

*Island Bodies: Registers of Race and
'Englishness' on Tristan da Cunha c.1811-c.1940*

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Thierry Jean-Marie Rousset was born in 1982 in Moka, Mauritius. After completing his schooling in Mauritius he enrolled at the University of Cape Town (UCT) where he graduated with Majors in Law and History. He completed his BA Honours and Master's degree in Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town. In addition to working as a research assistant he has also lectured across a variety of courses in the Department of Historical Studies at UCT.

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THIERRY JEAN-MARIE ROUSSET

Tristan da Cunha, a small island in the South Atlantic, is perhaps best known today as the remotest inhabited island in the world. Historical scholarship relating to the island has either focused on its supposed insularity, or has completely elided it in the broader thematic and theoretical studies that often dominate scholarship of the Atlantic world. By placing Tristan da Cunha and metropolitan Britain together within the same analytic field and using an interdisciplinary approach, this work traces metropolitan representations of the island from c.1811–c.1940.

Part One traces the ways in which Tristan da Cunha was drawn into the European geographic imagination as well as the economic networks and channels of global circulation during the era of mercantile capitalism. This process saw the island framed as a Romantic English rural idyll displaced into the South Atlantic, and resulted in a metonymic linkage being created between the island body and the bodies that inhabited it. The shift from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism and the rise of modernity in the metropole led to (re)negotiations regarding who formed part of the social body of the metropole and Part Two traces the impact of this shift on the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha. The (re)negotiation and (re)constitution of the island body(ies) as a result of new metropolitan optics and debates regarding race, degeneration, social belonging, and bourgeois norms resulted in the increasing nativisation and concurrent racialisation of the islanders in metropolitan representations. The island bodies became both coloniser and colonised, Briton and nativised other, Anglo-Saxon and racialised other.

These discourses – the island as Romantic English rural idyll, or as isolated, degenerating and inhabited by nativised others – would coexist from the turn of the nineteenth century. They sometimes cut across one another, at other times they reinforced one another, only to diverge and then cut across one another once again. This work unpacks the polyphonic and often contradictory registers of race and Englishness in these metropolitan representations. At the same time it unsettles and attempts to reconstitute the dominant lenses through which the island has previously been analysed.

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Chapter One

The lay of the land

1.1) Tristan da Cunha, the remotest inhabited island in the world

“The closest land mass to Tristan da Cunha is more than 2,000km (1,500 miles) away”, so begins an article published in August 2015 on the BBC website.¹ The article is based on the tale of a BBC correspondent who was forced to give up his place on a vessel leaving the island in order to make room for a patient from Tristan da Cunha who required medical attention that was not available on the island. The medical emergency “brought home just how remote the community is”. The author, Chris Carnegy, describes the six day voyage to the island from Cape Town on the *Edinburgh*, a boat he describes as “so old that it saw the Icelandic Cod Wars of the 1970s” but which nevertheless is portrayed as the island’s ‘lifeline’, providing a connection to “the outside world”. The man in question died before reaching Cape Town and, upon the news reaching Tristan da Cunha, Carnegy writes “[t]he romantic poets would have recognised what came next. The sunshine was extinguished. The skies over Tristan da Cunha abruptly darkened, and a sad, cold rain began to fall”. This news article captures two of the consistently re-occurring tropes in literature relating to the island: that of remoteness and of the island as a site of the Romantic.

Tristan da Cunha forms part of the Tristan da Cunha island group (which also consists of Inaccessible Island and Nightingale Island).² It lies in the middle of the South Atlantic (see Figure 1) and has a surface area of 98km². At the latest count, 261 islanders were living on the island.³ These residents are descendants of the early nineteenth century settlers of the island. The first of these was a Scotsman named William Glass who permanently settled on the island in 1817 with his wife, two children and two other men. Over the years others joined him and some left again but the settlement itself has remained and thus was born what is today often described as the remotest inhabited island in the world.

¹ Chris Carnegy, ‘Waiting for the ship that could save a man’s life’ in *BBC Magazine* (<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33936323> accessed on the 17 August 2015).

² The name of the island has undergone various forms in the process of its Anglicisation from Tristão da Cunha, such as Tristan d’Acunha and Tristan de Cunha. For the sake of consistency I will use the currently prevalent usage – that is, Tristan da Cunha – unless quoting directly from another source that used one of these alternate spellings.

³ <http://www.tristandc.com/familynews.php> (accessed on the 5 March 2017).

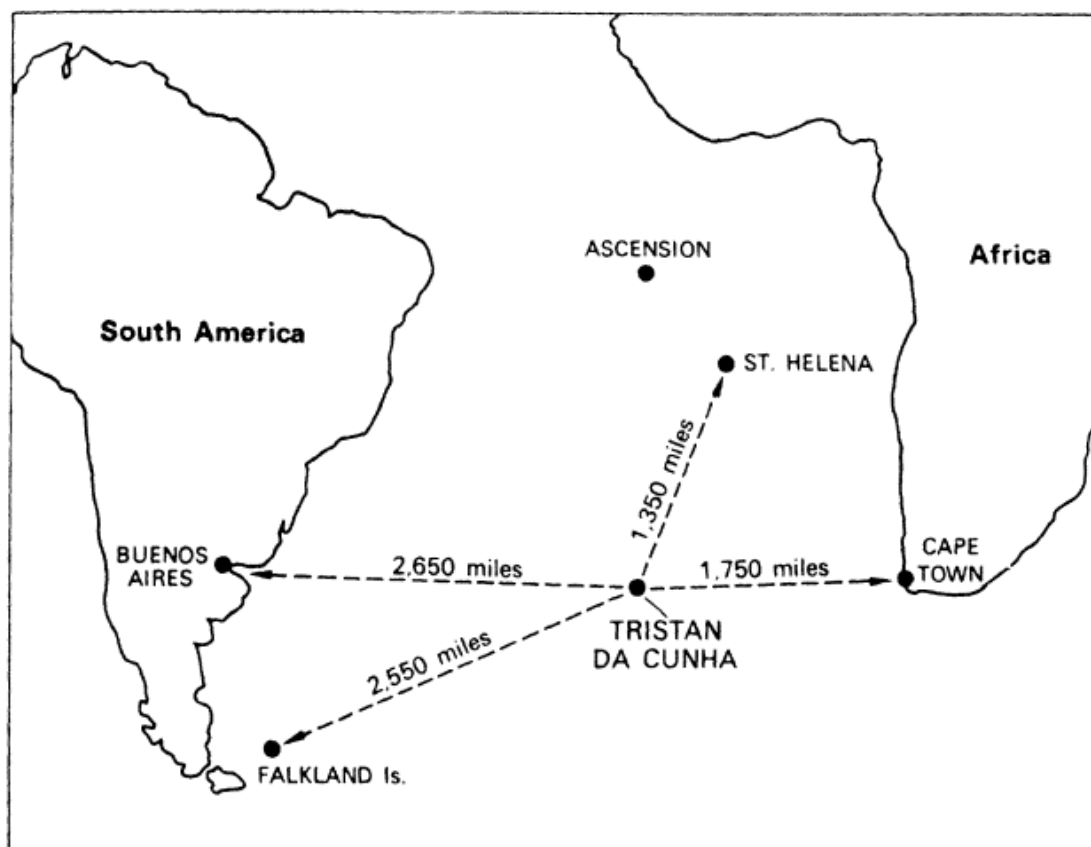


Figure 1.1: Position of Tristan da Cunha in relation to its nearest landmasses.⁴

While the term ‘the remotest inhabited island in the world’ refers to the island’s spatial isolation from any other inhabited landmasses, Carnegy here is clearly referring to more than just spatial remoteness. He is also referring to the second definition of the term, “having very little connection with or relationship to”. This definition, and the idea of Tristan da Cunha as being remote, suggests that there has never been a ‘connection’ or ‘relationship to’. However, distant as Tristan da Cunha is from its nearest landmasses, over the years since its initial discovery in 1506 by the Portuguese seafarer Tristão da Cunha (after whom the island group is named), the island underwent a long process of discursive construction and enculturation before being drawn into the European geographic imagination and, over time, into the economic networks and channels of global circulation of mercantile capitalism. By the mid nineteenth century, the island had been colonised and was regularly visited by both whaling vessels and sailing vessels travelling to the Cape and the Indian Ocean due to its position in a wind corridor.

⁴ This map has been taken from D.F. Roberts, ‘Genetic Evolution in an Isolated Population’ in *The Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Spring, 1979), pp. 1-17, at page 2.

Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the rise of industrial capitalism and the concurrent shift from sail to steam, and from oceanic travel to air travel, saw the island become increasingly isolated from these networks. It is the (re)negotiation and (re)constitution of the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha and the continuities and discontinuities in metropolitan representations of these island bodies during these processes of enculturation, integration, and subsequent marginalisation that forms the focus of this work.

1.2) The flattening juggernauts of theory.

Lorenzo Veracini has recently pointed out how oceanic perspectives have allowed us to look beyond traditional historiographic approaches in the field of settler colonialism.⁵ However, while he points out that “settler colonialism happens on islands too”,⁶ his *Handbook of Settler Colonialism* follows a continental framework and islands are relegated by and large to the remote margins of the text. This is in part a result of these ‘oceanic perspectives’ that Veracini suggests now constitute “a veritable ‘oceanic turn’, especially with regards to the Atlantic Ocean”.⁷ This recent rise in trans-Atlantic history as an explicit area of study (although with a much older genealogy),⁸ and the concurrent adoption of the view that such a thing as an ‘Atlantic world’ exists is perhaps best demonstrated by the founding of the journal *Atlantic Studies* in 2004. The rapid rise of this field has been well traced by Bernard Bailyn, amongst others, who suggests that so strong has been its popularity of late that no comprehensive bibliography can be compiled.⁹ The rapid expansion in the field is not difficult to understand as it is a tempting and useful paradigm to work with(in) given its ability to decenter Europe and grant more attention to non-European regions,¹⁰ as well as shift the focus away from the nation state.¹¹ However, studies of the Atlantic world have focused by and large on the larger land masses that form the outer boundaries of this imagined oceanic world and in turn the field of settler

⁵ Lorenzo Veracini, ‘Introduction: Settler colonialism as a distinct mode of domination’ in Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (New York: Routledge, 2017), at page 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, at page 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, at page 1.

⁸ See William O’Reilly, ‘Genealogies of Atlantic History’ in *Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2004), pp. 66–84.

⁹ See Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005) and Bernard Bailyn, ‘Introduction: Reflections on Some Major Themes’ in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (eds.), *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁰ John K. Thornton, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), at page 2.

¹¹ Toyin Falola and Kevin D. Roberts, *The Atlantic World, 1450-2000* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), at page ix.

colonialism has drawn on these new perspectives to rethink histories of community formation and displacement on these oceanic fringes.

While Philip Morgan and Jack Greene's *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal*, define the field as consisting of the analysis of the Atlantic basin "as a site for demographic, economic, social, cultural, and other forms of exchange among and within the four continents surrounding the Atlantic Ocean – Europe, Africa, South America, and North America – and all the islands adjacent to those continents and in that ocean", the focus on oceanic islands¹² – as is suggested by its positioning within this list – especially those of the South Atlantic, has been almost non-existent.¹³ This may have much to do with the fact that the main focus of Atlantic Studies has been to stress the Atlantic Ocean and the oceanic islands within it as merely part of a highway connecting Europe, Africa, and the Americas.¹⁴ As Veracini puts it "settlers traverse seas [...] but they typically claim macroregions and continents".¹⁵ The main focus in this field, which has encompassed, amongst other things, the history of slavery, diaspora studies, imperialism and colonialism,¹⁶ has been on the connectivity of the Atlantic world and the movement of peoples, pathogens, ideas, and flora and fauna. But in the process of stressing the broader themes that have tied the Atlantic world together, these works have often found themselves becoming unmoored from the historical specificity of the spaces contained within this Atlantic world.

¹² The concept of what is an island has been much debated, see for example Chapter One of Stephen Royle's *Islands: Nature and Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), but I shall not dwell on this issue here as Tristan da Cunha meets all of the various definitions of what constitutes an island. Geographers have, by and large, divided islands into two broad categories, a distinction first made by Charles Darwin, based on their origin: oceanic and continental. Oceanic islands formed from processes operating exclusively in the ocean basins while continental islands lie on the continental shelf of a continent. For some texts that deal with the difference between oceanic and continental islands, see Patrick D. Nunn, 'Through a Mist on the Ocean: Human Understanding of Island Environments' in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, Vol. 95, No. 3 (2004), pp. 311-325 and 'Island origins & environments', in Godfrey Baldacchino (ed.), *A World of Islands: An Island Studies Reader* (Malta & Canada: Agenda Academic & Institute of Island Studies, 2007) as well as Chapter Two of Stephen Royle's *A Geography of Islands: Small island insularity* (London: Routledge, 2001).

¹³ Philip D. Morgan and Jack P. Greene, 'Introduction: The present state of Atlantic history' in Jack P. Greene and Philip D. Morgan (eds.), *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), at page 3.

¹⁴ This is explicitly stated, for example, in Thomas Benjamin's *The Atlantic World: Europeans, Africans, Indians and their Shared History, 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Though some works have now begun to consider the Atlantic Ocean as a space of society rather than outside of it, see for example Philip Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ Lorenzo Veracini, 'Introduction', at page 1.

¹⁶ Keith R. Benson, Helen M. Rozwadowski and David K. van Keuren, 'Introduction' in Helen M. Rozwadowski and David K. van Keuren (eds.), *The Machine in Neptune's Garden: Historical Perspectives on Technology and the Marine Environment* (Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications/USA, 2004), at page xxiv.

Sujit Sivasundaram, in his critique of Indian Ocean studies, has suggested how similar works in that field have “come to stand for the easy movement of people, ideas and things, in constant motion across vast distance”.¹⁷ While this may adequately capture the experience of certain parts of the Atlantic world, it is certainly not true for all of it, particularly the oceanic islands that lie at the heart of the Atlantic but whose historical specificity is dismissed as their historical experiences are flattened out in order to trace the broader themes of movement and connectivity. Even though the movement of ideas, peoples and things that lies at the heart of Atlantic Studies as a field has not been constant or consistent throughout the Atlantic, the focus of Atlantic Studies has been to lay particular and almost exclusive emphasis on such movement.

David Armitage has quipped that until recently “Atlantic history seemed to be available in any color, so long as it was white”.¹⁸ More recent scholarship has seen, in addition to the white Atlantic,¹⁹ the rise of the black, green and red Atlantics,²⁰ while Adriana Craciun’s work has also begun to integrate the Arctic into Atlantic histories.²¹ Ironically, many of the islands of the Atlantic, particularly those of the South Atlantic that did not form part of Atlantic slaving networks, have remained excluded from these new histories. While this state of affairs has begun to shift for St Helena,²² others have (by and large) remained largely unexamined with the works produced being, with a few exceptions, ahistorical and/or antiquarian in nature.²³ While each of these fields have opened up fascinating new avenues of research, what they all tend to share is a focus on how people, goods, and – more importantly – ideas, travelled between continents across the Atlantic Ocean and were often reconstituted during the process of these travels. What they do not focus on in any particular detail are the islands within the Atlantic that were also visited, described, settled and also reconstituted at

¹⁷ Sujit Sivasundaram, *Islanded: Britain, Sri Lanka, and the Bounds of an Indian Ocean Colony* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), at page 25.

¹⁸ David Armitage, ‘The Red Atlantic’ in *Reviews in American History*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 2001), pp. 479-486, at page 479 and David Armitage, ‘Three Concepts of Atlantic History’ in David Armitage and Michael J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, [second edition] 2009), at page 17.

¹⁹ This term captures the majority of histories relating to the Atlantic that have been published, but, as David Armitage has argued, “[t]he white Atlantic has itself become a self-conscious field of study rather than the defining model for all other Atlantic histories”, David Armitage, ‘Three Concepts’, at page 14.

²⁰ See, for example, Paul Gilroy’s *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Verso: London, 1993), Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker’s *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon press, 2000) and David T. Gleeson, *The Irish in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2010).

²¹ See Adriana Craciun, ‘Oceanic voyages, maritime books, and eccentric inscriptions’ in *Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2013), pp. 170–196.

²² See for example Stephen Royle’s *The Company’s Island: St. Helena, Company Colonies and the Colonial Endeavour* (New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2007) and Daniel A. Yon’s ‘Race-Making/Race-Mixing: St. Helena and the South Atlantic World’ in *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 33, No 2 (2007), pp. 144–163.

²³ The one exception to this is perhaps the Falklands/Malvinas. But even here the analyses of the island that have been published focus on the island as part of wider Antarctic expeditions or simply as a space on which broader geo-political pressures played out rather than an historicised space in its own right.

the same time, a criticism that is particularly true of the South Atlantic islands whose histories, while not being completely ignored, have remained firmly rooted in an antiquarian mode.

While the 'Atlantic world' as vein of inquiry is not close to running dry, perhaps far more interesting lines of inquiry could be opened up if we choose to invert this particular frame. What, for example, happens when a space comes to stand for the lack of movement of people, ideas and things? What occurs when stasis rather than motion becomes the key defining factor of a particular place? What does this mean for those who find themselves living in such spaces? What, in essence, does the effect of marginalisation have? How, for example, did representations of Tristan da Cunha shift as it moved from being a useful node in both merchant capital and whaling networks to being described as the remotest inhabited island in the world? How did this increasing isolation come to be represented as stasis – which was contrasted to the rise of metropolitan modernity – and new scopic regimes lead to shifts in the racial representation of the islanders? And how did the shifting dichotomy of coloniser and colonised, which Stoler has shown are a historically shifting pair of social categories,²⁴ have an impact on these island bodies?

Although the specificity of islands within the Atlantic (particularly the South Atlantic) has been flattened out (or sometimes completely ignored) by historians of 'the Atlantic world' – indeed, the very term 'mid-Atlantic' has come to mean having the characteristics of both Britain and America – this lacuna was soon filled by the rise of scholarship that attempted to move away from this continental bias. For example, John Gillis's *Islands of the Mind* is an explicit attempt to, as he puts it, "correct history's continental bias".²⁵ Gillis's work, while a wonderful treatise on the shifting conceptions of 'the island' over a long time span and a useful attempt at bringing islands back into the field of the Atlantic world, itself, due to its ambitious scope, lacks specificity. It has been left to the rise of what has now come to be termed 'Island Studies' to bring the specificity of islands into focus.²⁶ The *Island Studies Journal* was formed in 2006 under the editorship of Godfrey Baldacchino (who has written extensively on various issues related to islands) with the specific intention of "studying islands on their own terms".²⁷ This was followed a year later by the launch of *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* whose focus, as the title suggests, is on island cultures. Both of these journals approach the study of islands through comparative and inter-

²⁴ See Ann Laura Stoler, 'Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Jan., 1989), pp. 134–161, at page 136.

