Chapter 4:
Place and Identity: Travel Narratives in the Making of Britain

Most discussions about travel writing and its relationship with the construction of 'West' and 'East' have followed Edward Said and his concept of 'Orientalism'. Said, of course, looks at a gamut of literary forms over the ages beginning from the classical age onwards, to show how they function as technologies of colonialism even before any overt act of colonisation had formally been incepted. Later works, like that of Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*, while sharing Said's premise, assert that narratives of travel about 'other' places and their people are marked with Western privilege and superiority. Moreover, these narratives work as discursive forces contributing to the provisional construction and consolidation of that privilege. The study of travel writing has developed in a truly interdisciplinary manner in which specialists benefit from each others' methodologies and insights. Their arguments have revolutionized historical and literary scholarship and mutually complicated understandings of the relations of power and knowledge in the expansion of Europe. Much recent work, like that of Derek Gregory, Felix Driver, Miles Ogborn and John Urry use methods of cultural geography to counter textuality in order to show how "travel writing is intimately involved in the staging of particular places". While the same is the underlining objective in the present chapter, it is also curious to see how travels within Europe shaped, modified and circulated ideas of the European nation states (in this case, Great Britain).

*The genre and geography*

Travel literature has a long generic history. The literature which encompasses the world of travel is substantial and stretches far back in the historical records of many centuries and of many societies. It is to be noted that though there have been travels in spaces and by people other than the West, these are largely marginalised in scholarship on

travel writing: Eurocentrism seems to dominate this field unquestioned. It requires pointing out too, that even though I am a defaulter of the same offense, it is not with the intent of trivialising travel by people of these 'other' cultures. My objective is to see travel as an experiment in spatial construction, successfully implemented in the imperial homeland and metropolis, and simultaneously conducted on spaces outside, seen as extensions of the nation namely the empire. The period under discussion here is from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century wherein Britain witnessed a subtle change in the way travel narratives were constructed. One way of understanding this development is to see how 'travel' in this period separated itself fully and finally from the idea of 'travail' with which it is etymologically linked. This, according to many scholars, is essentially the evolution of what is generally viewed as 'romantic travel'. This was a time when travel ceased to be regarded as an uncomfortable and hazardous necessity, or a trial by ordeal or rite of passage, all of which are associated with the word 'travail'. These were the moral and educational arguments in favour of journeys made right from the early modern period in England to the eighteenth century: a long period over which England saw the burgeoning of the popular phenomenon of the Grand Tour in Europe. In fact, travel was an essential prerequisite for the all-round growth and development of the personality of an English gentleman. Francis Bacon, in his essay, 'Of Travel', elaborates the influence and benefits of travel in the life of an English Renaissance courtier: "Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education, in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country, before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel." Romantic travel literature, therefore gives vigorous new life to age old figurative meanings of the journey, focusing as much on the spiritual experience as on material exploration. In passionately seeking novelty and intensity in encounters with places, what is often evoked, is a strong emotional and aesthetic response to its landscape. Although the vocabulary of such response is rarely unique to the travel writer, a convincing display of the rhetoric of landscape appreciation is nonetheless a sure means for travellers to perform their romantic credentials. This brings us to the central idea of the present work, i.e. the representational facet of such writings about land, nature and geographical spaces, much in the same manner as landscape paintings represent and produce spaces.

194 For a brilliant archival study of central and south Asian travels and their records, see Alam and Subrahmaniyam 2008.
196 Bacon 1601. n.p.
197 Jarvis 2003. 1022.
In continuation to the underlying framework of the thesis as elaborated in the preceding chapters, it is important to examine the functionality of travel literature towards construction of a geography or space; or, simply put in other words, can travel literature be seen as a spatial practice? The entire study springs of course from the basic premise that space is socially constructed. According to Lefebvre, spatial practices range from individual routines to the systematic creation of zones and regions. Spatial practices materially concretise environment and landscape over time. There are representations of space which signify collective experience of space including symbolic differentiations and collective fantasies surrounding a space. As travel is a movement in space, therefore it follows that its literature, which itself is a cultural construct, employs intellectual, metaphorical and cultural skills in representing those spaces. If so, then as a vehicle of geographical and topographical knowledge and its articulation, did the nature of travel and writing about it encounter a sudden change in the period of colonial expansion, or was it merely an extension of practices underway in England for a long time? The answer is, of course, implicit and is embedded in its generic history as a cultural artifact. While on the one hand, the author's personal introspection and subjectivity makes way for application of collective fantasies, the cultivation of the form modeled on letters and journals at another level, has been the marker of authenticity. The danger of attenuating reality is high due to excessive subjectivity permitted by the genre. Therefore, though authenticity is at times suspect, yet, as with 'on the spot paintings', truth claims of the genre are quite high precisely because of its first person narrative format. However, the question to be answered is: does the description of a place recreate that space? According to Michel de Certeau, a description of a place "oscillates between the terms of an alternative: either seeing (the knowledge of an order of places) or going (spatializing actions)".198 'Seeing' involves cartographical rationality or the knowledge of the order of places, and is the privilege of the map: the projection onto a plane which exposes to full view, a totality of spatial relations. 'Going' belongs to the order of the itinerary or tour, which involves exploring space through movement and operative action.199 Travel writing fluctuates between both seeing and going where there coexists a desire to conceptually and visually control the space as well as capture the lived experience manifested principally through its social dimension depending on the existence and livelihood of its inhabitants. Travel writing provides a textual map to navigate the material experience of a particular place. Travel writing cannot be held apart from the material

198 Certeau 1984, 119.
consequences of the act of travel itself. It is one element in an economy of meanings
generated by travel and exploration. Ideologies of class, gender or race provide one with the
conceptual apparatus through which to interpret one's own experiences; or in other words,
such ideologies structure experiences by creating iconic objects associated with particular
places. It brings people and places into being through its own discursive mechanisms which
are very often permeated by unequal social and environmental relations. In order to
understand the process of construction of place through travel literature a brief recounting of
the genre's gradual evolution as it developed in the post Renaissance West is essential before
further deliberations on the constructions of British geographies.

Charting moral geographies: narratives through the ages

Recording travel, reading about the travel of others and supplying information for
travellers, has been an enduring practice through the ages. At one end of the spectrum of this
literature is the guide book, produced to assist potential tourists on their journey. During
medieval times, the religious pilgrimage within Europe and to the Holy Land spawned a
series of guidebooks. However, there were also accounts in the ancient world which
incorporated historical expositions on the place visited, the most well known of this kind in
the European world being Herodotus's History of the Persian Wars (15th. B.C.). The
sixteenth century growth in travel and trade within and beyond Europe resulted in a massive
surge in travel accounts. Reading about travel became a staple diet for the educated elite by
the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During the latter century, the pervasive
influence of these accounts in literary culture can be seen in its role in the development of
the novel where plot, structure, character and style all reveal links with travel literature
traceable in the works of Swift, Defoe, Fielding, Smollett, Johnson and Sterne. As in the
rest of Europe, travel literature of England before 1600, was primarily focussed on travel
outside the country. (In fact, there was no stable idea of the country at the time, and as seen
in the preceeding chapter dealing with landscape paintings, travelogues too, form part of the
discursive process giving a geographical shape to the nation. It is one of the strands to be
discussed in detail later in this chapter.) These early Western travelogues, memoirs and

200 MacDonald 2003. 404
201 For example, Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels (1726), Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (1719), Henry
Fielding's The History of Tom Jones, a Foundling (1749), Tobias Smollett's The Adventures of Roderick
Random (1748) and The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle (1751), Samuel Johnson's The History of
Rasselas, the Prince of Abyssinia (1759), Laurence Sterne's The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy,
Gentleman (1759-69) and A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy (1768).
journals collectively participate in the active making of a global geography. They were the sinews of the British form of colonization in its early years.

Elements of travel were earlier, generally found in epics and allegories but gradually became the dominating image with the Crusades and pilgrimages. Travel narratives began in England before the advent of writing, with the retelling of the great Germanic epics by bards connected to the courts of regional kings. However, in such epics and romances, the landscapes through which characters travel are invariably imaginary and fictive. The medieval movements of crusade and pilgrimage generated the largest number of non-fictional narratives, including both writings about England and as well as about the Middle East. Travel as pictured in such pilgrimage narratives, is both purposeful and allegorical: travellers describe the landscape in terms of its allegorical significance to their lives as Christians as well as offer guides and information of itineraries. Medieval pilgrimage ultimately developed into an industry comparable to modern tourism, with many hospitality services along the popular pilgrimage routes and at major destinations. Rome and Jerusalem were the most written about sites, even though many pilgrimage spots and shrines grew up in and around England. Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* uses the device of the journey to tie together disparate tales and characterise the tellers who came from various walks of medieval English life. In such writings, spaces are charted as metaphorical moral-scapes.

*Where the sites of Christian significance are often idealized, non-Christian spaces are often demonized. Later western travels often deploy similar topoi with respect to travels outside Christendom, prominent in the representations of the New World and the European colonies.*

David Harvey notes while tracing the transition of the European world from disjointed pagan worldviews to a unified Christian ethos:

> Since space beyond the bounds of Christendom 'lost its positive qualities', the extension of Christian space became part of an often virulent struggle to wrest space from the forces of evil.

*The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (1357?) is by far the most important and well known travel narratives of late medieval times. The book was purportedly written by a fourteenth century knight who first made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and then continued Eastward. It melds the structure and information of the pilgrimage narrative with the geographical accounts of the medieval 'encyclopedias' which were compendia of exotic

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202 The greatest extant Germanic epic, *Beowulf*, with its account of the hero's journey to the hall of Hrothgar, can be sited an example of the metaphorical and allegorical use of the motif of travel in epics.

