Circular Tickets and the Fear of Mobs: Theorizing Victorian Travel to the Far East

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Any examination of selected narratives written by British Victorian travelers to China will often yield the iconoclastic and independent person whose hardiness enables them to make their way solo through a "wilderness" where few native people have seen white Europeans. By the time travelers were visiting China's interior with fewer diplomatic and military incidents, interested British travelers found they could encounter China in a different way, namely as a tourist. Many readers will be surprised to learn that the author Rudyard Kipling was one such visitor to the more traveled port cities of China (Canton and Hong Kong) as well as witnessing the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia (in Singapore and Penang, creating little Chinas in exile to Kipling's eyes). Kipling, whose narrative entitled From Sea to Sea is a compilation of his 1889 dispatches to The Pioneer of Allahabad, India, was a young man on his way to becoming London's new literary star. To physically get there, he signed up for a Cook's Tour on a ticket that stopped at various locations in Southeast Asia, East Asia, then taking him through America before reaching England. His experience as a tourist rather than as a traveler forms the focus of this paper, as it is at once anomalous to the general trends of travel writing criticism, but at the same time one of the defining features of late nineteenth century British culture.

To make himself stand out from his fellow tourists, Kipling defines himself by his occupation, which seems odd for a narrative describing a holiday. Work or occupation becomes relevant to what appears to be a leisured act, though one that has been implicated in Britain's empire-building activities. But even the most leisured traveler has a serious purpose in travel and narrative production. In addition to considering the definitions of terms such as "leisure," "work" and "occupation," I am also concerned with gaining a better understanding of the cultural phenomenon of Victorian travelers, by trying to answer certain questions: what do these terms mean for Victorian travelers who travel to the Far East? Why do they choose to go to the Far East, if they have choices about how to spend their leisure time? What we have in Kipling's narrative is one testament to the efforts of individuals who made travel in China part of their work identity. Such individuals are not always innocents abroad, as they are part of the imperial apparatus that endeavors to spread the British influence, both cultural and economic, and have oftentimes educated themselves about what needs to be seen and consumed on these inspections of the empire's reach. Here it is useful to review terms: an explorer is usually someone who has no real map, and is in the process of contributing to the mapping of the area; a traveler has a sketchy map at the least, and visits a place that is not well-known to the general public back home; and the tourist is someone who wants to travel in others' footsteps, and one good example of this character is the person who buys the map of Hollywood stars' homes.

A Victorians travel narrative about going to China is a case study for the rereading of postcolonial theory to consider what it means for the British Empire to fail in its efforts to effectively colonize a country. Adding to this condition, such a narrative asks the reader to consider how postcolonial theory operates when the younger empire is faced with the prospect of conquering a more ancient, though crumbling empire. The British are not following along the lines of some imperialist narratives in Africa, nor are they following the narrative of conquest over the Indian principalities. They are attempting to colonize a vast landmass that had, until the very early nineteenth century, been known as a civilized place producing goods valued by Europeans. But like the objects of chinoiserie collected at home, the British wished to collect another piece of Asian property for their collection, having abandoned the sense of awe and admiration of the ancient Chinese civilization for a new sense of technological and intellectual superiority. The reality shows this imperial desire to be inconclusive and problematic for Britain, which is, by the 1880s, reaching the apex of its influence and geographical spread. Despite all the small and large British settlements made in various parts of China, the result of treaties signed between the two countries, Britain's effort only yielded at best a Crown Colony in Hong Kong, and the semicolonized status of China was never solidified much further. While this political situation fascinates travelers, with their penchant for seeking out lesstraveled paths in the world, it is less clear how a tourist would attempt the task of traveling to more than Hong Kong and Canton in Southern China.

