes, "In the medley of the travel account, everything can potentially be included which the traveler/writer sees fit."³ In this dissertation, I call attention to the types of things these writers saw fit to include in their narratives, to the ways in which those judgments are tied to the circumstances of writing, and to how and when identity becomes inextricably intertwined with the act of writing.

While scholarship on travel writing frequently considers genre, gender, and place, the field has yet to identify particular varieties of writing produced *because* of those contexts. As a result, we lack a study that pays careful attention to how the form of travel narratives and the circumstances of their composition—not to mention their subject matter—mutually influence one another. This dissertation argues that diurnal travel narratives written and published in the nineteenth century contributed to notions of what being English abroad meant by articulating empire's influence in terms that readers outside of the realm of politics could understand: impact on daily life. Working primarily with texts written by women who traveled with and were companions to official members of the British colonial ruling class, I assert that the minutiae included in their narratives—everything from the food writers ate and the people they met to worries about their inkstands and which furniture their pets favored—make visible, but also act

upon, notions of English identity. Writing functions both as a product and as an activity in these journals, and I contend that this double role constitutes the crux of their power as influential agents.

Because the narratives I study were privately written, but published for public consumption, they straddle the line between private correspondence and public media, a location that carries with it incredible power to influence readers' perceptions of English life abroad. On the one hand, they record passing thoughts and physical traces of conditions; for instance, they contain situational phrases such as "I am switching pens" that simultaneously explain and demonstrate an action. The extreme banality and cursory nature of such subject matter establishes a sense of intimacy with the reader. On the other hand, what diurnal travel narratives actually chronicle and distribute are the mutually determining ways in which their seemingly innocuous subjects and a sense of English identity influence one another. Understanding the published journals as a form of media illuminates the link between the shared personal experiences recorded in these journals and the greater political significances they both reflect and enact.

I observe the intersections through which daily life and daily writing traverse. In order to do so, I have invented a new term: diurnal travel writing. By diurnal travel writing, I refer to texts composed as journals or private letters on a daily basis—those which have been collected and published in volumes dubbed travel narratives, but which still tend (or, at least, claim) to be largely unedited and retain the form of the journal or letters (complete with dates and locations identifying entries and even, at times, greetings). Thus, this sub-genre of travel writing becomes distinct from travel narratives that derived from private journals, but which were categorized by topics, summarized and editorialized at a later date, or which were always intended to be

published for public consumption. Such distinction is crucial to my study, which is interested in how certain women writers were socially positioned to chronicle their daily lives while they traveled abroad, and how that writing, in turn, reveals the ways in which empire seeps into the quotidian elements of people's lives. I aver that daily musings on mundane subjects play a vital role in the continued formation of English identity in the nineteenth century.

Although I have invented the term diurnal travel narratives, the notion that a sense of identity derives from personal experience but is tied to larger cultural—often national—practices clearly predates me. For example, Franz Fanon demonstrates how colonization both infiltrates into and is perpetuated by the daily activities of colonized individuals,⁴ and feminist movements have turned again and again to individual experiences as a method of understanding and changing cultural norms. In other words, theorists often turn to specific examples and situations in order to investigate how identity formation plays out because daily lives are where that actually happens. It makes sense, then, that thinkers such as Fanon, C. Wright Mills,⁵ Carol Hanisch,⁶ and Claudia Jones⁷ attempt to identify cultural dynamics and problems through languages and structures of thinking that begin with the individual and his or her daily activities. I follow the example of looking to individual acts, motivations, and habits of thought; by noting traces of the composition process in diurnal travel narratives, I expand the notion of what writing entails, and, thus, what constitutes writing (and creating) Englishness.

Following the work of earlier feminists who link the personal with the political, feminist theorists have already begun to situate travel narratives and their writing in social and political contexts. They do so in order to expose connections between how and why individual narratives are written and the place in which they are invented to assert that women participated in the discourse of imperialism. For instance, scholars such as Kristi Siegel and Sara Mills both bring

our attention to the types of hurdles that women writers, not to mention women travelers, in the nineteenth century had to face and negotiate that men did not.⁸ Siegel points out that the impression of danger and adventure that readers have when they read about women who travelled alone in the nineteenth century is misleading. She interrupts a discussion of travel that portrays travel as being dangerous for women, highlighting cases in which narratives that present women as traveling alone are often just omitting servants or maids from their accounts. Siegel introduces the issue of class into her discussion as well, arguing that upper class women faced less risk in traveling because their social status demanded more respect of custom than working class women's did. Sara Mills argues that women's travel writing has been labeled "autobiographical" and that "this labeling should be seen as an attempt to deny women the status of creators of cultural artifacts."⁹ Mills writes about constraints on the production of texts, citing textbooks on how to write travel narratives and pointing out that some of those textbooks were aimed specifically at women travel writers. In other words, Siegel and Mills both situate women's travel writing in a gendered context, which, if it resists essentializing women and their experiences, can be quite useful in re-orienting scholarly purview.

The *problem* with this line of thinking, though, is that it leads us to regard women's travel writing as an exception to masculinist metaphors about imperialist ideology or the women who write them as exceptions at the expense of questioning the structure of thinking itself. When we discuss travel writing, we discuss imperialism, and when we discuss imperialism and the way it works, we often couch imperialism in terms of how Great Men who wrote Great Works with a penetrating gaze and a masculine intellect paved the path to imperial thinking.¹⁰ To the extent that we continue to follow this path of thinking, we neglect the task of interrogating alignments between travel writing, imperialism, and conquest.

As a way of combating the misleading tendency to exclude women from the realm of imperial discourse, a good number of theorists have approached the study of women's travel writing by combining a study of discourse with political contexts; they have argued that the metaphors and structures to which theorists of imperial discourse return are not sufficient or entirely appropriate for the writing that women travelers produced in the nineteenth century. For example, Monica Anderson points out the multiplicity of imperial discourses and their manifestations.¹¹ Anderson does not focus as much on women's difficulties in participating the way masculinist metaphors describe; instead, she suggests that we recognize Foucault's assertion that discourses are multiple, generative, and determined by the circumstances in which they are forming. Likewise, in *Discourses on Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*, Sara Mills proposes that the theoretical explanations with which we look at travel writing might not be appropriately applied to women's travel writing: "This book considers the ways in which women's writing in the colonial period might demand different theoretical tools to those developed within colonial discourse. This is the first book to set women travellers within the colonial context; most writers on this subject have represented them as individuals struggling against the social conventions of the Victorian period, who were exceptional in managing to escape from the system of chaperonage."¹² Here, Mills points to the importance of understanding "personal problems" as results of a social system that needs to be challenged. Further, she calls attention to the limitations of an approach that regards women as alienated from the colonial project. Her solution is to position women's travel writing within the colonial context: "In the colonial context, British women were only allowed to figure as symbols of home and purity; women as active participants can barely be conceived of. This is because of social conventions for conceptualizing imperialism, which seem to be as much about conceptualizing *masculine*

British identity as constructing national identity *per se*. For this reason, women as individuals and as writers are always seen to be marginal to the process of colonialism.”¹³ Studies such as Anderson’s and Mills’ that identify habitual limitations in thinking about imperial discourse have been crucial in alerting us to the importance of moving back and forth between features of individual texts and the larger social and discursive traditions from which they emerge. By insisting on acknowledging the multiplicity of discourse manifestations, they suggest that understanding imperial discourse in terms of conquest and overt power tends to exclude not only women, but also some of the basic tenets of imperialism from study.

This line of thinking has made it possible for other scholars to treat the circumstances of writing as important, but not *only* because of gender; rather, these theorists situate women’s travel writing in historical-political contexts.¹⁴ Scholars of travel writing such as Indira Ghose, Susan Morgan, and Susan Schoenbauer Thurin have introduced us to the notion that we need to consider the politics of place when situating texts in a tradition of writing.¹⁵ They consider multiple discourses in which travel writing participates, not just an imperial one. In a related but different vein, Deirdre David focuses on the *rhetorical* functions of discourses, comparing what narratives encourage readers to do that, for instance, presentations in Parliament such as Macaulay’s “Minute” on Indian Education do not.¹⁶

My work does not concern itself directly with the discourse of imperialism; instead, it cycles back to the individual writer and writing process in a way that pays less attention to how these narratives participate in the discourse of imperialism *per se* than to how they shape the lives of their writers and readers. Without ignoring the larger political and social structure in which diurnal travel narratives were produced (I understand, as C. Wright Mills does, personal perspectives and experiences to be inextricably linked to social and political institutions), I do

want to take the time to consider other possible reasons contributing to their particular form, content, and role in constructing readers' impressions of English life abroad—factors such as what materials were used in the composition process and the authors' attitudes towards writing diurnally.

By identifying a sub-genre consisting of diurnal of travel writing, I illuminate the particular varieties of writing produced *because* of the contexts to which other scholars have drawn our attention—for example, in chapter one, I call attention to the fact that because Eden's inkstand is packed away in the middle of her entry, her form is fragmentary and records an event minor enough to be elided from less casual musings. From there we begin to see how immediate obstacles and concerns that writers face throughout their days prompt innovations, circumlocutions, and revealing expressions of frustration. Because those reactions often illuminate challenges to the composition process, her resulting frustrations makes evident how important the act of writing is to Eden's sense of self and her comfort in living abroad. In addition, we can study what kind of impression the fragmentary and casual nature of Eden's travel narrative creates for her readers—what they see as dangers, hardships, desirable aspects of her trip that they can imagine themselves experiencing.¹⁷

Shifting the focus from authorial confines and identifying a sub-genre consisting of diurnal of travel writing does two important things. First, it allows us (for better or worse) to grant these writers agency as participants in the formation of notions of English identity. Their writing constructed impressions of English people abroad by providing specific details about daily life there. Secondly, looking at how these texts function rhetorically allows us to ponder the multiple ways in which politics are as linked to the everyday happenings of peoples' lives.

I want to experience thinking about travel writing—especially the writing part—under conditions that honor an ongoing process of adjusting. One way I attempt to foster this type of consideration is by inviting a broader understanding of what “travel writing” means. We often stress the word “travel” in that phrase, emphasizing that the writing comes from a place of travel. While I don’t want to lose that emphasis—although “travel” becomes a tricky word, many of these women lived in the same place for months or even years at a time, it’s just that those places were in foreign lands—I do also want to emphasize the word “writing.” Writing is a process that entails interacting with materials, objects, and physical conditions and somehow getting something about that down on paper. Travel impacts all of those conditions and processes and, thus, alters them. I want to acknowledge the fluidity and transfer between circumstances and writing. Therefore, interspersed with analyses of journals and published travel books, I explore other aspects of life that contribute to the ways in which we regard travel, writing, visual representations and correspondence; I aim to expand the notion of what it means to write to include a sensory experience that is inevitably rooted in some sort of materiality.

I find studying the diurnal nature of the texts I discuss useful because it calls our attention to two sites of invention: the writing of the journals and the publication process. Firstly, studying the *initial* composition phase allows us to consider the complex factors that determine both how the text is written and why it is written as I have mentioned so far. Secondly, looking at the *publication* phase lets us consider how seemingly private texts function rhetorically when read by a more public audience. It also calls attention to how journal form subverts expectations of imperial propaganda.

Within the entries of diurnal travel narratives, there are moments to which we can attend and which we can “share” with the authors. They allow us to look at how the medium and genre

of communicating influence how we regard identity, interactions with the world, and representations. The travel journals about which I write represent a hybrid of several genres, and they certainly allude to literature, newspapers, official reports, and letters. They also include visual art: sketches, paintings, drawings, and even doodles. I argue that it is precisely this accepted mix of genres that allows the writers of these journals to express themselves and think in a way that provides a necessary space for connections and thoughts. For this reason, I have chosen not to limit my discussions to how journals or published travelogues function, but to intersperse those studies with thoughts about novels, short stories, postcards, newspaper articles, and critical essays as well as tangible articles such as inkstands and postcards and journals. I want to allow space and time for my readers to make metaphorical as well as conceptual connections, and to recognize their own agency and habits of thinking as they do so.

So read this dissertation not as a treatise—or a “minute” if you will—but as a series of moments in which we experience the task of considering new angles together in our own ways. We will hopefully find a similarity on which to build protest, and we will be somewhat organized by the narrative structure of the text, but I envision this as a collection of ways of thinking about this topic: Women’s Diurnal Travel Narratives.

My first chapter traces the ways in which Emily Eden’s text *Up The Country* introduces daily life in the colonies to a wider public. Thus, this chapter is as much about writing style and medium as it is about empire and identity. I look not only at what becomes visible through this type of writing, but *how* it becomes visible. I argue that illumination begins with the travel narrative itself, and what Eden literally sees and doesn’t see as she looks around. I propose that the fragmented nature of her writing elucidates her concern with identity, which she strives to preserve.

Chapter two follows chapter one's discussions of national identity with an exploration of how the narratives I describe serve a multiplicity of roles. In this chapter, I not only treat the journals as object and attend to the domestic articles mentioned in journals, I also understand the journal as tools for demonstrating identity. Considering journals as both archives and as tools in conducting activities allows me to think about how narrativizing the process of writing calls attention to English *ways of thinking*. By shifting the focus from the product of writing to the process of writing, my analysis invites a discussion about connotations people develop toward actions and products. The reasons why these women wrote the way they did can never be totally uncovered or understood; however, we *can* look in their work for evidence of the tools they used. We can also seek out mutually determining relationships between fragmentary form and the reader's formation of explanations connecting subjects in the entries.

In chapter three I propose that it is a conception of writing as harmless that yields the published diurnal travel narrative power within imperialism. In pursuing this line of inquiry, I find useful Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life*, which argues that quotidian events in one's life present opportunities to enact protests and change. By using a prior-determined grid (such as streets, language structure, or recipes) and varying from the expected structure or purpose, one introduces new possibilities of use and manifestation, Certeau characterizes impositions of individual use as protests against dominant culture.

The introduction of Certeau's concept of consumer nods to the possibility of blurring the distinction between the producer and the consumer of these texts. In this chapter, I use *The Practice of Everyday Life* in order to think about how diurnal travel narratives subvert expectations of travel writing. Certeau's definition of consumer is useful to me because it allows for consideration of how people use things regardless of ownership.

¹ Emily Eden, “*Up the Country*”: *Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, 24. Hereinafter *Up the Country*. This narrative was written between 1837 and 1840, but not published until 1866.

² Ibid.

³ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, 5.

Korte’s history of travel writing provides a catalogue of travel writing throughout English history, including discussions of fiction about travel as well as travelogues and travel narratives. Korte has also recently published “Women’s Travel Writing in the English Women’s Journal (1858-1864): An Area of Leisure in the Context of Women’s Work,” which focuses on the publication of women’s travel writing in periodicals. While my dissertation takes the literary-historical context of travel writing into account, I will focus primarily on the rhetorical functions that travel narratives carry out, not on recovering women travel writers. Thus, while I will introduce narratives that are not widely known as well as those that have been added to the “canon” of English travel writing, I refrain from cataloguing lists of travel writers, leaving that work to other projects. In addition to Korte, for a comprehensive study that *does* do the work of collecting travel writing, see Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* for an extensive introduction to and more essays on travel writing in English. For collections that concentrate specifically on women’s travel writing, see Shirley Foster and Sara Mills, *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writing*; Monica Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914*; Lila Marz Harper, *Solitary Travelers: Nineteenth-Century Women’s Travel Narratives and the Scientific Vocation*; and Ruth Behar and Deborah Gordon, eds. *Women Writing Culture*.

⁴ Fanon has illustrated the ways in which culture and ideology are distributed in part by pointing out the limits of indigenous artistic and written representations in a colonized region, which often perpetuate the very ideals artists intend to eschew from colonizers. It is through the activities of daily life that Fanon articulates the paradox of artists' efforts. He explains that "techniques and a language borrowed from the occupier" find their way into their methods as they attempt to create an art that embodies national culture:

These artists...turn their backs on foreign culture, challenge it, and, setting out in search of the true national culture, they give preference to what they think to be the abiding features of national art. But these creators forget that modes of thought, diet, modern techniques of communication, language, and dress have dialectically reorganized the mind of the people and that the abiding features that acted as safeguards during the colonial period are in the process of undergoing enormous radical transformations (Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 160-161).

Fanon cites fluid, quotidian, *individual* activities—thinking, eating, speaking, dressing—when he points to thwarting factors in artists' efforts to capture "the detritus of social thought, external appearances, relics, and knowledge frozen in time."⁴ Moving back and forth between a larger, national identity and a need to resist essentialism, Fanon calls our attention to the Catch-22 of a colonized person's desire to portray a "national" *anything*: doing so perpetuates the infiltration of the colonizer's ideology. After all, individuals' ways of seeing, sustaining life, and communicating are not responsibly reduced to national stereotypes. And yet, as Fanon points out, "the first duty of the colonized poet is to clearly define the people, the subject of his creation. We cannot go resolutely forward unless we first realize our alienation" which, he has argued all

along, is only possible because of an ideological structure based in part on nationhood.⁴ Fanon's paradoxical situation exposes a perceived bifurcation of ideologies—individualistic experiences versus colonial influence—as inextricably related after all.

⁵ Mills is often credited with first penning notion that “the personal is political,” which he articulates in *The Sociological Imagination* (1959) by first characterizing a sense of being trapped. Mills links a larger social structure with an individual's experience of feeling trapped and helpless, but he also locates power in the ability to understand the connections between the two. In other words, he identifies an individual's ability to “trace such linkage” as liberating. Since he ascribes many of the conditions under which people live to institutions with which they do not necessarily interact personally, he illustrates that making the connection is not always an obvious step. I suggest that diurnal travel narratives offer glimpses of people doing the work that Mills describes, and that by studying them, we begin to see how and why they developed the particular and varied versions of Englishness that they portray.

⁶ In an essay that was widely distributed and eventually published under the name “The Personal is Political,” Carol Hanisch explains how the concept “the personal is political” began to make its way into consciousness-raising sessions held by chapters of the Women's Liberation Movement in the late 1960's and early 1970's. When she describes of the process by which consciousness-raising sessions moved back and forth between personal thoughts and experiences to understanding individual experiences as part of larger structures gives, Hanish alludes to Mill's notion of locating individual experiences within a larger context of power. Hanish acknowledges a social paradigm that not only admonishes public discussions of individual problems, but also characterizes weakness as being a sign of a personal inferiority, not as red flagging a problem with a social structure.

⁷ Claudia Jones' Essay "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of Negro Women" (1949)

articulates specifically how looking at a case of a "personal problem" illuminates structures of ideology that must be called into question. In the essay, she cites several examples of black women who were punished for crimes or discriminated against because of their race and the society's unexamined habits of prejudice. By collocating examples of women facing the same types of "personal problems" and highlighting what they have in common, Jones exposes a pattern that was often going unheeded amongst activist groups. She garners the power that resides in awareness by beginning with personal experiences and linking them to larger social structures.

⁸ See Kristi Siegel, *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women's Travel Writing* and Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*.

⁹ Mills, *Discourses on Difference*, 12.

¹⁰ The imperialist texts Edward W. Said discusses, for instance, largely ignore heterogeneity in approaches, ways of understanding, or the nuances in the ways in which not just medium, but even genre shapes the way we regard other cultures (Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*). Said's grouping of those texts calls attention to the problems they have in common, but risks overlooking, just as they do, alternative structures of thought. Thomas Richards writes of imperial archives culminating in nationally constructed impressions of empire, and Mary Louise Pratt of the nationally constructed gaze that she dubs the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" (Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*; Mary Louise Pratt *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*). Of course, Said, like those who followed him, is not wrong to articulate imperial discourse in terms of nationhood or even in terms of conquest and penetration. Nor do these metaphors preclude women from being considered part

of the conversation. Writers like Gertrude Bell and Olive Schreiner, for instance, *do* seem to write and regard cultures in the ways that Said and Pratt articulate. (See, for instance, Gertrude Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, and *Persian Pictures*, *Gertrude Bell: The Arabian Diaries, 1913-1914*; Olive Schreiner, *The Story of an African Farm*, and *The Letters of Olive Schreiner, 1876-1920*). In fact, Said repeatedly insists that culture is not monolithic and should not be studied as if it were. In addition, Mary Louise Pratt engages in "the study of tropes as much to disunify as to unify what one might call a rhetoric of travel writing." (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 11). However, trying to fit all women travel writers into the particular imperial *discourse* that Said characterizes as overarching but also describes with masculine metaphors sometimes leads theorists either to assume that women don't participate in imperialism or to see women such as Bell and Schreiner as exceptional for doing so. For examples of this, see Anne McClintock *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*; Janet Wallach, *Desert Queen: The Extraordinary Life of Gertrude Bell: Adventurer, Advisor to Kings, Ally of Lawrence of Arabia*; and Barbara Holland, *They Went Whistling: Woman Wayfarers, Warriors, Runaways, and Renegades*.

¹¹ Anderson, *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914*, 77.

¹² Ibid., 2-3.

¹³ Ibid., 3.

¹⁴ See, for instance, scholars such as Elizabeth Bohls, Roxanne Mountford, Rebecca DeRoo, Jennifer Yee, and Julianne Smith, who encourage an approach to understanding imperialist discourse that insists on taking the specificity of the production, distribution, accessibility to the text and social experience of the author into account. See Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics: 1716-1818*; Roxanne Mountford, "On Gender and

Rhetorical Space”; Rebecca J. DeRoo, "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales"; Jennifer Yee, "Recycling the 'Colonial Harem'? Women in Postcards from French Indochina"; and Julianne Smith, "Private Practices: Thomas De Quincy, Margaret Oliphant, and the Construction of Women's Rhetoric in the Victorian Periodical Press."

¹⁵ See Susan Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books About Southeast Asia*; Indira Ghose, *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation, 1835-1910*; and Susan Schoenbauer Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907*, who places various writers within the context of the “opening of China.”

¹⁶ David analyzes the ways in which Macaulay’s famous 1835 “Minute” on Indian Education assumes the authority of rule, and leaves no room for other opinions or approaches to rule in India (Deirdre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*, 37). By contrast, David argues that Emily Eden’s approach is less consistent, not to mention less insistent, a quality that creates a space for dissenting opinions.¹⁶ David writes, “In the complex ‘writing the nation’ performed by Macaulay and Eden, her voice provides an alternative and adjacent narrative to his, ambivalent and disjunctive where his is assured and consistent. Moreover, her contrapuntal narrative opens up the possibility of other narratives, of other voices, of other eyes upon empire” (Ibid). David’s approach thus calls attention to the problem of seeing women’s writing only as “women’s” writing.

¹⁷ Again, this dissertation does not deal directly with imperial discourse; nonetheless, elements of imperial ideology are necessarily intertwined with my study; I would be remiss not to point out how diurnal travel narratives potentially affect readers’ attitudes toward the need for English—and, eventually, British—influence abroad in subtle but powerful ways. For instance, because

Eden's journal is presented as a collection of private letters, her writing seems harmless, and it becomes easy to ignore the fact that she is constructing empire in very real ways for her readers. The reader feels privy to personal experience and is more apt to accept Eden's mundane stories as real possibilities than to call attention to the imperial forces that lead to her situation. However, in those letters full of lamentations about how she can't do English things or live an English life, she presents the colonies as a threat to Englishness and stronger English presence as desirable. She just doesn't do so in the way we are used to discussing. Whether or not Eden's text is an imperial one is not the crux of my study; however, to the extent that a national cultural identity is a fundamental element of imperial ideology, her narrative at least anticipates both imperialism and colonialism.

2.0 NAVIGATING IDENTITY: WOMEN'S TRAVEL NARRATIVES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I believe what adds to my English letter lowness, is the circumstance that carpets, curtains, books, everything is gone from my room, and I am sitting in the middle of it, on a straw beehive chair, which the natives always use when they *do* admit a chair, with Chance's own little chair for my feet, and the inkstand on the ledge of the window. I wish I was at Newsalls. There! now they want my inkstand.¹

In this melancholy excerpt from *Up the Country* (1866), Emily Eden registers the fairly constant state of transience in which she lives while her brother, Lord Auckland, rules India and the havoc such a mobile life wreaks on her moods. Eden's sources of comfort—everything from the curtains to the books to her only method of communicating with her family—lack stability; they are literally moved from place to place, just as she is. Even her attempt to communicate with her family is thwarted when, at the end of the entry, the servants swoop in to pack her inkstand.

Although they are mentioned because of their notable absence in the room, what are perhaps the most interesting aspects of this excerpt are the articles present in it—carpets, curtains, beehive chairs (even her dog, Chance's, own chair), not because the inventory Eden lists provides a particularly vivid image of the room in which she sits (plenty of Victorian novels do that), but because by intimating her frustration with how the packing up and transporting of

those objects interrupts her day, Eden acquaints her readers with the subject in which they are really most interested: how the empire affects her ability to *live*. Eden writes about the actions of which life actually consists—moving around in one’s world, resting, communicating, longing—the activities that make up human existence as her readers fathom it. In *Up the Country* Emily Eden does not just record her family’s impressions as they travel or their judgments of Indian customs or people (as many travel narratives do), but also the quotidian elements that make up her existence. Since the various forms of data circulation that any British person encounters inevitably compose that person’s understanding of their world, Eden effectively creates a text that offers what the public lacks: a conception of the everyday lives of the colonial ruling class.

Looking at Eden’s text is important in part because the intimate way in which she writes illuminates the logic of identifying as English in a way that seems reasonable, but the fragmented structure and the inclusion of emotion, relationships to objects, and narrative also crucially reveal how her sense of national identity changes as she considers new experiences, rearranging them and using them in different ways, thus rendering that identity less reliable than we would expect of a national prototype.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak suggests that making the meta-move to narrativize one’s experience potentially provides a vantage point from which to recognize and theorize power differentials. As she puts it in “Explanation and Culture: Marginalia,” “I tried writing a first version of this piece in the usual disinterested academic style. I gave up after a few pages and after some thought decided to disclose a little of the undisclosed margins of that first essay. This decision was based on a certain program at least implicit in all feminist activity: the deconstruction of the opposition between the private and the public.”² Spivak foregrounds her stylistic decision in this article, stopping at moments to call attention to how her style affects her

theorizing. For example, halfway through the text, she points out, “This has been a seemingly contextual explanation of our symposium. It should be noted, however, that the explanation might also be an analysis of the production of contexts and contextual explanations through marginalization centralization. My explanation cannot remain outside the structure of production of what I criticize.”³ Narrativizing her experience allows Spivak to incorporate factors into her theories that are excluded from “disinterested academic style”; not only is she able to recount responses from her peers during the symposium, the quote above also illustrates how the process of writing plays a part in developing her theory. Like Spivak, I am interested in how the telling of personal experience presents an opportunity to notice and theorize contexts and, conversely, how that theorizing influences the manner in which a person’s “story” is presented. Such work acknowledges the possibility that we do not merely do things; doing things changes us.

Realizing the impact Eden’s work had on her own life and on the public exposes how and why larger political and social ideologies play out in an individual’s life. This chapter will trace the ways in which Eden’s text introduces daily life in the colonies to a wider public and, conversely, how her methods of doing so change the way she theorizes English identity. On the one hand, she creates a prototype of an upper class Englishwoman in India for readers, clarifying a role that had previously been largely mystified. In turn, her readers extend that to an ideal of how English women of that class act abroad, and a sense of national identity based on what they recognize as familiar about her. On the other hand, Eden’s sense of national identity is based upon an understanding of Englishness that is rooted in her society in England—one to which she repeatedly attempts to adhere—and her notions about what this entails derive from the political and social structures at home. However, when the ideal she has adopted is challenged abroad (as activities such as writing that she associates with being English are in danger of becoming

impossible), writing becomes more exigently tied to a sense of national identity that Eden seeks to preserve. Not surprisingly, the process of composing bears traces of the contexts in which national identity continuously develops and acts upon its subjects—personal circumstances that are often kept outside the margins of published texts.

By sharing the details of daily life with the reader, Eden enacts a way of thinking that transcends even an interdisciplinary approach: she allows for the concerns, physical excitements and discomforts, hopes, and rationales—the embarrassingly misunderstood messiness—that make us human. Thus, this chapter works to work against the dichotomy of public and private.

I say that Emily Eden proffers *a* conception of the everyday lives of the colonial ruling class.⁴ In fact, in *Up the Country* Eden constructs what may be *the* public text about colonial ruling life. Published in two volumes in 1866, *Up the Country* recounts Emily Eden's tour through India between 1837 and 1840.⁵ Eden traveled with her brother, Lord Auckland, then Governor General of India; her sister, Fanny Eden; her nephew, William Osborne; and an immense cavalcade of associates, servants, and animals that stretched out for ten miles when they were moving. As they travelled, Eden wrote a journal, sent as a series of letters to her sister, Mary Drummond, back in England, which epistolary journal later became the text of *Up the Country*. Since the Edens are the representatives of British economic rule in India (as their cavalcade so ostentatiously demonstrates), and since other extensive accounts of such day-to-day occupations of the British colonial ruling class don't exist, by writing and disseminating the details of their time in India, Eden makes their lives, metonymically, the experience of British colonial rule for non-elite Britons.

The chapter begins, then, with a look at genre, and I return to this topic throughout the discussion. I see the act of exploring Eden's format as one of the ways in which we can make

elements of larger political and social influences evident in her thinking and her text. Thus, the metaphor of visibility also comes into play, as do the materiality of medium, authorial style, the notions of identity, needing, and indulging, and the concept of owning.

2.1 GENRE

What is at stake in writing and publishing travel narratives in the nineteenth century? For one thing, the genre of travel narrative offers an opportunity to combine elements of other genres—novels, as well as various forms of nonfiction such as biography, diary, political treatise, scientific report—much in the way that philosophical thinkers had often combined treatise with fiction in order to illustrate the hypothetical dynamics of their philosophies.⁶ Thereby, the travel narrative can broach political and philosophical issues in terms that the average citizens could understand: impact on daily life. Thus, as I mention above, purportedly trivial or innocuous personal concerns translate into examples of how politics seep into records of daily life and thoughts. Consider, then, the audience for political treatises as opposed to the audience for travel narratives: if published, travel narratives are much more likely to reach a broader audience—and an audience unsuspecting of political motivation—than political arguments, so the ideas being propagated meet with less resistance by a wider group of people. The politics of the travel narrative appear to be nothing more than personal experiences to which the reader can relate.⁷ As I will argue here and in the subsequent chapters, this lack of resistance is crucial to how the reader internalizes the imperial ideology that Eden puts forth in her travel narrative.

In recent decades, literary critics have pointed out that Victorian notions of English life and identity rely in part on the information readers glean from fictional works. For instance, Deirdre David argues that “the social problem novels of the 1840s provided knowledge about industrialization, Anthony Trollope’s Palliser novels provided knowledge about parliamentary politics, and, at the end of the century, the Anglo-Indian novels provided information about running the empire.”⁸ David also likens the functionality of the “social problem” novel to “the cultural work of the Victorian novel in regard to empire.”⁹ Invoking Raymond Williams’s *Culture and Society* (1958), she suggests that “social problem novels provided for their readers knowledge about industrial culture, about a world of working-class misery far removed from the secure space of the middle-class home.”¹⁰ Acknowledging the distinction between “crude agents of political ideology” and “unconscious agents in the complex, always changing interaction between political governance and cultural practice,” David states: “If an Elizabeth Gaskell novel informed a curious middle-class readership about the ‘knowable community’ of back-street Manchester in *Mary Barton*, then Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1847), obviously not a work that claimed to be a historically faithful picture of Jamaica in the late 1820s, nevertheless, through Rochester’s account of his torrid infatuation with Bertha Mason, conveyed a felt sense of the tropical West Indies.”¹¹ I would like to suggest that Eden’s work fits somewhere in between a “crude agent of political ideology” and an “unconscious agent” in the project of imperialism. Writing at a time when biography was becoming popular, Eden offers the type of information that readers incorporate into their notions of imperial culture.¹²

Often, the acknowledged melding of various genres was the basis of critiques of travel narratives that faulted them for being partial truths, unreliable, and even worse, inferior literature.¹³ Despite this reputation, and because she is acutely aware of it, Emily Eden is able to

use the travel narrative in a similar manner to that in which philosophical writers use fiction: rather than state her political philosophies, she illustrates them through accounts of how political decisions and ideologies impact the daily lives of citizens of the state. It makes sense to look at elements of Eden's narrative and how they work; in particular, it makes sense to begin with fiction.

Travel narratives are book-length; therefore, they offer insight due to their potential for sustained character development. Capitalizing on space and time much as the novel does, the travel narrative is not limited to specific reports of the day. So, for example, the journalistic format of *Up the Country* allows Eden to refrain from reconciling her reflections. Unlike other politically motivated but brief accounts of events in India, for instance, *The Story of Our Escape from Delhi*, by Julia Haldane; *History of the Delhi Massacre: It's Supposed Origin and the Means Being Adopted to Avenge the Murder of the British Subjects* (by "A Lady"); or *A Lady's Diary of the Siege at Lucknow: Written for the Perusal of Friends at Home* by Mrs. G. Harris, Eden's journal does not cover one event, but a series of years.¹⁴ Eden is also somewhat aware of her changes and development, as is evidenced by her entries on aging, whereas these other authors can ignore what factors influence them and their intentions. Whereas authors such as Haldane, "A Lady," or Mrs. G. Harris write fairly congruent accounts of their experience, Eden's reactions to isolated events don't always fit with what we expect a woman of her class and political stance to have. This could lead to a problem of authority if the journal's scope were smaller, but since the journal covers such a broad spectrum of topics, conditions, people, and even years, the inconsistencies serve to establish a personality that is capable of recognizing nuances as well as complicated relationships between economic policy and practices and local standards of living.

Its similarities to novels thus renders the travel narrative useful in terms of what it can cover. In a similar way, the fragmented and biographical nature of the journal allows it to go further than fiction can. In terms of content, *Up the Country*'s task actually surpasses what fiction readers glean from their novels: while *domestic* fiction regularly features the wealthy and titled aristocrats as significant or developed characters, *imperial* fiction tends to portray only "ordinary" people—or at least only "ordinary" British people—when it comes to diurnal activities. We are often taken to the doors of the government in imperial novels of the time, but are normally left outside of the structure, not privy to the everyday workings and activities of this elite class. Eden's travel narrative offers something significantly different than the fiction of her day provides in terms of content. This is because daily travel journals bear a certain likeness to forms of realist narration that were coming into vogue by the 1840s: they both depict the quotidian happenings of one's life. This similarity brings to light some of the intended and acknowledged functions of realism, in particular, and narrative, in general, that also form some of the key features of diurnal travel narrative. Upon noting these, we can begin to see the nuanced ways in which this text works differently than in fiction because we see it as a first-hand account and actually playing out, not as fictional and hypothetical. Because Eden's travel narrative and its content seem to be more concrete, readers get the sense that they are more accessible, and they feel more involved with the emotions and actions that Eden conveys. Therefore, in order to discuss how Eden's travel narrative works, I would first like to turn away from her genre to fiction.

2.1.1 Including Aristocratic Details

As I mentioned before, while domestic fiction regularly features the wealthy and titled aristocrats as significant or developed characters, imperial fiction tends to portray “ordinary” people—or at least only “ordinary” British people—when it comes to diurnal activities. Therefore, the “ruling class” in India—the British people who were literally given the power to rule—takes on a mystified relationship to the reading public. Like Mrs. Turton in E.M. Forster’s *A Passage to India* (1924), Britons “save themselves up...for some vague future occasion when a high official might come along,” but the occasion, as well as the high officials, persistently dwell in that vaguely imagined realm of possible acquaintance.¹⁵

For example, in Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim* (1901), when the eponymous protagonist first spies on Colonel Creighton, we get small, stolen glimpses into the Colonel’s “half-office” but realize quickly that our conclusions, like Kim’s, are only interpretations of possibilities, not even of reliable information. Kipling’s narrator betrays the third- and even fourth-hand nature of this interpretation, drawing our attention to the ways in which “information” gets relayed. The narrator does indulge us in a tête-à-tête between the Colonel and his visitor—even a discussion regarding the battle—but the exchange only goes so far as to communicate observed assumptions. After all, as the Colonel’s remark to his colleague reveals, these two men don’t actually make any decisions, they are merely conjecturing on the course of action: “that matter will be referred to the Council, of course, but this is a case where one is justified in *assuming* that we take action at once.”¹⁶ Unlike Eden, who gives us a first-hand inventory of her room, including details about how she puts her –and her dog’s–furniture to use, Kipling’s narrator can only give us accounts of interpretations of interpretations. And, even then, these are not actually

the reactions of the highest officials; this grave conversation is only based, in Colonel Creighton's own words, on assumptions about what the Council will decide to do. Kim's eavesdropping teases with the promise of insider information, but the details of these two men's duties remain veiled under layers of narrative mediation. The Colonel concludes, "I don't think we need to keep the ladies waiting any longer. We can settle the rest over cigars."¹⁷ Just as the particulars of their hypothetical plans are destined to be clouded amidst a fog of cigar smoke at a later time, not quite visible (or readable) to an unwanted observer, so are the reactions of the council kept aloft and vague to the reader. This all works, of course because Kipling's—and even Kim's—greatest attribute does not lie in his ability to mete out information about the government, but in his ability to trace a character's movements, changes, and motivations. As a travel narrative, *Up the Country* promises something more straightforward: Eden's narrative is not only important because of the political information she discloses, but because of the details she includes; after all, life is made up of those small moments, not the great events that are covered in the news. Eden offers her readers little mystification and plenty of practical detail. Perhaps because it lacks sensationalism and adventure, concentrating instead on inkstands and curtains, *Up the Country* reads as a believable travel narrative, appealing to Eden's audience's curiosity about what it is like to live in the colonies, and actually delivering the minutiae readers crave.

2.1.2 Invisible Anxiety

Nonetheless, the book offers an opportunity to explore the less straightforward motivations of "characters" like fiction does because the reader gets to witness a sense of anxiety about

Englishness that is subtly registered in Eden's preoccupations. Eden narrates a first-hand account and without a mediator, but, of course, we know that this style does not preclude her own interpretations of the events. This brings us back to what becomes visible because of genre. As I stated earlier, Eden makes the impact of living abroad on her life the actual subject of many of her entries. Doing so portrays that impact as immediate and forceful. This is different from the ways in which evidence of empire made its way into fiction in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Theorists often describe the real—not sensational—impact of empire as seeping in or unnoticeable in fiction; it can be seen as subtle and therefore innocuous.¹⁹ Eden's text appeals on a personal level to discomfort and worry, from the perspective of an insider; she makes complaints such as "everything is gone from my room!" The threat of the colonies for her is anything but invisible, and the reader cares about and relates to her even more than to a character because she is a real person. If she stands, metonymically, for Britain, her readers see her discomforts as real possibilities, not hypothetical imaginings. This is important because it makes anxiety visible in a way that fiction does not. Making anxiety about impact on a daily life visible heightens the call for imperialism. The desire to help others, the need to protect self, and the determination to keep identity intact all surface in practical ways. The colonies *do* impact life and so politics become important in a way that non-personal or even fictive accounts efface.

In a discussion about fiction, Deirdre David notes that British colonial interactions and the domestic impact that the colonies had on Victorian families tended to derive from either military or fiscal ventures.²⁰ David points out that in novels the influence of the colonies is often situated in the English home (often country home). Joseph W. Childers makes a similar claim about the impact of industrial culture, asserting that the social problem novels earlier in the century also reflected the less obvious ways in which the larger culture impacts the daily lives of characters in

novels.²¹ Childers goes on convincingly to demonstrate various instances in which the culture of industry “is always ubiquitous” but “ironically, almost invisible.” In a similar way, we can trace the *imperial* influence seeping into and even consuming Victorian novels while never asserting itself as the core concern of the novel itself.²² Surely Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre*, with its multiple allusions to “English identity,”²³ Jane and St. John’s intent to become missionaries in India, and the occupation with the West Indies that arises out of Bertha’s influence in the novel, expose various ways in which lives and outlooks change as the possibility of encountering unfamiliar people and cultures becomes a reality for the characters. In Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* Maria and Julia Norris act appalled at Fanny’s lack of geographical knowledge, prompting her to obsessively study the political geography of the world,²⁴ and Lord Thomas Bertram conducts business in the West Indies.

Childers characterizes clues like these as “almost invisible.” The tendency of Britons to concentrate on their presence in the colonies, not on the colonies’ presence in the metropolis (and certainly not on the impact experiences in the colonies had on Englishmen and Englishwomen) renders these clues almost invisible. Kipling exemplifies this attitude in the story “Lispeth.” When Lispeth rescues the Englishman from the *kuhd* and falls in love with him, her caretaker, the chaplain, alerts the Englishman to Lispeth’s intentions. The Englishman promises to “behave himself with discretion.”²⁵ The narrator assures us that “He did that,” but adds, “but, still, he found it very pleasant to talk to Lispeth, and walk with Lispeth, and say nice things to her, and call her pet names while he was getting strong enough to go away.”²⁶ The narrator focuses on the impact the Englishman has on Lispeth; he disavows any reciprocal sentiments: “It meant nothing at all to him, but everything in the world to Lispeth.”²⁷ Like many “truths” in this story, it is the narrator’s adamant insistence on and emphasis of the Englishman’s impervious nature

that ultimately betrays the anxiety of influence, though. Later on, the narrator again brings up the lack of influence Lispeth and her affections have on the Englishman, this time buttressing his point with the Englishman's elision of the relationship in his written account of his trip: "He forgot all about her by the time he was butterfly-hunting in Assam. He wrote a book on the East afterwards; and Lispeth's name did not appear in it."²⁸ The implication is that either the Englishman really does place so little importance on Lispeth that he manages to forget all about her immediately upon leaving her, or that, by leaving her out of his "book on the East," he deliberately wipes away and denies her influence. Either way, she doesn't make it back to England; the influence of the Anglo-Indian relationship is one-directional and must be kept so.