203 Speake 2003. 394.

204 Harvey 1996. 214.
wonders of the Eastern world complete with elaborate description of its flora, fauna, climatic and human life. Though, now largely believed to be inauthentic and fantastic, the work was deemed to be non-fictional at the time and till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, explorers including Christopher Columbus used the Travels as a source of reference for their voyages.

Where pilgrimage is the dominant kind of travel to be associated with the medieval times, exploration characterises travel writing during the Renaissance. Beginning in 1498, with Henry VII’s support for the exploratory voyage by John Cabot to New Foundland, England took an interest in world exploration. Trade was one of the biggest factors inspiring voyages of this kind. By the 1550s, private trading companies were sponsoring voyages to Russia and the Middle East, and by the 1570s and 1580s to America. Mercantile companies like the Muscovy, Levant and the Virginia produced a wealth of travel literature of voyages initiated by them. Though they read like prosaic details of travels and guide or rules for travellers, they can be seen as the precursors of narratives of scientific travel of the later centuries. Serving as guides for future travellers, these are, of course, linked to colonial expansion and imperialism. Undoubtedly, Richard Hakluyt’s Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation (1589) is the most important English collection of travel narratives in the sixteenth century. Functioning as geographical compendia, the collection contains not only travellers’ narratives, but also maps and other related documents. As is identifiable from the title itself, the purpose of this collection was to celebrate the success of English exploratory and trading enterprises and to stimulate further endeavours in colonisation. Sir Walter Raleigh’s The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana (1596) is another celebratory narrative which highlights the spirit of optimism and opportunity of the Renaissance. It describes at the same time political manoeuvring and the positive and negative attitudes in an English gentleman explorer. The age of Elizabeth was the time of boom in trade and trade engendered the burgeoning of exploratory enterprises. It is to be noted, moreover, that the East India Company was established in 1599 by Levant Company merchants as a response to the threat from successful Dutch voyages via the Cape of Good Hope in order to trade directly for spices that otherwise came overland to Aleppo and Constantinople. On being set up as a monopoly, a range of practices emerged as security measures in order to protect a ship from

205 Ogborn 2002, 158.
human and non-human dangers. Navigation was central to the mission and writing was central to navigation:

The course a ship took and where it anchored was a matter of 'reading' economic possibilities, natural aids and hindrances, and political forces. In finding suitable anchorages, keeping a ship out of range of the guns of a castle or fort was as much a consideration as the potential trade available or the depth of water and solidity of the sea bed. Company navigation was a promiscuous mixture of forms of knowledge and practice. It included astronomical and solar observation. It involved consulting written accounts and maps, either from Dutch and Portuguese sources or produced by previous East India Company pilots, captains and generals.206

It is in an age like this that works like Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (1598-1600) gained preeminence. In fact, people like him were paid to provide maps and accounts of particular places in the East where trade relations were to be established.207

The Grand Tour: fashioning self and the nation

The Early Modern period was not only the age of the explorer. It also saw the Humanist leaning towards Old and New learning and the resulting educational forms. As Barbara Korte points out, this was the era also, when travel became part and parcel of formal education and learning, which was uncommon earlier.208 The phenomenon called the Grand Tour emerged as a particular type of journey which would gravitate towards the traveller's personal development and initiation into the world. It soon became a popular and almost compulsory social institution which took the English elite to certain stipulated destinations which would invoke in the observer awe and admiration towards classical culture and aesthetics as part of the classical revivalist movement of the times. Travellers were generally taken to France and Italy and also to Germany and Switzerland. Italy usually claimed top priority among other places, as the cradle of European culture and civilization.

Initially, the tour had been a part of a courtier's professional training, preparing him for a political and diplomatic office. Gradually, it became an essential part in the completion of a young man's education and the process of his socialization. The journey itself served as training in political economy, modern history and modern languages through first hand experience, which would make the young man suitable for a career in the court. Henry VII

206 Ibid. 162.
207 Ibid. 162.
208 Korte 2000. 41
thus financed the tour of many young courtiers before succeeding monarchs continued this practice. The stay at these various continental places could last till a number of years in which the traveller was supposed to acquaint himself with foreign customs, laws, language, culture, habits and tastes, but not imbibe them. Likewise, Francis Bacon explicitly warns the traveller at the end of his essay 'Of Travel':

Let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.  

These would enable a person to establish diplomatic contacts in his ensuing career as a courtier. The tour served to build an encyclopedic collection of all kinds of knowledge thought to be beneficial for England in its relationship with other nations. This included observations on climate, trade, agriculture, fortification, drainage system and many other details of everyday-life. The impact of these tours was great on England largely shaping its social and public spaces. In his Instructions for Forreine Travell (1642), James Howell underlines the traveller's obligation to his nation while on such tour, commissioned or otherwise and reminds them of the service such travellers had given their nation in the yesteryears:

The most materiall use therefore of Forreine Travell is to find out something that may bee applicable to the publique utility of one's own countrey, as a Noble Personage of late yeares did, observing the uniforme and regular way of stone structure up and down Italy, hath introduced that forme of Building to London and Westminster, and elsewhere ...

Another seeing their Dikes, and draynings in the Netherlands, had been a cause that much hath beene added, to lengthen the skirts of this Island.

Another in imitation of their aqueducts and fluces, and conveyance of waters abroad, brought Ware-water through London streets ...

Therefore, right from its inception, this kind of travel was a mode of self-fashioning not for the traveller alone, but also for the entire community. Because of the service done to the nation, such travellers were also known as patriotic travellers. We have already seen in the preceding chapters, how the visit to the continental locations and an exposure to their art and architecture influenced the aesthetic sense of the landholding class who then engineered land belonging to themselves as visual emulations of certain foreign sites or paintings.

209 Bacon 1601. n.p.
210 Quoted in Korte 2000. 43
Travelling throughout Italy in 1613 with the artist Inigo Jones, (the famous architect whose theatre designs have already been talked about to some extent in the preceding chapter) the second Earl of Arundel initiated the large scale acquisition of Italian antiquities for British collections: Arundel’s treasures gave English viewers their first exposure to artworks made in classical times and during the Italian Renaissance. Jones came home to design the first palladian or neoclassical buildings in England.211

The Tour was not considered to be of national import only during the Humanist era but continued to be so till the nineteenth century when the universalist, pan-European spirit of the Enlightenment fostered travel as a means of moral and intellectual improvement. Several political factors too granted impetus to the Grand Tour in shaping it as a popular institution. One of these was the Peace of Utrecht (1713-14) which concluded the War of the Spanish Succession. In fact, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Grand Tour was more popular than ever before. However, even at this time, the tour was restricted only to the aristocracy and was strictly a male preserve. It was only in the nineteenth century, after the Napoleonic Wars and following the opening up of the erstwhile blockade of the Continental system, that the floodgates were opened for all classes and genders. From travel, it soon materialized into mass tourism.

However, needless to say that such journeys were accompanied by writing of different sorts. Bacon’s essay recommended the guidance of an experienced tutor and the keeping of a detailed diary. The need for an older and experienced tutor emerged out of the notion that there were chances of the young man to be led entirely astray once he found himself outside the domestic paternal surveillance. Such a view of the Grand Tour had already emerged in the late sixteenth century and can be seen in Thomas Nashe’s short work of prose fiction The Unfortunate Traveller (1594). Many journals kept by travellers focused on the lures of prostitutes and other such immoral temptations prevalent in those societies. Where travellers were not accompanied by tutors, there was extensive apodemic literature available as substitute since the 1670s, in order to safeguard the youngster from such dangers. These outlined a ‘profitable’ and methodical way of travelling and of recording the travel experience. Among the most influential works regarding the Grand Tour was James Howell’s Instructions for Forreine Travell (1642). Some of the works like Leopold Graf Berchtold’s An Essay to Direct and Extend the Inquiries of Patriotic Travellers (1789), were extremely detailed and mechanical which was designed as a plethora of questions

211 Buzard 2002, 41.
concerning all conceivable aspects of the country traversed. These and the huge number of
cademic literature churned up during seventeenth century regarding the proper way of
recording also meant that the narrative style was highly impersonal and objective. However,
even though the writing subject never appeared in the forefront, they inversely defined what
was British and what was outside 'British' culture. Simultaneously was outlined, what was to
be considered home and what, outside.

In fact, Britain as a unified territory and Britishness as a characteristic identity were
concepts which first emerged as stable ideas only by the mid seventeenth century. In the
earlier half of the century a clear identity of the British polity had not been forged despite
attempts by James I based on several visual symbolism. Travel had a very important role
to play in the construction of the British nation as a geographical entity. According to Doris
Feldmann:

It is a critical commonplace that travel writing is grounded on the (both fictional and non
fictional) analysis of one group by another, an analysis which tends to produce a
collective notion identifying 'self' against 'otherness'. Most critical assessments of this
cultural phenomenon focus on foreign travel and the literature that records it. The
discursive strategies of travel accounts, which encourage the notion of a cultural
hierarchy while permitting – indeed reinforcing – the illusion of national unity, are,
however, also at work within domestic travel accounts.

**Chorographies of home**

According to most scholars, home tours did not come into prominent vogue in
England till the eighteenth century, or rather few scholars have looked at texts written prior
to that time to examine their imaginative potential in configuring the national territory. As
has been pointed out, “Elizabethan geography encompassed both an expanding globe and an
enclosing nation”. Texts like Thomas Blundeville's *Exercises* (1595) and Robert
Devereux's sonnet draws up the striking image of an Atlantic Britain, celebrated in its
insular separation exposing a desire to identify its special geographical location with its
unique status:

Seated between the Old world and the New,
A land there is no other land may touch.