In the course of researching Victorian travelers and their motivations related to the interest in seeing China, it was simultaneously refreshing and dismaying to examine the body of relevant postcolonial theory and travel literature criticism. The great excitement arises from the discovery that this area of travel narratives written about China is rarely addressed in postcolonial theory and travel literature criticism. Edward Said, in defining the scope of orientalism, looks more toward a Middle Eastern interaction with the European imaginary. In his original 1978 study, Orientalism, Said pointedly explains to readers that he wishes to keep his investigation to that interaction because of the long genealogy and great space devoted to this relationship over time in letters and art. For the 1993 study he wrote in partial response to the 1978 study, Culture and <u>Imperialism</u>, he endeavors to see the implications of his original argument in terms of other orientalisms of other countries with long, though mystified relationships with Europe. In doing so, he acknowledges the failure of most cultural historians, and certainly all literary scholars, to "remark the geographical notation, the theoretical mapping and charting of territory that underlies Western fiction, historical writing, and philosophical discourse of the time" wherein a certain hierarchy of spaces relative to the metropolitan center variously contribute to the construction of the English country home that is at the very center of this imperial world (<u>Culture and Imperialism</u> 58). This is the same condition that causes dismay, as these studies have been very interested in the travels to many other places of greater prominence and stronger colonial power, such as India or areas of the African continent. Postcolonial theory cannot be broadly applied from one region to another; for instance, that theory that comes from examining the South African colony, with its various battles against the Boers and the native peoples, could be easily applied to the situation that presents itself to those who wish to dominate China. One of my interests in the project's current research lies in the area of understanding what motivates a body to move toward China and not some of the other places on the globe. To help shape the research and thinking, these are some of the questions that have been useful:

- Why travel east?
- Who travels east?
- What does it mean for travelers to travel east when tourists are beginning to make trips east?
- What happens to that body that travels east?
- What causes the tourist to be interested in visiting China?
- How does traveling to China challenge postcolonial theory?
- Is there a specific way to theorize about the travel to China, in comparison to other places (such as Singapore, Japan, India)?

In beginning to respond critically to these questions, it has been important to reexamine the difference between the tourist and the traveler presented by

<sup>1</sup> In their different ways, the ideas of Homi Bhabha and Benita Parry serve to illuminate this need for greater attention to historical and regional difference. Bhabha speaks of the historical moment as one that often exfoliates upon closer inspection because of previously muffled voices hidden under the "master" narrative. In the process of doing so, he is liable to blur and even eliminate certain defining boundaries that Parry finds to be very necessary, despite Bhabha's desire to break the primacy of binaristic thought. Parry has written recently about the imperative to go back to the details of a political situation's materialist conditions for the complexity that Bhabha seeks. The inability of postcolonial theory to fully function in extra-imperial spaces, such as the one pointed out in this paper, signals a need to engage more fully with greater specificity as described by these two theorists; which method remains to be seen by those scholars who choose to develop this field of study.

Rudyard Kipling's narrative, with care for issues of occupation, leisure, and postcoloniality.

Kipling's travel writing will be the focus here because his travel writings helped shape my current interest. His narrative is a collection of letters that were dispatched from his first experience as a tourist with Thomas Cook and Son. In 1889, Kipling shipped out of India having already published his short stories about Anglo-India, namely <u>Plain Tales from the Hills</u>, as well as the poems collected in **Departmental Ditties**. The letters made up his final assignment for his former employer, the newspaper company that owned both The Civil and Military <u>Gazette</u> of Lahore and <u>The Pioneer</u> of Allahabad. Most people think of Kipling for his children's literature, such as <u>The Jungle Book</u> and <u>Captains Courageous</u>. For many scholars, this collection of travel letters, entitled <u>From Sea to Sea</u>, is virtually unknown, perhaps because of its indefinite genre compared to the rest of his better-known work in poetry, short stories, and the novel. Unlike the other three writers in my project, Kipling spends very little time in China, visiting only the two British-influenced places, Hong Kong and Canton. His other view of China comes from seeing the Chinese diaspora in Singapore and Malaysia. Emphasis on the word "view" is important with the tourist, because of Cook's enforced distance of tourists from the actual engagement with local people. Arguably, Kipling sees China because he has no choice, given the itinerary. But he also could have cut it from the trip, given the flexibility in Cook's circular tickets.

