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Introduction

One of the central themes of travel literature of Australia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the image of Australia as part of a cohesive and progressive British Empire. Explorers and travellers prudently composed their texts to pass on this vision to their readership. In this thesis I will explore the imperial rhetoric inherent in published accounts of travel written by explorers and travellers who came to Australia during the period 1813 to 1914. The accounts published during this period were selective and value-laden in approach as the cultural conditioning of the writer influenced what they presented. Furthermore, travel writers drew upon contemporary ideas to understand the people and environments they observed.¹ For example, explorers, perceiving and interpreting the environment they travelled through, consciously and subconsciously drew upon Enlightenment ideas of science, progress and aesthetics to describe what they saw. Their published accounts became a way of claiming and understanding the environment as part of the empire and marketing its potential to their readership. Even as more travellers journeyed to Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries their accounts continued to be influenced by their backgrounds and knowledge systems. They applied contemporary scientific opinions, imperialist principles and progressivist views to their interpretation of the Australian landscape and its people. In so doing they underlined the idea that the British Empire was unified and that Australia was a loyal, successful and prosperous member of that Empire. Ideology operated as the framework upon which explorers and travellers built their understanding of Australia which once presented in their published accounts instilled and encouraged a particular response from their audience.

While at first reading exploration and travel literature is an expose of the explorers and travellers' journeys, it is the underlying political and moral subtext with its ideologies of empire that are of interest in this thesis. In this thesis I have used "imperial rhetoric" to denote the subtle imperialist influences that recur in travel literature. Imperialism is present in the way travel writers appropriated the land. In surveying and naming landforms, and in describing and naming flora and fauna, explorers used science and aesthetics to appropriate the environment for the Empire; in revealing the land's

¹ Throughout this thesis "travel writers" will denote both explorers and travellers. In a similar manner "travel literature" will refer to the body of work by both explorers and travellers.

potential to progress to a great civilisation, explorers and later travellers represented Australia as a land of opportunity for emigrants which would relieve the burden of poverty and unemployment from the British government. The appeals to patriotism in the consistent use of metaphors of home and family by travellers suggested the long and binding genetic ties between Australia and Britain and reinforced the protective connection of belonging to the imperial family. Furthermore late nineteenth and early twentieth century ideas about economic progress and society provided the background for travellers to describe Australians as egalitarian, successful and prosperous thus boosting the vision of the British Empire in the minds of the reading public at a time when the prestige of Empire and faith in progress was weakening.

An imperialist stance is evident in the often-superior approach travel writers took to their subject matter. Travel writers drew upon western ideologies and cultural traditions in developing their perceptions of Australia. In their texts they highlighted how Australia differed from the known British model. Their commentaries often constructed Australia as an inferior “other”, which reinforced British superiority and Australia’s paternalistic relationship with Britain. Even non-British travel writers maintained an authoritative tone in their texts by shaping Australia as the subordinate “other” of Britain. Knowingly or unwittingly explorers and travellers served the imperial cause through the imperial rhetoric contained in their published accounts and it is this that provides the unifying idea to the thesis.

In *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion*, John Mackenzie has used the propaganda evident in the theatre, organisations, imperial societies and juvenile literature to demonstrate how the various forms have promoted the cause of empire to a diverse audience. In that work he identified propaganda as

the transmission of ideas and values from one person, or groups of persons, to another, with the specific intention of influencing the recipients’ attitudes in such a way that the interests of its authors will be enhanced. Although it may be veiled, seeking to influence thoughts, beliefs and actions by suggestion, it must be conscious and deliberate.²

Mackenzie’s work has provided a good basis for developing my thesis that travel literature by British explorers and travellers had an underlying and suggestive purpose

² John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester, 1984, p.3.

to foster imperial prestige. He contends that these vehicles of propaganda provided a means to influence readers in the formation of their vision of Empire and to motivate them to patriotically follow the imperialist agenda. However rather than the specific objective of fostering imperial prestige that Mackenzie implies, my analysis of travel literature has discerned a spontaneous imperial response stimulated by contemporary ideology. To avoid the intent associated with MacKenzie's "propaganda", I have used "imperial rhetoric" in this thesis. The images and ideas of empire travel writers presented in their published accounts were both explicit and implicit. However travel writers were not necessarily deliberately advocating Empire but were simply drawing upon contemporary ideologies, which endorsed and supported Empire, in the process of describing Australia. The imperial rhetoric that resulted became a persuasive device that encouraged their readership towards a particular view of the relationship between Britain and Australia, a view which encouraged imperial loyalty. Imperial rhetoric was evident in the use of metaphor as well as in the use of ideology and contemporary issues. Travel writers made use of their existing knowledge systems and preconceived ideas to present a selective image of Australia as an important and progressive part of the British Empire. In the process of presenting their views, their ideas gained legitimacy and credibility and enticed and influenced their audience towards their point of view.³ While it is not the concern of this thesis to measure the audience response to the writers' messages, the sheer numbers of travel texts published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries indicate how popular these texts were with the public. The aim of this thesis is to explain and expound upon some of the ideologies and contemporary issues which travel writers drew upon and how these ideas were used to broadcast their imperial vision and to arouse loyalty to Empire.

Given the geographical extent and diverse environments of Australia, few explorers and travellers could hope to gain an understanding of Australia as a whole. Most of the explorers covered in this thesis set out with instructions from the imperial government relayed via the colonial administrators that set down specific exploration objectives. For example, Sir Thomas Mitchell was instructed to investigate the idea that a large navigable river existed in the interior that would allow easy communications between

³ Oliver Thomson, *Mass Persuasion in History: An Historical Analysis of the Development of Propaganda Techniques*, Edinburgh, 1977, pp.3-39. Garth S Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, third edition, Thousand Oaks, California, 1999, pp.1-11. J.A.C. Brown, *Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing*, Harmondsworth, 1968, p. 9-13.

the southern colonies and northern Australia and Asia; Charles Sturt was directed to explore the course of the Macquarie River and confirm the nature of inland waters.⁴ Their often-extended journeys were arduous and dangerous as they travelled into areas previously unknown to Europeans. Here the explorer, as leader and hero acted as the harbinger of civilisation; here he described the land in European terms and placed it within the imperial imagination. In contrast, late nineteenth and early twentieth century travellers confined their journeys to the urban centres and developed rural areas. Many travelled by railway and viewed the passing landscape from the comfort of their railway compartment. Some travelled between centres by steamship with only glimpses of the intervening coastline. Moreover their stays in various places were often brief and thus their impressions were generalised and relied upon the observations of other travellers, known facts and contemporary understanding about race, society and progress.

My analysis has focused on, firstly, how explorers appropriated the land for the empire and secondly, how travellers confirmed Australia's place within the empire, its relationship with Britain and its societal and economic progress. Revealed in their narratives, was not only the view of the individual travel writer on various issues but also their own position in the world. Indeed their texts often suggest the authority and superiority secured by the position of imperial explorer and traveller. However those travellers from other parts of the British Empire, such as Canada, and those from independent democracies, such as the United States, conveyed a less superior tone. American travellers, in particular, maintained the authority of their country's success in the struggle for independence. While these accounts were published to meet a growing popular market in travel literature, they also served to influence their readers on the power and prestige of the Empire and Australia's contribution to the imperial position. Even when describing Australia's harsh environment, explorers and travellers still openly encouraged immigration to Australia, a journey they considered held the promise of personal advancement. Nevertheless some travellers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century also used their narratives to criticise British colonial policy.

⁴ J.L. Allen, "Lands of Myth", in D. Lowenthal & M Bowden (eds), *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy*, New York, 1976, pp.41-61. Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*, New York, 1987, pp.56-57. Captain Charles Sturt, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831*, Vol.1, London, 1833, p.185.

The historiographical and theoretical approach employed in this study will rely to some extent upon that used extensively by cultural historians and commentators of travel literature. This approach maintains texts should not be viewed in isolation, but placed within the intellectual and cultural context in which they were written. In addition literary theory has been used to analyse texts, particularly in an attempt to discern their “silences”.

The publication in 1960 of Bernard Smith’s book, *European Vision and the South Pacific* initiated a change in the interpretation of cultural history. The originality of his work lies in Smith’s expansion of historical interpretation to acknowledge the interdependence of art, science and social science, providing a more complete view of evidence from the South Pacific. He demonstrated how the European interpretation of the landscape and people of the South Pacific was culture-bound and altered over time with contact and with changes in intellectual ideas. These changes can be distinguished in both the art and texts of the period. For example, Aborigines were often, but not solely, portrayed as noble savages in the early voyages of Cook but later as concepts of evolution and race developed they were described as ignoble savages considered weaker people and thereby dismissed or controlled. Smith states that “‘Natural selection’ ...became an effective instrument for the maintenance of European power.”⁵ Further, Smith’s presentation of the role of the Royal Society in promoting the empirical interpretation of the South Pacific and the Royal Academy in endorsing the representation of nature in her perfect form demonstrated how imperial societies furthered imperial rhetoric. These societies were influential in spreading the imperial agenda as they specified how material should be incorporated into the accepted aesthetic and scientific framework and then presented to their audiences. Smith highlights the way original sketches often differed from final published representations that indicated the selective process employed by the travel writer. Smith’s work was particularly useful in contextualising art and science, particularly as it is presented in the accounts of exploration.

In *The Course of Empire*, Robert Dixon demonstrated how the Scottish Enlightenment, especially the theory of social and economic progress, led to the growth of colonial

⁵ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas*, second edition, Sydney, 1984, p.ix.

nationalism in New South Wales from the period of first settlement to the mid-nineteenth century. Dixon emphasises progress as a central theme in literature and art during the early nineteenth century. This theme is marked in the accounts of explorers and travellers covered here and provided the basis for much imperial rhetoric. While the language of progress changed over the period of the thesis, from neoclassicism to romanticism to pragmatism, it remained crucial to “announce the imperial destiny of a young nation”.⁶

Of particular relevance is Dixon’s analysis of the exploration literature and art of the first half of the nineteenth century. His interpretation of exploration literature uses the image of the explorer journeying backward from civilisation to savagery in reversal of the usual order of progress. The explorer searches for a great inland river and fertile land; in the process he faces ordeals and overcomes barriers, in the pattern of the great epics. The explorer becomes the harbinger of civilisation to a land in a state of savagery but with the potential to progress to civil society as part of the empire. This pattern of societal development recurs in the published accounts of exploration covered by this thesis.

Dixon’s examination of colonial topographical painting in *The Course of Empire* is particularly relevant to the illustrations in the published accounts of exploration. He emphasises how these illustrations fit the theme of social and economic progress. The illustrations in the explorers’ accounts similarly reveal the theme of progress in their composition and adherence to contemporary artistic conventions. Dixon contextualises his interpretation of colonial culture as a product of Enlightenment thought and imperial effort.

Christopher Mulvey has employed the contextualisation of texts in his study of Anglo-American travel literature, entitled *Anglo-American Landscapes*.⁷ Mulvey examined the cultural relationship between Britain and America by comparing and contrasting the approaches of British travel writers in America with American travel writers in England. He suggests that travellers were influenced by their existing opinions when

⁶ Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire: Neoclassical Culture in New South Wales 1788-1860*, Melbourne, 1986, p.3.

⁷ Christopher Mulvey, *Anglo-American Landscapes: A Study of Nineteenth Century Anglo-American Travel Literature*, Cambridge, 1983.

they travelled. British writers were looking for the familiar in America while American travellers were seeking their past. Mulvey mainly uses the work of sentimental writers in his analysis and focuses on their reactions to the landscape rather than on social commentary. He notes that their responses were informed and constructed by their existing knowledge systems, particularly those pertaining to romanticism and the picturesque.

Not confining their study to responses to landscape, R.G. Moyles and Doug Owrarn have analysed British impressions of Canada in their work, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914*, by placing them within an intellectual and cultural context that not only defines British impressions of the Canadian landscape but also Canada's society, its relationship with Britain, views about the Indigenous people and Canada's economic potential.⁸ They contrast the "imperial dreams" of writers with the "colonial realities" using popularist literature that propagandises empire, such as juvenile literature, magazines and novels as their foundation. Mulvey, and Moyles and Owrarn's approach in contextualising travel literature is pertinent to this thesis. Analysis of the literature in its historical and social context has an underlying significance in the study of Australia's past as it illuminates Australia's relationship with Britain and place within the Empire.

Other theoretical approaches have been utilised to some extent. Some come from literary theory while others combine theory with a historicized methodology. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said discusses how Europeans have utilised the discourse of oriental studies to serve the cause of imperialism and thus dominate the East.⁹ He asserts that from the end of the eighteenth century Europeans had developed distinct ideas about themselves and about non-Europeans. Western cultural traditions and perceptions highlighted difference and contrast, which created cultural hegemony that authorised western superiority and ideas of Eastern inferiority and stagnation. Said's main concern is with European perceptions of the East, but he contends that similar models have been constructed to analyse other peoples. However the interactions are much more complex than Said's "black and white" interpretation suggests. Writers are

⁸ R.G. Moyles and Doug Owrarn, *Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities: British Views of Canada, 1880-1914*, Toronto, 1988.

⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, 1979.

also influenced by the historical context in which they are writing, that is, the economic, political and social situations that affect their observances. Perhaps the major criticism of Said's work is that he oversimplifies the interaction between West and East, failing to contextualise the material he presents in a place-by-place, traveller-by-traveller examination.¹⁰ Nonetheless, his methodological devices of "strategic location" and "strategic formation" that he uses for studying authority are useful for this thesis. "Strategic location" relates to the author's position in the text, the kind of voice used and the images and themes used with regard to the subject matter. "Strategic formation" is the way texts and textual genres acquire referential power among themselves and thereafter in culture at large.¹¹ Used in conjunction with analysis of the historical context of the published accounts they provide useful analytical tools.

Mary Louise Pratt takes Said's work further by combining a historicized approach with literary theory and imperialist ideology in travel and exploration literature. In her work *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, she discusses transculturation; not only how imperialists' endeavours presented in travel writing engaged readers at home in their enterprise but how this writing impacted upon the object of the imperial gaze. She writes:

While the imperial metropolis tends to understand itself as determining the periphery ... it habitually blinds itself to the ways in which the periphery determines the metropolis – beginning, perhaps, with the latter's obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. Travel writing, among other institutions, is heavily organized in the service of that imperative.¹²

Of particular use for this thesis is her discussion of how the Linnean system of classification provided a passive but powerful means of possessing and commanding the world. This authority over the landscape had later implications in the industrial revolution. Pratt introduces the terms "contact zone", "anti-conquest" and "transculturation" which have some relevance to my analysis of travel literature. The "contact zone" was the place where Europeans engaged with non-Europeans.¹³ "Anti-

¹⁰ Billie Melman, "The Middle East/Arabia: 'the cradle of Islam'" in Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge, 2002, p.107. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, Oxford, 2001, pp.xix, 4-5. John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, theory and the arts*, Manchester, 1995.

¹¹ Said, *Orientalism*, p.20.

¹² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London, 1992, p.6

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.7.

conquest” refers to the sympathetic representation of Indigenous people in travel literature by explorers and travellers whose arduous journey induced a form of language that conveyed a passive and innocent position, but was still informed by the imperial imperative of control and dispossession.¹⁴ These concepts have been particularly useful in the discussion of exploration literature and European views of Aborigines.

As a counter-argument to the emphasis on the racial ‘other’ of *Orientalism*, David Cannadine in *Ornamentalism* contends that the duplication of British social hierarchies and displays of the pomp and circumstance of imperial administration served to reinforce ties to Britain and establish a unified empire. He points to a different way of viewing the empire by downplaying the role of race and colour in perceptions of empire and emphasising instead class and status. For example, he notes that Indigenous people were placed within the British social hierarchy and could be regarded with dignity and respect despite their colour and race. This was particularly the case in the colonies such as India where the British administration relied heavily upon local rulers. Cannadine contends that a homogenised empire was presented to the domestic market by overcoming the diversity found in their territories abroad with the cultivation of British traditions and social structure. He describes the empire as a

royal empire, presided over and unified by a sovereign of global amplitude and semi-divine fullness, and suffused with the symbols and signifiers of kingship, which reinforced, legitimated, unified and completed the empire as a realm bound together by order, hierarchy, tradition and subordination.¹⁵

The flaws in his work rest on his assumption of the diminishing place of race in the British administration of its colonies and an over-emphasis on social status. To produce a completely inclusive work Cannadine should have focused not only on the ruling classes in both Britain and its territories, but also tested his thesis further to encompass the middle and lower classes. His argument is not entirely convincing given the extent and diverse societies that made up the British Empire at its height although it has been useful in formulating my thesis, particularly the role of British cultural traditions in fostering the Empire.

Paul Carter’s poststructuralist work *The Road to Botany Bay* has had some bearing on my thesis. In particular his textual analysis of the published accounts and journals of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p.102.

explorers provided some insightful analysis that could be illuminated further through contextualisation. However Carter's concept of spatial history, which he develops in opposition to what he calls the imperial history of historians such as Manning Clark and Russel Ward, is difficult to grasp due to his elaborate style. He considers his spatial history, that is the individual's experience of travelling through the landscape, to be divorced from temporal considerations. Naming is an indication of spatial history as it indicated the individual's engagement with space. Carter's concept of spatial history is flawed as the process of travelling is a temporal experience as well as a spatial one and space and time cannot be considered in isolation. Carter's work seems more a work of literary criticism than history as in his deconstruction of texts he devalues the external factors that were influential in the explorer's journey such as government orders and scientific objectives.