²⁵ John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) at page 4.

²⁶ This field itself has longer traditions though these, for the most part, focused on the Pacific Islands.

²⁷ <http://www.islandstudies.ca/>

disciplinary study and while they have established the specificity of islands, they have done so by focusing on their perceived insularity, often at the expense of ignoring their historicity.

In their introduction to a special edition of the *Geographical Review* on islands, Gillis suggests how the idea of ‘islandness’ (which Philip Conkling described in the same issue as “a metaphysical sensation that derives from the heightened experience that accompanies physical isolation”) has become a central theme when thinking about and with islands.²⁸ This theme has become central in the development of, and works published in, the field of Island Studies. Sivasundaram, in his analysis of Sri Lanka, has described how the process of ‘islanding’ was itself a discursive and intellectual way of thinking about a particular space as can be seen by the fact that many islands have successfully minimised the effects of spatial isolation and were involved in extensive networks of communications and exchange (such as the metropole in this particular tale, Britain herself). Increasing isolation and marginalisation from the networks of the Atlantic world over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, led to Tristan da Cunha having a very different historical trajectory to that of many other islands.²⁹

This work seeks to straddle the boundary between the thematic studies of how people, ideas, and things travelled and were incorporated into the Atlantic world and the specificity of Island Studies through a detailed analysis of the representations of Tristan da Cunha in metropolitan Britain over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In essence this text consists of a micro-study that aims to locate representations of the island and its inhabitants in a much wider perspective. Histories of Tristan da Cunha have been few and far between and unique to date in that there has never been a history of the island written by an islander.³⁰ The texts that have been published looking at the island’s history are antiquarian in nature and focus almost exclusively on listing what happened on the island rather than making any concerted attempt at suggesting why

²⁸ See John Gillis and David Lowenthal, ‘Introduction’ in *The Geographical Review*, Vol 97, No. 2 (Apr., 2007), pp. iii-vi and Philip Conkling, ‘On Islanders and Islandness’ in *The Geographical Review*, Vol 97, No. 2 (Apr., 2007), pp. 191–201.

²⁹ By contrast, for example, Mauritius, the island on which I was born, lies roughly 700 miles from its nearest major landmass, Madagascar. Yet one would struggle to consider it as being remote. Mauritius has been deeply integrated into the global economy and was drawn into the circuits of empire almost since the moment of its discovery by Europeans. In 2012, almost one million tourists visited the island and it has become a regional business hub. Despite its spatial remoteness, Mauritius is today considered a part of Africa and is a member of the Southern African Development Community. Clearly, the term ‘remote’ seems unsuitable here considering the rapid movement of people and goods to and from the island (not to mention the movement of money and information via various other networks).

³⁰ The only texts written by an islander that looks at its history are two texts co-written by Karen Lavarello-Schreier which consists of thirty-odd page summaries of other sources. See Daniel Schreier and Karen Lavarello-Schreier, *Tristan da Cunha and the Tristanians* (London: Battlebridge Publications, 2011) and *Tristan da Cunha: history, people, language* (London: Battlebridge Publications, 2003).

these events occurred and what impact they had. A good example of this is Jan Brander's *Tristan da Cunha, 1506–1902* which consists of a rigorous compilation of archival material but makes no attempt to locate the descriptions of the island, and the events described, within any broader historical context.³¹ This is a criticism that, to varying degrees, is true of most of the texts that deal with Tristan da Cunha's history while those that do not merely chronicle events or are ethnographic in nature.³²

This text aims to breakaway from this model of analysing (or rather describing) the island by instead focusing on how the representations of Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants have shifted over time and what the consequences of these shifts have been. This focus on the metropolitan representation of a particular place, by its very nature, requires an interdisciplinary approach. The work examines representations of Tristan da Cunha by explorers, artists, travellers, visiting scientists, missionaries and writers. Much like the work of Rod Edmond (whose *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* is a marvellous example of the advantages of bringing different disciplinary insights to bear on a historical analysis of islands), this thesis draws broadly on the fields of history, art history, photography, literature studies, mission studies, exhibition studies and settler colonial studies in an attempt to heed Edmond's clarion call for islands to be historicised and rescued from what he terms 'the flattening juggernaut' of theory.³³

1.3) The island body and island bodies

Kathleen Wilson has compellingly argued that although the transoceanic flows of people, goods, and ideas were millennia old, the rapid increase in both scale, and the technologies of production and exchange over time led to a constant reinvention of who formed part of the social body of the metropole. These led to processes and attempts in the metropole to redefine its relationship to its subjects (which often led in turn to attempts by its subjects to redefine their relationships to the

³¹ Jan Brander, *Tristan da Cunha: 1506-1902*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1940).

³² See, for example, the various texts relating to Tristan da Cunha written by Allan Crawford, the most prolific writer of texts relating to the island in the second half of the twentieth century. Patrick Helyer and Michael Swales have published a detailed bibliography of the island which has already dated considerably as there have been numerous publications relating to the island since it was put together, see Patrick Helyer and Michael Swales, *Bibliography of Tristan da Cunha* (Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1998)

³³ See Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial Discourse from Cook to Gauguin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), and Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith (eds.), *Islands in History and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

metropole) and to redefine who should remain part of this polity and in what capacity.³⁴ The main focus of this work is to trace how the representations of Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants initially allowed them to be integrated into the larger body of metropolitan Britain and, due to their increasing isolation, later saw them become estranged from this body. By tracing this shift in representation we can also trace how perceptions of the island shifted from them being colonisers to natives and the concomitant impact this had on the representations of the Tristan bodies themselves.

This work is therefore divided into two parts. Part One deals with how Tristan da Cunha moved from being a space of alterity and danger located outside of the circuits of empire that needed to be avoided if it all possible, to being a place that was not only integrated into the expanding networks of empire by the early nineteenth century, but had been colonised with the tacit approval of the British Admiralty. By tracing the travels and networks of those who visited and represented the island to metropolitan eyes, we can see the extent to which the island, as well as those that visited and inhabited it, were not the remote castaways described in Carnegie's article with which I opened the discussion above. This more networked view of empire (what Lester and Lambert refer to as a 'networked conception of imperial interconnectedness'),³⁵ can be seen through the extraordinary movement of these individuals and suggests the ways in which the spatial isolation of the island in the first half of the nineteenth century did not hinder its integration into these transnational networks. By focusing on the movements of those who produced textual traces of Tristan da Cunha, one can also begin to challenge the structure of the traditional, national archive oriented studies of the island that see it as a curiosity to be described rather than a place whose current representations need to be explained and the changes in these representations traced over time. Rather than the antiquarian and teleological analyses of the island that predominate in the literature, what follows will suggest the various ways in which the meaning and representations of the island were developed, eroded, and redeveloped over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Part One is made up three chapters. Chapter Two consists of an analysis of how representations of Tristan da Cunha shifted from that of alterity and danger, to similarity and safety. In short, it describes the process of Tristan da Cunha being turned from space into place and in doing so, takes

³⁴ See Kathleen Wilson, 'Introduction: histories, empires, modernities' in Kathleen Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

³⁵ David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Introduction' in David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), at page 8.

seriously the island body of Tristan da Cunha as not merely a backdrop against which events took place, but an important actor in the events themselves that needed to be drawn into the metropolitan geographical imagination. This will be done by highlighting the interconnectedness between art history and historical geography through the form of travel imagery. This process allowed the island body to be properly integrated into the networks of empire and was a precursor to the eventual colonisation of the island. The opening of the fur seal trade with Canton in the late eighteenth century (and its later development in Britain) saw the island gain an economic utility for the first time and led to it being visited and temporarily occupied by various sealing gangs. This new economic utility occurred contemporaneously with a visit to the island by Sir Erasmus Gower, en route to China as part of the Macartney Embassy, which produced a widely disseminated description and watercolour of the island by William Alexander that began the process of drawing the island into the metropolitan geographical imagination.

The colonisation of the island was only successfully achieved after the British set up a garrison on Tristan da Cunha in 1816 in order to forestall any attempts to rescue Napoleon (who had been incarcerated on St. Helena). The setting up of this garrison led to the island's coastline being more accurately mapped thus helping to fix the island in space. An amateur naturalist, Dugald Carmichael, was also on board the vessel transporting the garrison and he compiled a list of some of the botanical productions of the island using the Linnaean system while also making detailed observations regarding the island's fauna and geography which were later published by the Linnaean Society. This provided what Rick Van Noy has termed a 'literary cartography' of the island. The presence of an amateur artist, Charles William Browne, as a member of the garrison also saw further artistic representations of the island being made and even though these images were not widely circulated due to Browne's untimely death, his and Alexander's use of what Luciana de Lima Martins has termed 'hybrid landscapes' suggests the ways in which the new spaces of empire were being mapped by 'literary cartographers' and artists. Such individuals played key roles in producing the imaginative geographies that would allow these spaces to be conceptually grasped, understood, and later integrated into the visual economy of empire thus turning alien spaces into the places of empire.

The British garrison on Tristan da Cunha was removed in 1817 but one of its members, William Glass, asked for permission to remain. His request was granted thus beginning the colonisation of the island with the original settlers being Glass, his wife (described in the literature as a 'Cape creole') and two children as well as two other men. The number of people on the island oscillated but the

number of adult settlers stood at seven when the itinerant artist Augustus Earle (famous for his paintings of Rio, Australia, New Zealand and his presence on the *Beagle* Expedition) was marooned there for several months in 1824, and it is the impact of Earle's artwork and published journal of his time on the island as well as the global connections and syntheses within Earle's oeuvre that are analysed in Chapter Three.

Earle made multiple watercolours based on the sketches he had made while on Tristan da Cunha that were displayed at his art gallery in Sydney. Upon his return to Britain, the journal of his time on the island was published and widely disseminated. This text, and the print of William Glass that accompanied it, would have a disproportionate impact on the metropolitan imagination of the island, seeing as it was the first (and for a long time the only) visual representation of the settlement to reach and circulate among a metropolitan audience. Earle's images and narrative of his time on Tristan da Cunha played a crucial role not only in popularising the existence of the colony, but also of creating a Romantic iconology of the island that would be drawn on repeatedly in subsequent representations of the island over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (as can be seen, for example, in Carnegie's article above).

Chapters Two and Three highlight how the texts and images produced by scientists, artists and travellers played a key role in both the spread of empire and settler colonialism and in connecting far flung spaces into the networks of empire. For example, Bernard Smith has shown in his now seminal texts *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850* and *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*,³⁶ how the Pacific existed in the metropolitan mind almost exclusively as a product of reading,³⁷ and how this could evoke an emotional engagement with these lands.³⁸ Particularly in *European Vision*, Smith demonstrated how the Pacific Ocean, and its islands, were visually constituted through what Ramaswamy has called the 'image work' of both metropolitan and native explorers, scientists and artists across a range of visual media, including scientific illustration and

³⁶ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) and Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

³⁷ See Vanessa Agnew, 'Pacific island encounters and the German invention of race' in Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith (eds.), *Islands in History and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2003), at page 94. Michelle Hetherington has also argued how the majority of people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Britain based their understanding of the Australian colonies on travel narratives. See Michelle Hetherington, 'The World Upside Down: Early Colonial records at the National Library of Australia' in *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788-1830* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000), at page 5.

³⁸ Peter Beilharz, *Imagining the Antipodes: Culture, Theory and the Visual in the Work of Bernard Smith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), at page 73.

travel narratives.³⁹ The ‘image work’ undertaken by this visual media and travel narratives did more than simply allow visualisation of distant spaces by the metropolitan reading public. Todorov suggests they also situated the experiences reported in the narratives in time and space.⁴⁰ While Todorov was referring to travel narratives of ‘the Grand Tour of Europe’ in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the same applies to the new tours of global voyaging undertaken by men such as Earle. Unlike most other authors that have analysed Earle’s text, Chapter Three contextualises Earle’s works and travels and suggests the ways in which his work helped to develop an imaginative geography of the island in the metropolitan mind.

During the early nineteenth century, the artist was seen as “a reliable witness rather than the creator of imaginary worlds”,⁴¹ and while this view of the artist has been interrogated and critiqued in analyses of the ‘image work’ of artists capturing other parts of empire, Earle’s work on Tristan da Cunha has remained largely unexamined. Both his narrative and his artwork on Tristan da Cunha have been reproduced uncritically by later authors who have written about the island and have regarded his work as a mimetic and truthful representation of life on the island at the time of his visit. The field of art history has begun to make it abundantly clear that images are a site of ideological intervention,⁴² and through a close visual analysis of Earle’s paintings and the print that appeared in his *Narrative*, along with a contextual study of Earle’s other artwork, this chapter shows how the images produced by Earle that drew Tristan da Cunha into the visual economy of empire used various typologies that facilitated the integration of the settlement into the social body of empire by portraying them as creators of a rural England *en miniature* in the South Atlantic. This suggests how the visual image played a formative as well as a reflective role in the construction of Britishness, a term which in turn has often been subsumed by ‘Englishness’ due to the unequal balance of power within Britain.⁴³ This portrayal of the ‘Englishness’ of the community on Tristan da Cunha would be repeated by multiple observers over the course of the mid-nineteenth century despite the introduction of five women of colour from St. Helena as wives in 1827.

³⁹ Sumathi Ramaswamy, ‘Introduction: The Work of Vision in the Age of European Empires’ in Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy (eds.), *Empires of Vision: A Reader* (London: Duke University Press, 2014), at page 17.

⁴⁰ Tzvetan Todorov (translated by Alyson Waters), ‘The Journey and its Narratives’ in Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon (eds.), *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1996), at page 293.

⁴¹ Sarah Thomas, ‘The Wanderer, the Slave and the Aboriginal: Augustus Earle in Rio de Janeiro and Sydney in the 1820s’ in Jaynie Anderson (ed.), *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence* (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press, 2009), at page 331.

⁴² Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham, ‘Introduction’ in Tim Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (eds.), *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), at page 6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, at page 3

While Earle's images and text on the one hand portrayed the island as a Romantic rural idyll, on the other hand the way in which his text was constituted also portrays it as a place of stasis. It is this tension between these two overlapping and concurrent portrayals of the island that are highlighted in Chapter Four, which consists of two vignettes. The first is that of the visit to the island by the Duke of Edinburgh aboard the H.M.S. *Galatea* as part of his 1867–68 world tour to the British colonies while the second is the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* in 1874 as part of the scientific work of the *Challenger* Expedition during its circumnavigation of the globe. The published narrative of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* contained descriptions and a print of the island based on a watercolour by Oswald Brierly that drew heavily on Earle's Romantic construction of the island. This visit of the Duke of Edinburgh, it will be argued, was part of a broader strategy on the part of the Royal Family to portray themselves as British while at the same time drawing the colonies closer to the metropole. The result of the representation of the islanders in the narrative of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* was to mimic Earle's Romantic rural idyll, and helped strengthen the ties of the islanders to the social body of the metropole.

The multiple published narratives of the voyage of the *Challenger* Expedition painted a very different picture of the islanders due to their perceived ill treatment of two Germans that had chosen to maroon themselves on Inaccessible Island to try and make a living from sealing on the island. The *Challenger* Expedition also took the first photograph of an islander, the 'headman', Peter Green. This photograph drew on and highlighted the second strand in Earle's work, that of stasis. The production of photographs on this Expedition was itself a sign of the reorganisation of knowledge and the systemic shift in scopic regimes that was occurring over the course of the late nineteenth century in the metropole. The photograph captured Peter Green (and by implication the community he represented) as a static ethnographic subject that could be compared and contrasted to the other ethnographic images of "native races to one scale" that was part of the mission instructions of the Expedition.

The descriptions of the island by the members of the *Challenger* Expedition led to an increased interest in the island from the Royal Navy, and naval vessels began to visit the island on a regular basis until 1904. Unlike earlier naval visits, which stopped at Tristan da Cunha because it lay on their sailing route, post-*Challenger* naval visits were made solely and explicitly to check on the wellbeing of the islanders following various reports by the resident clergymen on the island during the late nineteenth century of crop failure and apparent starvation. Despite these accounts being consistently refuted, the reports of these visits (which were published in the British Parliamentary

Papers) suggest a very different representation of the islanders than those that preceded the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger*.

This in itself was in part a result of attempts in the metropole to rationalise and standardise the collection of data by naval officers and independent travellers in order to facilitate the nascent field of anthropology within Britain which (along with other sciences) began to be dominated by Darwinian theories of evolution. This shift was highlighted by the increase in the production of manuals whose aim was to teach travellers ‘how to see’ exemplified by John Herschel’s *Manual of Scientific Enquiry* and the *Hints to Travellers* released by the Royal Geographical Society that each went through various editions over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. The era of late modernity saw the rise of new forms of communication, scopic regimes, and disciplines (such as anthropology) that led to a radical reconceptualisation of time and space facilitated by the introduction of new technologies such as steam propulsion and the telegraph which made much of the world more accessible yet saw Tristan da Cunha become estranged from these new circuits of Empire.⁴⁴ This in turn ushered in new sets of relationships between metropole and periphery that led to re-evaluations of who formed part of the social body of the metropole. As the previous imperial networks began to fragment, the links between Tristan da Cunha and the metropole eroded, suggesting the provisional and contingent nature of colonial networks.⁴⁵ This left the islanders in an interstitial zone where their identity was framed as neither within nor outside empire, colonisers primed to be themselves colonised. This process forms the focus of Part Two of this work as these developments inserted the islanders into a very different set of discourses that revolved around ideas relating to progress, racial hierarchies, and efforts to establish racial typologies that both drew from, and fed into, British attempts to rationalise, consolidate, and make sense of their empire. These discourses in turn led to increasing fears around issues such as degeneration and miscegenation both in the metropole and at the periphery.

So whereas the representations of the Tristan bodies initially consisted of a process of fixing the island itself in space and integrating its inhabitants into the social body of the metropole by stressing its ‘Englishness’, these new discourses saw a shift in focus to the bodies of the islanders themselves. This is perhaps best seen by the first detailed census of the island which was undertaken in 1875, less than a year after the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger*. The naval reports focused on gathering information on the islanders themselves, and began to frame them as marginal to the social body of

⁴⁴ For a good exposition of these shifts see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ This point has been made and shown in various other contexts by Lambert and Lester in *Colonial Lives*.