Kipling travels in the company of other globetrotters who have paid to use Thomas Cook and Son's travel services. In his narrative, we hear a tortured young man who is excited about embarking upon his new, but uncertain life in letters, and will enter that new life from the most anonymous and most middle-class of Victorian pursuits as a Cook's tourist. We might be a bit surprised at Kipling's patronage of a rather plebian and brand-named entity, but his doing so gestures towards one of the great social movements that contrasts with the work of other travelers who are proud to narrate their adventures. His immediate family had good connections to make up for their economic shortcomings. It was Kipling's father who met with "the great J.M. Cook" as Kipling called Thomas Cook's son, who was now in a position to bring more Cook's Tours to India. The middle-class uniformity of the experience, expressed with great frustration in Kipling's narrative, points to the problem of narrating the tourist experience. While some Cook's Tourists were very diligent about keeping journals and read assiduously about their destinations, as they did in Egypt, others were less interested in fulfilling the older ethic of self-education that Thomas Cook had set out for his Temperance clients. The problem of the tourist's voice contrasts greatly with the more prominent voice of the growing number of travelers, whose travel narratives became very popular reading in the Victorian period. For all the great numbers of tourists who emerge from the mid- to late Victorian period, the relative silence about their experiences in foreign travel indicates a different kind of text is being created.

What is fascinating about these travel letters is the means by which Rudyard Kipling travels from India, to Burma, Singapore, Hong Kong, Canton, Japan, and then on to San Francisco, New York, and London. This form of travel is unprecedented, and grows to become a commonplace in a short period of time, as is seen when Kipling undertakes his journey. Kipling begins the first of his thirty-seven letters by describing the figure created by Thomas Cook and Son: the globetrotter on the circular ticket. Kipling writes disparagingly of him:

Then came by the person that I most hate, - a Globe-trotter. He, sitting in my chair, discussed India with the unbridled arrogance of five weeks on a Cook's ticket. He was from England and had dropped his manners in the Suez Canal... I considered him, from his new helmet to his deckshoes, and I perceived that he was but an ordinary man. (From Sea to Sea I: 208)

This young man, aged 23 in 1889, saw this globetrotter figure as one whose suddenly acquired knowledge about India and all the places seen onboard the steamer to be very similar to the helmet and deck-shoes: newly acquired, and the same as everyone else's. Such uniformity of experience and expression are odious to Kipling. It is a detestable, pompous figure of slight knowledge produced by the spectatorship inherent in a Cook's Tour. According to Lynne Withey, writing about Cook's Tours and its clients at this late Victorian period, most of Asia remained a terra incognita to pleasure travelers, despite enormous public interest in the exploration of these regions, and an increasing number of popular magazine articles touting travel to remote, relatively inaccessible corners of the world. Kipling, then, resents the pseudo-traveler and his presumption of knowledge based upon the leapfrogging from one imperial outpost to another, acting as a tool

of imperialism because his spectator-driven knowledge serves to oppress the whiteness and superiority of the Anglo-Indian, such as Kipling. It is a confrontation of two men who perform what Mary Louise Pratt has famously described as the "monarch of all I survey" mode that Richard Burton and John Speke play out in Burton's 1860 travel narrative about finding Lake Tanganyika (Pratt 202). What is ironic about this encounter, at least for the Singapore portion of their Cook's tour, is the realization that neither the Anglo-Indian or the British man from home has the upper hand over the better imperialist, who appears as the Chinese migrant worker. And even more ironically, the tourist body has been colonized by the imperial forces that wish to use his body to visually reinforce hegemony at certain destinations.

Despite these feelings of hatred, Kipling decides, in the same moment, that he will exact revenge upon the tourist, to tell the truth about India upon return to England, by masquerading as one of them. He becomes a tourist on a Cook's circular ticket, down to the helmet and deck-shoes, taking advantage of a tour that does not fully take him around the world, so that his membership in this group is spurious, and implicitly adds to his feeling of difference from the globetrotter company. These moments of identification, disavowal, and then appropriation happen swiftly, leaving the reader with the impression of the oppressed colonial man who decides to become a mimic man, loathing every minute of the masquerade, but secretly hoping to exact revenge for the psychological trauma inflicted by these brutes, as he later calls them.