In *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia*, Simon Ryan follows Smith and others in stating that the explorers' perceptions were governed by European knowledge systems. He analyses exploration literature within a Foucauldian framework that allows him to develop a thesis that considers the explorer as motivated by a desire to control and appropriate the land. For example in his discussion of nineteenth century aesthetics, he asserts that:

These [aesthetic] conventions are not to be understood as harmless strategies for familiarising the unfamiliar, or – worse – as natural responses. Rather, the picturesque and panoramic deconstruct the journals' claims to the authority of originality and immediacy, for no longer is the vision fresh and unaffected, but it is culturally mediated. Moreover, they are techniques which reveal the nexus between power and surveillance within the journal and, once the existence of this nexus is realised, it is possible to see that 'innocent' aesthetic responses are actually expressions of imperial greed.¹⁶

Ryan reduces the appreciation of landscape to mere avarice and a capricious desire for imperial power. It is suggested that while these accounts do contain the rhetoric of empire, explorers are not as consciously complicit in fostering empire as Ryan claims. Most explorers were men of taste who used aesthetic theories as the framework upon which to describe the land. In this process they alluded to the land's potential and established British entitlement to it.

¹⁶ Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers saw Australia*, Cambridge, 1996, p.54.

While the analysis of women's travel writing within a feminist theoretical framework has become popular and led to the publication of numerous works, they have had limited application in my own work. Interesting and insightful though these works are their focus has generally been on women travelling not in the colonies of large scale European settlement but in isolated regions of Africa, Asia and South America. In *Discourses of Difference*, Sara Mills combines feminist theory and Foucault to provide an analytical framework for the discussion of women's travel writing.¹⁷ She does not look at the texts from a biographical perspective, that is, how the individual female travel writer exerted her independence within the male dominated field, but instead examines how the marginalisation of women within the context of imperialism, which was identified as masculine and British, affected their writing about colonialism. Because of contemporary understandings of women as feminine, domestic and pure, Mills discerns tensions in the writing of women travellers. She considers that because of the marginal position of women in late nineteenth and early twentieth century society and despite their predominantly middle-class status, women travel writers tended to focus on the individual and domestic rather than on broader issues such as race and society. This has not generally been the case in the accounts by women travellers of Australia.

The travel literature encompassed here is divided into two forms; those by explorers who, in the early part of the nineteenth century, were engaged in the appropriation of Australia for the Empire and those of travellers in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century whose works acted to reinvigorate and consolidate the Empire. To my knowledge no comprehensive analysis of explorers' and travellers' interpretations of Australia as expressions of imperial rhetoric exists. Some works which examine the accounts of individual explorers and travellers have been published and edited collections of travel writing exist. However their focus is generally on the explorer or traveller rather than a close analysis of their narratives. There are a few works that emphasise a specific theme. For example, in *The Cartographic Eye*, Simon Ryan demonstrates through the deconstruction of explorers' texts how appropriation of the landscape and Aborigines occurred and how Europeans gained power and authority. Ross Gibson's *The Diminishing Paradise: Changing Literary Perceptions of Australia*

¹⁷ Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism*, London, 1991.

and Robert Dixon's *The Course of Empire: Neoclassical Culture in New South Wales 1788-1860* also use travel literature as a basis for their particular arguments. This thesis will provide a thorough analysis of selected published accounts of travel throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with particular attention to exposing the imperial rhetoric they contain.

Temporally, I have analysed selected accounts of exploration and travel in Australia published during the period 1813 to 1914. The starting date of 1813 coincides with the beginnings of European inland exploration; 1850 provides a concluding date for the analysis of exploration literature covered here as it roughly corresponds with the discovery of gold and with the end of convict transportation to the eastern colonies. By the 1850s, much of interior of south-eastern Australia, the northern coastal areas and south-western Australia had been explored and while expeditions continued in the late nineteenth century, they were explorations of central Australia or more localised investigations of limited areas. 1850 also marks the beginnings of an influx of ordinary travellers and tourists. The concluding date of 1914 marks the beginning of World War I and Australia's first major action as a national entity within the British Empire.

Published accounts of exploration by the well-known inland and maritime explorers have mainly been used as sources for the section on exploration. These include Sir Thomas Mitchell, John Lort Stokes, P.P. King, Ludwig Leichhardt, Charles Sturt, John Oxley among others. In all, the published accounts of twenty major explorers of Australia have been studied. Published accounts of maritime explorations have been included, as they were engaged in charting the coastline of Australia and often their surveys anticipated later inland explorations of specific areas. These journeys were undertaken in the service of empire. However the main focus of my analysis of published accounts of exploration has been journals of land explorations as they provide the most fertile avenue for explicating my thesis. Source material of the latter period comes from the works of major late nineteenth century British and Canadian travellers of the calibre of Anthony Trollope, Charles Dilke, Gilbert Parker and James Froude although the work of lesser known travellers has also been used. In addition some works by Australian-born travellers, such as Mae Vivienne and Ellis Rowan have been introduced for comparative purposes. Works by European and Asian travellers to Australia have not been consulted unless they were published in English. Accounts by

women travellers have been used although one difficulty in this area is the scarcity of published accounts by women travelling to Australia especially compared to those by women travelling to Asia, Africa or India.

The thesis is divided in three parts. The first part, of three chapters, covers the history, style and format of travel literature and provides an analysis of the genre in the Australian context. It contains a discussion of the distinctiveness of exploration literature in the early nineteenth century, its structure and devices. I have also examined the complexities of the published accounts by male and female travel writers later in the century and their different approaches to their subject matter. The second part of this thesis contains a detailed analysis of the exploration literature in the period 1813 to 1850. Texts are placed within contemporary intellectual contexts of science, progress and aesthetics exposing a discourse of imperial possession. The final part examines travel literature from 1850 to 1914 in terms of contemporary ideas and opinions; this time emphasising Australia's ongoing connection to Britain and accepting the coexistence of imperial patriotism and evolving national identity. It explores the travellers' evaluation of Australia and Australians with reference to scientific and progressivist views of the environment and society.

Chapter One begins part one of the thesis and consists of an historical overview of travel literature beginning in ancient times and setting out the changing nature of travel literature up to the beginning of the twentieth century. It identifies the dominant motivations for travel in each period and the corresponding structural and thematic changes in travel literature. The chapter pays particular attention to the form of travel literature in ancient and early Christian times, during the middle ages, the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century with some focus on the Grand Tour. The form of travel literature on Australia of the nineteenth century followed a similar structure to that on other settler colonies. It is characterised by the volume of accounts, romantic early accounts of inland exploration moving into a more pragmatic narrative form later in the century. A follow-on effect of industrialisation was more comfortable and faster travel available to a wider section of society. With increasing numbers of travellers came increasing numbers of published accounts. Thus travel literature increased in popularity and accounts became available through magazines, newspapers and lending libraries. In contrast to the travellers of the past, who travelled because of their work

and wrote as a consequence of their official duty, late nineteenth century travellers increasingly journeyed for pleasure as well as business. The accounts published during the mid to late nineteenth century were informative and entertaining, often encouraging migration through stories of adventure and the possibility of personal advancement. The format of the accounts changed as the century progressed; the explorer's day-to-day journal form became less common and the continuous narrative under defined chapter headings appeared more frequently. By the turn of the century some accounts were didactic in tone, stressing the supremacy of the white race but suggestive of a questioning of the belief in progress.

Chapter Two discusses exploration literature as a form of travel literature. It sets out the conventions followed by explorers in the development of their published accounts and how these practices impacted upon the veracity of the account while at the same time increasing its appeal to readers. They were written as first person narratives, a style which personalised the account and gave the explorer hero status and authority. The use of the first person emphasises the author's presentation of the text as accurate day-to-day records of the expedition. The editing process is also considered, as many published accounts were vastly different to the original explorer's field notebook. This process is explained in terms of engaging and informing the reader. As part of the process of enticing and enlightening readers, explorers' journals often contained appendices and additional material including maps and scientific reports. Explorers complied with these established conventions that sustained the imperial rhetoric contained in their narratives.

Chapter Three analyses the nature, style and format of travel literature from 1850 to 1914. In particular it considers and compares the published accounts by male and female travel writers during the period. Their accounts contain fundamental differences that are founded in differing ways of seeing.¹⁸ While commentators on travel literature contend that women travellers wrote more about human nature while men were concerned with public life, the chapter points to the distinction being more blurred. Women travellers did discuss political, economic and administrative matters in their accounts of Australia and male travellers did make observations about private life.

¹⁸ Mills, *Discourses of Difference*. Jane Robinson (ed.), *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers*, Oxford, 1995. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

What is distinctive about male and female travel writers is more the amount of detail contained in their narratives on these themes. Women wrote at length on individuals and society and men on political issues. However Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes* contends that it was not just a matter of different spheres of interest or expertise but that women travel writers had “differing modes of constituting knowledge and subjectivity”. She asserts that female concern for domestic detail in published accounts was a way of establishing their identity in colonial situations.¹⁹ Women’s travel writing is complex and many female travel writers worked within and against the masculine devices of the heroic traveller and the submissive, weak female. Many used an analytical and unemotional approach, using the masculine voice in their texts, fostering empire and meeting the accepted conventions of the genre.

In Chapter Four, the first chapter of part two, imperial rhetoric is revealed through analysing the idea of progress. Enlightenment notions of progress suggested that society progressed through stages of development from savagery to civilised society. In the literature of exploration, it became tied to visions of the development of idealised land. Idealised land was often likened to the Garden of Eden, an abundant but unoccupied land, which was provided by God or Providence for British use. It encompassed all the attributes necessary for the establishment of civil society and merely awaited British settlement to develop to a more advanced state. Through individual initiative and industry, the landscape would advance to a commercial society within the Empire. The promise of progress in Australia became a means of achieving a grand imperial triumph. While explorers did not necessarily discount Aboriginal prior use of the land, they considered them as living in a stage of savagery, an integral part of the landscape like its exotic flora and fauna. Through their understanding of the ideology of progress, explorers dispossessed Aborigines of their land and claimed it as an important part of a progressive empire. Many explorers acknowledged the growing economic and social significance of Australia to the British Empire. Not only were their explorations opening up new lands for settlement and thus agricultural and pastoral pursuits but their published accounts revealed the potential of the country for immigration and thus some relief from the pressures of overpopulation at home.

¹⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

Chapter Five discusses how explorers used aesthetic theories to describe and thereby claim the landscape. Aesthetic principles from landscape gardening, and from scholars like William Gilpin, and Richard Payne Knight can be discerned in the images of landscapes presented in the explorers' journals. Their descriptions not only demonstrated a preference for the contrived British "park-like" landscape but also revealed the more elaborate principles of romanticism, the sublime, the beautiful and the picturesque. Landscapes were depicted using Gilpin's picturesque conventions that emphasised roughness, contrast and variety as essential elements. In the picturesque tradition of both illustration and landscape description the limits of the scene were defined, the foreground highlighted and the focus drawn to the middle ground. Knight added subjectivity to aesthetic appreciation. He perceived the picturesque as a perception belonging to a class educated in the principles of painting, and not as an inherent property of an object. The use of aesthetic theories allowed the explorer, as a qualified arbiter of taste, to appropriate the landscape by placing the scene surveyed within the bounds of the picturesque conventions.

In Chapter Six the literature of exploration is examined within the context of science. Scientific societies established in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries laid down conventions for recording journeys, and collecting and describing specimens. In the nineteenth century the Royal Geographical Society was influential in directing the course of exploration and in broadcasting the results of particular explorations. The chapter looks at the involvement of these organisations, firstly in establishing certain practices for how exploration should be carried out and secondly their motives in influencing the survey and exploration of Australia's coastline and interior including the collecting of flora, fauna and geological specimens. Scientific collecting was an important aspect of exploration and was impelled throughout the nineteenth century by increasing specialisation into fields of botany, geology, zoology and ethnography. At first explorers and naturalists were astonished by the bizarre fauna and flora they discovered in Australia. By the early nineteenth century explorers and naturalists were regularly sending information and specimens back to Britain for further analysis. Findings were read at meetings of scientific societies and published in books and journals. Through imperial science the Australian environment was claimed for the empire and became part of the global Linnaean classificatory system. Imperial science acted as an agent for the dispersion of imperial rhetoric that not only emphasised

Britain's leading place within the arena of global science but also had implications for continuing Australian settlement and Britain's ongoing industrial development.

Chapter Seven begins the third part of the thesis. It examines the travellers' use of metaphors of home and family to tie Australia to Britain and the Empire. The use of these metaphors reinforced a sense of imperial power and prestige among readers both locally and within the Empire, often at a time when imperial decline was feared. However the travellers' views did not discount an emerging national spirit in Australia but suggested that it would co-exist with imperial patriotism. The chapter defines the notion of imperial patriotism and how metaphors of family reinforced the connection of Australia to the British Empire.

Chapter Eight demonstrates how travellers drew upon racial science as the central idea in discussions about Australians. The imperial rhetoric in their accounts linked the environment to human development. Travellers believed that the physical environment of Australia was having both positive and negative effects on the developing Australian race, an effect that served to highlight their own pre-eminent place. As background to the chapter, David Arnold's work *The Problem of Nature* was useful in obtaining an understanding of contemporary ideas about the impact of the environment on human development, particularly in constructing Australians as different and inferior in the imperial travellers' view.²⁰ This chapter contextualises travellers' observations of the Australian people and brings to light contemporary ideas of the interaction of race, climate and geology.

Ideas about the role of women in the development of a strong imperial race are background to travellers' impressions of Australian women discussed in Chapter Nine. It deals with social and moral issues concerning women in the late nineteenth century. Australia was seen as an experimental ground for analysing these issues, which were also evident in other parts of the Empire. From a position of authority, male and female travel writers revealed the subordinate role of Australian women in society and how they differed in character and role from that accepted for English women. Travel writers revealed in their texts the notion of differing roles for men and women in

²⁰ David Arnold, *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture and European Expansion*, Oxford, 1996.

Victorian and Edwardian society. In this regard Jane Mackay and Pat Thane's essay, "The Englishwoman", has been used to clarify the concept of "separate spheres".²¹ The imperial travellers' view was that the family was the centre of Victorian life; the woman's place was to rear healthy children and support the male head of the household as well as uphold and foster the moral and spiritual wellbeing of the family. Such a role would result in a fit and healthy imperial nation at a time when the deterioration of the race was feared. From their superior position travellers directed criticism at Australian women for their part in the decline of the birth rate in the early twentieth century and for the lapses in moral standards that resulted in illegitimate births and prostitution. The opposition of women to their role in Victorian society prompted some travellers to perceive women as solely responsible for societal problems. Such observations about the failings of Australian women appealed to the sense of moral decency of all women throughout the empire as a robust white population equated to imperial power.

Similarly ideas about race influenced travellers' impressions of the Indigenous people of Australia, and thereby sanctioned an imperial rhetoric of superiority. In chapter Ten I examine the travellers' sense of innate superiority based upon contemporary evolutionary laws of nature. However their views were multifaceted. While there was still some appreciation of the primitive nature of Aborigines living in the remote areas of Australia, there was a predominant view in the published accounts that the Aboriginal demise was inevitable.²² Some travellers displayed open criticism of British policy towards Aborigines. Other travellers' texts link faith in progress to racial theories and thus considered that Aboriginal development had stagnated, as they did not demonstrate a strong motivation to work hard and thereby advance. Not all were pessimistic about the fate of Aborigines, however, and some related successful attempts to civilise and advance Aborigines in Christian communities. Only those of mixed ancestry were destined to survive and travellers depicted these Aborigines in both positive and negative lights. At the same time, Aboriginal society was considered unique to evolutionary science as it provided a link to a previous human developmental stage and a connection to the ancient origins of humankind.

²¹ Jane Mackay & Pat Thane, "The Englishwoman", in Robert Colls & Philip Dodd (eds.), *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920*, Beckenham, 1986, p.192.

²² As this is a study of nineteenth and early twentieth century writings, words like "primitive" and "progressive" have been used in the sense that they were used in the literature of the period. They are not been placed in inverted commas except in quotation.

In Chapter Eleven, analysis centres on travellers' descriptions of the Australian environment, in particular, how their descriptions are infused with imperial rhetoric. They drew upon the conventions of the picturesque, the link between aesthetics and progress to present an imperial vision of the environment. The picturesque with its stress on the aesthetic sensibility of the traveller remained a concern of many travellers in the late nineteenth century. Many of their descriptions emphasised the conventions of verbal landscape depictions, a convention described by Rhoda Flaxman as "Victorian word-painting".²³ Such reliable pronouncement of beauty enveloped the traveller in a mantle of authority. However an appreciation of beauty and a utilitarian approach to land coexisted in the published accounts of travellers. In their utilitarian approach to the environment, they appropriated the land by cataloguing Australia's resources and industries and predicting the land's future prosperity, often in an attempt to encourage British migration and enhance British prestige and power. However some travellers considered that progress was proceeding too fast and was causing environmental problems that needed to be addressed.

Unpacking the travel writers' baggage examines the cultural underpinnings inherent in travel writing of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and exposes its imperial rhetoric. The thesis is an analysis of some of the ideas that were salient at the time of the individual travel writer's journey and how these ideas formed the foundation for their interpretations of Australia and its responsibility to, and part in, the British Empire. Travel writers were complicit in fostering the imperial view through the ideas they drew upon but they were not necessarily deliberate propagandists of Empire.

²³ Rhoda Flaxman, *Victorian Word-Painting and Narrative: Toward the Blending of Genres*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1983.

Chapter One

Travel Literature: its historical origins

...the ideal travel writer is consumed not just with a will to know. He is also moved by a powerful will to teach. Inside every good travel writer there is a pedagogue – often a highly moral pedagogue- struggling to get out. ... A commitment to language and to literary artifice must also be there, and the impulse to write must equal the impulse to travel.¹

Paul Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, 1987.

Travel writing and the history of travel are intrinsically linked. As the mode and motivation for travel changes so does the form of the travel account. Of interest to this thesis are published accounts of exploration and those by other travellers which could be considered guidebooks. The latter provided a pragmatic but occasionally emotive account of people and places, that could be used as guides by later travellers. The subject matter of their narrative was not necessarily unknown to readers. In contrast explorers journeyed into the unknown. Their accounts accentuated the empiricism of scientific observation and placed an emphasis on the description and collection of material while also underlining how new lands and resources might contribute to imperial development. However some crossovers exist as journals of exploration could provide valuable information to later explorers and travellers. This chapter presents the historical origins of these forms of travel literature. It highlights the changes and continuities in their character from ancient times.