Empire. This was exacerbated by their spatial marginalisation as the shift from sail to steam in oceanic travel saw the island become more and more isolated from the new networks of industrial capitalism and began to shrink the conceptual space that had previously allowed the islanders to be constructed as a rural English idyll displaced into the South Atlantic.

The metaphorical unsettling of the earlier Romantic iconology developed by Earle portraying the island as a rural idyll was followed by various unsuccessful attempts to unsettle the island itself and led to the representations of the island body taking on an unsettling aspect as the island body came to be seen as a site/sight of degeneration. This in turn led to the (re)presentation of the islanders not as 'Anglo-Saxon settlers' but to 'natives' of Tristan da Cunha. It is this focus on the island bodies and the (re)presentation that forms the core focus of Part Two of this work. Chapter Five, by tracing the textual productions relating to Tristan da Cunha by Jules Verne and the two resident missionaries sent to the island at the turn of the nineteenth century, shows the ways in which Tristan da Cunha was framed as an 'out-of-the-way spot', then an 'edge-of-the-world spot', and finally an 'out-of-the-world spot'.

Jules Verne referred to Tristan da Cunha in two texts, *In Search of the Castaways* (1873) and *An Antarctic Mystery* (1898). In the second of these texts Verne represented the island as the final outpost on the margins of the known world before his protagonists enter the unknown world of Verne's fictional Antarctic. This increasing isolation and the perching of Tristan da Cunha on the margins of the known world saw Edwin Dodgson, the resident missionary who had two stints on the island from 1881 to 1889, use the island as a site where he could work through the complex impact of Darwinian Theory on theology. In the process, he turned the island into his own theological laboratory. The results of this saw Dodgson claim that the islanders had degenerated into the missing link between man and ape and saw him and his brother (Lewis Carroll) begin a concerted effort to evacuate the islanders. This in led to an intensified interest in the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha on the part of the Royal Navy.

The chapter ends with an analysis of the textual productions of Graham Barrow and his wife, who spent three years as the resident missionary on the island from 1906–09. Upon their return to the metropole, Kathleen Barrow published her account of their time at Tristan titled *Three Years on Tristan da Cunha* (1910). Through an analysis of the shifts in the profile of the Foreign Mission movement in the metropole, it is argued that rather than an unmediated portrayal of life on the island at the beginning of the twentieth century (which is how most scholars of Tristan da Cunha

have approached it), this text was itself ideologically charged by the underpinnings of, and shifts in, the Foreign Mission movement during this era. By analysing the context of this text's production the chapter shows the ways in which Barrow's work played a key role in unsettling prior depictions of the island. The island's increasing isolation, the text claimed, had led to both physical and moral degeneration and allowed the islanders to be seen as 'quaint' and 'primitive', thus portraying them as natives who could now themselves be colonised.

Many of the other texts relating to Tristan da Cunha published at the turn of the twentieth century also stressed its increasing isolation and saw this as a thoroughly bad thing. However, this discourse was challenged in the post-World War One world, where the metropole faced political and economic upheaval and the supposed benefits of industrialisation and modernity were being questioned. These 'condition of England' debates led some to once again latch on to Earle's construction of the Tristan da Cunha as a rural English idyll and a potential utopian mirror to a dystopian metropole. One of the prime proponents of such a representation of Tristan da Cunha was a London solicitor Douglas Montagu Gane.

Gane had never actually set foot on Tristan da Cunha, but while on a voyage to Australia in 1884 the vessel he travelled aboard stopped near the island and the islanders boarded in order to barter with the passengers. When he returned to England the following year he learned that a longboat containing the majority of the island's adult men had disappeared while attempting to hail a passing vessel leading to the failure of that year's potato crop. This led Gane to begin to informally organise for the collection of goods to be sent to Tristan da Cunha, something he would later formalise by setting up the Tristan da Cunha Fund. Gane amplified the trope of Tristan da Cunha's remoteness highlighted in Barrow's text and, via his epistolary journalism over the course of the first third of the twentieth century, used it as a means of soliciting goods and donations for the island. To this end, Gane also helped set up displays for Tristan da Cunha at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition and the 1924 British Empire Exhibition and it is around vignettes of these two events that Chapter Six is constructed.

Susan Pearce has claimed that people are 'made' through exhibitions,⁴⁶ while other scholars of exhibition studies have shown how exhibitions produced long-term legacies at the personal and collective level with individual and social memories within the metropole often being anchored in

⁴⁶ See Susan Pearce, 'Making other people' in Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (ed.) *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 15–31.

the exhibition experience.⁴⁷ They were significant spaces where public opinion could be shaped as their scale, popularity, and integrative, participatory and long term nature created an opening where official and unofficial ideas of both Englishness and colonial national identities could be actively created, interpreted consumed, and mediated.⁴⁸ While the display at the 1886 Exhibition, it will be argued, heightened the view of the islanders as ethnographic others due to the spatial poetics of the Exhibition, Gane's Tristan da Cunha stand at the British Empire Exhibition was a much more complex and contradictory affair.

Gane's Tristan da Cunha stand seems to have been an incongruous addition to the Exhibition considering that it was constructed by Gane to represent the island as a space of pre-industrial anti-modernity hidden in a small corner of the South African Pavilion amidst a sea of products advertising modernity's many benefits and advances. However, due to the rising belief that modernity was not necessarily a good thing, 'Olde England' was being rebranded in the popular imagination as a better, truer, and nobler time before the corrupting effects of the Industrial Revolution took hold. This image of the pre-industrial as a utopian space precisely because it had been untainted by the ills of modernity was widespread in the interwar years in British popular culture and Gane's (re)presentation of the island suggested that its isolation was the reason why it was untainted by the ills of the modern world and it unsurprisingly drew liberally from the Romantic iconology of the island developed by Earle a century earlier.

However, for Gane's construction of the island as a pre-industrial rural idyll to be successful, he needed to portray it as being not only spatially remote, but also culturally and temporally remote. While he squarely portrayed the islanders as British, they were Britons of 'Olde England' rather than members of the modern social body of the metropole and this strategy was double-edged as it also built on the representations of the islanders as ethnographic subjects (and by extension played a part in nativising them), a process that was once again exacerbated by the spatial poetics of the British Empire Exhibition and the exhibitionary codes, practices, stereotypes, and tropes that had developed in exhibition culture over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Gane's success in popularising the island at the British Empire Exhibition forced the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to send resident missionaries to the island on a far more regular basis and it is these interwar resident missionaries that form the focus of Chapter Seven.

⁴⁷ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibition from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), at pages 12 and 26–27.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

These missionaries drew on the earlier depictions by the likes of Kathleen Barrow that portrayed the islanders as mission station natives. This view led to an increased focus on the creation of spatial markers of progress on Tristan da Cunha in the form of buildings. The first spatial marker Henry Rogers, the resident missionary from 1922–25 focused on was the building of a church, a marker that had been a goal of every resident missionary sent there for nearly a century and one he finally accomplished in 1923. This was followed by a rapid increase in housebuilding to alleviate the perceived ‘overcrowding’ of island homes (which drew on discourses of degeneration in the urban slums of Britain). Due to the difficulty in sourcing materials for building and the time required to successfully construct these houses, labour was diverted from the household economy. This led to a decline in the quality of the houses into a ‘Tristan type’, eroding one of the key icons of Englishness established by Earle, that of the Englishness of the Tristan cottages. The resident missionaries that followed would extend their control over the religious, political, judicial, domestic and economic spheres of life on the island.

The island as mission station reached its apogee under the tenure of Reverend Harold Wilde between 1934–40. Wilde built a storeroom in which he stored all goods sent to the island from the metropole and prevented independent barter with passing ships. By monopolising all imports to the island he became the first resident clergyman capable of surviving independently from the islanders and this manifested itself in his unprecedented drive to construct visible markers of his efforts to develop the island. As part of Wilde’s drive to represent the island as mission station and the islanders as requiring paternalistic intervention and guidance, he portrayed the islanders as primitive at a time when the term had become a synonym for the ‘racial Other’. For the missionaries, the aim was not to preserve the pre-industrial rural idyll celebrated by Gane, but to reorder the islanders as natives of their mission station in need of civilising.

These contradictory depictions of the islanders led to a Norwegian Scientific Expedition being sent to the island. The expedition was led by Erling Christophersen, a Norwegian botanist, and consisted of Norwegian scientists and academics and was paid for, in large part, by a Norwegian whaling magnate (Lars Christensen) who had piqued Christensen’s interest in the South Atlantic islands by sending him botanical specimens from Gough Island. Christensen paid for half of the costs of the expedition and also organised the transport logistics to transport the Expedition to Tristan da Cunha via his whaling fleet. In describing why he set up the Expedition, Christophersen wrote “[t]he isolated existence of the Tristanites was in reality a gigantic experiment, a century-old test under laboratory conditions, of which we only had to go and collect the results”. This expedition went

about cataloguing racial typologies of the island and the genealogical history of the island – not as a way of tracing ancestry back to a white male European ancestor, but as a means of tracing disease and deformities. By the time Munch (the sociologist on the Expedition) conducted his fieldwork on Tristan da Cunha, he wrote that some of the islanders self-described as black, suggesting how successful that nativising process of the resident clergymen had been.

While this work suggests the various ways in which the island body has been drawn into, and marginalised from the networks of empire over the course of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the question of how the islanders themselves reacted to these changes has, by and large, not been touched upon. The island voice comes up but rarely in the archives relating to Tristan da Cunha, something that is as true today as it was at the turn of the twentieth century as even though the last decade has seen texts written (or co-written) by islanders being published, these themselves have merely repeated and mimicked the representation of the metropolitan archive rather than contested or disturbed these representations.⁴⁹ My focus here is on how the representations of outsiders, which form the bulk of the archive relating to Tristan da Cunha, shaped popular metropolitan perceptions of the island and its inhabitants, as these themselves offer an intriguing entry point to think not only about Tristan da Cunha itself, but about the currents of metropolitan thought that were being harnessed and brought to bear on the island body.

By focusing on both the historicity and specificity of Tristan da Cunha this thesis shows that the island was not always seen as remote or a site of cultural stagnation as it is often portrayed today. Rather the processes of mercantile capitalism, industrial capitalism and modernity saw it at different times being drawn into or marginalised from metropolitan networks. Yet despite its perceived remoteness, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century, the island was still drawn into concurrent and often contradictory metropolitan discourses. By unpacking the various shifts in the representation of the island body by historicising and contextualising them one can see how islands such as Tristan da Cunha were far from marginal in the popular imagination and instead were both historical sites and metaphoric constructions on which the hopes and fears of the ‘island nation’ could be reflected. Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, in reference to islands more broadly, have pointed out how “[p]articuliar features of the island, then – its boundedness and discretion, its microscopicality – render it available to ideal colonial fantasies and extreme colonial realities”, and

⁴⁹ For example Schreier and Lavarello-Schreier’s *Tristan da Cunha: History, people, language and Tristan da Cunha and the Tristanians* as well as Conrad J. Glass, *Rockhopper Copper: Life and police work on the world’s most remote inhabited island, Tristan da Cunha* (Clifton-upon-Teme: Polperro Heritage, 2011).

that these islands “are regarded merely as metonyms of imperialism, rather than as specific locations generating their own potentially self-reflective colonial metaphors”.⁵⁰ Instead of focusing on Tristan da Cunha’s supposed insularity (as much of the work in the field of Island Studies does) or writing it out of historical narratives completely (as has been the case in Atlantic Studies), the chapters below – although ranging across various time periods and various fields of study – highlight the specificity and historicity of Tristan da Cunha and brings to the surface some of these self-reflective colonial metaphors and tell us as much about the metropole as they do about Tristan da Cunha.

⁵⁰ Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith, ‘Editors’ Introduction’ in Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith (eds.), *Islands in History and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2003), at page 6.

PART ONE
THE ISLAND BODY



Chapter Two

Hybrid landscapes

Over the course of this chapter I wish to not only provide a brief outline of the history of Tristan da Cunha prior to the annexation of the island by the British in 1816, but also to trace the changing representations of the island over this period as it moved from being a space of alterity to being a place considered capable of maintaining a permanent settlement. The techniques and strategies used to achieve this transformation were part of a wider project of making sense of empire and representing new territories and one of the main strands of thought that will run as an undercurrent through all of the remaining chapters is that Tristan da Cunha as an island body was not merely a backdrop but rather played an important role in representations of those that became settlers on the island. This will be done by highlighting the interconnectedness between art history and historical geography through the form of travel imagery.¹

Since its initial European discovery until the late eighteenth century, Tristan da Cunha was described as 'shattered' and 'broken' and was seen as a site/sight of alterity within a dangerous ocean by the few people who laid eyes upon it. The spatial reorganisation that occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century, I wish to suggest, led to radically different representations of the island as it was slowly drawn into the economic and visual networks of a British empire that was itself being reconfigured through this shift. The representation of Tristan da Cunha changed from one of alterity to economic utility – from a space in the South Atlantic, to a place that would form part of the growing British Empire.

This process of turning space into place was a drawn out one that consisted initially of fixing the island in space by fixing its coordinates on the map, tracing its outlines, and then filling in the blank interior through a process that Rick Van Noy has termed 'literary cartography'.² In the case of Tristan da Cunha, this consisted of limns that varied from the use of Linnaean classification, contrasts, comparisons, binaries, and through the creation of what Luciana de Lima Martins has termed 'hybrid landscapes' (which were composed of interchangeable elements of a newly developing British

¹ The existence of such connections in a variety of other contexts has been shown by Geoff Quilley and the various other contributors to the special issue on 'The art of travel and exploration' in the *Journal of Historical Geography*. See Geoff Quilley, 'Introduction: mapping the art of travel and exploration' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 43 (2014), pp. 2–8.

² See Rick Van Noy, *Surveying the Interior: Literary Cartographers and the Sense of Place* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003).

maritime way of seeing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century). These processes played a significant part in turning the island space into place and allowing newly discovered lands to be conceptually grasped, and inserted into the imaginary geographies of the metropole.

2.1) Shattered and barren islands: representations of Tristan da Cunha from discovery to 1790

The first written European record of Tristan da Cunha was made by Tristão da Cunha (after whom the island group consisting of Tristan da Cunha, Inaccessible, and Nightingale Island is today named) in 1506 when he was commander of a fleet of fifteen Portuguese vessels on their way to East Africa and India. However, it was visited irregularly after its first sighting and the Portuguese seemed not to have had a great deal of interest in the island as there are few known accounts of later Portuguese visits.³ The first recorded Dutch visit occurred in 1601 while the first recorded sighting of the island by a British vessel was in 1610.⁴ However, the first known landing only occurred in 1643 when the Dutch vessel *Heemstede* stopped there while the first attempt to properly reconnoitre the islands only occurred a decade later when the Dutch East India Company vessel *'t Nachtglas* was sent there from Cape Town in late 1655.⁵

Tristan da Cunha and its neighbouring islands had no indigenous population, and whereas most other European 'discoveries' simply brought knowledge to the metropole of places that had already been discovered and settled by others, this does not seem to have been the case for Tristan da Cunha and it is therefore one of the few places where, as Stephen Royle puts it, "the term 'European discovery' is appropriate in that hitherto no humans know of their existence".⁶ This meant that these islands were quite literally 'new' and needed to go through a process of discursive construction and enculturation before they could be properly integrated into the imaginative geographies of empire in the metropole.⁷ While this process occurred fairly rapidly through the publication of various texts and images for other oceanic islands such as St. Helena and Mauritius,

³ N.M. Wace and M. Holdgate, *Man and nature in the Tristan da Cunha islands*, IUCN Monograph No. 6, (Surrey: Unwin Brothers Limited, 1976), at page 25. The fact that wild goats were found on the island in the late eighteenth century does, however, suggest that Portuguese sailors may have landed at irregular intervals to drop off goats, which were often deposited on islands in order to provide fresh meat for future crews that may stop off to revictual.

⁴ These were visits by the Dutch East India Company vessel *Bruinvuis* bound from Amsterdam to the East Indies and the East Indiaman *Globe* on an outbound voyage from London.

⁵ J. Rubin (ed.), *Antarctica* (Lonely Planet, [4th edition] 2008), at page 258.

⁶ Stephen Royle, *The Company's Island*, at page 11. Royle makes this point in his analysis of the settlement of St Helena, which was annexed by the British East India Company in 1659 and remains the nearest settled piece of land to Tristan da Cunha, lying just over 2400 km to the north.

⁷ As will be shown over the course of this chapter, in the case of Tristan da Cunha, these two processes often occurred simultaneously.

during this period Tristan da Cunha remained, by and large, outside of the economic corridors of the East India Trade companies. Even though ships may have stopped there on an irregular basis, the difficulty in landing meant that the island was not often described. It was not, as Dening put it, encultured and encompassed in the European imagination.⁸

The only significant attempt to discover whether the island could be profitably settled during this era was undertaken by the Dutch East India Company in 1654 when they instructed Jan van Riebeeck, the first Governor of the newly established Cape Colony, to send “a convenient vessel to examine the islands of Tristan d’Acunha to find out what means they possess for being made a revictualling station”.⁹ This was likely a result of the Dutch East India Company instructing their vessels to sail further south after travelling towards the Brazilian coast and then swing eastwards into the wind corridors across the Atlantic (where Tristan da Cunha served as a landmark on the way to the Cape) in an attempt to reduce travelling times to the East Indies,¹⁰ a route that would also be adopted by the vessels of the English East India Company (see Figure 2.1). Reports of this scouting expedition were made from the logbook of the skipper of the *’t Nachtblas* (Jan Jacobszoon) and the journal of the mate (Jacob Gommersbach), both of whom wrote far from complimentary descriptions of the island group.

⁸ See Greg Dening, ‘Deep Times, Deep Spaces: Civilizing the Sea’, in Bernhard Klein & Gesa Mackenthun (eds.), *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004).

⁹ Margaret MacKay, *Angry Island: The Story of Tristan da Cunha 1506-1963* (London: Arthur Baker Limited, 1963), at page 21.

¹⁰ Sandra Kornet-van Duyvenboden, *A Dutchman on Tristan da Cunha: The Quest for Peter Green* (Easton: George Mann Publications, 2007), at page 19.