The globetrotters on Cook's Tours were a highly diverse group, though this is not at all apparent from Kipling's description of them. We have numerous people taking advantage of Thomas Cook's services, representing a range of social and economic situations, but more middle class than anything else by the time Kipling joins them. According to Piers Brendon, in his study of the Thomas Cook and Son travel agency, it is a middle-class clientele that initially uses his services to Scotland in the 1860s: "Clergymen, doctors, schoolmasters, governesses, representatives of 'the better style of London [and provincial] mercantile community" (Brendon 53; All the Year Round 7 May 1864, 303). The ability to earn enough for a holiday abroad soon becomes a sign of the middle classes and their entrance into leisuredness. It would take financial wherewithal to take some of Cook's Tours to Jerusalem (approximately £100) and the round-theworld tickets (approximately £300 in the early 1870s). As we know from reading Anthony Trollope, in the mid-Victorian period a clergyman could expect to earn anywhere from £350 to £3000, depending on his position in the Church of England. The ordinary working person would have some access to such leisure because of their rising earnings, class, and education through the Victorian period, though it would not always the easiest task to save from their wages.<sup>2</sup> While the longer trips to Jerusalem and around the world cost upwards of £100, people could take much shorter trips at significantly lower cost, particularly because of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As a reference point, Charles Dickens's son wrote in 1879 about average London servants' wages per year: Butlers, £40 to £100; Footmen, £20 to £40; Pages, £8 to £15; Cooks, £18 to £50; House. maids, £10 to £25; Parlour-maids. £12 to £30; "General Servants," *Anglice* Maids of all Work, £6 to £15 (Lee Jackson, <a href="http://www.victorianlondon.org">http://www.victorianlondon.org</a>; "professions and trades: Servants: wages.) Also, Post Office clerks earned wages that would have permitted some hope of joining a tour: obtaining £40 yearly, rising by £7 10s. to £75; those of the first and highest class, £80, rising to £100; while principal and head-clerks get as much as from £110 to £150 yearly (Jackson, occupations open to women).

the volume discounts that Cook and Son could engineer with the railways, and with the participation of various hotels, or the construction of his own special Temperance hotels.

Thomas Cook is said to have regretted the middle-class clientele becoming the mainstay of his business because of his original interest in working with clients from humbler backgrounds. The former preacher saw the lower classes as the ones who would stand to benefit most from travel, at a time when many working people rarely traveled above twenty miles from their birthplace. Thomas Cook and Son began in 1841 when Thomas Cook wanted to help fellow temperance followers affirm their teetotaler status with trips to nearby towns, sometimes for temperance rallies. (The first excursion cost approximately one shilling.) This act of democratizing travel for one's moral betterment reaches many Britons who seek betterment not so much through Christian morals but through cultural education. To accomplish his goals of bringing travel and cultural education to the masses, Thomas Cook found himself taking advantage of British prosperity in the Victorian period: as Piers Brendon puts it, "improved communications, rising incomes and the Pax Britannica were making tourism possible on a global scale" (55). The extended period of domestic peace and industrial growth allowed for the growth of communications in the empire. Shipping lines to supply imperial needs were also used by Cook's tours to deliver tourists to their destinations.

Though some people had to save for a number of years before taking an overseas trip, it is clear that many managed to do so. By 1891, the company was

fifty years old and had sold nearly 3.3 million circular tickets. The next year, when Thomas Cook died, nearly 1,000 people had circumnavigated the earth. The Company would sell nearly 6 million circular tickets by 1900 (Withey 166). It is evident that this social movement, as Thomas Cook, the former temperance preacher would have seen it, had great influence in moving British bodies to the East because of its use of available communications, transport, and political influence –necessary item for the British tourist who was careful to be cocooned in a modicum of domestic comfort at each stop.

Not only did they need to have the financial means, but also the time to put on a proper show: the round-the-world tour required a minimum of 222 days, where tourists crammed as much as possible into the schedule, in the Thomas Cook way (Withey 271). Tourists race from place to place, leaving them little time to absorb the sights seen, and leaving them spectators of a montage created by the Cook's itinerary and the circular ticket. It may be the tourist's exhaustion from continual stimulation of the senses that prevents many of them from creating the travel narratives that are far more plentiful from those who stay away from the horde. Thomas Cook disdained the mania for writing travel books, as he states in his periodical for travelers entitled The Excursionist, his clients did not rush around in order to publish erroneous information about any country visited. Instead, "they profess to have learnt a little from what they have seen, and to utilize that knowledge, without sinking into pedantic men of learning, or narrowminded and superficial writers for literary journals" (Withey 164; May 1, 1865). Kipling's detestable globetrotter therefore espouses the Cook line of

autodidacticism when he points out to the younger man how he has the bigger picture of the empire's reach. What helps this form of education in imperial activities is the affirmation of British power through the Cook apparatus, the appropriation of native bodies for their delivery of services at every stop, and at the individual level, the acknowledgement of the British tourist's superiority based on race, nationality, and culture.