Myths and legends provide an early form of travel literature. In these narratives the hero was transformed by his journey. For example, in Homer's *Odyssey* (c.700 BC), the hero, Odysseus is awakened by confronting and overcoming dangers and ordeals that arose during the course of his quest. Sometimes these imaginary journeys took the form of sea voyages, where the hero journeyed with his crew beyond the known world but returned alone to relate stories of heroic feats in exotic lands.² Emphasising virtues in human actions these narratives often contained a moral lesson. The idea of the explorer as hero and the journey as quest survived into the nineteenth century although the later accounts lacked the moral message of the ancient epics. For example, the explorer-hero Mitchell set

¹ Paul Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, New York, 1987, pp.15-16.

² J. Seigneuret (ed.), *Dictionary of Literary Themes and Motifs*, New York, 1988, pp.1293-1301.

out into the unknown to confirm geographic lore. He sought a great inland river thought to exist in the interior of Australia – a river that would foster economic progress in Australia.

Although life within Europe during the Middle Ages was often confined to some extent by unrest, the limits of the known world were still being extended and distant peoples and places described.³ The empirical nature of these travellers' observations of Asia pre-empted later exploration literature. For example, in Marco Polo's account not only was Asian society and culture described but also the natural resources of the various lands.⁴ With the invention of printing in the fifteenth century narratives of travel were published in greater numbers and reached a wider audience. During the sixteenth century, Portuguese explorers, such as de Albuquerque, made long sea voyages to Asia, Africa and the East Indies, returning to publish accounts of their voyages. They were followed by the Spanish and French and later the English and Dutch. The New World had been discovered and motives of trade, colonisation, Christianity and gold stimulated journeys by other travellers. The published literature of explorers and travellers expanded knowledge of the known world in the minds of the literate. They discussed new continents and peoples, the annexation of territory, and the development of trade routes.⁵ These accounts were usually written in journal form taken from ships' logs compiled during the voyage but often included personal experiences of heroic proportions.⁶

In 1665, the Royal Society formalised empiricism in accounts of explorations when they charged maritime explorers in *Directions to Seamen bound for far Voyages* to:

study *Nature* rather than *Books*, and from the Observations, made of the *Phaenomena* and Effects she presents, to compose such a History of Her, as may hereafter serve to build a Solid and Useful Philosophy upon.⁷

³ Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, Lexington, 1983, pp.47-48.

⁴ Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing: from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, (trans. Catherine Matthias), Houndmills, 2000, p.29.

⁵ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.49-50.

⁶ William H. Sherman, "Stirrings and searchings (1500-1720)", in Hulme & Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, p.26.

⁷ *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, I (January 1665/6), pp.140-141 cited in R.W. Frantz, *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732*, New York, 1968, p.15.

Collection and classification came to dominate accounts of sea voyages and the observations of seamen were of enormous benefit to the Royal Society.⁸ Such narratives of voyages by sea as well as travel on land became exceedingly popular in Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World*, first printed in 1697, was reprinted three times within a year due to public demand.⁹ Often accounts of voyages were published by the Society in its *Transactions* along with other papers related to scientific experiments.¹⁰ Central to these narratives was scientific observation, but such accounts did not lack the entertainment value of adventure in strange and exotic lands.

By the eighteenth century, in an age enlightened by reason and science, travel literature of exploration involved empirical investigation and discussion of the phenomena encountered as a matter of course. Every journey tested a hypothesis and the written account verified the findings. As Samuel Johnson wrote,

...the use of travelling is to regulate imagination by reality, and instead of thinking how things may be, to see them as they are.¹¹

Travel literature based upon sea and land exploration continued to increase well into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Sea voyagers travelled the Pacific Ocean while land explorers tackled the interior of Africa, North and South America and Australia. As an adjunct to their journeys, explorers and travellers often returned to London to present an account of their travels before the Royal Society or later, the Royal Geographical Society.

In some cases sea voyages resulted in more than one account of the expedition being published. Captain Cook's voyage of discovery to the east coast of Australia resulted in not only the official version but also the accounts of Joseph Banks and Dr Solander. In the eighteenth century the British Admiralty attempted to confiscate all journals written during government sea voyages, allowing only the publication of an official carefully edited version of the expedition. However this practice could not always be enforced.¹²

⁸ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.38-40.

⁹ R.W. Frantz, *The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732*, New York, 1968, p.11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.18-19.

¹¹ Samuel Johnson, Letter 326, cited in Seigneuret (ed), *Dictionary of Literary Themes and Motifs*, p.1304.

¹² Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.41-42.

By the early 1800s published accounts were instructive as well as entertaining. They continued to describe personal experience in a day-by-day journal form whilst also including descriptive and scientific passages. Such a format was particularly evident in the early nineteenth century explorers' texts. Accounts of exploration catered to a reading public who, by the mid-nineteenth century, was expanding due to popular education. A wider audience meant different readers had varying needs that had to be satisfied by the published accounts of exploration. Some readers sought adventure. Sturt identified this section of his audience when he asserted that to most of his readers the "narrative will appear little else than a succession of adventures".¹³ Sturt admitted that he had "endeavoured to make the narrative of events, some of which are remarkably striking, as interesting as possible".¹⁴ However other accounts took a different form and catered to different audiences. Some were published as official records. These official reports were not published for a popular audience and tended to be analytical in approach focusing on the particular object of the expedition. However public demand could lead in some instances to the official report proceeding to popular publication. The Gregorys' official accounts of exploration throughout the 1840s and 1850s were published in book form as a collection of exploration journals in 1884. The adventure and excitement of the explorer-hero's journey through unknown territory that was emphasised in these accounts made them bestsellers.¹⁵

The number of exploration narratives published by London publishing houses in the nineteenth century is evidence of their popularity with readers. T. & W. Boone published the journals of Jukes, Stokes and Leichhardt as part of their series entitled *Library of Australian Travels &c.*¹⁶ Other London publishers of travel literature included John Murray and Longman, Brown Green and Longmans. These publishers catered to an informed educated readership. Stokes' and Mitchell's published journals assumed a readership with some aesthetic sensibility while the journals of Leichhardt, Jukes and

¹³ Sturt, *Two Expeditions*, p.223.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁵ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.88.

¹⁶ Listed under this title in the advertising of other publications by the publisher in Jukes, *Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. Fly*.

Mitchell demanded a readership with considerable scientific knowledge and an interest in broadening that knowledge.

In some cases journals were published to provide a guide for others contemplating journeys in Australia. The Gregorys' published accounts specifically stated in the prefaces that the journals served as works of reference for later travellers in the Australian bush. Eyre indicated in the preface to volume one of *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound* that it was his

duty to record the knowledge which was thus obtained, for the information of future travellers and as a guide to the scientific world in their inquiries into the character and formation of so singular and interesting a country.¹⁷

Including maps of the route covered by the particular explorer reinforced the purpose of the published accounts as a guide for future travellers. In addition survey maps were included in the published accounts of Eyre, Sturt, Oxley, Leichhardt, Mitchell, Stokes, Kennedy to assist those undertaking travel into formerly unknown regions. Even more than for journals of land exploration, published accounts of maritime voyages had an explicitly informative function in the inclusion of hydrographic charts.

It is travel literature as guidebook that forms the other type of published account of interest in this thesis. This is particularly evident in the travel literature published by travellers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These were personal accounts of the traveller's experiences of Australia but contained information and observations about Australia and Australians. Such accounts acted as guides for future travellers and emigrants. However this form of travel literature had its foundations in much earlier times.

In ancient times, many Greeks and Romans travelled for practical purposes. For example some travelled to improve their health, others went on religious pilgrimages, many travelled on business as traders and merchants or as government officials. Travelling was slow and arduous and this impacted upon their writing.¹⁸ The accounts of their journeys were like guidebooks - instructive and containing information considered scientific at the

¹⁷ Edward John Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound in the years 1840-1*, Vol.1, London, 1845 p.vi.

¹⁸ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, pp.21-22.

time.¹⁹ They became a popular and informative type of travel literature. They often contained maps and town layouts, travel itineraries and routes, places to stay as well as costs, things to avoid, and transport advice. One early guidebook written in the second century AD, by Pausanias, which detailed his travels throughout the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Greece, was based upon personal experiences and reliable sources and provided information on travel to foreign places, including local sites and legends.²⁰

Accounts detailing journeys constitute another form of travel literature during this period. These accounts were based upon notes, letters, diaries, journals and formal accounts of journeys. They differed from guidebooks in that they were based on the travellers' personal, sometimes emotive interpretation of new places and people rather than an analytical catalogue of facts. The early acceptance of travel literature as a popular and reliable form of literature is demonstrated by the inclusion of Herodotus' narratives of travels to the Near East in a fifth century history of Greece. His narrative *History* was based upon personal journeys to other Mediterranean lands, other travellers' accounts, verified information, and related incidents and local legends. The resultant work, which combined travel with narrative and history, was typical in ancient times and comparable to eighteenth and nineteenth century travel literature.²¹ Such literature, Barbara Korte considers, pre-empted future travel literature in two ways, by collecting together travel narratives and by depicting the world as both "empirically observable *and* fantastical".²²

The travel literature of the Middle Ages included travels on religious journeys and guidebooks focusing on journeys to sites of Christian significance became common. Korte considers pilgrimages to be "one of the most important forms of medieval travel, around which, in the late Middle Ages, there even evolved an early form of tourist industry".²³ These journeys were well-organized religious treks to holy sites by large groups of people. The journey was still difficult and dangerous, and threats to personal safety were ever-present but the pilgrim believed that the pain and anguish suffered on the journey held the

¹⁹ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, pp.21-22.

²⁰ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.38-39.

²¹ Seigneuret (ed), *Dictionary of Literary Themes and Motifs*, p.1301.

²² Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.22.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.23.

promise of salvation. Guidebooks provided advice, routes and itineraries for pilgrims from western Europe travelling to Rome, Jerusalem and other religious sites by land and sea. However these works rarely mentioned the physical features, flora and fauna of the often-new environments encountered. Such profane matters would have been considered unseemly for a pilgrim devoted to the spiritual world.²⁴ The numbers of guidebooks declined during the tenth century as the result of restrictions placed on Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land, but they regained popularity following the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁵ In addition to the practical guidebooks, accounts appeared in the form of memoirs that emphasised devotion to God.²⁶ Accounts tended to focus on the holy sites and their significance rather than any personal experience of the journey. For example, *The Book of Margery Kempe* described a number of pilgrimages to holy sites but the pilgrim/narrator had a subordinate place in the text to the description of the pilgrimage itself and the religious meaning of the site.²⁷

By the sixteenth century guidebooks were available that offered advice on travel within England and on the continent. These guidebooks aimed at those less interested in religious pilgrimages and more in genteel travel for enjoyment. As accounts of religious pilgrimages began to decline, the concept came to be associated with more worldly quests by secular travellers. For example William Lithgow utilised the term ‘pilgrim’ in his account, *The Totall discourse of the rare adventures and painefull peregrinations of long nineteene yeares travayles*, which describes his travels through Italy and Greece to the Holy Land. In this account he associated the religious connotations of the term with the more worldly concerns of personal experience, as in his prefatory poem “The Pilgrim’s Mourning Ditty”.²⁸ Guidebooks such as James Howell’s *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (1642) offered instructions to aid tourists on the continent and in Britain.²⁹ However while non-utilitarian travel existed in a limited form, increasingly travel literature resulted from more

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.26. Korte refers to *curiositas* or the desire to know about the physical world as a suspect motive for travelling particularly by those undertaking pilgrimages to religious sites.

²⁵ Adams, *Travel Literature*, p.39.

²⁶ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, p.24.

²⁷ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.25.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.24.

²⁹ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.38-40.

practical travels such as the journeys of merchants, explorers, colonisers, scientists and ambassadors.

One form of travel that became popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the Grand Tour. In line with the empiricism of the age, travel came to be considered a necessary conclusion to a young gentleman's education, which would expand his understanding of the world. A tutor usually accompanied the young man on his journey which could be up to five years duration. Guidebooks offered advice to wealthy parents on tours of Europe that would broaden the knowledge and experience of their sons. France and Italy provided the most important opportunities for advancing their knowledge and acquiring social refinement. In France they experienced court life and studied the language while in Italy they studied classical and Renaissance art and sculpture, history and music. They often returned via a different route, spending time at the universities of Berlin and Amsterdam.³⁰ The Grand Tour allowed young British gentlemen to mingle with those of the same class in Europe and to study and draw parallels between Britain's increasing prestige and that of the Roman Empire at its height. The Grand Tour established contacts and prepared young gentlemen for careers in politics and foreign affairs. In addition to the intangible benefits of greater understanding through experience, commentators have noted a material consequence of the Grand Tour, which confirmed the social status of the British elite.³¹ With some disparagement Fussell comments: "the Grand Tour resembled later consumer tourism in offering an opportunity for buying things not available at home and testifying, when displayed later, to the purchaser's culture and sophistication."³² The men wrote predominantly of their journey on the continent in letters and diaries or as "arguments about the *value* of travelling" with only some observations published in book form such as Locke's *Travels in France*.³³ Their accounts tended to consist of encyclopaedic descriptions of places visited with little emphasis on personal reflection and the experiences of travel.³⁴ Thus, Joseph Addison's *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*

³⁰ James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)", in Hulme and Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, p.39.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp.40-41.

³² Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, p.131.

³³ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.65-66. James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after" (1660-1840), p.38.

³⁴ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, pp.49-51.

which first appeared in 1705 gained some criticism for the author's departure from the convention of eighteenth century travel literature: "a travel writer must not talk about himself".³⁵ Works like Addison's acted as guides for further tours of the continent by eighteenth century travellers.³⁶

By the late eighteenth century the Grand Tour was no longer the prerogative of just the aristocracy but had become the aim of the "less socially elevated and less well-educated people" and included women and children.³⁷ However the French Revolution interrupted much British travel to Europe and British travellers were confined to tours of the British mainland. During this time travel that focused on scenery became more popular.³⁸ In the mid-eighteenth century Edmund Burke published *An Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, which acknowledged the existence of aesthetic emotion. Travellers became concerned with the instinctive experience of beautiful and sublime scenery, which occurred above other thought processes or physical response.³⁹ With the romantic movement, sensitivity towards scenery grew and a more subjective approach crept into travel literature. By the late eighteenth century, the picturesque arose as an aesthetic category for appreciating scenery that was neither beautiful nor sublime. William Gilpin in his *Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape. To which is added a Poem on Landscape Painting* combined elements of the sublime and the beautiful within a framework giving the whole an association with artistic composition.⁴⁰ The picturesque provided the transition from the order of classicism to the wildness of romanticism.⁴¹ Gilpin gave the term "picturesque travel" to that which is motivated by the search for new scenery and the physical and emotional inspiration that could be derived from it.⁴² However landscape description was only one area where the

³⁵ Charles L. Batten Jr., *Pleasurable Instruction: Form and Convention in Eighteenth-Century Travel Literature*, Berkley, 1978, pp.112-113.

³⁶ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.65-66. Batten, *Pleasurable Instruction*, pp.10-11.

³⁷ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, cited in Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after", p.42.

³⁸ Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after", pp.42-45.

³⁹ Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*, London, 1927, p.57.

⁴⁰ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape; to which is added a Poem, on Landscape Painting*, London, 1792, p.19.

⁴¹ Hussey, *The Picturesque*, p.4.

⁴² Gilpin, *Three Essays*, p.47

subjectivity of the travel writer became more pronounced. It was further revealed in the travel writer's narration of personal travel experiences, which exposed their personality and emotions.⁴³ After 1815 when European travel recommenced in earnest, the Grand Tour and picturesque travel continued, but a new form of travel emerged; that of scenic tourism catering to large numbers of travellers of less privileged backgrounds.⁴⁴

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been referred to as the “heyday of travel and travel writing”.⁴⁵ It is distinguished by its mass approach and appeal; that is, greater numbers of people from varying backgrounds were travelling for numerous purposes and as a result large numbers of works were published and eagerly swept up by an increasingly literate public. Travel was less restricted; social, political and economic changes beginning in the late seventeenth century dissolved aristocratic privilege that had limited travel to an elite class. By the nineteenth century more people had the option and resources to travel abroad due to the growing democratic nature of British society and continuing industrialisation. Industrialisation had ushered in railway travel and steamships which provided more comfortable and safer means of travel over long distances. It became easier for the growing numbers of middle class businessmen to travel for business and for women and children to accompany them and also for women to travel alone. Furthermore, the establishment of organised travel by Thomas Cook in the mid-nineteenth century, along with guidebooks by Baedeker and Murrays, turned travel into a tourist venture.⁴⁶ Fussell states that “For the first time in history travel was convenient.”⁴⁷

For those who did not travel, the image of far away places reached a popular audience in Britain via the Great Exhibition and its travelogues featuring moving panoramas of distant places. Illustrations became important in works of travel and by 1914 photographs were common in published accounts. Publishing houses increased publication of accounts to meet the demands for books from increasing numbers of readers. In addition, lending

⁴³ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.54.

⁴⁴ Buzard, “The Grand Tour and after”, p.47.

⁴⁵ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, p.271.

⁴⁶ Buzard, “The Grand Tour and after”, pp.47-49.