212 See Chapter 2 for a discussion on the Jacobean masques and Inigo Jones' theatre scenery during the time
of James I tried to forge a vision of Britain as a singular geographical unit in symbolic terms embodied
by the monarch.
215 Devereux 1853. 502.

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The British Isles were being travelled with a specific historical and geographical interest as early as the sixteenth century as a Tudor phenomenon. Better roads and improved cartography made travel easier and safer. However, the driving force behind this kind of travel was a pride in one's native country, that is, Tudor England, and a curiosity both in the historic roots of that greatness and its contemporary manifestations. In a period of an emerging national consciousness and pride, the English developed an interest for their own country as well as for lands abroad and the former became an object of meticulous study. As in the Grand Tour journals, domestic travel in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are recorded with precision and exactitude in an encyclopedic manner. Typical to this period was a generic by product generally termed 'chorography' or 'earth writing' which provided topographically organized accounts of individual regions. One of the noteworthy texts in this corpus is John Leland's (1502-1552) notes made on his journey through England between 1535 and 1543. He was the royal librarian under Henry VIII. He was gathering material for his extensive work 'History and Antiquities of this Nation', a multivolume chronological description of Britain, which eventually never materialised. In a promotional tract presented to the king, which was later edited by John Bale, he described himself as "totallye enflamed wyth a love, to see throughlye all those parts of thyse your opulent and ample realme". The extent of his travel seemed to be exhaustive:

there is almost neyther cape nor baye, haven, creke or pere, ryver or confluence of ryvers, beeches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, more, hethes, forests, woodes, cyties, burges, castels, pryncypall manor places, monasteryes, and colleges, but I have seane them, and noted in so doynge a whole worlde of thynges verye memorable.

Leland's project clearly centred on the land itself as a source for a description capable of capturing the essence of Britain. He was incapable, however, of collating all the data that he had accumulated and is said to have turned insane over his vast material. His notes were circulated in manuscript form and published as *Leland's Itinerary* between 1710 and 1712. Despite his failure, Leland inspired subsequent chorographical writing. Concerned with space rather than time, with place rather than person, late Tudor and early Stuart chorography and travel writing took after the antiquarianism of Leland. He was acknowledged as the central source in two major national projects of the time: William Harrison's *Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne* (1577) and William Camden's

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216 Korte 2000. 68.
218 Leland, John. 1549. Quoted in Ibid. 22.
Britannia (1586). Harrison, an armchair geographer, through his “poetical voyage” offers a broadly imagined geographical, social, and institutional account of the country. It largely follows a medieval model of prefacing historical narratives with topographical introduction. It starts with the spatial setting but instead of being a topographical account of Britain it addresses several social, economic and political issues. The Description looks at topics as diverse as England's architecture, its inns, markets and fairs, forests and parks, law courts and palaces thus offering a multi faceted spatial reality. Alongside, it makes elaborate observation about the resident population's dietary habits and local customs and also bitterly criticises vagaries in fashion and lifestyle. There is also a resounding tone of covert criticism disguised under a dominant patriotic stance. The travelling metaphor is able to recreate a dynamic space with a neural network of roads and rivers which is able to replicate the idea of movement through variegated space. According to Bernard Klein, the text provides scope for alternative narratives to the dominant royal perspective that the massive chronicle tries to endorse.

The peregrination of the scholar William Camden actually yielded one of the most important early surveys of Britain. His Britannia (1586) first appeared in Latin and later translated by Philemon Holland, is one of the greatest achievement in English chorographic tradition. According to Bernard Klein, Britannia is quite a conceptual alternative to Harrison's Historial Descriptions, for Camden's conception of national space corresponds to the synthesis of a unified cartographic order. In this work Camden collated a county by county historical and topographical information incorporating every detail about “the Flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands adjacent”. It is for the first time that the three regions come under a common integrated identificatory system.

By the 1580s, Christopher Saxton (c. 1543 – c. 1610) had already completed the monumental project of mapping England and Wales. Saxton's atlas embarked on the county as the basic unit of survey. In the same manner, Britannia seizes on the county as the central unit of chorographical description, devoting full chapters to each. In fact, Saxton's maps were included in the Britannia from the 1607 edition onwards. Camden acknowledged the visual supplement provided by the maps which successfully subjected visual space to Camden's political perspective portrayed through his textual descriptions. In the preface to this later edition, he accepted that his work was weak for want of visual substitutes and therefore had suffered criticism:

219 Ibid. 24.
Maps were not adjoined, which doe allure the eies by pleasant portraiture, [they] are the best direction in Geographical studies, especially when the light of learning is adjoined to the speechlesse delineations.\textsuperscript{220}

According to Camden therefore, maps were a necessity only because they satisfied an aesthetic side, their “pleasant portraiture” served the purpose of embellishment. It is the written word which provided reason and explanation and shed the “light of learning” to the otherwise meaningless and puerile “speechlesse delineation”. To quote Bernard Klein:

\begin{quote}
If the nation is defined in and through space, then its cartographic representation needed to concur with the precepts of the dominant political narratives surrounding its induction.\textsuperscript{221}
\end{quote}

John Speed too realized this necessity and accordingly followed up his atlas with five volumes of English history in his \textit{The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain} (1611). Moreover, recognizing the importance of the written word there was crammed a great deal of antiquarian information in the margins of the maps of the counties, each of which plates were invariably followed by a two page annotative and descriptive text. According to Klein, with the antiquarian information that Speed spreads over the surface of his maps in the form of portraits, heraldic symbols, battle scenes, historical medallions, ancient coins or Roman inscriptions, “an autonomous land becomes the protagonist of a story of historical continuity”.\textsuperscript{222} According to Helgerson, the proliferation of spatial representation of this period is far from ideologically neutral. He argues that the chorographical and cartographical works produced during this time allowed the English, for the first time, to take “effective visual and conceptual possession of the physical kingdom in which they lived”.\textsuperscript{223}

Fynes Moryson (1566-1630), an English traveller and writer, spent most of the decade of the 1590s travelling on the European continent and the eastern Mediterranean lands. He was also a keen traveller of his native England and of Scotland. In 1617, he published the first three volumes of \textit{An Itinerary: Containing His Ten Years Travel Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland}. The \textit{Itinerary} was originally intended to consist of five volumes, out of which only three were published. The unpublished fourth

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{220}] Ibid. 25.
\item[\textsuperscript{221}] Ibid. 25.
\item[\textsuperscript{222}] Ibid. 26.
\item[\textsuperscript{223}] Helgerson 1986.
\end{footnotes}
volume happened to be preserved in the Corpus Christi College, Oxford and was published much later in the twentieth century. Volumes III and IV have short chapters on customs and institutions in England. Volume II, on the other hand, is devoted to affairs in Ireland from 1599 to 1603.224

Occasionally, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there also appeared short, entertaining pieces of travel writing which were directed at a wide audience and published in the inexpensive pamphlet form. Among the popular pamphleteers was John Taylor (1578-1653), who was generally known by his pseudonym 'the Water Poet', which arose from his main occupation as a London waterman, a member of the guild of boatmen who ferried passengers across the River Thames. He was a prolific, if rough hewn wit who had more than one hundred and fifty publications in his life time. He was a multi talented person and wrote both in the verse and prose form about multifarious issues. Among these, there were accounts of his travels which he made to places in the continent like Prague and Hamburg. However, what is of interest here is his travel through England, Scotland and Wales. Many of Taylor's works were published by subscription. He would propose a book, ask for contributors and write it when he had enough subscribers to fund the printing and publishing cost. Records show that he had more than sixteen hundred subscribers for his *The Pennylesse Pilgrimage; or, the Moneylesse Perambulation of John Taylor, alias the Kings Majesties Water-Poet; How He Travailed on Foot from London to Edenborough in Scotland, Not Carrying any Money To or Fro, Neither Begging, Borrowing, or Asking Meate, Drinke, or Lodging* published in 1618.225 Taylor wove spectacular difficulties into some of his journeys, which he advertised in his prospectus in order to attract sponsors for his enterprise. Taylor proposed that he would be able to overcome his self-set obstacles, and the event of the difficulty being mastered, the sponsors agreed to fund Taylor for the trouble of the journey by buying his account of it. The work is more of a socio-cultural documentation in verse than a geographical or topographical delineation of the region, as he makes clear in his dedication right at the onset:

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\begin{align*}
... & \text{and now Reader, if you expect} \\
& \text{That I should write of cities' situations,} \\
& \text{Or that of countries i should make relations:} \\
& \text{Of brooks, crooks and nooks; of rivers, bournes and rills} \\
& \text{Of mountains, fountains, castles and hills} \\
& \text{Of shires, piers and memorable things,}
\end{align*}
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225 Taylor 1618.
... Lay down my book, and but vouchsafe to read,
The learned Camden, or laborious Speed."

[p. iv]

His travel within the British Isles was as much of a cultural encounter as was any overseas voyage. He explicitly suggests in his writing that travel within the British Isles is at times every bit as strange as a visit to foreign lands:

"But you shall hear of travels, and relations,
Descriptions of strange (yet English) fashions."

[p. 1]

The same feeling was reciprocated towards him by the inmates of these distant places:

As if some monster sent from the Mogul,
Some elephant from Africa, I had been,
Or some strange beast from the Amazonian Queen.