In this description of the leisure travelers, or tourist, we can see that work and leisure are inextricably tied together in a binaristic relationship. Though this seems simplistic to many out there, it is useful to consider the form of leisure – long-distance travel – is uniquely configured to require significant individual effort and the ability to draw on outside resources, namely other humans to perform the labor of living.

The tourist's culture comes with a strong class-based inflection, as discussed above with regard to the ability to afford a tour. Leisuredness, and its oddly workman-like construction of it, marks off the tourist from the traveler, and irritates Kipling. At Colombo, or Sri Lanka, Kipling wails about the overloading of passengers from another steamer, because of an accident, and the complaints are about his own ship's passengers: "Personally, I consider that half our shipmates ought to be thrown overboard. They are only travelling round the world for pleasure, and that sort of dissipation leads to the forming of hasty and intemperate opinions" (I: 260). Kipling is traveling for work, in his own estimation, because of his expected dispatches to his former Indian employers, and his expectation of literary work upon landing in London. But in the

meantime, he loathes his companions for the leisure he secretly covets. Their state of leisure represents a middle-class ethic that is reinforced by the act of participating in a Cook's tour, dressing the part, and mouthing the same platitudes to each other.

The tourist must put in the requisite work in order to become the person who conspicuously demonstrates his or her consumption of free time through the use of Cook's travel. We have already seen that would-be tourists must work in order to afford the trip, and they must do the reading of the agency's guides as well as their offerings. Outfits must be purchased, and itineraries developed, because of the system of circular tickets that allowed for individualized itineraries. The leisure begins once they step onto the steamer, though for many tourists, the proper use of their unaccustomed free time becomes as regimented as work at home. Many tourists would read about their destinations while onboard their P&O steamships, and between their hurried ports of call, they could conspicuously call upon various Cook's services, whether it be the different hotels, eating establishments, or the onboard services. Kipling noted with fury how the thirty women tourists caused the one stewardess, "a delicate and sweetmannered lady," to carry cups of beef-tea nonstop to them for five hours. He is amazed and embarrassed by their degrading treatment of a "real white woman" (I: 262). The Cook's Tour is a moment for the middle-class traveler to act out their imagined imperial selves, ones that only exist when they have donned the gear and caused their bodies to move according to a prescribed schedule of alternating sightseeing and inactivity. The tourist feels it is a duty to absorb and observe all

the sights in his paid leisure time on tour. These sights are laid out for him in guidebooks and through the different stops on his itinerary, as if to indicate their status as standard sights that must be consumed along the way to becoming more cultured. Kipling was incorrect, then, to accuse his fellow tourists of having made their trips based on the principle of simple pleasure; he is witnessing a ritualistic display of class status or in some class, the rising up to reach a class marker.

What I am pointing out is a variation on what sociologist Dean McCannell calls "alienated leisure" in his 1976 study, The Tourist. He sees this idea played out by tourists who make a practice of viewing sights showing others at work in order to reflect upon it (57-8). In the case of the tourist, he will be looking at others working on his designated period of leisure, during which he will work, or be occupied, to perform the tasks of leisure. For this reason, Kipling presents us with a contradictory view of the tourist, because he is at once someone who ought to be a work display, and at the same time, he is obligated by the culture of the Cook's Tour to passively observe others at work in their native environments, performing tasks that would be considered primitive to the visitors from the metropolitan center. McCannell presents the tourist as a member of an industrialized society that has moved away from the menial work that has no defined periods of performance, moving instead toward a compartmentalization of time that allows one to leave work behind for the time spent watching others at work.