Thomas Richards explores the role of information gathering and organizing in the fantasy of empire that characterized the nineteenth century in a reading of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897).²⁹ Without taking a lengthy detour into that novel, I do want to highlight Richards's point concerning the one-directional influence, which he sees as integral to the imperial dynamics that drive the novel's underlying revelations. Richards asserts that Stoker is "pointing to a possibility that turn-of-the-century Britain could not bring itself to contemplate in the light of day: the possibility that the former colonist would emerge as the new immigrant, that Britain itself would emerge as a destination for immigrants from the colonial world."³⁰ In his reading of *Dracula*, Richards understands information as the key way in which Britons understood their power over outside threats and Dracula's downfall as resulting from his inability to fathom the flow of that information.³¹ Although texts like "Lispeth" can disavow impact from the colonies, such impact is on almost every page of Eden's text, thereby making the task of protecting English identity emerge as a necessary element of spreading English culture.

In a way similar to Richards's reading of Stoker, we can see how Kipling's portrayal of Lispeth as one who could not fathom distance or even the information-providing maps that would allow her to find her way to England illuminates the insulator function information plays in keeping the periphery out of England. Lispeth has no power to permeate England; the Englishman's travel writings are thus as powerful for what they exclude as for what they bring back to England. If Lispeth doesn't make it into the imperial archive that Richards identifies, she doesn't exist. More importantly, neither does the threat she poses. Whatever (or whoever) doesn't physically come to England or, at the very least, get written about in English, becomes not only invisible, but also completely irrelevant.

Eden does no such thing. At times, she ignores the indigenous population; nonetheless, her perceived need for a more extensive English presence in India permeates almost every page in her journal. Even when Eden does seem to care about the larger influence of empire, what makes those changes *visible* is her articulation of how the heat or the moving or the hassles of sand impose on her personal life. This is where style and genre begin to matter.

2.1.3 Constructing Walls of Personality

George Levine articulates the "struggle of Victorian literature" as "the struggle to get outside those thick walls of personality, to find a way to enter the beings of others and feel what they feel, know what they know, be what they are."³² Of course, different threads of realism arose in the nineteenth century, some relying on empirical knowledge exclusively, while others valued subjective renderings. Either way, the philosophy behind realism reflects both the new,

“scientific” approach infiltrating Victorian culture, and also a basic human habit of processing knowledge: collecting data and merging that information to form an impression.

Unlike Kipling’s narrator, who can report interpretations of assumptions, it is crucial for Eden to ground her illustrations in “concrete reality”—that is, the specific details that make up one’s life—so that she can claim, “not a word has been added to descriptions which have little merit, but that they are true and that they were written on the spot.”³³ One could almost imagine Eden uttering the words of George Eliot’s narrator in *Adam Bede* (1859), who humbly, if disingenuously claims, “I am content to tell my simple story, without trying to make things seem better than they were; dreading nothing, indeed, but falsity.”³⁴ Eden presents her narrative as if it were nothing more than an innocent relaying of the events of her trip.

The key difference between Eden and Eliot’s narrator is that Eden openly presents her reactions to the stimuli of her world as legitimate sources of knowledge about that data, whereas Eliot’s narrator warns: “Examine your words well, and you will find that even when you have no motive to be false, it is a very hard thing to say the exact truth, even about your own immediate feelings—much harder than to say something fine about them which is *not* the exact truth.”³⁵ In other words, while Eden is aware that she colors her situations according to her responses to them, she does not worry that this is not “truth,” but that it is detailed. The narrative claims to be nothing more than *her* truth. Eden’s truth is adequate and accepted because of the difference in genres in which the two speakers communicate; although Eliot’s narrator distances herself from a “clever novelist, not obliged to creep servilely after nature and fact, but able to represent things as they never have been and never will be,” noting that such novelists have the luxury of crafting convenient characters and ascribing to them their opinions, she is, ironically, speaking from within a novel.³⁶ Therefore, when Eliot’s narrator claims: “I aspire to give no more than a

faithful account of men and things as they have mirrored themselves in my mind,”³⁷ she paradoxically alerts the reader to be wary of her “faithful account.”

She writes about other people. By contrast, Eden’s travel narrative retains the form of personal letters sent in the form of a journal; even more than the general mode of travel writing, a collection of personal letters—especially one that self-reflexively acknowledges the physical distance between the writer and her audience—simultaneously engenders an *ethos* of intimacy and rhetorical distance (inferred by the literal “space” involved). Eden’s authority is partially derived from the fact that she has no reason strategically to portray the information she records: she is trustworthy precisely because she purports to have no—or at least a very limited—audience.

With her dedication, Eden calls attention to her original site of invention, which claims both rhetorical distance and a trusted relationship with her original audience. Gesturing in this way does two things: first, private letters insinuate personally relevant, not publicly crucial, information, so granting access to those letters creates an immediately intimate relationship between the author and her audience. By refusing to admit that she edits, Eden capitalizes on that intimacy and extends the same expectation of intimacy with her secondary—public—audience.

Secondly, unlike Eliot’s narrator, a bystander who admits to a limited perspective, Eden is seen as an authority. She uses the unusualness of her travel experience to show that if she doesn’t know everything, at least she knows more than her untraveled readers do. A nonfiction writer is understood to be an authority on the “place” from which she writes. Especially if that location is distant to and inaccessible for the audience (as India is), readers depend on the author to provide a reliable account of the exotic land and culture. Since the letters take the form of daily recording of real events, the credibility of the chronicle gains strength even over a novel,

which is understood to fictionalize. Thus, we can see that by foregrounding her discomfort, Eden illuminates how living abroad impacts her; by offering a first-hand account, she includes her reader; and by claiming to publish personal letters written while abroad, she engenders trust in her account. All of these moves take empire and anxiety from the realm of the hypothetical and interpreted to seemingly concrete and transparent.

2.1.4 Getting Down and Dirty

Like Eden, I want to resist dwelling only in the realm of theory. After all, the most compelling aspect of these narratives is their writers' portrayals of their own activities—including writing. Therefore, I'd like to get down to what she writes. As anxiety becomes visible, so does the need to protect identity. We saw from the passage at the beginning of the chapter that Eden knows she feels low, now we can begin to detect what she *doesn't* understand: that there exists a fundamental problem with her logic.

Like fiction, the travel narrative invites its reader to interrogate why things happen, what motivates people to do things, and what cause and effect relationships exist. What Eden's text forces the reader to notice, through her personal investment in the Colonial ruling class, are the *ways in which* the customs and goods from the colonies replace English traditions. We accompany Eden on her quest for an English existence in India. Doing so brings to light the difference between this narrative and fiction, which is at least twofold. First, as I just argued, Eden seems to be unaware that her discursive quest *is* an exploration, whereas fiction writers do know, and use characters to investigate issues such as how circumstances influence mindsets and vice versa. Second, (and also consequently), Eden doesn't realize that she undermines her own

mission. As we will see in this section, through the particulars Eden describes about her daily worries, the reader can recognize a pattern (which we can also recognize as the motivation that fiction writers admit to attempting to illuminate and explore). As Eden's restlessness increases and abates, her text unwittingly exposes a key philosophical tautology in the logic of colonial rule: "English" people must live in the colonies in order to rule them, but if people live in the colonies, they can't quite be "English." As I will discuss later, Eden's entries in which she laments sacrificing her English activities and family life for the "unnatural" life she leads in India belie the notion that if English customs and beliefs overcome foreign ways of life, order will be kept, lives will be improved, and Englishness will be protected. This makes it all the more exigent, then, that again and again in Eden's account, we see evidence that England is being erased from her daily life:

We are all dreadfully within sight of travelling again, but there are still six weeks of repose, so that I am as deaf as a post when the word "tent" is mentioned...

Don't you think it would be worth my while to buy a pot of paint, out of my own allowance, from the Simla 'Europe shop,' and have the acorns and oak leaves painted *out* of my tent? The lining is buff, with sprigs of oak leaves, and there is an occasional mistake in the pattern, which distracts me; and there is such an association of dust and bore and bad health with those acorns, that I do not think I *can* encounter them again. We are to leave this on November 5. I mention that openly, because if Guy Faux wishes to keep his '*day*,' it would, perhaps, be better and more humane to blow up people who are going into camp, than people who live in houses.³⁸

Eden's entry alerts the reader to the dread with which Eden anticipates travelling again. The passage, "there is such an association of the dust and bore and bad health with those acorns," links the one consistent view she has during these months of travel (her tent) with negative associations of the journey ("dust and bore and bad health"). Ironically, in reaching for an escape from these associations, Eden grasps on to this idea of "redecorating" her "home," but the consequence is that she paints symbolic images of her home (acorns and oak leaves are both symbols of England) *out* of the tent. Although Eden insinuates otherwise, we can see that it is not India that erases England, it is the restless and unsatisfied English woman: *Eden* is the one who wants to paint over the acorns, and she plans to do so with supplies from the Europe shop. Effectively, Eden desires to efface symbols of her old home (England). As we see from her November 5th entry, this very effacement is what is so trying for Eden and so threatening to English preservation. What the details of her entry reveal is the way in which a quest to sustain national identity develops on a personal level—and why it establishes an always-elusive hope for happiness. In this case, it is not foreign influence that is dangerous after all; it is the restlessness Eden feels when she attempts to protect her identity by keeping order.

Eden takes this one step further; adding to this suggestion of effacing English culture is Eden's mention of Guy Fawkes at the end of the entry. Guy Fawkes situates Eden's current anxiety of erosion within an English tradition: England celebrates a holiday in which the English sought not to overthrow, but to destroy, the English Rulers. Eden's purpose in India is to act as her brother's official companion and her book does the work of propagating their image, representing British Rule, so evoking the image of an Englishman destroying the English Ruling Classes—especially the ones in camps rather than "people who live in houses"—significantly heightens the irony of the situation.

Eden needs to write about problems such as dirty tents and irregular patterns that she wants to paint out in order for us to theorize them. We need this evidence of how she thinks, not just a report of *what* she thinks. The narrative quality of her text provides room for interpretation by providing fodder as well as space for connections and unpacking. For instance, it allows us to consider how her personal investment in protecting her identity abroad sets the stage for imperialism. If British imperial ideology depends partially on a notion that the English are superior to other cultures and races, and that those races and cultures are potential dangers if not civilized, it is crucial to sense how the notion of an identity based partially on Englishness manifests itself in the representations of the ruling class' travels and tribulations. Much like in social problem novels—where the attitudes of the mill owners, boarding school owners, and factory owners become clear through their decisions and actions as well as their decrees—imperial representations must portray the attitudes of the people responsible for establishing British rule and imposing civilizing laws in the colonies. In these lengthy and detailed investigations, we get a sense of what these figures don't consider as well as the things they do. In particular, we detect what they overlook that allows them to adhere to traditional beliefs. In this way, the profound influence of Eden's work subtly lies in how her style of writing is so intricately connected to the mundane things about which she writes. This calls attention to another, crucial element of Eden's contemplations: identity.

2.2 IDENTITY

In *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse*, Marie-Christine Leps traces a shift in identity that was occurring in England around this time, which transitioned from thinking of a person as being one who does something to being identified according to that association.³⁹ So, for example, rather than being one who committed a crime, to use Marie-Christine Leps's context, one became identified as a criminal. Being English was an identity that Eden had been able to take for granted and that gets exposed when she is away. Rather than being able to identify easily as one who does "English" things, and thus English, Eden's sense of who she is based on what she does is challenged. Thus, her status as an Englishwoman becomes something she wants to superintend and protect. In order to do that, because she can no longer rely on the logic that positions her as someone who does English things and is therefore English, she needs to set herself against something that is not English, or that threatens her Englishness.

Benedict Anderson's articulation of nationhood in *Imagined Communities* elucidates the notion of finite communities that are based not on locale, but on a perception of "horizontal comradeship."⁴⁰ I find his concept relevant to this chapter because, as Anderson points out, "communities are to be distinguished...by the style in which they are imagined."⁴¹ While Anderson's notion identifies characteristics that he sees imagined communities having in common, his concept also makes room for the possibility that, although members might regard their nation as limited, sovereign, and a community, the ways in which individuals understand those features varies. For instance, he acknowledges inequality and exploitation within nations but includes that as a quality of the entity. The ways in which individuals experience

membership in a nation is limitless, but members of a nation envision disparities in treatment as inherent in the concept of a community. As I discussed in my introduction, the degree to which an individual recognizes personal experiences and ideologies as tied to larger political and social structures (such as their notion of what a nation is) often determines how she sees herself as a participant in those institutions—influenced by and acting upon them.

On a related note, the particular list of attributes Anderson lists implies that inclusion in and exclusion from a nation are of paramount importance to the concept of a national community. There must exist humans who don't belong in order for the notion to carry any meaning. Thus, although the experience of belonging to a nation manifests in infinite ways, there is a crucial difference between belonging to and being excluded from an imagined national community.

In order to make Anderson's notion useful to my discussion of diurnal travel narratives written in the nineteenth century, it makes sense to think about Anderson's concept in relation to methods of identifying that Leps discusses. That is, we can consider how Eden and her contemporaries were thinking within a structure that associates activities with national identity. Although physical boundaries lack importance with regard to an imagined community, there must exist *some* set of criteria that members of a nation meet. I propose that for Eden and other English people living abroad, those criteria centered not only on sovereignty and a communal notion of fraternity as Anderson suggests, but also on activities (and to the particular connotations those activities have within their shared culture). Of course, this makes a national identity less rigid than one with a more congruent and static set of qualities that Leps describes. There exist as many understandings of "nation" as people who consider what it means to belong to a nation. Nonetheless, it is important to note that as we read texts from this time period, we

begin to see that a concept of nation which is tied to activity can potentially mutate into an idea of identity as determined, static, and in need of preservation.

This section explores how identity is connected to activity and style in multiple ways. Although I begin with a straightforward look at Eden and her national interests, I soon depart on an investigation into the metaphor of “owning” that takes me back into the topics of medium, genre, and visibility. From there, I find my way back to Eden’s text to look for what’s at stake in taking all these things into consideration.

2.2.1 National Interests

Emily Eden’s writing is not only significant because it offers something different from the fiction of her day; she joins a tradition of travel writing that frequently connects travel with encyclopedic recording, but her style of writing eschews the task of collecting facts in favor of a daily journal full of mundane details and emotional lamentations.⁴² Many travel writers alternate between daily recordings of activities and attempts to identify flora they come upon or political lectures on customs they observe.⁴³ Likewise, in *Wanderings in West Africa* (1863), Richard Burton encounters a plant just beyond Cape Palmas, which he expounds upon at length in the next two pages, apprising the reader of several uses for the plant as well as a short history of the plant’s importation bans in England: “We are soon fairly beyond Liberia, formerly called the Grain Coast. This ambiguous name has caused many a mistake, but the grain in question is not a cereal but a condiment—rejecting, at least that etymology, which supposes it to have been derived from a cochineal...”⁴⁴ Burton’s seamless digression inundates the reader with histories, etymologies, multicultural uses for the plant, and even its taste. The reader listens to Burton and

learns from him, anxious to acquire some of the knowledge he so effortlessly mentions as he passes a plant on a walk.

Eden's text does something far different, engaging her reader as if she were a friend or (as the case originally was) a sister. At first, this seems less skillful and, perhaps, less important. However, by providing more personal detail, Eden enacts what it means to live as a member of the colonial ruling class. In England, she sits in chairs in rooms with curtains and desks and inkstands and writes letters. She takes visitors and plans to attend balls and games and dinners, and she doesn't have to think very much about what being English means to her. In India, though, everyday occurrences such as the servants taking her inkstand challenge her very identity as an English woman. Her identity is wrapped up in those objects and events, but it is not until she lacks them that she begins to notice the degree to which they do.

Thus, by focusing on the way her daily life changes when she moves to India, Eden brings to light what is at stake in Great Britain's symbolic and literal presence in India: a national interest in preserving identity. If, as I suggest, this identity is predicated on objects, people, and places with which one is associated, significant changes in what those are unsurprisingly call that national identity into question in a very real and immediate way. Official documents or reports can ignore or gloss over the threat to identity because they rely largely on discourse and rhetoric to build impressions, but when one looks at details of daily life, the impact strikes much closer. When reading *Up the Country*, the reader doesn't pay attention to what the writer can tell her, like she does with Burton, she pays attention to the emotions ranging from awe to frustration to personal angst that Eden expresses. We notice how living abroad affects Eden and, by extension, the imagined community to which she belongs: the British colonial ruling class (which, significantly, is made up almost entirely of English people).

For instance, predictably, the rest of the entry I quoted at the beginning of this chapter situates England as the standard of normal, justifying Eden's state of unrest by revealing a sense that her life in India is "unnatural." On the day in 1838 the group left their temporary home in the hills to resume travelling, Eden writes the following letter to her sister:

Monday, Nov. 5

I had much better not write to-day, only I have nothing else to do; but the September overland post is come (the August is missing), and I always have a regular fit of low spirits that lasts twenty-four hours after that. This is your Newsalls letter, and dear T.'s account of the archery and country balls, and the neighbours; and it all sounds so *natural* and easy, and I feel so *unnatural* and so far off. Just as you say, we have been here very little more than half our time, and I am sure it feels and is almost a life.

It will be nearly six years altogether that we shall have been away, if we ever go home again; and that is an immense gap, and coming at a wrong time of life. Ten or fifteen years ago it would have made less difference; your children would still have been children; but now I miss all *their* youth, and *ours* will be utterly over. We shall meet again—

When youth and genial years have flown.

And all the life of life is gone.

I feel so very old, not merely in look, for that is not surprising at my age, and in this country, where everybody looks more than fifty; but just what Lady C describes in her letter—the time for *putting up* with discomforts has gone by. I believe what adds to my English letter lowness...⁴⁵

Eden's awareness of time slipping away infuses this melancholy letter with a sense of decline. Her words, "but now I miss all *their* youth, and *ours* will be utterly over. We shall meet again—/When youth and genial years have flown./And all the life of life is gone," repeatedly evoke sentiments of having missed opportunities. Eden couches the issue in terms of foregoing familial experiences, poignantly lamenting that she won't see her nieces and nephews as children until we join her in yearning for the life she was meant to live. Her sentiments remind us that England isn't just adding to its culture and power, though, it is *replacing* English people with British citizens who live unnatural, not English, lives; Eden characterizes her circumstances as "unnatural," juxtaposing her activities with accounts of archery and balls, which are "natural" and easy." Even worse, as her earlier mention of Fawkes brings to mind, the people who are in danger of decline are the members of the ruling class—England's best.

Eden's attitude significantly influences how the reader sees the threat of colonies if we note that her role is that of companion to the Governor General of India. Casting her (and her family's) ability to seize life in this diachronic manner, Eden emphasizes the negative aspect of the trade-off for a British presence in India when she exclaims, "I am sure it feels and is almost a life." What she doesn't say, but implies, is that this is a wasted opportunity at an *English* life. Eden's personal decline insinuates the ironic danger of the decline of English identity amongst the British colonial ruling class, who spend portions of their lives in a transient, "unnatural" state. Even as they spread the English way of life throughout the world, English culture is portrayed, here, as a watered-down or hybrid version, not ideal as it would be in England. Thus, although Eden participates actively in creating the spectacle that represents British power and wealth spreading though India (as we will see in her descriptions of the cavalcade), the details she offers of how that role effectively robs her of what she considers to be a "normal" English

life not only call attention to the sacrifice of English life that must be served up, but also call into question the very viability of preserving English culture in Great Britain's colonies and economic strongholds.

2.2.2 Interpreting Subjects: Owning Identity

How do we begin to understand Eden's attitude? I use a metaphor that Said has introduced, that of owning, in order to work our way out of this way of thinking. Paradoxically, I do this in order to open a space for considering whether or not we can borrow, play with, appreciate, or simply note entities around us without impacting them. I'm not sure that we can. But I suspect that those activities do something different than acquiring, protecting, or owning do.

Owning carries with it an assumption of control and ability to protect. This section interrogates the use of protecting or owning; in particular, I point out that the perception of owning or protecting an identity is predicated on false notions of what an identity can be. In order to do this, I consider identity in a broader sense than the national identity with which Anderson is concerned; I veer from his characterization of political communities as imagined and creative, and concentrate instead on a concept of identity in general. Doing so allows me to trace possible lines of thinking wherein the need to protect identity arises, and to recognize those lines as not only faulty, but also dangerous. Ironically, this is an important step in understanding why the diurnal, personal nature of Eden's work potentially contributes to the development of imperial attitudes. If we can note evidence of the perceived impact traveling in India has on her, unpack the structure of her anxious reactions, and identify the perceived need or benefits of protecting, we can begin to consider whether or not "owning" is a sufficient explanation for why

imperialism works the way it does. In turn (although it exceeds the scope of this dissertation), we can interrogate how alternative ways of characterizing imperial mentality and thought might illuminate more various and subtle ways in which imperial discourse functions. This returns us to the investigation of whether or not borrowing, playing, noting, etc. *are* ways in which encounters produce less impact. It raises the question of whether the influence of these less confrontational metaphors is actually less, or whether it is just different.

Working within the structure of the “owning” metaphor that has traditionally characterized postcolonial studies, I attempt, here, to take my reader with me through a collection of iterations and mediums that deal with identity and style in order to note the various layers and manifestations of self-awareness and owning that become visible in them. From there, we can honor their differences and common threads that might aid us in creating alternatives to seeing imperialism as evidently confrontational and characterized by conquest.

What we can see as we look at her entries is that Eden thinks that what is at stake in her discomfort is Englishness. She fears that she is losing control, not able to preserve her identity and that by holding on to activities such as walking, writing, practicing archery, she would be able to protect her identity. As I mentioned in the genre section, Eden does not seem to be aware of her own quest to preserve Englishness in writing (indeed, she claims not to be). In order to understand Eden and her own work, we can move to a work in which the text *does* purport to know and be able to do more than the characters within it. Indeed, there are ways in which, as Eden seems to claim in her preface, she does not interpret events and if she does infer, she does not appear to theorize.

In reading Oscar Wilde’s novel *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), we can see how the characters and objects described in it mutually determine one another. The characters’

negotiations with and adherence to that way of thinking is, in fact, one of the key issues that the novel explores. Eden doesn't seem to be aware of this structure of thinking in her narrative, but what I find intriguing about her text is that it makes it evident anyway. Her constant lamenting raises the question of what causes her unhappiness. Is it her lack of English activities, or her incessant quest to keep it? Wilde's novel casts Dorian's need to be indulgent as his downfall and his alarm at losing what he sees as defining him as dangerous. Perhaps Eden's text, while lacking that overt layer of interpretation, actually suggests the same thing about her desire to remain English.

Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* grapples with the conundrum of protecting identity expressed, first, by Basil Hallward:

Every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not of the sitter. The sitter is merely the accident, the occasion. It is not he who is revealed by the painter; it is rather the painter who, on the coloured canvas, reveals himself. The reason I will not exhibit this picture is that I am afraid that I have shown in it the secret of my own soul.⁴⁶

This sentiment suggests that the creation of art is connected to ownership. The subject doesn't matter as far as ownership is concerned. The apprehension here regards the management of sentiment, of identity, and of expressions or traces of those precious, personal "possessions." On the one hand, Basil makes a fairly straightforward point: the artist infuses the portrait with his own interpretation and emotion; the representation of the subject is never objective and, thus, art is always reflective of the artist's perspective. On the other hand, Basil's expostulation asks us to assume that the feeling—or even more directly, the self—is an entity that can be owned and controlled by the artist. This aspect of his proclamation warrants significant pause: it is actually

dangerously presumptuous to think that either feelings or self really “belong” to a person. We don’t *ever* really possess feelings and self. How could we? We can only ever merely experience them and notice them (and that is if we are lucky). In the end, Basil’s statement –although eloquent—registers a useless fear. After all, the secret of his soul isn’t his to keep. He is determined to hold on to and protect a self that is, like his portrait, only a person’s interpretation of a subject. At minimum, Basil’s statement prompts us to ask what one gains from owning these things even if he could, and what the advantage of carefully guarding the “secret of [one’s] own soul” is.

In other words, Basil’s statement asks us to presume or even ignore some key aspects of self identity and how that identity is connected to managing access, guarding possessions, and even understanding ownership. Since Basil can’t actually superintend his soul, the best he can do is cordon off certain reactions or emotions from public view, which, in the end, only prevents him from experiencing a broader range of the feelings the artist so desperately needs in order to paint. The novel doesn’t accept Basil’s philosophy; the very portrait of Dorian and the illnesses it reflects thwart any easy assumption that the self is a static entity. Nonetheless, Basil’s reluctance to reveal himself raises the question: if we can successfully identify who we are and manage access to that self, what advantage do we have?

After all, in *Dorian Gray* characters *do* understand themselves as “owning” things rather than just encountering, appreciating and experiencing them. Not only that, they seem to assume that this ownership gives them the right to manage other people’s access to and impression of their “possessions.” Asking what advantage this right affords leads shortly to a deeper interrogation of selfhood and ownership. In this work, an unexamined urge to feel indulgent, coupled with the power to acquire inevitably leads to a desire for unownable things or concepts,

which, in turn, creates a crisis of identity. I suggest that one part of the problem in this novel is that characters and readers erroneously believe that owning something carries with it the ability to control access to that thing, and vice versa—a concept predicated on the notion of a static entity that can be protected. The most immediate issue with this logic is the belief in a static entity. The counterpart to the problem is the lack of the crucial concept of unownability.

James Mulvihill's understanding of the economic function in Elizabeth Gaskell's novel, *Cranford* (1853), highlights the ways in which possessions allow the characters to align themselves with certain roles and identities.⁴⁷ Again, without going into a lengthy discussion of that novel, I do want to bring Mulvihill's reading of it into this discussion. According to Mulvihill, the women of Cranford must perceive a dearth of resources in order to feel economic, and therefore smart, needed, and in control of the local economy (both of goods and of society).⁴⁸ Their identities are predicated on their abilities and willingness to respond kindly but responsibly to situations—to be generous, and to have the resources with which to be so. In a similar but opposite way, we can see Dorian's identity as centered on indulging himself, which depends on desiring—he is an indulger. Dorian actually *does* have monetary resources as well as leisure—his desires *can* be fulfilled—so he must up the ante; he must desire to possess everything. That is, even things that can't belong to a person.

This convoluting happens in similar ways in *Up the Country* and in *Dorian*. Eden's entry explicitly laments the objects she lacks and her annoyance with the materials that do surround her. Despite the fact that she is travelling almost exclusively at this point, her descriptions evoke a feeling of being trapped in or limited because of the selection (or dearth) of objects that surround her: her English character is limited by her options. By contrast, in *Dorian*, we gradually get an image of rooms throughout the book as the narrator describes Dorian moving

around in his house, using the objects, and noticing the characteristics of those items. In other words, rather than understanding the character through descriptions of his possessions, we understand possessions through descriptions of the character: Dorian “sat down to a light French breakfast, that had been laid out for him on a small round table close to the open window. It was an exquisite day. The warm air seemed laden with spices. A bee flew in, and buzzed round the blue-dragon bowl that, filled with sulphur-yellow roses, stood before him.”⁴⁹ Here, the narrator uses free indirect discourse: we picture Dorian walking in and noticing the details of his breakfast table, the word “exquisite” and the phrase “laden with spices” easily fit into Dorian’s lexicon, so slipping into the assumption that these words are Dorian’s thoughts is effortless and goes almost unnoticed. We pause with Dorian to imagine the sense of warm air softly caressing our skin and what air “laden with spices” smells like and what the bee buzzing sounds like, and we find ourselves succumbing to the will of that last sentence as it begs to be spoken out loud: “A bee flew in, and buzzed round the blue-dragon bowl that, filled with sulphur-yellow roses, stood before him.” Gaining momentum from the initial alliteration, we soon tumble as we’re tossed to the blue-dragon bowl that is filled with “l’s” and “u’s” and “y’s” and “w’s” and “r’s.” Hearing and smelling and seeing and saying disorient our senses; confused, we look up, or back, or wherever we look, and recognize that the speaker has playfully embraced the role of the poet, and is smugly rejoicing at our naiveté.

“Then he rose from the table, lit a cigarette, and flung himself down on a luxuriously-cushioned couch that stood facing the screen. The screen was an old one, of gild Spanish leather, stamped and wrought with a rather florid Louis-Quatorze pattern.”⁵⁰ Again, Dorian is on the move, flitting along on his “l’s” and his “i’s” before switching to “u’s” and “c’s” and “s” sounds that slow us down enough to notice the object in front of him. In the first sentence, we notice

Dorian. Dorian is a person who glides around with cigarettes and flings himself on luxurious couches. In the second sentence, we notice the screen. But we only notice the screen because Dorian (or Wilde) relinquishes enough of our attention on him for us to be guided to observe the screen.

Wilde's style of writing guides what we notice, here. At first it seems as though it is the character—this time Dorian—that occupies our mind. Although the origins and uses of Dorian's possessions are definitely a part of that, it is not just the acquisition of them that matters, it is the experience of noticing them—perhaps even each time he sees them (and causes us to see them), which is often, since the objects are arranged as part of Dorian's daily life-space. Of course, the novel doesn't allow us to relax comfortably in the notion that Dorian experiences this type of enjoyment just anywhere: even now, these objects don't just amuse Dorian, they define him. Without his couches and cigarettes, screens and bowls, Dorian couldn't be a glider or a flinger or a smoker or a whimsical, sensual being. Because of the narrative style at this point in the novel, we regard these experiences as Dorian's (and now, ours), and can appreciate them *as* experiences. Ownership comes into play subtly; this isn't about him owning, it's about him enjoying, but what underlies this experience is the fact that he has to have possession of them in order to enjoy them this way. The unspoken link, then, is the concept of unownable things. The difference between Eden and the novel stems partially from the way in which we understand these characters in relation to the objects with which they interact. But the novel presents us with anxiety concerning preservation of the self. We can see how Dorian depends on objects to understand or even determine his identity; we can also see how the character and the object and the description of what he does are being used to define one another. Eden's text lacks this overt separation between character and author and this awareness of how she defines herself according

to objects. She persists in seeing them and their lack as circumstances that threaten her identity, but—and this is key to how imperialism works—she doesn't seem to challenge her own structure of thinking.

2.2.3 Getting Lost in the Chaos

For *Dorian Gray* to be viable, the characters must assume that they *can* own certain things—things that are inherently collective and, I argue, unownable. Furthermore, the reader must be willing to believe that as well. The narrator foregrounds the process of Lord Henry Wotton awakening Dorian to a sense of self both through their interactions and through Basil's reactions. Descriptions of Dorian aren't just ways of describing him, they define him, and Dorian's limits depend on the body. In the course of one page, Lord Henry moves from what Dorian does—"you charm the world," he tells Dorian—to what he needs in order to do so: "You have a wonderfully beautiful face...when you have lost it you won't smile...When your youth goes, your beauty will go with it, and then you will suddenly discover that there are no triumphs left for you, or have to content yourself with those mean triumphs that the memory of your past will make more bitter than defeats...The world belongs to you for a season...I saw that you were quite unconscious of what you really are."⁵¹ Unfortunately, Lord Henry begins with many of the same crucially misguided assumptions that Basil does: for one thing, he assumes that 1) beauty is a thing and 2) Dorian can therefore own it. For another, because he considers beauty to be ownable, and because he sees the possession of it as responsible for Dorian's ability to be happy at this point in his life, he represents the loss of it as catastrophic. He makes Dorian aware of a self, but simultaneously dictates to him an imperative to protect that identity. Rather than finding

happiness in doing or appreciating, Dorian learns to delimit that self through a quantitative inventory of what he “has.”

Lord Henry reduces Dorian to his looks, immediately engendering a sense of urgency that spawns from understanding his existence in terms of having, needing, and losing: “Why should it keep what I must lose? Every moment that passes takes something from me, and gives something to it.”⁵² We can see Dorian begin to think that something crucial is at stake, that living isn’t just about being, but about having, keeping, desiring—and insatiable jealousy inevitably accompanies that mentality. The painting keeps and takes and gets and, consequently, Dorian has less—is less. By the end of the chapter, we witness the integral conflation that foreshadows the plot: first Basil calls the painting “you” as he speaks to Dorian: “as soon as you are dry, you shall be varnished, and framed and sent home,”⁵³ and then he refers to the painting as “the real Dorian.”⁵⁴ The metaphoric nature of the concept is lost on Dorian, which is important because seeing this as a metaphor is the only thing that would have saved him from understanding his life and himself as a literal storehouse of capital. Instead, he considers the portrait a usurper and himself a victim, completely overlooking the fact that he mourns something he never “had” or lost because it isn’t ownable in the first place. It is crucial, though, that he forgets this truth; the novel couldn’t function without Dorian’s notion that he faces the imminent loss of something he can claim as his own and, therefore, preserve.

Eden’s book functions in much the same way as Wilde’s does. Dorian’s lack of awareness led to catastrophe because he saw the portrait as usurping his “self” without realizing that his “self” was an unownable entity. Eden’s experience is similar. Just as Lord Henry Wotton introduced Dorian to the possibility that he needs certain things in order to do certain things, and, therefore to be someone, so does the experience of living outside England alert Eden to the

possibility that not being able to do certain things could lead to a loss of self. The catch, of course, is that she is wrong. Like Basil Hallward, Eden registers a useless fear. Just as the secret of his soul isn't Basil's to keep, neither is Eden's existence as an English woman. Again, like Basil's portrait, Eden's representation of herself—even in her mind—is only ever a person's interpretation of a subject. She represents herself according to how she fits into her uniquely imagined notion of what being English means, but she doesn't recognize that concept as creatively constructed. And again, just as Basil's statement prompts us to ask what one gains from owning these things even if he could, so, too, does Eden's writing raise the question of what the advantage of carefully guarding one's Englishness is. It also prompts her to set herself against what might usurp what she understands herself as having.

Dorian Gray is a novel so—although Dorian, the other characters, and even the narrator in the novel aren't aware of their faulty logic—the reader doesn't conflate the author or his own beliefs with those of the character. In a travel narrative like *Up the Country*, the main character is the author, and we read it differently.

Eden's entry about the unnaturalness of life in India (quoted on page 43, above) reflects the ways in which ruling the empire from India impacts Eden's life on a daily basis, and one of the most important themes is the increasing absence of English life. Not in the sense of a dearth of English balls or political events—despite what she says in this particular entry, those actually do still occur with reasonable frequency—but in the sense that the way and Englishwoman begins her day by eating breakfast, walking through the gardens and giving orders to her household (pastimes with which a character like Fanny Price would occupy herself), are not the concerns with which Emily Eden is faced even when she is still new to the experience of traveling in India and is optimistic. In this light, the entry elevates the threat, and, as with Dorian,

it is easy to see how preserving a way of life seems exigent for one's happiness. This realization leads to a further implication, though: if we pause to consider the larger picture, Eden's determination to remain English, like Dorian's ambition to stay young and beautiful, belies the notion that clinging to this identity will bring happiness. In fact, her impulse to lament begs the question, to what degree does the element of "Englishness" *add* to Eden's grief? The unfamiliar is unpleasant, but perhaps it doesn't have to be to this degree. Take, for instance, this entry in which Eden begins her day by riding an elephant:

The roads are so *infernally* bad—I beg your pardon, but there is no other word for it. ... This morning, before F. and G. left the carriage, one of the [horses], in a fit of exasperation, threw himself over the other leader and the postilion; of course they all three came down, but luckily neither man nor horses were hurt; but the carriage could not come on, so we all got on some elephants, which were luckily close at hand. They took us two miles, and by the time mine, which was a baggage elephant, had jolted me into very small pieces, we came to fresh horses. C. and G. rode on, and I sat down on the ground by a fire of dry grass, which the syces and bearers had made for themselves. I longed very much for an inn, or an English waiter, or anything, or anybody; but otherwise it was amusing to see the camp roll by—the Baboos in their palanquins, Mr. C.'s children in a bullock carriage, Mr. B.'s clerks riding like sacks, on rough ponies, with their hats on over their nightcaps; then the Artillery, with the horses all kicking.⁵⁵

This description closely follows that of a grand parade and sending-off party thrown for the Governor General, so the reader is keenly aware that what we (and Eden) are watching pass is the glorious cavalcade intended to exemplify the wealth and power of British rule.

Eden nonchalantly mentions the assorted modes of transportation, demonstrating her secure position as a member of the ruling (and extraordinarily wealthy) elite. What Eden refuses, here, is the opportunity to regale the reader with a yarn unlikely to transpire in England; she may be inconvenienced, but it is because her alternate forms of transportation, *elephants* “which were luckily close at hand,” jolt her more than do horses or carriages!⁵⁶

By comparison, in *Letters From India*, Eden recounts humorous and affectionate episodes on the ship to India before she met with such a culture shock and the ensuing challenge to her identity. On the boat, where there is less at stake, Eden’s portrayal of Lord Auckland and their adventures take on a much less decorous tone:

Just then the ship took one of her deepest rolls; the spar that kept in his books gave way, and the books all poured out on the floor; two of his heavy boxes broke from their lashing and began dancing about among the books, and all George’s shoes and boots. Chance was jerked off the sofa into the middle of the room, and began crying; George was thrown upon me, and we both laughed so that he could not get up again. We made a grab at the bell and Mars came in, *sitting down*, which was the only way of moving that day... The next roll brought —— sliding in –in the same position –saying, “More fun! No dinner today; that last lurch sent the cook into the sheep pen, and the sheep are too frightened to help him out; and there’s the hatchway ladder unshipped as H—— was going down” (he is an immensely fat young man) “and he fell under it, and our marines on the top of him.”⁵⁷

This depiction of her brother flying through the air, laughing too hard to even pull himself off of her, and delighting in witnessing his shipmates sliding around on the floor contrasts sharply to the carefully constructed portrayals of him always in command of every situation in *Up the Country* (for instance, Eden writes, “G. made a speech to the same effect, and mentioned that the two armies had joined, and they could now conquer the whole world; and Runjeet carried on the compliment, and said that here the oracle had prompted him to make his treaty, and now they saw that he and the English were all one family.”)⁵⁸ Although the incident on the ship appears to cause vastly more destruction, Eden’s perspective at that point allows her to regard it humorously. In *Up the Country*—in India—what Eden longs for is “for an inn, or an English waiter, or anything, or anybody.” She wants to do what the English do when they experience trouble with transportation. Instead, she sits by a fire of dry grass and watches as the spectacle of English people in very un-English situations roll by. Her identity becomes paramount, her experiences cease to be valuable for their own sakes and become just a threat to her identity.

If Lord Henry Wotton acquaints Dorian with the idea of a self as an entity that requires certain things (beauty, indulgence, etc.), so, too, does Eden’s time in India illuminate her notion of a self as a similar “thing.” She associates activities with her identity, so when those pastimes change, her sense of self feels threatened. Ironically, it is not the lack of being able to do things that will annihilate her identity; *lack* of changing would do that. Even more ironically, even if that were the case, as her reference to Guy Fawkes points out, it is not someone else, but an Englishwoman and her politics that would be deconstructing itself. They are the ones who decide that life outside England is necessary. So if Eden *does* adhere to the belief that if she writes, if she records “English”

thoughts and activities and sends them to English people, I would argue that part of her task is to *do* these things, but other part is to make herself *visible* doing these things: to demonstrate her continued status as an Englishwoman. In order to see how this happens, it is useful to look at genre, but also at other mediums.

2.3 THE SUBJECT OF NARRATION

As I have argued, because the way in which Eden's writing functions depends so closely on how she writes it, she has established trust and authority. She writes in a fragmented style that defies reconciliation and yet she collects those fragments, which invites the reader to imagine a teleological narrative. By looking at Eden's text alongside one that *does* seem to be up to something, we begin to uncover some of the ways in which her identity crisis seems to mirror that of England in general. Like Dorian, whose recognition of the metaphor of the painting would have been his saving grace, so too, does Eden seem to miss her trip's metaphoric and ironic role. But this isn't the complete answer. Eden is a writer, too, so we can't just look at her as a character. We must also come back to contemplating her as an author. I declared before that *Dorian Gray* seems like a novel that is up to something; Wilde claims to value "art for art's sake," but doing so is never quite that simple and he knows that. So does his novel, and we see traces of Wilde's philosophy in those of its characters. Specifically, even if Basil is wrong about protecting his selfhood, he has a point about art containing something of its creator's mindset. Still, though, we cannot align this character's (or any other character's) attitudes exactly with

Wilde's. Eden's work contains similar traces of a philosophy about what the author is doing. Even if Eden doesn't seem to value her experiences for their own sake, looking at her process allows us to theorize that experience—and that viewpoint.

In this section, I'd like to take another look at some artists and their works in order to reconsider what the subjects of those works might be. I find it useful to explore a few different mediums as well as genres of writing in order to do so. Therefore, I will look at parody to see how exposing Wilde's unacknowledged agenda calls into question the idea of ownability at which I've been poking. Then I will look at newspapers, film shorts and Eden's writing in order to make visible how we read—to illuminate the habits that readers often don't notice. This process concentrates more on the author and the style than the persona or the character featured in the work.

2.3.1 Flaunting the Instability of Identity

We don't always notice that we think of an author as "owning" knowledge or talent. And yet, we often do. On a related note, we often think of books as things to be consumed or knowledge as capable of being acquired—thus both owned—through reading. Understanding books or "knowledge" in this way leads us into a dynamic that is actually quite similar to Dorian's and Eden's concepts of identity. Of course, knowledge is not an "ownable" thing any more than Eden's English identity is. In this section, I will look at how Ada Leverson's parodies of Oscar Wilde suggest a way of understanding knowledge and words that doesn't presume or require owning. I do so the hope of drawing attention to the ways in which Wilde's style guides the reader to regard the writer, not just the purported subject of the texts, as something about which

we form opinions. From there, I suggest that Eden guides her reader to see her as an Englishwoman.