⁴⁷ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, p.273.

libraries and periodicals like *Blackwood's* magazine made accounts of travel widely available to the public.⁴⁸

Accounts by other British travellers at the time maintained a different focus. By the mid-nineteenth century scenic travellers were common. Their accounts emphasised the sights they visited on their travels. Korte suggests that these travellers differed from explorers in their interpretation of scenery because they were more “driven by the pure pleasure of seeing” rather than directly motivated by imperialist ideology.⁴⁹ Korte has a point in her identification of alternative motivations for travel by this time but this form of travel literature still tended to reflect the patriotic feelings of the scenic traveller who often assumed an authoritative tone in the narrative and pursued an imperialist agenda. Such accounts became guidebooks for future travellers and emphasised the personal experience of the traveller in viewing sights for the first time. However some scenic travellers extended the focus of their journey and presented detailed information about the social and political situation in the country visited. Korte notes that often travel writers made distinctions between themselves as travellers gazing upon unknown sights and others as tourists visiting the better-known places. Thus some travellers, who had avoided the haunts and features associated with the blossoming tourist industry, likened themselves to explorers whose journeys were along less-travelled paths.⁵⁰

As the century progressed and commercial and industrial capitalism spread throughout the world the format of travel literature changed. It became more didactic, analysing the colonial situation and conscious of stressing Britain's superiority over its possessions. Helen Carr suggests that much of the British travel writing of the period 1880-1940 revealed “complicity with imperialism”.⁵¹ Accounts described the features to be found in British colonies and encouraged further investment in and migration to them. Such literature reinforced British prestige at a time when Britain was uncertain about its future.

⁴⁸ Roy Bridges, “Exploration and travel outside Europe (1720-1914)”, in Hulme and Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, pp.56-63.

⁴⁹ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.96.

⁵¹ Helen Carr, “Modernism and travel 1880-1940” in Hulme and Youngs (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, p.71.

Developing colonial rivalries and challenges to its belief in racial superiority destroyed Britain's faith in maintaining a dominant position and created uncertainty about the continuation of Western progress.⁵² While much late nineteenth and early twentieth century travel literature supported British imperialism, some travel writers openly criticised British policy, particularly the treatment of Indigenous people. However these voices of opposition still maintained general support for Empire and engaged in imperial rhetoric.

Conclusion

The period of this thesis was definitely the “heyday of travel and travel writing” about Australia.⁵³ The travel literature of exploration dominated the first part of the century and as exploration opened up the continent to settlement and the development of infrastructure travel literature by other travel writers became more prevalent particularly in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As will be explained later in this thesis, these narratives of travel fostered an imperial agenda, first by claiming the land and later by consolidating the connection between Britain and Australia.⁵⁴ However the imperial rhetoric that is visible in their texts was not necessarily deliberate but stemmed from the travel writers' background and understandings. In the next two chapters the style and format of travel literature will be examined beginning with travel literature of exploration and then moving into an analysis of travel literature in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in chapter three.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.73. Carr suggests that transculturation, miscegenation and harsh colonial rule raised questions about the “civilising” mission of the colonising process. She writes “All conspired to make the question of which was the savage and which the civilised a disturbing one to answer.” Such disruptions to beliefs in the superiority of the white race caused many commentators to become concerned that the white race was degenerating.

⁵³ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, p.271.

⁵⁴ See parts two and three of this thesis. Part two: Claiming the land. Part three: Consolidating the connection.

Chapter Two

Australian exploration narratives as travel literature: their style and format

I felt the ardour of my early youth, when I first sought distinction in the crowded camp and battle-field, revive, as I gave loose to my reflections and considered the nature of the enterprise. But, in comparing the feelings I then experienced with those which excited my youthful ambitions, it seemed that even war and victory, with all their glory, were far less alluring than the pursuit of researches such as these; the objects of which were to spread the light of civilization over a portion of the globe yet unknown, though rich, perhaps, in the luxuriance of uncultivated nature, and where science might accomplish new and unthought-of discoveries; while intelligent man would find a region teeming with useful vegetation, abounding with rivers, hills, and vallies, and waiting only for his enterprising spirit and improving hand to turn to account the native bounty of the soil.¹

T.L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions*, 1839.

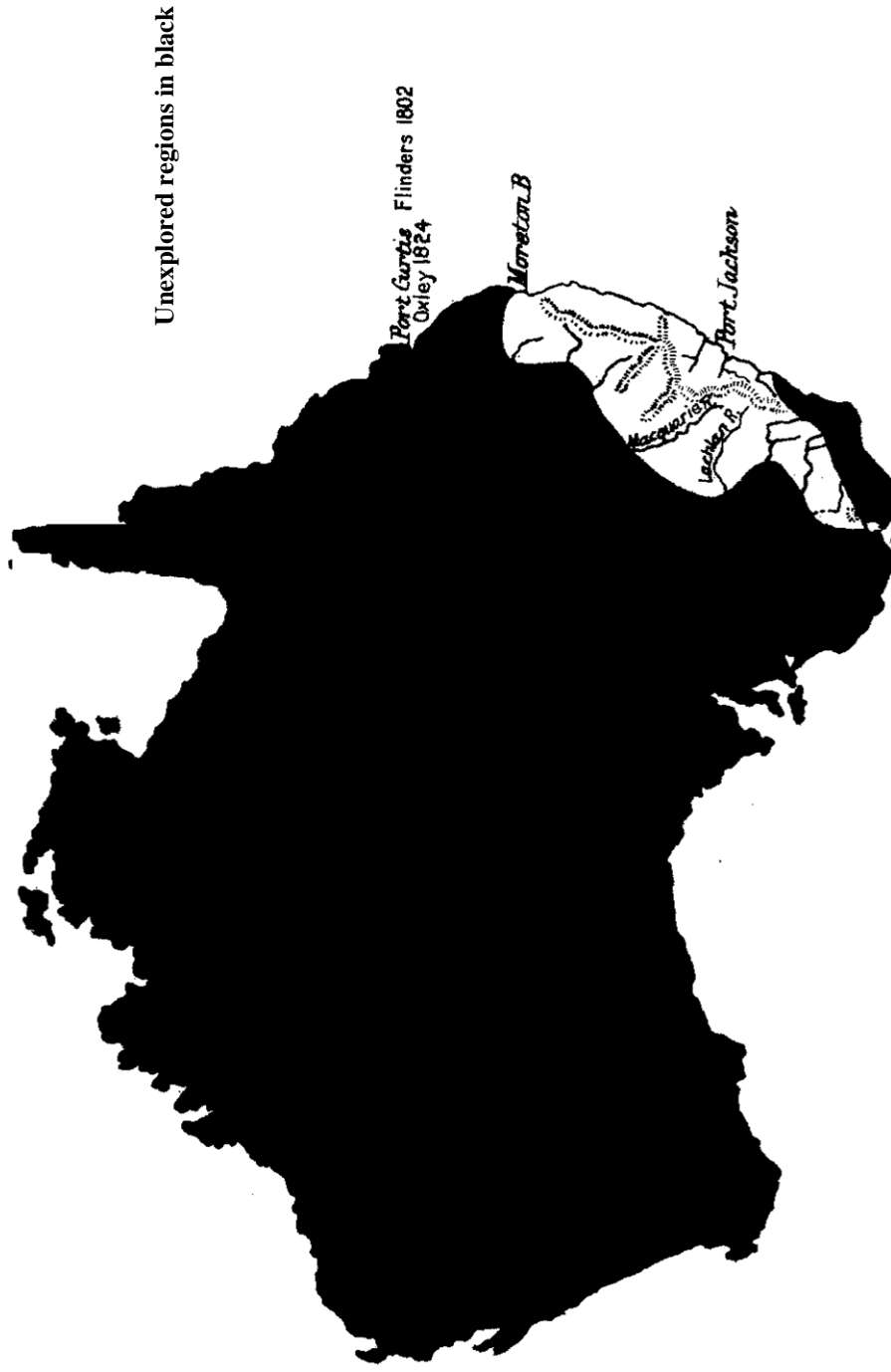
This excerpt from Thomas Mitchell's *Three Expeditions* reveals the explorers' use of nineteenth century literary conventions. His grasp of romantic imagery added emphasis to his authority to comment as he anticipated the future success of the land he discovered. A vision of imperial conquest and beneficence is evoked by his poetic style that drew his imminent exploration of the interior of Australia into the realm of a military campaign. Mitchell was the explorer-hero who conquered and claimed the land for the empire through his explorations as surveyor-general of New South Wales.

It was during the first half of the nineteenth century that much of the coastline and inland Australia were explored. Many of the explorers undertaking expeditions were government employees assigned with official orders to survey the details of the coastline and to ascertain what lay at the heart of *terra incognita*. (Illustration 1) Indeed Australia was considered one of the last unexplored regions of the world.² Explorers were not only concerned about the resource potential of the land but also its scientific value. Scientific investigation was an integral part of the expeditions of for example, John Lort Stokes and Phillip Parker King who charted the coastal waters and the adjacent coastline of Australia. Others like John Oxley, Thomas Mitchell, Charles Sturt, Edward John Eyre and Augustus Gregory also had an interest in natural history but were sent into the unknown parts of inland Australia to expand knowledge about the interior of the continent. Sponsors who wanted to find new grazing land and also expand knowledge of the geography of the continent privately funded explorers like

¹ T.L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, Vol.1, London, 1839, p.5.

² Lecture by Charles Sturt at Mechanics Institute in Adelaide in 1840 published in Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions*, Vol.1, p.9.

Illustration 1
UNEXPLORED REGIONS OF MAINLAND AUSTRALIA 1824



Source: J. Bartholomew & KR Cramp, *The Australasian School Atlas*, fourth edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1959

Leichhardt and Hume and Hovell. All were complicit in contributing to British imperialism through their published accounts which emphasised opportunities for the expansion of scientific knowledge, trade, future markets and further settlement.

This chapter examines the style and format of narratives of exploration and how literary conventions were used to broadcast the explorers' imperial rhetoric. These conventions included the language used, the format of the narrative, first person narration, the development of the explorer as hero and the editing process. Compliance with these conventions resulted in a certain uniformity of style and structure in the genre which was received by their readership as authoritative and trustworthy.

To meet the demands of their readerships the tone of these accounts varied although the variations in the individual explorer's style did not mean imperial rhetoric was lost. Indeed Government authorities and scientific bodies often prescribed the literary conventions to be used in published accounts. This meant published accounts of exploration demonstrated a uniformity of style through which the genre gained referential power and authority within society at large. For example, Thomas Sprat wrote in the *History of the Royal Society* that journals of exploration demanded a literary style characterised by

a close, naked way of speaking; positive expressions, clear senses; a native easiness: bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness, as they can: and preferring the language of Artizans, Countrymen and Merchants, before that, of Wits or Scholars.³

The "close, naked" style is particularly evident in the maritime journals of the early nineteenth century, such as those of King and MacGillivray. Similarly some land explorers subscribed to the unadorned style to accentuate the empirical veracity of their account. Augustus Gregory preferred this approach as it was well-suited to the official report and guide-book nature of his accounts which chronicled daily events, discoveries and descriptions of the environment. His mode of written expression upheld the authority of the text and was testament to the explorer's accurate observations. Sometimes published journals included in the preface an apology for the plainness of the style. While apologising for the "crude and imperfect" nature of his account in his

³ Sprat, T., cited in Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p.39.

preface, Edward J. Eyre not only revealed the nature of the editing process but also the authority of the simple written style. He wrote:

Where the principal object, however, was rather to record with accuracy than indulge in theory or conjecture, and where a simple statement of occurrences has been more attended to than the language in which they are narrated, plainness and fidelity will, it is hoped, be considered as some compensation for the absence of the embellishments of a more finished style, or a studied composition, and especially as the uncertainty attending the duration of the author's visit to England made it a matter of anxious consideration to hurry these volumes through the press as rapidly as possible.⁴

The form in which accounts of exploration were to be published often influenced the written style. Publication as a book, or even as an article for a journal like the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, allowed a much freer and more ornamented written style than publication as an official government report. The more subjective descriptions of romanticism were often associated with a more elaborate syntax, involving longer sentences with a diversity of connectives. For example Mitchell in his entry for 4th September 1846 wrote:

To the westward of the beautifully broken rocky woody range beyond Lake Salvator, a dense smoke also arose, and continued until evening; thus adding much sublimity to the effect of a gorgeous sunset, which poured its beams through the smoke between the rocky pinnacles, as I sat drawing the scene at my camp by the lake, two miles northward of XLV.⁵

Although these differing forms of syntax have been identified in the published journals of exploration relating to Australia, both simple and complex forms could be included in the narrative structure of a single work, the author changing sentence construction to suit the situation. The concise form was regularly used for scientific descriptions, while the more involved and elaborate form was used for landscape depictions intended to arouse an emotional response in the reader. For example Mitchell described land near the Balonne River from the perspective of a scientist,

That lagoon presented an excellent place for a cattle-station. Water could never fail, as the main stream was at hand, if even the lagoon dried up, which seemed not at all likely. *Psoralea eriantha* was abundant in the bed of the river, along with *Indigofera hirsuta*, and *Crotalaria Mitchellii*. Thermometer, at sunrise, 44°; at noon, 99°; at 4 P.M.; at 9, 66°; - with wet bulb 58°.⁶

⁴ Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions*, Vol.1, p.viii.

⁵ T.L. Mitchell, *Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia*, London, 1848, p.297.

⁶ Mitchell, *Journal of an Expedition* pp.122-123.

However about a month later he waxed lyrical about the morning light on the Australian landscape. He wrote:

An Australian morning is always charming, - amid these scenes of primaevael nature it seemed exquisitely so. The *Barita?* or *Gymnorhina*, the organ-magpie, was here represented by a much smaller bird, whose notes, resembling the softest breathings of a flute, were the only sounds that met the ear. What the stillness of even adds to such sounds in other climes, is felt more intensely in the stillness of morning in this. "The rapture of repose that's there" gratifies every sense; the perfume of the shrubs, of those even that have recently been burnt, and the tints and tones of the landscape, accord with the soft sounds. The light red tints of the *Anthistiria*, the brilliant green of the *Mimosa*, the white stems of the *Eucalyptus*, and the deep grey shadows of early morning, still slumbering about the woods, are blended and contrasted in the most pleasing harmony. The forms in the soft landscape are equally fine, from the wild fantastic tufting of the Eucalyptus, and its delicate willow-like ever-drooping leaf, to the prostrate trunks of ancient trees, - the mighty ruins of the vegetable world. Instead of autumnal tints, there is a perpetual blending of the richest hues of autumn with the most brilliant verdure of spring; while the sun's welcome rays in a winter morning, and the cool breath of the woods in a summer morning, are equally grateful concomitants of such scenes. These attach even the savage to his woods, and might well reclaim the man of crime from thoughts likely to disturb the harmony of human existence.⁷

Although the description was punctuated with scientific names, it is his elaborate prose that was prominent and used to stimulate a particular emotive response from his readers.

Explorers were well aware of the power of romantic writing and its ability to influence readers. While also demonstrating the benefit of writing with hindsight Grey used elements of romanticism to heighten the reader's appreciation of the explorer's plight when faced with starvation.

Here, then, we seated ourselves, and, upon such scanty fare as we had, made a sparing breakfast. This, however, but very insufficiently supplied our wants; and as we sat at this little well, thus surrounded with such fairy scenery, a variety of philosophic reflections crossed our minds, and found vent in words. Nothing could be more delightfully romantic than our present position. Both as regarded danger, scenery, savages, and unknown lands, we were in precisely the situation in which Mr Cooper and other novelists delight to depict their travellers⁸

James Fenimore Cooper, an American author of romantic literature, used the American wilderness landscape as a setting to reveal the tension between civilisation and the wilds

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.146-147.

⁸ George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia*, Vol.2, London, 1841, pp.8-9.

of America. Although the setting may have reminded Grey of one of Cooper's works, the dire predicament of the party, brought them back to reality. Grey demonstrated the tension that often existed between romantic imaginings and the harsh reality of the explorer's journey.

Invariably explorers were instructed to keep written records of their expedition which were handed to government authorities on completion. These field notebooks took a particular form. The Secretary of State for the Colonies forwarded the following instructions to Governor Macquarie in April 1816 prior to John Oxley's appointment as leader of the 1817 expedition into inland Australia. Macquarie was instructed that it was necessary for the explorer to

keep a detailed Journal of his proceedings. In this Journal all observations and occurrences of every kind, with all their circumstances, however minute, and however familiar they may have been rendered by custom, should be carefully noted down; and it is also desirable that he should be as circumstantial as possible in describing the general appearance of the country, its surface, soil, animals, vegetables and minerals, every thing that relates to the population, the peculiar manners, customs, language, etc., of the individual natives, or the tribes of them that he may meet with.⁹

Oxley was not only instructed to maintain his account of his explorations but also directed to collect and present the journals of other members of the expedition to the governor on his return. He was to

direct all the journals or other written documents belonging to, and curiosities collected by the several individuals composing the expedition, to be carefully sealed up with your own seal, and kept in that state until after you have made your report in writing to me at Sydney, of the result of the expedition.¹⁰

The purpose of these instructions is unclear but such action would have hindered early and unofficial publication of accounts of the expedition by other members of his party that may have led to action unsanctioned by the government.

Structurally, the most common feature of the published accounts of expeditions was their presentation as accurate representations of the field notebooks kept by the explorer. Typically, the published account gave a date under which were recounted the

⁹ John Oxley, *Journals of Two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales, Undertaken by order of the British government in the years 1817-18*, London, 1820, Appendix A, Copy of Instructions from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, p. 2. <http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/o/oxley/john/o95j/>

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Appendix to Part 1, No.1, Instructions for conducting and leading first expeditions, p.2.

events and discoveries of that day, before moving on to the next date. The entry for a particular date could be long or short; sometimes days were missed; often a considerable amount of repetition was entailed. Some accounts however, such as Charles Sturt's, *Two Expeditions into the interior of South Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831; with observations on the soil, climate and general resources of the colony of New South Wales*, were not written under daily entries but still retained the temporal progress of the expedition by including dates and times within textual passages. For example Sturt wrote, "On the 21st we proceeded down the river on a NNW course..." and "We reached Mount Harris on the 7th of the month...".¹¹ Whatever the superficial variations, the published accounts almost invariably conformed to the day-by-day written style, a style that contributed to the establishment of the veracity of the text.