McCannell's theory about the differentiation of the tourist from the native work display goes back to Thorstein Veblen's 1899 work, The Theory of the

<u>Leisure Class</u>. His writing appears during this period of Great Britain's mass tourism and prosperity. It discusses the way work, leisure, and education are the signs which differentiate classes. Veblen's introduction presents a definition of the leisure class as comprised of the "noble and priestly" classes and their retinues, drawing from various non-industrial upper-class occupations which may be roughly comprised under government, warfare, religious observances, and sports (2). Therefore, priest and farmer seek their livelihood by performing tasks that are more similar in this older society. In older, so-called "savage" cultures, the different occupational groups coexist in a more peaceable manner, as he tells the reader, "Neither the class distinctions nor the distinctions between leisureclass occupations are so minute and intricate" (2). Veblen writes about conspicuous leisure and how the growing distinctions between the laboring and leisured classes have grown to create the distancing effect that characterizes the tourist and his or her participation in the tour. With regard to leisure's problematic relationship to productiveness, he says, "the term 'leisure' [...] does not connote indolence or quiescence. What it connotes is non-productive consumption of time (43). He points out that much of leisure time is spent out of sight from a spectator, and leisure activities are not active ones in the same way productive labor is seen to be. Production is part of a visual, material economy. So his solution is as follows:

He should find some means of putting in evidence the leisure that is not spent in the sight of the spectators. This can be done only indirectly, through the exhibition of some tangible, lasting results of the leisure so spent -- in a manner analogous to the familiar exhibition of tangible, lasting products of the labour performed for the gentleman

of leisure by handicraftsmen and servants in his employ. (43-44)

Veblen goes on to discuss the idea of having an "instinctive repugnance for the vulgar forms of labour" when one belongs to the higher, leisured class, because of a "realising sense of ceremonial uncleanness" attached to the visible performance of work (37).

This repugnance for labor described as characteristic of the leisure class is especially applicable to the Cook's Tourist for the time she or he is on tour. Because of the time spent accumulating the financial means of having this leisured period, and in order to perform the tasks of reading, socializing, and sightseeing, it is necessary to have servants to carry out the mundane tasks that they may very well have left behind temporarily at home, and will return to once the tour is over. In the meantime, it is vulgar to seek out one's own cup of beeftea, and it is ennobling, literally, to lie languidly on a deck-chair while awaiting the delivery of the said beef-tea. As Veblen says, the "degree of leisure and of exemption from contact with such industrial processes as serve the immediate everyday purposes of human life has ever been recognised by thoughtful men as a prerequisite to a worthy or beautiful, or even a blameless, human life. In itself and in its consequences the life of leisure is beautiful and ennobling in all civilised men's eyes" (37-8). Such service enables the production of beautiful results later, when these tourists return to their homes with enlarged minds for the countries they have visited. Diaries kept by some of Cook's clients discuss how travel stimulated curiosity, encouraged enthusiasm for the arts, and gave them a kind of university education that also fed their interest in foreign cultures (Brendon 88).

There is a near-pornographic element to how the tourist watches the laboring Other – it is a voyeuristic experience that is enticing and yet off-limits to the viewer's class, and it is a vision of the body at work in commodity culture. It fulfills the tourist's desire to make themselves distinct from the racial, laboring Other who uses his or her body in the work performed. For Kipling, this vision of the work performed by the racial Other stirs up a good deal of anger when he views the Chinese men at work in Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong. He writes, in his seventh letter, "Neither at Penang, Singapur, nor this place have I seen a single Chinaman asleep while daylight lasted. Nor have I seen twenty men who were obviously loafing. All were going to some definite end" (I: 275). This anger is complex, because the vision of the working Chinese man places him in the subject position of the leisured tourist, a figure he claims to loath. At the same time, we can see from Veblen's analysis, that Kipling belongs to same category that encompasses the globetrotter. The industriousness of the Chinese man, even when not in his home country but in Penang, Malaysia, brings out the indignant empire booster in Kipling. He cannot see a good end to the increasing numbers of Chinese workers in contrast to the lower numbers of British colonists. Instead, the industrious Chinese man represents a productiveness that the British colonist would do well to emulate, because the large army of Chinese, as he calls them, are "driving fine carriages, others making shoes, chairs, clothes, and every other thing that a large town desires. They were the first army corps on the march of the Mongol" (I: 245). On the other hand, the Englishman will "lounge and loaf and seem to go to the office at eleven in the morning" (I: 252). In this vision of the

Chinese representing the Other, one who comes from an ancient imperial power, Kipling evokes the Mongolian invasion led by Genghis Khan, but this time, instead of approaching the banks of the Danube river, the new Mongol army has infiltrated a British colony.