[p. 8]

Taylor had planned and marketed his work in accordance with a pattern tried and tested by an earlier traveller: in 1599, the actor William Kemp said to have morris-danced from London to Norwich had published a day to day account of his journey in a pamphlet titled *Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder* (1600). Taylor follows the same vein of humour in his entertaining account which was loved by the readers and was able to capitalise on popular interest. Even though the *Pennylesse Pilgrimage* does not fall within the bracket of learned chorographic writing prevalent at the time, it served a particular patriotic intent of a different order. It is a discovery of Britain for Taylor - a discovery of his native land which was as yet culturally divided within. It reflects an idea that there was need for better means of communication in order to unify the territory. Thus his journey by river in a wherry from London to Salisbury, 'A Discovery by Sea, From London to Salisbury', was intended to show that, for the national interest, measures had to be taken to make the English rivers navigable. Being a waterman by profession, this sort of keen understanding was only expected of Taylor. Taylor's account of his journey to Scotland informed his audience about a region which was still largely unfamiliar to the English, even if the two dominions had been merged under a common monarchy since 1603. Therefore, Scotland, which was seldom toured during this time, was described in all its resplendent grandeur with its castles and teeming social life and economy. Laid bare are a contested terrain and rifts between ethnic groups hidden beneath an apparent shroud of unity created by a political abstraction. Scotland was still a place where one would not go for leisure. Writers, who wrote about
their visits to the Scottish highlands at around this time, had made their trips as traders or soldiers, and had all mentioned it as a terrain fraught with difficulties. Scotland was still a place waiting to be discovered, waiting to be emplotted into the British cartographic schema. The picture was to alter markedly in the eighteenth century, when Scotland attracted numerous tourists after the pacification of Culloden, the advent of the cult of the Ossian and the travels of Samuel Johnson and Boswell would popularise it as a picturesque and safe place to travel.226

**Nation and narration: imagining the country and its countryside**

Let us not forget, that the early seventeenth century was the age when the great scheme of nation making unfolded under the aegis of James I. The trajectory would of course reach its culmination with the formal unification of the Scottish territory with England in 1707. The process involved the active participation of texts with both written and pictorial content through which the construction of a unique geographical identity of Great Britain could be forged. The place thus imagined, which existed at a level of abstraction could now be concretized and granted material palpability. The works of Leland, Harrison, Camden and Taylor participate in this project of nation making. Knowingly or unknowingly, they are appropriated into the national trajectory of territorialising the body politic with cartographers like Saxton, Speed and Nowell imposing geometrical rationale on the visionary fabrication. According to Klein, till the seventeenth century, the geography of Britain served more as a discursive than a physical terrain:

If the emergent nation appears as an unstable signifier in contemporary maps and texts, if neither its outward form and inward structure find their definite shape, these uncertainties only serve to demonstrate that there was more than one Britain, more than one conception of national space, to be imagined or discovered in the productive arena of early modern geographic discourse.227

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226 Battle of Culloden (16 April, 1746) was the last battle fought on British soil between French supported Jacobites comprising of Scottish Highlanders seeking to restore the House of Stuart to the British throne, and the Hanoverian British Government. Charles Edward Stuart, the pretender to the throne was eventually defeated and fled to Rome.

The cult of the Ossian was initiated by James MacPherson who claimed to have found and translated Scottish poems by Ossian which he believed were last residues of an extinct Gaelic culture of Scotland. This caused a literary revival of Scottish bardic verse.

Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) and the diaries of James Boswell's (who himself was born in Scotland) tour of Scotland with Samuel Johnson in 1763 plausibly helped to uproot English biases against the Scots.

227 Ibid. 26.
Moreover, the selection of the county as the basic unit of spatial conglomeration, validates the above argument. Such a device only deflected any singular history of a nation and served as a basic premise for writing narratives of individual ownership of spaces and constructed an order of private property. This sort of spatial representation opened up a way to look upon space as open to appropriation for private use. According to Richard Helgerson, the focus on the county as the basic unit of Renaissance mapping and chorographic accounts, strengthened the sense of individual and local powers within a framework of national loyalties, while uprooting earlier identities based on dynastic loyalty. Gradually, these very units developed into sites for aesthetic meditation and contemplation, implicated in a national debate of how best to imagine these privately owned countryside as 'The Country' i.e. Britain. In the years to come, the debate reached its culmination in the very identification of Britain with its land, and Britishness with its landscape. According to Stephen Kohl, imagining the countryside as 'The Country' was a class defined spatio-temporal exercise which assumed a timeless version of Britain's past while sketching a polemical map onto a yet evolving geographical territory.

The self-discovery, which had been in progress in the sixteenth century further gained momentum in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century. Following the end of the Civil War, the Restoration and the Revolution of 1688, England was again at the doors of a glorious age. This was a period of reawakening of national feeling. It was a period of great boom in multifarious geographical activities and surveys. Antiquarians constructed the English past, statisticians and demographers estimated population, while topographers and road surveyors consolidated the geographical details. Camden's Britannia saw a resurfacing during this time when publication of route and tour guides was extremely profitable and writing travelogues was considered highly fashionable. At this time, the scope of domestic tourism and its literature increased manifold. It is not to say that tours to Europe stopped altogether. On the contrary, both coexisted harmoniously and each was able to demarcate concepts of 'interior' and 'exterior'. Thus in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, British patriotism was expressed not only through reviewing and celebrating Britain's natural wealth and prosperity but also by subjecting cultures external to Britain to fierce criticism. For example, in her accounts, Celia Fiennes (1662-1741) clearly considers

228 Harvey 1989. 228.
229 Helgerson 1986. 51-85.
231 Feldmann 1997. 31-45.
the primacy of home tours over foreign ones as well as its utility towards developing a true perception of what was home and what was foreign:

It (home tour) would also form such an idea of England, add much to its Glory and Esteem in our minds and cure the evil itch of over valuing foreign parts; at least furnish them with an equivalent to entertain strangers when amongst us, or inform them when abroad of their native Country, which has been often a reproach to the English, ignorance and being strangers to themselves ... But much more requisite is it for Gentlemen in general service of their country at home or abroad, town or country, especially those that serve in parliament, to know and inform themselves the nature of Land, the Genius of the inhabitants, so as to promote and improve Manufacture and Trade suitable to each and encourage all projects tending thereto.232

Travel writing, in this respect, became an important site for construction of the idea of Britishness and for fashioning the nation 'as an imagined homogeneous community'. 233 According to Barbara Korte, there was a steady shift in the perspective in travel narratives at this time. Domestic travellers of this period did not merely emphasize on topography, history and antiquities, which were the favourite subjects dealt with in the earlier century, but also made commentary on contemporary socio-economic aspects. Accounts of domestic travel, even when private or semi-private, focussed on intellectual, political, historical, technical, scientific and aesthetic developments in Britain. 234 These were clear signs of the approaching Enlightenment order whereby England was gradually waking up to its famous maxim of science, rationality and progress. By the eighteenth century, the significant expansion of territory brought about by the Act of Union with Scotland meant that home tour did not merely restrict itself to travelling within England or Britain, but what increasingly came to be known as Great Britain. The 'heterogeneous patchwork' of ethnicities like Scottishness, Welshness and Englishness which existed at the beginning of the eighteenth century gradually gave way to an overarching unifying structure of the nation called the United Kingdom or Great Britain. The differences which existed during the time of Taylor's journey were gradually ironed out with the progress of communication, connectivity and internal trade. Daniel Defoe's (1659-1731) *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-6) demonstrates these transitions and the unifying cultural forces at work in what is generally seen as his economic travelogue. Modelled on the structure of popular guide books of the times, it contains a detailed survey of the roads in England in

233 Ibid. 31.
234 Korte 2000. 70.
the light of the new Turn Pike Acts. It is meant to operate at a level similar to a virtual tour, a 'facsimile representation', where the arm-chair traveller is able to traverse the entire nation and participate in public discourse based on his fictive travel:

We give the reader [...] a view of our country, such as may [...] qualify him to discourse of it, though he stayed at home.

Even though the *Tour* tries to keep up the semblance of an authentic first person travel narrative, for the most part, Defoe derives his knowledge from other written documents. As the journey moves further and further away from London, the less authentic it becomes, and has to rely heavily on secondary guide books for the information it tries to disseminate: the reason being the dominance of London from the Restoration onward as the center of Englishness. This created a distinctive type of domestic travel literature which involved the touring of Britain's length and breadth but was consciously or unconsciously underscored by an imaginative compass point, of a clear demarcation of circumference and the centre. This centrist bias is very obvious in Defoe's work for whom London remains his benchmark of worth. In fact, one way of understanding the Romantic movement of the late eighteenth century, is to see it as a reaction against this metropolitan sophistication, to escape the dominance of urban space in the cultural imagination of the nation.