The day-by-day written style might appear the "natural" way in which to represent the explorers' activities. After all, published accounts were usually based on the notebooks and journals updated daily by the explorer in the field. Indeed Mitchell called attention to this daily procedure when he wrote in the preface to his account,

The following Journals were written at the close of many a laborious day, when the energies both of mind and body were almost exhausted by long continued toil.¹²

However a comparison of a page from Leichhardt's field notebook with the same date in his published account indicates the disparity between the two. (Illustrations 2 and 3) The published account was not the field notebook but merely had the superficial appearance of one through the explorer's compliance with the literary conventions for exploration and voyage literature that had been set down in the seventeenth century.¹³ It was a device that served to authenticate the account, by encouraging readers to believe the text before them expressed the explorers' actual responses to the hardships they endured and the discoveries they made. The sense of authenticity created by the day-by-day record gave the accounts referential power and stimulated the reader to vicariously participate in the process of exploration.

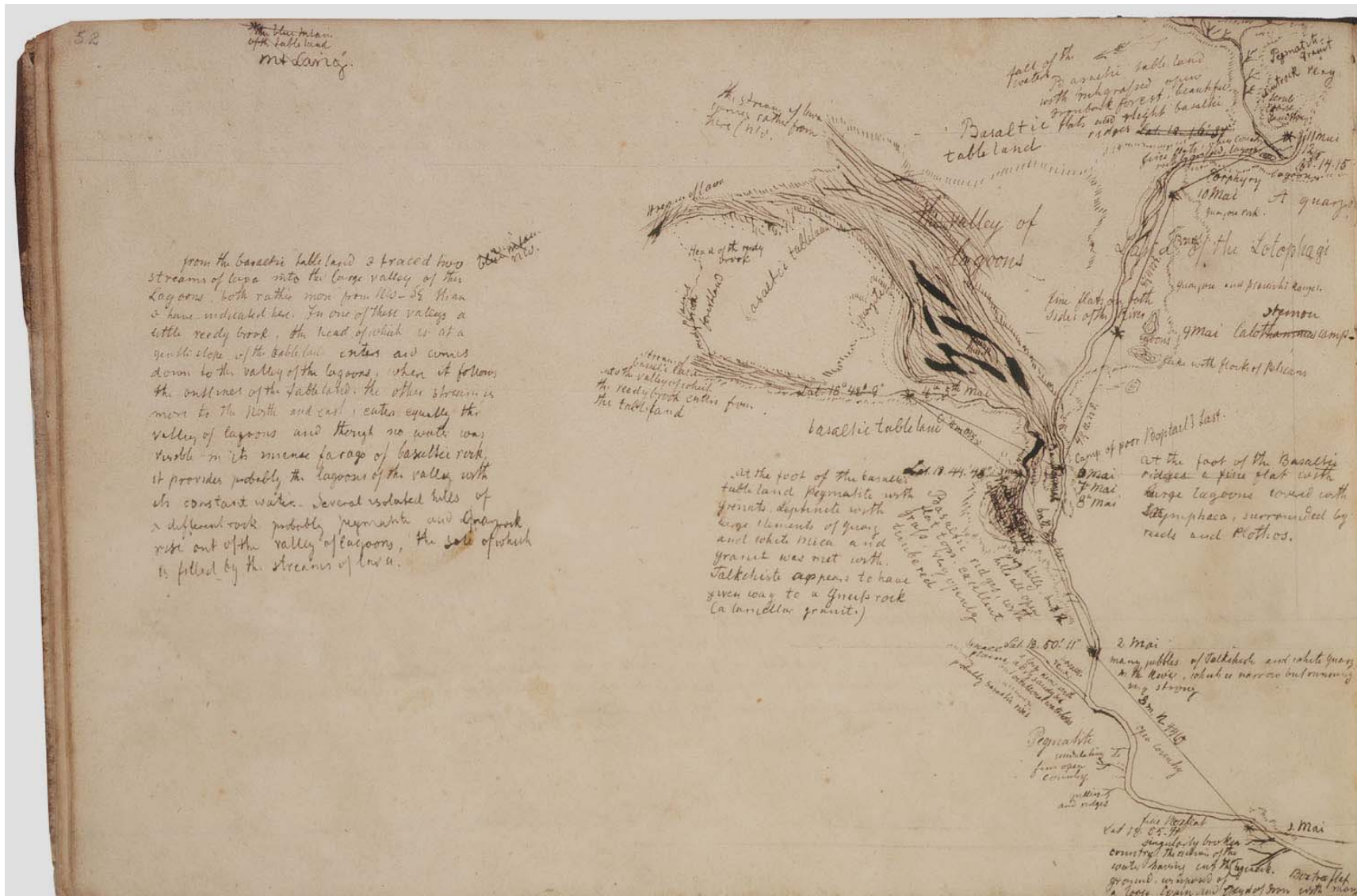
¹¹ Sturt, *Two Expeditions*, Vol 1, pp.128, 149.

¹² Mitchell, *Three Expeditions*, p.iii.

¹³ See Adams, *Travel Literature*, and P. Edwards, *The story of the Voyage: Sea-narratives in eighteenth century England*, Cambridge, 1994.

Illustration 2

A PAGE FROM LUDWIG LEICHHARDT'S FIELD NOTEBOOK



Source: <http://libapp.sl.nsw.gov.au/cgi-bin/spyodus/RECOPT/PM/FULL1/1416/430783,1?http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/4/c158/a403001h.jpg>

Illustration 3

THE SAME DATE AND LOCATION IN LEICHHARDT'S PUBLISHED ACCOUNT

of the large valley, but that several very large ones were even on its left bank; and that all tree vegetation disappeared from its banks where it passed through a part of the valley of lagoons.

May 9.—As my bullocks were still extremely foot-sore, it was necessary that we should travel only by short stages until they recovered; consequently, the day's journey did not exceed five miles in a N.N.E. direction; and, with the exception of some ridges, upon excellent travelling ground, along the left bank of the river. The latter formed, as I have already stated, the line of separation, first, between basalt and granite, and afterwards between basalt and a quartzose rock (probably baked Psammite). The country was beautifully open and well grassed; the river forming a simple channel, without trees, well filled with water and flowing between chains of lakes and lagoons on either side; one of which was covered with flocks of ducks and pelicans, resembling islands of white lilies.

Beyond the almost treeless flats round the lagoons, Casuarinas and Callistemon re-appeared along the river.

We saw some Blackfellows in the distance, who immediately withdrew as we approached them; but the tribe, which we had met at Reedy Brook, came to the other side of the river, and had much to say; we did not, however, take any notice of them, until we had unloaded our bullocks and finished our luncheon, when I went down to them, and gave

them a horn of one of our slaughtered bullocks. Roper had saved the mane of his horse, and threw it over to them, but it seemed to frighten them very much. We inquired by signs as to the course of the river, and we understood by their answers, that it came a long way from the northward. At Reedy Brook the natives had given my companions to understand that the brook had its source not very far off to the W.N.W., by pointing at their heads, then at the brook, and then in the direction mentioned. I was therefore inclined to trust to their information about the river's source. They threw some yam-roots over to us, the plant of which we were not able to ascertain; and after that they retired.

May 10.—This morning they came again, and, when our bullocks were loaded and we were about to start, I went down to them and took a sort of leave. We had scarcely proceeded half a mile, when we missed the tinkling of our bell, and found that Charley had forgotten to put it on the horse's neck, and had left it behind. Mr. Calvert and Brown, therefore, returned to look for it, and, upon reaching the place where the camp had been made, saw the natives examining and beating every part of it; at the approach of the horsemen, however, they retired to the other side of the river; but when they turned their horses' heads, after having found the bell, the natives followed them, and threw three spears after them—whether it was out of mere wan-

Another standard feature of published explorers' accounts is that they were written in the first person. In this regard also Australian explorers' journals followed the convention of travel literature established since the seventeenth century. The use of this convention personalised the explorers' accounts as the explorer maintained the central and strategic position in the narrative. From this position the explorer selected the action narrated and wrote authoritatively about discoveries made during the journey.¹⁴ However writing in the first person also permitted subjective interpretations of the expedition.¹⁵ This was especially apparent in the romanticism that permeated the published accounts of Stokes and Mitchell and in the introspective style of Leichhardt.¹⁶ Attempted objectivity in first-person narration is to be found in the rational and methodical accounts of explorers like Sturt and Gregory. Despite variations in the depth of subjectivity revealed in the published accounts, one consistent feature of this convention was the way in which it contributed to the image of the explorer as hero. This helped to popularise the literature with the reading public. Moreover, by identifying the explorer with the narrator, the first-person convention led the reader to assume only one voice in the text. This in turn supported its authenticity.¹⁷

Occasionally, narration changed from first person to third person. Simon Ryan suggests that the authority of the text is challenged by this change, although he acknowledges that the "temporally split narrator" did have some slight benefit in bringing objectivity to the journal.¹⁸ This split is noticeable in Mitchell's *Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia*. The text of Mitchell's journal was written in the first person, but the preface was written in the third person. He wrote:

The Journey narrated in this work was undertaken for the extension of arrangements depending on physical geography. It completes a series of internal surveys, radiating from Sydney towards the west, the south, and the north, which have occupied the author's chief attention during the last twenty years; and, as on former occasions, it has enabled him to bring under the notice of men of science some of the earth's productions hitherto unknown...¹⁹

¹⁴ Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, pp.45-46

¹⁵ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.166-167.

¹⁶ See for example Ludwig Leichhardt, *Journal of an Overland Expedition in Australia, from Moreton Bay to Port Essington*, London, 1847, pp.265-268

¹⁷ Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p.46.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.48.

¹⁹ Mitchell, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.vi.

By writing in the third person, Mitchell detached himself from the author-explorer of the journey. However far from challenging the authority of the text, Mitchell's objective view of the expedition in the preface validated the veracity of the text and checked the subjectivity of the first person narrative. Indeed in his *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Northern Australia*, Mitchell as "the author" used the third person to make claims that he had "faithfully described what he attentively observed; neither his pencil nor his pen has been allowed to pass the bounds of truth."²⁰ Mitchell separated his role as the explorer who undertook the journey from his role as the author of the published account as the processes involved in exploration were different from those involved in producing the text. He revealed the demarcation of his responsibilities in the production of his account – firstly that of the explorer-hero who faithfully maintained the day-by-day field notebook and secondly the explorer-author who edited the field notebook and produced it for publication. The fact that Mitchell, the explorer was responsible for both parts provided the reader with some reassurance as to its objectivity and reliability. Contrary to Ryan's view, the occasional change in the position of the narrator within the text actually supported the authority of the account.

In contrast the third person narration by William Bland of Hume and Hovell's journey into southern Australia lacks the transparency of an account written in the first person by those who undertook the actual journey. There is something incongruous about an account presented as a day-by-day journal of the explorers' expedition but narrated in the present tense by someone who did not participate in the journey. Through his editing Bland became an obvious onlooker, articulating the course of the explorers' journey spatially and temporally. But such a position questions the immediacy and objectivity of an account written by the explorers themselves. For example the challenge to the authority of an account written in the third person was apparent in Bland's following entry:

Friday, November 26. – They start this morning at half past five, and proceed S.W. by S. with a range of forest hills on their right hand, (to the westward) in the direction of a hill, of which they had taken the bearings yesterday.²¹

The immediacy of the explorers' traversing the landscape is lost in the intrusion of the narrator overseeing their path.

²⁰ Mitchell, *Three Expeditions*, Vol.1., pp.iii-iv.

²¹ W. Bland (ed.), *Journey of Discovery to Port Phillip, New South Wales; by Messrs W H Hovell and Hamilton Hume in 1824 and 1825*, Sydney, [1831], p.48.

Writing in the first person served to promote the significance of the author and thereby his authority and the veracity of his account. Where, as was usually the case, the author was also the leader of the expedition, the account was constructed to convey to the reader the crucial role of the leader's expertise and ingenuity in achieving a successful outcome. The accomplishments of the explorer-leader were often enlarged to superhuman proportions while the role of other members of the expedition was represented as minor or neglected entirely. The leader became a heroic figure. This is particularly noticeable when Sturt's first person narration is compared with Bland's in the third person. Both related a potentially dangerous encounter with Aborigines. In Sturt's entry, his authority as explorer-hero is apparent in the immediacy of the situation,

They stood threatening us, and making a great noise, for a considerable time, but, finding that we took no notice of them, they, at length, became quiet. I then walked to some little distance from the party, and taking a branch in my hand, as a sign of peace, beckoned them to swim to our side of the river, which, after some time, two or three of them did. But they approached me with great caution hesitating at every step they soon, however, gained confidence, and were ultimately joined by all the males of their tribe. I gave the *first* who swam the river a tomahawk (making this a rule in order to encourage them) with which he was highly delighted. I shortly afterwards placed them all in a row and fired a gun before them: they were quite unprepared for such an explosion, and after standing stupefied and motionless for a moment or two, they simultaneously took to their heels, to our great amusement. I succeeded, however, in calling them back and they regained their confidence so much, that sixteen of them remained with us all night, but the greater number retired at sunset.²²

In contrast, Bland related Hume's actions. The explorer-as-hero image is compromised by the intrusion of the narrator into the situation. This stimulates the reader to question the exactness of the account and challenges the authority of the explorer. Bland related:

About two hours after this occurrence, as two of the people were employed in procuring fire-wood, in a small clump of trees, not far from the tent, two natives sprung towards them from behind the trees. These, however, on the men presenting their muskets at them, made signs of peace. Mr. Hume who was at hand now approached, when laying down his arms, and beckoning to the men to do the same, the natives followed the example, and after much conversation, but of which not a word was understood by either party, they proceeded with Mr. Hume to the tent. These people by degrees began to be a little better understood...²³

²² Sturt, *Two Expeditions*, Vol.2, pp.90-91.

²³ Bland (ed.), *Journey of Discovery*, pp.69-70.

The early land explorers of Australia, such as Oxley, Mitchell, Sturt, Eyre, Leichhardt and Kennedy, were portrayed – or portrayed themselves – as romantic heroes. (Illustration 4) They encountered, and usually overcame, hardships including food and water shortages, encounters with Aborigines and the death and sickness of members of the expedition. They were the harbingers of progress through their discoveries which expanded geographic knowledge and predicted a productive future for the land. The explorer-hero journeyed from civilisation into savagery, as Eyre related in his account:

From the crowded drawing room of civilized life, I had in a few hours been transferred to the solitude and silence of the wilds and from being but an unit in the mass of a large community, I had suddenly become isolated with regard to the world, which, so far as I was concerned, consisted now only of the few brave men who accompanied me, and who were dependant [sic] for their very existence upon the energy and perseverance and prudence with which I might conduct the task assigned to me.²⁴

Eyre felt it his imperial duty to disclose the mysteries of the interior of Australia and “plant that flag which has floated proudly in all the known parts of the habitable globe, in the centre of a region as yet unknown, and unvisited save by the savage or the wild beast.”²⁵ His action would begin the process of civilisation. But at the end of the journey the explorer drew attention to his re-engagement with those things that symbolised civilisation. Mitchell wrote:

At length, I came upon a dusty road, presenting numerous impressions of the shoes of men and horses; and after having been so long accustomed to view ever a solitary, naked footmark with interest, the sight of a road marked with shoes, and the associations these traces revived, were worth all the toil of the journey. The numerous conveniences of social life were again at hand, and my compass was no longer required, for this road would lead me on without further care to the happy abodes of civilized men.²⁶

The explorer-heroes Sturt, Mitchell and Leichhardt were educated men of taste who had an appreciation of the scientific, economic and aesthetic potential of the landscape. Sturt traced the course of rivers in the Murray-Darling system and discounted the theory of an inland sea; Mitchell was lured by the quest for an inland river that would lead to the Gulf of Carpentaria and lucrative trade with the East; while Leichhardt was questing after the advancement of personal and scientific knowledge. These quests became akin

²⁴ Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions*, Vol.1, p.23.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

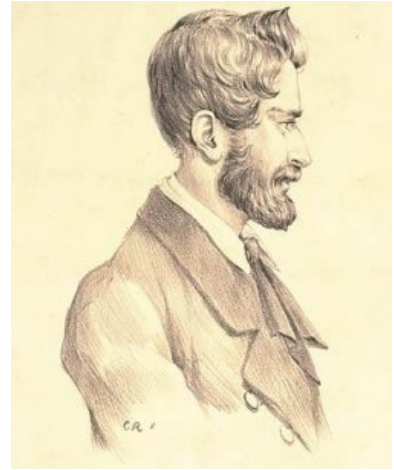
²⁶ Mitchell, *Three Expeditions*, Vol.1, p.341.

Illustration 4

Explorers 1813-1850



Edward John Eyre
A010346



Ludwig Leichhardt
A020090



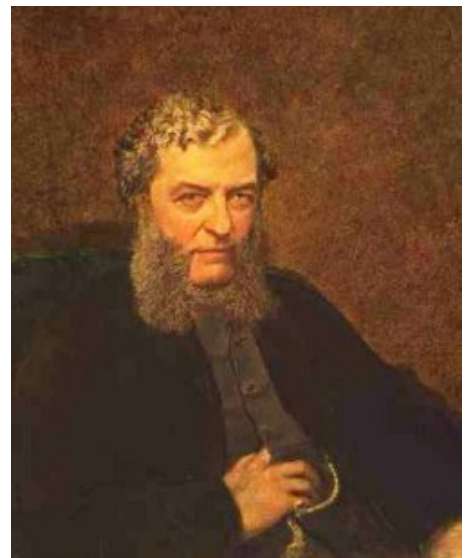
Major Thomas Mitchell
A020206



John Oxley
A020273



Charles Sturt
A020458



John Lort Stokes
A020449

to religious pilgrimages rewarded by the discovery of scientific knowledge, a large inland river or an ideal landscape suitable for the establishment of civil society.