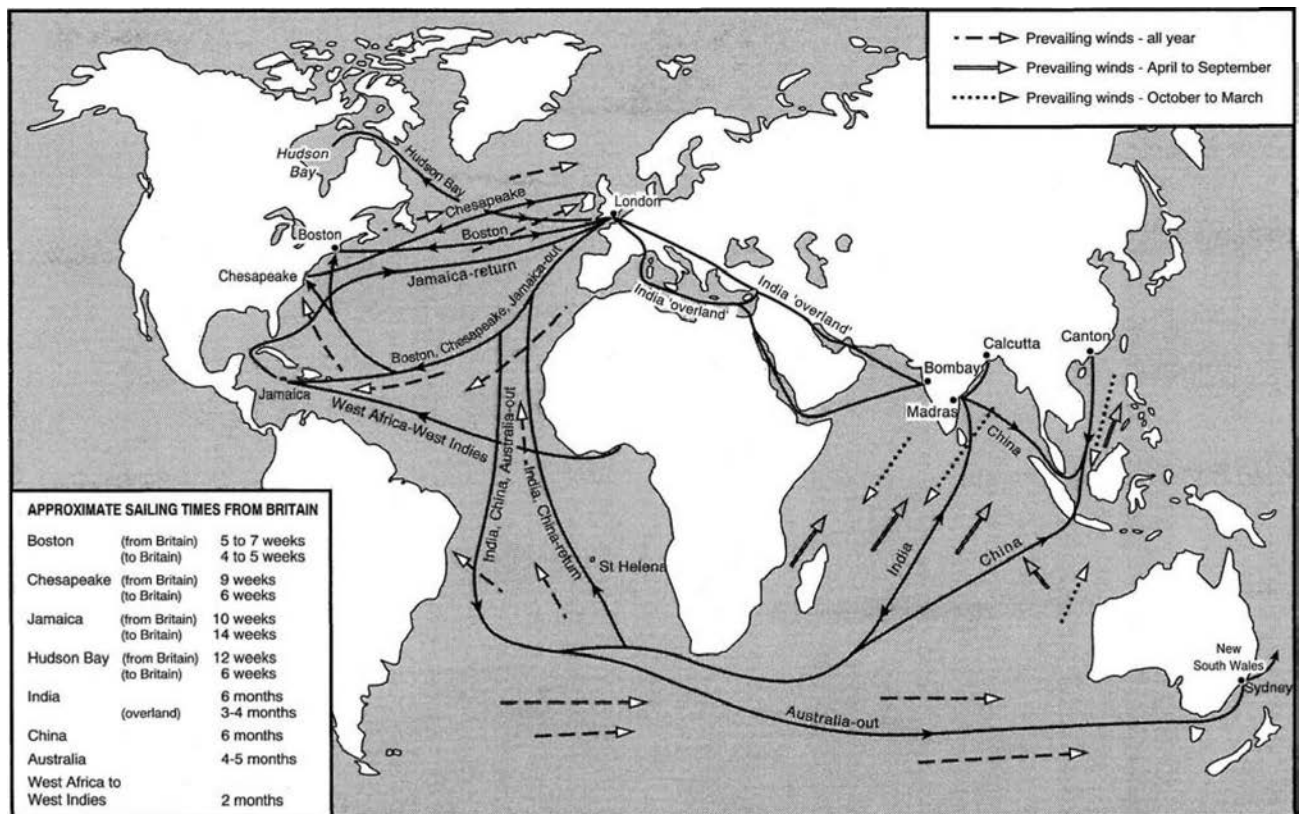


Figure 2.1: Map of British imperial communications in the eighteenth century.¹¹

What is today known as Inaccessible Island was described as having no wood for fuel or timber, no safe anchorage, and it was suggested that no vessel should stop near it unless forced by dire necessity. The reports about Tristan da Cunha simply said that all they found were 'woods of reed'. They then moved on to the third island in the group, which they called 'Gebrooken Island' (Broken Island), but there too described only finding barren rocks and heavy surf. Their scouting expedition did however show that there were only three islands in the Tristan da Cunha island group whereas before seven islands had been placed on the charts surrounding the main island. Gommersbach wrote "[t]hey seem to be seven at a distance, but on passing through them no more than three are to be found. For as they lie in such a shattered state they appear as if they are many".¹²

Van Riebeeck's journal regarding this expedition reported that the vessels could not determine the latitude of the islands due to 'the misty sky', encountered no suitable anchorage, ceaseless hurricanes, heavy seas, and a small stony and rocky shore while the rest of the island consisted of

¹¹ P. J. Marshall, 'Introduction' in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire Volume II: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), at page 13.

¹² Extracts of this report can be found in Jan Brander, *Tristan da Cunha*, at pages 33–36.

“extremely high, steep and bleak stony mountains, impossible to ascend and hanging almost over the shore, with no wood-foliage or grass, except some thin reeds”. Van Riebeeck thus reported that it was of no use to the Dutch East India Company and he recommended that “no more vessels should be exposed to the great danger involved in calling there”.¹³ This description is interesting because it is not merely a description of the island, but a description of what the island is not. The island did not offer what was required for a merchant empire, its position on the map could not be fixed, shelter and good anchorage could not be found, access to the island itself was difficult and dangerous, leading to the conclusion that no profit could be made from it. The Tristan da Cunha island group was, for Jan Jacobszoon, apparently almost beyond expression as his report was described as being “badly expressed” and “unintelligible”, perhaps precisely because he did not have the necessary vocabulary to describe it even though he was perfectly capable of making a rough outline chart of the islands.¹⁴

Following a failed attempt to scout the island by the English East India Company,¹⁵ the Dutch sent another scouting expedition to the island in 1690 to search for harbours, survey the island and to then search for missing Dutch East India Company vessels in the Indian Ocean.¹⁶ Their report was just as uncomplimentary and described Gebrooken Island as having peaks “more like the ruins of a castle than an island”. They described meeting with gales, fog, hail, and ‘piercing cold’.¹⁷ This description of the island was echoed by Captain d’Etchevery in 1767, who named it ‘Inaccessible’ due to its precipitous cliffs and described the now renamed Nightingale Island (after Captain Gamaliel Nightingale) as “[looking] from a distance like an old, demolished fort”.¹⁸ These representations of the Tristan da Cunha island group focus on the island as a space of alterity, as being shattered and broken and of no use in an age of merchant capitalism. The failure to fix Tristan da Cunha on the map, its inaccessibility and lack of resources as both a potential revictualing station or ‘putting out’ point within the system of mercantile commerce meant that it was seen as a space

¹³ H.B. Thom (ed.), *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, Volume 2, 1656-1658 (Cape Town and Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1954), at page 6.

¹⁴ Jan Brander, *Tristan da Cunha*, at page 31.

¹⁵ The vessel sent could not see the island on her outbound voyage due to heavy winds, heavy seas and ‘thick weather’ and while anchored at St. Helena before attempting to return to the island the crew mutinied and took the vessel. The records of St. Helena merely state that after Capt. Knox’s arrival at St. Helena his ship, the *Tonquin Merchant*, was run away with by his officers and crew on 8th June, 1684, whilst Capt. Knox (best known for his castaway narrative that was written after he was castaway and held captive in Ceylon for nineteen years) and his carpenter were on shore. See Katherine Frank, *Crusoe: Daniel Defoe, Robert Knox and the Creation of a Myth* (London: Pimlico, 2012), at page 211 and Hudson Ralph Janisch (ed.), *Extracts from the St. Helena Records* (St. Helena: Benjamin Grant, 1885).

¹⁶ Robert K. Headland, *Chronological List of Antarctic Expeditions and Related Historical Events*, (Cambridge,: Cambridge University Press, 1989), at page 66.

¹⁷ Jan Brander, *Tristan da Cunha*, at page 46.

¹⁸ Margaret MacKay, *Angry Island*, at page 25.

with no utility, broken in both a physical and economic sense. As a result, no further energy was expended trying to 'fix' the island in both a physical or metaphorical sense.

In the years that followed, the rise of the voyages of discovery and the opening up of the sealing trade (as well as the shift that was beginning to occur from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism) led to an intense phase of spatial reorganisation. This reorganisation would lead to a rapid shift in the representation of Tristan da Cunha as the island group (which contained both fur seal and elephant seal rookeries) became a source of potential wealth. Fur seal pelts could now be sold on the Canton market that was opening up to Europeans in the late eighteenth century and elephant seal oil was used to lubricate the machinery of the industrial revolution and light the factories, homes, and streets of expanding urban areas in Europe and her colonies.¹⁹

2.2) Fur skins and oil: the economic utility of Tristan da Cunha in the age of sealing

From 1790 and throughout most of the nineteenth century, all of the islands of the Southern Ocean were frequently visited by sealers and whalers. These activities constituted the first use of the islands for extractive commerce and was also the first time people lived on these islands.²⁰ The first written report we have of an extended stay on Tristan da Cunha comes from 1790 when John Patton and his crew of sealers aboard the *Industry* stayed on the islands to harvest fur and elephant seals, obtaining 5600 fur seal pelts for the China market over nine months.²¹ Some of the members of the crew would have lived on the island in order to minimise the risk of going to and from the vessel on a daily basis. Sealing gangs were often left behind as their vessel moved on to search for seals on other island rookeries, which were being discovered by both sealers themselves in the search for new hunting grounds, and by the voyages of maritime exploration launched by competing European nation states in the late eighteenth century. In this sense, many of the islands of the Southern Ocean began to be integrated by sealers and whalers into a unified field of oceanic enterprise spanning the globe.²² Once fur seal stocks were depleted through overexploitation, sealers shifted to harvesting

¹⁹ Thierry Jean-Marie Rousset, *'Might is Right'. A study of the Cape Town/Crozets elephant seal oil trade (1832–1869)*, Master of Arts in Historical Studies (University of Cape Town, 2011), at page 47.

²⁰ Wace and Holdgate, *Man and nature*, at page 25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, at page 26.

²² See Thierry Jean-Marie Rousset, *'Might is Right'*, for an example of how the Prince Edward Islands and the Crozet Islands formed one distinctive field of activity for sealers and whalers.

the oil of elephant seals,²³ a shift which seems to have already occurred on Tristan da Cunha by the turn of the eighteenth century.²⁴

The introduction of the sealing trade and the arrival of sealers on the island group meant that, for the first time since it was found by Tristão da Cunha, Tristan da Cunha could be visualised as a productive point in a network of circulation by providing seal furs for the Canton trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This newfound utility led to a shift in the perceptions of Tristan da Cunha as can be seen by John Patton's logbook of his time on the island extracts of which were later published in multiple editions of the hydrographer John Purdy's sailing directories. John Purdy, the hydrographer to Laurie and Whittle (the commercial publishers of charts and sailing directories), wrote the first of a new generation of directories that accompanied his charts with memoirs.²⁵ Purdy's texts provided substantial volumes of directions covering a whole ocean or trade route, the aim of which was to present information from various sources in a comprehensible and accessible form. Such directories were the main aids of nineteenth century merchant navigation and were also used by the Royal Navy until the Admiralty created the Hydrographic Office and began publishing its own sailing directions in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁶ The importance and reach in terms of representational impact of these texts should therefore not be underestimated.

Although Patton stated that the weather could be 'very severe, and 'subject to be thick and hazy, attended with much rain', he goes on to give a detailed description of both the position of Tristan da Cunha and the position of the other two islands that make up the Tristan da Cunha Group relative to one another.²⁷ Here, Patton began a process of successfully locating and bounding Tristan da Cunha, two processes that David Harvey has suggested are "important if not vital attributes for the

²³ For a detailed account of the sealing trade during this period see Briton Cooper Busch, *War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery*, (Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

²⁴ When the *Phiamingi* went on a sealing voyage in 1801-1802 that visited South Georgia, Cabo de Hornos and Tristan da Cunha they reported that fur seals were very rare and they obtained only half a dozen skins in several weeks. See Robert K. Headland, *Chronological list of Antarctic Expeditions*, at page 92.

²⁵ Susanna Fisher, 'The Organisation of Hydrographic Information for English Navigators – Five Hundred Years of Sailing Directions and Charts' in *The Journal of Navigation*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (May, 2001), pp. 157-166, at page 164.

²⁶ Susanna Fisher, 'The Organisation of Hydrographic Information', at page 164. For more on the creation and subsequent development of the Hydrographic Office see George Stephen Ritchie, *The Admiralty Chart: British Naval Hydrography in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1967) and Adrian Webb, 'The Expansion of British Naval Hydrographic Administration, 1808-1829', *PhD Thesis* (University of Exeter, 2010).

²⁷ John Purdy, *Tables of the Positions, or of the latitudes and longitudes, of places, composed to accompany the 'Oriental Navigator,' or sailing direction for the East-Indies, China, Australia, &c. with Notes, Explanatory and Descriptive* (London: Rider and Weed, 1816), at page 17.

definition of the objects, events, and relationships existing in the world around us".²⁸ This was followed by a thick description of the general aspect of Tristan da Cunha and some of its flora and fauna. This description differs noticeably from that of Gommersbach referred to earlier as Patton notes the presence of 'a fine beach' where boats could be hauled up, abundant water, and wood for fuel. He describes the foliage of the stunted trees as "resembl[ing] that of the yew-tree, but the wood is like that of the maple". Patton also describes the island as free of 'vermin and venomous creatures' and of having a variety of birds (one of which was described as being "a bird like a partridge, but of black colour, which cannot fly") and eggs that could easily be collected for food. Patton's description of the soil is also detailed, focusing on its potential to produce 'every kind of vegetable'.²⁹

Patton's description stressed not only the island's accessibility, but also that it was capable of sustaining human life and being actively cultivated to serve this purpose. More importantly, he suggests its economic utility through the fur seal skins taken and claimed that in addition to this, he could have loaded a large ship with oil in three weeks. Although Tristan da Cunha's small size negated the potential for a plantation economy, the presence of pinnipeds and cetaceans offered the potential for economic value to be extracted from the island and its immediate environs, while Patton's descriptions (often via comparison to Europe, for example, the trees "resemble that of a yew-tree", "a bird like a partridge") began a long process of enculturation as other vessels began to visit the island and also provided very different descriptions to those few accumulated over the previous two centuries. This process of enculturation would continue apace in the years immediately following Patton's sojourn as more vessels began to visit the island and more positive representations began to be published. Perhaps the most important of these was that of Sir Erasmus Gower, who visited the island in 1792 as Commander of the Macartney Embassy en route to China and to whose descriptions we shall turn to next.³⁰

²⁸ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996), at page 264.

²⁹ John Purdy, *Tables of the Positions*, at page 17.

³⁰ The Macartney Embassy refers to Lord Macartney's diplomatic mission to China. It was made up of three vessels, the H.M.S. *Lion*, the *Hindustan* and the *Jackall*. The Embassy was a fact-finding mission to discover more about the Chinese economy in order to establish whether it could be a potential market for Lancashire cottons and Indian manufactures. See Frances Wood, 'Closely Observed China: From William Alexander's Sketches to his Published Work' in *The British Library Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Spring, 1998), pp. 98–121 and Paul Gillingham, 'The Macartney Embassy to China, 1792–94' in *History Today* (Nov. 1993), pp. 28–34.

2.3) Land risen from the vast abyss

Sir Erasmus Gower was part of the circumnavigations of the world under Lord Byron on the H.M.S. *Dolphin* from 1764–66 and with the H.M.S. *Dolphin* and H.M.S. *Swallow* from 1766–69 under Samuel Wallis and Phillip Carteret in the expedition that led to the European discovery of Tahiti and Pitcairn Island (and which set the stage for James Cook’s voyages of discovery).³¹ These voyages were part of a process of collection and subsequent interpretation of information on a large scale that, along with technological improvements in sail and navigation, allowed ships to sail the ocean with a reasonable idea of where they were going and how to get there.³² They also signalled a shift in the metropole as the merchant empires began to convert the vessels initially developed for trade and the protection of trade routes into mobile instruments of science, sites of knowledge gathering and knowledge production.³³ The ship as a scientific instrument would play a critical role in the expansion of empire and in the development of new disciplines that arose in order to process the information gathered and produced by these scientific voyages of discovery.

It is therefore safe to say that when Gower visited Tristan da Cunha in December 1792 as commander of the H.M.S *Lion* he would have had vast experience in the requirements of textual representation necessary in order to manage the meanings of the landscapes he was faced with and ‘translate’ them for a metropolitan audience at a time when verbal representations were still important as the shift to graphic representation was just beginning. The shift in emphasis to visual images only began when they were given a central role by Alexander Dalrymple (who would go on to become the official East India Company hydrographer in 1779). This shift towards visual representations on voyages in turn affected – and was influenced by – a reversal of centuries of aesthetic art theory as topographic art began to gain prestige over idealised styles. This reorientation in British landscape art from the idealised to the topographic was part of a broader drive to understand not just the expanding British Empire, but also an increasingly interconnected Britain as there developed from the 1750s forms of landscape art (which Crowley defines as “the mental construction of a visually comprehended space”) that integrated the metropole and the rest

³¹ Greg Denning, *Mr. Bligh’s Bad Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), at page 125.

³² Anne-Flore Laloë, *The Geography of the Ocean: Knowing the Ocean as a Space* (London: Routledge, 2016), at page 89.

³³ For more on the ship as a scientific instrument see Richard Sorrenson, ‘The Ship as a Scientific Instrument in the Eighteenth Century’ in *Osiris*, Vol. 11, Science in the Field (1996), pp. 221–236.

of empire by allowing Britons to see and comprehend both Britain and the empire.³⁴ These shifts can be seen in the textual and artistic productions that resulted from the Macartney Embassy.

The Macartney Embassy itself was part of a drive by the East India Company to compile ‘a proper set of views’ that would both assist and allow for the expansion of the Company’s interests, and which Quilley argues played a key role in the ‘visualisation of South East Asia’ in the metropole.³⁵ As part of this effort to compile ‘a proper set of views’ the expedition included two artists, Thomas Hickey and William Alexander, and it is Alexander’s watercolours that formed the basis for the plates and engravings that illustrated Sir George Staunton’s official account of the Embassy.³⁶ While William Alexander himself has been relatively ignored by academics even though his images of China are widely acknowledged to have created lasting impressions on the Western imagination,³⁷ what has been even less recognised is the fact that during the Embassy’s various stops en route to China, ‘proper sets of views’ of these places were also created – including Tristan da Cunha – with Staunton’s text containing both a verbal description of the island as well as an accompanying engraving based on a watercolour by Alexander (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3).³⁸

³⁴ See John E. Crowley, ‘A Visual Empire: Seeing the British Atlantic World from a Global British Perspective’ in Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (eds.), *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), at pages 283–289 and 295.