In discussing *Dorian Gray*, Shelton Waldrep asserts: “Wilde makes it clear via Dorian that you are what you own and what you can feel; one’s body, as the novel’s ending makes clear, is one’s only limiting or determining condition.”⁵⁹ I would like to modify that statement and suggest that Wilde demonstrates through his representation of Dorian and Dorian’s things that you are what you *do* with what you own. This is not to say that Waldrep’s assertion is incorrect; Wilde certainly does depend on ownership to determine identity and uses the body as a way of illustrating limits. However, my addition opens up the space in which to consider the possibilities that we can do things with things we don’t own, and that we often don’t (or can’t) own things we readily consider to be ours. It follows, then, that our whole concept of our “self” is always already limited. Like Basil and his painting, if we could step back and recognize that our self is merely our interpretation of what a self can be, we would recognize how prohibiting that fear of losing the self or revealing the self is. It seems potentially useful to see how this principle plays out if we regard the author as owner and knowledge as an ownable entity because it illuminates how we form opinions about authors. That space *could* allow for ways of noticing, encountering things without defense of self taking precedence.

This can be understood at a textual level if we notice Wilde’s use of the Naturalist technique of relying on “objective” sources and meticulously recording details and “facts.” As Waldrep, among others, points out, Joris-Karl Huysmans pulled information and language in *A Rebours* directly from reference books, an approach that Wilde mimics fairly extensively, especially in chapter 11 of *Dorian Gray*. Here, Dorian’s various interests and hobbies provide an opportunity for the author to imply his own expertise on the subjects:

The orphreys were woven in a diaper of red and gold silk, and were starred with medallions of many saints and martyrs, among whom was St. Sebastian. He had chasubles, also, of amber-coloured silk, and blue silk and gold brocade, and yellow silk damask and cloth of gold, figured with representations of the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ, and embroidered with lions and peacocks and other emblems; dalmatics of white satin and pink silk damask, decorated with tulips and dolphins and *fleurs de lys*; altar front...⁶⁰

At a textual level, what the novel demonstrates is not so much Dorian's obsession, but the author's. In fact, Dorian seems to be undertaking these studies out of ennui or an effort to escape: "For these treasures, and everything he collected in his lovely house, were to be to him means of forgetfulness, modes by which he could escape, for a season, from the fear that seemed to him at times to be almost too great to be borne."⁶¹ Thus, we see the process of the author claiming the data as his own. We believe that it is his precisely because he records it—that because he can write a narrator who notices and describes these things with such detail and eloquence, the *author* has that ability. Thus, we form an opinion about the author based on what we think he has command of, or "owns." The joke, of course, is that Wilde doesn't even own that knowledge in the most basic sense; in fact, he doesn't even bother to assimilate it at all, he simply copies descriptions out of reference books. Even if we could consider information capable of being owned, this wouldn't qualify. This posing makes Wilde a particularly interesting case study, particularly when we look at some of his other work.

Significantly, it was not really a secret that part of Wilde's purpose in much of his writing was to demonstrate—or rather flaunt—intelligence; in fact, Ada Leverson wrote a parody about this tendency of Wilde's: "The Minx—A Poem in Prose."⁶² In this piece, Leverson exposes

Wilde's poem, "The Sphinx," as an effort to slyly entice a potential lover, not really to honor the mythical creature at all.⁶³ And, in fact, Wilde's delight in Levenson's parody (he christened her "the Sphinx" after reading it) stems in large part from her recognition of his epideictic rhetoric and her demonstration of her own linguistic adeptness. In Levenson's version, "The Minx" is interested more overtly in the poet of Wilde's poem than in the Sphinx; Levenson emphasizes the performative element in his poetry that draws attention to the writer's wealth of knowledge and ultimately renders the Sphinx's "experiences" irrelevant. Unlike Wilde, Levenson's poet actually grants the *Sphinx* the power to speak, irreverently crossing a line on which Wilde depends for his rhetorical strategy: "It's so good of you to see me. I merely wished to ask one or two questions about your career. You must have led a most interesting life." The cordial yet professional manner with which Levenson's poet states his goal briefly emphasizes the ostentatious and lengthy pontificating of Wilde's speaker, who gushes for nine stanzas about the seductiveness of the Sphinx.

Wilde's poem concludes with the penultimate stanza accusing the Sphinx: "False Sphinx! false Sphinx! by reedy Styx old Charon, leaning on his oar / Waits for my coin. Go though before, and leave me to my Crucifix."⁶⁴ True to the form of the poem, Wilde employs poetic syntax for emphasis and myth to explain the double-crossing nature of the creature. Levenson's ending exposes a mistaken identity as well. By the end of her interview her poet suggests a more appropriate title for her interviewee: A Minx. Levenson thus implies that Wilde's *poet* is actually the Minx. Levenson's repeated hints at the misinterpreted subject of Wilde's poem culminate in this playful accusation: Wilde's poem claims to be interested in the Sphinx but, in reality, Wilde only uses it as a medium in which to demonstrate his skill in language and his knowledge of myth and literature—attributes that render the writer appealing to potential lovers and admirers.

Leverson's "poem" is presented as a playful mockery of Wilde's poetry; indeed, Ada Leverson's parodies regularly exposed his epideictic tendencies.⁶⁵ But what the dynamic between Leverson and Wilde demonstrates most clearly is that the knowledge is never really Wilde's to "own." Rather, words and knowledge and literary allusions get passed around, taking on ever-new and growing connotations. Unlike possessions, to which the "owner" can delude himself into thinking he can manage physical access, the owner of knowledge manages his audience's impression. Wilde and Leverson are as notorious for trading *bon mots* as Wilde is for borrowing them from his (and others') characters.⁶⁶ Leverson's and Wilde's incessant re-using of each other's words—in essence, 'citing' each other—creates a type of complementary relationship in which they build on each other's phrases. Each depends on the connotations that the other has already constructed to suggest nuanced meanings.⁶⁷ Wilde connects his characters through epigrams; Leverson humorously usurps those phrases, sometimes accurately, sometimes not, in order to reveal the partial meaning that Wilde wants to assign to his characters' words. Often, Wilde re-appropriates the language and continues to build humor. Leverson's parodies of Wilde interrupt the lull that we fall into in Chapter 11 of *Dorian Gray* and remind us that, after all, the novel's mystique depends on our willingness to be impressed. We must get caught up in the experience of desiring more in order to sympathize with Dorian, and the best way to accomplish that is to make us compare ourselves to the novel. That the more subtle association of the novel's knowledge with the author's abilities happens fairly readily creates the dynamic Leverson pokes fun at in "The Minx."

To return to my point about the novel and *its* subject, the parody discussion opens up the possibility that the characters or the speakers aren't really what the piece is about. In fact, although Wilde's aesthetic ideals desire "art for art's sake," the very creation of that art, as we

see in Basil's comment about painting, inherently carries with it the keys to accessing emotion, admiration, artistic sensibility, and, at its core, a desire to demonstrate the ability of the artist.⁶⁸ Therefore, it seems inevitable that there is something a little self-congratulatory in creating art, and that it can never be just art for art's sake. We have seen how in chapter 11 of *Dorian Gray*, Wilde customizes the arrangement of information the way one customizes a room or a collection. The result of this arrangement is that the reader is constantly reminded that she does not own this information, that she must defer to Wilde, or at least to the narrator. In this way, we begin to see our own habits of thinking about the text and its author.

Dorian Gray evinces the notion that if you have something, you are someone. If you don't, you depend on the mercy of others; in other words, you are largely helpless. Furthermore, if you do something with what you have, you are even more of a someone (Dorian becomes less and less partially because he becomes less and less able to do anything with what he collects). The characters create needs for themselves. Like the characters in *Cranford* who create perceptions of economic and social shortages in order to seem responsible and thrifty, Basil worries about protecting evidences of his feelings and Dorian both attempts to protect his youth and beauty and also fosters a notion of himself as indulgent. However, the subject of the novel is never just Dorian or the picture. Neither does the novel just demonstrate erroneous notions of ownability, it also plays with the readers' presumptions both about the author and about the readers' relationships to the text. What is important in this study of Wilde's work is that we think of the author. I'd like to look at Eden's text in a similar way in order to consider her motivations. We can see that Wilde flaunts intelligence. It makes sense to consider the characteristic to which Eden might be calling her readers' attention.

2.3.2 Covering British Subjects

I claimed early on in this chapter that fiction lacked a representation of the colonial ruling class and that Emily Eden's text *Up the Country* filled that void. For one thing, I claimed that, while imperialist and domestic novels portray people coming back from, depending fiscally on, going to, or even sometimes travelling through or living in colonies, as do Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* (1868), George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876), and Ethel Turner's *Seven Little Australians* (1894),⁶⁹ they don't develop characters who belong to the colonial British ruling class while they rule in the colonies. With this statement, I imply that details of life and character development are important to a reader's developing concept of the colonial ruling class. At this point, I would like to return to how Eden's text and other diurnal travel narratives do something different and important.

The sub-genre of personal, diurnal travel narratives leaves traces of its discursive purpose that, in turn, make visible evidence that what the writer really wants is to cling to her identity as a person who writes to her family from abroad. In retaining this habit, in participating in this activity, she fulfills her role as the stewardess of relationships with friends and family back in England and thereby also protects her status as an Englishwoman even while abroad. Again, we can see that what she is able to *do* is really the most important subject of the narrative. Ultimately, though, the process of writing and traveling changes her, so although she holds on to this identity by attempting to do English things, her determination to do so and the thought processes behind it, change her.

It seems like a good time, then, to return to the classification of *Up the Country* as a travel *narrative*. Although Eden's book purports to be a collected of letters with nothing added,

only some boring parts omitted, the essential characteristic of a narrative is that its beginning is determined only when its resolution is known. Even if we resist the notion of teleological progression, and I suggest that we still should, we still need to attend to the layers of narration. I have already pointed to the ways in which diurnal travel narratives encourage us to conflate the narrator with the author and to limit the notion of “writing” to the act of writing something down. I also want to think about how the presumptions that accompany that spontaneous act of writing blind the reader to the possibility that we are being shown something outside of the purported subject of the entries.

Peter Brooks has written about the literary narrative, suggesting that reading entails uncovering layers of metonymy in order to reveal the intent of the narrative.⁷⁰ What seem to be the obvious motifs in the plot are not necessarily, or even usually, the motivations that shape the text itself. Narration is a teleological retelling that depends on the narrator’s superior knowledge of events even when that aspect of its character is masked. In other words, the narrator is also always invested in setting up situations in a way that guides the reader along a certain path toward the ending of the plot.

This section, then, notices traces of telling that may not be evidently—or at all—teleological in an effort to think about the motivations that shape the text. I look at newspapers and how the journalist’s attentiveness to what readers want prompts him to create columns and characterize concerns in a manner that seems to meet those desires. I return to Eden to look at the ways in which she does and doesn’t call attention to the production of her own text. In essence, I attempt, like Levenson’s parody does (but, unfortunately, in a much less amusing manner) to uncover another layer and see that Eden’s motivation includes establishing herself as a member of the British colonial ruling class, but that by doing that so thoroughly, she also makes evident

that her sub-genre and style guide the reader along a path toward understanding her as such. Recognizing *Up the Country*'s self-reflexive moments illuminates a crucial aspect of the sub-genre of diurnal travel narratives: although they are not necessarily teleological, diurnal travel narratives—especially Eden's—lead the reader to think about how the author writes because they show the process of narrating. This, in turn, reveals what the writer leaves out of her travel narrative (and her logic) and helps us to understand how erroneous notions are constructed. In order to arrive at all this, though, let us begin with the news.

While it is true that newspapers regularly reported on the comings and goings, and even the balls held by, the colonial ruling class, these columns stopped short of depicting daily lives. Part of this has to do with what the newspapers assume the reader wants to know, part of it has to do with access to information, and part of it has to do with the message they actually intend to convey. Newspapers assume the intent of the reader to acquire knowledge in a more explicit way than Wilde's novel does—or at least acknowledge the give-take relationship in a more straightforward manner. The assumption is that they report news; however, what they actually convey might be quite different.

The Eden family's departures and arrivals were actually covered with, perhaps, more zeal than most people's were, since Lord Auckland's purpose in travelling to and through India in 1836 was to assume the role of Governor General. The media's enthusiastic intent to report is exemplified in a short update published in *The Friend of India* on Thursday, March 3, 1836: "Our new Governor General has not yet arrived. A vessel was seen at Pooree which was mistaken for the *Jupiter*, and steamers were dispatched to meet her, but it appears certain that the vessel thus seen was the *Larkins*. It is now conjectured that the *Jupiter* put in to the Mauritius after the hurricane which she must have encountered."⁷¹ Anxious to keep abreast of the latest

movements of the *Jupiter* and its passengers, the periodical effectively only reports its own overzealousness: “we actually don’t know anything about Lord Auckland’s whereabouts,” it communicates, “but now you know that he is on our minds.” The same periodical reported in April of that year: “This week, the Governor General paid a visit to the mint. The courier observes, that his lordship was for some time Mint-master in England, and is well conversant in Mint affairs, whatever measures are to be taken in the future regarding the currency, will be dictated with wisdom and executed with promptitude.”⁷² If the first short article suggests the eager anticipation with which the writer (and, assumedly, the reader) awaits Lord Auckland’s arrival, the second betrays an equally undetermined concern, this time couched in a concrete fact. Lord Auckland did visit the mint. But the real subject of the article is the reader’s assumed unease surrounding the Governor General’s management of currency in India, indicated by the perceived need to assure the reader of Lord Auckland’s experience. Whether they discuss his whereabouts or comment on his capabilities, both articles concern Lord Auckland’s official movements as Governor General and, perhaps more importantly, both “report” on news that hasn’t happened yet, reflecting more on the desire to report news than on emerging events themselves.

The aforementioned updates appear, ironically, in columns named such things as “Weekly Summary of Events,” Lord Auckland’s status qualifying his “events” as worthy of reportage, even when they are not noteworthy—or even actions—in and of themselves.⁷³ Interestingly, looking at an article in *The Friend of India* beside Eden’s own rendering of a similar durbar illuminates the key aspect of Eden’s text with which I am concerned: her occupation with how being in India affects her. For instance, *The Friend of India* featured a short paragraph informing its readership of Lord Auckland’s first Durbar:

The Governor general held his first Durbar on Thursday morning, the number of Native gentlemen of Rank who attended was very considerable. They were severally introduced by the Political Secretary, and the usual forms were observed. Amongst the distinguished visitors at the Durbar, were Raja Kalee Krishen, Raja Gopeemohun Deb, and Raja Rajnarayan Roy. The latter gentleman, who, as we are incredibly informed, went in a superb carriage drawn by four horses, and preceded by troopers and sepoy in a perfectly unique costume, was invested with the Khelaut pertaining to his rank. Various jewels and other marks of distinction were bestowed upon the illustrious Raja, the particulars we have been requested to publish for general information.—*Eng.*⁷⁴

The extent to which the Rajas' entourage is described, here, seems at least somewhat detailed—it mentions the carriage drawn by four horses and the “perfectly unique costume” the sepoy and troops wear. Surrounding the paragraph in *The Friend of India* are similar reports, though about nothing necessarily related to Lord Auckland and his durbars. Eden's descriptions of the Durbars don't include significantly more detail. For instance, on November 6, 1837, Eden writes,

...at half-past three, G. held a durbar. Some of the rajahs came in great state—one with a gold howdah on his elephant; another had a crimson velvet covering to his carriage, embroidered with gold, and they all had a great many retainers. To some of them G. gave gold dresses and turbans, and we went behind a screen to see Mr. T. and the other gentlemen help the rajahs into their gold coats. The instant the durbar was over we set off...⁷⁵

What is different about Eden's account is her inclusion, earlier on in that entry, of the sentence, “We have had such a fatiguing day—just what we must have at every station—but still

it is fatiguing.” In contrast to the report in *the Friend of India*, Eden’s entry puts the durbar into such context as reminds the reader that the participants (at least the British participants) are human beings upon which the official government activities take a toll. In her entry, the Eden family is always—or at least never far from being—the subject of her writing. She devotes one sentence to the rajahs in attendance. It is almost as if this was all the attention Eden could muster.⁷⁶

If Eden’s descriptions of the cavalcade and the Durbars she attended foreground the ways in which she is affected by the movements and events, and if what we attempt to tease out, here, are the ways in which her medium makes that visible (since she writes *as* the moving is inconvenient and uncomfortable), noting how the process of recording makes that literally visible also illuminates how, when one records as one encounters, the act of encountering changes, and so does the act of recording. Because she collects letters and writes about writing, and because she refers to how her circumstances affect her, Eden’s mode of writing becomes both the subject and the means by which she shows how she tells. Eden’s text and other diurnal travel narratives offer an opportunity to show the subject’s involvement in the invention and the product in a way that literary narration often precludes; they make the subject’s interest in production visible. I will return a little bit later to how they do so.

Of course, in some cases, travel narratives perpetuate the mystification surrounding the people whose lives they describe as much as this type of “news coverage” does. Often, although travel writers purportedly disclose their daily activities, they actually divulge very little information about themselves. Instead, they use personal movements as excuses to share political views, encounters with other powerful figures, or even their own musings.⁷⁷ By contrast, *Up the Country* offers a realist account of Emily Eden’s days: what she ate; what she saw; how hot or

cold or sick or tired she was, and how she coped with those discomforts; lamentations about missing her family and friends.⁷⁸ Her topics include the specific layout of her rooms and how her dog gets on with other pets in the camp as well as issues (political or otherwise) over which she ponders and insights into how her experiences impact her. Eden's original readers were her family members, with whom she was close, and she writes to them almost every day, not just to offer reports about government balls or political events, but to keep them abreast of how she spends her days. The detail with which she does so, and the unapologetically personal perspective with which she presents her life are what interest me partially because they tell the story of the journal's creation.

2.3.3 Telling about Writing: Diurnal Travel Narratives

Eden's diurnal form is an interesting contrast to the spectacular and fantastical cavalcade to which she belonged. The purpose of the cavalcade is to create spectacle. Eden's "real subject" manages to surface because of the traces of telling that expose narration as one of her topics.

For example, by providing more detail, Eden demonstrates what being a member of the British colonial ruling class is. If the newspaper articles weren't really about Auckland and the film wasn't really about the promenade, neither are Eden's entries about the nonevents of her days. They are about what she is trying to find, seek, record—they are about her quest for identity. They differ from newspapers by not summarizing events because, of course, it isn't the events that matter. Although her writing does not purportedly function to show off like Wilde's does, it *is* partially written for writing's sake. Her book can't be a collection of summaries because it's not the summaries that matter, it is the processes of recording and the recognition of

how they played out that matter. Because *Up the Country* is a diurnal travel narrative, it enacts noticing and writing and rereading and pondering the “things” with which Eden concerns herself. This, of course, is the crux of the travel narrative’s function on which I will expand in the next chapter: we must witness Eden’s awakening to “danger” so that we can see how the perceived threat develops and imperialism works, and we must see how her quest fails in order to see the futility of the goal in the first place.

Perhaps it is prudent here to reiterate David’s warning that she does not wish to “reduce Victorian fiction to a kind of information machine, but rather to point to *one* of the ways in which people read novels during the period. Novels allowed you to learn something about things, places, and people, formerly unknown”.⁷⁹ I, too, stress that travel narratives were not *only* regarded as sources of information about life in unfamiliar places; in fact, readers often suspected the genre as a whole of exaggeration, falsification, and even complete fabrication. Sensational adventures, dangerous encounters, and life-threatening episodes are normal fare in the travel narrative of the nineteenth century, and readers often chose these books for their incredulous tales. Neither were they read as novels, exactly; they were often criticized for their lack of style and literary finesse. However, Eden’s ability to immerse her reader in her experience takes precedence over the reader’s other concerns. Like Wilde in the early chapters of *Dorian Gray*, Eden lures the reader so far into the chaos and excitement that one hardly notices the power dynamics that make the situation possible or the limited view of the author:

Tamarhabad, Friday, Nov. 24

We marched ten miles to-day. These moves are the most amusing part of the journey; besides the odd native groups, our friends catch us up in their *déshabille*—Mrs. A. carrying the baby in an open carriage; Mrs. C. with hers fast

asleep in a tonjuan; Miss H. on the top of an elephant, pacifying the big boy of the A.s' Captain D. riding on in a suit of dust-coloured canvas, with a coal-heaver's hat, going as hard as he can, to see that the tent is ready for his wife; Mrs. B. carrying Mr. B's pet cat in her palanquin carriage, with her ayah opposite guarding the parroquet from the cat. Then Giles comes bounding by, in fact, run away with, but apologises for passing us when we arrive, by saying he was going on to take care that tea was ready for us. Then we overtake Captain D.'s dogs, all walking with red great coats on—our dogs all wear coats in the morning; then Chance's servant stalking along, with a great stick in one hand, a shawl draped over his livery, and Chance's nose peeping from under the shawl. F.'s pets travel in her cart. We each have a cart, but I can never find anything to put in mine. There are fakeers who always belong to a camp, and beat their drums just by the first tent, and the instant this drum is heard everybody thinks of their breakfast and hurries on; and the Sepoys and servants are so glad to get to the end of the march, that they throw the fakeers a cowrie, or some infinitely small coin, by which he lives.⁸⁰

Like Wilde's narrator, Eden describes figures by what they do, but, again, the objects and tools with which they do them are crucial. Eden's experience of a day would be almost unfathomable to her reader, but she takes her reader with her to the extent she is able. We don't recognize at first that we are experiencing this *with* Eden or that we conflate the narrator with the author; we just get carried away with her description. Eden's tone; the energy with which she surveys the participants in this magnificent march through India; and the sheer volume of people, supplies, costumes and modes of conveyance,

encourage her reader to engage with her description, create a mental image of the spectacle she records and visually scan the scene as Eden discursively shifts her attention. Although Eden freely employs esoteric (and phonetically-spelled) words that may be unfamiliar to her reader (“tonjuan,” “ayah,” “fakeers,” “cowrie”), her copious use of semicolons, commas and dashes, along with her tendency to begin sentences with the word “then,” insist that her reader continue to glance imaginatively and quickly over the scene; the punctuation creates a sense of urgency in the paragraph—its pace evokes the eagerness with which one attempts to catch a glimpse of every element of a parade before it moves on out of sight. The reader becomes enmeshed in Eden’s world, surrendering somewhat to her catalogue and forgetting how disorienting those unfamiliar words and terrain are for just a moment. It is almost possible to forget to long for “an inn, or an English waiter, or anything, or anybody.” This account is so caught up in the carts and drums and familiar people doing unfamiliar things (but seeming so accustomed to doing them), continuously moving in a sort of leap-frog manner—passing each other and then slowing and being passed—in their efforts to prepare tents and tea and breakfasts for their fellow travelers, that it is entirely possible to read this passage without even noticing that Eden doesn’t mention the terrain through or over which they march. In addition, she surveys the scene as an insider. She calls people by name, assumes that her reader knows that Chance is her dog, and includes motivations for “D.” and Giles’ movements.

Although not direct, like in the entry wherein Eden writes from the side of the road while watching the cavalcade pass by, there are traces of telling in this entry, too. For one thing, she sets this up as an account. The phrase, “We marched ten miles today” indicates that she recounts a story, even though she later switches to present tense. She then instructs

her reader about how to regard what follows: “These moves are the most amusing part of the journey” casts the procession a jocular light (perhaps I should point out that this entry occurs fairly early on in her trip, when she is still expressing excitement and awe about her adventure on a fairly consistent basis). Altogether, the readers and Eden “watch” this promenade. This is a retelling—a narrative—of watching in which the narrator’s superior knowledge is only somewhat masked. After all, she mentions that Giles “apologises for passing us *when we arrive*” (my emphasis), revealing the fact that she either does not write this on the spot or that it is a conglomeration of several instances.

Like Levenson’s parody of Wilde does, acknowledging narration in Eden’s work uncovers at least two characteristics of her writing. The first is that it demonstrates how the genre and all the expectations that come with it simultaneously make it possible to see these things, and create a need for them. Eden has a reasonable expectation that her letters will be read, so when she leaves traces of telling, we can see that the narrating creation is part of the subject of her writing. Part of the intrigue is to know what it is like to participate in and to watch all this happen and to write about it. Her audience wants to have that experience through her. The second thing that acknowledging narration in Eden’s work does is to reveal the possibility that she writes this in part to continually establish herself as a member of the British colonial ruling class. As I have explored in this chapter, the mundane ways in which anxiety about that identity surfaces allow us to reconsider why it is so important for her to do so. By looking at her entries, we can see what she sees, but also what she seems to ignore or overlook.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Considering *Up the Country's* journal-entry format allows us to recognize a purposeful conflating of private versus public expression whose advantages are (at least) twofold. First, publishing *Up the Country* as a collection of letters allows Eden to an *ethos* of intimacy (via the implied confidentiality of the letter); as I mention above, although Eden writes in her dedication to *Up the Country*, “Many passages of this Diary, written solely for the amusement of my own family, have of course been omitted,” she chooses to retain the overall format of a journal in publication, complete with dates. Eden’s self-referential delivery allows the reader to feel privy to the traditionally private act of diary composition so that despite the fact that Eden admits in the dedication that she has omitted portions of some letters, the implication is that nothing of importance has been changed and that she grants her reader more unmediated access than one would normally expect from a published travel narrative. In other words, Eden’s delivery—publishing material she claims she wrote “solely for the amusement of [her] own family”—affects both the subjects about which she writes and also how people *read* it.

By writing and distributing the details of their time in India Eden makes her family’s lives *the* experience of British ruling class presence abroad for non-elite Britons. Consequently, Eden and her text play crucial roles in constructing the identity of the British colonial ruling class in the nineteenth century. Eden’s attention to her daily life concerns is significant because it illuminates the ways in which British citizens conceive of the impact of political and economic empire. Her diurnal entries exemplify what empire ultimately means to individuals: changes to their personal lives. The conditions that Eden writes from a position of authority (both because she experiences this colony firsthand and

because she is sister and companion to the Governor General of India), and that no one else writes such a sustained account of a person in this position, make her travel narrative even more crucial to constructing the identity of the British colonial ruling class for her readers. She translates the concept of empire into terms that her readers understand and to which they relate. Even more importantly, *Up the Country* indicates a turn toward the ways in which politics are understood as linked to and represented by the everyday happenings of peoples' lives. This connection is closely tied to the ways in which English identity is imaginatively constructed and, more importantly, to the ways in which that identity defies attempts to summarize.

¹ Eden, "*Up the Country*": *Letters to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, 180-181.

(Hereinafter, *Up the Country*). This excerpt was written on November 5, 1838.

² Spivak, "Explanation and Culture: Marginalia," 139.

³ Ibid., 149-150.

⁴ I use the phrase "British colonial ruling class" throughout this dissertation to refer to a class of British administrators (and their female companions who did not hold official posts) acting as functionaries abroad. India did not become a British colony until 1858, so in some ways, this phrase is misleading. I use it to denote the difference between upper class British citizens and those who were members of the ruling class in economic strongholds and colonies of Great Britain. I also use it to suggest that, although the Eden's stint in India represented an economic presence, it served as a precursor to colonial rule. By the time Eden published *Up the Country* India was a British colony. The post of Governor General was neither universal nor static, and meant continuously different things in different colonies and economic strongholds at different

times. From 1833 until 1858, the Governor General was the head of all British administration in India, and he was appointed by the Court Directors of the East India Company.

⁵ For studies that situate Emily Eden and her travel narrative within the context of imperialism, see Muireann O’Cinneide, “Oriental Interests, Interesting Orients: Class, Authority, and the Reception of Knowledge in Victorian Women’s Travel Writing”; Indira Ghose’s introduction to *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation 1835-1910*; John Plotz, *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* especially Chapter 2: “The First Strawberries in India: Cultural Portability Abroad”; and Deirdre David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*. For biographical information about Eden and her family, see Marian Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj*; and Janet Dunbar, *Golden Interlude: The Edens in India 1836-1842*. Eden’s trip is also chronicled in Emily Eden, *Letters from India*, which was edited by Eleanor Eden, her sister, and published in 1872 and in *Miss Eden’s Letters*, edited by Violet Dickinson and published in 1919. These collections were not edited by Emily Eden and contain letters that she either never included in her journal (because they were written to recipients other than her family), or that she had presumably chosen not to include in her published version. Eden also produced copious visual records of her travels in India. She published *Portraits of the People and Princes of India* in 1842, and three volumes of her watercolor sketches are now housed in the Victoria Hall Memorial, Calcutta (Dickinson, *Miss Eden’s Letters*, ix). Fanny Eden, Emily’s sister, and William Godolphin Osborne, Emily’s nephew, also kept journals of at least parts of this trip that were eventually published. See Fanny Eden, *Tigers, Durbars and Kings: Fanny Eden’s Indian Journals 1837-1838* and W.G. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*.

⁶ For example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote *Emile: or On Education* (1762) in order to situate his concept of human nature in the “real” world. In order to do so, of course, Rousseau must create a fictional world in which the conditions for his theories to play out actually exist. For more on philosophers writing fiction, see Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel*, Chapter 1.

⁷ Many, in fact, actively purport to be so. See for instance, Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books About Southeast Asia*, 155 in which she cites Isabella Bird as claiming only to publish letters. As I will discuss later in this chapter, Emily Eden makes a similar claim in her preface (v). Gertrude Bell writes that, in an effort to tell the tales of the people she met, she has “strung their words upon the thread of the road” (Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, ix). In fact, such disclaimers seem to be a convention of women’s travel narratives in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

⁸ David, *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, 6. Hereinafter, *Cambridge*.

⁹ David, “Empire, Race, and the Victorian Novel,” 89. Hereinafter “Empire.”

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 89-90.

¹² The autobiography had not become popular yet, although memoirs, confessionals and travel narratives had. By this time, James Boswell’s *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791) had circulated and familiarized readers with the concept of reading about literary figures’ lives.

¹³ The reputation is well-known and, at times, has been exploited by authors of travel narratives and fiction alike. Obviously Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) plays on the unreliable nature of the genre to critique the political and social culture in which he lived. In the nineteenth century Anna Leonowens wrote *The Romance of the Harem* (1873) in which she preemptively

acknowledges the probable doubt her reader will have upon encountering her tales: “So strange will some of the occurrences related in the following pages appear to Western readers,” warns Leonowens, “that I deem it necessary to state that they are also true” (preface). As the use of the word “Romance” in the title implies, the style of this piece is closely tied up in the “stories” themselves. The title also harkens back to the sensation novels of the late eighteenth century, such as Ann Radcliffe’s *Romance of the Forest* (1791), inviting the reader associate the work with that genre. In fact, long after Eden published her work, the blurred line between genres continues to be a topic among readers of travel narratives.

¹⁴ Haldane’s work describes her ordeal during the Revolt of 1857 (which also became known as the Delhi Massacre, the Indian Mutiny, and the Sepoy Rebellion, among other names). This work covers several days of Haldane’s life, depicting her perspective and experience during the revolt. *History of the Delhi Massacre: It’s Supposed Origin and the Means Being Adopted to Avenge the Murder of the British Subjects* offers explanation and commentary on the events leading up to the revolt, the writer’s experience during it, and it’s social/political aftermath. Although this work purports to provide more context for the revolt than does Haldane’s text, it limits itself to the time period and subject of the revolt. Both texts take the turmoil during that time as their subjects. Even though they relay only the events they saw and the stories they were told, the writers themselves are not the intended subjects of the accounts. *A Lady’s Diary of the Siege at Lucknow: Written for the Perusal of Friends at Home* also takes the events of the Revolt of 1857 as its subject, and is narrated from Harris’s point of view. Her text does reflect how the siege at Lucknow affected her and her loved ones; however, unlike Eden’s narrative, its scope is also restricted to the time period in which the revolt took place.

¹⁵ E.M. Forster, *A Passage to India*, 39.

¹⁶ Kipling, *Kim*, 52. My emphasis.

¹⁷ Ibid., 53.

¹⁸ See Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing *A Companion to the Victorian Novel*; Deirdre David, “Empire, Race, and the Victorian Novel”; and Joseph W. Childers, “Industrial Culture and the Victorian Novel.” The work of Brantlinger and Thesing, David, Childers, and others has alerted us to the avenues through which empire’s influence made its way into the décor, diet, and wardrobes of middle-class English homes, as well as such matters as the way in which dependency on income generated in the colonies begins to be represented in novels. These critics point to the potential for novels to form—through basic fictional elements such as narration, setting and characterization—a perception of British realms readers may not know (or want to experience) firsthand. According to critics like Brantlinger and Childers, this perception in turn widens the scope of readers’ understanding across class lines (Childers 78).

¹⁹ See Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 62-63 and 87-97, for example.

²⁰ Citing novels such as Dickens’s *Domby and Son* (1848), Charlotte Brontë’s *Jane Eyre* (1847), and Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* (1814), David’s work demonstrates that, even for domestic characters, the degree to which Britons encountered the rest of the world in the nineteenth century depended on military rule and economic activity and that writers increasingly represent this connection as the imperial century progresses (David, “Empire,” 86).

²¹ “Industrial culture reaches into the lives of all [Dickens’s] characters in ways that often may seem trivial and innocuous, but upon closer inspection demonstrate the depth at which the presuppositions of this culture was lived. In a Dickens novel, the culture of industry, if not always the object of narrative observation, is always ubiquitous, saturating the narrative so

thoroughly as to be, ironically, almost invisible” (Childers, “Industrial Culture and the Victorian Novel,” 91).

²² This concern becomes more evident in the genre of short story later in the century: Amelia Edward’s short story “Was it an Illusion? A Parson’s Tale” calls the Lord of Blackwater Chase, Mr. Wolstenholme’s, material wealth, acquired from “various foreign ports and...foreign agents innumerable” and the willful ignorance about the working conditions of those who collect those treasures that is necessary to enjoy collecting them into question. Likewise, Oscar Wilde’s “The Young King” exposes the often-fatal lengths that people are forced to go to in order to acquire precious treasures for the King. Mary Beaumont’s “The Revenge of Her Race” (1879) indicts the English influence in New Zealand for inciting the self-loathing that consumes her Maori character.

²³ Rochester claims that he rescued Adèle from the “slime and mud of Paris, and transplanted [her] here, to grow up clean in the wholesome soil of an English country garden” where they try to curb her “superficiality of character, [which was] hardly congenial to an English mind” (Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, 170). Later, in his affection for Jane, he claims, “I would not exchange this one little English girl for the Grand Turk’s whole seraglio—gazelle-eyes, houri forms, and all!” (Ibid., 310). Even Jane assumes English superiority when she recounts Adèle’s schooling: “a sound English education corrected in a great measure her French defects” (Ibid., 519).

²⁴ Austen, *Mansfield Park*, 18-19, 144.

²⁵ Kipling, “Lispeth,” 350

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*.

³⁰ Ibid., 62.

³¹ This understanding of empire coincides partially with the understanding of imperial discourse on a national level that I am not addressing extensively in this dissertation. I'd like to see what happens when we try to apply Richards's notion first to a piece of fiction that mentions travel writing, and then to Eden's travel writing, itself. It seems to be potentially useful as one of the ways in which we can understand Eden's anxieties.

³² Levine, *Realism*, 9.

³³ Eden, *Up the Country*, Dedication.

³⁴ Eliot, *Adam Bede*, 176.

³⁵ Ibid., 177.

³⁶ Ibid., 175.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Eden, *Up the Country*, 165-6. Written on Sept 8, 1838.

³⁹ See Marie-Christine Leps, *Apprehending the Criminal: The Production of Deviance in Nineteenth-Century Discourse* for a discussion on how this discourse emerges and develops within the contexts of nineteenth-century England.

⁴⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

⁴¹ Ibid., 6.

⁴² See Richard Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*; Lady Anne Blunt and W.S.B., *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates*; Gertrude Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*; and Anthony Trollope, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* for instances of travel narratives that mix narration with encyclopedic recordings of flora, fauna and indigenous people and customs. For instance,

Gertrude Bell includes information about the economic conditions of one community as an element of her narration, relaying it as part of a conversation in which she took part: “After lunch I waded down the muddy hill to the village and called on the Sitt Ferīda and her husband. There were another pair of Christians present, the man being the Sāhib es Sandūk, which I take to be a kind of treasurer. The two men talked of the condition of the Syrian poor. No, one, said the land surveyor, died of hunger, and he proceeded to draw up the yearly budget of the average peasant. The poorest of the fellahīn may earn from 1000 to 1500 piastres a year...” (Bell, *Desert and the Sown*, 206).

⁴³ See Gertrude Bell, *Persian Pictures*; Mary Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, and Elizabeth Andrew and Katharine Bushnell, *The Queen’s Daughters in India* for examples of travel narratives that frequently intersperse personal tales with political commentary. For example, Mary Kingsley pauses, quite abruptly, in *Travels in West Africa* (210-211) to acquaint her reader with an issue she finds important: “I must now speak briefly on the most important article with which the Fan deals, namely ivory. His methods of collecting this are several, and many a wild story the handles of your table knives could tell you, if their ivory has passed through Fan hands...a certain percentage of ivory collected by the Fans is from live elephants, but I am bound to admit that their method of hunting elephants is disgracefully unsportsmanlike.”

⁴⁴ Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, 36.

⁴⁵ Eden, *Up the Country*, 180-181.

⁴⁶ Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 4.

⁴⁷ Mullvihill, “Economies of Living in Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Cranford*.”

⁴⁸ Ibid, 347-348.

⁴⁹ Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 77.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 18.

⁵² Ibid., 22.

⁵³ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 24.

⁵⁵ Eden, *Up the Country*, 79-80.

⁵⁶ Note the drastic contrast between this excerpt from Eden's narrative and the narrator's description of Kim's experience of travelling along the Grand Trunk Road. Whereas Eden casts her experience as annoying and inconvenient, Kim is awed by the seemingly endless array of spectacles he encounters (Kipling, *Kim*, 74-76).

⁵⁷ Eden, *Letters from India*, 34.

⁵⁸ Eden, *Up the Country*, 216.

⁵⁹ Waldrep, "Economics and Performance: Wilde's Aesthetic of Self-Invention," 7.

⁶⁰ Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 115.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ada Leverson, "The Minx-A Poem In Prose," 33.

⁶³ See Corinna Sundararajan Rohse, "The Sphinx Goes Wild(E): Ada Leverson, Oscar Wilde, and the Gender Equipollence of Parody" for more commentary on this point.

⁶⁴ Wilde, "The Sphinx," 171-173.

⁶⁵ The main character, Cecil Carington, in Ada Leverson's short story, "Suggestion" is another example of a playful use of a Wildean character (perhaps Dorian), whom she uses to parody hypocritical values of young heterosexual lovers. For more on Ada Leverson's discursive relationship with Wilde, see Margaret Debelius, "Countering a Counterpoetics: Ada

Leverson and Oscar Wilde”; William M. Harrison. “Ada Leverson’s Wild(e) *Yellow Book* Stories.”; and Julie Speedie, *Wonderful Sphinx: The Biography of Ada Leverson*.

⁶⁶ See Leverson’s parodies “An Afternoon Tea Party.” *Punch* 15 July 1893: 13 and “Overheard Fragments of a Dialogue.” *Punch* 13 Jan. 1895: 24, for more instances.

⁶⁷ This relationship was regarded by both of them as “complimentary” as well. Wilde wrote that “Parody, which is the Muse with her tongue in her cheek, has always amused me; but it requires a light touch...and oddly enough a love of the poet whom it caricatures. One’s disciples can parody one –nobody else” (Wilde quoted in Debelius, “Countering a Counterpoetics: Ada Leverson and Oscar Wilde,” 195). Leverson writes in “The Last First Night:” “Oscar’s style of wit lent itself only too dangerously to imitation, and for years we suffered from a plethora of half-witted epigrams and feeble paradoxes by the mimics of his manner” (Wyndham, *The Sphinx and Her Circle: A Biographical Sketch of Ada Leverson 1862-1933*, 112), suggesting that she did indeed intend to make a much more sophisticated gesture in her own mimicry of Wilde.

⁶⁸ Shelton Waldrep explains Wilde’s approach in *Dorian Gray* in terms of the realist mode he sees Wilde as employing: “For Wilde, realism embodied an absolute value for aesthetics, given that only by seeing the world as it really is and appreciating what is beautiful –through the power of one’s ability to make choices—can one ever hope to begin the task of making the world thoroughly aesthetic” (“Economics and Performance: Wilde’s Aesthetic of Self-Invention,” 2).

⁶⁹ See also Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, especially pages 62-63 for a more extensive catalogue of “allusions to the facts of empire.”

⁷⁰ Brooks, *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative*, 27.

⁷¹ “Weekly Summary of Events,” Thursday, march 03, 1836, 67.

⁷² “Weekly Summary of Events,” Thursday, April 07, 1836, 109.

⁷³ Eventually, Fanny and Emily Eden's deaths were both reported in this same periodical as were the births, deaths as marriages of other residents of Calcutta. Emily Eden's obituary is also printed, under the heading "Literary Gossip." Eden's death had become noteworthy because of her success as an author, but also because of her connections with powerful, politically important men. The obituary elides personal details of Eden's life. This seems to be appropriate, since aside from reports about official acts, meetings, and movements, the family's lives were little remarked upon in periodicals even while they were in India. The newspaper coverage does, then, introduce readers to the Eden family, but while it reflects interest and concern, it does not necessarily acquaint readers with the people about whom it informs. "We eagerly anticipate your arrival!" it seems to say, but it never seems to get passed the anticipating, conjecturing, and assuring.

⁷⁴ "Weekly Summary of Events," Thursday, March 17, 1836, 84.

⁷⁵ Eden, *Up the Country*, 13.

⁷⁶ Margaret Brooke makes a similar rhetorical move in *My Life in Sarawak* (1913) in which she writes, "Looking over the diaries I kept in those days, they throw little light upon the new surroundings in which I found myself. I had received the limited education given to girls in that mid-Victorian period...but as regards the important things in life, these had never been thought of consequence to my education" (Ibid., 1). Excepting the first sentence in the passage above, Margaret Brooke and her English friends (not Sarawak or the people who live there) are the primary subjects of every sentence on the first two pages of her book. Although at first the phrase seems merely to act as an introduction to Brooke's thought, the context suggests that the sentence—perhaps even the entire book—is more about Brooke's remembering, longing, and experiencing travel than about the

places or the people she remembers and for which she longs. This grammatical pattern (with Brooke or her reactions as the primary subject of most sentences) is sustained throughout the first chapter, and, although she departs from this structure for extended periods, she often returns to it, foregrounding her interpretations and drawing attention to her ways (and limits) of knowing.