**Nature travel and aesthetic travellers: aesthetic construction of Britain**

Hence, after a brief spell of anti-pastoral invectives on British urbanities in literature, there was a drastic return back to nature in the eighteenth century. With Romanticism in the offing, nature travel or scenic tourism became an important part of travel itself. As discussed earlier in the chapter, it is in the writing about scenic tourism that travel and mainly domestic travel, tend to become more and more subjective. Following the literary and artistic tradition of the times, the home tour became entrenched in the aesthetic paradigms of the age and descriptions of landscape became an essential part of such literature. The works of Edmund Spenser and Philip Sidney had earlier provided a model for conceptualizing the English nation as an arcadian Edenic space. In the eighteenth century, such travels continuing the long established tradition of the English pastoral, brought to the fore for the

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235 From the first one in 1663 and with an expansion in the 1750-70, there were thousands of trusts and companies established by acts of Parliament with rights to collect tolls in return for providing and maintaining roads. A General Turnpikes Act 1773 was passed to speed up the process of expediting these arrangements.


first time the so long ignored spaces and helped to consolidate them within the meta
structure of the nation. The same is exemplified in Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the
Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). This was the time when the Celtic fringe of the British
Isles was brought to attention of the wider public through a plethora of travelogues.
Johnson's *Journey*, the most popular among these, participated in this movement. In fact, an
antiquarian spirit is dominant in his writing and the records of other travellers which tried to
capture the final phase of the fast vanishing antique charm of the Scottish highlands.
Scotland was thought to be rapidly modernizing, therefore urging the travellers to catch a
last glimpse of the swiftly transforming society before it ultimately disappeared altogether.
Ironically, similar anxiety is to be noticed in the perceptions of 'pre-modern' societies
outside Europe and in its colonies, which Bernard Cohn articulates as the 'museological
modality' of travel.²³⁸ Interestingly enough, there was a conspicuous 'othering' perceivable
even while carving out the home territory. According to Thomas Curley:

Johnson's tour was very much a part of the exciting geographical exploration taking
place in 1773. Johnson was surveying Scotland when Cook crossed the Antarctic Circle
for the first time, Constantine Phipps sailed for the North Pole, and James Bruce
returned from Abyssinia [...] the Highlanders are treated as if they were Eskimos,
Siberian nomads, American Indians, and Pacific Savages.²³⁹

Johnson's detailed ethnographic descriptions about the Highlanders are identical to accounts
of the exotic places and people overseas. His travelogue hovers on the margins of
anthropological treatises on the 'savage' Pacific Islands of the kind Cook wrote. Murray G.
H. Pittock talks of the eighteenth century as a time when British identity emerged albeit
fraught with uncertainties: there occurred a conscious or unconscious alienization and
othering based on regional differences ending up in the dominance of London, the English
Southeast and the East Midlands, with all other locations shoved to the periphery.²⁴⁰ On the
other hand, John Brewer is of the opinion that the travels to remote areas with the rise of
regionalism, was not to affect a cultural separatism of the kind that Pittock mentions, but
was part and parcel of the act of imagining the nation in its variety.²⁴¹

*Travel thus became a performed art in itself and joined hands with other aesthetic
practices of the age like landscape painting, landscape gardening, nature poetry etc.*

²³⁸ Cohn 1997, 9.
²⁴⁰ See Pittock 1997.
²⁴¹ See Brewer 1997.
Landslces were considered of particular aesthetic value: if a view appeared to be fitting into the frame of a landscape painting, the spot became much prized and sought after. There grew up literary landscapes made famous through poems and travel journals that served to develop place-myths around specific locations. The Lake District is one such literary landscape popularized in literature through the writings of Ann Radcliffe, Thomas Gray, William Wordsworth and the other Lake Poets. The literary transition is noticeable in the perception of the Lakes which, for example, invoked "infinite delight in the grandeur of its landscapes" in Ann Radcliffe, whereas, a century earlier, Celia Fiennes did not find anything here striking enough to comment on, if not for the numerous species of fish to be found in the Lake Windermere, or a purely geographical inquisitiveness about the lake's having a natural outlet. In the Short Survey of England of England in the 1630s, the place was described as "nothing but hideous, hanging Hills". Also, Daniel Defoe described the district as "the wildest, most barren and frightful of any that I have passed over". Urry notes, that it was in some sense natural in the early eighteenth century that the hills and mountains represented 'unhospitable terror': following which, the area had to be first discovered and then interpreted as appropriately aesthetic and finally managed into a scenery suitable for millions of visitors. The painter, William Gilpin's theory of the 'picturesque' promoted nature travel and inspired a keen perception of landscape. Gilpin's essays, especially 'On Picturesque Beauty', 'On Picturesque Travel', and 'On Sketching Landscape' clearly defines what constitutes the 'picturesque'. His works do not merely record his own particular journeys, but are intended to give the readers advice for their own practice of the art of travel. His writings inspired many to carry sketching aids like the Claude glass. The poet, Thomas Gray seems to have carried a Claude glass with him wherever he went. The theory of the picturesque drew attention to the ruins of castles and abbeyes, the remains of English Reformation, vegetation such as the English oak and typical English atmospheric conditions such as the mist and fog, giving birth to a distinctive physiognomy of the English countryside landscape. As a result, a discursive structure was established which fixed precepts of aesthetic judgment on nature and tried to define its experience and interpretation elsewhere as well. Significantly enough, nature travel of this sort saw the birth of many iconic places in Britain like the Lake District, which as Urry notes:

242 See Radcliffe 1795. 449; Fiennes 1947. 166-7.
244 Ibid. 193.
245 See Chapter 2.
246 See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on techniques and devices widely used in the eighteenth century.
not part of England until it was both visited in significant numbers and some of those
visitors began to write first in a somewhat mannered picturesque style and then in what
is known as English Romanticism.247

In all these cases, the little place-myths fed into the larger myth of the homogeneous
coherent nation. Moreover, Gilpin had proclaimed in his foundational writing, The Three
Essays on Picturesque Beauty (1794), that "the province of the picturesque eye is to survey
nature: not to anatomize matter. It throws its glances around in the broad cast stile. It
comprehends an extensive tract at each sweep. It examines parts, but never descends to
particles".248 The same understanding of the 'broad cast stile' was effective in erasures of
dissidence and therefore of projection of a homogeneous terrain. Significantly, Nigel Leask
comments:

With a preference for the glowering mountainscapes of the Celtic fringes, the
metropolitan picturesque also played its part in composing the irregular variety of Scots,
Welsh, Irish, and English identities into the concordia discors of the imperial British
state. Envisioned in this way as the visual setting for 'imagined community', it struck a
compromise between the smiling beauty of English tillage and pastorage and the
sublime 'terror' of Scottish or Welsh mountain landscapes.249

The travelogues of the early nineteenth century by describing the land and landscape in
particular, try to define the country in general. The multifarious aesthetic and literary models
of the picturesque, the sublime and romanticism try to imagine the nation in their respective
ways. In so doing, there is an unavoidable overlap of the two ideas: the rural terrain and the
nation.

A homogenising gaze: Britain sees itself

However, as an obvious resultant of the increased travel activities, came the further
development and consolidation of the conception of identity, place and nation. During the
Tudor and Stuart periods the centers of culture lay within the preserve of aristocracy. This
meant that travel for cultural enjoyment lay outside the bounds of a large cross section of the
society. In the eighteenth century, travel as a cultural activity was vastly democratized.
Country houses, ruins and natural phenomena received appreciation as tourist attractions
like never before under the new vogue of the picturesque gaze. Domestic travel increased
during the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution when travel on the continent

248 Gilpin 1794.
249 Leask 2002, 176.
became more difficult for the British: this directed the energies to home touring which led to a further consolidation of national consciousness. While at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Elizabeth I called herself "mere English", by the latter half of the eighteenth century, George III, expressing similar sentiments, claimed to "glory in the name of Briton". Knowledge of Britain increased and the new found sense of knowing the nation was propelled by the literature of travel. Writing at the close of the century, William Mavor claimed in *The British Tourists* (6 vols. 1798-1800) that tourism had made Britain British.250

In the nineteenth century, domestic travel became a metaphor for conceptualizing a homogeneous nation. The improvement of roads, the construction of bridges and canal waterways, and the introduction of new modes of transport such as the railways made travel not only quicker, cheaper and more comfortable, but acted as an assimilative force. The easy mobility encouraged not only travel for leisure but also migration to different places in the country for work under rampant industrialization. The advent of a plethora of new technological developments in the nineteenth century, such as the railway resulted new conceptions of time and space or what Harvey calls 'time-space compression'.251 Such compressions of geography, space and time differentials, subdued and unified space resulting in an imagined 'small' place. Distances disappeared instilling a sense of smallness of Britain and the brevity of time consumed in reaching one spot to another, collapsed regional differences and created the possibility of understanding Britain as a whole.252 Once the centuries old endeavour reached its desired culmination, excitement with home travel gradually decreased. Literature of the period, as can be found in the popular fictions of Dickens, Hardy and George Eliot, is characteristically marked with nostalgia for a Britain comprising of cultural and regional distinctiveness fast reaching a point of dissolution. George Eliot reflects this sentiment of nostalgia for the old world charm of travelling the countryside:

... but the slow old-fashioned way of getting from one end of the country to the other is the better thing to have in the memory. The tube-journey can never lend much to picture and narrative; it is as barren as an exclamatory O! Whereas the the happy outside passenger seated on the box from the dawn to the gloaming gathered enough stories of English life, enough of English labours in town and country, enough aspects of earth and sky, to make episodes for a modern Odyssey.253

252 William Turner's famous painting of the fuming steam engine epitomize the transition that Britain was going through.
252 Eliot 1866. 7.
Fast engulfing industrialization not only drastically changed the British countryside with its visible signs of modernization of village and farmyards but also homogenized the landscape to a large extent. The dwindling availability of unadulterated nature turned the gaze elsewhere to find and forge new 'romantic' or 'literary' landscapes. What survived was a culture of mass tourism fast developing into an industry with agencies like Thomas Cook organizing what can be called 'packaged tours' and the mushrooming of thousands of small boarding houses. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the fashion of picturesque travel and the literature about it thus attracted scorn from a number of writers. Thomas Rowlandson's caricatures which function as illustrations to the satirical poem, 'The Tour of Dr. Syntax in Search of the Picturesque' (1809) by William Combe are among the most famous of examples. The disgust and discomfort with visible changes with the agrarian economy is obvious in early nineteenth century travelogues like in William Cobbett's overtly pessimistic tract, the Rural Rides (1830).