³⁵ Geoff Quilley, ‘A proper set of views’: The British East India Company and the Eighteenth-Century Visualization of South-East Asia’ in Vinita Damodaran, Anna Winterbottom and Alan Lester (eds.), *The East India Company and the Natural World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

³⁶ Although Hickey is listed as a ‘Portrait painter’ and Alexander is listed as a ‘draughtsman’ in Aeneas Anderson’s list of the members of the Embassy, it is William Alexander who produced the very large majority of the images produced during the Embassy. See Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China in the years 1792, 1793, and 1794; containing the Various Circumstances of the Embassy, with Accounts of Customs and Manners of the Chinese; and a Description of the Country, Towns, Cities, &c. &c.* (Printed by J. Tourneisen, 1795).

³⁷ See Anne Jewell, ‘First Impressions: Western barbarians at the Celestial Court’ in *The Pacific Review*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (1994), pp. 113–114. This is likely partly a result of the failure of the Embassy, but also due to the focus on the artists that accompanied James Cook on his voyages of discovery and the focus by most academics on the story (and failure) of Embassy itself rather than on the images that were produced as a result of it, see for example J. L. Cramner-Byng’s numerous texts on the Embassy as well as those by Alain Peyrefitte and James Hevia. The exception to this rule is Wu Hung’s analysis of William Alexander’s images of Chinese architectural ruins in Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruin: Presence and Absence in Chinese Art and Visual Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012), at pages 93–165 and Susan Sloman’s introductory piece on William Alexander in *Image of China: William Alexander* (London: Jupiter Books, 1980).

³⁸ The lasting impression of Alexander’s images was in part due to the documentary claims made by Staunton for both his text and their accompanying images highlighted by his title ‘An Historical Account’, and the fact that Alexander’s images were proclaimed as possessing a documentary quality. Staunton described them as being ‘perfectly like the original’ and as being drawn ‘with facility and truth’, with every plate produced from his images being ‘a faithful copy after nature’. See Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruin*, at page 95 and Sir George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China [...]* Volume 2 (London: Printed by W. Bulmer and Co. for G. Nicol, Pall Mall, 1797), at pages 233–234. These claims for the documentary nature of texts was itself part of the strategies used to establish the veracity of the narrative as a whole (what Nigel Leask describes as ‘the problem of credit’) and to establish the author as traveller rather than ‘travel liar’. See Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770–1840*



Figure 2.2: William Alexander, *The Largest Island of Tristan de Cunha* (Watercolour).³⁹

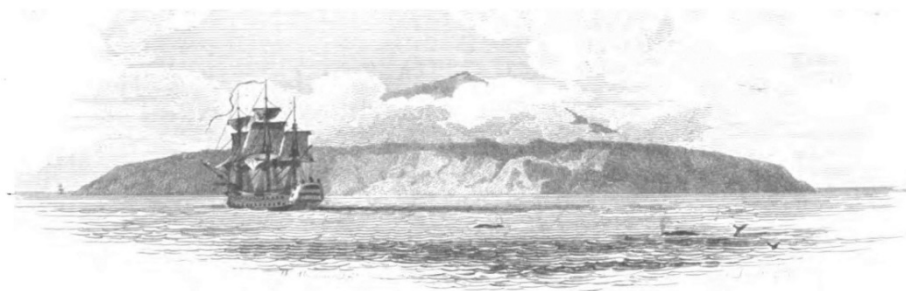


Figure 2.3: Engraving taken from Staunton's *An Historical Account of the Embassy to the Emperor of China*.⁴⁰

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) and Chapter Three, 'Writing the Truth: Claims to Credibility' in Innes M. Keighren, Charles W. J. Withers, and Bill Bell, *Travels into Print: Exploration, Writing, and Publishing with John Murray, 1773–1859* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

³⁹ <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17849/lot/76/> (accessed on 15/04/2016).

⁴⁰ Sir George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy*, Volume 1, at page 199.

While there is no indication of when Alexander painted this watercolour, it is unlikely to have been done while anchored off Tristan da Cunha. More likely, as with his watercolours of China, they were drawn up after the fact based on a composite of various sketches taken of the island and vessels.⁴¹ It may have been painted after his return to England in 1794 as before the publication of the official narrative in 1797 (and for five years after its publication) Alexander supported himself through the sale of watercolour reproductions of his paintings.⁴² This may, in part, help to explain the similarities in style between his image of Tristan da Cunha and some of those he produced of China.

His watercolour of Tristan da Cunha employs the tripartite structure of a darkened foreground, a lit mid-ground and atmospheric far distance,⁴³ which was a feature of the Picturesque in British art at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ The use of the Picturesque is not insignificant because, as Hu puts it, “the Picturesque determined not only what to depict but also the manner of depiction” and was therefore part of a process of artistic assimilation that rediscovered, reinterpreted and reframed landscapes for a global viewing public and provided a new platform for the global transfer of visual information.⁴⁵ This ability to cultivate empire through the transplantation of picturesque aesthetics and its ability to act as a mode of translation has led Jill Casid to state:

The picturesque was, therefore, not merely a pre-existing latent characteristics waiting for the discerning viewer to recognize a particular mountain, tree, or valley’s picturesqueness, but rather precisely a process of recognition. The view or site was cognitively assessed and reimagined as not just any picture, but like one of a particular set of preconceived and

⁴¹ See Frances Wood, ‘Closely Observed China’. For a list of some of Alexander’s other publications see Sylvanus Urban, *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle from July to December, 1816*, Volume 86, Part 2 (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1816), at pages 279–280.

⁴² Frances Wood, ‘Britain’s first view of China: The Macartney Embassy 1792–1794’ in *RSA Journal*, Vol. 142, No. 5447 (Mar., 1994), pp. 59–68. For more on William Alexander and his artwork while part of the Lord Macartney Embassy, see Susan Sloman and William Alexander, *Image of China*, and *William Alexander: An English artist in Imperial China the Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums, Brighton, 8 September to 25 October 1981 Nottingham University Art Gallery, 23 November to 17 December, 1981* (Brighton: Royal Pavilion, Art Gallery and Museums, 1981).

⁴³ This structure is also used, for example, in Alexander’s *Barges preparing to enter the Hwang-ho*.

⁴⁴ These structural principles were themselves adopted by English painters from Claude and Duguet. See Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760–1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), at page 29. That Alexander’s images were considered Picturesque in style is signalled by the reworked title of his engravings of images of China, *The Costume of China: picturesque representations of the dress and manners of the Chinese; illustrated in fifty coloured engravings, with descriptions* (London: Printed for John Murray by W. Bumer & Co., 1814). The original title of the first edition was *The Costume of China, Illustrated in Forty-Eight Coloured Engravings* (London: William Miller, 1805).

⁴⁵ Wu Hung, *A Story of Ruin*, at page 101. Jennifer Hargrave has argued that Romantic ideologies and the use of picturesque imagery was used to situate China within the British Empire, see Jennifer L. Hargrave, ‘Romanticizing the Chinese Landscape’ in *European Romantic Review*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (2016), pp. 413–421.

valued painted landscape types [...] By translating terrain into an established compositional type, the picturesque, as a way of seeing, transformed land into landscape”.⁴⁶

Holger Hoock goes so far as suggesting that “the picturesque was associated with territorial and imperial control [as] picturesque conquests transformed latently dangerous landscapes of empire into ordered, safe, and legitimate empires of the imagination”.⁴⁷ While Hoock perhaps underestimates the extent to which views of the foreign managed to permeate and become hybridized with British landscapes rather than simply being forced into metropolitan frames of visibility, Alexander’s use of picturesque aesthetics in his watercolour and the engraving of Tristan da Cunha does present a very different view of the island to those mentioned earlier.

This new portrayal of the island is further highlighted in the text that accompanied the engraving as the image itself mimics the text constructed from Gower’s journal, something that is further highlighted by the fact that they were both published on the same page rather than as separate disarticulated plates placed elsewhere in the narrative (as was the case for many of the images of China).⁴⁸ If we take a ‘bitextual’ approach to the text and its accompanying images as advocated by Hooistra,⁴⁹ this suggests a close association between the text and the image as it allows the one to be judged according to the other in the same field of vision and this interaction between the image and text produces meanings that reinforce one another, for example, the presence of whales breaching next to the vessel draws on the textual description of the abundance of pinnipeds and cetaceans around the island, and the calm waters and image of a vessel anchored next to the island (on the far left) suggests the island’s accessibility and its potential for safe anchorage and as a rendezvous point contained in the text.

In his account of Tristan da Cunha, Gower compared the island’s volcanic cone to Tenerife, an inhabited and productive island that was part of the circuits of the plantation economy. This was an island already integrated into the European imagination by 1792, and served as a well-known point of safety in an otherwise dangerous ocean. Where the crew of the *Bruinvuis* saw “extremely high, steep and bleak stony mountains, impossible to ascend and hanging almost over the shore, with no

⁴⁶ Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005), at page 45.

⁴⁷ Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750-1850* (London: Profile Books, 2010), at page 301.

⁴⁸ The engraving of Tristan da Cunha appears on a plate along with an engraving of a carved agate on page 95, while the textual account of the visit to Tristan da Cunha occurs on pages 94–97 in John Stockdale’s edition. While in the G. Nicol edition, it appears on the bottom half of page 199 surrounded by the textual account that runs from pages 197–202.

⁴⁹ See Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians: The Inscription of Values in Word and Image* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), at page 8.

wood-foliage or grass, except some thin reeds”,⁵⁰ Gower saw a plain from which “the land rose, gradually, towards the central mountain” with “a flat, of some extent, covered with sedge-grass, interspersed with small shrubs, which, being perfectly green, looked from the ship, like a pleasant meadow, watered by a stream that fell afterwards, from its banks upon the beach”.⁵¹ The possibility of economic utility was shown in Gower’s description of the island’s coast being visited by ‘sword fish; whales of every species; sea lions and seals’. Economic utility beyond the extractive commerce of sealing is also implied in Gower’s description of the soil as ‘adequate to any cultivation’. Where Tristan da Cunha had previously been described as an island that offered no shelter, no anchorage and no place to land, Gower described it as being, for the most part, ‘clear of danger’ and with a safe landing place. Even when a gust of wind caused the H.M.S. *Lion* to drag its anchor, Gower deemed it ‘an accident’ and remained convinced the anchorage was firm even nearer shore. Where it was once a place where ‘no more vessels should be exposed to the great danger involved in calling there’,⁵² the island group now became “certainly worthy of a more particular inquiry; for they are not fifty leagues from the general tract of vessels bound to China, and to the coast of Coromandel, by the outer passage”.⁵³

That the descriptions such as Gower’s contained in the official narrative were part of a broader process of visualising and attempting to enculture spaces of potential utility for British expansion can be seen by comparing Gower’s description of the island with that of Aeneas Anderson (Lord Macartney’s valet). Anderson described Tristan da Cunha as a ‘barren’ and ‘almost inaccessible’ island surrounded by ‘whales, sea-lions and other monsters of the deep’, and whereas Gower deemed the dragging of their anchor as merely ‘an accident’, Anderson describes their situation as “alarming; for if the wind, which blew directly, on the rock, had not changed, we must inevitably have perished”. This prevented a planned excursion to the island to study its natural history composed of artillery men that were to be “properly equipped for the expedition against the amphibious monsters of the shore”.⁵⁴ The published journal of Samuel Holmes, a soldier on the

⁵⁰ H.B. Thom (ed.), *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, Volume 2, 1656-1658 (Cape Town and Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema, 1954), at page 6.

⁵¹ Patton’s account saw the volcanic cone rising up in the shape of a sugar-loaf, echoing images of sugarloaf mountain in Rio de Janeiro which could be seen at the mouth of Guanabara Bay and also suggesting the safety of that bay and the economic utility of Rio as a key production point in the plantation economy.

⁵² H.B. Thom (ed.), *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, Volume 2, at page 6.

⁵³ Sir George Staunton, *An Authentic Account of an Embassy*, at pages 197–202.

⁵⁴ Aeneas Anderson, *A Narrative of the British Embassy to China*, at pages 24–25.

Hindustan, echoes Anderson's account, describing Tristan da Cunha as a "barren rock [with] neither anchorage, shelter, or any inducement for ships to touch at these desert islands".⁵⁵

Gower's 'fixing' of the island also extended to cartography. Through the use of new and improved tools of navigation and cartography, Gower was able to better fix Tristan da Cunha in space "by the mean of several time-pieces" and "good meridional observations". These improvements in the tools of navigation and cartography were also aided by improvements in the art of navigation and cartography, and Rubiés argues that "the main novelty of the eighteenth century was the addition of renewed emphasis in drawing skills as part of the process of geographical, and ethnographic, observation".⁵⁶ Christ's Hospital (which was famous for producing boys trained in navigation and seamanship for the Royal Navy and merchant marine) by the eighteenth century had a drawing-master (as well as writing-masters) to develop the artistic skills of students in addition to their training in trigonometry, arithmetic, geometry and chronometry.⁵⁷ Alexander Cozens, perhaps the most famous drawing-master at Christ's College (a position he held from 1750–54) had claimed he was best suited for the position when applying because of his experience of drawing at sea. The training he provided did not teach his students to become artists, but rather produced able seamen and young officers that could not only navigate, but also record what they saw on their travels quickly and accurately.⁵⁸ It was during the 1750s, Crowley argues, that Britons began to develop a global (by which he means connected with each other over vast distances) landscape that visually linked colonial territories with metropolitan Britain.⁵⁹

William Alexander himself, partly as a result of the success of his watercolours produced after the Macartney Embassy (which found their way into many art collections), became the landscapist to the Royal Military College before being appointed as the first Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the

⁵⁵ Samuel Holmes, *The Journal Of Mr. Samuel Holmes, Serjeant-Major Of The XIth Light Dragoons, During His Attendance, As One Of The Guard On Lord Macartney's Embassy To China And Tartary. 1792-3: Printed Without Addition, Abridgment, Or Amendment, From The Original Diary, Kept During That Expedition* (London: Bulmer 1798), at page 24.

⁵⁶ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing and Ethnography' in Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers: Studies in the History of Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007), at page 23.

⁵⁷ For an early history of the school see John Iliff Wilson, *The History of Christ's Hospital from its Foundation by King Edward the Sixth to which are added Memoirs of Eminent Men Educated There and a List of the Governors* (London: Printed for John Nichols and Son, 1821).

⁵⁸ Kim Sloan, *Alexander and John Robert Cozens: The Poetry of Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), at pages 21–26.

⁵⁹ John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscape: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745–1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), at page 2.

British Museum.⁶⁰ These positions were part of a drive to train a growing proportion of the personnel in the East India Company, Royal Navy, and British army in drawing, thus creating links between landscape painting, military draughtsmanship and cartography.⁶¹ The introduction of such drawing-masters to various Royal Military Academies led to the embrace of the picturesque aesthetic of British landscape drawing, which in turn helped to standardise the representation of new British realms overseas and made it easier for those in the metropole to understand these visual reports from the rest of the empire and visit them in their visual imaginations.⁶² Crowley describes this as the creation of a 'British global landscape' and Hoock as 'Picturesque Patriotism'.⁶³

Gower not only fixed Tristan da Cunha's position on the Mercator projection with greater accuracy, he also described Tristan da Cunha in terms of its distance from continental land as well as to other islands in the Atlantic on similar lines of latitude. Yet, despite the distance between Tristan da Cunha and other land masses, Gower did not describe Tristan da Cunha as isolated. Perhaps the most telling way in which Gower removed the idea of spatial isolation was by connecting Tristan da Cunha to the continent that Europeans believed must exist in the southern hemisphere to balance the quantity of land in the northern hemisphere. Gower speculated that the islands of the South Atlantic together formed a chain of mountains, some above and some below the ocean's surface. This, he felt, was "a conjecture less improbable, than that they should separately arise, like tall columns, from the vast abyss". By doing this, Gower not only plugged Tristan da Cunha into the long history of Atlantis in European thought, he also reclaimed the island from being a space that previously could not be fixed on the map (and thus lent itself to disappearing from both maps and history and becoming myth), to being part of a continent still considered by many in Europe at this time to be a fact. For Gower, Tristan da Cunha became but the tip of a much larger continent, a piece of a puzzle that would, quite literally, balance the world out. There was no better way of separating the island from the ocean that surrounded it than to suggest it formed part of a continent – hidden, but present nonetheless.

⁶⁰ Frances Wood, 'Britain's first view of China', pp. 59–68.

⁶¹ For more on these links see N. Alfrey, 'Landscape and the Ordnance Survey 1795–1829' in N. Alfrey and S. J. Daniels (eds.), *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography* (Nottingham: Nottingham University Art Gallery, 1990) and Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*. Felix Driver and Luciana Martins have analysed how these practices of drawing and surveying went on to shape the geographical imagination of British mariners in Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, 'John Septimus Roe and the art of navigation, c.1815–1830' in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (2002), pp. 144–161.

⁶² John E. Crowley, 'A Visual Empire', at page 8 and 295.

⁶³ Holger Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination*. For an analysis tracing the impact of this training on John Septimus Roe's 'ways of seeing' go to Felix Driver and Luciana Martins, 'John Septimus Roe', pp. 144–161.

While Alexander's image of Tristan da Cunha does not seem to have been published outside of Staunton's official narrative of the Lord Macartney Embassy, Gower's descriptions along with those of John Patton would appear repeatedly in John Purdy's editions of sailing directions in the early nineteenth century. Gower's textual representation of the island would no doubt have been tinted by the rationale of this and his previous expeditions, which was to chart the world and bring unknown lands into the British geographical imagination and find new spaces of potential utility and trade for a Britain that was beginning to flex its imperial muscle. Many of these concerns were echoed in the engraving based on Alexander's watercolour. The published descriptions of the island by Patton and Gower along with William Alexander's engraved watercolour transformed the representations of the island body of Tristan da Cunha from one that was not fixed on charts, barren, devoid of all economic utility and that needed to be avoided at all costs to one that could provide shelter, potential supplies and where financial gains could be made.⁶⁴ Even though the sealing industry that gave Tristan da Cunha an economic utility was purely extractive and not sustainable in the long term,⁶⁵ it did allow people to imagine the island as a place where economic activity was possible and it is this view that led to the first attempt to settle the island by Jonathan Lambert.