⁷⁷For example, Anthony Trollope begins his travel narrative *The West Indies and the Spanish Main* as if he will primarily describe his own adventures while travelling. However, what he actually *does* is to provide copious details about the culture through which he travels. Although it seems at first as though he recounts his daily activities, he uses phrases describing his location or movement merely as a way of setting up another historical account of a place. For instance, in the chapter “The Passage of the Windward Islands,” Trollope writes, “We then reach St. Lucia, which is also very lovely as seen from the sea. This, too, is an island French in its language, manners, and religion; perhaps more entirely so than any other of the islands belonging to ourselves. The laws even are still French...” (131). He goes on to compare the island to others in the area, describe its political and social history and ponder its population. He only returns to his own activities inasmuch as they allow him to move on to a new subject. Recall also the examples I cited from Bell, Burton, and Kingsley earlier in the chapter. This is not to say that travel writers *never* recount their own movements, many of these very writers do so at times. However, quotidian accounts of their personal lives do not seem to be the primary subjects of the narratives to which I refer here.

⁷⁸ For example, in an entry composed on Wednesday, November 5, 1837 Eden writes, “When I am tired, or *tented*, or hot, or cold, and generally when I am in India, I have at least the comfort of always sitting down, to tell you all about it.” (Eden, *Up the Country*, 23).

⁷⁹ David, *Cambridge*, 6.

⁸⁰ Eden, *Up the Country*, 33-34.

3.0 THE MATERIALITY OF THE JOURNAL AND THE MISSING INK

I am sitting...on a straw beehive chair, which the natives always use when they *do* admit a chair, with Chance's own little chair for my feet, and the inkstand on the ledge of the window. I wish I was at Newsalls. There! now they want my inkstand.¹

Emily Eden is not just inconvenienced, here, she is low and homesick. Nuisances like this packing up confront and disrupt Eden's concept of what it is to be English every single day of the four years she resides in India. She has already pared down what she needs to write a letter. Whereas her counterpart in England would have required a davenport or a lady's chair with a desk carefully positioned out of the way of the morning sun in a room brightened with carpet and curtains and books, Eden muddles through with just a straw chair on which to perch and the material that yields print: ink. The ink is the most crucial equipment she mentions; without ink, she can no longer write. And at this point, writing is what makes her feel English.

I revisit this entry because it draws attention to three crucial aspects of Eden's existence while she resides in India: her activities, the objects with which she surrounds herself, and her sense of identity, with which she so closely connects her physical situation. In fact, the sub-genre of travel writing in which she participates—personally focused diurnal recordings—breeds observance of minute details, such as the objects with which one interacts during the course of a

day. These minute details, in turn, expose relationships between activities, tools, and what constitutes national identity at a personal level.

Ironically, attention to the journal's physical nature and subject matter shifts the focus from the product to the *process* of writing. In this chapter, I work with a lesser-known group of texts, situating them under the sub-genre of diurnal travel writing in order to illuminate the physical experiences of writing and drawing that these writers discursively indicate. For instance, Fanny Eden's journal from her trip to India and Harriett McDougall's published letters to her son while she resided in Sarawak both self-reflectively call attention to the task of composing; they both intersperse prose with explanations of techniques of sketching and inscribing. I also study travel narratives that aren't necessarily diurnal in form, but that also note the composition process. For instance, Emily Innes and Alicia Berwicke Little both interlace descriptions of flora and fauna in their travel narratives with evidence of their difficulties in naming, describing, or representing their encounters. McDougall does this as well.

Attention to the process of writing in this context is important because, on the one hand, women who wrote and sent letters were understood to be the stewardesses of their relationships with people back in England; to a greater degree than the men with whom they travelled did, women such as Emily Eden, Fanny Eden, and Harriet McDougall maintained personal relationships through writing with their families and friends. To the extent that their abilities to write and communicate were interrupted, so was their sense of purpose. On the other hand, by sharing chronicles of *how* their writing was interrupted—by leaving traces of the composing process—these women create space in which to consider the possibility that something is missing from their accounts, and to explore the importance of what escapes recording.

In this chapter, I closely read several journals and the domestic articles mentioned in them. As we begin to understand the ways in which these journals work, the cost at which they are produced becomes visible, as does the role these women play in perpetuating imperial discourse. Thus, my exploration calls the tradition of regarding imperialism as primarily carried out and perpetuated by males into question. In *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said pauses during his introduction to warn, “This is not to say that Orientalism unilaterally determines what can be said about the Orient, but that it is the whole network of interests inevitably brought to bear on (and therefore always involved in) any occasion when that peculiar entity ‘the Orient’ is in question.”² I concentrate on individual responses to and representations of empire; I study some unidentified participants in the “network of interests” that Said begins to acknowledge here, but tends to overlook because of the metaphors of conquest and penetration in which he often frames his discussions. Therefore, although my primary concern is not imperial discourse, by identifying some of the ways in which texts that appear to be quite *unsystematic* nonetheless develop imperial discourse, I acknowledge their potential participation in that discussion.

In this chapter, I follow the last chapter’s discussions of national identity with an exploration of how the narratives I describe above serve a multiplicity of roles. As products and archives, they serve to document how these women find ways to “be” with their families despite the broad distances that separate them. At the same time, as tools, they provide a way for writers to participate the act of communicating and sustaining relationships. Thus, this chapter deals with the materiality of the journal—its physical qualities and how those qualities determine what gets written in the journal. It also considers how readers construe the traces of these writers’ attempts at communicating, documenting, and preserving identity (inasmuch as identity is understood it to be linked to objects and activities, as I mentioned before). I draw on Julie Nelson

Christoph's notion of "strategies of placement" and John Plotz's understanding of "portable property" in order to discuss identity and identity markers. Applying Christoph's concept, I compare inkstands: how several were made, designed, used, and what owning or using them represented to several owners. Yet, as Plotz avers, what is portable about property is, in fact, a way of seeing that property, not the actual object itself. With Plotz's ways of regarding property in mind, I will then look at how inkstands are described in order to tease out the ways in which writing and viewing—English or other—draw attention to value sets. Immediately, regarding property alongside its social connotations reveals the ways in which mentioning objects in travel narratives serves to "place" the writers in a certain culture, as Christoph would suggest. In addition, though, noticing habits of viewing allows me to consider the degree to which ways of seeing—especially if they are in common and therefore understood as "natural"—create constructed meanings for objects. Therefore, I go to England—not just England's relationships with colonies, but also structures of power and value within the home country—in order to understand differences in values *within* the culture. For instance, I will look at the ways in which the relationships that crafters share with tools are different from the relationships that consumers have with those devices and from the relationships that historians have with them. I will explore how the process of creation is narrativized by looking at how objects such as tools and travel journals figure in *descriptions* of the invention phase. Considering objects (including journals) as tools in conducting activities allows me to return to one of my concerns in chapter one: the visibility of the construction of the diurnal travel narrative. This time, I will look at the traces of writing in a different way in order to think about how narrativizing process calls attention to *English* ways of thinking.

The reasons why these women wrote the way they did can never be totally uncovered or understood; however, we *can* look in their work for evidence of the tools they used. We can also seek out mutually determining relationships between fragmentary form and the reader's formation of explanations connecting subjects in the entries. For those missing links, I will turn to Slavoj Žižek, who proposes in *Welcome to the Desert of the Real* that it is precisely the belief that we have freedom of thought that traps us into one way of thinking. I propose that this form of writing (diurnal travel narrative), more than overtly imperialist texts, engenders a feeling of participation from the reader that gives an impression of free-thinking, but that nonetheless dictates certain structures of thought outside of which its readers don't tend to venture. Because the genre of diurnal travel narratives purports to publish privately written musings, it masks the power that its heterogeneous, unpolished, and fragmented form produces. Considering Plotz and Žižek together, I will interrogate how the materiality—that is, the actual process—of writing in certain ways veils its power to juxtapose topics in a politically influential manner.

3.1 OBJECTS AND NARRATING PROCESS

In this section, I draw attention to how we regard objects and writing. I begin with Julie Nelson Christoph and her explanation of how rhetoricians establish *ethos*. I place Christoph's elucidation alongside John Plotz and his notion of "portable property" in order to consider the contexts under which we understand property. I will study the actual objects that turn up in travel narratives in order to expand the notion of diurnal travel "writing."

3.1.1 Recognizing Context

Understanding some of the ways in which British subjects regard property informs our understanding of what property can mean to individuals and to a person's sense of national identity. As I explored in the last chapter, Eden and other travel writers tie their identity to their activities, and they see objects as the tools with which they can do those activities, so I began to discuss the ways in which Eden uses writing as a way of asserting her Englishness. If Eden does, in fact, use writing as a way of enacting Englishness, her journal becomes a tool for her. Writing changes her and her relationship with her readers.

Julie Nelson Christoph argues that "Aristotle's theory of *ethos* is salient to modern discussions of the personal, in that he was the first to discuss the relevance of connections between speaker and message, and to offer a theory of composition that considers how to present character in a way that appeals to a particular audience."³ The writer of a travel narrative such as Eden's both creates an *ethos* for her extended audience (a character) and acts as a transparent author/narrator to her primary audience (which, as I discussed in chapter 1, is a crucial element of authority in the travel narrative). Christoph identifies three major "strategies of placement" that may be used to construct *ethos*: "identity statements," "moral displays," and "material associations."⁴ "Identity statements" entail explicitly stating an affiliation or an identifying feature but often contradict one another throughout the text. Situations closely determine identity statements since "different affiliations approach and recede from the foreground depending on the circumstances."⁵ As we saw in chapter 1, Eden identifies as a ruling-class Englishwoman throughout the narrative, expressing approval for her brother's politics. Her position as an Englishwoman at this time in history identifies her as an imperial subject and her declarations of

support for her brother's political decisions imply that she supports British economic presence in India. However, Eden also responds to her sister's account of life in England by writing, "the archery and country balls, and the neighbours... it all sounds so *natural* and easy, and I feel so *unnatural* and so far off...we have been here very little more than half our time, and I am sure it feels and is almost a life" which, as I argued in Chapter 1, implies that she is unconvinced that British economic power abroad will protect her English identity. As I mention in the introduction to this chapter, the fragmented form of the travel narrative thus exposes the contradictory aspect of identity statements. Noticing form draws attention back to the construction process of establishing identity—to how and why it happens the way it does.

The second strategy that Christoph explains is a "moral display," which demonstrates that the writer can act like a member of a community with which she identifies. An example of a "moral display" in *Up the Country* would be the way Eden deals with domestic servants because, even though the circumstances differ, Eden's concern retains characteristics of the traditional way upper-class women in Britain manage their households. Eden writes to her sister, "I always think these domestic stories may amuse you in England, from their contrast to the habits of that excellent country, from which I have been inveigled."⁶ By sharing anecdotes, using stereotypes of servants, and claiming that her "English" servants are dispensable while these natives are often untrained in what she needs (such as tailoring her dresses), Eden assumes the part of mistress of the house.⁷ Less obvious are the values she and other writers betray in their styles of writing, which I will explore more fully in this chapter.

Christoph's third "strategy of placement," "material associations," is quite prevalent throughout the travelogue and will be the topic with which I begin this chapter; part of Eden's role in accompanying Lord Auckland on his mission is apparently to spend a certain amount of

money buying goods from the local people they come across and to accept gifts from the local rulers. Christoph describes “material associations” as being important to authors for “establishing themselves as women with particular kinds of tastes and cultural sensibilities, through references they make to particular possessions, the maxims and regional terms they use, and the kinds of education they imply having experienced.”⁸ Eden frequently talks at length about jewelry that she is given as gifts and about Kashmir shawls that she buys to send her sister, suggesting that she is a member of the ruling class who has access to such goods and is entitled to such gifts. In addition, Eden discusses books with her sister, quoting Shakespeare and Charles Lamb and bringing up Dickens’s “social problem” novels, such as *Nicholas Nickleby* (1839), which designates her as a well-educated Englishwoman.⁹ As I suggest by invoking Christoph, Eden certainly seems to use objects to establish an identity as an Englishwoman of a certain rank. It is her discussions of objects that do or don’t allow her to accomplish certain tasks, though, that reveal the more immediately imperial connection between Eden’s identity and her activities. Before I turn back to Eden, though, I want to introduce Plotz’s notion of “portable property” into the conversation, so as to provide another way of thinking about Eden’s associations with certain objects, books, or references that, while similar to Christoph’s strategic characterization, highlights a less deliberate function of these associations.

John Plotz writes in *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* that the portability of objects in general and books in particular has to do with a common way of regarding those objects. He claims, for instance, that travelers often quoted other writers because they expected a common reaction to a certain character’s name or an allusion to a work from fellow English people: “It is the content of other readers’ heads, then, that makes a novel into a piece of properly portable property: its success depends on the knowledge that others will feel about the

protagonist just as one does oneself.”¹⁰ The common reaction creates a sense of community based in experience and knowledge that people associate with their country. Emily Eden was a politically minded woman who regularly discussed politics with some of the most powerful government leaders of her time.¹¹ She was well-educated and well-read, and eventually wrote several incredibly successful novels.¹² Her writing often alludes to other authors and political topics of conversation, from contemporary travel writers to Shakespeare, from immediate politics in the near east to historical events¹³. In fact, in many ways, her writing exemplifies both Plotz’s point about how allusions, quotes, and common ways of thinking were used to create a sense of community between English nationals and Christoph’s understanding of material associations as strategies for placing oneself within a certain realm of authority or culture. For instance, in the following entry, Eden refers to Shakespeare in order to introduce politics into her reader’s minds:

Roopur, Tuesday, Nov 13.

This is the memorable place where Lord William and Runjeet had their meeting,

“where those sons of glory, those two lights of men, met in the vale of Roopur.

You lost the view of earthly glory. Men might say, till then true pomp was single,

but now was married to itself,”&c. What is that quoted from? You don’t know—

you know nothing.¹⁴

With the lines, “What is that quoted from? You don’t know—you know nothing,” Eden explicitly avows that she is quoting and hints that her acumen lies in the felicitous use of that particular scene. Situating herself squarely within an educated English culture, this last sentiment establishes her authority in discussing politics and literature and teases her reader with the possibility of *not* belonging in quite the same realm. Much as Plotz suggests, though, Eden also

depends on her reader's breadth of knowledge to be at least somewhat similar to her own. Even the line "you don't know—you know nothing" insinuates that if the reader does not know, it is a noticeable lack; the reader *should* know the play to which she refers.

Eden is quoting Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, and substituting "Roopur" for "Arde." In the play, the Duke of Norfolk continues: "to one above itself. Each following day / became the next day's master Till the last made former wonders its: Today, the French, all Clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods, / Shone down the English; and, tomorrow, they / Made Britain, India: every man that stood Show'd like a mine."¹⁵ Eden's invocation of *Henry VIII*, with its political undercurrents tending to sympathize with the Lords, suggests an interesting corollary to the situation in India, not in the least because of the line, "Made Britain, India," which she does not include in her quote. The lines Eden *does* quote evoke the grandeur surrounding the French and English kings when they met, and the financial expenditure required for such a lavish trip, although, of course, her version refers to her nephew, William Godolphin Osborne and Runjeet Singh meeting in India.

What Eden effectively does is to add a possible association to her reader's interpretation. As the reader moves on to the next section, this reference—or Eden's playfully accusatory assertion of intellectual superiority—remain in the reader's mind and alerts her to the possibility that there is some sort of invisible link to be discovered; if the reader didn't know that she was missing something before, she does now. In essence, Eden collocates her thoughts in a way that potentially changes them. If the reader likes, she can treat this as a montage of images that she links with an overarching idea in her own mind, creating the missing link.

But for now, let's return to Plotz. Plotz goes further than just proposing that the things English people carried allowed them to do English things and suggests that the importance of the

property that Victorians took with them wasn't so much the materiality of the articles as their ability to "embody English culture":

The flow of objects outward from England played a crucial role in exporting a restrictive, distinctive sort of Englishness through a world that stayed distinctively non-english. The cultural value attached to markedly English portable property emphasizes the exceptional power (power potentially restricted only to English émigrés) that discrete objects can come to possess overseas. These pieces of property are meaningful not because they are capable of abetting the civilizing process, but precisely because they *do not civilize*; instead, they embody English culture, in its most particularist and nonteleological sense. Such objects can thus produce a sense of identity that travels without decaying, and also without spreading out, that is successfully exportable and yet potentially not diffusionist.”¹⁶

Plotz understands objects as giving visible form to something abstract—"they do not civilize"—but I propose that the mutually determining relationship between the objects and their creators also creates form. While the journals don't civilize, *per se*, understanding the ways in which their writers use them to interact with readers and to enact their own does shed light on how the relationship between creator and object matters in the spreading of imperial discourse.

We turn, then, to the relationships between crafter (or writer), the object, and the consumer. The following excerpt (1889) from the preface in *The Hobby Horse*, an arts and crafts journal, advocates respect for the decorative details of everyday objects as powerful contributors to happiness. I find this excerpt useful to consider because it calls attention to a "right spirit" – which it links with activity:

How many of us look upon the Decorative, or minor architectural arts, with any serious or worthy aspect? We are content that their production should recall to us the “interests” of the manufacturer, or the vulgarity of the shopkeeper, never guessing, in our contempt for them, how very real is their power to add largely to the resources and pleasures of life. It is not, then, a trivial endeavor to insist upon their dignity, to render them the sphere no longer of the tradesman, but of the artist, of the man whose work, though it be but the making of household stuffs, or the common utensils of daily life, expresses the better part of himself, and of his hopes and thoughts...For these lesser arts, equally with the finer arts and the arts of literature, are capable of giving us infinite support and consolation, if we but approach them and use them in a right spirit. In charming us into activity, they are able to cheat us of the weariness, of the *ennui* of life; and in their unbounded capacity to take to themselves our energies, they lessen the restlessness of life.¹⁷

This preface, written by the editor, Herbert Horne, urges readers to value an object’s capacity for beauty; however, the agent in the passage is not the object. The word, “their” in the phrase “how very real is their power” refers to the craftsmen, whom the editor suggests we acknowledge as artists. Likewise, the word “they” in the phrase “they are able to cheat us of the weariness” refers to the “lesser arts”—the activities that produce the articles. Thus, in thinking about the object’s characteristics, Horne focuses on the artists’ and activities’ powers. While Christoph, Plotz and Eden see *objects* as ways of establishing and preserving identity, Horne attempts to view *the processes that create articles* as means of ingeniously expressing the artist’s “hopes and thoughts” (which, I argued in chapter 1, is not exactly identity).

The distinction is subtle, but important. As Eden understands the situation, if she can't write her letters, then she can't communicate with her family, which abolishes her role as stewardess of the long-distance relationships between the family: in other words, she ties writing to her identity. If we extract that element of identity for a moment, though, and look again at *The Hobby Horse* excerpt, we can begin to see how Eden's journals actually function as objects of artistic expression the way the article suggests arts and crafts projects do. Part of their value is that the process of creating them potentially cheats the writer of weariness; part of the value of the journals is their process of creation, what they allow the writer to *do*, not just to identify as. Of course, the separation can't be sustained for long. Already, the editor suggests that we see the craftsmen as artists, assigning them an alternative title that is linked to their identities. However, this opening up does suggest a way of studying the journals as more than just accounts or reports; they are also products of process and, therefore, ways into a study of practice.

The stakes in appreciating process are heightened when we understand articles as products of artistic expressions of oneself, as this editor does. While Plotz points out that it is not so much the objects themselves that carry importance but their ability to "Embody English culture in its most particularist and nonteleological sense," what diurnal writings reveal is that the writers can't help but regard even the most stable and innocuous objects—like inkstands—as tools that allow them to participate in English activities. Thus, they become tools that enable them to create or sustain what they understand to be English identities. Doing English activities in order to remain English *is* their "English" way of regarding existence. It is no wonder, then, that the exigency to spread British culture to other regions becomes evident, first, in these detailed daily travel narratives that were sent back to England. Furthermore, the threat of Eden (or other

travelers) adopting different lifestyles or taking on different activities, threatens English culture.

As Plotz posits,

My answer is that the problem of “staying English” within the wiser realm that Dilke in 1868 called “Greater Britain” is addressed in novelistic representations of implicitly and explicitly *national* portable property. It is the existence of Greater Britain that requires not just a notion of portable cultural objects, but also of *asymmetry* in portability, so that the flow of culture-bearing objects from core to periphery is not counterbalanced or interrupted by a flow in the opposite direction. The capacity of an imperium to sustain that kind of asymmetry is a crucial component of its power.¹⁸

Even more so than the objects that begin to appear in novels –shawls, tea, jewels—the impact of the colonies, at least the more threatening impact, can first be detected in these writings by women travelers. Eden and other travel writers extensively mention household (or camping) objects such as the inkstand used to write the letter, above, in their journals. They also include descriptions, drawing and, eventually photographs of people, which they treat as objects to be studied and represented. Recall Basil’s worry from my first chapter that his portrait of Dorian will reveal too much of his own soul. To some degree, Basil is right: his renderings of other people do expose how he sees them. As Eden and others draw, describe, and photograph others, they provide a way for us to study the *artists’* characteristics. In my first chapter, I discussed the threat of the colonized presence in the metropolis, invoking Richards and Kipling’s “Lispeth” as topics of study. In “Lispeth,” the Englishman with whom the eponymous character falls in love refuses to write about her in his travel journal, thus forestalling her potential passage into England.¹⁹ To the extent that different interactions with portable cultural objects—and thus

activities and identities—change, these women reflect “other” ways of doing, and thus the threat of transporting culture into England.

So while Plotz points to the ways in which objects embody English culture in a non-civilizing sense, Christoph understands them, also not as civilizing, but as a means of demonstrating participation in a culture that measures according to access to objects and knowledge. In some ways, their notions support one another. For instance, both have to do with identity—aligning oneself with others who see things in some similar way that they do. However, my discussion, and Christoph’s insinuation, is that by using objects, people enact an identity. Plotz understands articles as, in a way, personifying British culture. The difference between embodying and enacting is the reason why it is crucial to note the material characteristics of this sub-genre of diurnal travel writing.

New experiences and ways of thinking almost always alter the way we see things. Perhaps that is why Plotz’s notion of an English way of thinking is always accompanied by the threat of change when placed in the context of empire. If we look again inkstands with Christoph’s notions of “material associations” and “moral displays,” in mind, we can begin to see why an inkstand is so important to Eden in a way that is different than our first impression.

3.1.2 *Ethos* and Inkstands

As we saw in chapter 1, the subject of a description reveals a set of values that the writer holds. In addition, narrating the process reveals some ways in which the tool and conditions of manufacturing determine the type or style of product created. Narration becomes important to this chapter when we look at how process changes the ways in which we think and how the

notion of constant change applies to travel writing. In this next section, I will discuss the way paying attention to process simultaneously highlights the problem-solving that accompanies the act of writing and the writer's fear of losing identity—indeed, even links the two.

Looking at *Up the Country* at the level of subject matter within the entries exposes how Eden's choice of form allows her to construct a persona with whom her reader can relate. Eden's entries are full of topics such as balls, fashion, gossip and even interior decorating—all issues that designate her as an elite Englishwoman who is concerned with English culture even while she is absent from it. This reassures her primary audience (her family) that she is still one of them and intends to remain close to them. The same gestures reinforce loyalty to English culture for her secondary audience (those that read the published version); by performing her role as a proper, upper-class woman who is concerned with domesticity and social standing, Eden elicits trust from her audience, establishing *ethos* based on commonality that may not be apparent given her physical location. After all, her structure of perceiving and valuing is still English.

To return to the quote at the beginning of the chapter, Emily Eden's concern with the inkstand seems to be solely centered on its utility: "There, now they want my inkstand," the entry concludes.²⁰ Eden can write to her family if she has ink, but when the servants pack the ink, her opportunity to connect with England ceases. Perhaps unfortunately, this object didn't leave a trace; all that is preserved is the writing Eden managed to produce before she lost the inkstand. We neither have the chance to see the inkstand, nor the thoughts she didn't get to write down when it was taken away. We don't even know if she used an "English" inkstand or not. What we *do* know is that despite the fact that we don't get a description of the inkstand, the vessel contains more than just the ink for writing letters: its composition, design—even its coordination or lack of with her other desk tools—indicate Eden's social standing as well as her attitude

toward herself and those who craft her utensils. If we consider Plotz's point, the inkstand also carries with it the ability to embody Englishness: it serves as an emblem of what English people understand writing to entail in a way that transcends place of inscription. Christoph's point reveals that the inkstand also cannot escape reflecting "English" values of class, though.

In the nineteenth century, even an inkstand—what it stood for and how it was made—meant very different things to different people, but it often connoted much more than the ink it held. In fact, if we take a look at a few other inkstands, coupled with accounts of how they were made and why, it becomes evident that, in many cases, the ability to hold ink is far from the most important feature of these objects. The function and relevance of the inkstand lies partially with whom it is associated: obviously the consumer, perhaps the manufacturer or shopkeeper who sells it, and sometimes the craftsman who makes it.

For instance, the inkstand below (*circa* 1819) was commissioned by Viscount Castlereagh, apparently to commemorate his role in the defeat of Napoleon and is now housed at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Even upon first glance, the luminosity of the inkstand marks it as unmistakably intended to impress; the radiance of the pure gold and the double inkwells as well as the ornamental tree standing tall in the middle immediately suggest excess and power.

Bringing various features of the inkstand to the viewer's attention, the accompanying guide, published by the Victoria and Albert Museum, explains their significance: "At the ends of the stand are chased and embossed the Royal Arms of Great Britain and the arms of Viscount Castlereagh. On top of the stand are applied plaques framed with wreaths and engraved with the royal arms of the four principal Continental European powers, each identified by an inscription: France, Austria, Prussia, Russia."²¹ Proceeding almost spatially the description then moves around the inkstand: "on the sides of the stand are engraved, within chased wreaths, 12 further

coats of arms, each identified. On the front, the inscriptions read: Roman States, Bavaria, Portugal, Saxony, Sardinia, Hanover. On the back: Sweden, Wurtemberg [sic], Naples, Spain, Denmark, Netherlands.”²² The visual circle of the explanation traces the natural path the eye takes, reinforcing the hierarchy of importance that the details of the inkstand suggest: the applied plaques acknowledge the four Continental European powers as holding the most clout, since they are more exclusive (there are fewer of them) and they can be seen from any angle as one admires the inkstand. Furthermore, the only man who holds a position as a person on this inkstand, not just a representative of a country, is the Viscount, whose coat of arms occupies an equal position with the Royal Arms of Great Britain, both of which stand out even from the four major continental powers.

The guided visual tour and the embossing on the instrument itself are clearly intended to illuminate the inkstand’s purpose as celebrating great men and nations, and part of that project entails lauding certain powers over others. As the guide then draws the viewer even closer, to the inscription, we can see just how highly Viscount Castlereagh was regarded: “This inkstand is composed of the gold taken from the portrait snuff boxes which were presented by the sovereigns whose arms are engraven hereon to Viscount Castlereagh upon the signature of the several treaties concluded in the Years 1813, 1814, and 1815.”²³ By revealing the source of the material used to make the inkstand, the inscription suggests both the wealth of the nations whose arms are included on the inkstand and their respect for Viscount Castlereagh. His association with the several treaties mentioned testifies to his ongoing and crucial role in the peace that he seeks to celebrate with this inkstand, justifying his equal position with Great Britain on the ends of the inkstand.

Despite the contributions of gold mentioned in the inscription, the estimated for this inkstand was still £1135 9s 0d. plus extra costs for various other features, and the actual cost greatly exceeded the original estimate. The statement of account to Viscount Castlereagh for this article as archived at the Durham Record Office on letterhead from Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, of 32 Ludgate Hill, the royal goldsmiths, describes the inkstand order and outlines the goldsmiths' goals:

A large elegant richly chas'd old standard Gold Inkstand, chas'd handles at the ends, chas'd feet, 2 Vases chas'd, with Coronet on top of the Centres; a richly chas'd Gold Palm Tree for lights with 16 elegant chas'd olive Wreaths for the Arms of the different Sovereigns & 4 d[itt]o on the top: His Majesty's Arms chas'd out in full relief one end & His Lordships the reverse 148 oz 8 dt 12 grs at 86/Pr oz fashion 50/ pr oz & Duty 17/ pr oz.²⁴

The order frequently refers to the technique of chasing (“chas’d”). Chasing is a technique used on metal that involves sinking the metal on the front (showing) side in order to create lines or furrows, usually to outline the shape or design or to create depth. This technique leaves evidence of the tool used to create it—such as scratches or indents the length of a tool. Other techniques efface such signs, so the choice of technique combined with the mere existence of the order imply that the craftsmen’s role is included in the relevance of this inkstand.

Note that none of the details or techniques described in the order refer to the inkstand’s utility as a vessel to contain ink; the order centrally concerns ornamentation, materials, technique and cost. The same is true of our “tour” of the inkstand. My description and the guide provided by the museum both focus on the appearance, origin, and political significance of the inkstand, not its capacity to hold ink. We essentially walk around the inkstand, admiring and learning

about various features. Despite the fact that it features two inkwells, we completely ignore its function as an inkstand; in fact, the bill and the crafter's plans are only mentioned to bolster the perceived value of the object. This makes sense; the significance of this inkstand—why it appears in the Victoria and Albert Museum in the first place—clearly lies in the extravagant celebration of great men and national power that it celebrates. Even the title of the object, the “Castlereagh Inkstand” privileges the commissioner over the craftsmen. While the skill and talent of the crafters is certainly necessary for this to be the case, we are not expected to celebrate the process of the crafting, the men who created this piece of art, nor the possibility that this was a functional inkstand; the art is meant to evoke pride in the peacemaking efforts of Viscount Castlereagh and his foreign counterparts. While the skills of the craftsmen signify the Viscount's prestige—he commissions his inkstand from the royal goldsmiths—their own status is more of a prerequisite than something to be celebrated in and of itself.

My point highlights, in part, a particular way of regarding and presenting an article in a museum. My interaction with the guide extends only to visual observance and reading these descriptions. Viscount Castlereagh very well could have written about his inkstand while corresponding with his friends or family. But my point is that even if those anecdotes exist, we do not read them. By contrast, in the excerpt from Eden, we don't get a description of the inkstand or an indication of who manufactured it. Perhaps she does discuss those things in other places, but here, Emily Eden frets about what she can't do without the inkstand. Eden seems to be lamenting genuinely the conditions that necessitate the end of her correspondence. Like many instances in her journal, we see her ability to *do* something trumping the importance of her social status. And yet, I argue, the two are inextricably related and even complicated because of her existence abroad. This complicates her relationship with the objects. For instance, as I will

discuss more fully later, Eden simultaneously uses the inkstand and the mention of her servants to establish her status as Christoph suggests happens with strategies of placement. However, what I want to focus on at this point is that the extent to which she values her inkstand extends well beyond class; as the primary correspondent with her family back in England, Eden's understanding of the inkstand is that it provides or doesn't provide ink with which she can communicate. Whether or not Eden understands the multiple ways in which this object can be valued, she does participate in a discourse that places a certain value on one use over another. If we take the article from the *Hobby Horse* into account, we see how process plays an important role in the significance of the inkstand. Thus, we begin to uncover how Eden's imperial logic works.

In contrast the the Castlereagh Inkstand, the inkstand below was crafted, not by the royal goldsmiths, but at the Newlyn School, founded by John (J. D.) Mackenzie in 1890. Much like the spirit of the *Hobby Horse* article, the explanation that accompanies this inkstand concentrates on the school and the crafters; the owner of the inkstand is not mentioned. For instance, the writer provides a brief history of the school, noting that the nautical theme on this particular inkstand is a common one at this school, which was open to fishermen in the offseason. The community of Newlyn experienced difficulty sustaining a consistent economy, since during the offseason their main source of income, fish, failed to produce enough income to sustain them. Therefore, a group of artists formed the school, whose goal was to support the community through Arts and Crafts during the offseason.

This inkstand was made of copper, probably using a repousse method that was considered to be a secret of the Newlyn School. John Pearson and J. D. Mackenzie were generally responsible for the design and decoration of the copper products. John Pearson worked for the

Guild of Handicrafts with C. R. Ashbee and was responsible for repousse metalwork that was showcased in the Exhibition of 1888.²⁵ This account foregrounds the crafters, elucidating the purpose of the school as well as drawing attention to the unique technique that the Newlyn School used for repousse. Daryl Bennet's website *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Great Britain 1850-1915* goes into great detail about the locality in which this inkstand was produced, illuminating how the conditions under which it was even conceived of literally shape both the process of creation and the final products.²⁶

Bennet's website also provides a link to an account of the method used at Newlyn as recorded in *Newlyn Copper* (1998), by John Curnow Laity, which does a similar thing by paying particular attention to the tools with which the crafters work:

In the process of "beating" many tools are used. First the snips the large iron shears to cut out the shapes required, straight ones and curved ones according to need. Dividers or scribes, often handmade for the purpose, having been used to "scribe" the outline circle for a ten inch round tray, curved shears are then taken by the craftsman to cut out the ten inch disc from a copper sheet. Next comes the transfer of a pattern, by use of duplicating paper, on to the copper disc...

Throughout the process the lead is re-flattened and finally the disc itself flattened from the back on a smooth, flat wooden surface. If the pattern is embossed then the tray is restricted in use and cannot serve the purpose of carrying drinks of any kind. However, presuming this disc is to be embossed then an embossing tool, a small chisel shaped instrument with a broader head, its head varying in shape and size considerably according to the particular requirement is used on the back of the disc within the chased lines to start to push up "repousse" and shape the fish

on the front. When the fish shows slightly in relief the tray is turned over to the front again and a back chaser is used to flatten the copper surface immediately surrounding the fish; (this tool is very much like a chasing chisel but has a much blunter and thicker head so that it does not penetrate or indent the copper).

This process is repeated and repeated until the fish is embossed to the satisfaction of the craftsman; then he has accomplished his repousse work on the fish.

Continuing to work from the centre, the deepest repousse work being on the fish, he raises by means of the embossing tools the shells, seaweed and air bubbles as required all the time back chasing the disc to keep it flat and to add prominence to the repousse work.²⁷

In Laity's description of process, the reader is taken to a place in which the skill, the steps of creation, and the various tools, materials, and labor take precedence over the product itself. Because Laity is describing the process, not the making of a particular object and certainly not one that was commissioned, such as the Castlereagh inkstand, his attention centers less on the relevance of inscriptions and pattern than does the description in the Victoria and Albert catalogue. Rather than discussing, for, instance, the fish and its significance, as the guide for the Castlereagh Inkstand would do, Laity foregrounds the ways in which the tools are used to create various effects: "curved shears are then taken by the craftsman to cut out the ten inch disc from a copper sheet" and, "a back chaser is used to flatten the copper surface immediately surrounding the fish." In fact, Laity goes so far as to provide further explanation of tools that may be unfamiliar to the reader: "this tool [a back chaser] is very much like a chasing chisel but has a much blunter and thicker head so that it does not penetrate or indent the copper."

Here, the subjects of the passage are the tools and the processes, not even the craftsmen: “Dividers or scribes...having been used to ‘scribe’...curved shears are then taken by the craftsman.” The tool is the subject, the task is the verb phrase. This style of writing does two things: first, as I point out in the prior sentence, it shifts attention away from the crafters to the tools and how they determine the process and second, it positions the tools as the agents of the sentence, highlighting the ways in which the crafters depend on the tools for their process (for instance, the phrase “a small chisel shaped instrument with a broader head, its head varying in shape and size considerably according to the particular requirement” highlights how the size of the instrument leaves different marks and impressions on the metalwork and determines the shape of the raised portion of the metal).

Laity writes, like many documentarians do, in the passive voice: dividers “having been used,” shears “are then taken.” The attention—both the crafter’s and the viewer’s—is turned entirely on the process and the tools. This writing style thus invites the reader to join the narrator in an experience: the experience of using the tools with the crafter. As I pointed out above, this focus shows particularly well at the sentence level; the passive voice relegates the craftsman to the end of a sentence as a superfluous detail. For instance, in the sentence, “next comes the transfer of the pattern,” “the transfer” becomes the subject of the sentence, not the verb phrase. Laity’s writing style creates an effect similar to one found in Eden’s narrative; although Eden does not structure her sentences by shifting verb phrases to act as subjects, she nonetheless privileges the objects as the agents and her own activities as dependent on them.

These examples of regarding and describing an inkstand—Eden’s mention in her journal, the official description at the Victoria and Albert museum as well as my own, the actual order for the Casterleagh inkstand, and the website for the Newlyn School, including Laity’s

contribution—represent varying degrees of personal engagement with the objects themselves. From my descriptions, above, we deduce that the Castlereagh Inkstand’s purpose is to display the prestige of the commissioner and celebrate his achievements, that the purpose of the Newlyn School Inkstand is to raise money to sustain the fishing town in which it was crafted during the off-season when fishing cannot support its laborers, and that the traces of crafting not only serve to identify craftsmen, but also highlight the ways in which they employ their tools. But clearly, the inkstands mean different things to consumers and crafters. Christoph’s second strategy of placement, “moral displays,” allows us to articulate why some consumers value one inkstand over another: the purposes of inkstands *aren’t* simply utilitarian, they serve to designate social standing, wealth, or, for those who buy products with the conditions or projects of the craftsmen in mind, social accountability. The crafters, while necessarily aware of the status and economy-driven motivation behind purchasing a given inkstand, have a different relationship with it than do the consumers. Their tools matter. In fact, their tools often dictate the type of design they make, and the workers must work around conditions of crafting —materials, requested techniques, time—to craft a product.

The authors of the descriptions I cite use different genres of writing, each addressing a different value that the inkstands might hold. Laity’s seems valuable because, like the author of the *Hobby Horse* article, he invites the reader into the process of creating, encouraging her to consider how the tools being used actually shape both the actual product and the thought-processes, movements, and even the time associated with the experience of creation. Laity seems to hit upon the “right spirit” that to which *Hobby Horse* article refers, going into detail about the techniques and tools used to create a usable tool, and in so doing, demonstrating how this “right spirit” appreciates the tradesmen’s “power to add largely to the resources and pleasures of life.”

Laity's style of writing allows the reader to feel like she is reasoning along with the crafter, making decisions based on the tools and materials, and engaging with the product—in this case, the inkstand—as if were secondary to the experience of creating it. His style aligns quite well with the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement in England because it enacts the principles that movement advocates.²⁸ I'd like to apply a similar "reading" to a diurnal travel narrative. Rather than look at the journal as a product (which I will do later), I will call attention to the ways in which Fanny Eden (Emily Eden's sister) leaves traces of her own scribing process the way the metalworkers do, and to the ways in which she invites her readers to join her in the process the way Laity suggests is possible.

3.1.3 A Passage from India

Fanny Eden, Emily Eden's sister, also travelled through India with their brother as he ruled India and she also kept a journal. Unlike Emily, though, who played a key role in editing her journal for publication and perhaps always intended for it to be published, Fanny does not seem to have made any effort to make her journal public. It was only edited and published in 1988 by Janet Dunbar.

Fanny draws attention to her tools and her site of invention by the way she writes and draws. Instead of on the journal, our attention focuses on the tools and sites of invention. As I will show, this not only helps the reader see Fanny in a seemingly more concrete way, it also changes the relationship the reader sees herself having with Fanny. Rather than evoking an image of the creator that remains distant, Fanny's style seems to take the reader to the site of invention. Thus, the reader operates under the impression that she knows what it's like to be in

India despite the obvious limitations. It makes the reader feel like she has been *in* India with Fanny—that she is part of what Fanny experiences. As I will discuss further in chapter 3, not only does Fanny’s presence seem to accompany her letters, then, but by inviting the reader into her process of creation, she also gives the impression that the reader is present with her.

The impression that the reader can somehow experience the colonies is important to note when pondering how imperial discourse operates. Whereas in many cases, support of empire is portrayed as necessarily distant from knowledge about what goes on in the colonies (as in Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park* (1814), for example),²⁹ this brand of writing promotes a feeling that the reader can relate to the writer. She can actually imagine how empire affects her daily life. If the reader can do this, she can recognize the need for more Englishness in the colonies, but she can also imagine the English presence in other places.

Dunbar did not extensively edit Fanny’s journal, but there are, nonetheless, some differences between the published and unpublished versions that are worth noting. As Fanny explains to her close friend, Eleanor Grosvenor, in one of her first entries, “I am going to try, my dear, if for once in my life, I can keep a journal, and if I can, instead of sending you a doubled up letter I shall send you this book, with an account of our Rajmahal expedition.”³⁰ Fanny composes the journal as a kind of conversation with her friend; thus, the letters actually serve as a means of “spending time together” as the participants would at home. This type of relationship infers a close identification between the writer and the letter itself and appears to foster the notion that one’s presence accompanies a letter. This journal also suggests that the act of travel writing entails much more than just taking notes or even just physically inscribing anything.

Fanny Eden’s journal mimics her own experience; she invites her reader to focus on the extended act of observing and drawing that she undertakes throughout the day. Her illustrations

play an important role in how this journal functions. For instance, in one entry, two pictures are placed between the lines “I’ve got a footstool to sit upon, two umbrellas held over my head, and have sketched a small part of the scene,” and “Now I’m writing this with a pencil.” In this entry, Eleanor effectively “sits” with Fanny on her stool as she situates herself. You can imagine the reader reclining on her own English chair, letter in hand, probably in her sitting room or outside under the cover of her own awning, beholding Fanny’s surroundings, and observing as Fanny narrates her process in color and in pencil. Losing herself in Fanny’s world, the reader imagines Fanny interrupting her penciled scribbles in order to sketch the movements and poses of the people and animals milling about, perhaps in the following way: Fanny looks around. The warm scent of mud and water animals wafts towards her, drawing her attention to a particularly dark shadow, just under the surface of the water. She notices the dust, the movements, the ripples in the water—which anchored boats simply catch and reflect, while the elephants swimming create wakes that reappear intermittently across the open water.