In search of the exotic

By this time, the Grand Tour, too, had degenerated into a simple tour of sights or a routine of social visits. In this context, travellers from the middle of the century tried to escape the predefined route of the tour. They ventured into uncharted territories driven by a greed to 'discover' new places in Europe. James Boswell, for one, who was one of the most proficient travel writers of the century, not only went to France and Italy in the traditional format of the Grand Tour, but ventured into the interior of Corsica, and this part of his journey was indeed the only one he chose to write about in his Account of Corsica (1768). In 1773, Patrick Brydone published his Tour through Sicily and Malta. The Iberian peninsula too became a hot-favourite as an exceptional destination exemplified in Robert Southey's Journals of a Residence in Portugal (1800-1). Mary Wollstonecraft published her Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark (1796) from another unusual destination. A conscious defiance of the conventions of the Tour is also perceivable in Tobias Smollett's Travels through France and Italy, which he took as an aged man to recover his health and not as a young man as part of his education. In 1792, Arthur Young, in his Travels in France and Italy, which is primarily an agronomic account, also discusses the disappointment he encountered as against his expectations. Dissatisfaction with the canonized Grand Tour is particularly apparent in the account of William Beckford who set out on a tour in 1782 with a visit to the Netherlands followed by visits to Germany and Austria finally finishing off with Venice. Beckford, whose Gothic novel Vathek: An
Arabian Tale (1786) was popular and reflected the mood of the times, revealed his dissatisfaction with pre-set itinerary and is driven by unknown and faraway lands. His actual experience of countries in Europe only makes him visualise and long for more remote and exotic lands. In Antwerp, he dreams of an imaginary Orient, of “Arabian happiness” which disappears when he wakes up. This desire for the Orient is even more prominent in his outlook towards Venice, which was thought to be the closest to Eastern culture: “Asiatics find Venice very much to their liking and all those I conversed with allowed its customs and style of living had a good deal of conformity to their own.” He loses himself in his imaginary escapades in search for authentic Arabian pleasures as he braves “the vapours of the canals”, and ventures into “the most curious and musky quarters of the city, in search of Turks and Infidels, that I may ask as many questions as I please about Damascus, and Suristan, those happy countries, which nature has covered with roses.”

It is quite clear that there was a rising discontent and surfeit with places oft-visited, spoken or written about. Mass travel had rendered the Grand Tour mundane and familiar, and the readers thirsted to hear and learn about places where they would not have the opportunity to visit. Also, the romantic notion that the self is found not in society but in solitudinous contemplation of nature, collided with the ever rising British phenomenon of mass tourism. There also emerged a class angle to travel as practiced at the time. Romantic solitude and romantic travel were largely middle class notions as opposed to working class enjoyment and sociability in group travel. The kind of travel one indulged in was a class marker with the latter form of travel being a subject of elite contempt and derision. This, probably was the reason behind the birth of the ‘traveller-explorer’.

What John Urry says about contemporary tourism, is also true of the period under discussion, wherein the romantic gaze is part of the mechanism of extension of the 'pleasure periphery', drawing ever new spaces into its ambit, constantly in search of new objects of romantic gaze.

In fact, chronologically, the Romantic period coincided in broad terms with the rapid expansion and consolidation of European colonialism in India, Africa, the South Seas and the newly independent American states. Once a saturation point was reached with continental touring, romantic travel stretched beyond known territories to embrace newer horizons. Under such circumstances, the representation of such places which is mediated by the self very often collapsed into the 'imperial self' by the romantic period. The individual

255 Urry 1995. 139.
gaze unknowingly became a part of a collective gaze and also contributed to the making of that collective gaze. Inevitably, travel writing was one discursive practice among others, that, in this context played a part in the process whereby dominant groups represented other cultures to themselves and convinced themselves of their right to intervene in countries they thought they had 'discovered'. On the other hand, there is a purposeful courting of what Heidegger calls "active discomfort", which distinguishes the traveller-explorer from a mere tourist. Such travels put the romantic traveller through tests, which produced discomfiture with self and thus became enabling metaphor of selfhood, thereby empowering the traveller over all those who are not travelling. Travel in this period and in this manner was not a source of enjoyment but was balanced by a desire for information and education too. Motivation for such travel lay in its danger and exoticism of the place. With this, travel comes a full circle from where it began as patriotic travel where a booty of foreign knowledge was brought back to the homeland to redefine its vista of cultural system. There came about a synthesis of views and visions within a new conception of the natural world. This was more 'observational' than 'experiential' starting the new wave of naturalism which completely took control of travel literature in the nineteenth century. However, even though scientific observation and naturalism were emergent in the eighteenth century, the experiential visual code was never eclipsed. Significantly enough, the experiential code of 'sentimentalism' was the dominant recognizable format for travel writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even naturalist observation in exotic locales came clothed in this distinctly English package. One should not forget, that the heroes of sentimental novels like those in Smollett, Laurence or Fielding's works too adopt the frame of the travelogue to narrate the adventures and experiences of the 'sentimental' picaresque hero in hostile environments. Also, sentimentalism became the overarching scheme through which to view and ponder about natural scenery: sentimentalism was the English prism for viewing nature. By the end of the eighteenth century, as the precarious Enlightenment balance between science and sentiment began to make way for the subjectivity of the romantic period, travel writing veered towards the self. Travel literature of the period is as much about the exploration of places as it is about self-discovery.

By early 1800s, travel writing about exotic places had become a cultural trend so widespread that it seemed a sign of the times. The expanding market for books, reviews,
newspapers and magazines had made explorers famous across Europe with a new rapidity, and brought exotic realms within the grasp of the reading public:

Sitting at home, readers encountered the Indians of North and South America, learnt of the ancient culture of Persia, absorbed customs of the Hindus, scrutinized the conditions on the Caribbean slave plantations and searched for the Northwest Passage.257

Regions east to Europe soon became hot sites for travellers to make their careers in.

At another level, Nigel Leask points out:

As the century progressed [...] the extra European antique lands became subject to the quantifying and typifying scrutiny of colonial surveillance, as well as aesthetic judgment.258

The period between 1770 to 1830 saw a sheer amount of diversity in the travel narratives during which period there were a number of political upheavals in Britain itself, beginning with the end of Seven Years War, loss of Britain's American colonies, enactment of the Reform Act and the accession of Queen Victoria. The travel narratives produced during this time, in voicing the colonial self was both influenced and driven by areas of cultural consumption. Poetry and prose of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Austen, Byron, Radcliffe and Scott were clearly influenced by such exploration narratives belonging to this period. Secondly, travel narratives fed the professionalism of sciences especially in the specialities of botany, anthropology, palaeontology, and theories of origin of races. Thirdly, commissioned travels and their literature were often acts of reconnaissance before actual military expeditions. Fourthly, all those regions already brought under the scope of colonization needed to be charted and made visually amenable through a host of ethnographic and cultural information in order to govern them. Another vein of travel literature comprising of evangelical and missionary journals, worked to superimpose moralistic frameworks on newly explored landscapes which could then be brought under Christian proselytizing operations. Even those who journeyed independently, opened up a path for the forces of colonialism and contributed to the assumption of power. Travel writing in such cases not only provided the factual data but also crystallized an imaginative topos which furthered conceptual control over spaces and people. Where on the one hand, facts, myths, fictions and topoi fed poets, on the other, the same also influenced policies. Travel

258 Leask 2002.
soon became a patriotic service where careers could be carved out and medals could be won. For example, Captain Cook was deemed to be a national hero and a martyr as he had been instrumental in claiming land for the British Crown. His personality inspired many young men to undertake journeys to faraway lands, therefore making travel a widespread and attractive activity of the times.

Construction of a knowledge empire through travel

The British Empire was a varied one and accordingly incorporated very different ways of imagining itself. According to Miles Ogborn:

"... imperial identities were based on particular conceptions of geography that involved various imaginings of Britain and its relationship to the world."

There had been many forces which shaped British identity and thereafter, imperial geography. The Act of Union between Scotland and England passed in 1707, discussed earlier, was only one of these. Britain had also to carve its identity against a continental other which was often based on a centuries old religious sectarian strife between post-Reformation Anglicanism and continental Catholicism. France and to a lesser extent, Spain, being fierce competitors of Britain, were again forces against which Britain needed to construct its identity based on ideological differences. Such conceptions of Britishness were also affected by the struggle between European powers for land grab and global hegemony. These questions of imperial identity metamorphosed into representations of empire through words and images invariably related to space, place and landscape, fundamentally linked with understanding and governance of self as well as that of the other.

In order to help gauge the geographical variety and extent of the British Empire, a brief list of occupied regions is provided here. In the early eighteenth century, with the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, Britain gained access to Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean, St. Kitts in the Caribbean, and Hudson Bay and Nova Scotia and New Foundland in North America. In mid-eighteenth century, it gained control over Florida, Canada and Cape Breton in North America, the Caribbean islands of Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent, and Dominica, parts of West Africa and in India primarily as tax gatherers. By early nineteenth century, the empire extended to the Pacific, with control over many of its islands, settlements in New South Wales and Van Damiens Land or Tasmania. The conceptual and material control over these varied places spreading over the Pacific,

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259 Ogborn and Withers 2004. 8.
260 Ibid. 9.