2.4) King Lambert and the Island of Refreshment

Jonathan Lambert, an American, was drawn to Tristan da Cunha because of the economic utility of its seal rookeries.⁶⁶ He first visited the island as a crewman en route to Bengal in 1792 and described seeing an 'almost innumerable amount' of elephant seals along with sealing parties who were oiling on the island.⁶⁷ He seems to have also visited the island again in 1805.⁶⁸ By 1810, he had decided to

⁶⁴ This view was further highlighted in a publication by the celebrated French naturalist Aubert du Petit-Thouars that catalogued much of Tristan da Cunha's flora according to the Linnaean classificatory system. This first scientific description and collection of plant life on the island was conducted when du Petit-Thouars arrived at the island en route to Madagascar and Réunion the day after Gower left. His results were published in *Esquisse de la flore de Tristan d'Acugna, ou Catalogue des plantes trouvées dans cette isle, dans les premiers jours de janvier 1793, précédée d'une description abrégée des isles dont elle fait partie* (1793 and Paris, 1803). While it is unclear how widely distributed this text was, his results were republished along with his catalogue of plants collected throughout the Mascarenes in his popular text *Mélange de Botanique et de Voyages* (Paris: Arthur Bertrand, 1811), which was referenced in Dugald Carmichael's published collection of Tristan flora, of which more will be said in the following section.

⁶⁵ Seal numbers soon plummeted across the Southern Ocean islands as they each fell victim to what Garrett Hardin has termed a 'tragedy of the commons'. See Garrett Hardin, 'The tragedy of the commons' in *Science*, Vol. 162, No. 3859 (1968), pp. 1243–1248.

⁶⁶ For the family history of Jonathan Lambert, see Henry W. Belknap, *The Lambert Family of Salem, Massachusetts* (Salem, Massachusetts: Essex Institute, 1918), at pages 32–33.

⁶⁷ Letter from Jonathan Lambert to Captain Briggs. 'Travel, Adventure, and Sport', *Blackwoods Magazine*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons), at page 402.

annex the islands for himself in order ‘to escape the embarrassments’ which he claimed to have previously suffered.⁶⁹ He returned to Tristan da Cunha on a sealing vessel sent to retrieve a sealing gang (along with two men he met en route in Rio de Janeiro).⁷⁰ News of Lambert’s incipient settlement first appeared in the American press in August 1810 and quickly spread.⁷¹ Soon after his arrival Lambert tried to perform the rituals of possession in order to conjure his imaginary kingdom into being and drew up a declaration for publication in which he claimed sole sovereignty of Tristan da Cunha and renamed it ‘the Island of Refreshments’.⁷²

Lambert’s occupation went unchallenged unlike the pirate republicanism elsewhere described by Linebaugh and Rediker that was systematically crushed during this period.⁷³ The destruction of pirate republicanism occurred as part of a spatial reorganisation of the ocean at the turn of the eighteenth century as maritime empires began to consolidate their gains overseas and, through naval force, wished to regulate the flow of commodities along newly developing channels of circulation.⁷⁴ These new channels of circulation were made accessible in visual form through texts like Staunton’s (some editions contained a Mercator projection chart of the track taken by Gower from England to Peking) and detailed descriptions of these channels and what was contained within them were given by sailing directory’s such as those published by John Purdy. While pirate

⁶⁸ James Fichter, ‘The British Empire and the American Atlantic on Tristan da Cunha, 1811-1816’ in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (December, 2008), pp. 567–589, at page 568.

⁶⁹ ‘King Lambert: The following account of the establishment of a New Kingdom is taken from American Newspapers of July, 1811’ in *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register*, Vol. XX. No. 15, London, Saturday, 12 October 1811.

⁷⁰ George Little, *Life on the Ocean; or, Twenty Years at Sea: being the personal adventures of the Author George Little, for many years Captain in the Merchant Service out of the Port of Baltimore, but now entirely blind* (Boston: Waite, Peirce and Company: [second edition] 1844), at page 184.

⁷¹ According to Fichter, news of Lambert’s departure was published in the *Boston Gazette*, 30 Aug. 1810; *Salem Gazette*, 31 Aug. 1810; *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 1 Sept. 1810; *Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 Sept. 1810; *Federal Republican Commercial Gazette*, 3 Sept. 1810; *Paulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, 3 Sept. 1810; *New-York Speculator*, 5 Sept. 1810; *The Columbian*, 4 Sept. 1810; *Public Advertiser*, 3 Sept. 1810; *Alexandria Daily Gazette, Commercial & Political*, 6 Sept. 1810; *Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 7 Sept. 1810; *Vermont Centinal*, 7 Sept. 1810; *American Watchman*, 8 Sept 1810; *Providence Gazette*, 8 Sept. 1810; *Hornet*, 12 Sept. 1810.

See James Fichter, ‘The British Empire and the American Atlantic on Tristan da Cunha, 1811-1816’ in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (December, 2008), pp. 567–589, at page 584.

⁷² ‘King Lambert: The following account of the establishment of a New Kingdom is taken from American Newspapers of July, 1811’ in *Cobbett’s Weekly Political Register*, Vol. XX. No. 15, London, Saturday, 12 October 1811. Multiple American papers reprinted Lambert’s declaration and it also received attention outside of the United States as well. Fichter lists Lamberts declaration as appearing in *The Balance, and State Journal*, 30 July 1811; *American Watchman*, 3 Aug. 1811; *Connecticut Miner*, 5 Aug. 1811, *Carolina Gazette*, 10 Aug. 1811; *Green-Mountain Farmer*, 12 Aug. 1811. Brief summaries appeared in *Connecticut Gazette*, 24 July 1811; *New-Bedford Mercury*, 26 July 1811; *Norwich Courier*, 31 July 1811; *Alexandria Gazette*, 29 July 1811, see James Fichter, ‘The British Empire’, pp. 567–589, at page 585.

⁷³ See Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The many-headed hydra*.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Niklas Frykman, ‘Pirates and Smugglers: Political Economy in the Red Atlantic’ in Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (eds.), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), at page 218.

republicanism disrupted this flow, Lambert's act of annexation did not as he placed great stress in his Declaration on allowing all nations access to the productions of the island at a fair price. Lambert's occupation intended to formalise and regulate Tristan da Cunha's position within a particular channel of circulation and his act of renaming not only alluded to a change in Tristan da Cunha's position within this channel, but was also intended to formalise Lambert's sovereignty over the island group and recognise his potential to turn what he regarded as *terra nullius* into productive property. This focus on the island as property not only suggests a potential increase in the products available for trade, but also tapped into the idea of the improvement of land as the basis for making territorial claims.⁷⁵

However, both his claim and his naming of the island would die with him when he drowned off the island in 1812. Although Lambert's declaration of annexation drew the island into the public imagination, he produced no further materials that would have aided in the process of enculturation besides a letter to a ship's captain that was only published after his death.⁷⁶ The political geographer John Agnew has argued that in order to turn a space into the 'meaningful location' of a place, three things are required: (1) location (fixed objective coordinates); (2) locale (a material setting for social relations); and (3) a sense of place (i.e. some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning).⁷⁷ While the work done by the likes of Gower and Patton fulfilled the first two conditions, Lambert could not fulfil the third.

Lambert was unable to create any 'permanences' through environmental transformation, a crucial condition for turning space into place according to David Harvey.⁷⁸ Nor was he able to, as Casid puts it, 'transplant the metropole' by successfully grafting the multiple plant species he brought with him (or that were left with him by passing vessels) onto the landscape with any permanence judging by the inability of the British garrison sent to the island in 1816 to survive off the productions of the island.⁷⁹ Lambert also failed to produce any limns that would generate the semantic intensity required to insert 'his' island into the geographic imagination of a broader public at a time when

⁷⁵ Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), particularly pages 16–40.

⁷⁶ See *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, December 1818, No. XXI, Vol. IV (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), at pages 282–285.

⁷⁷ This summary of Agnew's argument has been taken from Tim Cresswell, *Place: A short introduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008), at page 7.

⁷⁸ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, at page 294.

⁷⁹ See Chapter Two of Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*. After Lambert's death, one of his fellow settlers, Thomas Curry (also referred to as Tomasso Corri), remained on the island and there is no suggestion that he managed to maintain or develop any of the crops that Lambert attempted to grow.

there was a rapid increase in travel literature and travel-related imagery representing the other lands and peoples ‘discovered’ during this era.⁸⁰

Lambert’s failure to graft the metropole onto the landscape through plant productions, drafting, or visual techniques such as the Picturesque meant that the process of creating a sense of place only began in earnest for Tristan da Cunha with the arrival of a British garrison on the island in 1816 as part of an attempt to ensure that the island could not be used to stage a rescue of Napoleon, who was imprisoned on St Helena. The vessels sent to deposit and relieve the garrison (which was removed in 1817) not only mapped the island’s coastline but also brought with them an amateur naturalist by the name of Dugald Carmichael (1772–1827), whose work on the island would insert it into the scientific networks of the metropole as well as catalogue much of its flora and fauna.⁸¹

2.5) Filling in the blanks: turning space into place on Tristan da Cunha

Carmichael was a Scottish soldier and botanist who is said to have been ‘the father of marine botany’ and was described by his friend and correspondent William Hooker as a “zealous and indefatigable naturalist”.⁸² After joining the army, Carmichael catalogued the geology, flora and fauna of the various places he was posted.⁸³ In addition to visiting Tristan da Cunha, he spent time in the Cape,⁸⁴ Mauritius,⁸⁵ Reunion, Bengal, Ascension Island and the Azores and many of the plants he

⁸⁰ Geoff Quilley, ‘Introduction: mapping the art of travel and exploration’, at page 3.

⁸¹ Dugald Carmichael, ‘Some Account of the Island of Tristan da Cunha and of its Natural Productions’ in *The Transactions of the Linnean Society of London, Volume XII* (London: Richard and Arthur Taylor, 1818), pp. 483–513.

⁸² William Jackson Hooker, *Botanical Miscellany; containing Figures and Descriptions of such plants as recommend themselves by their novelty, rarity, or history, or by the uses to which they are applied in the Arts, in medicine, and in Domestic Economy; together with occasional botanical notices and information, Vol. II* (London: John Murray, 1831), at page 3.

⁸³ For a description of the various places to which Carmichael was posted, see the significant portions of his travel journals published as part of his obituary written by Rev. Colin Smith that appeared in Hooker’s *Botanical Miscellany*: Rev. Colin Smith, ‘Biographical Notice of the late Captain Dugald Carmichael, F.L.S.’ in William Jackson Hooker, *Botanical Miscellany*, pp. 4–59 and 258–343, and William Jackson Hooker, *Botanical Miscellany; containing Figures and Descriptions of such plants as recommend themselves by their novelty, rarity, or history, or by the uses to which they are applied in the Arts, in medicine, and in Domestic Economy; together with occasional botanical notices and information, Vol. III* (London: John Murray, 1833), pp. 23–76 .

⁸⁴ During his time there he wrote on the geological structure of the Cape and conducted many of his travels in the Cape with Sir John Barrow, best known for his many notes and sketches of the South African countryside and who has been described as “first modern geographer and geologist in South Africa”. See V.S. Forbes, ‘The First Modern Geographer and Geologist in South Africa: Sir John Barrow’ in *South African Geographical Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1944), pp. 44–75; Nigel Penn, ‘Mapping the Cape: John Barrow and the first British occupation of the colony, 1795–1803’ in *Pretexes*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1993), pp. 20–43; and Dugald Carmichael, ‘On the geographical structure of part of the Cape of Good Hope’ in *Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 5 (London: William Phillips, 1819), pp. 614–616. Barrow was himself part of the Macartney Embassy described above in the position of comptroller and went to Cape Town with Lord Macartney in 1797 (when he was

collected from these regions were sent to the herbaria at Kew Gardens and the British museum.⁸⁶ He arrived at Tristan da Cunha on the H.M.S. *Falmouth*, the vessel sent to the island to land the British garrison there in 1816 and to map the bay that today bears its name. Once there, he conducted a scientific survey of the island that was published in the transactions of the Linnaean Society and brought him to the attention of Sir Joseph Banks and Sir William Hooker, two of the most powerful and influential scientists in Britain.

His survey closely catalogued the flora of the island, not only classifying it according to the Linnaean model, but also cataloguing where on the island it was found and at what elevation, drawing on Humboldt's ideal that it was not enough merely to catalogue species but also to define the exact geographical and elevational limits of these species.⁸⁷ Carmichael also described the potential economic utility of Tristan da Cunha, not as a point of extractive commerce, but as an island with fertile soil in which European grains could be grown and would provide 'a fair return'.⁸⁸ He went on to claim that the island could be made productive via the transplanted European flora and by implication, that it could also be tamed and colonised by European bodies who could transfer pieces of the metropole to the island with them.

Carmichael's work provided textual descriptions of both the island itself and its flora, fauna, and geology. By listing the productions of the island into the Linnaean classificatory system, and describing in detail where they could each be found on the island, its environment could be categorised, visualised, and compared to other parts of the world (where what Mary Louis Pratt has termed 'Linnaean emissaries' were conducting similar work).⁸⁹ While Gower, William Alexander and

appointed Governor of the Cape Colony from 1797–1798) and Barrow would go on to become Second Secretary to the Admiralty for forty years. During this time he played a key role in the promotion of naval expeditions and the publication of the narratives they resulted in (many of which were edited by Barrow himself), mainly through the firm of John Murray.

⁸⁵ For more on his time in Mauritius, where he was posted for the invasion of the island, see Dugald Carmichael, *Account of the Conquest of Mauritius with Some Notices on the History, Soil, Products, Defences, and the Political Importance of This Island. To which is added, a Sketch, explanatory of the military operations* (London: T. Egerton, 1811).

⁸⁶ Cornelis Plug, 'South African science in the 1906 - 100n' in *South African Journal of Science*, Vol. 102 (Jan./Feb., 2006), pp. 21–22, at page 21.

⁸⁷ See Michael Dettelbach, 'Global physics and aesthetic empire: Humboldt's physical portrait of the tropics' in David Phillip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (eds.), *Visions of Empire: Voyages, botany, and representations of nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), at page 261.

⁸⁸ Dugald Carmichael, 'Some Account of the Island of Tristan da Cunha', pp. 483–513, at page 486.

⁸⁹ For more on the importance of such Linnaean emissaries and what Mackay has termed 'Banksian collectors' in the spread of empire and 'bioprospecting', see David Mackay, 'Agents of empire: the Banksian collectors and the evaluation of new lands' in David Phillip Miller and Peter Hanns Reill (eds.), *Visions of Empire: Voyages, botany, and representations of nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), at pages 38–57 and Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard

the H.M.S. *Falmouth* sketched the outlines of the island, it left the interior blank and it was travel writing (of which Carmichael's work is an example) and the work of such Linnaean emissaries that helped to fill in these blanks.⁹⁰ Carmichael's work not only made the flora and fauna easily imaginable through its insertion into the Linnaean system, he also described the geology of the island through a process of binaries and comparisons. For example, he compared Tristan da Cunha to the Pays-brûlé of Reunion – a process he had previously used in his attempts to describe Reunion by comparing and contrasting it to Mauritius – thus carving a visual form for the island via comparison with other islands. He was so successful in this that his work on the island procured him considerable attention, and when he returned to Britain, “he found himself enrolled among the Fellows of the Linnæan Society, and styled ‘of Tristan da Cunha’”.⁹¹ Texts such as Carmichael's were in effect textual hybrids, mixing narratives of travel with scientific description and personal observations with scientific ones and Tallmadge suggests that “[the] ideal travel book sought to realize a perfect balance between pragmatic and aesthetic value, between the traveler's observations and reflections, between science and art”.⁹² This hybridity was a key feature behind the success of travel writing in the nineteenth century as these texts resisted simple forms of classification and delineation.⁹³ However, their use of the European sciences such as botany, zoology, geology and geography were part of a process of creating “typicality” out of alien environments through surveys, categorization and description.⁹⁴

When Carmichael could no longer make sense of what he saw and make it easily comprehensible to his audience, he switched registers from that of scientific description and categorisation to that of the sublime. For example, when he could not ascend the summit of the mountain (and undertake the symbolic ‘monarch-of-all-I-survey’ scene), he described the thick clouds that surrounded the summit and the resultant rainfall is recounted as being:

University Press, 2004), particularly Chapter Two. Unlike du Petit-Thoars text, Carmichael's text certainly did enter the public domain in Britain as Linnaean Society meetings were open to the public (and the membership of such scientific societies had increased rapidly since the end of eighteenth century) though it is unclear the extent to which his work was seen beyond the scientific community. See David Phillip Miller, ‘Introduction’, at page 2.

⁹⁰ Tim Youngs ‘Introduction: Filling the Blank Spaces’ in Tim Youngs (ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), at page 2.

⁹¹ William Jackson Hooker, *Botanical Miscellany*, Vol. III, at page 44 .

⁹² John Tallmadge, ‘From Chronicle to Quest: The Shaping of Darwin's “Voyage of the Beagle”’ in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Spring, 1980), pp. 325–345, at page 329.

⁹³ Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at page 121. The hybrid nature of both the texts and the authorial production of such texts have been analysed in detail by Keighren et al. See also Adriana Craciun, ‘Oceanic Voyages’ and ‘Writing the Disaster: Franklin and Frankenstein’ in *Nineteenth Century Literature*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (2011), pp. 433–480.

⁹⁴ Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*, at page 191.

announced by the sudden appearance of torrents of water pouring in a hundred channels over the edge of the precipice, dashing down from cliff to cliff, and forming a series of cascades the most magnificent, perhaps, on the whole face of the globe.⁹⁵

What is important to note here is that the use of the sublime was not, as Susan Glickman has shown in her analysis of the uses of the sublime and picturesque in Canadian literature, a negative portrayal.⁹⁶ The sublime was used “whenever the power of an object or event is such that words fail and points of comparison disappear”.⁹⁷ The sublime can thus be seen as inhabiting the space which exists between the experience of a place and the language available to describe it.⁹⁸ Use of the sublime can therefore also be productive because even as one celebrates the sublimity of a scene, you also open it up to understanding and colonisation. Thus, Van Noy argues, “[b]y assigning a positive even if immeasurable value, the sublime marks a transition from space to place”.⁹⁹ The sublime became an effective model with which to describe a place, and as John Elder has noted, sublime responses are not necessarily the result of a failure of both language and imagination but rather, are “a gathering of vision and energy around particular natural objects”.¹⁰⁰ The sublime can therefore be seen as a tool used to bring what is seen within a system of representation and to make it part of a recognisable code.

The sublime as an aesthetic category was itself part of an aesthetic continuum between ‘the Beautiful’ and ‘the Sublime’ with ‘the Picturesque’ running the gamut between the two.¹⁰¹ Copley and Garside, amongst others, have shown that ‘the Picturesque’ is “a notoriously difficult category to define”, sitting as it does between the ‘Sublime’ and the ‘Beautiful’, while also playing a part in the definition of the ‘Gothic’ and the ‘Romantic’ in this period.¹⁰² This allowed the Picturesque to blend between these categories and it could modulate into

⁹⁵ Dugald Carmichael, ‘Some Account of the Island of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 492.