Beginning with outlines, Fanny establishes the space of the scene, dividing it between the two pages as her view suggests. She sketches in the pack animals and the crates, the laborers stacking boxes and the dogs zig-zagging around carts and crowds, scavenging for food or simply reveling in the energy of the day. Even the markings on the servants’ clothes make their way onto the page: patterns of color or folds in the cloth, dust particles that have made their way from the ground onto the bottom-most hems of their garments.

I narrate an imagined experience with Fanny, here. Whether or not I accurately capture the order in which she sketches or the attention she pays to each feature in the picture is somewhat unimportant. What *is* key to note is that the original journal invites this sort of tracing back of the process, which the accompanying narration and the evidence of creation apparent in

the picture and text prompt. By calling attention to the subject's (pencils, paper, footstools, umbrellas, etc.) role in creation, the evidence of creation in the journal Fanny helps her reader experience invention. Fanny draws attention to her tools and her site of invention (along the river), not just the journal.

All the while she sketches, Fanny ponders “aloud” the impossibility of recording the entirety of her experience despite the copious time in which she has to do it. In some ways, these musings act as “identity statements,” acknowledging Fanny’s understanding of herself and her task. It is significant, then, that these updates record her efforts to engage her reader. While we know that her account is discursive and incomplete, and Fanny seems to be noting that, she still “shows” her reader her day. As I assert above, Fanny *does* manage in many ways to share this experience with her reader: she narrates her activities in a manner that assumes the reader interacts with her letter much the way she does as she composes it. For one thing, almost like the metalworker who chooses the chasing technique instead of one that hides the strokes used to produce a groove in metal, Fanny leaves evidence of the drawing process. Although the picture is in color, the reader can easily see the gray pencil marks from the first sketching. Had the true subject of the painting been the scene, those marks would have been covered or erased. But they aren’t. They serve to remind the viewer of Fanny’s experience of drawing. Not only that, the strokes on the original pictures reveal differences in pressure at different points in her strokes, which suggest building texture on the paper. The depth of lead and darker lines on the inside of some strokes imply a sharper point than the more grainy, flatter trails produced when the pencil began to dull. With the two sentences I mention above, Fanny herself calls attention to the tools she used: “I’ve got a footstool to sit upon, two umbrellas held over my head, and have sketched a small part of the scene,” and “Now I’m writing this with a pencil.” These phrases make the

reader look the way the man in the film looks at the camera. The reader notices Fanny's process—and the pencil strokes, the coloring, the differentiation in vibrancy that coincide with that variance in pressure that compose it. As with the chair and the umbrellas, as with the picture itself, Fanny's thoughts and activities parallel her reader's; Fanny indicates that she is turning over the page to finish just as her reader is when, at the bottom of the page, she writes, "now I am finishing / on the other side" (the latter part written on the backside of the paper).³¹ This time, it is the phrase, "Now I am finishing/ on the other side" that cues the reader that the writer mirrors her action of turning over the letter. Although practically unimportant, the act thus becomes something Fanny and her reader do "together," and creates a sort of intimacy that they lack because of the huge distance separating them.³² It is important to note, though, that only the holder of the letter can have this experience of intimacy; the sentence becomes superfluous in the published version where it occurs in the middle of a page because it does not establish a *shared* experience. Perhaps, then, the published version is valuable partially because the difference between it and the unpublished journal punctuates the method that Fanny uses in the original version.

In the published journal, the sketches serve as illustrations, meant to help the reader visualize what Fanny mentions in her text; in the original journal, though, the reader is invited to sit and "be" with her as she draws and writes. The sketches become an activity that she shares with her readers—even though her readers aren't there. Although the drawings still serve to aid the imagination, it is not the product that matters, it is the experience of seeing what Fanny does throughout the day. Essentially, rather than rushing through the text and pictures to see the next event, her reader spends that time with her—or at least *feels* like she has—which is, after all, the purpose of the correspondence.

In this sub-genre of diurnal travel letters, writing entails more than just the script, then. It encompasses the process of composing in a way that acknowledges the tools, the conditions, and even the perception under which the product is created. This can still be regarded as a strategy of placement, but it places the reader and the site of invention much closer to one another than more formal styles of writing do.

3.1.4 Gertrude Jekyll: Narrativizing Process

I want to stay at the site of invention and to work with everyday utensils for a little while longer. Specifically, I want to look at how narrativizing process brings the reader's attention to the problem-solving aspect of creation as well as the ways in which conditions dictate product. In this section, I explore the writing of a woman who wrote about tasks being done in England, Gertrude Jekyll. Jekyll's writing often describes objects, observes crafting, and explains the logic of pastimes like gardening. Honoring process sometimes even more than product, Jekyll demonstrates how traces of creation become tools, themselves.

Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932) studied at the South Kensington School of Art in London, beginning in 1861. She became an accomplished and talented garden designer, which is perhaps how she is best known. Jekyll was influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, and particularly John Ruskin's and William Morris' philosophies. She was also a prolific writer, publishing numerous articles and books on gardening, tools and ways of life in England, many of which are still in print today. Jekyll's talents for writing and for capturing the rhythm and spirit of labor is often lauded. She also wrote about household items, explaining

the use and construction of tools, and demonstrating an appreciation for the innovation involved in making such apparatuses:

In farms and the better class of houses something more than the simple hanger was wanted. The fire was large and wide spread so that one point or another of its area might be the more convenient place for the cooking pot. Some contrivance for meeting this alternative was by the chimney crane or pot crane; this was of two forms, one in which the horizontal bar was simply supported by a diagonal stay and the height of the pot adjusted by a short hanger at any point along the bar, and the other in which there are two movements of the crane itself; one to swing forward and back, and the other for raising or lowering the hook that holds the pot or kettle. In both forms the main vertical iron, the backbone of the whole concern, is so held at top and bottom that it can swing forward like a gate. The bottom end is commonly fitted into a piece of hard stone and the top into a loop in an iron cramp built into the wall. At a certain distance along the horizontal arm a short iron strap suspends a lever or handle that has a hanging hook at the fire end, while the handle end rests under any one of the projecting buttons on the quadrant that is fixed near the upright, and thus the pot is held at any height above the fire. These cranes, made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, show a great diversity of ornament. The main part of the structure was determined by the necessities of its use, and the smith then exercised his own powers of invention, taste and skill in various methods of enrichment. Sometimes it is only in the line or play of the different straps and stays; which, after doing their constructional work, were drawn out into curls or volutes with more or less closed ends, or it

may be some ornamental twists of the square sectioned iron bar, or a little spray of leaf and flower, or even a whole tree with leafy branches and scroll tendrils.³³

Here, Jekyll guides her reader through a study of the tool. In this section, she begins with the problem: larger fireplaces provided more spaces for the pot to cook, and the simple hanger did not reach far enough over the fire. By beginning her passage with the problem, Jekyll draws attention to the ingenuity with which the smiths who made such tools worked, suggesting the trial and error process that led to the successful construction of the chimney and pot cranes. Because of the compound construction of the pot crane, one can begin to see how each component could have variation, and how slight changes in the form or design could alter the functionality of the device. The fact that the cranes “show a great diversity of ornament” suggests that individual smiths preferred their own styles, but also that the smiths did not merely try to produce exact replicas of the cranes, but ornamented each one as they saw fit.

Like a diurnal travel journal, which can be regarded both as a product and as a tool, these tools and their designs demonstrate the ingenuity of their creators—but only if one notices the process of creation the way Jekyll does. In fact, I find one of the greatest aspects of this sample of Jekyll’s writing to be that she does not just talk about the shape of the objects or the artistic crafting they demonstrate; she describes them in terms of being used—moving and problem-solving. They are not just objects that surround a person in her home, they are tools that make one’s tasks easier, and they are never represented as in a state of perfection. The smiths seem to adapt each individual tool for the circumstances in which it will be used, and according to their artistic moods while they create the tools. Jekyll’s representation of the process creates a relationship between the smith and the user, but also between the consumer and the tool. The smith can take pride in his work, and the owner of the tool can appreciate the effort made to give

her comfort and enjoyment. The variation also invites the user to consider possible ways in which to improve the object, interacting as an active user, rather than just a consumer of a product.

Fanny's journal accomplishes a similar dynamic by inviting her reader to participate in handling the journal. After all, although we only see Fanny's letters, we know that both she and Emily *exchanged* letters with friends and family. The principle of exchange implies deliberately ongoing modification that responds to and adapts to outside stimulation. The notion of adaptation allows us to think about the journal as something other than just an object—or at least gives us a metaphorical way to understand it. Rather than being some sort of completed product, we can regard the journal both as a tool through which we understand where we fit in, and as an ongoing and intentionally ever-changing process of interaction.

In a similar way, we can imagine thinking of identity (as I discussed it in chapter one) as a tool with which humans attempt to understand status in the world. If one's task is to participate in a world characterized by interactions and exchanges, it is helpful to recognize identity as an inherently changeable *concept* (not an object or an entity and, thus, not capable of being under siege) and our relation to it as *user*, not owner or protector. As with metalworking, the tool itself (in this case, the concept of an identity) doesn't need to adhere to a prototype; in fact, it would likely perform less effectively if it did. We only want to use it, not to own or protect it. Therefore, as I suggested in my first chapter, when Lord Henry Wotton suggest to Dorian Gray that he is a complete being in danger of losing what makes him valuable or unique, he ignores the possibility that Dorian's sense of self does not need to be predicated on one fleeting characteristic (such as his beautiful face).

3.1.5 The Majesty in Failure

In addition to providing a way for us to understand identity, witnessing the process of creating the journal also leads us back to what is gained from honoring creation, not just product. Travel narratives are valuable not just for the information they provide, but for what they allow the writer to do and how they let us see what the writer considers to be important. Traces of production aren't just traces, then, they become tools, themselves.

As I mentioned before Jekyll was greatly influenced by the philosophies of Morris and Ruskin as well as the Arts and Crafts movement in general. Not surprisingly, the Arts and Crafts movement purports to claim back the necessities for being human; that is, joy in labor. Part of what proponents of the movement attempted to make known were the conditions under which smiths and crafters operated. Workers had their resources pared down; not only did they often not make enough to support their families, but also the materials and tools they had to work with were inferior. Ruskin avers that even the mental requirements of stimulating human qualities were in danger of being taken away from them. For instance, Ruskin disdains division of labor because he argues that by assigning men a repetitive, simple task to do, one may get precision, but that reducing labor to precision like that “unhumanizes” the worker:

All their attention and strength must go to the accomplishment of the mean act.

The eye of the soul must be bent upon the finger-point, and the soul's force must fill all the invisible nerves that guide it, ten hours a day, that it may not err from its steely precision, and so soul and sight be worn away, and the whole human being be lost at last—a heap of sawdust, so far as its intellectual work in this world is concerned ...Let him but begin to imagine, to think, to try to do anything

worth doing; and the engine-turned precision is lost at once. Out come all his roughness, all his dullness, all his incapability; shame upon shame, failure upon failure, pause after pause: but out comes the whole majesty of him also.³⁴

Ruskin recognizes that the process of trying and failing, being challenged and frustrated, starting and stopping, pausing and thinking, having one's ideas thwarted, sorting out problems and imagining solutions incites people's passions and allows them a range of experiences and emotions that makes them human. Far from privileging efficiency and consistency, Ruskin equates depriving people of the process of creation with slavery, and people who demand "perfection" in products with slave-masters. Thus, to Emily Eden's complaining question, "Don't you think it would be worth my while to buy a pot of paint, out of my own allowance, from the Simla 'Europe shop,' and have the acorns and oak leaves painted *out* of my tent? The lining is buff, with sprigs of oak leaves, and there is an occasional mistake in the pattern, which distracts me"³⁵ Ruskin would reply with a resounding negative. Surely, Ruskin's admonishment applies to Eden's distraction with the pattern:

And now, reader, look round this English room of yours, about which you have been proud so often, because the work of it was so good and strong, and the ornaments of it so finished. Examine again all those accurate mouldings, and perfect polishing, and unerring adjustments of the seasoned wood and tempered steel. Many a time you have exulted over them, and thought how great England was, because her slightest work was done so thoroughly. Alas! If read rightly, these perfectnesses are signs of a slavery in our England a thousand times more bitter and more degrading than that of the scourged African, or helot Greek.³⁶

The pattern on the tent represents imperfection, but Ruskin appreciates imperfections such as these as inevitable results of human work. Ruskin values the baring of individual idiosyncrasies, both physical and in terms of personality. He sees the absence of “imperfections” as the presence of a value system that doesn’t prioritize human endeavor, but the consistency of machine work.

3.2 NOTING IMPERFECTIONS

Without likening the conditions under which the women I study wrote to the conditions under which crafters in England worked, I *would* like to look at them side-by-side in order to explore the notion that diurnal travel narratives function in somewhat the same way that tools such as chimney and pot cranes, or idlebacks, or inkstands do when they bear traces of imperfection. I am well aware that when we see inconsistencies in how the Edens regarded their time in India (at times expressing awe and, at other times, dread), we can see these contradictory points of view as imperfections. What continually catches one’s attention is that keeping the diurnal journal form in publication serves as a way to retain those imperfections, allowing the reader to witness those imperfections or mistakes. I want to think about what seeing those imperfections does.

As I mentioned during the look at Fanny’s journal, her invitations to imagine her carrying out the activities of drawing and scribing create a sense of presence and relatability for the reader. The reader “draws” with her, turning pages and shifting the way she literally sees the text as Fanny switches the way she writes because of the utensil she uses. These sketch-lines, asides, and toggling of utensils could be seen as needless inclusions of the crafter’s mark—as

imperfections. What they do, though, is to create space for the reader in which to think about and draw her own judgments about the situation.

But Ruskin talks of slavery and degradation. How does what I say about Fanny's journal fit in with that threat? My argument in this dissertation is that this sub-genre of diurnal travel narratives actually provides a way in which to avoid that type of slavery. Both because the writers have freedom to record whatever they want and because the entries elicit responses and interaction with the readers, these journals foster heterogeneity in thought. Of course, we must be careful not to go too far with this assertion; after all, I began this chapter with Plotz's notion that articles represent an English way of seeing and thinking, and I don't want to dismiss that observation. What I *will* say here is that diurnal travel narratives—especially those not edited or published by their authors—do encourage a meandering of thoughts in a way that reports and “histories” do not.

In a Ruskinian spirit, I consider the possibility that mistakes aren't blemishes, but a way of making difficulties visible. For instance, it is common in the travel narratives I read to see women struggle with how to describe flora, fauna, clothing, and customs. While this has often been regarded as a sign of inferior writing, I want to suggest that it might also be a method—like Fanny's—of drawing the reader into the experience and the logic the writer is using. Often, this exposes the “English” way of thinking in a way that a finished product does not. Variation in style and form, then, can actually expose a homogeneous quality at which we should probably take a closer look.

3.2.1 Imperfections and Innovations

As we see with Jekyll's description of the idlebacks, below, the character of the smith shines through in the variations in design. She regards these variations as customizations and *as* traces, not as mistakes:

A favourite device for tipping a kettle without taking it off the fire was the idleback or lazyback (Figs. 61-2). It hung on the hanger and it will be seen from the illustration how the act of pulling down the handle will tip the kettle. The hook nearest the spout has a spring clip that keeps the front of the kettle handle down when it is tipped for pouring. The old smith who forged it could not resist the suggestion of snake-like form in the handle of the tipper, for he finished off the end in a little snake's head. If it is noticed that in the picture the kettle does not hang level, it is because it is the way it takes of itself after being tipped.³⁷

Notice that Jekyll illustrates four different versions of the idelback, none of which have the exact same design as the others. Although this may seem like an inevitable and unsurprising variation, this type of variation in design is precisely what risked extinction with the division of labor that the industrial revolution brought about. These tools are relatively simple in form, and yet, as Jekyll points out, they contain spring clips, a curved end for securing on the hanger, and a handle for the tipper. In fact, she draws the reader's attention to the smith's decision to craft a snake's head at the end of the tipper, acknowledging the shape of that particular handle. The type of decoration that allows for the character of the smith to shine through, the variation in construction that undoubtedly came in part from these tools being crafted especially for the dimensions and needs for particular customers, and the smith's own preferences for how to

navigate the problems posed by each situation for which he designs these tools are all the sorts of issues that Ruskin recognizes as giving life to laborers. For instance, the steeper angle of the tipper handle on the top right idelback requires the user to get closer to the fire, whereas the more horizontal angle of the one below allows the user to keep more distance from the fire. The lower one also has a longer tipper handle, which would tip the kettle more gradually, allowing the user to hold the vessel into which the water is flowing further away from the kettle and the flame. Jekyll even points out that the kettle does not hang level after being tipped, which implies that some of her readers might see this as an imperfection, but which she notes as a natural result of the weight of the water shifting in the kettle after titling—nothing to worry about.

This type of variation in tool design reflects precisely the type of intellectual, artistic and labor melding that Ruskin sees as crucial to keep together as one process. One can easily see how the parts of this tool could be divided, made individually by different people—one who specializes in hangers, the other who bends handles, a third who makes springs, and so on—and then assembled and melded together. However, the character and even the precise functionality of the tools would suffer greatly if constructed in that manner. More importantly, according to Ruskin, so too would the characters of the smiths.

Jekyll's writing draws attention to the connections between how the object was created—what problems are taken into account, what materials are used, what artistic flairs the craftsmen delight in incorporating—and how it is used. Her “guide” suggests a way of appreciating the objects in a similar way to what the *Hobby Horse* article encourages: “In charming us into activity, they are able to cheat us of the weariness, of the *ennui* of life; and in their unbounded capacity to take to themselves our energies, they lessen the restlessness of life.”³⁸ If we consider

the writer to be a crafter, and the journal to be a tool, then it is worth considering what types of activity they charm us into.

3.2.2 Personal as Political: Forming a Sense of “Shared” Experience and Identity

As I suggest above, clumsiness in writing is often seen as a sign of inferior writing skills. However, that might not be the entire story. I asserted in chapter 1 that I would like to position Emily Eden’s text, *Up the Country* somewhere between somewhere between a “crude agent of political ideology” and an “unconscious agent” in the project of imperialism.³⁹ Such a position strikes me as appropriate for some of the travel narratives I’ve found (and which I will address in this section) that feature sections of literary awkwardness, as well. For one thing, these sections function in a similar way to the portion of Fanny’s journal that shares the process of writing with her reader: they ask the reader to go with them as they fumble around for accurate descriptions and names.

In this section, I will discuss a passage from Richard Burton’s *Wanderings in West Africa* (which I mentioned briefly in chapter one). There, Burton acts as a bit of a pedant, providing a history and use guide of the plant, but not recounting his adventure in discovering the plant or even making his acquisition of knowledge about it transparent (which is his implied task). Since his writing presents itself as a product but not a process, it de-emphasizes the relationship between the reader and the writer. For that matter, it also minimizes his own relationship to the plant and his activity of learning about it. Looking at the differences in the roles that *readers* play when they are lectured at (as by Burton’s text) as opposed to when they are invited into the process of articulation (as by the awkwardly-composed texts to which I will refer in this section)

is important; if we can recognize the ways in which the two styles function differently, we can at least acknowledge how the clumsiness in writing that I discuss here disrupts the easy acceptance of limitations on how to think about new stimuli. For another thing, “mistakes” such as writing in awkward prose can draw attention to the shortcomings in thought-structure that language allows; people complaining of a lack of language in which to convey their findings alert us to the possibility that there exists no such language—or at least none that we can recognize as such.

Emily Innes travelled to the Malay Peninsula with her husband, keeping a diary and eventually publishing *The Chersonese With the Gilding Off* (1885). Although the peninsular region was not a British colony, the British strengthened their economic presence in the area in the nineteenth century, and in 1876 James Innes, Emily Innes’s husband, was given the post of collector and magistrate at Langat. As Innes explains, “The Sultan was the nominal ruler of the country, it being not yet annexed, but only ‘protected’ by England.”⁴⁰ I characterize *The Chersonese* as appropriate to place somewhere between a “crude agent of political ideology” and an “unconscious agent” in the project of imperialism because Innes actually *does* assert some fairly strong political opinions (although mostly about how her husband was treated by the British government) in her entries, and also alludes to Isabella Bird’s travel narrative *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* (1883) in her title as a way of disputing Bird’s account of the culture.⁴¹ Innes offers an alternative version to Bird’s of the experience of travelling and living in the area, suggesting that Bird portrays the culture under a covering that misleads. Innes overtly claims a political purpose for her book. She expects her reader to form opinions about the culture she describes and about her experiences; she invites such active reading with her allusions to Bird and to the British government. She also writes with a less intimate tone than the other narratives I’ve discussed; rather than publishing letters or retaining the format of a journal, Innes

writes as if she is narrating a book. For this reason, her text doesn't work the same way Emily Eden's or Fanny Eden's do. It is not a diurnal travel narrative, so it lacks the type of reflections—purportedly unedited—that they feature. However, *The Chersonese* is useful to look at because Innes's manner of writing invites the reader to form opinions and feel like she experiences activities with Innes. In turn, the reader is fairly charmed into the activity of judging Innes's failure at writing. That is not to say that Innes's writing fails to accomplish anything, though. What it succeeds in doing is to highlight a huge limitation brought on by an "English" way of thinking.

Most of the way through the first volume of *In The Chersonese*, Emily Innes writes an account about a type of plant with which she is intrigued. She first calls attention to the difficulties of translation, beginning with a phonetic description of the name, but rejecting the common name as not adequate, anyway. She adds that the flower "may well be known to botonists; but as I cannot find the word in any Malay dictionary, and therefore cannot learn its botanical name, I must try to describe it as well as I can."⁴² Her "description" includes an account of first describing the flower, and one's probable reaction: "As you walk through the groves of canes, you notice many brilliant scarlet star-like flowers lying on the ground. You naturally think they are blossoms dropped from some high tree; but to your surprise, you find that there are no trees within a hundred yards."⁴³ Innes's writing provides some clues to what her activity is. First of all, Innes identifies the lack of a word with which to name the plant as a *problem*: "I cannot find the word in any Malay dictionary, and therefore cannot learn its botanical name." Furthermore, as I described in the section on Jekyll, she portrays herself as a problem-solver: "I must try to describe it as well as I can." Innes's imperative reflects the way of

thinking to which she is accustomed, one attempting to name and categorize new stimuli or objects.⁴⁴

Although Innes's depiction of the flower seems unremarkable so far, it goes on for four pages, and it is not until the fourth page that she describes the physical flower. Clumsily bumbling about for a description, this writing forces the reader to try so hard to imagine the plant that the wonder of beholding it gets somewhat lost amidst the lengthy linguistic experience which, after all, does *not* represent the experience of seeing the flower. What it does accomplish very well is narrativizing Innes's quest for words. Innes's depiction illustrates the predicament of relaying the experience of discovery; she incorporates her own curiosity about how this flower grows into the description of it, but does so in a way that leaves the reader somewhat confused about what, exactly, the object of her fascination is. This begs the question, why doesn't Innes present this experience more precisely? I argue that, effectively, this entry allows for the possibility that English language—or the Malay language for that matter—isn't a good enough structure in which to understand the new things she encounters. In fact, the entry *insists* on considering the possibility that describing the flower with a single word might not be an appropriate goal. The fact that Innes can't find the name of the plant in the Malay dictionary both substantiates the claim that language is incomplete even when describing nouns, and also raises the possibility that the ken Innes is meant to discover does not lie in identifying a word in *any* language, but in the process that describing the plant requires. When Innes finally does describe the flower, she likens it to a species of animal, not another plant: "It is in appearance, not unlike a sea anemone," she writes.⁴⁵ Intentionally or not, by likening the flower to a sea anemone, Innes impedes her reader's tendency to delimit the flower according to botanical category and invites exploration of the ways in which it might share some qualities with animals. More

importantly, she calls attention to her experience and logic, not just the naming of an object. Thus, the process of walking and searching for a way to characterize the plant becomes the subject of the entry.

This is quite different from the way readers respond to describing flora concisely (or at least educatively), as was the tradition in much travel writing. For example, in *Wanderings in West Africa* (1863), Richard Burton encounters a plant just beyond Cape Palmas, which he expounds upon at length in the next two pages:

The grain in question is not a cereal but a condiment –rejecting, at least that etymology, which supposes it to have been derived from cochineal, which in those days was considered not an animal but a vegetable. It is a real cardamom (*A. Grana Paradisi*), of which many varieties grow along the whole length of the western coast of intertropical Africa. The flower is of great beauty on account of the glowing pink bracts; the shrub is cane-like, and the fruit, which appears close to the ground, is a pyriform pod with crimson skin enclosing black brown seeds, surrounded by a juicy placenta. Nothing is more pleasant or reviving on a long, thirsty march, than a handful of these cardamoms; the acidity of the pulp contrasts most pleasantly with the pungency of the spice. By the Dutch they were called Guinea Grains; by the trade, Malaguetta pepper; and the demand in Europe in the sixteenth century led to the discovery of many ports on “the coast.” It was then principally used for giving fire and flavour in spirituous liquors, and especially for adulterating beer.⁴⁶

This is not the end of the paragraph, of course; Burton goes on at some length to apprise the reader of several additional uses for the plant as well as a short history of the plant’s importation

bans in England. Considering Innes's struggle to describe the flower with which she is so intrigued alongside a more authoritative transmission of knowledge only highlights the discomfited nature of Innes's effort. Such drastically differing approaches to elucidating the flora of tropical or "exotic" places returns us to the question of what the subjects of the excerpts really are. While Burton displays (almost flaunts) his extensive knowledge—he discursively transitions into this epideictic digression as if his explication were simultaneous with his experience ("We are soon fairly beyond Liberia, formerly called the Grain Coast. This ambiguous name has caused many a mistake..."⁴⁷) and not at all contrived—Innes's narration underscores the ponderousness of the task of representing a similar experience. Unlike Burton, Innes foregrounds the clumsiness with which one struggles to grasp a specimen unfamiliar to her. Thus, if the rhetorical task in Burton's work is to establish his authority through shows of eruditeness, this section of Innes's book serves to bring the fictitiousness of such displays to the forefront by reminding the reader of what is left out of such an account (the need to look up words or histories, for example).

The literal gaps in language at the level of deficient vocabulary in English for objects, let alone customs that these travelers encounter, generate predictably awkward linguistic challenges for writers, who often resort to likening things to familiar English articles or customs. For example, in *In the Land of the Blue Gown* (1902), Alicia Little describes "what looked like violet flowers, but with leaves most unlike violets."⁴⁸ Others seem to give up, as Harriett McDougall does in *Letters from Sarawak* (1854) after seven pages of describing for her son the exotic animals she has seen: "But it would take more time than I have to spare, to describe all the wonders and beauties, which have their homes in our woods," she writes, adding, "neither could I tell you the names of many, as the natives have given them none."⁴⁹ One could assume that

these writers simply do not have access to the realm of knowledge from which Burton pulls in order to categorize and historicize the cardamom.⁵⁰ This may be partially true, but I argue that, more importantly, the type of communication these writers produce exposes a problem with the structure of *thinking*, not just the structure of language. After all, these writers express that they feel incredibly uncomfortable not being able to capture the essence of the plants and animals they encounter in words. They know how to use language to precisely name, they know how to use language to describe (even poetically, which I would argue, Innes does with her comparison to the sea anemones), but they do not seem to feel comfortable with the limits up against which they come. The genre in which they write evinces this struggle. When these women publish these descriptions that seem to seek words, not that claim to be satisfying, they share with a greater audience the types of thought-processes and experiences of “trying on” or mentally organizing that are generally thought of as personal and not of value in a public text. Treating them as if they are public-worthy subjects implies that this is not a personal struggle for “placing” and “naming,” but a public one and, thus, part of a shared experience of situating.

Because it propels into the public realm the disruptive situating that I describe, above, brings to mind Michel Foucault’s famous pontification on categorizing animals (among other things) in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1970). In his preface, Foucault credits Jorge Louis Borges for inspiring his book with a quote:

This passage quotes a “certain Chinese encyclopaedia” in which it is written that “animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair

brush, (l) *et cetera*, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies.”⁵¹

Foucault notes, “the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of my thought—*our* thought...breaking up all the ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things” was actually what inspired his book (xv). In other words, disruption caused by absurdity alerts him to the boundaries our minds construct when presented with the task of ordering, and he begins to ponder what is impossible about this passage. Several pages later, pointing out that “Borges adds no figure to the atlas of the impossible...he simply dispenses with the least obvious, but most compelling, of necessities; he does away with the *site*, the mute ground upon which it is possible for entities to be juxtaposed,”⁵² Foucault draws our attention to the clue, to the enumeration in alphabetical order, which order insinuates the links and boundaries we create. The absurdity that characterizes the listing of the categories masks the step of creating boundaries—but because of the utter ridiculousness of this passage, we laugh, we get disoriented, and we stumble over those boundaries.

Innes’s entry disrupts as well, but with clumsiness instead of absurdity. In the Burton quote, the expert is presenting the experience as if the plant he encounters is naturally “known” and understood—not as if he is struggling to portray it. The examples from the other writers demonstrate the discursive impossibility of accurate representation. While we blame awkward prose on an incomplete dictionary or knowledge of history, it might be more *useful* to consider the way in which it makes the determination to see everything in relation to Englishness visible.⁵³ Whereas Burton’s rendition places the plants in a lineage quite expertly, Innes’s fumbling depicts a failing quest for a method of understanding: although she sees the plant as

ineffable despite her knowledge of the various fields in which she seems to be fairly well-versed (which includes Malay language), Innes still falls into the structure of comparing the flower to what her English readers know. While she warns her reader against a narrow approach to imagining this plant: “Tropical plants have such odd ways that it is never safe to say with regard to any story you hear about them, ‘that must be impossible,’” she still can’t resist adding her own propensity for such lines of thought: “still, I should think it unlikely even in the tropics that a plant can have two kinds of flowers.”⁵⁴ This sentence (these are two clauses separated by a semicolon) illustrates that although Innes recognizes that building on the familiar might be an inadequate strategy for conveying her experience, she can’t help but try to do it anyway. Even her second-person narration in this section reflects this structure –“As you walk...you naturally think,” “to your surprise you find”—and beautifully captures the unease with this way of thinking.⁵⁵

In this way, these entries make the personal political. Although we understand Innes’s struggles with language to be her own lack of knowledge, what that personal struggle to find the words to describe the flower represents the larger inclination for the English to see the world through English eyes. In some ways, this is impossible to avoid, but these entries hint at the degree to which the inadequacy of seeing the world in English terms needs to be acknowledged. What makes the inadequacy visible in these journals is the narrative of seeking terms, which not only depicts the writers as people with a certain type of logic that they employ when trying to solve a problem, but also allows that (failed?) experience to be shared with their readers.⁵⁶

Style and audience thus play large roles in how these texts function. Rather than presenting a comprehensive report, like Burton does, that leaves little or no opportunity to respond, the passages selected here from journals invite input from their readers, suggestions

about other possible comparisons, and reciprocating accounts of their attempts to understand the writers and imagine the specimens under study. The letters function less as straightforward textbook-like accounts of what the writers saw, and more as mediums through which to interact with loved ones. The subjects of those letters are the vehicles that carry information about how the writer constructs them. This becomes particularly important when we look at travel narratives as products, again.

3.2.3 Žižek's Missing Ink

In the introduction to *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, Slavoj Žižek employs an old joke about ink as a way of demonstrating how coded language mystifies and perpetuates the ideology of imperialism:

In an old joke from the defunct German Democratic Republic, a German worker gets a job in Siberia; aware of how all mail will be read by the censors, he tells his friends: 'Let's establish a code: if a letter you get from me is written in ordinary blue ink, it's true; if it's written in red ink, it's false.' After a month, his friends get the first letter, written in blue ink: 'Everything is wonderful here: the shops are full, food is abundant, apartments are large and properly heated, cinemas show films from the west, there are many beautiful girls ready for an affair—the only thing you can't get is *red ink*.'⁵⁷

Noting the reference to the code embedded in the message, Žižek points out not only that, “the very fact that the lack of red ink is mentioned signals that it *should* have been written in red ink,”⁵⁸ but also that “even if red ink really *was* available, the lie that it is unavailable is the only

way to get the true message across in this specific condition of censorship.”⁵⁹ The true message is that the official censorship is not the underlying problem, the problem is that the ways in which the culture and language structures within which we operate impose much greater limits than the figurative need for red ink ever would. In the joke, the need to code the message in ink wouldn’t exist if censorship didn’t exist. The conditions under which this was written need to exist, or the desire to circumvent the censorship won’t arise. The writer’s perception of being trapped or limited induces him to attempt to find a way to be more free.

Emily Eden complains of a literal lack of ink. She writes that she cannot write any more, and yet *she writes that she cannot write any more*. Part of what Eden communicates, then, is that she can, in fact, write. But, as Žižek explains, “even if red ink really was available, the lie that it is unavailable is the only way to get the true message across in this specific condition of censorship.”⁶⁰ Eden’s journal entry laments a lack of control: “There! Now they want my inkstand!” suggests that she does not have power and that she has to deal with whatever her servants want her to do. What Žižek’s point illuminates is the underlying dynamic beneath Eden’s lament and the connection between the feasibility of regarding oneself as a victim and Eden’s style of writing. If we look at her journal as one written by a sympathetic English woman missing her family, we miss the manner of discourse that almost dictates this self-pitying attitude. Think back even just to the beginning of my chapter; it is easy to sympathize with Eden when reading the passage I quote and my initial comments about it. Because she sees herself as powerless to do what she wants—write—and because someone else literally deprives her of ink (if only for a few hours), Eden is able to see herself as a victim. In actuality, it is the force of British rule that requires the servants to pack up her inkstand and move her every day. Eden sees herself as trapped because she is female, but she does not represent herself as wielding the

amount of power that she actually does command because she is a member of the British colonial ruling class: she has to move, but the servants have to do the work of transporting.

Signaling his own code of writing—using the dialectical tradition of negatives—Žižek asks, “Is this not the matrix of an efficient critique of ideology—not only in ‘totalitarian’ conditions of censorship but, perhaps even more, in the more refined conditions of liberal censorship?”⁶¹ His phrasing “is this not” requires one of two responses: “yes, it is” or “no, it isn’t.” By employing this mode of logic so transparently, Žižek illuminates the dichotomy his propositions provoke. Employing it repeatedly throughout the book demonstrates the way in which logic, because it is based in the recursive nature of language, also repeats the same structure over and over, often unconsciously. Thus, we start to see that it is not the literal and visible lack—ink or permission to think or speak in a certain way—that prevents communication, but the habit of adhering to the structures of thinking embedded in language and cultures even as one attempts to transcend their politics. Žižek’s negatives avoid stating his opinion outright, and yet he conveys the way in which we are supposed to react. He does not overtly command his reader to think a certain way, and yet he launches a dichotomous rhetorical relationship that, nonetheless, suggests a certain type of response. He asks a question, so you have to respond with an answer, or, if it is a rhetorical question, you have to agree with him.

Emily Eden’s text works in a similar way partially because of the genre in which she writes and partially because she doesn’t purport to even have an audience beyond her family. We don’t question her because her complaints are grounded in concrete problems (i.e. lack of ink, lack of horses, lack of an inn at which to stop and rest). It doesn’t occur to us to question her partially because we don’t have the authority to do so and also because of the structure of her complaint. Her entry ends after the phrase, “There! Now they want my inkstand!” so we assume

that she can't, in fact, write anymore.⁶² Had she gone on and on about everything she *did* have and *could* do, we might question the justness of the British rule in India. As it is, her readers don't question her presence there as readily (at least not for the important reasons). They may question why she would sacrifice so much in order to be there, but not the lies under which the whole justification for British rule there lay.

The structure of a journal requires that she write about everyday things, her role as stewardess requires that she writes to her family, her role as a British woman requires that she stay inactive in the culture and not speak to men of other cultures unless chaperoned, that she deal with household issues, not spend her time ruling the colonies by making up laws. The content of the journal—depictions of the woman being severely limited in their daily activities, even to the point of being carried around in sedan cars—allows readers to regard this life as difficult for women, but brought on by conditions in other countries. Additionally, and to return to my point in Chapter 1, it allows readers to ignore other possibilities, such as women in the Raj interacting with indigenous people in ways that aren't "English."

Therefore, what Eden conveys concerns a way of thinking that is, in this case, brought on by a literal lack of ink—or at least imminent lack of ink. She isn't free to scroll—to write as a way of figuring things out. Eden's perception of constriction is perhaps, largely due to the fact that she travels with the Governor General as a representative of the British Raj. But it also derives from her lack of the language structure to say there is no English Identity at stake to lose. Neither does she seem to understand identity as something other than an entity to be protected.

The lack of language structure that would allow Eden to even fathom the possibility that there is no British Identity at stake to lose constitute the importance of the particular conditions under which this narrative (and the travel journals of other women travelers) were written: by

retaining traces of their conditions of invention, they make the logic of imperialism as it manifests in terms of daily life apparent. What gets said depends a lot on the process of writing and the medium through which it gets conveyed.⁶³ For instance, if she had not retained her journal form, this line, “There! Now they want my inkstand!” would almost certainly never have existed. This is the type of exclamation one writes when they include details of their experience of writing as part of the content, not when the subject of that writing is the flora, fauna, and costumes of a foreign land.

I don’t want to ignore the discursive import of Žižek’s work, though. As excerpts from other travel writers demonstrate, even when the understood subject of a travel narrative *is* flora or fauna, and when the writers couch their descriptions in the form of a conversation with the reader, acknowledging a literal lack of language can illuminate the ways in which our thoughts and even our ability to fathom subjects, objects, or notions with which we are unfamiliar rests so much in language—and is thus, also limited by it. The writers are not necessarily commenting on structures of thought. Nonetheless, their occupations with classifying, understanding, and communicating what they see bring to mind discursive limitations.

It is the genre in which these women write, one that induces a certain transparency in logic, which represents language and language structure as inadequate. This time, it is done by foregrounding issues that seem to have to do with translation and categorizing, but that I suggest have more to do with language structure in general. At the same time, the need to convey truth or lies only exists because censorship is in effect. In a similar way, the need for Emily Eden to retain her Englishness in India only exists because the British are in India to demonstrate, exercise, and establish their power.

3.3 CONCLUSION

Because the journals make something abstract—the daily life of the British colonial ruling class—visible, they change that daily life by their creation and act as tools. Because they archive diurnal activities and thoughts, they act as products. And yet, daily journals draw attention to the fact that the teleological understanding of evolving or degenerating as a result of living abroad is largely constructed. Although their chronological organization suggests that we can read them otherwise, the journals themselves portray the non-telic existences of the authors. Attempting to track thought-processes as they are captured in daily entries reveals that habits of thinking often don't correlate directly with immediate events, surroundings and activities. Readers often seek evidence of a path of change or growth, but humans just don't function on a linear path. We gather information simultaneously, circle back reflectively, and create new connections and structures of understanding as we apply the ones we “have.” Daily journals render that reconfiguring evident. Failing to construct a teleological narrative, these texts demonstrate, instead, how the processes of recording, distributing, reading, and preserving sentiments about travel abroad construct concepts of national identity and intensify the perceived threat of “other” cultures on Englishness. They are collections, but they are more than just collections of products, they transcribe a process as it is changing.

Daily journals sent off as letters served both as methods by which their writers communicated and kept up relationships with their families, and as material signposts for their statuses. The materials with which they write, the topics about which they write, and their direct assertions of status all indicate these writers' values and self-perceptions. The genre's detailed but fragmented nature provides space not only in which to understand these women's political

views, but also some of the ways in which the “English” way of thinking becomes invisible and naturalized. Noting the physical properties of the process and of the product illuminates the gaps that we should mind; for instance, the interstitial nature of fragmented entries invites the reader to imagine—at times, to imagine herself present with the writer—and to construct the missing links that the writing seems to leave incomplete because of circumstance.

3.3.1 What’s at Stake in Emily Eden’s Writing

Emily Eden retains her journal format, even lines that mention the conditions under and logic behind which she writes. Because of the journalistic format, the reader approaches this text as a record of Eden’s activities and reflections, not as an attempt to alter the reader’s opinions of the places and cultures Eden visits (or the imperialist culture that she represents). Therefore, what the reader misses are the ways in which Eden codes herself as an Englishwoman and the repercussions of her adherence to that view of herself. Julie Nelson Christoph’s notion of “strategies of placement” is one way of understanding Eden’s coding. Eden’s text is a journal, sent home to her family. As such, it functions in ways that short-term travel writing or writing intended as notes for a future book do not. Most obviously, it functions as a sign of life, and it communicates her access to certain materials and the dearth of others.

Less obviously, Eden’s form of writing, the materiality of her writing, allows her to remain ambivalent, but to still create an archive of her ideas. Eden structures her travelogue as a journal, thereby collapsing the rhetorical space between author and audience by acknowledging the invention phase of her writing. One virtue of the archival nature of this record of reflections

is that, rather than making one cohesive, well-supported argument, Eden constructs a complex *ethos* that ultimately remains ambivalent about the issues she presents.