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Americas, Asia and Africa met with serious challenges when it came to customizing the conventional modes of spatial representations as practiced within Britain itself. Textual and visual depictions such as maps, paintings and travel writing had to cope with different sets of extra-European natural and environmental surroundings as they were encountered and experienced. Much of this depended on empirical knowledge arising from the eighteenth century conception of the body as a recording instrument where the experiential angle dominated representation. In order to handle such varieties, there originated the tools of imaginative and conceptual topographies in an effort to synthesize views and visions within a new conception of natural world. The most enduring of these was the notion of 'tropicality' formulated as a foil to temperate nature which stood for European landscapes. According to Driver, the appeal of tropicality provided a powerful imaginative foundation and a stimulus for a variety of scientific, aesthetic, and political projects.261 Driver, in his work, Tropical Visions, attributes the rise of scientific instruments to the need to record naturalistic data during travel and exploration: it catered to the need for verifiability of the information gathered in the distant lands. Taking into consideration, the mediated nature of these 'imaginative geographies', there would often be doubts over the plausibility and trustworthiness of the archive: more so, because the navigators and explorers often lacked the credentials of gentlemen-philosopher. The inventory of knowledge of foreign spaces accumulated 'on the spot', had to be transmitted in a formulaic manner acceptable at home. The application of new scientific instruments partly resolved this problem: it also meant that observation on the ground had to conform to fixed 'protocols of scientific enquiry' before it could be received in the European knowledge economy.262 This also meant that special skills, techniques and materials had to be acquired by those seeking to represent foreign spaces. There emerged elaborate literature on what to observe and record and how to communicate results.263 "Science", therefore, was nothing more than a pattern, format or a proforma through which new, extra European realities could be interpreted, comprehended, made sense of, and finally appropriated into a knowledge bank located at the global centre, London.

262 Ibid. 9-10.
263 As early as 1665, England's Royal Society published a set of 'Directions for Seamen Bound on Far Voyages', and Robert Boyle, the great scientist and East India Company director, produced an entire volume to teach travellers and navigators how to record economic, ethnographic, and scientific data. The German traveller, Leopold von Berchtold composed The Patriotic Traveller (1789) with 2443 prepared questions in 37 different categories. See Distad 2003; also see Driver 1999.
Beginning with the need to pin down the space according to accurate latitudinal and longitudinal determination, the scientific requirements and methodologies were endless. The science of optics and invention of the telescope led to both the navigator's double-reflecting sextant and the natural scientist's microscope. New tools and empirical techniques of analysis enabled the modernization of the older sciences, such as astronomy and botany, and the development of new ones, such as geology, hydrography, oceanography, and human ethnography. The new science of geography which is often called the 'science of imperialism' sought better understanding of the world through rational quantification and explanation. The mushrooming of botanical gardens, like the Kew Gardens in London and the establishment of scholarly societies like the Royal Geographical Society, played a crucial role in the promotion and sponsorship of scientific exploration. Geographers, exploiting these fruits of the scientific revolution, worked in concert with merchants and governments, and, incidentally, provided an aura of intellectual respectability to such pursuits as mapping all coastlines, seeking new trade routes, and penetrating unknown territories in search of resources, markets and potential colonies. Maritime expeditions to chart the world's coastlines and seaways were increasingly paralleled by overland surveys to explore continental interiors. Highly accurate observation and measurement entailed an obligation to record and publish findings. Hence an enormous number of official, semi-official and unofficial reports of scientific expeditions joined the already widely popular genre of travel narratives eagerly consumed by an interested public.

The general reading public avidly consumed these travel narratives as entertainment, mostly relishing the tales of hardship, heroism, survival and exoticism; while the government often commissioned the engraving of plates and maps to give them a serious documentary feel. Some or all of these elements appeared in the most successful and popular books, which went through multiple editions such as Captain Cook's travel diaries, or underwent translations like Mungo Park's (1771-1806) account of his Niger expedition, *Travels in the Interior of Africa* (1799). The ethnographic content of this genre brought

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264 The Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew established in 1759 by 1899, stood at the centre of an informal network of 57 other botanical gardens throughout Britain and its empire. Other European nations also established botanical gardens like the Jardin du Roi in Paris. There was a series of geographical societies set up all across Europe in the nineteenth century: France's Société de Géographie in 1821, Germany's Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin in 1828, and Britain's Royal Geographical Society in 1830, through a merger of older bodies that promoted explorations in Africa and the Near East, and numerous others, including in Rio de Janeiro in 1838, St. Petersburg in 1845, New York in 1851 and Washington in 1888. By 1890, more than 100 geographical societies had been established in 21 countries and the International Geographical Union was founded in 1922 to coordinate their activities.
other cultures and peoples to light. Elaborate details about the sexual life of these people and the writer's own sexual escapades added the element of eroticism and titillation.\textsuperscript{265} The interracial liaisons described by John Gabriel Stedman (1744-97) on his adventure in Surinam, and French naturalist, Francois Le Vaillant's (1753-1824) romantic account of birding in Africa very likely increased their sales.\textsuperscript{266} The passages of Mungo Park's private experiences, according to Casey Blanton:

> were hugely popular not only [because they] secured his reputation as a widely popular travel writer at the end of the eighteenth century but also served to shift the emphasis in travel writing from descriptions of people and places to accounts of the effects of people and places on the narrator. By the early nineteenth century, travel writing had clearly become a matter of self-discovery as well as a record of the discovery of others.\textsuperscript{267}

**Colonial space in imperial consciousness**

On the publication and reception side, as the demand for literature on travel and exploration were increasing, there came about two very different streams of travel writing: one, which followed the narrative style of a sentimental novel and secondly, the official survey reports. With an eye firmly on their market, publishers like Murray or Bentley had often freely edited travel accounts to supply or delete any element they wished.\textsuperscript{268} On comparing actual field notes with the magisterial folios or printed volumes by the same author one finds several changes brought in by publishers. The factual field surveys produced as reports of officially commissioned scientific expeditions, on the other hand,

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\textsuperscript{265} The eighteenth century travel journals related to the Grand Tour also carried similar traits, the most famous of these being Boswell's diaries maintained throughout his tour known for their frank personal details. Also the Orient was frequently the site for deviant erotic pleasures. Numerous eighteenth and nineteenth centuries pornographic literature had the Islamic East with its harem, Hindustan or the far East as their settings. The stage too deploys narrative strands of bravery, heroism, love affairs and sexual liaisons often found in travelogues about exotic locales and reinvent these exotic sites through stage scenery. See Chapter Three.

\textsuperscript{266} In the first edition of John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revoluted Negroes of Surinam* (1790), his editor made changes to the original manuscript in order to "insulate his readers from shock" at accounts of interracial relationships, torture and ill treatment of slaves in Africa. John Barrow in his own travelogue, *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa, in the Years 1797 and 1798* (1801-1804), wrote that Le Vaillant did not describe regions of the interior of Southern Africa as inhabited by colonialists, as that "would have diminished the interest he intended to excite". See Tolbert 2003. 207.

\textsuperscript{267} Blanton 2002. p.15.

\textsuperscript{268} John Murray was a famous British publishing house established in 1768 by its proprietor of that name, renowned for the authors it has published in history of the likes of Jane Austen, Byron, Arthur Conan Doyle, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Charles Darwin. Bentley Publishing House was a Victorian publishing concern set up by Richard Bentley.
were devoid of any such element of romance or adventure. As the British public gorged on
travel literature which flooded the market, market forces were bound to influence
commissioned survey literature brought out by scholarly research oriented houses as well,
like the Royal Geographical Society. Even Roderick Murchison (1792-1871), himself a
pioneering geologist and an avid promoter of scientific exploration, could not remain aloof
from the demands of the public for best sellers of this nature. From his commanding
position as president of the Royal Geographical Society and later head of Geological
Survey, he encouraged and published accounts of heroism of David Livingstone (1813-
1873) and Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904), and sponsored expeditions by the
flamboyant and controversial explorer and ethnographer Richard Francis Burton (1821-
1890).269 His policy however, was criticized by a section of the rational science-thirsty elite
who lamented the eclipsing of science beneath non-serious cavalier activities. Murchison
was opposed by some fellows of the Society like J.D. Hooker (1817-1911), a noted botanist
and explorer of the century, who in a letter wrote:

I hate the claptrap and flattery and flummery of the Royal Geographical, with its utter
want of science and craving for popularity and excitement, and making London Lions of
the season of bold Elephant hunters and Lion slayers, whilst the steady, slow, and
scientific surveyors and travellers have no honour at all.270

Therefore, the visceral, the aesthetic, the intellectual and the scientific, together,
bring about a genre which was able to recreate and represent spaces to the reader located
at the metropolitan centre. The composite result of this literature, was of course, as Charles
Darwin (1809-1882) summarized in the final chapter of his own travelogue which was the
outcome of a five year long scientific mission, *Voyage of the Beagle* (1839):

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269 David Livingstone was one of the most popular national heroes of Victorian Britain. He had a mythic
status as Protestant missionary-martyr, that of working class 'rags-to-riches', that of a scientific
investigator and explorer, and advocate of commercial empire. His fame derived from his status as the
first European to see the Mosi-oa-Tunya which he named the Victoria Falls after the ruling British
monarch. He is said to have initiated the European obsession for the search for the source of River Nile.
Henry Morton Stanley was a Welsh journalist and explorer who acquired acclaim for his exploration of
Africa and search for David Livingstone.