The Chinese nation represented in this letter shows how work and occupation are threatening to the tourist on a paid leisure trip. What is strange about what Kipling shows us, is the rivalry he sets up with the nation the British are trying so hard to annex. At the end of one letter, he is so livid about how successful China appears to be in sending their unofficial colonists that the letter ends with the words, "Let us annex China." Let us occupy the country producing these occupiers, who are performing the task of colonization through their visibly productive labor. The tourists that are doing the work of leisure are tangential to the work of empire, in Kipling's view. A more psychoanalytic view comes from Roy Bridges, writing on Late Victorian imperialism and travel writing concerned with Africa and Asia. Bridges suggests for some writers, there is a "subliminal realisation that all the annexations of territory in Africa and the wrestling of concessions from China were signs of weakness rather than strength" (66). This is true for Kipling, who would have been aware of the British efforts to establish a healthy presence in China through treaty ports sustained through sometimes scanty populations of British settlers. The struggle to secure concessions from the Chinese were part of the ongoing resistance to British military and economic efforts to colonize, though theorists consider the overall British effort to be worthy of the designation "semicolonial."

The indignation over overseas Chinese economic success does not seem to have registered with Kipling's fellow tourists, making his response anomalous, and highlighting the general tourist mindset. When we look at the Egyptian clients of Cook's Tours, we find one of their tasks of leisure, while on tour, is to ensure and reinforce authenticity, despite the spurious claim to authenticity in themselves, with regard to entitlement to the leisured class. Derek Gregory writes about how such tourists assiduously read canonical accounts of travel about touring Egypt, describing their own experiences and recording their impressions of the people and places visited. These writings reassured tourists of the possibility they, too, could inspect and even touch the ancient and exotic from the familiar comforts that surrounded them on tour. Even the hardier souls who would chafe at this protection from the native Egyptians, they were usually careful to maintain a comfortable distance. This situation applies to our globetrotters wending their way through the Far East. At the same time, Gregory says, these tourists are intent upon the preservation of the authentic from the incursion of modernity represented by their very presence (119). It is an uneasy balance that the tourists encounter, and Kipling has pointed out how a kind of authenticity is painful to witness. The reality of British success as colonizers is put on display, and it is not nearly the success that Thomas Cook was able to exploit in Egypt.

What we have, at this point, is the tourist figure whose interest in visiting certain places is shaped by reading, and the means of realizing this goal comes from using Thomas Cook and Son's tourist agency. While to some theorists it is evident that the tourists' extensive use of Cook's services reinforces their extra-

imperial power in terms of using transport lines, establishing British headquarters in each major stop, and sending many British people to see the extent of their imperial power, there has been little done to answer the question of why these clients select the places they do. One possible key to this question lies in a remark from Thomas Cook's earliest published guidebook. In this first guide to the earliest, temperance-oriented destinations, Cook takes care to describe the manufacturing landmarks as well as the historical ones, but at times he is at a loss. When they are thirty miles away from the Edge Hill Station at Liverpool, there is suddenly a blank in the chatty descriptions. Cook writes,

we have tried in vain to procure full information of objects and places on this part of the route. Passing several small Stations, we reach Chatmoss, an extensive, uncultivated, and uncultivable bog. Here the skill of Railway constructors was first severely tested in finding a solid foundation over which to lay their Line.

What matters, however, what bogs, or rocks, rivers, or mountains, are in the way? Before the indomitable spirit of Science they become a plain. (Cook 27)

Nature offers resistance, of a kind that may never be resolved, as Cook calls the bog "uncultivable," but in the end, Science with a capital "S" will triumph and flatten all obstacles so that Cook's clients may enjoy a view of how their prosperity has reshaped nature. In a similar way, we may see how travel to the East is, in itself, inscrutable, just as the tourists find the Chinese Other to be inscrutable and unfathomable. For Kipling's companions, their tour to the East is in some sense a visit to another kind of unfathomable bog which hides all sorts of secrets and creatures who are unwilling to yield to the progressive discourse of

nineteenth-century science and its belief in Progress. Perhaps the globetrotter in the Far East plays witness to the limits of their progress, as they have reached the end of their discursive line, as well as a stop of their imperial reach.

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