3.3.2 What's at stake in Fanny Eden's Writing

Just as with Dorian's dallying in chapter one, we get lost in the experience of Fanny's day as we read her journal. It is only much later that the repercussions of her presence (and the presence she represents: Great Britain) become evident, so it is easy to ignore the power she holds. Fanny seems harmless. Even more than Emily Eden, Fanny's intentions seem personal; her journals in general, and this entry, in particular, lack the literary allusions and political mentions that adorn her sister's writing. However, we might stop to consider what her passages from India *do*. Fanny creates an image of India and life there as seen through British eyes for her audience. If Dorian helps us understand him through his descriptions of his possessions, Fanny's representations of India expand this with her practices of familiarity. Not only do we actually see her occupations during the day, we also see how she expects to share perspective with her readers. They know the cues (I am turning the page, switching pencils) and their expected reactions. We also know, through her artistic rendering, the ways in which she understands depictions of people. Her pictures render subjects spatially using a fairly realist technique, as she perceives them and as she expects her audience to understand. They do not obviously play with ratio or symbols. The colors of the people match her perceptions of their skin color. She doesn't see size as connoting power or centrality and consequently draw British symbols inexplicably larger, for instance, but she does present this more subtly. The ship and the chaos that English presence makes *do* occupy a large, central position in the sketch, but they do so in a way that makes this seem natural

because, rather than seeming symbolically out of balance, it makes sense, spatially that the ratios would exist as they do. Nonetheless, Fanny's depiction foregrounds English presence as positive and natural. We experience, then, a very English way of perceiving.

Dorian and Fanny both give us descriptions of what they see, so it seems like we understand objects through descriptions of a character (or in Fanny's case, a sketcher). However, what Plotz reveals is that both cases still offer us a glimpse of a shared way of perceiving. Does this mean that there *is* an English identity after all? Can one protect an English way of perceiving and what does this gain?

3.3.3 What's at Stake in Innes's Writing

Emily Innes and her struggles for words draw the reader's attention to the inadequacy of language. The extent to which we can see this struggle as a public—or human—struggle, rather than a personal one determines the impact of her work. The greater significance of this type of “mistake,” though, is that it provides glimpses into what the author thinks about as she writes, which, in turn, alerts us to limitations in the structure of thinking that language imposes. Recognizing that this happens even in travel narratives that are either diurnal, or that are dismissed as poorly written is crucial if we are to identify the multiple ways in which imperial discourse gets perpetuated.

¹ Eden “*Up the Country*”: *Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, 180-81. Hereinafter *Up the Country*.

² Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

³ Christoph, "Reconceiving *Ethos* in Relation to the Personal: Strategies of Placement in Pioneer Women's Writing," 661. Hereinafter "Ethos."

⁴ Ibid., 670.

⁵ Ibid., 671.

⁶ Eden *Up the Country*, 191.

⁷ See Blunt, "Imperial Geographies of Home: British Domesticity in India, 1886-1925" for more on setting up households in India and adapting the role of mistress of the house.

⁸ Christoph, "Ethos," 671.

⁹ Eden, *Up the Country*, mentions Charles Lamb on page 63 and *Nicholas Nickleby* on page 75.

¹⁰ Plotz, *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move* 5. Hereinafter *Portable Property*.

¹¹ Eden's background, as well recorded accounts of her friends' perceptions of her overwhelmingly suggest that Eden participates in political discussions with extreme facility, not to mention humor. Eden was brought up in the realm of politics and was well educated. Emily Eden's father, William Eden, First Baron Auckland held various foreign diplomatic posts to which the entire family accompanied him. Dunbar writes that Eden was "taught to have an intelligent interest in foreign affairs. At the age of eighteen Emily could write: 'Poor Beckenham is gone mad about the corn laws,' and know clearly what she was writing about" (Dunbar, *Tigers, Durbars and Kings: Fanny Eden's Indian Journals 1837-1838*, 2). Both Janet Dunbar and Marian Fowler cite letters from Lord Auckland (then just George Eden) and his Whig associates that attest to Eden's humor and her strength in participating in political discussion. Fowler quotes one unnamed guest as writing, "Lord Auckland I like very much...he has a grave, gentle manner, with a good deal of dry fun about him. Emily Eden is undeniably clever and pleasant" (*Miss Eden's Letters* footnote to p. 230, quoted in Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan*:

First Ladies of the Raj, 19). Fowler concludes that Eden “spent many hours with George and his Whig friends arguing in a carrying voice, showing off her learning and fine mind, making them all laugh with her witty sallies. She was brisk, bold and boisterous” (Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj*, 17).

¹² Edward Thompson’s notes and introduction in the 1930 edition imply that Eden is unaware of the importance of the political events going on around her, and that she is incapable of giving intelligent commentary on it. For instance, Thompson’s note on Eden’s account of meeting Ranjit Singh (the most powerful Sikh in India) states: “There are few things in literature more poignantly ironical than Miss Eden’s record of the gaities of these days, which were to be so swiftly followed by seven years of anarchy and agony and terrific shock of war, shattering the Sikh power. She had no suspicion of the sordidness that underlay the exciting splendour; she could see the physical beauty of Hira Singh, the ‘very handsome boy, Runjeet’s favourite,’ the only person allowed to sit in his presence, but did not for a moment guess at the nature of the boy’s intimacy with his ruler” (404). Various other writers, such as Janet Dunbar, Marian Fowler and Deirdre David have since recouped Eden as a well-educated woman who was, indeed knowledgeable and interested in politics. Dunbar offers an extensive account of the Eden family’s life, comparing Emily Eden and her sister, Fanny (who accompanied Eden and their brother, Lord Auckland through India, and who also wrote a journal, though it was unpublished until parts of it were included in Dunbar’s book). Dunbar draws attention to the fact that Fanny was “more detached than her sister about politics” (5) but that “Emily shone in that *milieu*; she could argue about politics with men of the first ability, and hold her own” (4). Fowler writes that politics “were Emily’s chief interest” even before she left for India and that she frequently engaged in conversation about them with the men who visited the family in England (Fowler 17).

Both of these writers make their assertions based on letters and journals written by Eden and by the men with whom she discussed politics. David assesses Eden's work from through a postcolonial lens, focusing on her work as participating in the 'writing of the nation.' David avers, "In the complex 'writing of the nation' performed by Macaulay and Eden, her voice provides an alternative and adjacent narrative to his, ambivalent and disjunctive where his is assured and consistent. Moreover, her contrapuntal narrative opens up the possibility of other narratives, of other voices, of other eyes upon empire." (37). Eden is now often lauded for her wry sense of humor and her use of satire both in *Up the Country* and in her novels.

¹³ Eden expresses frustration with the task of writing a journal in India, claiming that the things she experiences or thinks about from day to day do not make for a good journal. "I was thinking how much journals at home are filled with clever remarks, or curious facts, or even good jokes, but here it is utterly impossible to write down anything beyond comments on the weather" (144). Eden compares Sir James Mackintosh's journal from India, which she says she is just finishing for the third time, to the ones he wrote in England and Paris, stating that Mackintosh's Indian journal contained "nothing but longings after home, and the workings of his own brain, and remarks on books," while in his journals from England and France he includes "anecdotes and witticisms of other people, and a little mental friction was going on" (144). Despite Eden's claim that her "journal must be so very dull here, that [she is] thinking of converting it into a weekly paper," she manages to infuse her journal with copious "witticisms" and to suggest through her writing that there was, in fact, "a little mental friction" occurring in her own mind. In fact, Eden illustrates this in the next paragraph, beginning, "I am interested in Indian politics just now, but could not make them interesting on paper." Eden then goes on to update her sister on what is going on in the political realm: "Two Russian letters were intercepted, and sent to G. yesterday;

highly important, only unluckily nobody in India can read them...It would be amusing if they turned out a sort of 'T. and E. Journal;' some Caterina Iconoslavitch writing to my uncle Alexis about her partners" (145). Edward Thompson interprets comments like these to mean that Eden had no understanding of the importance of the political events that were going on around her. A more attentive reading that takes Eden's history and education into account would interpret Eden's humor as a strategic way to broach topics that she is not supposed to be taking seriously, or even know about, but does.

¹⁴ Eden, *Up the Country*, 186.

¹⁵ Shakespeare *Henry VIII* Act 1 Scene 1

¹⁶ Plotz, *Portable Property*, 20-21.

¹⁷ Horne, "Preface," 7. Compare this "right spirit" with Dorian's obsessions in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. As I argued in Chapter 1, Dorian's initial *ennui* is an integral to his self identity; his ability to acquire all he wants allows him to identify as one who is indulgent and bored. Dorian's unexamined attitude toward activity sets him up for a different type of unhealthy relationship later in the novel, when, according to the narrator, Dorian's possessions (and presumably, the act of collecting them) "were to be to him means of forgetfulness, modes by which he could escape" (Wilde, 115). Because Dorian never learned to value process, but only the superficial posing, his pursuits fail to distract him in any healthy way and his restlessness turns fatal.

¹⁸ Plotz, *Portable Property*, 2.

¹⁹ Recall that in my first chapter, I discussed the threat of the colonized presence in the metropolis, invoking Richards and Kipling's "Lispeth" as topics of study. In "Lispeth," the Englishman with whom the eponymous character falls in love refuses to write about her in his

travel journal, thus forestalling her potential passage into England. I will treat the topics of perceived presence through literary texts and of people as objects more fully in my third chapter, wherein I look at portrayals of people and some of the conventions that surrounded depicting them.

²⁰ Eden, *Up the Country*, 181.

²¹ “The Castlereagh Inkstand.”

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Bennett, “The Newlyn Industrial Class and Art Industry: A Brief History.”

²⁶ Bennet, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Great Britain 1850-1915*.

²⁷ Laity, “Newlyn Copper-Craft.” No page.

²⁸ After the Peterloo Massacre in Manchester (1819), the plight of the worker gave rise to a reactionary movement against the age of machines and the division of labor. The Gothic School of Architects experienced a revival in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre, and out of that resurgence came a movement which championed better conditions for workers and demanded better designs and products (Lambourne, *Utopian Craftsmen: The Arts and Crafts Movement from the Cotswolds to Chicago*, 3,4). While writers and political activists such as John Ruskin conceptualized the Arts and Crafts Movement’s ideals, others, such as Sir Henry Cole (1808-1882) established school and C. R. Ashbee (1863-1942), A. H. Mackmurdo and William Morris created Guilds and communes dedicated to producing quality products by granting craftsmen the time and tools with which to design and build artistic goods: “The desire to get closer to the actual process of creation, the thrill of seeing an artifact growing under their hands, was to

become an impulse shared in common by men as diverse as Mackmurdo, Ashbee, Gimson and Henry Wilson. Like Webb they were led from architecture to the crafts, in an inexorable pattern that is one of the most recurrent features of the movement” (Ibid., 22). In *Arts and Crafts in Britain and America*, Isabelle Anscombe and Charlotte Gere trace the emergence and history of the Guild Movement in England and America, claiming, “during the nineteenth century an awareness had developed that national style reflected the moral values of a society: if a society was unable to produce good design then the fault lay in its ethical system—a nation’s art was a symptom of its moral health” (7). Pointing to such examples as F. D. Maurice, who founded the Working Men’s College in the East End of London in 1854, and A. H. Mackmurdo, who launched (with Selwyn Image) the Century Guild (which lasted from 1882 to 1888), Anscombe and Gere highlight the principles on which these organizations were established. For instance, they explain that The Century Guild (which sponsored and printed *The Hobby Horse*), “aimed to produce decorative work in every branch of interior design and to ‘render all branches of art the sphere no longer of the tradesman but of the artist.’” Anscombe and Gere’s work ultimately reveals that none of the guilds flourished in the ways that they intended to. Their section about William Morris’s company, for example, exemplifies the struggles these guilds and companies experienced financially, depending on commissioned work from the wealthy to fund them, and not being able to sustain themselves or provide furniture or other large items at prices that other craftsman or members of the rising middle class could afford. Charles Harvey points out in “William Morris—Art and Idealism” that by the 1880s Morris & Co. *had* broadened its scope of products to the point that it could find a balance between cost of production and good labor conditions. In fact, Harvey writes that Morris & Co’s “workshops at Merton Abbey, Surrey, were described in the pages of middle class journals as the embodiment of a ‘Ruskinian dream’ where

craftsmen produced top quality wares in idyllic, semi-rural conditions for higher than average wages.” According to Harvey, Morris’s key concerns and goals centered around avoiding the division of labor, which he understood as cheapening goods, but at the cost of quality; eschewing the practice of “over-finishing” products (an argument put forth by Ruskin in “The Nature of the Gothic”); and providing working conditions in which crafters could enjoy their work and take pride in their workmanship. For more on the key figures and goals of the Arts and Crafts Movement in England, see John Cloag, *Victorian Comfort: A Social History of Design from 1830-1900*; Linda Parry, *William Morris*; Sheila Rowbotham, “Arts, Crafts & Socialism.”; and Jeffrey L. Spear, *Dreams of an English Eden: Ruskin and his Tradition in Social Criticism*.

²⁹ See Chapter 2, section 2 “Jane Austen and Empire” in Said, *Culture and Imperialism*.

³⁰ Fanny Eden, *Tigers, Durbars and Kings: Fanny Eden’s Indian Journals 1837-1838*, 8. Written February 13th 1837 in Barrackpore.

³¹ The language Fanny employs is akin to what Jan Ostman would characterize as the “language of the periphery.” It is what “we produce when we feel secure to express ourselves without having to think about norms and the code” (438). Ostman points out that even within its familiar language, the postcard as communication has characteristics of being encoded; he cites examples such as using idiomatic abbreviations, phrases such as *you know* and song lyrics which serve to indicate to the reader a meaning that would not be obvious to an eavesdropper (Ostman 432). Fanny’s language, although not necessarily coded, does depend on her reader holding the original letter she sent, rather than, for instance, reading the text, but in a published version wherein many of the sketches are excluded or arranged differently.

³² The inclusion of maps, drawings, photographs and other visual elements within a narrative play an important role not only in the invention stage, but also in the way in which readers

encounter a text. More than just attempting to capture a visual image in a non-linguistic way, visual texts encourage the reader to actually stop reading and move to a visual mode of thought. The time-consuming act of studying the illustrations in between pages of text (which often entails adjusting the physical book in order to acquire a perspective that makes visual sense) represents the process of mental interruption while also demonstrating the difficulty of portraying “scenes” linguistically. Although the reader is not presented with the task of transcribing or translating visual to linguistic, the inclusion of illustrations within the narration slow the pace for the reader and allow the reader to consider how attempting to translate or depict anything results in ambiguity because of the gaps in any form of depiction, not just writing.

³³ Jekyll, *Old English Household Life: Some Account of Cottage Objects and Country Folk*, 33.

For more on Jekyll’s life and works, see Festing, *Gertrude Jekyll*.

³⁴ Ruskin, “The Stones of Venice II: The Nature of the Gothic,” 41.

³⁵ Eden, *Up the Country*, 165-6 written on Sept 8, 1838

³⁶ Ruskin, “The Stones of Venice II: The Nature of the Gothic,” 41.

³⁷ Jekyll, *Old English Household Life: Some Account of Cottage Objects and Country Folk*, 42.

³⁸ Horne, “Preface,” 7.

³⁹ Recall David, “Empire, Race, and the Victorian Novel,” 89.

⁴⁰ Innes, *The Chersonese with the Gilding Off*, 1: 2. Hereinafter *The Chersonese*. For more on the socio-political situation on the Malay Peninsula in the nineteenth century, see Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907*; and Morgan, *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books About Southeast Asia*. Hereinafter *Place Matters*. For a discussion of James Innes’ appointment and role, see *Ibid.*, 164-165.

⁴¹ In *Place Matters*, Morgan places Bird's work in the context of both the history of writing about the peninsula, and of imperialism. For instance, she writes, "Isabella Bird wrote what might well be, along with Swettenham's *Malay sketches*, the best in a 19th-century memoir of the region, *the Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither*" (149). Morgan also recognizes key features of Bird's text that mark it as an imperial text. Citing Bird's tendencies to describe the people she meets in much the same vein as the "semi-official ideology of the British presence in the Malay states" and her disclaimers that her letters are written on the spot but adding an introduction that justifies British presence in the region, Morgan states, "The narrative functions to represent what is in fact a relentless colonialist reading of the Malay states as the way things really were" (155). For more on Bird, see Barr, *A Curious Life for a Lady: The Story of Isabella Bird, a Remarkable Victorian Traveller*; Stoddart, Anna M. *The life of Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop) hon. member of the Oriental society of Peking; and Thurin, Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907*.

⁴² Ibid., 242.

⁴³ Ibid., 242.

⁴⁴ We find this sort of struggle in much fiction that depicts empire. For example the eponymous character in Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner* (1719) undertakes a similar task, taking it to the extreme and becoming obsessed with cataloguing and categorizing. For an example of making the struggle to narrate visible, this time in fiction, see Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 22-23, wherein he discusses Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899).

⁴⁵ Innes 1: 245

⁴⁶ Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, 2: 36-37.

⁴⁷ Burton, *Wanderings in West Africa*, 2: 36.

⁴⁸ Little, *In the Land of the Blue Gown*, 51. For more on Little, see Thurin, *Victorian Travelers and the Opening of China, 1842-1907*, especially chapter 6. Thurin avers that Little feminizes orientalism and clarifies, “by ‘feminizing Orientalism’ I mean that little uses gendered strategies in representing China that are both feminine and feminist. The effect of these strategies is the creation of an Orientalism that differs from the meaning made current by Said” (164). Thurin cites the various ways in which Little participated in political movements, the extent to which she used writing to portray women as a vast and different group of people, and, ultimately, how she still participated in the discourse of imperialism, but outside the scope of Said’s theory.

⁴⁹ McDougall, *Letters from Sarawak; Addressed to a Child*, 96-97. We must be careful to note that, as with many of the writers I cite, if her writing is placed in context and studied in terms of rhetorical strategies, the ways in which she did participate in imperial discourse becomes evident. For example, In *Place Matters*, Morgan calls attention to the details of McDougall’s life in Sarawak and the political events that occurred while she was there that McDougall leaves *out* of her letters. For instance, Morgan notes the bias with which McDougall selects what to report about two major events, the “Chinese rebellion” of 1857 and the “Malay plot” of 1859: “McDougal would unquestionably have known of the role of the Rajahs forces in slaughtering the families of the rebellious miners. Yet she does not mention it; she mentions only the vengefulness of Malays and Dyaks” (217).

⁵⁰ Other writers leave traces of struggles with language as well. For instance, in the introduction to *Letters to Henrietta* (published in 2002, but written between the years of 1872-1879), by Isabella Bird, Kay Chubbuck comments on the ways in which Henrietta Bird and her sister negotiated the conundrum of linguistic description: “The images spill over one another, the

narrative is loosely organized, the dates are sometimes jumbled, making her writing both immediate and alive. In these letters, Isabella uses words that no one else ever used, ones she and Henrietta invented that became their own language” (25). Of course, the practice of mixing language was common in oral as well as written language, certain words becoming so enmeshed in the local lexicon that the speakers cease to even identify foreign words. Innes writes of her amusement with such a realization: “These boys often used English words without any suspicion that they were even English, and would correct my pronunciation of them in the most amusing way. I often asked them what was the right pronunciation of a Malay word, and they sometimes volunteered it; so when I used such words as “glass,” “bottle,” “stripe,” “blackening” and so forth, they would respectfully inform me that the correct pronunciation for these words was *gullass*, *botole*, *essateripe*, and *berlecken*”(Innes 2:17).

⁵¹ Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, xv. Hereinafter *The Order of Things*.

⁵² Ibid., xvii.

⁵³ See Anzaldúa *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, which problematizes an American way of writing in a slightly different way, partially by refusing to adhere to the conventions of “American” (or English) composition. The rhetorical shape of the book textually reflects Anzaldúa’s movement through modes of thinking: images engender emotions which evolve into linguistic articulations that are interrupted by emotional reactions and new images—continuously changing and, thus, resisting conclusion. The cyclical nature of the text’s rhetorical shape suggests that Anzaldúa does not regard linguistic representation as necessarily more sophisticated than imagery—a theory that challenges prevailing assumptions in the academy even today. Illustrating her points through images and myths, Anzaldúa embraces the ambiguous

nature of these modes of understanding, often deploying them in inconsistent and even contradictory ways. The same symbol, such as an eagle or a serpent, means something very different in various contexts throughout the text.

⁵⁴ Innes, *The Chersonese with the Gilding Off*, 1:242.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ As has been frequently pointed out (see for example, Porter, *Haunted Journeys*, 12-15) the comparison of one's home country with another nation provides a way of critiquing both or either culture. Women's strategic choice of genre extends to ways of negotiating social restrictions on what women could say about their subjects and even how they could articulate their opinions. I will return to this topic in my section on Žižek and censorship.

⁵⁷ Žižek, *Welcome to the Desert of the Real*, 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 2.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² A similar dynamic happens in "The Yellow Wallpaper," a widely-anthologized short story by Charlotte Perkins Gilman, wherein the writer is actually prohibited from writing for the "good" of her health. In the story, the woman remains determined to write despite her promises to her husband and sister-in-law to the contrary. The text becomes riddled with frustrated exclamations such as, "What is one to do?" and worries that she won't be able to continue writing. However, she, too, manages to pen the words, ultimately calling into question the wisdom of "the rest cure" by chronicling her descent into mental illness.

⁶³ Recent work in the field of rhetoric increasingly acknowledges the importance of the conditions of invention in determining both the subject of rhetoric and its presentation. For instance, in "On Gender and Rhetorical Space," Roxanne Mountford explores how the particular rhetorical space of the pulpit is portrayed in several works of fiction and the ways in which the people speaking from those pulpits are perceived based on the physical structure and placement of the pulpit. Drawing on Foucault's analysis of the panopticon, Mountford discusses how the placement of the pulpit establishes a power relationship based on visual access and centrality, bringing our attention to how distance affects both the power dynamics (on the one hand) between the audience and the rhetor and (on the other hand) between the subject matter and the way a rhetor "invents." Mountford illustrates the latter point by citing a pastor whom she interviews who claims that being behind a pulpit or being able to move into the audience affects the type of sermon she gives (Mountford, "On Gender and Rhetorical Space," 57-58).

4.0 THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF THE RAJ

God bless you, dearest! When I am tired, or *tented*, or hot, or cold, and generally when I am in India, I have at least the comfort of always sitting down, to tell you all about it, and ‘There is no harm in *that*.’¹

Emily Eden understands writing as an activity that can alleviate many of her woes while she resides in India. Even better, as this excerpt notes, scribing doesn’t threaten to cause harm; she sees writing as an individual practice that creates a minimal impact on others. In this chapter, I propose that it is precisely this conception of writing as harmless that yields the published diurnal travel narrative power within imperialism. In pursuing this line of inquiry, I find useful Michel de Certeau’s book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, which argues that quotidian events in one’s life present opportunities to enact protests and change. By using a prior-determined grid (such as streets, language structure, or recipes) and varying from the expected structure or purpose, one introduces new possibilities of use and manifestation. Certeau characterizes impositions of individual use as protests against dominant culture. I do not mean to say that Emily Eden intends to subvert dominant culture. Instead, I assert that the individual ways in which she and other writers of diurnal travel narratives used writing—such as a pastime that creates a permanent product—also share characteristics of speech acts.² In other words, Emily

Eden created a glimpse into the life of the British colonial ruling class, but by transcribing it, she makes that sighting permanent.

Although Eden casts her pastime as innocuous, the oft-quoted rant from the butler, Gabriel Betteredge, in Wilkie Collin's *The Moonstone* (1868) raises another possibility about so-called harmless pursuits. In it, he reproaches the leisure class for their insensibility to the effects their pastimes have on the working classes (not to mention other, such as colonial):

Gentlefolks in general have a very awkward rock ahead in life—the rock ahead of their own idleness. Their lives being, for the most part, passed in looking about them for something to do, it is curious to see—especially when their tastes are of what is called the intellectual sort—how often they drift blindfold into some nasty pursuit. Nine times out of ten they take to torturing something, or to spoiling something—and they firmly believe they are improving their minds, when the plain truth is, they are only making a mess in the house. I have seen them (ladies, I am sorry to say, as well as gentlemen) go out, day after day, for example, with empty pill boxes, and catch newts, and beetles, and spiders, and frogs, and come home and stick pins through the miserable wretches, or cut them up, without a pang of remorse, into little pieces. You see my young master, or my young mistress, poring over one of their spiders' insides with a magnifying glass; or you meet one of their frogs walking down-stairs without his head—and when you wonder what this cruel nastiness means, you are told that it means a taste in my young master or my young mistress for natural history. Sometimes, again, you see them occupied for hours together in spoiling a pretty flower with pointed instruments, out of a stupid curiosity to know what the flower is made of. Is its

colour any prettier, or its scent any sweeter, when you *do* know? But there! the poor souls must get through the time, you see—they must get through the time...It often falls heavy enough, no doubt, on people who are really obliged to get their living, to be forced to work for the clothes that cover them, the roof that shelters them, and the food that keeps them going. But compare the hardest day's work you ever did with the idleness that splits flowers and pokes its way into spiders' stomachs, and thank your stars that your head has got something it *must* think of, and your hands something that they *must* do.³

Betteredge's expostulations call into question the value of being charmed into just *any* activity; he lists the ways in which the banal studies of the ruling class actually *do* impact others despite those being the very things they consider to be unimportant and leisurely. Betteredge doesn't mention anything about writing and, in fact, he may have considered writing to be as innocuous as Eden did.⁴ What men and women of the ruling class do *officially* obviously impacts people, but Betteredge claims that in terms of people's everyday lives (and literally in terms of certain insects very lives), the things that people do when they aren't necessarily intending to, are equally important in terms of impact.⁵ Writing as Eden does seems to fall into the category of actions without intended impact, and for this reason, it warrants exploration.

Emily Eden wrote about quotidian matters because, as a female member of the ruling class, she was socially positioned to do so.⁶ Her entries reveal that she notices inconveniences to others when she does things such as suggest leaving the boat to explore a fair (an outing for which her brother was reprimanded by his advisors) or take off on her own for a while (a jaunt which requires many servants to chaperone),⁷ but that practices like writing (or drawing, which she also does extensively) intrude much less on her servants' duties. In some ways, Eden's

statement, “there’s no harm in *that*” seems to anticipate the question that the famously sequestered character in “The Yellow Wallpaper” poses decades later, “but what is one to do?”⁸ The character in the fictional story answers the question by surreptitiously continuing to scribble in her journal, of which the short story claims to be constituted. In the end, writing turns out to be a powerful tool; the story as recounted by the character exposes the “rest cure” as possibly precipitating her descent into mental illness.⁹ Eden’s text actually *is* a journal, written in snippets and compiled as letters sent off to her sister. Although it can be seen as a result of the limitations Eden encounters, that is not the whole story. She expresses in the excerpt above that writing in a fractional way comforts her because it means that she can do it (almost) anytime she feels the need to connect with someone without causing a disturbance.

Writing in a diurnal fashion is not just an insular pastime, though; it *does* change things, just as “The Yellow Wallpaper” ultimately demonstrates. Eden’s journal changes the way people regard the colonies and it does so by making various elements of imperialist ideology and the anxiety of influence visible and (at least potentially) permanent. That her thoughts get written down, that they get dispersed, that we can look at the journal now as an archive—these characteristics of the everyday musings of women who write diurnal travel narratives are precisely what make them powerful. In the last chapter, I concentrated on writers as producers and their products both as tools and as yields. Understanding the products both as modes of expression and as determining factors in what the writers scribe and ponder allowed me to think about how the form in which Emily and Fanny Eden, Emily Innes, and Alicia Little wrote reflected and also determined their purposes in doing so. I was able to suggest that they did not intend to lecture, but to open up space in which to share experiences with their readers. The

introduction of Certeau's concept of consumer nodes to the possibility of blurring the distinction between the producer and the consumer of these texts.

4.1 CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS

In this chapter, I will use *The Practice of Everyday Life* in order to think about how diurnal travel narratives subvert expectations of travel writing. Certeau identifies four characteristics of the speech act that he argues can also be found in practices such as cooking or walking: “speaking operates within a field of the linguistic system; it affects an appropriation or reappropriation of language by its speakers; it establishes a *present* relative to a time and place; it posits a *contract with the other* (interlocutor) in a network of places and relations” (xiii). He also identifies a type of production that varies from but is related to the type of production I discussed in chapter two. Certeau calls this type of production “consumption” and he asserts that “it does not manifest itself through its own products, but rather through its *ways of using* the products imposed by a dominant economic order” (xii). Certeau points out that although grids exist, the individual's use of “materials” such as language, infrastructure, raw materials, etc. is what creates resistance and that by refusing to adhere to the dominant culture's designated use for a ritual or a space, an individual—in particular, an individual from the lower or ruled classes—asserts independence. Certeau's definition of consumer is useful to me because it allows for consideration of how people use things regardless of ownership.¹⁰ I am therefore able to argue that by personalizing

conventions and practices of writing, Emily Eden continually creates new connotations for those activities that emerge from the set of contexts in which she places them.

The speech acts and the rhetorical devices that I discuss don't always carry a deliberate motivation of modification with them, nor are they always intended to protest dominant ways of doing. I claim that even if we don't concentrate on the motivation but, rather, look at the *functionality* of the gestures (for instance, the traces of thought or process) we can *see* the ways in which individuals infuse familiar practices or language with new meanings. In this case, we can see that it becomes less imperative that one own something in order to act upon it.

Although it is not my primary concern, I do want to briefly note that the implications of introducing consumerism into the discussion in this way relate to imperial discourse and its limitations by demonstrating an iteration of influencing that does not claim to dominate, own, or penetrate. Recognizing this potential is important because it implicates people and practices that are otherwise exempt from being considered contributors to imperialism. Edward W. Said acknowledges an overarching imperialist power structure by following Foucault's example of tracing a genealogy. While their work has provided a framework in which to begin studies of discourse from a theoretical view, one shortcoming with an overarching, historicized way of thinking is that, while it allows us to *acknowledge* that multiple discourses operate at the same time, *applying* those theories becomes limiting.¹¹ In order to *see* the simultaneity of discourses and how they act on each other, we need to let ourselves digress, and to experience how distraction reveals multiple ways of using similar raw material.

I move from the concept of understanding an object as both a tool and a product and begin to explore the blurred line between consumer and producer. Diurnal travel narratives and their writers occupy a peculiar place because of the temporal and spatial elements inherent to the

circumstances of their creation. For instance, in my second chapter, I pointed to the ways in which various writers engage the reader as if they were sharing a moment with them, literally changing the traces of writing as they write about doing so—ceasing to write because of a lack of ink, changing writing utensils and therefore the appearance of the script, turning the page in the middle of a sentence about doing so, or describing one’s process of identifying flora as she walks through the woods. I suggested that the writing style employed in these texts creates a sense of being able to imagine sharing an experience with the author despite a literal distance between writer and reader. In this chapter, I discuss how the rhetorical manipulations these writers employ often function in ways similar to speech acts. By doing so, they emphasize the permanence/ephemeral and presence/absence paradoxes at work in the texts.

4.1.1 Practicing English Life

It was perfectly common for Englishwomen who were abroad during the nineteenth century to exchange letters, or even to trade journals. The drastic change in locale, culture, and sights included in the letters carries with it more than just a difference in topic, though. Even more than the articles that brought the colonies and colonial life back to England, these letters, full of the details of lives being carried out simultaneously to the receivers’ but in drastically different ways, introduced the very notion that an actual life can be lived elsewhere. These letters and journals that chronicled the daily lives of English women living abroad engendered subsequent notions of danger and hardship, absurd conditions, and exciting new encounters that one could expect while travelling in the colonies. In chapters 1 and 2, I looked at how understanding identity to be threatened abroad could increase the perceived need for more Englishness and

serve as a way of heightening and justifying British presence in the colonies. It is through the act of writing diurnally that we see how writers such as Emily Eden changed the perceived need for Englishness abroad. As I discussed in chapter 1, people spending time abroad would not exactly be understood to be living “English” lives. This brings to light a habit of nostalgically remembering—what we did in England, what we think used to be there, what we think *we* used to be there—that might be misleading. Nostalgic remembering is a way of categorizing and understanding oneself; the self one understands does not necessarily exist as a stable entity. However, the act of writing in an autobiographical way infuses the text with a sense of realism that works much like the “magic” of photographs does: it makes it *seem* as though something is stable or identifiable or real and accurate.

Since the mail takes a certain amount of time in which to deliver the journals, there is always the possibility that by the time one receives them, the writer is dead or moved on. In other words, although a presence is insinuated by the letter, the letter does not guarantee that presence—or the continued presence—of the writer. The practice of writing and sending letters and journals from the colonies introduces another temporal element, though—one that concerns a loss of *English* life, not just life in general. Correspondents between England and the colonies feared not only a literal loss of life that would render such a message necessary, but also a figurative loss of Englishness; the more time one spends abroad doing less English things, the less English they become.

Other ephemeral and communicative mediums such as postcards, which as I will explore in this chapter, draw heavily on implicit understandings of actions as creating modes of communication (sending the postcard at all represents a sign of life, choosing which postcard to send communicates something other than the language written on it, as does the place from

which it is sent, the stamp used, personally relevant allusions to song lyrics or phrases, or even ink color or the direction of writing). In addition, the discursive message sent depends on and self-reflectively critiques the structure of the language or the brevity of the message, which, whether implicit or explicit either straightforwardly or ironically produce meaning through adhering to or varying from expected employment of language.¹²

Part of what makes this evident are the differences we see when people write private, public, or semi-public documents. Attempts to code (both in order to circumvent censorship or a public understanding and in order to share jokes) create meaning based on shared experiences. The advent of the postcard makes this especially evident, since postcards are sent to a recipient, but without the expectation of privacy. In these diurnal travel narratives, we see how when something is composed with (at least the initial) intent to send it to family or even one recipient, the things that get written down are more personal and informal than ones written as lectures are. Eden remarks that when she publishes her journals she deletes some parts that would only be amusing to her family but that she doesn't add anything. While I noted in chapter 1 that this statement needs to be taken with a grain of salt, it indicates that people reveal more when a personal and private relationship with the receiver is expected. Even more than that, what gets said changes when one expects a reciprocal relationship with the reader.

By looking at diurnal journals that were intended for personal communication and sometimes later for public sharing, we can make visible the ways in which literary, familial, and spatial practices shape how we conceive of imperial ideology, changing the character of imperialism from a determined conquest to something far more broad in scope and possibility. This is not to say that I will go quite as far as Certeau does in asserting resistance behind individual uses of spaces, objects, or forms of communication. Rather, I'd like to highlight the

congenial nature behind coding—the inside jokes, nuanced meanings generated by winks and nods, and the resourceful schemes writers concoct in order to interact with their loved ones despite the physical distance that separates them.

Thus, while I can't wholeheartedly support Certeau's almost utopian understanding of everyday life as resistant, there do seem to be important ways in which individuals disrupt the "dominant grid" that influence and change that lattice and its role that make an application of Certeau's work relevant to colonial studies. One of these elements is the idea of the producer/consumer. In one sense, Emily Eden is a producer: she generates texts. But in another sense, she is a consumer. She uses ink and paper but also the act of writing to get what she wants: a relationship with her family at home and a designation as a woman who writes. Diurnal travel narrators about cultures under British rule or economic influence practice the *act* of writing. Understanding diurnal travel writers such as Emily Eden as consumers allows us to recognize the ways in which they use objects, ways of seeing, and ways of writing to ultimately change not only their own relationships to the items and the processes, but also the relationships that *readers* held to those articles and pastimes. As readers witness these writers doing things that aren't "English" the anxiety for remaining English increases, and maintaining the English ways of doing things—which they understand to be possible through the spreading of English culture—becomes more exigent.

I will first look at picture postcards, which came into vogue in the last few decades of the nineteenth century because they provide a concrete medium through which to think about Certeau's notion that people use already-created grids or materials to develop or enact their own agendas. I will then begin explore the ways in which the line between producer and consumer gets blurred, identifying some of the ways in which writers also act as consumers. Turning to

Eden's travel narrative, I will introduce the notion of semi-private media in order to suggest that her form acts in different ways as it is sent to various audiences.

4.1.2 Appropriating Postcards

I'd like to consider the materiality of the picture postcard in order to investigate several ways in which the materiality of a medium dictates what and how people communicate. As I mentioned in chapter 2, Gertrude Jekyll and Laity both call attention to the process of creation as an integral element of a product. The materiality of postcards is interesting to consider as part of this discussion because the multiple sites of creation, not to mention the various discourse-functional characteristics they require, construct impressions of places, experiences, and relationships for the intended recipient as well as anyone who might happen to see the postcard. From the beginning, only a few companies had the power to construct the visual impressions of most of the places people visited in the world. Because most communities didn't have control over the images that represented them in the nineteenth century, residents and visitors had to find their own methods of adapting premade cards to suit their own purposes. Therefore, narrativizing the process of creation entails looking at both the original printing of the postcard as well as the processes of acquiring, writing on, sending, and displaying the card. Doing so draws attention both to the way personal correspondence is coded and how consumers of postcards or even of the practice of writing also act as producers of resistant or coded practices.

The sources of many Victorians' perceptions of distant places even through the nineteenth century depended on accounts and images featuring those cultures. Picture postcards, particularly colonial postcards, present a particular view of the place and the culture they depict.

For instance, Howard Woody cites an example of a postcard that “was once part of a ‘Countries of the World’ set” because the rendering of the area is a collage of images.¹³ Presumably, the printer is attempting to portray the country by using figures, architecture and a view of the harbor to emblemize important events and icons of Haiti’s political environment. These images, along with the accompanying text, stamps and other traces of the place of origination create an image in the receiver’s mind of the experience of being in that locale. The amalgamation of these clues becomes the reality of the place for the receiver and her impression of the place is therefore largely controlled by the person or people who provide pertinent information. Narrativizing the process of the actual card production attains almost immediate importance because doing so reveals that the people responsible for the production are not what one might expect: the J. Miesler Company in Germany, not a company in Haiti, printed the postcard above. Although this seems odd at first, the practice of producing postcards in the metropolis (even when the photographs were taken within the country they depict) and shipping them back to the colony for distribution was the norm.¹⁴ Thus heavily influenced by the ideology of the colonizer (or in this case, simply the West), these postcards “created a historical visual record that encompassed the world.”¹⁵

There is one exception to this system that existed in a former colony: in the United States, printing “viewcards” of cities or resort areas was primarily a local enterprise at least in the early years of postcards.¹⁶ Although many of these cards were meant as souvenirs, cards were also produced to advertise the attractions of a given town. In *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918*, Dorothy Ryan cites an example of a postcard produced and distributed by The Commercial Club of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The postcard is a scene of downtown Cedar Rapids with the compelling caption, “The finest, widest, and longest paved street in Iowa.”¹⁷ Although

still trying to attract visitors and potential new inhabitants with what it considers to be an inviting feature, this artifact of propaganda reflects the pride and priorities of the people who live there. Local production of these kinds of postcards eventually evolved in many instances to a regional or national endeavor, but the fact that, in this case, The Commercial Club of Cedar Rapids holds total jurisdiction over representation of the town exemplifies the crucial difference between esoteric control and the intervention of colonizing ideology.¹⁸

Thus the paradigm of the postcard became something on which to transpose one's own forms of communication even if the card itself did not offer a meaningful image. Jan-Ola Östman analyzes postcard exchange by applying media discourse to a discussion of common uses of the cards. By proposing an alternative to regarding the postcard as just an object, and, instead, treating it as a discourse, is able to see it "as partaking in the general process of establishing, constructing, and mirroring the society and culture at large."¹⁹ First, he defines discourse as "a cover-term for elements and activities that are constituted by social practices and recontextualization practices. The picture, the text, the stamp, the sending, the receiving, the mediatization, the posing, the appreciation, the response with another postcard—these are all one."²⁰ His approach is incredibly useful to my investigation into diurnal travel narratives because the two mediums share the characteristics of appearing to be objects, but also holding the capacity to act as discourses. Although I am investigating how the diurnal travel narrative operates within the discourse of imperialism, understanding it as a discourse in and of itself promises to illuminate some of the ways in which it works that are outside of and different from dominant understandings of imperial discourse.

Postcards remain intriguing and elusive because, while we can attempt to narrativize their existences, one of their most apparent appeals is their ability to support an infinite amount of

roles and forms of communicating. Even if we limit our study to postcards as discourse, their potential for multiple and elusive meanings becomes immediately obvious. For instance, Östman explains, “The discourse-functional characteristics of a prototypical postcard include the following aspects: the picture or some other aesthetic ornament, the name and the address, the written message, the stamp, the sending, the intermediate hands the postcard passes through, the receiving and reception of the postcard, and the potential display of the postcard (on the bulletin board, on a kitchen table). The analysis of any one of these features has to be made with the knowledge that this feature is only one in a larger set-up, and that concatenating (research results about) the features does not necessarily make up what we can call a prototypical postcard gestalt.”²¹ We do not understand or even necessarily pick up on the inclusions of inside jokes or coded communications, so the meanings sent in and on postcards can act as private exchanges despite being in full view. Thus even when one *does* possess the physical card, the meanings it carries are always ephemeral and situational.²²

Although the process is incomplete, narrativizing the process of sending postcards does reveal ways in which people used the flexible and fluid characteristics of the postcard to communicate to their loved ones in joking ways, to circumvent censorship, or to carry on relationships. For instance, while some capitalized on pictures and scenes to convey one’s experience, others depended more on their mere existence for their importance. Thus, postcards sent by leisure travelers took on a much different role than, for example, postcards sent during wartime. The context in which the cards are sent thus becomes crucial to understanding how they are regarded. Wartime postcards were sent often as signs of life. In “Only Death Can Part Us: Messages on Wartime Cards,” Cary Nelson ponders the sentimentality of war postcards, and how the circumstances that distinguish them from travel postcards must be taken into account

when trying to understand their meanings. For instance, Nelson cites a Christmas postcard mailed home in 1941 that contained an image of a snow-covered cottage and a horse-drawn sleigh, on which a short Christmas poem was written. Admitting that the card itself could easily be regarded as sentimental, Nelson argues that the context in which this card was acquired, addressed, sent, and preserved saves it from serving just as a vehicle for sentimental exchange. Revealing that the postcard was sent from a prisoner of war, “That year British prisoners were allowed to send one Christmas card, though not to include a personal message,” Nelson asserts that “the message is the card itself, with William Golding’s name and prisoner number (38) on the reverse.”²³ In addition, Nelson relays that, after Golding passed, his mother framed the card and displayed it in her home: “His mother placed the card in a silver frame, now tarnished, and kept it on her mantel until the late 1980’s, when she was sent to a nursing home and her possessions were sold.”²⁴ Nelson sees these details as testimonies to “the ways ordinary people can be entangled with history” and claims that “the story is in fundamental ways not exceptional but representative.”²⁵ Nelson’s project demonstrates several ways in which the contexts in which these postcards were sent are crucial to recovering their potential meanings.