Sir Richard Francis Burton was an English explorer, translator, soldier, linguist, poet and writer. Burton's
best known achievement was his travelling to Mecca under disguise of an Arab. Among his other
adventures was his travelling with John Hanning Speke as the first Europeans guided by Sidi Mubarak
Bombay, said to be Africa's greatest explorer-guide, to the Great Lakes of Africa in search of the source
of Nile. He was engaged by the Royal Geographical Society to explore the east coast of Africa and led an
expedition to Lake Tanganyika. He was a prolific writer as well and wrote on topics like human
behaviour, sexual practice and ethnography and translated the *Kamasutra* and *The Book of One
Thousand Nights and One Night*.

270 Cited in Distad 2003. 1065.
The map of the world ceases to be a blank: it becomes a picture full of the most varied and animated figures. Each part assumes its proper dimensions: continents are not looked at in the light of islands, or islands considered mere specks, which are, in truth, larger than many kingdoms of Europe. 271

The study of travel literature, therefore is crucial in determining the visual character of colonialism, governance and thereby, of power. By visual character, is meant the collective gaze of an entire community towards spaces considered for occupation. John Urry distinguishes between two types of gazes in a modern society: the romantic and the collective, which, according to him impacts on the consumption of space in different ways. However, in the time period under study here, the romantic or the individualistic gaze contributes to the making of the collective gaze. That is not to say that this romantic gaze is itself isolated and free of collective opinions and perspectives. The frame for the gaze is preschematized and designed. There is an underlying grammar beneath all the modes of perceptions of space i.e. the scientific, the aesthetic and even the sensory or visceral. These followed a formulaic paradigm established at the centre of circulation in order to convey the space's 'otherness' through conceptual tools wielded by that centre. The need to portray the otherness becomes crucial in view of hierarchizing and subordinating spaces to a central control. Travel writing, then, as it evolved from the Early Modern period onwards to the post Enlightenment age in Europe in general and England in particular, combined these aspects of representation i.e. visceral, aesthetic and scientific, all of which would, however, generate a calculable, studied response. An ensemble of these formed a conglomerate and operated in tandem with one another to communicate a palpable space to a public who had never seen it. These spaces were moreover sought to be attached to the colonial metropolis as global extensions of it and incorporated within its ever growing empire. Travel literature was adopted as an effective spatial mechanism to produce, circulate, familiarize and consume unknown and new spaces, within Britain as well as outside of it, (as already seen in the course of the present chapter) through an active dissemination of knowledge of those 'other' spaces, and finally subjugating them to an Anglocentric or much rather, London-centric control. All the aforementioned methods, manufactured an imagined territory waiting to be accessed, harnessed and governed by the imperial centre. This act of manufacturing is itself an exercise in power as it is a potent means of both epistemological and material conquest of a land. In the following chapter, I shall study the case of India as a

271 Cited in Casey 2002. 16.
space constructed and manufactured in the collective British imperialist consciousness, to be studied and controlled in the public sphere of London.
Fig. 1: A Section of the Rotunda, Leicester Square: The panorama panoply promoting virtual tourism.

Fig. 2: A Panorama Image of Mexico: An example of the enormous popularity of foreign landscapes enjoyed.
Fig. 3: Playbill of *Chinese Sorcerer* (1823): An instance of the thrill of oriental subjects and settings created on the contemporary stage. (Front)
Fig. 4: Playbill of *Chinese Sorcerer* (1823): An instance of the thrill oriental subjects and settings created on the contemporary stage. (Back
Fig. 5: Panorama of London: A view of London from the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Fig. 6: 'Mr. and Mrs. Andrews' (1750) by Thomas Gainsborough.
Fig. 7: Playbill of Inchbald's *A Mogul Tale* (1784): A play with Indian setting and subject immensely popular at the time.
At the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden,
This present Thursday, April 26, 1786.
The CASTLE of ANDALUSIA.
Fernando by Mr. JOHNSTONE,
Spado by Mr. QUICK,
Pedrillo by Mr. EDWIN,
Ramirez, Mr. DAVIES, Philippo, Mr. BRETT,
And Alphonso by Mrs. KENNEDY,
Victoria by Mrs. BANNISTER,
Catalina (First Time) by Mrs. BROWN,
And Lotenza by Mrs. BILLINGTON,
Being her FIRST Appearance in THAT Character.
To which will be added (for the 44th Time) a NEW PANTOMIME called
OMAI:
Or, A Trip Round the World.
TOWHAA, the Guardian Genius of OMAI's Ancestors, by Mr. HELME.
OTOO, Father of OMAI, by Mr. DARLEY, OMAI by Mr. BLURTON,
HARLEQUIN, Servant to OMAI, by Mr. KENNEDY,
OEDIDDEE, Pretender to the Throne, by Mrs. KENNEDY,
OBREAA, an Enchantress, by Mrs. MARTYR,
Don STRUTTOLANDO, Rival to OMAI, by Mr. PALMER.
CLOWN, his Servant, by Mr. STEVENS, BRITANNIA by Mrs. INGBALD,
LONDINA, the Confort destined to OMAI, by Miss CRANFIELD,
COLOMBINE, Maid to LONDINA, by Miss ROWSON,
Native of TONGATABOO by Mr. WEBWITZER,
And an English Sailor (with a SONG) by Mr. EDWIN.

With a PROCESSION
Exactly representing the Dressed, Weapons, and Manners, of the Inhabitants of Othefta, New Zealand, Tanna, Marquesas, the Friendly, Sandwich, and Easter Islands, Tschuorki, Siberia, Kamtchatska, Nootka Sound, Onalaska, Prince-William's Sound, and the other Countries visited by Captain COOK.
The Pantomime, and the Whole of the Scenery, Machinery, Dresses, &c. Designed and Invented by Mr. LOUtherbourgh, and executed under his Superintendance and Direction by Mrs. RICHARDS, CARVER, and HODGINGS, Mr. CATTON, Jon. Mr. TURNER, and a CELEBRATED ARTIST.
The MUSIC entirely NEW, composed by Mr. SHIELD.
Nothing under FULL PRICE will be taken.

To-morrow, will be presented the Comic Opera of FONTAINELLEAU.
To which will be added the Burletta of MIDAS.
For the Benefit of Mrs. KENNEDY.

Fig. 8: Playbill of Omai, 1786.
Fig. 9: Theatre Scene of Omai constructed by Jacques de Loutherbourg showing the Tahitian landscape and the inside of a native hut.

Fig. 10: Theatre Scene of Omai constructed by Jacques de Loutherbourg showing the Tahitian landscape and the inside of a native hut.
Fig. 11: Playbill of Moncrieff's *Cataract of the Ganges*: A Catalogue of all the oriental attractions viewable on stage. (Front)
Fig. 12: Playbill of Moncrieff's *Cataract of the Ganges*: A Catalogue of all the oriental attractions viewable on stage. (Back)
Fig. 13: Playbill of the play *Relief of Lucknow*: An example of oriental war spectacle immensely popular in the 19th century.

Fig. 14: Panorama Image of the 'Siege of Seringapatam'.
Fig. 15: Panorama Image of Indian Landscape.

Fig. 16: Panorama Image of Indian Landscape.
Fig. 19: Panorama Image of 'London to Hong Kong in Two Hours'.

Fig. 20: Panorama Image of Indian Durbar Scene by unknown native artist.

Fig. 21: Panorama Image of Indian Durbar Scene by unknown native artist.
Fig. 17: Panorama Image of 'Route of Overland Mail to India' (1860).

Fig. 18: Panorama Image of 'London to Hong Kong in Two Hours' (1860).
Fig. 22: Panorama Image of Delhi Durbar.

Fig. 23: Sir Charles D'Oyly: 'Paugla Pool with a view of Dacca'.
Fig. 24: Chinnery's Vignette of a Village Scene included on D'Oyly's Antiquities of Dacca

Fig. 25: The Kirkpatrick Children
Fig. 26: Chinnery: Western Entrance of Port St. George.

Fig. 27: Chinnery: Unknown

Fig. 28: Chinnery: Temple in Bengal

Fig. 29: 'Siege of Seringapatam'.
Fig. 30: Chinnery: A Mausoleum in Dacca.
Fig. 31:  Chinnery: Study of Native Figures.

Fig. 32:  Sir Charles D'Oyly: The Great Peepul Tree at Bodh Gaya.
Fig. 33: Clarkson Stanfield. *Cataract of the Ganges* (Drury Lane, 1823). Chariot. Hodgson juvenile theatre print.

Fig. 34: John Inigo Richards. *Ramah Droog* (Covent Garden, 1798).
Fig. 35: Clarkson Stanfield. Possible oriental scene from a pantomime.

Fig. 36: Clarkson Stanfield. Back-cloth probably showing Etna or Vesuvius of an unidentified play at Drury Lane.
Fig. 37: John Hodgins. *Captain Cook*, probably for *The Death of Captain Cook* (Covent Garden, 1804).

Fig. 38: Thomas Greenwood the younger and Mildenhall. *Nerstan, King of Persia* (Sadler's Wells, 1823). Peruvian scene. Engraving.
Fig. 39: View of Gardenreach, Calcutta by William Hodges. Courtesy Victoria Memorial Hall

Fig. 40: A conversation piece by Johann Zoffany commissioned by Warren Hastings. Courtesy Victoria Memorial Hall
Reduced from Lambton's 8-mile Plan of the Southern Province, completed in 1811 (244, 277) with his triangles superimposed from chart bound with MS. Report, TS, II, cf. Complete Plan of Triangulometric Operations published by Jno. Hornburgh, 1827, in 8 sheets, scale 8 in. to inch (263-4).

Heavy lines denote principal triangulation.