Heroism seems to have been intrinsic to the exploration narrative. No doubt this was connected with the role of exploration in advancing the progress of the Empire and of the Colony. However there was a persistent tendency to extol the heroism not so much of the expedition party as of the individual leader, even if the leader was not the author of the published account. This tendency is well exemplified in Carron's account of the Kennedy expedition of 1848. Carron, although writing in the first person, portrayed the leader of the expedition rather than himself as hero. In his account, the explorer-leader Kennedy was faced with hardships in attempting to penetrate rainforest and mountainous terrain with heavy equipment and livestock, the eventual shortages of provisions, sickness and death of expedition members and hostility from Aborigines that eventually led to his death. As the expedition progressed the explorer-hero's ability to overcome the enormous difficulties was stretched beyond human endurance. Carron, explorer-author of the account, related how Kennedy had the ability to divert the men's minds from the hardships they encountered on a daily basis and encouraged them to hope for an improvement to their plight.²⁷ Kennedy's decision to leave the weaker members of the party at Weymouth Bay to await rescue by ship resulted in the survival of some members of the party, one of whom was Carron who eventually published his account of the expedition, immortalising Kennedy as explorer-hero.²⁸

In other accounts the heroism of the explorer-leader was contained in his first person narrative which portrayed the explorer-leader as superhuman, as somehow better able to endure hardship than other members of the expedition. For example in 1840-41 Edward Eyre led an expedition to traverse 850 miles of unknown territory between Adelaide and King George's Sound in Western Australia. Eyre demonstrated his heroic proportions in the early stages of this journey with his firm determination "never to return unsuccessful, but either to accomplish the object I had in view, or perish in the attempt."²⁹ The expedition was plagued by extreme temperatures, lack of water,

²⁷ W. Carron, *Narrative of an Expedition, undertaken under the Direction of the Late Mr Assistant Surveyor E.B. Kennedy for the Exploration of the Country Lying Between Rockingham Bay and Cape York*, Sydney, 1849, p.21

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.67.

²⁹ Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery*, Vol.1, p.300.

arduous terrain, the theft of supplies and weapons and the murder of Baxter by Aborigines. However Eyre remains the hero of the narrative as despite the obstacles placed in his way and the depletion of his party he proclaimed “at all hazards, I was determined to proceed onwards”.³⁰ After the murder of Baxter, Eyre was left alone with Wylie, one of his Aboriginal guides whose loyalty he questioned. However Eyre the hero continued valiantly onwards and remained positive and resolute throughout the expedition despite his deprivations. The appearance of changes in the landscape encouraged him to continue and to believe that they had overcome the worst part of their journey.³¹ However his difficulties continued until the couple were relieved and revived by an unexpected encounter with a French whaling ship, which “rendered us comparatively fresh and strong...and entered upon the continuation of our undertaking with a spirit, an energy, and a confidence, that we had long been strangers to”.³² Finally, on reaching the end of his journey, Eyre the hero, with the hint of some remorse at the sacrifices endured in the course of his exploration, reflected:

For a moment I stood gazing at the town below me – that goal I had so long looked forward to, had so laboriously toiled to attain, was at last before me. A thousand confused images and reflections crowded through my mind, and the events of the past year were recalled in rapid succession. The contrast between the circumstances under which I had commenced and terminated my labours stood in strong relief before me.³³

But however much the published accounts appeared authentic, they had almost invariably been edited substantially. Editing may have been necessary to transform brief and monotonous ships’ logs and field notebooks into texts that would engage and inform the reader. Editors claimed that this was done without endangering the veracity of the account. Yet considerable pains were taken to make the published version resemble a real field journal. They were usually written in the first person and followed the course of the expedition temporally and spatially. For example Leichhardt’s published account of his field notebook appeared as Leichhardt’s narration of his journey from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, a distance of 3,000 miles, which took him more than twelve months.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.354.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Vol.2, p.18.

³² *Ibid.*, p.79.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.108-109.

Some explorers' journals appear to have been subjected to relatively little editorial intervention or elaboration prior to publication. The editor of A.C. Gregory's journals commended the explorer's journal and did not deem it "desirable to alter or amend the impressions or views recorded at the time, but simply reproduce the journals as originally compiled."³⁴ While the editor's praise of the text gave it reliability, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to establish the authenticity of the editor's claim. However the published account certainly has all the monotony of a genuine field notebook.

The editing process frequently resulted in delayed publication. William Bland, the editor of Messrs. W.H. Hovell and Hamilton Hume's *Journey of Discovery to Port Phillip New South Wales by Messrs. W.H. Hovell and Hamilton Hume: in 1824 and 1825* gave three reasons for the delay in publishing the explorers' account until 1837. Firstly the explorers thought their journey would not be of interest to the public and they had to be persuaded to publish their account; secondly the editor became ill for several months; and thirdly the printer could not obtain paper to print the book in the colony.³⁵ Edward Eyre was delayed in offering his account of his expedition to the public as he was assigned pressing government duties.³⁶ George Grey was similarly delayed.³⁷ In another example Captain P.P. King, in the preface to his *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coast of Australia* performed between the years 1818 and 1822, stated:

Since the return of the Expedition, my time has been occupied in arranging the narrative, and divesting it of such parts as were neither calculated to amuse the general reader, nor to give information to the navigator; but this has been so much impeded by the more important employment of constructing the Charts of the Survey, as to defer until the present season the publication of the events of a voyage that was completed nearly three years ago.³⁸

In many instances appendices and additional material were added to the published accounts. These could be detailed maps of the expedition route or scientific reports on specimens collected during the expedition or lengthy discourses on aspects of the journey designed to elaborate journal entries and maintain the interest of the reader.

³⁴ A.C. & F.T. Gregory, *Journals of Australian Explorations*, Brisbane, 1884, preface.

³⁵ Bland, (ed.), *Journal of Discovery*; p.i.

³⁶ Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions*, Vol.1, p. iii.

³⁷ Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions*, Vol.1, pp.v-vi.

³⁸ Captain P.P. King, *Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia performed between the years 1818 and 1822*, Vol.1, London, 1827, p.vii.

This material supported the explorers' accounts and added force to their interpretations. Charles Sturt in the preface to his *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia* acknowledged the need to include background information about Australia's progress to the date of publication of his account. The provision of this information would not only put the reader "in possession of all the facts, with which I myself am acquainted, as to the character of those portions of it, which had been explored, before I commenced my recent labours" but it also secured the reader's interest in his narrative and enabled the reader "to judge whether the conclusions at which I arrived, and upon which I acted, were such as past experience ought to have led me to adopt."³⁹ To another published account by John Oxley a report by the Governor of his tour over the Blue Mountains in 1815 was appended.⁴⁰

Sometimes these discourses, which were added during the editing process, were of a scientific nature written by experts in natural history, such as Sir William Hooker, Reverend W.B. Clarke, and Captain P.P. King.⁴¹ In Leichhardt's account of the Burdekin region, a detailed description of the geology by Reverend W.B. Clarke was included in the published journal as a footnote to the normal daily entry.⁴² The published accounts of the expeditions generally contained acknowledgments of the contributions of these authorities, either in the preface or in the body of the work.⁴³ Leichhardt expressed his thanks to Captain P.P. King for his editing the account, to S.A. Perry, Deputy Surveyor General at the time, for drafting the maps, and to Reverend W.B. Clarke for his scientific assistance.⁴⁴ These discussions catered to an educated reading public interested in scientific knowledge and added to the authority of the account. The continuity of the narrative was not lost however, as these discourses were often included under the cover of the usual daily record or as footnotes.

Normally editorial intervention was meant to be unobtrusive, to carry the impression that the published journal accurately mirrored the explorers' experiences as they

³⁹ Captain Charles Sturt, *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia, performed under the authority of Her Majesty's Government during the years 1844, 5, and 6 together with a notice of the province of South Australia in 1847*, Vol 1, London, 1849, pp.i-ii.

⁴⁰ Oxley, *Journals of Two Expeditions*, Part 1, Appendix 2, pp.3-6.

⁴¹ Adams, *Travel Literature*, pp.43-44 points out that this was standard practice in contemporary travel literature.

⁴² Leichhardt, *Journal of an Overland Expedition*, pp.212-213.

⁴³ Mitchell, *Journal of an Expedition*, p.vi. Leichhardt, *Journal of an Overland Expedition*, pp.v-vi.

⁴⁴ Leichhardt, *Journal of an Overland Expedition*, pp.v-vi.

happened. However, sometimes passages were interpolated that pre-empted things to come even though at that particular point in time they could have no idea what was going to happen. These passages reinforce the fact that although structured as a continuous daily account of the expedition, published accounts were compiled after the event with the benefit of hindsight. The interpolated passages allowed explorers to accentuate and elaborate on certain points with the text. An example is Leichhardt's journal entry for the 16 January 1845 when his party was at the Mackenzie River in Central Queensland:

Murphy shot an *Ostioglossum*, a Malacopterygious fish, about three feet long, with very large scales, each scale having a pink spot. We afterwards found this fish in the waters flowing into the Gulf of Carpentaria; both on its eastern and western sides; and, according to the natives of Port Essington, to whom I shewed the dried specimen, it is also found in the permanent waterholes of the Coburg Peninsula.⁴⁵

In a similar manner Mitchell in his entry for 8 May 1846 stated:

These trees were all so alike in general form that I was convinced this was their character, and not a *lusus naturae*. [A still more remarkable specimen of this tree was found by Mr Kennedy in the apex of a basaltic peak, in the kind of gap of the range through which we passed on the 15th of May, and of which he made the accompanying drawing.]⁴⁶

Mitchell included Kennedy's discovery of an exceptional specimen of the same species of tree a week later to emphasise the scientific peculiarity of the tree. Here the future event is contained in parenthesis to distinguish it from the rest of the daily record. Gregory in his account of the North Australian Expedition described the geology of the Gilbert River region in terms of its mineral resources. The description was followed by a statement that disrupted the usual daily account of the journey by pointing out that it was "in this locality that the Gilbert Gold Field was afterwards discovered".⁴⁷

In *The Cartographic Eye*, Ryan states that retrospective writing increases the likelihood of "memory error" occurring in the interpretation of the account.⁴⁸ He also suggests that the authority of the text is challenged by a split in the voices of the explorer and the narrator when events are recollected and inserted in the text at a later date.⁴⁹ However, the occasional insertion of comments with the benefit of hindsight probably did more to

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.111-112.

⁴⁶ Mitchell, *Journal of an Expedition*, pp.153-154.

⁴⁷ Gregory, *Journals of Australian Explorations*, p.179.

⁴⁸ Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p.49.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.48.

support than to challenge the veracity of the account. It allowed the writer to emphasise particular episodes in the text and to validate their observations. Although somewhat incongruous in a work written as a daily record of events, such interpolations were part of the normal editing process of the explorer's journal, which was aimed at creating a readable and informative account of the expedition.

Conclusion

By the early nineteenth century Australia remained one of last regions of the world to be investigated by explorers in the service of empire. Accounts of geographic and scientific exploration, which focused on the discovery and description of landscape not formerly catalogued by Europeans, predominated. These accounts were informative and emphasised the land's possibilities for development as part of the British Empire. They contained scientific observations and adventure, which entertained readers and informed them of the novelties to be found in the young colony. In presenting the narratives of their journeys for publication these explorers adhered to a long-established literary tradition set down for explorers in earlier times. Typically, published accounts of exploration were presented as first person narrations of daily activities undertaken during the course of the expedition and although the texts were edited to create greater audience interest and the style of prose of the individual explorer varied, they came to be considered reliable and factual by readers. It was their conformity to the literary conventions for exploration narratives together with image of the heroic explorer that maintained and supported the authenticity of the accounts and the explorer's authority to comment. These literary conventions underpinned much of the explorers' imperial rhetoric which claimed the land for the Empire.

Chapter Three
Travel literature of Australia 1850-1914:
its nature, style and forms

So far as I am aware, a woman has not yet written a book on Australia. Those which have appeared present the man's point of view; consequently, the position of women in the country which pioneered them into citizenship has hardly been touched upon, much less properly set forth in its vital bearing on national life. It is therefore, my purpose to deal more especially with the women of this country, and what they are doing with the enlarged powers which have been bestowed upon them.¹

Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View*, 1913.

In this epigraph the American evangelist and feminist Jessie Ackermann highlights one of the fundamental differences in travel writing by men and women. It was that men and women travellers emphasised different subject matter in the composition of their narratives, a factor that often resulted in a different tone in the text. However she also revealed another facet of women's travel writing – the adoption of the masculine voice by some women travellers in their narratives. By the late nineteenth century women as well as men were publishing accounts of travel and while subtle differences are sometimes discernible in the texts, their accounts are surprisingly similar as both wrote from a position of authority imbued with imperial rhetoric. In the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the style and format of the published accounts changed to some extent. It tended not to be presented in the journal format that recorded the day's activities but related the travellers' experiences under specific chapter themes, that emphasised a place or feature of Australian society. Despite the loss of day-by-day recording, most travellers continued to write in the first person. Notwithstanding these changes and the subtle differences in the travel writing by men and women travellers, travellers maintained their authority to comment on Australia and Australians. As with the literature of exploration the publication of their work within the genre of travel literature gave their texts referential power and confirmed the reliability of their observations.

This chapter examines travel writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, discussing the nature of travel literature, as well as its style and forms. In particular it

¹ Jessie Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman's Point of View*, London, 1913, pp.ix-x.

explores travel literature by male and female travellers pointing to the similarities and subtle differences.

By the 1850s the means of travel to Australia had improved considerably. Thus the numbers of travellers also increased. As more travellers came to Australia so the amount of travel literature on Australia increased. These accounts took varied forms, from accounts of journeys to specific locations to more generalised observations of Australia. However by the 1850s the accounts were more didactic as male and female travel writers were less concerned with adventure and the picturesque and more employed in describing Australia's progress, its society and resource development within the imperial context. This is not to say that adventure and descriptive passages were absent but more that the informative nature of the literature dominated. The instructive tone of these accounts remained prominent in accounts up to World War I and the "subjectivity" and imaginative approach of the traveller, distinguished by Carr as a feature of British travel writing during the period was less apparent.² Adventure does reappear in the early twentieth century texts. It is indicated by the shift in emphasis from urban travel to outback journeys, often using unconventional means, which allowed the traveller to describe new and different places in an exciting and entertaining manner.

The nature of travel writing

The travel literature of Australia is wide-ranging but can be divided into a number of focal areas that developed in parallel or are combined in their narrative structure. These can be categorised as exploration, adventure, emigration and progress. Exploration as travel literature has already been discussed in the previous chapter and while it continued into the latter part of the nineteenth century the accounts tended to be less romantic in tone and more utilitarian in approach to the landscape.

For some travellers the lure of the unknown, the promise of riches or social advancement prompted a desire to travel. Travel to Australia satisfied the need to escape from normal everyday life to a different situation that promised adventure. Episodes of heroism and

² Carr, "Modernism and travel", p.74

adventure are present in accounts of exploration, but they were also present in the literature of the gold rushes and the literature of the outback. The traveller's narrative followed a traditional pattern of romance literature with three stages, the traveller-hero's departure and call to adventure, the initiation where the traveller is faced with trials and has to struggle to overcome difficulties to survive and finally the traveller's return having conquered two worlds.³ Gold rush literature was full of adventure, from the tension of sea travel to distant shores to the excitement on the goldfields. In his account of five years' adventures on the Victorian goldfields, Henry Brown related his mishaps and exciting experiences, including descriptions of camping out in the bush, getting lost and dangerous encounters with bushrangers.⁴ Brown's journey begins with his decision to go to the Victorian goldfields. Once on the ship his adventures begin and continue throughout his five years in Australia. During his travels and experiences Brown gains understanding of Australia and Australians that reformed his previously held beliefs about Indigenous people and the working class. Such literature portrayed Australia as an outpost of empire, a land of adventure, where self-appraisal and advancement were possible.

From the 1890s the outback became a focus for some travel literature. Outback travels were exciting as they offered a different environment which stimulated the reader's interest. It was subject matter that was unique to Australia; something that promoted the vastness of Australia's potential but also fostered a distinctive Australian identity within the empire. Some accounts developed a comparison between urban and rural life in Australia. Gilbert Parker divided his account into urban and rural Australia while Francis Adams separated his accounts into descriptions of the *Pacific Slope* and the *Eastern Interior*. In both, the outback provided a distinctive focus, dominating discussion of urban life. It was praise for the ability of Australians living in the outback to endure flood and drought that shines through in their accounts. Other travel writers discussed the condition of Australian Aborigines, both in an urban setting and in the bush. Travellers maintained some interest in Aboriginal culture particularly those found in the outback where they had been less seriously affected by European contact. Francis Birtles undertook a journey by bicycle

³ Kathryn Hume, *Romance: A Perdurable Pattern*, 1974, cited in Adams, *Travel Literature*, p.150

⁴ Henry Brown, *Victoria, as I found it, during five years of adventure*, London, 1862.

through the outback from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria and back through central Australia. (Illustration 5) His adventures in the outback are illustrated by his narrative of his experiences of bushfire, encounters with hostile Aborigines and snakes as well as the hardships of life in the bush and the sense of loneliness indicative of outback travel.⁵ Some literature emphasised Australia's economic progress particularly its resource development as well as adventure. Kilroy Harris travelled from Newcastle to South Australia via the Gippsland Forests, the Western District and crossed the "Ninety Mile Desert" to Adelaide. (Illustration 6) In his account Harris described how Australians lived in the bush and the developments that had occurred since European settlement.⁶ However there is a suggestion that Harris considered his journey heroic and exciting as he subheaded his account "being an account of the longest Overlanding journey ever attempted in Australia with a single horse".⁷

Roy Bridges contends that emigration was an essential part of the spread of British capitalist influence. Emigration created markets for manufactured goods and as a result of the need for further sources of raw materials and new markets world trade increased. Further investment in the wider world was stimulated by the expansion of railways, telegraph and shipping to and within colonial possessions.⁸ Many travel accounts indirectly encouraged migration through their exciting narratives while others were more direct in their support and openly set out advice to potential migrants. Travel accounts incorporated advice for intending emigrants in the form of appendices or in chapters in the text. Ellen Clacy in *A Lady's visit to the Victorian Gold Diggings*, combined both explicit and veiled approaches and concluded her adventure narrative of life on the goldfields with an appendix entitled *Who should emigrate?*. Entertainment was contained in her escapades whilst travelling through the Victorian goldfields and in her adventures with bushrangers in the Australian bush. In the mid-nineteenth century such exploits encouraged those with a

⁵ Francis Birtles, *Lonely Lands: through the heart of Australia*, Sydney, 1909.