The use that Nelson explicates plays a similar role to the postcards that Paul Fussell writes about in *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Field Service Post Cards were post cards with lines already typed on them. Soldiers merely crossed out phrases that did not apply and then signed, dated, and addressed the cards. These cards were often sent out after battles to assure families that soldiers had survived battles—as signs of life. Everything except “I am quite well” was often crossed out.²⁶ Here again, though, senders and receivers often worked out a predetermined code in order to make the most of this limiting form of communication. Fussell writes, “Wilfred Owen had an understanding with his mother that when he used a double line to

cross out ‘I am being sent down to the base,’ he meant he was on the front again.”²⁷ The subtleness of this code makes it seem just a form of style, while in actuality, it was designed to convey vital and much-desired classified information to Owen’s mother. Fussell also draws our attention to Joseph Heller’s satirization of the form card; in *Catch-22* (1961) Colonel Cathcart’s condolence letters do not strike out the phrases that do not apply, pointing out that “it obliges the recipient to understand not only that the dead man possessed no individuality but that the reader of the ‘form,’ the hapless addressee, is not to have any either”²⁸:

Dear Mrs, Mr, Miss, or Mr and Mrs Daneeka:

Words cannot express the deep personal grief I experienced when your husband, son, father or brother was killed, wounded, or reported missing in action.²⁹

Fussell’s commentary highlights the tendency of postcards to reiterate the same phrases—the writers and the readers both know the drill, and the phrases on the postcard become almost meaningless. What becomes *more* meaningful are the ways in which those phrases are written, the inside jokes or the private meanings with which senders and receivers imbue their words — writing at different angles or outside of the designated message area, using phrases or words that allude to meanings only the receiver would understand.

The need for coded communication extends beyond the postcard communication. Even in letters, cases arise in which one cannot be sure who will receive or read correspondence. A fictional example of this appears in Elizabeth Gaskell’s *Cranford* (1853) when the narrator wishes to communicate with Peter Jenkyns, Miss Matty Jenkyns’ brother. Because Peter is using an alias, Aga Jenkyns, in India, the narrator is unsure whether or not the person whom she addresses is actually the man she intends to reach. Anxious to keep family matters private, she

codes her letter: “That night, after Miss Matty went to bed, I treacherously lighted the candle again, and sat down in the drawing-room to compose a letter to the Aga Jenkyns, a letter which should affect him if he were Peter, and yet seem a mere statement of dry facts if he were a stranger.”³⁰ The narrator intimates the process of sending the letter—consulting the signor for Aga Jenkyns’ address, swearing him to secrecy, the interactions she has because of this mission. As in Östman’s discussions of postcard discourse, the dynamic of the letter encompasses more than just the composition of the letter. An entire page after sitting down to write the letter, we see the narrator actually sending it:

At last I got the address, spelt by sound, and very queer it looked. I dropped it in the post on my way home, and then for a minute I stood looking at the wooden pane with the gaping slit which divided me from the letter but a moment ago in my hand. It was gone from me like life, never to be recalled. It would get tossed about on the sea, and stained with seawaves perhaps, and be carried among palm-trees, and scented with all tropical fragrance; the little piece of paper, but an hour ago so familiar and commonplace, had set out on its race to the strange wild countries beyond the Granges!³¹

It has been my project in this dissertation to extend the understanding of travel writing to include more than just the composition of a published text. In order to continue to do so, I will attempt to not only understand writers such as Emily Eden as writers, but also as consumers and collectors who then use the products they acquire to create new ways of corresponding.

4.1.3 Consumers

I argued in chapter 1 that Dorian Gray understands his identity as one who indulges himself. I also suggested that Emily Eden understands her identity as a woman who does English things and is therefore English. In this section I will look at how Emily Eden protects and establishes her identity as an English woman by acting as a consumer. I will then consider (as Betteridge suggests) how that activity impacts others and enacts changes. First I will briefly introduce several ways in which diurnal travel writers act as consumers. Then I will discuss the ways in which Eden's text acts as media when she describes exotic objects and associates herself with certain values and morals. I will interrogate her moves, applying Certeau's notion of practice to her activities in order to investigate the possibility that her text operates politically even when it seems most likely not to.

Understanding diurnal travel writers like Eden as consumers works in several ways. Although I am identifying these as distinctive ways of being a consumer, I also want to acknowledge the very fluid and tentative lines I draw between them, and between consumer and producer, for that matter. That said, I suggest that, first, writers consume objects and write about themselves doing so, secondly, they consume other writing, which carries with it an invitation to the other authors to be present at their moments of invention and thirdly, they consume the products they create.

The writers I study reveal themselves to be consumers of other products through their writing, which often reveals their values. The strategy of placement that Julie Nelson Christoph dubs "material associations" works both as a way of strategically associating oneself within a group that appreciates certain values, and as a way of opening up a space in which to question

the cost of those values. After all, William Makepeace Thackeray satirizes the insatiable desire for goods and status in *Vanity Fair* (1847), but women do also *earnestly* seek the acquisition of goods. In fact, by the end of the century, books that instructed women on how to set up households abroad became quite popular among women living abroad in places like India. For instance, Flora Annie Steel and Grace Gardiner's *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* (1888) provided practical advice on how to deal with servants, purchase goods, and physically arrange a household in India.

The second way in which writers can be consumers is that they can be consumers of other travel narratives. Emily Eden and Emily Innes both fashion themselves as consumers of travel writing. In addition to mentioning Isabella Bird Bishop in her work, Innes goes so far as to allude to *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* in her own title, *The Chersonese With the Gilding Off*. Emily Eden expresses frustration that her own writing and its contents are not as riveting as those of other travel writers, such as Sir James Mackintosh: "I was thinking how much journals at home are filled with clever remarks, or curious facts, or even good jokes, but here it is utterly impossible to write down anything beyond comments on the weather."³² Eden compares Sir James Mackintosh's journal from India, which she says she is just finishing for the third time, to the ones he wrote in England and Paris, stating that Mackintosh's Indian journal contained "nothing but longings after home, and the workings of his own brain, and remarks on books," while in his journals from England and France he includes "anecdotes and witticisms of other people, and a little mental friction was going on."³³ As consumers of writing *recording* their experiences as consumers of writing and reading, Emily Innes and Emily Eden expose their expectations of text. Unsurprisingly, they note expectations of accuracy and discrepancy, mental stimulation and amusement, and awareness of how the writers' experiences compare to those of

their readers. What is crucial to note about this type of consuming is that the distinction between consumer and producer collapses quite quickly since these writers conflate their processes of reading with their processes of understanding and writing. One of the things they expect is the presence of the ideas, quotes, and even spirits or attention of other writers (who would potentially become readers).

Thirdly, writers of travel narratives can be consumers of the products they create, especially as those products are responded to by others and as others contribute to the possible uses and meanings of the language and the journal itself. Eden influences not by directly, overtly or even consistently coaxing her reader about what to think, but by collocating reflections and responses that occurred over years into two volumes, prompting her reader to become an active participant in forming impressions. Collecting data and forming impressions is, after all, what most people do on a daily basis. Therefore, what diurnal travel narratives also highlight are the expectations of privacy or publicity that they have for their own writing and how those expectations influence what they write. Because the original format of Eden's travel narrative assumes exchange, the journal encapsulates both the rigidity of authority—which, as I pointed out in chapter two, Slavoj Žižek identifies as the modes of language structure that prompt certain responses—and the fluidity of individual use.

Making visible different ways in which writers of diurnal travel narratives act as consumers allow us to identify several different ways in which diurnal travel writing acts upon dominant culture to change and establish discourse.

4.2 CONSUMERS OF OBJECTS: THE PRICE OF THE PRODUCT

In this section, I will consider what it means for the association of those who can collect precious or exotic treasures in the nineteenth century if we regard the journal as a form of media.

Although brands were not yet advertised, places of origin were, and being able to collect items from exotic places situated Eden in the upper classes. Noting the media aspect of *Up the Country* prompts us to consider the ways in which, by associating herself with material items, Eden associates the British colonial ruling class with those articles, and thus establishes a paradox between remaining English and avoiding outside influence.

4.2.1 Journal as Media

Östman begins his article with the premise that media is “a public means of disseminating information” and argues that the postcard, because of its semi-public nature, is situated somewhere on the fringes of media.³⁴ Introducing this concept of media into the discussion is a valuable way of emphasizing the ways in which Eden, by *publishing* her journal and letters, participates in the project of distributing information that is so closely tied to the creation of realities for the reader (and, incidentally, a crucial step in the project of imperialism). Reading Eden’s work as semi-public in invention and delivery disrupts the dichotomy of public and private. The published form of the journal carries with it a rhetorical power because of its ambiguous audience. As I proposed in chapter 2, inkstands carry with them meanings that far surpass their abilities to hold ink. They connote culture and they also reflect class. Julie Nelson Christoph’s notion, which I discussed in that chapter, highlights the ways in which people

gesture toward their rank and values through “strategies of placement” such as material associations. On the one hand, the status of owning a certain object carries with it an assumption of class, prestige and wealth. On the other hand, strategies of placement extend beyond just class: they also convey values (such as influencing others, spreading a type of consumerism and protecting her own status as a particularly privileged English woman in Eden’s case).

Emily Eden spent much of her time in India accepting gifts on behalf of the British Raj and buying her own souvenirs. In this entry, written toward the end of her travels in India, she recognizes her potential not just to accept the random gifts she was offered, but also to *set* trends for collecting:

Now we have broken into the last year but one, it seems like nothing. We have forsaken the buying of shawls and trinkets, and have gone into the upholstery and furniture line; everything is done with a view to Kensington Gore. I have just been writing to C. E. for a few Chinese articles — a cabinet, and a table or so, to arrive at Calcutta next year, and not to be unpacked. I have an arm-chair and a book case concocting at Singapore, and a sort of table with shelves of my own devising, that is being built at Bareilly, under the magistrate there. That, I think, may prove a failure, but I have a portfolio and ink stand on the stocks that will be really good articles. I got some beautiful polished pebbles from Banda and Nerbudda. (I have not a notion where that is, but everybody here seems to know; I only know my pebbles were ordered eight months ago.) I thought they would have been small trashy things, but some of them are beautiful, like that great stone you had in a brooch, and I am having them set in silver, as a port folio incrustured and enchased, and all that sort of thing. It will make a shocking item in my

month's expenditure, but then it will be an original device, and when I go home of course everybody will observe: ' An Indian portfolio, I see, Miss Eden,' and I shall carelessly answer, ' Yes, those are the common Bazaar portfolios, but you can have very handsome ones made, if you like to order them, and then, of course, everybody will write out for a common portfolio.'³⁵

Eden plans to “carelessly answer”; she also plans to show the objects she collects to others when she gets back to England. We don't know much about the ink stand she carried with her while she was in India, but we know that she has one at this point that she considers to be a good article. Here, Eden's relationship with objects is still somewhat connected to identity and what she can do, but in a different way than I discussed in the previous chapters; this time, the relationship highlights the *consumerist* way in which she intends to use them. She advertises overtly her class, her experiences of travel and wealth, and the potential for others to acquire similar (but not equal) articles if they possess the resources to do so. Eden uses her articles as advertisements of her class. Like Dorian Gray in chapter 1—who *is* something as long as he *has* something—upper-class English people can remain so as long as they keep up with the trends. They must participate in consumerism in order to retain status. In addition, though, Eden's journal serves as an advertisement. Eden markets foreign objects within a journal that offers a glimpse into the British colonial ruling class. Like the magazines circulating in the nineteenth century in which advertisers placed ads beside stories that were likely to prime their readers to yearn for their wares, Eden's position as one of the few women who travelled to or lived abroad at the time who had the means by which to acquire such goods placed her in an enviable position despite the discomforts she faced while doing so.³⁶ Although gathering articles from exotic places

might seem like a *more* desirable goal to many women than visiting the places—doing so connotes power and wealth regardless of whether or not they do the footwork of acquiring the articles—one could not ignore the fact that Eden’s things (like her port folio) are slightly better because she *was* there. Unlike monthlies from the early nineteenth century which were intended for lower class readers or magazines that circulated later in the century aimed more at middle class clientele, though, Eden’s text casts these goods as expensive, exotic, and therefore a sign of the elite class—not readily obtainable, but all the more desirable because of that feature.³⁷ The exoticism of their origin is key. The way Eden describes the articles reveals that the location of their creation (and its exoticism) is much more important than the articles themselves: “a few Chinese articles — a cabinet, and a table”; “an arm-chair and a book case concocting at Singapore, and a sort of table with shelves of my own devising, that is being built at Bareilly” and, of course, “beautiful polished pebbles from Banda and Nerbudda. (I have not a notion where that is, but everybody here seems to know[)].” Even the table and shelves that she designed herself are described according to their place of creation, not their characteristics or features. Again, as with her inkstand, we don’t know much about the objects themselves. Especially the last phrase “I have not a notion where that is, but everybody here seems to know” suggests that Eden is commenting on how location is regarded; she doesn’t know where those places are, but if everyone else there does, they must be important enough places from which to order her polished pebbles. Whether the location or the quality of the pebbles is more valuable is insinuated when she admits that she “thought they would have been small trashy things” but ordered them anyway.

While the job of the British government, then, was to preserve Englishness and prevent other influences from seeping in and destroying English customs and traditions, Eden's diurnal travel narrative played a particular role because it promoted consumerism as a key part of what it means to be part of the upper classes in Britain. In other words, Eden perpetuates the notion that what it means to be part of the elite class in Britain is to be able to acquire objects from exotic places—regardless of what those objects are—and especially if one is present to collect those objects herself.

As her Guy Fawkes reference does,³⁸ Eden's concerns, here, once again seem to contradict one another. On the one hand, she expresses apprehension about remaining English over and over again in the text and blames other cultures and their influence for the threat of that goal. On the other hand, she encourages influence—via consumerism—of other cultures as a key part of what it means to be a member of the English upper class. This contradiction is akin to the paradox revealed earlier in her travel narrative, which I discussed in chapter 1: members of the British colonial ruling class needed to travel through foreign lands in order to spread English culture but simultaneously understood that task as threatening Englishness. In the last chapter, I wrote about the difference between Eden's text and the newspapers that reported the activities in which Lord Auckland participated. I noted that the difference seemed to lie in Eden's commentary about how those events *affected* her and her family. In her entry about exotic objects, she is also commenting on how those objects affect her family, not about the objects themselves. Here, though, rather than discussing how her lack of objects thwarts her ability to do certain English things, she demonstrates that her ability to acquire objects *contributes* to

her Englishness. Even more than that, it contributes to her elevated status as a member of the British ruling class because her readers can't do the same.

4.2.2 Creating Rhetorical Space through Form

Eden's travel narrative falls outside of the grid of what's expected from accounts written by the British colonial ruling class. She is not supposed to expose contradictions. It is the form—the messiness and the inconsistency that characterizes the sub-genre of *diurnal* travel writing—that allows us to see incongruity. Because the genre of diurnal travel narrative makes those connections between identity and objects visible, it allocates space in which to understand her statements ironically. Eden's decision to structure her travelogue as a journal collapses the rhetorical space between author and audience by acknowledging the invention phase of Eden's writing. Because of the journalistic format, the reader approaches this text as a record of *Eden's* activities and reflections, not as an attempt to alter *the reader's* opinions of the places and cultures Eden visits (or the imperialist culture that she represents). One virtue of the archival nature of this record of reflections is that, rather than making one cohesive, well-supported argument, Eden constructs a complex *ethos* that ultimately remains ambivalent about the issues she presents.

The key point to remember is that Eden doesn't realize the paradoxes I point out—at least she does not do so overtly in the text. *She* doesn't realize that her sense of identity is predicated on false assumptions about what identity can be, she merely leaves traces that allow the *reader* to draw that conclusion. Neither does she seem to fully realize the degree to which fear of outside influence runs prevalently through English minds during the nineteenth century. Again, she

makes statements lamenting her lack of an English life that draw the *reader's* attention to this anxiety. And yet, Eden (and this is what makes her text so intriguing) also simultaneously demonstrates that she is capable of understanding repercussions of political moves *and* that she ignores the impact of her own standard of living. In other words, we see her ignoring her own impact. For instance, in one entry, Eden includes an affectionate anecdote about her dog's servant, Jimmund, taking especially good care of the animal (whose name is Chance). Eden begins, "I missed my old parasol about three days ago, and discovered today that Jimmund had applied to my jemadar for it, because he thought Chance's ailments were brought on by the sun; and Wright says she passed him today marching down the hill with Chance in one hand and the parasol held over him with the other—a pretty idea."³⁹ Eden writes affectionately about this servant, Jimmund, throughout the entire journal, always delighting in the lengths he goes to in order to care for Chance. However, later in the same paragraph, Eden assumes such a detached tone of superiority and privilege that the servants don't even seem to exist. Eden goes on to write about her own transportation as if no servants were even involved: "This morning I came on in the palanquin, a wretched substitute for the carriage, but anything is better than sitting bolt upright before breakfast—in fact, it is quite impossible."⁴⁰ Eden jokes about what can reasonably be expected of her before breakfast, but what she simultaneously alludes to and ignores is that her mode of transportation, the palanquin, requires four servants to carry it.⁴¹ Although Eden registers a certain amount of disbelief that a dog is so tenderly cared for (and she does express wonder that Chance is given a servant in the first place earlier in the text), she takes for granted that *she* should be as comfortable as possible at any cost. These attitudes seem incongruous. However, they work together to claim class rank: Eden *deserves* the privilege of taking for granted her right to be pampered and waited on, even to the point of ignoring the amount of work

that is needed to provide her with comfort, but she emphasizes that privilege by juxtaposing it with her deep appreciation for her dog's servant. The ridiculousness of a dog having a servant reinforces her rank and also shows that she recognizes the frivolity in that show of wealth and power. The juxtaposition of that circumstance with her own nonchalant assumption that *she* should not have to move before breakfast (which means that the servants do even more work for her) encourages an ironic reading of her claim to comfort.

As I have shown, Eden identifies as a ruling class Englishwoman throughout the narrative. It is interesting to note, though, that Eden takes the opportunity in this depiction to demonstrate the power differentials that Thorstein Veblen elucidates in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. She creates a distinction between just being a member of the upper class and being a member of the ruling class by displaying her power to live a leisurely life. By emphasizing the number of servants who serve her and her dog alongside these moments of obviously displaying an attitude of entitlement, Eden demonstrates how her situation as a member of the *British colonial* ruling class affords her luxuries that she wouldn't have even as a member of the *English* ruling class.⁴² However, the collocation of her comments on her rights to comfort with admittedly ridiculous displays of power nonetheless creates an opportunity for the reader to draw different conclusions about that power than the ones Eden out expresses forthrightly.

One can point to copious examples in *Up the Country* in which it becomes difficult to sustain the belief that Eden has no political agenda. And, in fact, it would be unwise to do so. After all, Eden *was* quite enmeshed in the world of politics even though, as a woman, she did not officially participate. Accounts of Emily Eden suggest that her friends' perceptions of her overwhelmingly attest to her extreme facility in participating in political discussions. Eden was

brought up in the realm of politics and was well educated. Emily Eden's father, William Eden, First Baron Auckland held various foreign diplomatic posts to which the entire family accompanied him. Janet Dunbar writes that Eden was "taught to have an intelligent interest in foreign affairs. At the age of eighteen Emily could write: 'Poor Beckenham is gone mad about the corn laws,' and know clearly what she was writing about."⁴³ Both Dunbar and Marian Fowler cite letters from Lord Auckland (then just George Eden) and his Whig associates that laud Eden's humor and her strength in participating in political discussion. Fowler quotes one unnamed guest as writing, "Lord Auckland I like very much...he has a grave, gentle manner, with a good deal of dry fun about him. Emily Eden is undeniably clever and pleasant."⁴⁴ Fowler concludes that Eden "spent many hours with George and his Whig friends arguing in a carrying voice, showing off her learning and fine mind, making them all laugh with her witty sallies. She was brisk, bold and boisterous."⁴⁵

Thus, while I hesitate to aver that Eden intended to use her writing to make publicly political statements or to produce a direct impact on politics, I return to her form because of its potential to invite the reader to participate in the spaces she leaves between statements. For instance, as I mentioned earlier, on Saturday, June 14, 1838, Eden writes, "My journal must be so very dull here, that I am thinking of converting into a weekly paper...I see in Sir James Mackintosh's *Life* that...in his English and Paris journal, there are anecdotes and witticisms of other people, and a little mental friction was going on."⁴⁶ Despite Eden's claim that her "journal must be so very dull here, that [she is] thinking of converting it into a weekly paper," she manages to infuse her journal with copious "witticisms" and to suggest through her writing that there was, in fact, "a little mental friction" occurring in her own mind. In fact, Eden illustrates this in the very next paragraph, beginning, "I am interested in Indian politics just now, but could

not make them interesting on paper.”⁴⁷ Eden then goes on to update her sister on what is going on in the political realm: “Two Russian letters were intercepted, and sent to G. yesterday; highly important, only unluckily nobody in India can read them...It would be amusing if they turned out a sort of ‘T. and E. Journal;’ some Caterina Iconoslavitch writing to my uncle Alexis about her partners.”⁴⁸ While Eden writes this partially in jest, she nonetheless alludes to the possibility that much is at stake about a place in close political proximity, but of which no British officials even bother to know the language. Edward Thompson interprets comments like these to mean that Eden had no understanding of the importance of the political events that were going on around her. I argue that by couching them in the language of gossip, Eden makes light of the letters, but manages also to wink at those reading the letter who might be aware of the seriousness of the political situation with Russia and the way Britain was handling those relations.

4.2.3 Multiple Sites of Invention

Deirdre David compares the rhetorical approaches of Thomas Macaulay and Eden, pointing out that “Clearly, Victorian men were more likely than women to make speeches in the House of Commons since there *were* no women in Parliament...Macaulay’s speech belongs to the indisputably male genre of public parliamentary performance.”⁴⁹ David analyzes the ways in which Macaulay’s famous 1835 “Minute” on Indian Education in Parliament assumes the authority of rule, and leaves no room for other opinions or approaches to rule in India. By contrast, David argues that Eden’s approach is less consistent, not to mention less insistent, a quality that creates a space for dissenting opinions. While David portrays this as an element of

Eden's teleological development, it is also useful to consider how the journalistic form of *Up the Country* allows Eden to refrain from reconciling her reflections.

Although Eden laments that writing a journal from India will be less interesting than one written from a metropol such as Paris or London because of what goes on (or, more to the point, *doesn't* happen) in India, she goes to the effort, even twenty years later, of editing her journal for publication. The very act of doing so undermines Eden's sentiment that her journal will be dull.

In his writing on rhetoric, Thomas De Quincey argues that invention and style are part of the same process, and that his fragmented writing reflects his fragmented creation of it is relevant in thinking about a book written in diurnal chunks, mailed in sections and eventually collected. Julianne Smith asserts that Thomas De Quincey's writing on rhetoric, particularly his concept of *ethos* which "departs from classical and academic" has (perhaps inadvertently) opened the door for women writers in Victorian periodical press, and I would extend that assertion to the diurnal travel narrative as well.⁵⁰ Thinking about Eden's work as a collection of fragments introduces the ideas of evolvment and compilation into her project. Part of how a published journal functions is that it is archival, thus, Deirdre David can read it and trace an evolution in Eden's thinking. For instance, David avers that "as the months of Eden's journey with her brother go by, her letters tend to become increasingly critical of Anglo-Indian snobbery and racialism."⁵¹ Being able to look and re-look at letters as a collection of individual instances of thinking and writing allows one to trace change and consistencies in a way that other forms of writing do not invite. Eden's journal invites the reader to consider invention *through* its style, implying, as De Quincey explicitly states, that fragmented style *does* reflect fragmented creation thus representing moments in her experiential and ideological development. After all, Eden retains the form of the journal even in publication, sometimes writing entries that reflect her desire to "catch up" and

not leave out any event, marking the exigency of recounting those events within a day or two of their occurrence. The archival nature of the journal implies a living, developing author who has a point of view that is influenced not only by statuses determined by socioeconomic class, gender, and race, but also by temporally determined circumstances such as location, education, and immediate situational conditions.

It is important to consider, though, that Eden's journal has two main "sites" of invention: the initial writing that took place diurnally in India, and the revision that took place years later back in England. The decisions about what to leave in or exclude from the published version, as well as decisions about how to frame the portions of the original journal that Eden includes relegate some of her initial reactions and impressions to the realm of the ephemeral.

Inconsistencies or patterns in Eden's journal entries may not indicate a progression towards a certain line of thinking (or a temporary interruption to that progression) after all, but rather, a calculated representation of her impressions which has been crafted after careful reflection.

Although Eden probably did evolve while she was in India (and in England, afterwards), what is significant about the ways in which she edits her journal is that *she chooses to reflect that*. Eden notes her perspective, conveying information to her reader while maintaining that she is not trying to persuade or convince. Publishing a journal that is so concerned with her everyday activities embodies a form that inherently foregrounds the "I/eye" and emphasizes Eden's limited perspective and access.⁵²

4.2.4 Collocating and Collecting

I stop short of claiming that Eden *intends* for her text to expose her own hypocrisy. What I *do* claim is that instead of using travel writing to provide information about other cultures, Eden uses it to open up about herself to her family members and thus sustain a close relationship with them. By publishing in a fluid, fractional form, she (perhaps unwittingly) employs a rhetorical device that *is* used deliberately to call attention to class politics and the costs of luxury: subtle positioning of incidents within a text that exposes hypocrisy or insensitivity. For instance, Amelia Edwards' short story "Was it An Illusion: A Parson's Story" (1881), provides a more tangible way to grapple with this conundrum because the author deliberately employs the rhetorical technique of juxtaposing poignant elements of the story.⁵³

Edwards' ghost story calls the infallibility of the respectable class into question by drawing on perceptions of reliability both through supernatural occurrences and through the transparent attitude of the upper class character. "Was it An Illusion" is narrated by Mr. Frazer, an Inspector of Schools, who realizes as he is visiting a school in the north of England that he is in the neighborhood of one of his old school idols, "Phil Wolstenholme of Balliol," who is now the primary landholder in the district. Wolstenholme invites Frazer into his estate, offering to entertain him and giving him a tour of his home. However, before Wolstenholme can take Frazer on the promised trip to his coal mines, a fissure opens, flooding the mines with water from a nearby lake, and revealing the body of a murdered child that had been submerged in the lake. The incident brings together threads that have been woven into the story, including various instances when the narrator saw people that others around him did not and an odd nervousness that the narrator notices in the schoolmaster. An inquest into the death of the child is made,

Frazer returns to his work in other localities, and, eventually, the story concludes with a letter from Wolstenholme to the narrator explaining the results of the investigation and pegging the schoolmaster as the murderer (at least not initially).

Although the plot of this short story is quite compelling, the rhetorical devices that “Was it an Illusion” shares with diurnal travel narratives such as *Up the Country* are what interest me. Edwards uses juxtaposition and an unstable point of view to suggest that the narrator arrogates Wolstenholme with philanthropic and admirable motivations. Although I won’t suggest that Eden deliberately does the same thing, the form of her narrative nonetheless creates room for such questioning. A closer look at the fictional story will elucidate how and why that happens. I will then return to *Up the Country* to explore the rhetorical devices the two texts have in common and how juxtapositions and the rise of doubt play out in the travel narrative.

Since “Was it an Illusion: A Parsons’ Story” is, after all, a ghost story, it makes sense that the narrator doubts his own senses when he sees figures that other people don’t, but the story exploits this mode of doubting to ultimately expand the “it” in the question, “was it an illusion?” to encompass a wider referent than just the ghost(s) that appear. The explanatory letter’s wording and the narrator’s tone at the end of the story both leave the reader feeling unsettled, and the reader is ultimately led to wonder if Wolstenholme knows more about the murder than the coroner’s report reveals; namely, that maybe the “it” could also refer to the conclusion that the evidence, testimony, and even the schoolmaster’s confession lead us to draw.

Wolstenholme’s portrayal throughout the story establishes the likelihood that the reader will feel some inkling of doubt surrounding his explanation, not in the least because Frazer’s initially admiring opinion of him alters as he realizes Wolstenholme’s capacity to ignore the cost of his lifestyle. Hints of this shift begin just before a tour of Wolstenholme’s estate, when

Wolstenholme, in the process of boasting about his coal pits, declares himself the “king of Hades” and Frazer responds by exclaiming, “You must be as rich as a prince with a fairy godmother!”⁵⁴ Although Frazer doesn’t outwardly disdain Wolstenholme, this fantastical overstatement registers a growing disapproval of Wolstenholme’s excessive bragging. The sequence of events that follows juxtaposes Wolstenholme’s wealth with his miner’s lives, situating a scene of unappreciated luxury in such close proximity to the near-fatal flooding of the mines that the reader can’t help but notice the callousness with which Wolstenholme regards the plights and dangers the miners’ experiences. Lamenting the lost opportunity for the tour of the mines, Wolstenholme replies to one miner as if he weren’t even human:

“An’ it’s the Lord’s own marcy a’ happened o’ noight-time, or we’d be dead men all,’ added another [miner].

“that’s true, my man,” said Wolstenhome, answering the last speaker. “It might have drowned you like rats in a trap; so we may thank our stars it’s no worse. And now, to work with the pumps! Lucky for us that we know what to do, and how to do it.”⁵⁵

Not only does Wolstenholme betray the degree to which he dehumanizes the miners when he refers to them as “rats in a trap,” his last comment reveals that this has happened before—that he expects his miners to toil in these conditions despite the fact that deadly flooding is likely to occur. This incident obviously serves to drive the plot forward. More importantly, though, the subtle positioning of this interaction less than a page after our tour of Wolstenholme’s treasure-chest of a home makes Wolstenholme’s attitude all the more poignant and suggests that the text, if not the narrator, is encouraging the reader to judge Wolstenholme harshly.⁵⁶

I introduce this story because it disrupts easy admiration of beauty and abundance and invites us to consider the cost of lavish lifestyles such as Wolstenholme's. Unlike *Dorian Gray*, which often encourages the reader to concentrate on the present, "Was it an Illusion" chides us for what it presents as cruel and inexcusable naiveté. The text, through such techniques as the subtle positioning I mention, undermines the narrator's declarations of admiration for Wolstenholme and prompts the reader to notice the superficial, disengaged relationship Wolstenholme has with these articles that the miners risk their lives to provide the wealth to buy. Immediately before the conversation between the miners and Wolstenholme in which he calls them "rats in a trap," he takes Mr. Frazer on a tour of his home:

He snatched up a lamp and led the way through a long suite of unfurnished rooms, the floors of which were piled high with packing cases of all sizes and shapes, labeled with the names of various foreign ports and the addresses of foreign agents innumerable. What did they contain? Precious marbles from Italy and Greece and Asia Minor; priceless paintings by old and modern masters; antiquities from the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; enamels from Persia, porcelain from China, bronzes from Japan, strange sculptures from Peru; arms, mosaics, ivories, wood-carvings, skins, tapestries, old Italian cabinets, painted bride-chests, Etruscan terracottas; treasures of all countries, of all ages, never even unpacked since they crossed that threshold which the master's foot had crossed but twice during the ten years it had taken to buy them! Should he ever open them, ever arrange them, ever enjoy them? Perhaps—if he became weary of wandering—if he married—if he built a gallery to receive them. If not—well, he might found and endow a museum; or leave the things to the nation. What did it

matter? Collecting was like fox-hunting; the pleasure was in the pursuit, and ended with it!⁵⁷

Wolstenholme enjoys the activity of collecting. The writing reflects that; it very deliberately takes the reader quite inside the text and guides her, paces her, makes her lose herself in the rhythm of the words. Semicolons, commas and dashes encourage the reader to move through the lists without pausing very long to study the articles listed. Because the passage moves so swiftly, the reader acquires an overwhelming sense of quantity and worldliness, but tends to gloss over the articles without creating a mental picture of them or considering whether the listing of their origins is accurate. The descriptions of the objects and the rooms are minimal. Like when we peruse Eden's entry, we find out where things came from—"antiquities from the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; enamels from Persia, porcelain from China, bronzes from Japan, strange sculptures from Peru"—but don't really get to picture them in any detail. Thus, the passage limits our access to the articles, precluding the reader from feeling as if he or she has mentally acquired any real knowledge about them. Instead, the dearth of detail with which the articles are described contributes to the tendency to overlook the articles entirely, concentrating instead on our impression of the character.

In the end, the tour emphasizes the degree to which Wolstenholme disregards the despicable discrepancy between the ways in which his workers—miners who risk their lives to collect the materials that make Wolstenholme so wealthy—and himself live. Wolstenholme's ability to ignore his impact on others is especially evident because the tour occurs directly before the flooding of the mines and because of Wolstenholme's offhanded dismissal of the real loss that could have been sustained. Edwards constructs Wolstenholme's identity by placing him in

the midst of his “stuff.” Thus, Wolstenholme’s role is very obviously “collector”—an identity dependent upon his ability to do so.

Not only does Wolstenholme ignore his own workers, but also the act of glossing over the individual articles in his storeroom effectively elides the products he accumulates, and, in turn, the labor that was necessary to create them. Without the details of their descriptions or functions, to which someone like Jekyll or Laity (both whose work I discussed in chapter 2) would have drawn our attention through a narrative telling, we are able to regard them solely for the status that affording them gains Wolstenholme. This exaggeration calls attention to the consumer—how he regards him or herself based on the products he can afford. Wolstenholme’s attitude offers a prototype of Veblen’s upper-class man. Veblen explains,

When the community passes from peaceable savagery to a predatory phase of life, the conditions of emulation change. The opportunity and the incentive to emulate increase greatly in scope and urgency. The activity of the men more and more takes on the character of exploit; and an invidious comparison of one hunter or warrior with another grows continually easier and more habitual. Tangible evidences of prowess —trophies — find a place in men’s habits of thought as an essential feature of the paraphernalia of life. Booty, trophies of the chase or of the raid, come to be prized as evidence of pre-eminent force.⁵⁸

Wolstenholme doesn’t care about what his trophies are, he relishes the thrill of the chase and the raid. The fact that he *can* regard men as “rats in a trap” adds to his status as much as Eden’s ability to take her servants for granted attests to hers.⁵⁹

Eden’s text does *not* construct her character this way Wolstenholme does, though; Eden writes numerous comments that indicate that she feels bad for her servants, that she supplicates

the Governor General on their behalves, and that she feels ambivalent about the impact the cavalcade has on her servants. She foregrounds her own discomfort, which is present despite the showy display of wealth and power that the cavalcade emits, so the difference isn't always as dichotomous as in Wolstenholme's case.⁶⁰ As I began to show above, her text is underwritten with some sort of awareness that the pomp and circumstance with which her family travels is ludicrous even while it seems fairly inglorious behind closed doors. This becomes evident because, Eden also uses the technique of juxtaposition. In the entry below, she had just alluded to Shakespeare's play, *Henry VIII* likening her nephew's meeting with Runjeet Singh to the meetings of the French and English kings but adds this:

But as touching this scene of glory, it is a large plain—in short, a slice of India—with ruinous fort on one side and a long narrow bazaar of mud huts on another, the Sutlej running peacefully along about a mile from our encampment. We have the same tents Lord W. had, at least facsimiles of them; therefore we are quite up to the splendid meeting. Perhaps our tents are a shade handsomer, being a very deep chocolate colour owing to the rain of yesterday. They were of course let down into the mud, and have acquired that rich brown hue. . . . G. observes every day, as he did last year, “Well! I wish Sir Charles Metcalfe could see us, and explain why this is a luxurious method of travelling.”⁶¹

Here Eden ignores the excessiveness she describes elsewhere in the travelogue, and, with her use of satire, emphasizes the party's discomfort due to the sloppy management of the tents. One hears echoes of her sentiments about the sacrifice for rule in the entry I included in my first chapter wherein Eden emphasizes the negative aspect of the trade-off for British presence abroad: “I am sure it feels and is almost a life.”⁶² Here again, the reader's attention is drawn to

what Eden sacrifices for the demonstration of British wealth. By including the quote from George, and reminding her reader that similar circumstances characterized their travels the previous year, Eden suggests the deliberate misconceptions of luxury that their cavalcade fosters.⁶³ Eden's juxtapositions, then, more obviously thwart her reader from making the same sort of judgments we make on Wolstenholme because she doesn't live in comfort at the cost of her servants: she lives in squalor amidst the outward illusion of luxury. Furthermore, even when she is interested in objects, we do not get the impression that they are more important to her than what she can do. They are important because of what she *can* do, which is to write to her family or collect exotic things, both of which allow her to claim and sustain identity as an English woman.

The collected nature of her entries and thoughts presents to the reader another layer of juxtaposition that acts in a similar manner to Edwards' rhetorical device of situating, though. In addition to the more obvious moves that Eden makes to engender pity, we also witness Eden alluding to the cost of her lifestyle and the comforts that she *does* have. For instance, even as she complains about her tents, she mentions several times that the servants often sleep outside; as she complains about her own separation from her family, she recognizes that her servants make similar sacrifices: "Our native servants look so unhappy. They hate leaving their families, and possibly leaving two or three wives is two or three times as painful as leaving one, and they cannot endure being parted from their children. Then they are too crowded here to sleep comfortably."⁶⁴ And since she has hinted at the excess in which the English members of camp travel, such behavior leads us to contemplate the necessity of everyone's sacrifices.

Thus, in writing down details of daily life—the places in which people sleep, how their work causes them to miss the quotidian activities that they would normally share with their loved

ones—Eden makes visible the cost of the showy display of power to which her cavalcade's purpose amounts. Her writing—in itself a diurnal and almost habitual activity—detours from the expected purpose of a letter from a member of the Raj to someone back in England (that of supporting Britain's agenda) and makes visible the self-centered and even cruel repercussions that British displays of wealth abroad produce. Precisely because Eden's writing does *not* outrightly oppose (but, in fact, often seems to support or ignore) her government's exercises of power but, instead, appears to function as a means by which to converse with her family about mundane topics, Eden's practice of everyday life (writing to her family) acts as a potential call to protest. Because of its details and specificity, her journal allows others to see red flags that she does not necessarily identify as problems.

Ironically, in offering us a glimpse into the life which includes the *less* comfortable side of travelling, Eden's writing prompts us to begin to question the logic behind the splendor and presence of the British Raj. Instead of presenting the Raj as an obviously harmful force which could be readily argued against (as Wolstenholme could), she presents a community of people making sacrifices for the good of other citizens—risking their English lives in order to serve. Had they only seen the spectacle, her contemporary readers might not have considered the threat or the hardships that faced the British colonial ruling class, nor the need for increased English culture and products to protect them and their English identities where they lived abroad. They would have only considered their duty to entail “improving” more primitive cultures or exploiting India's wealth potential. Thus, for her contemporary readers, the daily life struggles that Eden exposes increase the perceived need for more Englishness abroad and thus one of the driving logics of imperialism. Her problems become more than just personal hardships that are

innocuously lamented in personal letters, they and their possible antidotes constitute the characteristics that eventually justify imperialism itself.

I showed in chapter 1 that just because Eden sees herself as an Englishwoman—an identity that needs to be protected—doesn't mean that her perception is true. As I discussed in the last section, consuming the act of writing is one way in which Eden asserts her identity. The things *about which* she writes along with *how* she writes undermine dominant ideology even if it is not intended to. Paradoxically, by revealing hardships and the threats to English well-being abroad, the form of Eden's journal actually strengthens the perceived need for the British colonial ruling class to take English people to the colonies and spread Englishness. If the English must rescue indigenous people from their primitiveness, they must also rescue one another from the dangers they face in doing so.

4.3 CONSUMING PRESENCE

I began this chapter by asserting that travel writers consume other writing, and that reading the works of others carries with it a metaphoric understanding that other authors are present as travel writers compose texts. Even if an author's physical body is absent, traces of his or her thoughts infiltrate a reader's attention and influence subsequent contemplations. At the very least, reading a text implies the prior existence of an author: if a text exists, we assume that someone once lived to write or compile it (in other words, the texts acts as evidence of an author's existence). In this section, I point out that, when we ignore the metaphoric and discursive natures of this

authorial presence, we can begin to legitimize and exaggerate the importance of thoughts when they are inscribed. Even more importantly, when we attach national identity to what we come to understand as evidence of existence, we ascribe traits to national cultures without even recognizing the construction process.

The practice of writing down and sending messages does not *necessarily* incite thoughts of the presence of a person accompanying the letter, but there are some common associations we make with writing to a person—especially on a private level—that, when pointed out, arrest our assumptions about how we construe print. Associations between presence and significance are important to take into account when we consider the ways in which Eden’s practice of everyday life (writing) functions to convey what the subjects of her musings mean to her. On the one hand, the act of writing down (and ultimately publishing) passing thoughts makes them seem important, in part because of our expectations about what is included or not in a published journal. We don’t expect to see thoughts in print unless they are considered to be important enough to write, send, edit, and publish. Thus, the form of the diurnal travel narrative levies a challenge to our assumptions about travel narratives because it is understood to be a private correspondence (so we expect more mundane thoughts), but is available to a wider audience (one that is less interested in the author as a personal friend and more interested in the topics she discusses). Therefore, the diurnal travel narrative obscures the line between what is personally worth writing and what is deemed significant enough for public consideration. We see Eden’s discomforts in print, so we assume that they bother her enough to lament on paper.