⁶ Captain Walter Kilroy Harris, *Outback in Australia, or three Australian Overlanders*, fourth edition, London, 1924.

⁷ *Ibid.*, title page.

⁸ Roy Bridges, "Exploration and travel outside Europe" 1720-1914, in Hulme & Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, p.60.

Illustration 5

Francis E. Birtles



Source: Francis E. Birtles, *Lonely Lands: Through the Heart of Australia*, N.S.W. Bookstall Co., 1909, facing p.10.

Illustration 6

Captain Walter Kilroy Harris



Source: Captain Walter Kilroy Harris, *Outback in Australia or Three Australian Overlanders*, fourth edition, The Colonizer, London, 1924, facing title page.

sense of adventure to journey to Australian and thereby alleviate Britain's failing ability to support an increasingly redundant population. Clacy herself suggests that

any book treating of Australia would be sadly deficient were a subject of such universal interest to be left unnoticed; and where there are so many of various capabilities, means and dispositions, in need of guidance and advice as to the advantage of their emigrating...⁹

Indeed, Dr John Shaw stated in his account published in 1858, that not to include reference to emigration in accounts of travel was to omit "one of the most striking, important, and characteristic features of the last hundred years".¹⁰ He considered emigration a means of providing homes for Britain's increasing and poverty-stricken population as well as a way of creating a solid foundation for a strong and loyal British empire.¹¹ Often the encouragement was subtler, hidden within a narrative of Australian progress and potential.

Finally, there is the greater body of travel literature which chronicles Australia's progress and potential. Many travel writers appreciated the Australian environment in terms of its potential to progress. While earlier travel literature had emphasised the societal and cultural imperatives of progress, the idea that society progressed through stages of development from savagery to civilisation, by 1850 published accounts displayed a more utilitarian notion of progress. Travellers catalogued the resources of the landscape in an attempt to encourage further development. Such literature demonstrated Australia's contribution to the Empire. These accounts form two types; one, which incorporates the narrative into the chronicle of the traveller's journey from colony to colony, and the other, where the journey is unspoken. While some commentators may argue that the latter form does not constitute travel literature, as the journey is not explicit in the text, it cannot be ignored as in order to comment at all, the writer had to undertake some form of travel. The travellers' journeys within Australia are implied in the variety of places and topics discussed. Such texts usually follow chapter headings on varying subjects rather than following the course of the journey. For example, E.C. Buley focused his account on elements of Australian life. His chapters had specific themes with titles such as "On the Wallaby Track", "Industrial Pioneers", "The Australian at Play", "A White Australia", and

⁹ Mrs Charles Clacy, *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852-53*, 1963, p.147.

¹⁰ Dr John Shaw, *A Gallop to the Antipodes, returning overland through India*, London, 1858, p.10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.11.

so on. While Buley referred to specific locations like the Riverina and Kalgoorlie in his analysis he does not discuss the process of travelling from one place to another.¹²

Barbara Korte notes that commentators on travel literature have characterised travel writing as heterogeneous in form and content, often combining poetry, science and anecdotes in the one account. However she suggests there is one feature that is common to the genre and that is, travel accounts “tell the story of a journey”.¹³ While this is generally the case as most travel writers reproduce the chronology of their journeys in their narrative, it does not apply to those accounts where the progress of the journey is not foregrounded but implied. Such is the case in some accounts of Australia covered in this thesis. The account becomes “object-orientated”, that is, Australia and Australians are the focus of the traveller’s concern and the journey to Australia and throughout Australia is inferred through changes in textual focus. These accounts take a form not unlike guidebooks for intending travellers emphasising the social, political and economic conditions in Australia. Alfred Buchanan asserted that his approach was more direct and reliable than those by travellers who repeated their journey in an often-fictional narrative. He maintained

The object of a novel is, as a general rule to reflect life and temperament in a selected environment. For various reasons it has become the fashion to achieve this end by indirect means. An author goes to Italy, and writes a book about Italy. He tells us the things about Italy, and the people of Italy, that we want to know; but in order to discover these things we have to read many pages dealing with imaginary persons, for whose adventures we may or may not care, and in whose personality we may or may not believe.¹⁴

Buchanan, who was an Australian resident, considered his impressions held more authority than those travellers who spent limited periods of time travelling within a defined country. Other accounts also focused on the traveller’s impressions of Australia rather than their journey. Some published accounts like that of R.W. Dale were compilations of earlier articles written for newspapers and journals.¹⁵

¹² E.C. Buley, *Australian Life in Town and Country*, London, 1905.

¹³ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.9.

¹⁴ Alfred Buchanan, *The Real Australia*, London, 1907, p.v.

¹⁵ Reverend R.W. Dale LLD, *Impressions of Australia*, London, 1889.

Style and format

Travel writers claimed objectivity in the preface to their accounts, a claim which helped confirm their authority to comment. Josiah Hughes' preface to *Australia Revisited in 1890* emphasised the objective nature of his account. His account, he wrote, was "from an independent source, uninfluenced by party or self interest".¹⁶ However travel literature was never objective. The writer's narrative was constructed from observations made during the course of his/her journey, and was influenced by the importance of meeting the reader's expectations and by the traveller's own knowledge and belief systems. In this way imperial rhetoric coloured a traveller's view of Australia and Australians. Other travel writers justified their observations and the shortcomings of their accounts. Michael Davitt commented that his account was constrained by the temporal restrictions of his journey.

The following pages are an outcome of a recent seven months' journey through the seven Australasian colonies. The limited time occupied in the tour affirms, of course, the equally limited means afforded for learning enough of these countries to write with authority upon their populations, resources, politics, and progress. Nothing is claimed, however, by the author beyond an opportunity of gratifying a desire to make these distant and intensely interesting lands a little better known to the public of Great Britain and Ireland than they are at present.¹⁷

Barbara Korte asserts that the nature of travel writing is defined in the imbalance between accounts which are explorer/traveller centred ("subject-orientated") and those where the journey's object take prominence ("object-orientated"). Those that are "object-orientated" are accounts that are concerned specifically with conveying information and in which the travel writer's personal sentiments are backgrounded. For example, accounts of exploration and scientific observation are "object-orientated" as their main emphasis is on relating the details of geographic discoveries and scientific curiosities with generally lesser stress placed on the explorer's or naturalist's personal thoughts and feelings. The other form is "subject-orientated" and brings to the fore the traveller's feelings in his/her encounter with a different environment. These include first person narratives of journeys that incorporate the travel writer's personal experiences, in an often-entertaining manner.¹⁸ For example, Ellen Clacy's account was subject-orientated; it was written as a first person

¹⁶ Josiah Hughes, *Australia Revisited in 1890*, London, preface.

¹⁷ Michael Davitt, *Life and Progress in Australasia*, 1898, preface.

¹⁸ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, p.6.

narrative of her experiences on the goldfields. In contrast, E.C. Buley's published account was object-orientated; it was a detached account of Australia and Australians without reference to his own experience in travelling. Korte's development of subject-orientated and object-orientated travel writing is pertinent to the analysis of travel literature during the period of this thesis. Much of the literature researched is "object-orientated", while "subject-orientated" texts form only a minor body of work. However in both approaches the traveller confirms his/her authority through literary conventions.

While travel accounts are based upon journeys that have actually occurred one of the peculiar features of travel writing is its potential for deception. Published accounts were reconstructions of the actual journey, written from notes and diaries kept during the course of the trip. In many accounts, the journey was embroidered or edited before publication to achieve a more authoritative and interesting work. Sometimes dialogue based upon conversation held during the course of the journey was added to the narrative. However these related conversations were the result of the traveller's subjective impressions of the encounter as there was little possibility that the conversation could be remembered exactly. The inclusion of dialogue tends to link the account more closely to the genre of fiction, however it also has the effect of adding animation to an otherwise tedious and distanced report. St Michael Podmore admits in his preface that he had "adopted a conversational style, and his book teems with stories of incident and adventure."¹⁹ (Illustration 7) He included interviews with local settlers he met on his travels throughout Australia.²⁰ While, on one level of interpretation, the incorporation of direct speech gave his account authenticity, on another it exposed the constructed and fictional nature of travel writing; that is, has the author related the conversation as it actually occurred or has he edited it or written it from memory?

Overwhelmingly travel writers stress the authenticity of their accounts. For example, Reverend John Morison defended the reliability of his account, stating:

¹⁹ St Michael Podmore, *Rambles and Adventures in Australasia, Canada, India, etc.*, London, 1909, preface.

²⁰ See for example Podmore, *Rambles and Adventures*, pp.18-20.

Illustration 7

St Michael Podmore



THE AUTHOR LECTURING ON THE TASMANIAN FAUNA.
[ECIDNA, PLATYPUS, TASMANIAN WOLF, ETC.]

Source: St. Michael Podmore, *Rambles and Adventures in Australasia, Canada, India, etc.*, L. Upcott Gill, London, 1909, facing p.90.

Not the least of writer's objects in the following chapters is to give a trustworthy view of life and manners, for the guidance of those who may be interested in the subject.²¹

The use of the first person combined the traveller and narrator and gave the account the veracity of autobiography. This may be extended so that the traveller, narrator and the author of the account are one. The reader assumed that the persona disclosed in the texts was the same as the traveller. However, as had been previously mentioned these accounts are reconstructions of the journey, and just as the travel writer edited and omitted parts of his or her journey, so too the travel writer constructed his or her identity for the reader. For example Francis Birtles and Kilroy Harris constructed themselves as the heroes of their narratives of outback adventure, while other travellers, like James Froude, created the persona of the authoritative intellectual.

Sometimes the narrator/traveller distanced himself/herself from the journey to retain a sense of objectivity in the account. Gilbert Parker shifted between first person narration and third person and distanced himself from discussions of sensitive issues. Such literary manoeuvres gave his account authenticity. Sometimes instead of using "I" he refers to himself as "the traveller", "enthusiastic spectator", or "commissioned traveller"; at other times he utilised the strategy of direct speech to relate local concerns which are discussed by representative individuals who are given fictional names. For example, he related a discussion on water conservation and irrigation between squatters, members of mining and squatting companies and a bookkeeper.²² Such methods distanced the traveller/narrator from the narrative and suggested the author's objectivity. Parker further asserted his objectivity in his prologue, by referring to the fact that he was different to the "casual traveller" who "thinks it pleasanter to write praise than history" because he bluntly discussed the effects of drought and floods in Australia.²³

In referring to the writing process the traveller asserted the veracity of the account. Gilbert Parker led the reader to believe that

²¹ A Clergyman [John Morison], *Australia as it is or Facts and Features, Sketches and Incidents of Australia and Australian Life, with Notices of New Zealand*, Melbourne, 1967, (1867), p.2.

²² Gilbert Parker, *Round the Compass in Australia*, London, 1892, pp.61-63.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.5.

These words are written en route and they are begun at one point and finished at another 500 miles away perhaps. And so it is, that what is recorded above, has been carried in my pocket through many new districts, since it first ran from the pen.²⁴

Similarly, Anthony Trollope asserted “I will, too, take the reader into my full confidence, and let him know that my book has been written as I went on. I do not know that I could have done my task other.”²⁵ While such affirmations stress the reliability of the traveller’s observations as the possibility of error of recollection was removed, it is known that Trollope edited his manuscript to a more entertaining version for publication.

Differences between men’s and women’s travel writing

By mid-nineteenth century more women travellers were publishing accounts of their travels in Australia. A comparison of accounts by male and female travellers reveals some underlying differences. Elizabeth Rigby in the *Quarterly Review* in 1845 noted the stylistic differences between the two. Rigby was criticising recent published accounts of travel by women travellers and made some comparison with accounts by male travellers. In the tone of the texts she noticed that the

gentleman’s [was] either dull and matter-of-fact, or off-hand and superficial, with a heavy disquisition where we look for a light touch, or a foolish pun where we expect a reverential sentiment, either requiring too much trouble of the reader, or showing too much carelessness in the writer – and the lady’s – all ease, animation, vivacity, with the tact to dwell upon what you most want to know.²⁶

Returning to their differing emphasises, she contended that women know more about human nature while men are concerned with public life. She maintained that both observations are equally valuable, as to understand the public life of a country, knowledge of its private life must be known. Rigby considered that good travel literature should combine both views by supplying “each other’s deficiencies, and correct[ing] each other’s errors, purely for the good of the public”.²⁷

In his two-volume work *North America* published in 1862 Anthony Trollope reflected upon his mother’s published account of America, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, a very

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.230.

²⁵ A. Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, eds. P.D. Edwards, & R.B. Joyce, St Lucia, 1967, (1873), p.64.

²⁶ [Elizabeth Rigby], “Lady Travellers”, *Quarterly Review*, Vol.76, June & September, 1845, p.99-100.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.99.

successful travel work, published thirty years earlier. In his criticism he conceded an innate difference between men and women's travel writing. He maintained that his mother "saw with a woman's keen eye and described with a woman's light but graphic pen, the social defects and absurdities which our near relatives had adopted into their domestic life". However while not belittling the value of her work he declared that

she did not regard it as a part of her work to dilate on the nature and operation of those political arrangements which had produced the social absurdities which she saw, or to explain that though such absurdities were the natural result of those arrangements in their newness, the defects would certainly pass away, while the political arrangements, if good would remain. Such a work is fitter for a man than for a woman.²⁸

Harriet Clark reiterated this sentiment when noting the differing emphasis of men and women travellers in the 1890s.(Illustration 8) Clark observed:

When a man and a woman are journeying "around the World" together they are likely to see all things through different glasses. The man may, perhaps, have a clearer vision and a wider outlook; but the woman, with more leisure, and with more opportunities in some directions because she is a woman, will notice little things which have escaped the larger vision, and yet are none the less interesting.²⁹

By the time the Clarks were publishing their account, such views were generally accepted.

In the literature on Australia, male travel writers did tend to concentrate on the political, economic and administrative aspects of the country, while women writers were more concerned with describing the detail of people's lives and surroundings. However it is not intended to imply that women travellers did not discuss political, economic or administrative matters or that men did not make observations about private life.³⁰ It was more a matter of the degree of detail contained in their accounts, women writing at length on domestic life and men comprehensively on political issues, as was the accepted practice.

Mary Louise Pratt contends that the emphasis in women's travel writing on domestic settings was not just a matter of different spheres of interest or expertise but also of

²⁸ Anthony Trollope, *North America* (2 vols), 1862 cited in Korte, (trans Catherine Matthias), *English Travel Writing*, p.114.

²⁹ Harriet Clark, *Glimpses of Life in Far-off Lands, as seen through a Woman's eyes*, in Francis Clark, *Our Journey around the World*, Hartford, 1895, p.593.

³⁰ See for example Mae Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia, being a description of the various cities and towns, goldfields, and agricultural districts of that State*, Carlisle, 1993, (1901).

Illustration 8



Source: Rev Francis E. Clark, *Our Journey around the World, A.D.*
Worthington & Co. Publishers, Hartford, 1895, facing p. 593.

“differing modes of constituting knowledge and subjectivity”. Writing with reference to two women travellers in South America she asserts,

If the men’s job was to collect and possess everything else, these women travelers sought first and foremost to collect and possess themselves. Their territorial claim was to private space, a personal, room-sized empire. From these private seats of selfhood, Graham and Tristan depict themselves emerging to explore the world in circular expeditions that take them out into the public and new, then back to the familiar and enclosed.³¹

In a similar manner the women travellers in Australia ventured from secure personal spaces to explore the surrounding countryside. In some instances this space was domestic, the rural or urban establishment of an acquaintance or an hotel or guesthouse. From these bases they pursued their particular interest, developing self-assurance and independence.

Ellis Rowan and Marianne North both describe their domestic settings from a gendered position that revealed its intimacy and familiarity. (Illustrations 9 and 10) Occasionally their personal space was more immediate and confined and took the form of temporary accommodation and means of conveyance. Harriet Clark felt “a homelike feeling” come over her when she settled in the family’s stateroom on the steamship after weeks of travelling on land living out of trunks. She related that it was like moving into a new house. Clark wrote

This berth shall be my room; this net which holds so many little things shall be my bureau; this hook shall be my wardrobe...Perhaps I can even have two hooks.³²

Once her space was claimed as home, Clark was secure and eager to explore the space outside their cabin. Ellen Clacy described travelling to the goldfields in a wagon and her tent on the goldfields. May Vivienne often hired a horse and buggy and drove herself from mining camp to mining camp. (Illustration 11) All automatically disclose and take possession of their personal space before venturing into the outer, masculine world. Male travel writers are seldom as personal in their approach preferring to consciously articulate their journeys without reference to domestic detail.

³¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, pp.159-160.

³² Clark, *Glimpses of Life in Far-off Lands*, p.597.

Illustration 9

Ellis Rowan



Source: Ellis Rowan, *The Flower Hunter, The adventures, in Northern Australia and New Zealand, of flower painter Ellis Rowan*, CollinsAngus & Robertson, North Ryde, nd, facing p.8.

Illustration 10



Source: Mrs John Addington Symonds (ed.), *Recollections of A Happy Life: being the autobiography of Marianne North*, Vol.II, Macmillan and Co., London, 1893, facing title page.

Illustration 11



May Vivienne

Source: May Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle, 1993, facing p.1.