On the other hand, as I have argued before, writing diurnally is a practice of everyday life for Eden, not a way of deliberately procuring a public forum in which to pontificate, educate, or construct an impression of another culture. She characterizes it as an activity that has minimal

impact on others. Thus, if we consider her transcription alongside Said's notion of textualization (which I do in this section), we begin to see how the form of the journal, by rendering glimpses of Eden's daily reactions to her circumstances permanent, infers importance on them that Eden may not have intended; they exist, but they may not be as consuming as they seem to be.

In order to explore issues of presence and recording in this section, I move from literal presence, to textualization, to photographic presence. I study Anthony Trollope's *He Knew He Was Right* (1869) in order to explore the ways in which writing can be understood as corresponding to a presence (of a person, relationship, threat, etc.). I return for a moment to my discussion of Žižek and censorship in order to argue that the line between private and public correspondence is one of the most powerful dynamics that is used both in the novel and in Emily Eden's published travel narrative. I consider Emily Eden's text in relation to expectations of privacy and presence and how those things impact how we read her diurnal travel narrative. From there, I move on to investigate the ways in which photography implies a presence as well. In the end, I argue that writing, like photography, isn't just evidence of something existing, it is a trace of a generating *process*, and that diurnal travel narratives confuse readers by making the steps in that process visible to an audience that wouldn't expect to see them.

4.3.1 Literal Presence

“Till the other day I should have thought that Colonel Osborne's letters were as innocent as an old newspaper.”⁶⁵

Emily Trevelyan's pointed remark in Anthony Trollope's *He Knew He Was Right* (1869) accomplishes more than just inciting her husband's anger: it also associates letters, an essential

element of the novel, with old newspapers, apparently an innocuous form of media in her opinion. The novel concerns multiple intertwining plotlines, several which concern correspondence. In the one to which I refer, above, Louis Trevelyan becomes jealous of his wife's relationship with Colonel Osborne, an old friend of her father's, with whom she exchanges letters. Their marriage deteriorates throughout the novel because Mrs. Trevelyan continues to correspond with Colonel Osborne, culminating in paranoid interactions between the married couple and, eventually, estrangement.

The connection between letters and the newspaper that Mrs. Trevelyan draws seems appropriate but unremarkable at first. The comment is prompted by the reception of a letter addressed to Mrs. Trevelyan that her husband, Louis, and her sister, Nora, read and pass on as if it were the daily news. However, despite Mrs. Trevelyan's comment, letters aren't insignificant at all in this novel; in fact, the very plot of the novel depends on the characters assuming that the letter writer's presence enters the home when one receives a letter. Trevelyan construes his wife's writing to and receiving letters from Colonel Osborne as a very intimate practice even though the letters that she exchanges with the Colonel are often forwarded through or read by her husband. Mrs. Trevelyan's major fault in Trevelyan's eyes stems largely from her willingness to interact with the Colonel through letters even though he knows the banal content of them. As a discursive act, exchanging letters involves receiving, producing, and sending, but in this novel the emphasis on the actual relationship of exchange implies the tangibility of the letter-writer, which leads to scandal.

Ironically, what Trevelyan interprets as means of communication meant to carry on a relationship is actually the relationship itself. In a sense, Trevelyan *is* right: although Emily Trevelyan and the Colonel are not writing to arrange a rendezvous, their correspondence

nonetheless establishes a type of relationship based on this exchange and the presence it affords (I will return to this form of relationship later on in the chapter). The letter simultaneously represents less and more than Trevelyan suspects: in this case, the letter does not insinuate that a physical relationship exists between his wife and the colonel; however, the absence of that physicality doesn't preclude a relationship made possible by the letters, either. After all, it is not just the material object that enters the home (or mind) of the receiver of a letter, but also the sender. Letters signify some type of a relationship even if two people are not physically in the same locale. This understanding of exchanging letters is at the heart of Trevelyan's concern with his wife and Colonel Osborne.

In the end, Emily Trevelyan paradoxically depends upon her husband's censorship in order to get what she wants: not having to cut ties with Colonel Osborne. Recall from my second chapter Žižek's argument that the most powerful form of censorship is one in which individuals perceive themselves to have freedom. Because Mrs. Trevelyan is the character who is understood to be censored, she is able to use the appearance of her husband's freedom against him. Thus, in her small way—in her practice of everyday life—Mrs. Trevelyan is able to launch a protest against her husband by using the structure of censorship in a manner discordant with its intended use. In a letter to Trevelyan that accompanies a final, explanatory note to Osborne, Mrs. Trevelyan expressly states: "I have written to [Colonel Osborne] a note, which I now send to you. I send it that you may forward it. If you do not choose to do so, I cannot be answerable either for his seeing me, or for his writing to me again."⁶⁶ In the letter Emily writes to *Colonel Osborne*, she essentially speaks for her husband, telling Colonel Osborne the reasons that she can no longer correspond with him (that her husband forbids it because he is jealous). This, of course, is something that she knows Trevelyan will not allow to be forwarded. She almost dares

him to exercise his control here. Of course, doing so would only get him what he wants to the detriment of his pride, which above all else, is what he treasures. Therefore, Emily Trevelyan effectively denies her husband his agency to be obeyed because, in order for that to happen, he must permit the very thing that he wants to keep private—his command and his insecurity—to be made known. By feigning obedience, but strategically revealing too much, Mrs. Trevelyan uses the structure of Trevelyan's domination against him. She has ink, she is allowed to write, but under strict confines; Trevelyan harasses her when she communicates with the Colonel but tries to also maintain the image that he does no such thing.

Mrs Trevelyan plays along with the rigidity of her husband's rules, but does so in a way that undermines his intent and allows for hers. Her most powerful tool is the blurred line between public and private correspondence. In some ways, the writing that Emily Eden composes also constructs something that, while it exists, does not exist as people are intended to witness it. Like Mrs. Trevelyan's note, Eden's diurnal travel narrative straddles the line between public and private, if she is to protect the British Raj and its purpose, some of its contents are better kept private. The grandeur of the cavalcade is for public view, but the discomfort she talks about cannot be publicized to the colonies.⁶⁷ In fact, it can only even be revealed to the English public in a limited way; the power and command that the British Raj holds needs to be upheld in England as well as in the colonies in order to sustain its reputation as a positive force. Therefore, publishing the journal both potentially garners support for and opposition to imperial ideology. To the extent to which the Raj's display of luxury as a façade *is* made visible, it increases the perceived need for more Englishness surrounding the ruling class in order to keep them safe from outside (potentially degenerating) influence. At the same time, it opens up space and time for questions about the logic of imperialism by making ordinarily ephemeral responses and

actions permanent and therefore able to be studied even a century and a half later. Because reactions are recorded, they can be revisited, and we have time to notice and consider what they might mean.

The line between private and public is always ambiguous in Eden's text; Eden illustrates this ambiguity through an ironic complaint to her sister, Mary (to whom she addresses her letters). Although Eden clearly writes these letters to Mary with the understanding that her sister will pass along pertinent information to the rest of her family, Eden also acknowledges the privacy that addressing a letter to a specific person implies. Eden remarks to her sister several times that Lord Auckland reads her letters: "G. always opens and reads Mr. D.'s letters to us before we see them, because he says he gets so much news out of them. Rather cool! What do you think I ought to do about it? Mr. D. and I might have secrets of vital importance, which G. might let out—very unpleasant!"⁶⁸ This particular quote illustrates Eden's understanding of the semi-private nature of her letters in two ways. First, Eden reveals that she is aware that these letters will be read by Lord Auckland. Therefore, it is likely that Eden would intentionally avoid (and encourage Mr. D. to exclude) any "secrets of vital importance" in these "censored" letters. Second, in his notes to the text of the 1930 edition of *Up the Country*, Edward Thompson identifies "Mr. D" as Mr. Drummund (presumably, the husband of Mary). This information certainly adds an element of satire to Eden's complaint, since the "secrets" that she and Mr. Drummond would share are most likely family gossip that, while, amusing, does not have the "classified" status that Eden alludes to in mentioning them. We can see echoes of Mrs. Trevelyan's attitude toward her letter—"as innocent as an old newspaper"—in Eden's sentiment. At the same time, the element of privacy is invited into our perception of *Up the Country* in a way that transcends the original text; Eden chooses to retain the format of the diurnal letter for

publication. Eden's choice of format for publication seems to be a deliberate varying of the understood use of the letter. It nods to the understood level of privacy (and contents) expected in a letter to one's family, but puts it in a different context. As I will discuss in the next section, the public context potentially changes the journal-reader's understanding of its quotidian contents. Making her mundane thoughts public but retaining the private format indicates to Eden's audience that her narrative is at least semi-private. Therefore, it instructs her reader (truthfully or not) that she has composed her narrative without public reception in mind, and therefore had no reason to embellish or alter her accounts.

4.3.2 Textualization

However, this textualization⁶⁹ also introduces a new characteristic to these women's laments that we must be careful to acknowledge: publishing these thoughts legitimizes them and makes them seem permanently present in the minds of the writers the way they are on paper. It is crucial to acknowledge that this might not be the case. Like Mrs. Trevelyan's letters, the discursive practice does not necessarily represent a *more* prominent literal presence. Recording passing remarks does at least two things. First, because the phrases seem appropriate for spoken language, not written, they create a sense of a physical presence that is not necessarily there. Secondly, transcribing those exclamations legitimizes them by insinuating that that they are worth sharing and revisiting. Of course, one possible reading of diurnal travel narratives that feature everyday conversation with the recipient is to dismiss the travel narrators as unskillfully droning on about topics that readers find uninteresting. In contrast, I argue that when the journal is published, expectations regarding private and public documents working together create a

dynamic in which the reader feels privy to important private information to which she gives credence.

We get the impression when reading diurnal travel narratives that the authors archive utterances that wouldn't normally be recorded. Statements like "I'm turning the page" or "There! Now they want my inkstand" act as explanations for changes that the reader actually sees. Fanny begins to write on the other side of the paper, Emily ceases writing that day. We don't expect a place for informal spoken language—these aren't phrases that get recorded in many travel narratives—so their inclusions highlight the connection we make between spoken language and presence. Therefore, the act of writing down these phrases serves itself as a rhetorical technique: it encourages the reader to imagine a *physical* closeness to the author because we are supposed to *hear* those exclamations, not read them in published form. These women are writing about diverting themselves—they are in some sense wasting time. And yet, by writing about it, they make what is inherently ephemeral (passing bemoaning or signposts of action) permanent. What's more, publishing the journals transforms what is normally understood to be private into a recorded utterance that is therefore encountered by people who are not familiar to the speaker/writer. In fact, putting these statements into writing seems to render them *more* personal; strangers aren't supposed to witness them making these comments. Making them permanent means that we can study the writers' reactions and it also means that the writers themselves can revisit them.

Textualization, then, can make the exclamations of these writers tricky to decipher and raises questions about how seriously we should take these outbursts just because they are in writing. After all, writing exclamatory remarks makes them into something they would not otherwise be; publishing passing remarks amplifies them and therefore makes them into protests

in a way in which they would not be regarded if they had just been uttered. We need to consider the degree to which studying and repeating the remarks *changes* them. For example, in the case of the Eden's travel narratives, seeing evidence of English women doing English things creates the impression that someone who is English existed in a certain place. We need to stop and think about what that means given my discussion in chapter 1, though; we need to push against the notion that an English identity exists as something that can be present or protected.

Creating transcriptions and rendering images have similar effects. If thoughts exist in print, we assume that they were conceived of and written, that they exist. The same goes for visual records; traditionally with photographs, one assumed that if she could see something in a photograph, it must exist.⁷⁰ Unlike the ghosts that Mr. Frazer thought he saw in Edwards' short story, if a photograph is taken of something, that thing is no longer quite ephemeral. Its image exists to be discussed and studied.⁷¹ Combining photographs and written correspondence the way postcards do raises an interesting point about the site of creation, then. When we discuss elements of a postcard, we note the picture on the front, the writing on the back, and various choices that the sender makes during the process of preparing and sending the correspondence. Those things all become records that, if we can study the tangible object, we can evaluate, so as I said above, they are not quite ephemeral. What *does* become ephemeral is the photographic act, an element of the image that, especially if it is not acknowledged, potentially skews one's perception of what is being represented in a visual record. By identifying traces of that act, Maleek Alloula's study of Algerian postcards exposes what had previously been only a vague shadow: the ways in which the process of taking a photograph misleadingly develops permanent impressions of cultures and people that never existed as they are portrayed.

4.3.3 Fleeting Photographic Presence

One can see how crucial the processes of writing and creating images are to take into account when we look at postcards that depict colonies and the colonized. Even more extreme than the power images of land and people in postcards to generate a “historical visual record” is the actual fabrication of reality of culture that may never have existed. In his book, *The Colonial Harem*, Malek Alloula presents an excellent example of how the unveiled woman in the harem is a prevalent image on colonial Algerian postcards but is ultimately a signifier without a sign. Alloula points out that the half-clad women in the postcard pictures that inspired his response are models who were recruited from the dregs of society but who unproblematically came to typify the women of Algeria for the West. Particularly interesting is his discussion on a series of postcards depicting “families” who are also models who have no relation to one another.

The primary reason that Alloula’s discussion is pertinent to mine is that he reorients focus from the image itself to the act of photography. Alloula proposes that it is the very frustration of not having access to gaze at Algerian women because of their veils that threatens the photographer’s sense of power and prompts him to depict Algerian women over and over again scantily clad and in sexually inviting positions: “The photographer will respond to this quiet and almost natural challenge by means of a double violation: he will unveil the veiled and give figural representation to the forbidden.”⁷² By focusing on the photographer and his process, Alloula calls attention to the action of *figuring* the fantasy—the *taking* of the photo. Although he worries about the effects that the evil eye has wrought—the creation of a perception of Algerian people that gets disseminated—it is the action that matters, just as it is the action of writing that matters to the travel writers. Accordingly, Alloula responds with his own action.

Ironically, if we consider that the “reality” of Algerian culture is belied, the significance of the image is precisely that it becomes *permanent*. The *myth* of its existence ceases to be obvious because it is resolutely disavowed. Through his writing, Alloula undermines the permanence of the interpretation by essentially “unveiling” the false figuring that the photographer enacts. Paradoxically, it is the permanence of these images that makes it possible for him to do so—they act, here, as traces of a process that he recovers and changes. Alloula uses the impact that the act of sending out these images has by collecting and sending them out again, but by first infusing them with a new meaning: “Among us, we believe in the nefarious effects of the evil eye (the evil gaze). We conjure them with our hand spread out like a fan. I close my hand back upon a pen to write *my* exorcism: *this text*.”⁷³ Using the same images, Alloula illuminates the once-vague shadow of process that lurked behind the pictures. In doing so, he uses the same objects to accomplish something very different than their original function.

To return to Certeau and activity for a moment, then, objects are not just (if ever) stable things that mean something constant. What I find additionally valuable about this line of thinking is that if we consider writing to be not just a representation of a thought or an article but an *activity* that connotes an association with culture, we move from considering just language and introduce another aspect of writing that, if still fictional, is nonetheless a trace of *generating* as well as expressing thoughts and perceptions. It doesn’t even matter if the person was there or not—several travel narratives have been written by people about places to which they have never travelled—but that they *wrote* about places to which one would travel. If people record themselves doing English things—even if they merely *write* about their activities and impressions (which is seen to be English)—they create a record of Englishness. An English way of encountering the world engenders association especially from English readers—what they

bring to the text which is nonetheless already there—the understanding that by writing, Eden establishes herself as an Englishwoman; educated, travelled, acquainted with politics and literature enough to integrate it (even if there has been some disagreement about how adeptly she has done so), and who has the time to write about these things (leisured). What's more, in this case, she *did* send these letters from India. Hence, Englishness abroad must have existed at one time. In addition to acquiring items, these women associate writing with being English, constructing yet another superimposition: of reality and of past and maybe even of location. Englishness existed in this place. Like a marker—better than a flag which can be moved or a fort which can be claimed by someone new, writing from a place indicates that a person was there and that they wrote there—that they exercised their identity there. Thus, we have the presence not only of a person, but of an *English* person. There appear then, to be multiple ways of understanding: what is detected at a cultural level—what it means to be an English person, for example—and what is noticed or assumes meaning at a personal level. They don't preclude one another, which is why it is so difficult to completely move away from a cultural way of looking to a personal one. Eden has learned to value Englishness from her culture; that she has internalized those values and experiences means that culture has worked upon her, not that her personal reactions exist or would exist outside the framework of thinking.

4.4 MATERIALITY

Letter exchange and journal sharing, the relationships they imply and the interactions they enable, play a crucial role in how travelers in the nineteenth century understood themselves as British subjects. Like the exchange of letters between the colonel and Emily Trevelyan, the actual exchange serves as the extent of the relationships these travelers have with their friends and family while they live abroad; thus, the very nature of what it means to be “English” actually begins to transcend presence in any geographical area, and instead involves influence, an *absent* presence, and a new definition of “relationship” that encapsulates discursive exchange and widens the scope of what “writing” means in a similar way that writing postcards does: it encapsulates something much more than just the act of scribing. As I discussed in chapter two, the materiality of the communication simultaneously reflects and determines what gets written. I would like to return to that notion, here, having introduced some of the ways in which that might relate to imperialism, Eden’s role as a woman writer, and the circumstances those factors influence.

4.4.1 Privacy

Alloula illustrates in his book that the veil is a symbolic assertion of private space that is taken away: “But the veil has another function: to recall, in individualized fashion, the closure of private space. It signifies an injunction of no trespassing upon this space, and it extends it to another space, the one in which the photographer is to be found: public space.”⁷⁴ Alloula’s point centers on trespassing—unwelcomed intrusion into private space—in order to emphasize the

egregious and inaccurate portrayal of Algerian culture. His notion of what the veil protects brings up an interesting aspect of the veil that I'd like to consider in a metaphorical sense: its capacity to shelter and protect from public view in a way that *can* function in a liberating manner. Instead of entering into a discussion about the veil, I would like to discuss how the absence of an expectation of privacy when one writes correspondence affects what is written, how it is written, and how people read it.

In some ways, the envelope functions as a type of veil. It is intended to protect what is inside from unauthorized view. Therefore, it makes sense to return to a form of correspondence that does *not* use an envelope: the postcard. Postcards offer interesting cases both of people using them to create their own meanings despite their stock production and of how people negotiate the absence of privacy when they correspond. Thus, the relationship between the sender and the receiver is complicated by the medium even as the conventions of sending and writing on a postcard are somewhat structured.⁷⁵ I discussed more extensively how people make the postcards their own earlier in the chapter. In this section, I would like to think about how correspondence acts as a relationship—not just as a trace of a relationship. Like Fanny's journal entry in which she writes and sketches as a way of having a virtual experience with her friend, postcards act as a way of breaking the feeling of insularity that people feel when they are separated. Acquiring, writing, sending, and receiving them can act *as* a relationship-building activity the way Fanny's act of writing about sketching does.

As we can see from the Trollope example, the reader and the writer impose upon letters a trace of a conversation that never materialized except in the text of the letter, but what constructions of conversations also imply is a relationship that does not necessarily exist outside

of them. What we interpret as means of communication and carrying on relationships *are actually the relationships themselves*.

Bjarne Rogan illustrates that because of postcard collecting groups, people began correspondence for the sole purpose of exchanging the cards. There are two versions of this. The first is the relationship that existed explicitly as a card exchange for collection purposes. This would be the case for members of postcard exchange clubs which were established at regional, national and international levels. Rogan quotes from two separate postcards whose inscriptions seem to imply that they were sent in such a capacity: “Madame, I hope that among the series of cards that I send you I will chance to find something that will bring you pleasure. I start by sending this old church in ancient gothic style...” (Postcard with tourist motif, sent from Stavanger, Norway, to Paris in 1903. French inscription.) and “Madame, I beg your pardon for my long delay in answering your latest cards, for which I will express my thanks. I will do my utmost to be more regular in my correspondence next time” (postcard with tourist motif, sent in 1903 from Stavanger, Norway, to France. French inscription).⁷⁶ These relationships are solely utilitarian means of transporting and collecting, based on a shared delight in deltiology. The senders do not really even seem to know the receivers.

The second is a friendship that exists via postcard exchange. Rogan uses the metalanguage of communication theory to distinguish *linear* which is “information-oriented” communication and *circular* which is “activity-oriented.”⁷⁷ Rogan publishes several inscriptions which contain almost no information at all. For example, “My dear Leontine, Thank you very much for the short message you sent me. I was pleased to have it. (+ signature)” and “Dear Father and Sister. I write you this short card to tell you that I have arrived well and to say hello to you (+ signature).”⁷⁸ Rogan points out that with these extremely short messages “the aim is not

to provide new information, but to refer to what is already shared; the most successful communication is the one that is least redundant.”⁷⁹ What is implicit in Rogan’s reading of communication is the intimacy that is assumed and enacted when the context of such a short statement is presumed to be known by the receiver. The circular communication is thus characterized as a closer, more personal relationship than linear communication.

Diurnal travel narratives that are sent as letters operate in a circular manner more than a linear one. The writer expects a reply, often refers to what is written by the other correspondent, or alludes to experiences or thoughts already shared by the two. Because they are letters instead of brief postcards, they often *do* include information, but in their original form their primary purpose is to carry on a relationship, not to convey information.

Jan-Ola Östman points out that because postcards are only semi-private—they are not contained in envelopes, so their practical audience extends further than their intended audience because people can easily “eavesdrop” on the open conversations—they also require coded language at times: “the level of implicitness in the message has to accord with the relationship between the postcard writer and its reader so as to make it possible—if and when necessary—for the receiver to read more between the lines than what a random eavesdropper would be able to do.”⁸⁰ As Östman elaborates on the materiality of the postcard, and on the discourse-functional characteristics of a postcard (which I mentioned earlier), he mentions ink: “further devices for enhancing the implicitness of the postcard includes the choice of a particular stamp, the choice of positioning the stamp in a particular manner (tilted to one side, upside-down, in a non-prototypical place, etc.), the choice to use a particular color of ink, the choice to send the card from a particular place, etc.”⁸¹ He also cites song lyrics as useful examples, since they carry special meaning for the intended audience, but not necessarily one that eavesdroppers will detect.

The same would apply to quotes, as Plotz points out in his discussion of portable property. Nelson also mentions the potential for ambiguous or multiple meanings contained within a postcard, based not only on the coordination or contradictions between pictures and printed text and the sender's message, but also because of the implicit comparison with a letter that the postcard always invites because of its brevity.⁸² Like the postcard itself, whose unsealed messages caused significant anxiety when they were first marketed, the letter whose envelope ceases to serve as a guarantee of privacy becomes an entirely different form of communication.⁸³

4.4.2 Absence

Eden acknowledges an absent presence in her journal. She publishes her letters for a wider public. However, in the dedication to her book, she writes to her nephew, "I know no one but yourself who can now take any lively interest in these letters. She to whom they were addressed, they of whom they were written, have all passed away..." and then, "Many passages of this Diary, written solely for the amusement of my own family, have of course been omitted."⁸⁴ Later she adds, "The Kootûb will probably become a Railway Station; the Taj will, of course, under the sway of an Agra Company (Limited, except for destruction), be bought up for a monster hotel; and the Governor-General will dwindle down into a first-class passenger with a carpet-bag. These details, therefore, of a journey that was picturesque in its motley processions, in its splendid crowds, and in its 'barbaric gold and pearl,' may be thought amusing. So many changes have since taken place in Indian modes of travelling, that these contrasts of public grandeur and private discomfort will probably be seen no more, on a scale of such magnitude."⁸⁵ Mentioning that she leaves out passages that would be amusing only to her family, Eden acknowledges the

ineffectiveness of language to recapture the verbal expressions of relationships that only those involved would have appreciated or even noticed. However, through the act of publishing Eden alludes (perhaps unknowingly) to more than just *what* is written; her travel narrative is printed, so the pages on which she wrote, the ink with which she scribed, the handwriting that her family had to decipher and what those characteristics mean to “she to whom the letters were addressed” or “they of whom they were written” are appropriately absent from the printed book. What the quality or quantity of ink and paper available to Eden while she travelled the upper provinces of India indicated about her status may be surmised or recovered to a fairly responsible degree. However, what the smell or color the letters carried when they arrived in England revealed to her family about their transport, or what emotions the strangeness (and eventual familiarity) of the address and stamps aroused in the intended receiver are lost; they will never mean the same thing to anyone else, and so their absence seems somehow appropriate in the printed version. As Eden writes, it becomes evident that what it means to be a member of the British colonial ruling class in India—even what it means to have been part of her trip—can never be understood by anyone except one who was there. Despite her meticulously detailed descriptions, Eden cannot do anything more than help construct a notion of the British colonial ruling class. Unlike realist ideals, her narrator doesn’t create an accurate representation. What she does do is provide some “raw material or experimental data for a theory” and, I would say, “data, however, that is filled with consciousness of a skepticism about the theories that will be brought to it.”⁸⁶ In *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* Roland Barthes attempts to recover some of the lost “magic” that he recognizes as slipping away as theory progresses. Perhaps some writers of diurnal travel narratives do something similar: some dwell *in* the time when these types of

publications are naively taken as full accounts of one's life, others seem to be aware of how naïve that is.

¹ Eden, "Up the Country": *Letters Written to Her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*, 23.

Hereinafter *Up the Country*.

² J. L. Austin's theory of speech acts is elucidated in *How We Do Things with Words*. Among other things, Austin identifies three ways in which we can understand the uttering of a sentence as an act: locutionary acts; illocutionary acts; and perlocutionary acts. He explains, "a locutionary act, which is roughly equivalent to uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference, which again is roughly equivalent to 'meaning' in the traditional sense" (Austin, *How We Do Things with Words*, 109). Illocutionary acts "such as informing, ordering, warning, undertaking, &c., i.e. [are] utterances which have a certain (conventional) force" (Ibid.). Perlocutionary acts are defined as "what we bring about or achieve by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring, and even, say, surprising or misleading" (Ibid.).

³ Collins, *The Moonstone*, 49-50.

⁴ Betteredge's incessant returns to Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* for guidance on how to conduct his life suggest that he *does* consider writing and reading to be influential, though—which would by nature make them powerful. Incidentally, *Robinson Crusoe* happens to be one of the texts that Said cites in *Culture and Imperialism* as paving the way for modern imperialist texts in England (xii, 70, 75).

⁵ It is interesting, though, to remember that Betteredge insists on including a section wherein he metaphorically points to the ways in which the ruling class enacts violence in the name of discovery. And yet, Blake, the narrator as well as a member of this ruling class family, includes that section—if censured, then not entirely so—in the archive.

⁶ Because Eden belongs to the ruling class but is a woman (and therefore not officially involved in carrying out laws), she is educated and influential, but leisured.

⁷ Eden, *Up the Country*, 18.

⁸ Gillman, "The Yellow Wallpaper," 297, 298.

⁹ Gillman explains her motivation for writing the short story in "Why I Wrote 'The Yellow Wallpaper,'" which originally appeared in the October, 1913 issue of *The Forerunner*. She also speaks of the results of its publication, which included alterations of medical treatment.

¹⁰ Recall my discussion of ownership, especially with regards to Ada Leverson and Oscar Wilde, in chapter 1.

¹¹ See, for instance, Dennis Porter, who argues in "Orientalism and its Problems," that Said's adherence to both Foucault's discourse theory and Gramsci's hegemonic theory limits Said's argument. In fact, in terms of application, Porter faults Said for not doing what he purports to, pointing out that Said does not cite counter-hegemonic voices. While I wouldn't necessarily consider Emily Eden's voice to be counter-hegemonic, I do find that, in order to consider her role in imperial discourse, we need to apply theoretical tools that fall outside of the scope of Said's theory on imperialist discourse. For an examples of how applying Said's theory of an overarching structure becomes limiting, see also James Clifford, "On *Orientalism*."

¹² See my discussion on Žižek in chapter 2.

¹³ Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895 to 1915)," 15.

¹⁴ For accounts of the production of postcards in various countries, see Albers, "Symbols, Souvenirs, and Sentiments: Postcard Imagery of Plains Indians, 1898-1918," 66-72; Carline, *Pictures in the Post: The Story of the Picture Postcard*, 28-29; Geary, "Different Visions?"

Postcards from Africa by European and African Photographers and Sponsors," 148-151; Ryan, *Picture Postcards in the United States, 1893-1918*, 1-13; Staff, *The Picture Postcard and Its Origins*, 48-52 and Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895 to 1915)," 32-43.

¹⁵ Woody, "International Postcards: Their History, Production, and Distribution (Circa 1895 to 1915)," 15.

¹⁶ Ryan, *Picture Postcards in the United States, 1893-1918*, 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁸ In "Wishing They Were There: Old Postcards and Library History," Bernadette Lear notes, "the golden age of postcards (ca. 1893-1918) coincided with a golden age for library development" (80). Further, Lear points out, "Libraries embodied many civic assets, including the community's commitment to free public services, the value it placed on education and self-improvement, and the wealth and generosity of the neighborhood. Often built by local artisans and laborers using regional wood and stone, the library building also showcased what residents could make with their own hands using the area's natural resources" (80).

A similar trend happened in the second half of the nineteenth century with travel guides.

Guidebooks such as Baedeker's became so trusted that phrases such as, "Kings and governments may err – but never Mr. Baedeker" arose. Because only a few travel guides became popular, they monopolized the market, dictating to travelers where to go and what to see. Inasmuch as travelers took the advice of the travel guides, their exposure to certain features of a place were limited and determined by them.

¹⁹ Östman, "The Postcard as Media," 424.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Ibid., 431-432.

²² See Derrida, *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, for more on this aspect of the postcard.

²³ Cary, "Only Death Can Part Us: Messages on Wartime Postcards," 128.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 184.

²⁷ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 185. Owen, *Collected Letters*, 421.

²⁸ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 186.

²⁹ Heller, *Catch-22*, 338.

³⁰ Gaskell, *Cranford*, 109.

³¹ Ibid., 110.

³² Eden, *Up the Country*, 144.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Östman, "The Postcard as Media," 427.

³⁵ Eden, *Up the Country*, 284-285.

³⁶ See Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* for a study of how magazine advertisements catered to women shoppers and how advertisers exploited the ways in which women obtained information and mobilized in the Victorian Period to market their goods. See McGowan, "An All-Consuming Subject? Women and Consumption in Late-Nineteenth-and Early-Twentieth-Century Western India," in which she investigates various ways in which women regarded consumption in that culture. She looks at memoirs and personal accounts in order to study how gender and nationalism impacted attitudes

toward consumption. She, too, discusses the ways in which goods are marketed to women (as mistresses of the household), particularly through magazine advertisements.

³⁷ See Hunter, *The Cambridge Introduction to the Short Story in English*, (particularly part one), Chan, *The Economy of the Short Story in British Periodicals of the 1890s*, and Korte, *The Short Story in Britain: A Historical Sketch and Anthology* for discussions on the prestige of various periodicals and their impact on various classes of the reading public in England during the nineteenth century. See Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* for more information on the circulation of magazines such as *Ladies' World*, *People's Literary Companion* and *Comfort* which were widely circulated to lower class clients.

³⁸ Eden, *Up the Country*, 165-6. Written on Sept 8, 1838.

³⁹ Ibid., 120.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 120-121.

⁴¹ In another section of the travel narrative, Eden writes about Loton, a “sirdar-bearer, or head of all the palanquin and tonjuan-bearers, whose business it is to walk by the side of the palanquin and see that the bearers carry it rightly” (Ibid., 191). The servant requested an elephant on which to ride because the walks were becoming too strenuous for him, whereupon Captain X, the person in charge of such matters, demoted Loton to a palanquin bearer. I mention this incident both because it emphasizes my point about Eden’s apparent blindness to how the conditions of the journeys affect her servants and also because, a few lines later, she quantifies the extent to which their cavalcade used servants to an excessive degree. Upon reporting the Loton incident to Captain X, Eden realized that “he is not yet accustomed to the notion of the number of people who are merely kept for show and even for work; there is a double set for everything. F. and I have each thirty-two bearers, where other people have eight, that there may never be a difficulty”

(Ibid., 191-92). Here, Eden implies that it is only a matter of time until Captain X would also ignore the servants despite their copious numbers as she does.

⁴² Again, she can only take this so far; Eden limits obviously boastful comments to issues regarding the duties of servants, and her ability to acquire exotic goods. In other regards—such as housing, comfort, activities available to her, or mental stimulation—she frequently complains about what she lacks. Notably (and Eden herself often notes this), most of the luxuries she enjoys are for show.

⁴³ Dunbar, *Golden Interlude: The Edens in India, 1836-1842*, 2.

⁴⁴ Eden, *Miss Eden's Letters* footnote to page 230, quoted in Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj*, 19.

⁴⁵ Fowler, *Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj*, 17.

⁴⁶ Eden, *Up the Country*, 144.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 145.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ David, *Rule Britannia: Women, Empire, and Victorian Writing*, 37. Hereinafter *Rule Britannia*.

⁵⁰ Smith, "Private Practices: Thomas De Quincy, Margaret Oliphant, and the Construction of Women's Rhetoric in the Victorian Periodical Press," 41.

⁵¹ David, *Rule Britannia*, 39.

⁵² A phrase the reader will recall from Mary Louise Pratt's argument in, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*.

⁵³ Edwards, "Was it an Illusion? A Parson's Story," hereinafter "Was it an Illusion." As well as being a successful fiction writer, Amelia Edwards was also a travel writer. She wrote *Untrodden*

Peaks and Unfrequented Valleys (1873) and *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (1877). See Keuhn, “Amelia Edwards's Picturesque Views of Cairo: Touring the Land, Framing the Foreign.”; Gâcon, Gérard, *In-Between Two Worlds: Narratives by Female Explorers and Travellers, 1850-1945*. vii, 143-149.; and Patricia O'Neill, “Destination as Destiny: Amelia B. Edwards's Travel Writing” for more information about her travel writing.

⁵⁴ Edwards, “Was it an Illusion?” 294-5.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 296.

⁵⁶ See also Lowell T. Freye. “The Ghost Story and the Subjection of Women: The Example of Amelia Edwards, M. E. Braddon, and E. Nesbit.”

⁵⁷ Edwards, “Was it an Illusion?” 295.

⁵⁸ Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 13.

⁵⁹ Edwards draws attention to the next phase in Veblen's history as well. By calling Wolstenholme's character into question, she disrupts the association between social status based on acquisition and honor.

⁶⁰ Lord Auckland seems to bemoan even more than Emily does the conditions throughout the trip, and she records instances of his complaints frequently in her journal. For example, when the family first moves to tents, Eden recounts a conversation between her siblings: “I have long named my tent ‘Misery Hall.’ F. said it was very odd, as everybody observed her tent was a like a fairy palace. ‘Mine is not exactly that,’ G. said; ‘indeed I call it Foully Palace, it is so very squalid looking...well! It is a hard case; they talk of the luxury in which the Governor-General travels, but I cannot even find a covered passage from Misery Hall to Foully Palace.’” (Eden, *Up the Country*, 37). Recall my earlier point (on pages 26-28 and in note 35) that Eden simultaneously complains of her own discomfort and ignores the impact that the showy display

and pomp have on her servants, but that these complaints are hidden from the official view that passers-by witness.

⁶¹ Eden, *Up the Country*, 186-7.

⁶² Ibid., 180-81.

⁶³ It is worth noting, here, that by the time Eden published her book (1866), Lord Auckland had been named as the primary figure at fault for the debacles in India, including the Indian Mutiny and the First Afghan War. See Mojtahed-Zadeh, Pirouz, *Small Players of the Great Game*; Mukharya, *The Administration of Lord Auckland in India, 1836-42*; and Ewans, Martin, *Securing the Indian Frontier* for more on the history of Britain's presence in the Middle East. Although Eden purports to write to her family, the members of which are assumedly in support of her brother, Eden is quite aware of the contexts in which she ultimately publishes (both the literary and social traditions of England, and the political environment in which she is enmeshed). Her quotes and allusions infuse this entry with much more import than reading it without acknowledging the intertextual meanings would imply.

⁶⁴ Eden, *Up the Country*, 5.

⁶⁵ Trollope, *He Knew He Was Right*, 53.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 244.

⁶⁷ Note that India was a British colony by the time *Up the Country* was published.

⁶⁸ Eden, *Up the Country*, 160.

⁶⁹ See Edward Said *Orientalism* p. 23 for a discussion about the repercussions of "textualization" as he dubs the process.

⁷⁰ This statement applies only to photography, not to painting or drawing. Additionally, it is far less true in the age of digital photography; I mean this in the context of film photography.

⁷¹ For an interesting studies on ghosts in photography, see Armstrong, "Emily's Ghost: The Cultural Politics of Victorian Fiction, Folklore, and Photography," and *Fiction in the Age of Photography: The Legacy of British Realism*.

⁷² Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, 14. Alloula does leave out some pertinent information about the postcards of which he writes: the masculine gaze that Alloula rightly finds so objectionable is not the only gaze to which the women on these postcards were subject. For one thing, as Rebecca DeRoo in "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales" and Jennifer Yee in "Recycling the 'Colonial Harem'? Women in Postcards from French Indochina." both point out, Alloula does not discuss or even acknowledge the fact that many of these explicit postcards were sent to or from women. DeRoo asserts that Alloula "over generalizes the metaphor of sexual conquest and overly delimits both the audience for the cards and their meanings: penetration and possession imply that the viewers and collectors were heterosexual males" (DeRoo, "Colonial Collecting: Women and Algerian Cartes Postales," 145). This point certainly brings to the table a few important factors in interpreting how these postcards functioned. First, as DeRoo points out, a sexual gaze does not necessarily mean that the gazer is a heterosexual male. Assuming a heterosexual gaze does much the same thing that employing the metaphor of penetration does: it implies that only men participated and that penetrating or gazing are the ways in which to understand imperialism. DeRoo argues that "collection practices also suggest that French women identified with the erotic sexuality that Algerian women represented" (Ibid., 154). DeRoo's point does not nullify Alloula's work; much like the work I try to do in my dissertation, DeRoo's argument creates the possibility to understand other ways in which these images were usurped and appropriated. Multiplicity in methods of understanding how imperialism or orientalism or colonialism works is crucial to breaking out of the traditional, male-centered construction of

influence that ignores the various ways in which power structures function. For further responses to Alloula's text, see Rice-Sayre, Yee, and DeRoo.

⁷³ Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, 5.

⁷⁴ Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*, 13.

⁷⁵ For instance, most postcards have designated areas for writing an address, placing a stamp, and writing a message. Picture postcards often feature some sort of personal or stock photo on the front which is generally understood to be somehow relevant to the message being sent. See Östman, "The Postcard as Media" for more on the discourse-functional characteristics of postcards.

⁷⁶ Rogan, "An Entangled Object: The Picture Postcard as Souvenir and Collectible, Exchange and Ritual Communication," 12. Rogan observes: "The two following inscriptions show that it must have been common for tourists to take on commissions for collectors. In both case the tone is formal and the polite *vous*-form is used; the receivers are not close acquaintances" (Ibid. 12).

⁷⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁸⁰ Östman, "The Postcard as Media," 431.

⁸¹ Ibid., 432.

⁸² Plotz, *Portable Property*, 129. Jacques Derrida sees postcards as reflecting the fragmentary and unknowable nature of communication. See Derrida, *The Post Card: From Socrates to Freud and Beyond*, 7, 9.

⁸³ For a discussion on the anxiety associated with the open nature of the postcard, see Staff, *The Picture Postcard and Its Origins*, 47.

⁸⁴ Eden, *Up the Country*, v.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, v-vi.

⁸⁶ See Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, 303-304.

5.0 CONCLUSION

By identifying a sub-genre of travel writing that highlights the rhetorical creation, function, and form of a particular type of chronicle, I have drawn attention to the inextricable links between the ways in which these narratives were written and published and their complicated roles in the lives of their authors. More than merely archival resources, these texts serve as tools with which their writers enacted identities and conducted relationships. As such, they provide opportunities for the authors to use predetermined formats in creative and personally meaningful ways. The immediate implications of this are quite clear: composing the narratives is a task that simultaneously provides an outlet of expression for the authors and changes the writer. Therefore, these texts are valuable not only for what they disclose about attitudes towards their authors' destinations, but also for the unexpected ways in which they force us to think about writing, perspective, and process. In addition, recognizing these functions should prompt us to reconsider traditional reviews of such texts as examples of inferior writing, irrelevant autobiographical musings, and evidence that their authors were oblivious to the contexts in which they write.

Of course, the hope of this project is that it has illuminated less obvious issues that warrant further study. In particular, I would like to suggest that these texts are valuable partially because, although they deal directly with British presence abroad in the nineteenth century, our

discussions of them don't have to be limited to if or how they participated in the discourse of imperialism. Diurnal travel narratives offer us varieties of topics, writing styles, and ways of thinking that subtly force us to act upon the texts in a personal manner. Our participation as we encounter the texts—forming attachments to the authors, becoming frustrated with the cumbersome writing and negative thoughts they present, and suspecting that, despite their attestations to the contrary, the authors have strategically edited their original manuscripts—interrupts the mode in which we are accustomed to reading potentially imperialist texts. Perhaps this is why theoretical understandings of them frequently seem incomplete or forced. The power of these texts lies in the visceral and personal responses they elicit from their readers and in the personal ways in which they act upon readers.

Literary critics often point out that the value of literature does not lie in its ability to tell readers what to think but in its knack for coaxing readers to experience reactions that they didn't think they could have to certain stimuli or circumstances. The intimate and accessible mode in which diurnal travel narratives are written and published elicits a feeling of familiarity and kinship with the authors. These texts don't allow the reader to assess them in a disinterested academic manner; they demand personal investment, which entails personal introspection. What is valuable about these works of literature is that, instead of allowing us to concentrate on assessing whether or not they are imperial texts or whether or not they are exceptional because they were written by women, they implicate us in having similar reactions to discomfort that they do.

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