While Pratt differentiates male and female journeys, Karen Lawrence defines the narrative distinctions of male and female travel literature. Lawrence asserts that for male travel writers “the plot of the male journey depends on keeping woman in her place”.³³ However the female travel writer works within and against the masculine devices of the heroic traveller in opposition to the submissive domestic female.³⁴ May Vivienne epitomised the heroic female travel writer who worked within and against the male perception of the female stereotype. She often travelled alone with horse and buggy, sometimes getting lost, sometimes incurring damage to her buggy, or encountering dangerous situations. After visiting the Londonderry mine where repairs were undertaken to her buggy, she was faced with the ten-mile return journey to Coolgardie in the late afternoon. Refusing the offer of an escort, she stated that she “did not fear the Australian bush at all” and “drove on quite happily”, confident of her own ability. When confronted by two swagmen, “who looked at me so hard” she handled the situation with self-assurance by “whipp[ing] up the horse and [getting] on as quickly as [she] could”.³⁵ However in unfamiliar surroundings and with the night closing in she started to wonder whether she was lost again. Her composure and resourcefulness in following the telegraph lines saved her from danger and she found to her relief that she was

at Burbanks again, and on the main road, so I was all right, and drove merrily along, meeting only a carter or so walking by the side of their teams, who, seeing a lady driving alone, said, “Good-night, missus,” and went steadily on. As we got to the rise of the hill at Montana the presence of hundreds of lights gave me welcome to the Queen City of Gold, so there was a safe ending to that day’s journey, and both myself and horse were quite ready for a good supper when we arrived at the hotel.³⁶

Dea Birkett in *Spinsters Abroad* states that by assuming a male persona, “they [women travellers] were claiming a freedom from the gender restrictions of their home societies.”³⁷ May Vivienne travelled to mining and forestry camps. She assumed a male persona by travelling alone by buggy through the bush but she regained femininity on her re-engagement with the urban environment. Lawrence asserts that male travel writers

³³ Karen Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*, Ithaca, 1994, p.1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.1-2.

³⁵ Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.110.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers*, Oxford, 1989, p.140.

perpetuate the male-female stereotype or exclude women completely concentrating on the “rhetoric of mastery, conquest, and quest”.³⁸ She claims that female travel writers have a more open-ended approach, being more concerned with process rather than a particular goal and being more sceptical rather than confident of their own authority and ability to conquer all.³⁹ While the texts of women travellers on Australia tend to be less authoritative in tone than the travel literature by men, Lawrence’s contention that male travellers make use of phallic and penetratory terms to define heroic movement through space is not apparent in the travel literature by male travel writers covered here.⁴⁰ Although not present in the travel literature covered in this thesis, this notion would appear to be more relevant in travel literature of exploration and adventure. Male middle-class travellers in Australia, particularly in the late nineteenth century, tended to confine their travels to city and surrounding countryside, not venturing into unexplored regions where such imagery would seem more appropriate. Strangely enough, in the late nineteenth century travel literature of Australia, it was mainly women travellers who journeyed through the less populated areas of the bush, women like May Vivienne, Ellis Rowan and Marianne North.

Women’s approach to travel writing

Like their male counterparts, women travellers kept diaries and journals, wrote letters and when they returned home, wrote and occasionally published their accounts. However unlike male travel writers they were rarely commissioned to travel.⁴¹ In addition those who did produce accounts not infrequently found publishers received their work less favourably than that by male travellers. Often they had to be encouraged to seek publication, and sometimes they were published anonymously or under assumed names. These women were not usually professional travel writers, solely dependent on the publication of their work for their livelihood, although many were able to supplement their income through their writing. Isabella Bird was already a published author prior to her South Pacific travels. She had anonymously published an account of her travels in America in 1856 as well as published articles in magazines *Leisure Hour*, *Good Words* and *Family Treasury*.

³⁸ Lawrence, *Penelope Voyages*, p.20

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.20-21

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2

⁴¹ Robinson, *Unsuitable for Ladies*, p.xii.

Similarly Jessie Ackermann had published in the *Woman's Home Companion* prior to her Australian journey and Ada Cambridge had published prior to her posting to Australia, although her early literary efforts had a strong devotional character in the form of hymns and articles in religious magazines. Later Cambridge became a prolific author of Anglo-Australian romantic fiction and many of her novels were serialised in the *Australasian*, *Sydney Mail* and the *Age*.⁴² Similarly Mary Gaunt, Australian born and one of the first women admitted to the University of Melbourne, published short stories and articles in journals such as the *Argus*, *Sydney Mail* and the *Australasian* prior to embarking upon her travels.⁴³ In contrast to the established literary character of these women, Ellis Rowan's account of her travels in Australia and New Zealand was based upon letters written to her husband. Others adopted an autobiographical approach, with the account of their observations of Australia intertwined with personal experience. In the latter years of their lives, Ada Cambridge and Marianne North composed accounts of Australia in the form of personal memoirs. Ellen Clacy and May Vivienne are conspicuous as travellers who published accounts soon after returning home. However in most cases the published article or account was a consequence of their journey and not the reason for it.

Self-deprecation and excuses

As a result of the public importance placed on men's travel writing, it was possibly not surprising that women travellers felt the need to point out the limitations of their work. While such apologies were not confined to women travellers, they were certainly more common in accounts by women travellers. Barbara Korte notes that even highly independent women travellers such as Isabella Bird believed they needed to justify their work to their readership. However she considers

Bird's apologetic gestures are quite incongruous with the image which her texts otherwise project of her. Self-justifications and affirmations of modesty only barely conceal her enthusiasm for travel and her pride in achievements that were often quite unwomanly.⁴⁴

⁴² William H Wilde, J Hooton, B Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 2nd ed, Australia, 1994, p.144. Audrey Tate, *Ada Cambridge, Her Life and Work, 1844-1926*, Melbourne, 1991, pp.30-34.

⁴³ Wilde, Hooton, Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p.310.

⁴⁴ Korte, *English Travel Writing*, pp.114-115.

Thus, Korte suggests that it was women's subordinate place in Victorian society, the "angel in the house" role that seemed to warrant such apologies. However such an approach to their work also revealed the complexities of some of their writing. Through emphasising their acceptance of a subordinate position in society not only was it possible that their work would be published but also that they would gain authority to some extent, continue to work within the male-centred genre and thus endeavour to expand its boundaries.

Ellen Clacy was a diminutive, young Englishwoman who accompanied her brother to the Victorian goldfields. Whilst in Australia she found an eligible partner and married before returning to England and publishing the account of her travels. Her humble, self-effacing tone in the introduction to her account acknowledged her inferior position as a woman working within a literary genre dominated by men. Apologising for the limitations of her account of her visit to the gold fields of Victoria, she wrote

It may be deemed presumptuous that one of my age and sex should venture to give to the public an account of personal adventures in a land which has so often been descanted upon by other and abler pens; but when I reflect on the many mothers, wives, and sisters in England, whose hearts are ever longing for information respecting the dangers and privations to which their relatives at the antipodes are exposed, I cannot but hope that the presumption of my undertaking may be pardoned in consideration of the pleasure which an accurate description of some of the Australian Gold Fields may perhaps afford to many; and although the time of my residence in the colonies was short, I had the advantage (not only in Melbourne, but whilst in the bush) of constant intercourse with many experienced diggers and old colonists – thus having every facility for acquiring information respecting Victoria and the other colonies.⁴⁵

At a surface level her self-deprecating introductory remarks stress her unworthiness to comment due to her limited literary skills, her age and gender. As a result she did not step beyond the bounds of womanly behaviour. However beneath the surface she skilfully worked to promote her particular interest in women's lives during the gold rush. She defended the writing of her account by publicising the importance of the information she presented to those female members of families left behind in England. She asserted the accuracy of the information contained in the account by stating that it was gained from reliable local sources. The sources were miners and colonists, masculine and therefore factual and authoritative. Cleverly, however, by so doing she shifted the responsibility for

⁴⁵ Clacy, *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings*, p.9.

any misinformation away from herself to the miners and colonists from whom she obtained the information.

Marianne North, a flower-painter travelled the world out of a desire to see and paint flowers in their natural environment. In the preface to Marianne North's autobiography, her sister and editor, Mrs J.A. Symonds defended Marianne's lack of professional expertise as a botanist:

My sister was no botanist in the technical sense of the term: her feeling for plants in their beautiful living personality was more like that which we all have for human friends. She could never bear to see flowers uselessly gathered – their harmless lives destroyed.⁴⁶

It was the feminine and nurturing side of Marianne North that was accentuated to excuse and compensate for the lack of specialist knowledge in botany. In a similar fashion it was Ellis Rowan's creative side that justified her account.

My love for the flora of Australia, at once so unique and so fascinating, together with my desire to complete my collection of floral paintings, has carried me into other colonies, Queensland, and some of the remotest parts of the great Continent of Australia. The excitement of seeking and the delight of finding rare or even unknown specimens abundantly compensated me for all difficulties, fatigue, and hardships. The pursuit has made me acquainted with many strange phases of colonial life; it has carried me into the depths of jungles, to distant islands, to wild mountain districts, and has brought me in contact with the aboriginal races, often in peculiar circumstances.⁴⁷

Rowan acknowledged her femininity by admitting a lack of physical strength and so conformed to the "weak female" stereotype of nineteenth century women. However she was able to discount this perceived weakness by the serious pursuit of "rare and unknown specimens", work that contributed to the botanical knowledge of Australia. Through practicing their artistry, an accepted feminine accomplishment, North and Rowan contributed to botanical observations working within and through masculinist discourses. In the process their accounts gained authority.

⁴⁶ Marianne North, *Recollections of a Happy Life: being the autobiography of Marianne North*, ed. Mrs John Addington Symonds, Vol.1, London, 1893, p.vi.

⁴⁷ Ellis Rowan, *The Flower Hunter: The adventures, in Northern Australia and New Zealand, of flower painter Ellis Rowan*, Sydney, [1992], (1898), p.v.

Use of masculine voice and authenticity

The travel literature written by men tended to be analytical and unemotional in approach. This feature of their writing tended to give their accounts transparency and authority. Many accounts by male travel writers presumed an official nature and the writer used an authoritative tone supported by the use of statistics that tended to distance the author from his subject matter, while female travel writers adopted a narrative approach similar to that of the novel. The female travel writer documented her interaction with people and the landscape she encountered to a greater extent than male travellers. Hoock-Demarle contends that this approach allowed female travel writers to

avoid the trap of bureaucratic technicity, the preserve of official masculine discourse, which they recognize has little impact on the masses. They also escape from the facile socio-sentimentality that is beginning, not without success, to exploit the genre of the pamphlet.⁴⁸

Hoock-Marle's view of the nature of women's travel writing is relevant to the women travel writers who came to Australia. Rosamond and Florence Hill interrupt their excursions into the South Australian landscape with visits to benevolent institutions. Their description of Magill School, a home for destitute children, was detailed but not sentimental and did not contain statistical information. For example they wrote:

No money has been spared – a site was obtained at Magill, a healthy and beautiful spot, and a palatial edifice was erected, bearing comparison in all respects, cost included, with the most showy of our English pauper school; and a similar system of treatment was established to that pursued at home.⁴⁹

Their description was still authoritative but was clear and concise and not constrained by official terminology and statistics as Reverend R.W. Dale's impression of the South Australian education system was. He observed:

In South Australia the schools are divided into six classes, according to the results of the annual examination by the inspector:...Head-masters of schools placed in the first five classes receive a bonus varying from £24 in the first class to £16 in the fifth class. Headmistresses receive a bonus varying from £16 if their schools are in the first class to £12 if they are in the fifth. Schools in the sixth class carry no bonus.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Marie-Claire Hoock-Demarle, "Le Language littéraire des femmes enquêtrices," in Stéphane Michaud, ed., *Un fabuleux destin: Flora Tristan*, Dijon, Editions Universitaires, 1985 cited in Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, p.161.

⁴⁹ Rosamond and Florence Hill, *What we saw in Australia*, London, 1875, p.137.

⁵⁰ Dale, *Impressions of Australia*, p.144.

This excerpt is just a small part of a larger chapter where he compared the varying theoretical approaches to education in the colonies he visited. His observations are supported by a great deal of statistical information which gave his account an authoritative tone.

Generally the style of women travel writers was less constrained than that of male travel writers, and often incorporated emotional responses to situations and surroundings within the text. However some women travel writers gained authority and met the accepted conventions of the genre by using the masculine voice in their texts. This gave their accounts veracity although sometimes emotional responses and concern for the intricate detail of the places and people encountered interrupted their masculine tone. In *Travels in Western Australia*, May Vivienne catalogued the economic progress of the colony, using facts and figures to support her assessment. Tension exists between the parts of her account where she used an analytical approach and those parts where she employs descriptive techniques that derive from an appreciation of the picturesque. Of the agricultural area of Mount Barker she wrote

Over 55 acres of fruit trees of different kinds, bearing lovely fruit, testify to the excellence of the soil. Two thousand apple trees seem to be specially prolific. In another part of the Mount Barker district, Mr Miller's estate, comprising more than 5000 acres, has a fine orchard of over 6000 fruit trees of all descriptions. Two other orchards, not quite so large but with much exquisite fruit, are not far off, and the old homestead of St Werbergs, where the late Colonel Warburton resided, is a place of much interest.⁵¹

However when she described the view from Mount Eliza she displayed concern for the intricate beauty of the setting,

I have seen many beautiful places in the other colonies, and in New Zealand; but the view from Mount Eliza on a spring morning in the season of blossom, when every wild bush is ablaze with flowers, is a sight never to be forgotten, I felt I must stay for a while and gather some of the beautiful and quaint wild-flowers, which are far more varied than any I had ever before seen. ... Many kinds of trees and flowers abound, callistemon, with its brilliant scarlet plumes; the petrophila, and with its exquisite velvety softness; banksias, honeysuckles, verticordias, with their lemon-centred foliage; the beautiful snowflake flower; the sweet-smelling, rich yellow hibbertia; the pretty blue gardenia, the lovely lilac hibiscus, or native tulip, fringed

⁵¹ Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.12.

lilies, satin flowers and others too numerous to particularise, form a picture so strikingly beautiful that I shall never forget the magnificent scene of green hills and flowery dales, country and town, blue sky and opal water, stretching far and wide.⁵²

W.H. Davenport Adams in his late nineteenth century book *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century* praised Isabella Bird as a great traveller, because she assumed all the qualities of a good male traveller: “Endurance, courage, promptitude, decision, the capacity for quiet and accurate observation, the ready adaptability to circumstances”.⁵³ Bird possessed an “artist’s temperament”, having an innate ability to convey the scenes she viewed into words. Davenport stated that

A sense of the beautiful and a power of expressing that sense so as to make it felt by others, is the primary and indispensable qualification of the traveller. He must have eyes to see and ears to hear; and that his fellow may the wiser, better, and happier for his enterprise, he must have the faculty of describing what he has seen and heard in language of adequate force and clearness.⁵⁴

Bird gained authority by her acceptance into the masculine world of travel writing. However this was not confined to her written style but extended to her disposition. Adams declared that Bird “carried in her bosom a man’s heart, and was never wanting in courage or resolution”.⁵⁵

Jessie Ackermann presented her account as the first authoritative account written by a woman about Australia. It differed from previous accounts by women which had made use of the masculine voice and excluded the part played by women in the development of Australia. Her intention was to centre her narrative on the lives of Australian women,

to outline, briefly, the natural, political, industrial, social, religious, and home settings in which the women of Australia “live, move, and have their being” as equal citizens with men.⁵⁶

However, like Vivienne, she makes use in her text of governmental facts and figures taken from the Commonwealth statistician and various State government departments in order to

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁵³ W.H. Davenport Adams, *Celebrated Women Travellers of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 8th edition, 1903, pp.436-437.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.425-426.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.433.

⁵⁶ Ackermann, *Australia from a Woman’s Point of View*, pp.ix-x.

enhance her credibility and authority. The use of such information, perceived by feminist commentators on travel as masculine in origin, could be perceived to compromise her strong feminist stance.

May Vivienne's extensive use of statistical information gave her account authenticity. However, in the author's note to her account, she felt she had to defend the figures quoted against accusations of embellishment. She pronounced that

Some readers may be disposed to question the accuracy of my statements regarding the mines, and the actual wealth in gold of the State, I can assure them that these statements are absolutely devoid of exaggeration, and capable of being easily verified.

This is true also of what is said respecting timber, fruits, and agricultural produce.⁵⁷

Her tone was not passive, and not dissimilar to some male travel writers who defended their information. Her motive for offering such detailed information was to encourage settlement in Western Australia.⁵⁸

Conclusion

Like explorers, travellers complied with the conventions of travel writing, establishing their authority and the reliability of their texts. The imperial rhetoric in their narratives on Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fostered emigration by demonstrating Australia's progress and uniqueness as well as entertaining and informing readers. Their accounts were more utilitarian in approach than the romantic accounts of earlier explorers. By the mid-nineteenth century female as well as male travellers engaged with Australia and Australians. In terms of the accounts by male and female travel writers covered here it is difficult to define specific differences in expression. In the *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Susan Bassnett asserts that

In terms of stylistic features, there is no way that women's travel writing can be differentiated from that of male writers, though a case could perhaps be made for differences in emphasis, in selection of material, in the relationship between the traveller and the putative reader.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Vivienne, *Travels in Western Australia*, p.iv.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Susan Bassnett, "Travel writing and Gender" in Hulme & Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, p.240.

Women travel writers did emphasise different subject matter which resulted in a different text which was often more subjective and personal in tone. Their travel writing was characterised by the devices they used to work within the accepted conventions of the genre. A novelistic style where a narrative unfolds and individual characters are developed in some detail, such as Ellen Clacy's approach in describing her experiences on the Victorian goldfields, was one technique. The use of apologies, and the masculine voice are further indications of the tactics employed by women travellers to work within the conventions of travel writing. But such devices are not solely confined to women travel writers, as some male travel writers on Australia also applied these techniques. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of women's travel writing is that although women travel writers wrote within the conventions of the genre and often portrayed themselves as tough and heroic, they do not completely distance themselves from their femininity. Their concern with the need to maintain femininity reflected the fact that they were travelling and writing within a male dominated world where society dictated distinctive behaviour for women. Because of their subordinate position in society their writing exposed complex responses that were as varied as their individual backgrounds and experience.