⁹⁶ Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998).

⁹⁷ Philip Shaw, *The Sublime* (Milton Park: Routledge, 2006), at page 2.

⁹⁸ Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), at page ix.

⁹⁹ Rick Van Noy, *Surveying the Interior*, at pages 34–35.

¹⁰⁰ John Elder, quoted in Rick Van Noy, *Surveying the Interior*, at page 33.

¹⁰¹ James Buzard, ‘The Grand Tour and after (1660–1840)’ in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), at page 45.

¹⁰² Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, ‘Introduction’ in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.), *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, landscape and aesthetics since 1770* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), at page 1.

the Sublime.¹⁰³ But by inhabiting the middle ground between the Beautiful and the Sublime, Whale (following Ann Bermingham) argues that it offered a particularly English aesthetic of landscape and played a formative role in the construction of a particular kind of Englishness.¹⁰⁴ Because of its position as a hybrid category, the Picturesque played an important role in the mediation of landscapes.¹⁰⁵ Carmichael's descriptions of Tristan da Cunha, both scientific and sublime, built on Gower and Alexander's Picturesque depictions of the island and these descriptions began to endow it with both aesthetic and potential economic value and, as Yi-Fu Tuan has noted, "space becomes place as we endow it with value".¹⁰⁶

Notions of the sublime were also repeated in a sketch of the island made by Charles William Browne, a midshipman and amateur painter on the H.M.S. *Julia*, which was sent to the island in 1817 to relieve the garrison (see Figure 2.4).¹⁰⁷ Browne, who travelled extensively across the world during his time with the navy,¹⁰⁸ is best known for his sketches of Rio de Janeiro and prints of his sketches of the Far East that appeared in Basil Hall's account of Lord Amherst's mission to China in 1816.¹⁰⁹ He also made various sketches of the other places he travelled to including Tristan da Cunha and Luciana Martins suggests these may have been

¹⁰³ David Punter, 'The Picturesque and the Sublime: two worldsapes' in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.), *The Politics of the Picturesque*, at pages 220–221.

¹⁰⁴ John Whale, 'Romantics, explorers and Picturesque travellers' in Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (eds.), *The Politics of the Picturesque*, at pages 176–177 and Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), at pages 73–83.

¹⁰⁵ See Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape*, 3 Volumes (London: Printed for J. Mawman, 1810). The Picturesque, Orestano argues, itself "bears the stigma of impurity because, especially after Price, it appears to be a hybrid category, halfway between the beautiful and the sublime, see Francesca Orestano, 'Picturesque Reconsidered and Preserved' in Rosamaria Loretelli and Frank O'Gorman (eds.), *Britain and Italy in the Long Eighteenth Century: Literacy and Art Theories* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), at page 25.

¹⁰⁶ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), at page 6.

¹⁰⁷ Browne survived the wreck that led to fifty-five deaths. A detailed description of the establishment of the garrison on Tristan da Cunha and the wreck of the H.M.S. *Julia* can be found in Stephen A. Royle, 'Perilous Shipwreck, misery and unhappiness: the British military at Tristan da Cunha, 1816–1817' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (2003), pp. 516–534.

¹⁰⁸ His travels took him to Rio (on more than one occasion), Tristan da Cunha, St. Helena, Ascension Island, much of the Far East, and Mozambique, where he died after volunteering for an expedition to explore the Zambezi River. See W.F.W. Owen, 'Particulars of an Expedition up the Zambezi to Senna performed by three Officers of His Majesty's Ship *Leven*, when surveying the East Coast of Africa in 1823' in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1831–1832).

¹⁰⁹ See Basil Hall, *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island; with an Appendix containing charts, and various hydrographical and scientific notices* (London: John Murray, 1818). Over the course of this voyage, Browne would have travelled with the H.M.S. *Alceste* and H.M.S. *Lyra* to 'Madeira, the Cape, Java, Macao, the Yellow Sea, the West Coast of Corea, the Great Loo-choo Island, Canton, Manilla, Prince of Wales's Island, Calcutta, Madras, the Mauritius, and St. Helena'.

done with a view to publishing an illustrated account of his travels.¹¹⁰ His sketch of Tristan da Cunha does not seem to have been widely circulated outside of admiralty circles, but once again suggests the utility of the sublime as a means of transferring meaning and aesthetic value to the island.

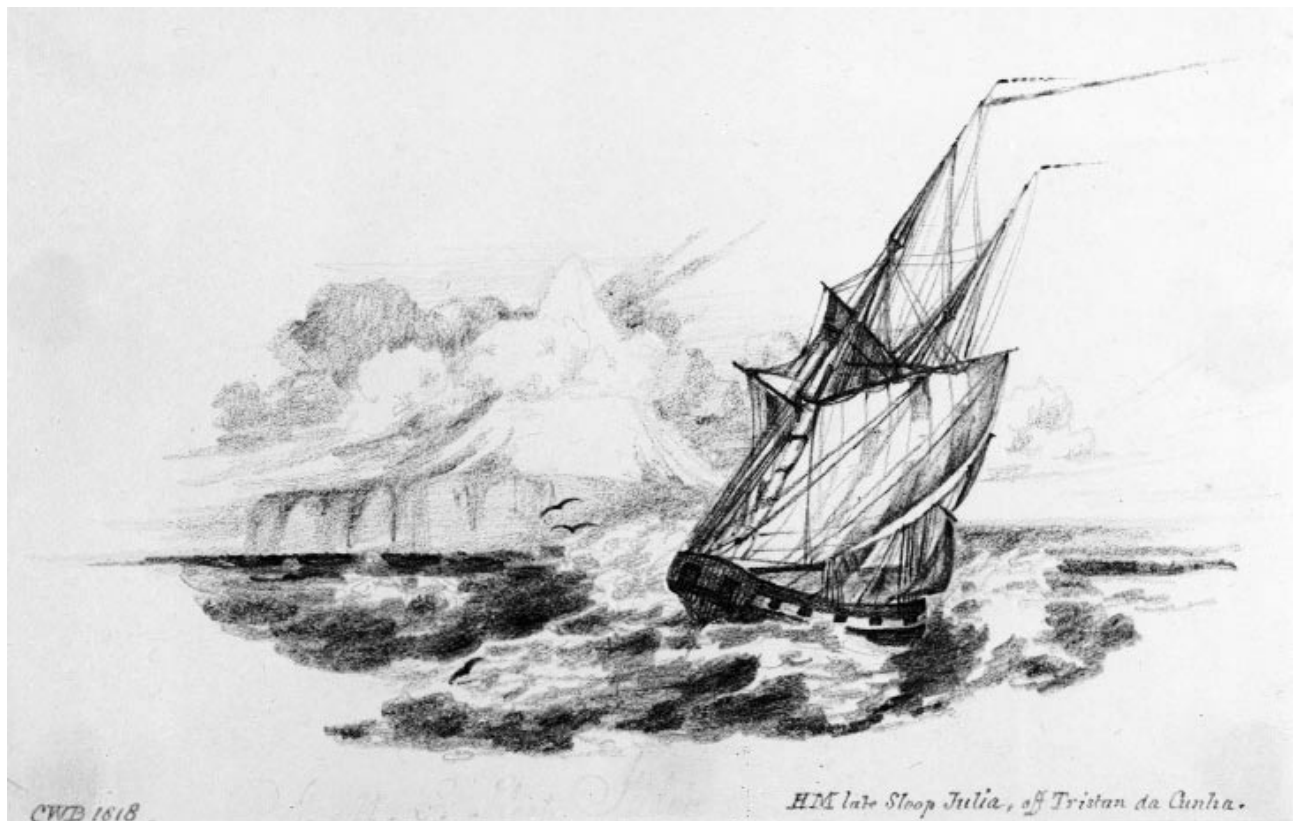


Figure 2.4: HM late Sloop Julia off Tristan da Cunha, 1818.¹¹¹

While Browne's image echoes that of Alexander seen earlier, elements of the sublime are more pronounced through the increased height of the mountain and the presence of snow capping much of the peak (something which in turn also signals its great height). Strong winds are also suggested through the choppy, foam flecked waves as well as the strained pennants atop the mast. As suggested earlier, the Picturesque and Sublime were part of one aesthetic continuum, and differences in portrayals of the same place that shift from the Picturesque to Sublime (and often back again) were often simply a matter of perspective and the artistic personalities, the esthetical canons, and the technical abilities of the writer or

¹¹⁰ The album of sketches compiled by Browne was titled 'Sketches from Memory made in Jan. and Feb. 1818 by C.W. Browne, R.N. of His Majesty's late Ships *Alceste*, lost in China Sea, and *Julia*, lost at Tristan da Cunha'.

¹¹¹ National Maritime Museum, PAF 8528.

artist.¹¹² Browne's decision to lean towards the Sublime may be due to the fact that the H.M.S. *Julia* was wrecked on the island,¹¹³ and aspects of the sublime are even more prevalent in Browne's sketch of the event (*Wreck of the HMS Julia, at Tristan da Cunha, South Atlantic, 1818*).¹¹⁴ The use of the sublime echoes the overwhelming grandeur and irresistible power of both the ocean and the cliffs that form Tristan da Cunha's coastline. The use of the sublime results in the island not being seen as a site of alterity, but as one that is awe-inspiring and it is therefore not a sign of the repudiation of the island, but of its artistic veneration.

The album of sketches compiled by Browne followed the image of the wreck of the H.M.S. *Julia* with a sketch of the memorial built for the crew of the H.M.S. *Julia* that lost their lives in the wreck (*Memorial of the Crew lost in HMS Julia, at Tristan da Cunha, 1818*).¹¹⁵ This sketch provides a much more benign view of the island and the presentation of the trees bear a strong resemblance to his sketches of Pulo Leat in Indonesia (*Pulo Leat, an Island in the Straits of Gaspar, HMS Alceste on fire, 1818*),¹¹⁶ an unlikely resemblance given the fact that the *Phylica arborea*, the only native tree that grows on the island does so in dense thickets with small crooked trunks that grow close to the ground due to the strong winds.

Even though these images do not seem to have been seen outside the Admiralty as Browne died before they could be published, they point to the development at this time of a visual code in which elements of vegetation and patterns of graphic representation from different parts of the world were combined by sketch artists on naval vessels who had been trained in the art of navigation, marine surveying and drawing.¹¹⁷ The purpose of such sketches, Martins suggests, was to render alien forms familiar by referencing a common geographical imagination where unknown forms were moulded into hybrid landscapes that were

¹¹² For an example of this, see Guglielmo Scaramellini, 'The picturesque and the sublime in nature and landscape: Writing and iconography in the romantic voyaging in the Alps' in *GeoJournal*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Geography and Literature (Jan., 1996), pp. 49–57.

¹¹³ For a detailed analysis of the garrison's time on the island and the wreck of the H.M.S. *Julia* see Stephen Royle, 'Perilous Shipwreck', pp. 516–534.

¹¹⁴ National Maritime Museum, PAF 8556.

¹¹⁵ National Maritime Museum, PAF 8557.

¹¹⁶ National Maritime Museum, PAF 8547.

¹¹⁷ See Luciana de Lima Martins: 'Navigating in Tropical Waters: British Maritime Views of Rio de Janeiro' in *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1998), pp. 141–155, at page 150 and 'Mapping Tropical Waters: British Views and Visions of Rio de Janeiro' in Denis Cosgrove (ed.), *Mappings* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1999), at page 154. In addition to the 'hybrid' nature of Browne's work relating to Rio de Janeiro and the Orient that has been extensively analysed by Martins, Browne's Tristan da Cunha sketches also share aesthetic similarities with his images of Pulo Leat, Ascension Island, and St. Helena.

composed of the “interchangeable [...] elements of the British maritime way of seeing”.¹¹⁸ This can also be seen in William Alexander’s images of China, for example, his *A View of a Burying Place* contains ‘a clump of English boscaje’, which Frances Wood describes as ‘a geographical impossibility’.¹¹⁹

These hybrid landscapes were themselves the result of negotiations between European aesthetic conventions and the tropical views they encountered as the tropics themselves were described by some travellers as inducing a sense of unease to the European eye and body thus suggesting that Mary Louise Pratt’s imperial eye of ‘the monarch-of-all-I-survey’ figure (and Holger Hoock’s notion of Picturesque patriotism) does not take into account the need for travellers to reconfigure their intentions and preconceptions in order to represent the views they encountered, what Martins terms as the far less triumphal ‘observer-in-transit’.¹²⁰ These techniques of graphic representation would also be taken up by the itinerant artists that would soon follow in the wake of these naval vessels and would have a significant impact on the popular representation of Tristan da Cunha as will be seen in the analysis of Augustus Earle’s Tristan da Cunha paintings in the chapter that follows.

These cognitive strategies described above formed part of a bigger global project of comparison whose purpose was to catalogue and make comprehensible the new worlds that were being drawn into the networks of empire. This occurred at the same time as a process of cataloguing and classification was being undertaken within the metropole itself as can be seen, for example, by Carmichael’s study of the marine plants of Scotland upon his return to Britain. What had become a planetary project of knowledge collection not only tried to make sense of the new lands opened up to European vision and settlement, but also led to Britain refiguring itself as those in the metropole re-evaluated their place in the world at the same time as the volume and novelty of the information returned to the metropole led to the development of new sciences (such as geology), and what Pyne has described as the new sensibilities such as those expressed in Romantic landscape painting,

¹¹⁸ Luciana de Lima Martins, ‘Mapping Tropical Waters’, at page 167.

¹¹⁹ Frances Wood, ‘Closely Observed China’, at page 109.

¹²⁰ Luciana Martins, ‘The art of tropical travel, 1768–1830’ in Miles Ogborn and Charles W. J. Withers (eds.), *Georgian Geographies: Essays on space, place and landscape in the eighteenth century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). The results of a failure on the part of British explorers to reconfigure their intentions and preconceptions could be fatal, as seen by the failure of the Franklin expedition where Craciun argues the model of picturesque travel and their aesthetic (mis)-education led to a winter camp being chosen for its picturesque prospect, a decision which doomed the expedition. See Adriana Craciun, ‘Writing the Disaster’, at pages 448–449.

novels, and travelogues.¹²¹ As Casid puts it, “landscaping – whether in the form of painting, planting, poetry as aesthetics – should be understood as united discursive and material practices that came to the fore in the eighteenth century as techniques of empire”, and these techniques produced landscapes that allowed for symbolic, material and geo-political colonisation.¹²²

Gower’s voyage was one of many that were sent out to map and collect images of the world. Dugald Carmichael was a prime example of the rapid spread of Linnaean emissaries across the globe. While William Alexander and Charles William Browne were both products, and producers, of a new focus on visual images in both the British Army and Navy as well as metropolitan society at large at the turn of the eighteenth century. Men such as these, through the production of hybrid texts and images, produced hybrid landscapes of Tristan da Cunha that both signalled – and were responsible for – a different sensibility towards the island. While the improvements in cartographic techniques and technologies helped to better fix Tristan da Cunha in space, it was the work of these ‘literary cartographers’ that produced a more complex reading of the island that allowed the landscape perceived to shift from the abstract to the particular.¹²³ This in turn allowed the production of an imaginative geography of Tristan da Cunha that could be conceptually grasped, understood, and integrated into what Deborah Poole has called the ‘visual economy’ of empire.

Their work points towards a view of an island that was being fixed in space with greater and greater accuracy while their scientific and aesthetic representations suggested a space where settlement and colonisation would no longer be the eccentric acts of a man seeking to escape the misfortunes that had befallen him, but could be seen as a natural extension of the imperial imperative of mapping, categorising, and colonising newly discovered lands. This could in part explain why the British Admiralty seems to have had no reservations when accepting a request from William Glass (a Corporal who formed a part of the Tristan da Cunha garrison sent to the island in 1816) to remain on the island with his wife, children and two other members of the garrison who chose to remain behind with him and formed a new settlement that remains in existence today.

This new settlement itself needed to be imbued with a sense of place that only the production of limns could achieve in order for shared meanings of the island and settlement to enter the broader

¹²¹ Stephen Pyne, *The Ice: A Journey to Antarctica* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998), at page 84.

¹²² Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*, at page xxii.

¹²³ Rick Van Noy, *Surveying the Interior*, at page 3. In this text, Van Noy traces how Henry David Thoreau, Clarence King and John Wesley Powell – through their travel narratives – carried out this process in North America.

metropolitan imagination.¹²⁴ This task was not accomplished until Augustus Earle, an early example of a new breed of prolific itinerant artists that appeared in the early nineteenth century, was marooned on the island in 1824. Earle produced a literary cartography of the island through his paintings and the publication of the widely disseminated narrative of his time on Tristan da Cunha and, later, New Zealand. Earle's travel narrative was widely read and discussed not only in the metropole, but also in other parts of a rapidly expanding British empire and not only produced hybrid landscapes of the island, but also managed to graft the ideal of the British rural idyllic onto the settlement, thus producing a Romantic iconography of the island that lasted for much of the nineteenth century. It is the ways in which Earle managed to achieve this, and the results of his work on the popular metropolitan imaginings of Tristan da Cunha that form the subject of the next chapter.

¹²⁴ See Rick Van Noy, *Surveying the Interior*, at pages 176–177.

Chapter Three

The wandering artist and the fixed island

Augustus Earle,¹ also known as ‘the wandering artist’ in the early nineteenth-century worlds of European print, is described by Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones as being “probably the first professionally trained freelance travel artist to tour the world”.² By the end of his life, he had earned the distinction of being the first professional artist to have visited five continents. He was also the first person to write an account and produce images of the newly colonised Tristan da Cunha to be widely disseminated in the metropole and therefore played an important role in shaping how Tristan da Cunha was perceived in the metropolitan imagination. This was published in Earle’s *A Narrative of A Nine Months’ Residence in New Zealand in 1827; Together With A Journal of a Residence in Tristan D’Acunha, an Island Situated Between South America and the Cape of Good Hope* in 1832, a text that is divided into two parts. The first 284 pages deal with Earle’s time spent in New Zealand and contains six plates with images while the final 80 pages consists of Earle’s journal on Tristan da Cunha titled ‘Narrative of a Residence on the Island of Tristan D’Acunha, in the South Atlantic Ocean’, containing one lithograph, *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D’Acunha*.³

Earle was castaway on Tristan da Cunha in March 1824, just over six years after William Glass, a Scotsman born in Kelso in 1786 and a member of the garrison sent to the island by the British in 1816, was granted permission to remain when the garrison was withdrawn. When Earle was on the island the colony consisted of Glass, his wife Maria Magdalena Leenders, their children, and four other men, one of whom (Stephen White) had joined with his wife after they were wrecked on the island.⁴ Earle’s vessel, en route from Rio to India via the Cape, had stopped at the island to buy potatoes (which would become the island’s staple crop) during which time Earle went ashore to

¹ In some of the literature he is referred to as Augustus Earl, but in what follows I shall only refer to him by the more common usage of his surname.

² Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist* (London, Scolar Press, 1980), at page 1.

³ Narrative of a Residence on the Island of Tristan D’Acunha, in the South Atlantic Ocean’ is the title given to the section dealing with Earle’s time on Tristan da Cunha within the text, but throughout this chapter I shall refer to it as ‘Earle’s Journal’, which is how it is described on the title page of Earle’s text. When I refer to the New Zealand section of the text, I shall simply refer to it as his ‘New Zealand Narrative’, as opposed to any mentions of the text as a whole, which will be referred to as Earle’s *Narrative*.

⁴ The *Blenden Hall*, the vessel on which White and his wife to be were travelling, was an East Indiaman that was wrecked on Inaccessible Island in July 1821. The survivors of the wreck were rescued from Inaccessible by ‘Corporal Glass’ and were taken to Tristan da Cunha, where the passengers were housed and cared for by Glass and his compatriots until they were taken away by a passing vessel in January 1822.

make drawings of the island for his portfolio.⁵ The vessel, however, left without him, leaving him marooned there for eight months before he was rescued on 29 November 1824 and taken to Hobart.

Despite being the first professionally trained freelance artist to tour the world and his position as artist supernumerary on the *Beagle* Expedition, academic interest in Earle's work only truly began with the publication of Bernard Smith's *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850*. Since then, Earle's paintings and the published narrative of his time in New Zealand have been the focus of numerous studies and has seen him being adopted as a critical protagonist in developing the imaginative traditions of Brazil, Australia, and New Zealand in the early nineteenth century.⁶ Earle is now a staple in any text dealing with Brazilian, Australian, or New Zealand art and Leonard Bell in particular has produced a wide range of scholarly articles that deal with Earle's oeuvre in a variety of ways. However, Earle's contribution to the imaginative traditions of Tristan da Cunha, both through his paintings and his *A Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827; Together with a Journal of Residence in Tristan d'Acunha, an Island Situated between South America and the Cape of Good Hope* (hereafter referred to as Earle's *Narrative*),⁷ have remained critically unexamined despite text from his Journal and the lithograph of the founder of the fledgling settlement (see Figure 3.1) having been reproduced in numerous texts about the island.

⁵ Judging from Earle's paintings, these colonists were using much the same model as Lambert, had that is a focus on agriculture – for both subsistence and trade – and on harvesting fur seal skins and elephant seal oil to sell on to passing vessels.

⁶ See, for example, Hamish Keith's review of Anthony Murray Oliver's *Augustus Earle in New Zealand*, Hamish Keith, 'Augustus Earle in New Zealand, by Anthony Murray-Oliver' in *New Zealand Journal of History* (Apr., 1970), pp. 88–91.

⁷ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of a Residence of a Nine Months' residence in New Zealand in 1827; together with a Journal of a Residence in Tristan d'Acunha, an island situated between South America and the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1832).



Figure 3.1: Augustus Earle, *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D'Acunha*, engraved by J. Stewart.⁸

⁸ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 298.

The increased interest in Earle's work has been part of a broader trend of analysing the relationship between landscape and colonial identities. However, a shortcoming of much of this literature is that the individual studies have, as John Crowley has pointed out, "usually taken provincial and proto-national rather than comparative perspectives on their subjects, so that the connections and syntheses of their parallel stories are foregone".⁹ While the previous chapter traced how representations of Tristan da Cunha changed as the island began to be fixed in space and shifted from a site of alterity to one of potential productivity, this chapter will show how Earle's *Narrative* played an important part in fixing a metaphorical image of the island and its inhabitants in the metropolitan imagination. This will be done through a historical reconstruction of the journey of Earle's text (and the image of William Glass contained within it) into print. By tracing this journey we can see the multiple mediations embedded within this process as well as the global connections and syntheses in Earle's oeuvre, all of which led to the development of a particular portrayal of Tristan da Cunha as a rural idyll in the popular imagination.¹⁰

3.1) Credible witnesses and imaginative geographies

Augustus Earle was born in 1793 into a family of painters,¹¹ and was a precocious talent who regularly exhibited at the Royal Academy during his time in England.¹² In 1815, Earle left England for what would become a lengthy tour of much of the world.¹³ During his time as an itinerant artist he pioneered the development of colonial topography,¹⁴ and produced seminal images of the places he

⁹ John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscape*, at page 8.

¹⁰ This method of analysis draws on Joan-Pau Rubiés and Keighren et al's work regarding the analysis of travel narratives. See Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Travel Writing as a Genre: Facts, Fictions and the Invention of a Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe' in Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers*, at page 10 and Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*.

¹¹ His father, uncle and sister were themselves renowned artists. For more on Earle's family, see Ralph Earl, see Robert G. Stewart, 'James Earle: American Painter of Loyalists and His Career in England' in *The American Art Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1988), pp. 34–58, at page 57.

¹² For more on Earle's training and exhibits at the Royal Academy, see: Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist*, at pages 2 and 13; John Bastin and C.A. Gibson-Hill, 'Five Early Watercolour Sketches of Penang & Malacca' in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (181) (May, 1958), pp. 163–171, at page 164; and Sarah Thomas, 'The Artist Travels: Augustus Earle at Sea' in Tricia Cusack (ed.), *Framing the Ocean, 1700 to the Present: Envisaging the Sea as Social Space* (Fulham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), at page 82.

¹³ Over the course of his travels, Earle visited much of the Mediterranean world, America, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Tristan da Cunha, Australia, New Zealand, India, the Caroline Islands, Guam, Manila, Singapore, Madras, Pondicherry, Mauritius and St Helena.

¹⁴ Claudio Greppi, "'On the Spot': Traveling Artists and the Iconographic Inventory of the World, 1769–1859' in Felix Driver and Luciana Martins (eds.), *Tropical Visions in an Age of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), at page 41.

visited.¹⁵ Earle also became the first freelance artist to paint in the South Pacific and his images found their way into multiple popular nineteenth century texts,¹⁶ and also became the basis of four popular panoramas of the colonial world displayed in the metropole.¹⁷ Due to illness contracted during his time in Madras, Earle was forced to return to England in 1829 but left again soon afterwards, this time as artist Supernumerary on the *Beagle* Expedition under Captain FitzRoy in 1831, during which he befriended the young naturalist Charles Darwin.¹⁸ Earle tried to capitalise on this posting by releasing his *Narrative* in 1832, which was published after he had already left on the *Beagle*. Earle was presumably chosen as artist for the Beagle Expedition because of his reputation and the impact of his works, and became the first example of an independent traveller-artist to be drafted onto a scientific voyage.¹⁹ Unfortunately for Earle, his voyage on the *Beagle* was a fairly short one as he suffered from rheumatism and poor health, which led to his resignation from the Expedition and return to London where he died in 1838.

Bell suggests that most of Earle's watercolours and drawings from his travels which are still extant were never published, exhibited, or reproduced in his lifetime.²⁰ Although Earle did exhibit at the Royal Academy and in Sydney (where at least six of his paintings of Tristan da Cunha were displayed), most of his paintings and drawings that entered public circulation would have been seen

¹⁵ See, for example, Earle's *View from the summit of the Cacavada Mountains, near Rio de Janeiro*, lithographs of Sydney (*Views in Australia*) and New Zealand (*Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants and Islands of New Zealand*).

¹⁶ For example, his images appeared in: Maria Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence there, during part of the years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1824); Robert FitzRoy's *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, between the years 1826 and 1836, describing their examination of the southern shores of South America and the Beagle's circumnavigation of the globe*, Volume I (London: Henry Colburn, 1839); and in *Sketches Illustrative of the Native Inhabitants and Islands of New Zealand* (London: Lithographed & published under the auspices of the New Zealand Association by Robert Martin & Co., 1838).

¹⁷ These panoramas were William Daniell's famous 'Panorama of Madras', Robert Burford's 'Sydney and Environs', 'Hobart Town and Environs' and 'The Bay of Islands, New Zealand', on which a large body of research exists.

¹⁸ Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist*, at page 13. Bell has gone on to claim that Earle may have had an impact on the young and inexperienced Charles Darwin, suggesting that "openness to new and different experiences and the fluidity and adaptability of his eye and mind may well have helped to stimulate the imaginative and self-reflective capacities necessary for Darwin's later ground-breaking and paradigm-shifting work", see Leonard Bell, 'Strange Attractors: Augustus Earle and Charles Darwin in New Zealand' in *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2009), pp. 78–95, at page 79.

¹⁹ Leonard Bell, 'Not quite Darwin's artist: the travel art of Augustus Earle' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, 43 (2014), pp. 60–70, at pages 60 and 62.

²⁰ While some of his work (including some of his Tristan da Cunha oeuvre) was displayed in his Sydney Gallery in 1829, the majority of his work was not displayed and remained in the possession of his descendants until the 1920s and were not exhibited until the 1960's with the largest collection today (consisting of 168 pictures) housed in the Rex Nan Kivell collection at the National Library of Australia, Canberra. See Nicholas Thomas, 'Tabooed Ground: Augustus Earle in New Zealand and Australia' in Ross Gibson (ed.), *Exchanges: cross-cultural encounters in Australia and the Pacific* (Sydney: Museum of Sydney, 1996), at page 156 and Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist*, at page i.

via engravings or lithographs in books, or in the panoramas which were based on his work.²¹ This brief sketch hints at the extraordinary level of circulation of both Earle himself and of some of his images along newly opened channels of exchange between the metropole and its expanding empire and of the important role he (and other itinerant artists like him) played in establishing imaginative geographies for this expanding empire.

Due to his itinerant lifestyle and his clear desire to be the first to capture unseen images on paper through his paintings, Earle was often faced with landscapes that his training had not properly prepared him to capture. Earle, as was the standard procedure for travelling artists in this era, collected field notes and, where possible, made small drawings of the places he visited. These were later used to produce images for exhibition or publication when he had returned to areas with a large enough demand for such materials.²² It is unsurprising then that views and techniques developed to capture one landscape would have an influence on images of other places that he painted.²³ Earle's Tristan da Cunha images were influenced by the views and the techniques he developed to capture the landscape during his time in South America (and they in turn influenced the images he produced of Australia and New Zealand). For example, Earle's *Views on the summit at Tristan de Acunha*, draws deeply on the aspects of the mountain sublime that Earle had already developed a few years earlier when he painted *View from the summit of the Cacavada Mountains, near Rio de Janeiro*. Here, we can see how Earle's work, although purporting to be an accurate representation of what he saw through his 'on the spot status' drew upon the imperial geographies referred to in the previous chapter. In order for Earle to successfully capture Tristan da Cunha via the painted image in a way that could be displayed to and understood by a broader public Earle had to refer to other points in his journeys and to other parts of the empire in order to allow these images

²¹ His New Zealand work is perhaps the best known of his oeuvre with engraved reproductions of his sketching's and paintings from New Zealand appearing in his *Narrative*, as well as in a variety of periodicals, missionary tracts and other books. See Leonard Bell's, 'Not quite Darwin's artist', at page 60 and 'Augustus Earle's *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1827*, and his depictions of other New Zealand encounters' in Alex Calder, Jonathan Lamb, and Bridget Orr (eds.), *Voyages and Beaches: Pacific Encounters, 1769–1840* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), at page 243.

²² Leonard Bell, 'To see or not to see: conflicting eyes in the travel art of Augustus Earle' in Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (eds.), *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998), at page 119.

²³ For example, Earle's paintings of Tristan da Cunha also had an influence on his later Australian works. Hackforth-Jones has argued that "in order to depict more exactly, darker and more unusual geological forms, Earle calls upon design techniques formulated earlier at Tristan da Cunha". See Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist*, at page 23.

to gather semantic intensity. His images thus acted as a ‘semiotic motor’ in the development of views of Tristan da Cunha.²⁴

The creation of such hybrid landscapes and their reproduction in the hybrid genre of travel narratives often led to further mediation of these paintings through the process of engraving and their positioning within the text. Each of these mediations, however, played an important part in developing a visual grammar of empire that allowed authors and artists to capture the landscapes they were faced with (and that were often being captured for the first time by European eyes) in a way that could simultaneously meet the aesthetic desires of the metropolitan audience – for whom the images and texts were ultimately created – while also capturing the unique nature of the landscapes before them. Romantic travellers and the images and narratives they produced thus provided “discursive strategies of coping with alien realities” and often played a key role in the appropriation of these spaces in both a figurative and material sense.²⁵

These images and texts (often by sharing the medium of travel narratives) thus played an important role in providing a shared textual and visual grammar for Europeans (both in the colonies and in the metropole) in their attempts to structure and narrate the changing conceptions of the world they were living in. This combination of the visual and the textual, according to Gerard Curtis, displays a hieroglyphic union of the graphic and the written.²⁶ Before what Curtis describes as the unity between the drawn and the written line began to be disrupted in the latter half of the nineteenth century, illustrations were almost on an equal footing to text in importance to the author.²⁷ Our readings of images present in such travel narratives need to therefore be seen as part of the narratives themselves or, as Julia Thomas puts it, “not as necessarily separate entities, but as part of a web of practices and discourses that circulated in their [Victorian] rich multi-media culture”.²⁸

Part of the appeal of the art produced by itinerant artists such as Earle, and of travel narratives they often appeared in, was the fact that they had physically seen the image they transferred to paper.

²⁴ This notion of a ‘semiotic motor’ has been drawn from Berghoff and Korte’s analysis of the ways in which poetry often acted as a semiotic motor in the development of new forms of tourism. See Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte, ‘Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism: An Interdisciplinary Approach’ in Hartmut Berghoff, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider and Christopher Harvie (eds.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), at page 12.

²⁵ Gerhard Stilz, ‘Heroic Travellers – Romantic Landscapes: The Colonial Sublime in Indian, Australian and American Art and Literature’ in Hartmut Berghoff, et al (eds.), *The Making of Modern Tourism*, at page 85.

²⁶ Gerard Curtis, *Visual Words: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002), at page 7.

²⁷ Gerard Curtis, ‘Shared Lines: Pen and Pencil as Trace’ in Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan (eds.), *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), at page 34.

²⁸ Julia Thomas, *Pictorial Victorians*, at pages 3–4.

The notion of being *in situ* or ‘on the spot’ played an important role in the way in which authoritative knowledge about distant places was constructed.²⁹ William Alexander and Charles William Browne inserted the vessel they were travelling on to prove the ‘on the spot’ nature of their Tristan da Cunha images while Earle did so by “the unconventional [...] inclusion of himself, or a stand-in [often his dog Jemmy], as a primary subject in a significant number of his travel pictures”.³⁰ This ‘leitmotif’ in Earle’s oeuvre depicted the events captured as biographical while also suggesting the artist’s work acted as an authentic representation that offered unmediated access to truth.³¹

Earle’s images of Tristan da Cunha formed part of a much larger movement of artists, objects and iconography across the world (particularly across the edges of empire),³² and his art linked the places he visited into systems of knowledge production and circulation at a time that Lissa Roberts has termed a “key moment in the development of global scientific, commercial and political systems”.³³ In a time where the European world was being flooded with new images, which often proved textual descriptions of the world to have been radically incorrect, the images of travelling artists “provide[d] visual testimony to the truthfulness of the scene: the artist as reliable witness, rather than creator of imaginary worlds.”³⁴ These processes also led to an increase in the production and sales of travel narratives and engravings of foreign scenes that were often designed to stir romantic sensibilities during the Regency and early Victorian years.³⁵ The popularity of these texts (and the images they contained) during this period can be seen by the fact that books of travel comprised a genre second only to novels in popularity, while the major periodicals of the day carried regular reviews of these texts.³⁶

However, what these artists saw and chose to capture needed to be reconciled with existing aesthetic conventions as their images were made for cultural consumption.³⁷ The images such artists

²⁹ Claudio Greppi, “On the Spot”, at page 23. See also Luciana Martins and Felix Driver, ‘John Septimus Roe and the art of navigation, c. 1815–30’ in Timothy Barringer, Geoff Quilley and Douglas Fordham (eds.), *Art and the British empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), at page 54.

³⁰ See Leonard Bell, ‘To see or not to see’, at page 118 and Paul Moon, Augustus Earle in New Zealand: An Early Colonial Artistic Perspective’ in *Te Kaharoa*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2010), at page 40.

³¹ See Leonard Bell’s various analyses on Earle’s New Zealand artwork, Sarah Thomas, ‘The Artist Travels’, at page 75.

³² Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts (eds.), *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture* (Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), at page 1.

³³ See Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj and James Delbourgo (eds.), *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2009).

³⁴ Sarah Thomas, ‘The Wanderer, the Slave and the Aboriginal’, at page 331.

³⁵ Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), at page 180.

³⁶ John Tallmadge, ‘From Chronicle to Quest’, at pages 328–329.

³⁷ Luciana Martins, ‘The art of tropical travel, 1768–1830’, at page 81.

produced were therefore “a constant negotiation between the actual and the ideal” as they tried to reconcile the landscapes they were faced with and the demands of the metropolitan audience by developing an appropriate visual grammar.³⁸ In this sense, Earle’s paintings of Tristan da Cunha and the other places he visited, in addition to the other sketches, charts, maps, diaries and letters made by those who visited the island formed the outline of an imaginative geography of travel across the British Empire.³⁹ While the imaginative geographies of travel developed by itinerant artists allowed the metropole to understand and imagine the new worlds that were being opened up to European eyes, these images shaped not only peoples understanding of the world, but also the identities of those captured in them. As Steve Hoelscher states, these imaginative geographies “blur distinctions between the ‘real’ world and the ‘fictional’ world. That is, they are real not because [they] accurately depict the world but rather because they have reflected and reinforced people’s imagination of the world in tangible and concrete ways”.⁴⁰

Stephen Daniels has shown how landscape art in the metropole created a powerful visual identity of the nation and suggests that it was through the symbolic activation of time and space that a connection could be made between the imaginative geography of landscape and the imagined community of the nation.⁴¹ Earle’s images of New South Wales (and the reproduction of his images of the Australian colonies and New Zealand in panoramas based on Earle’s work) helped to maintain links to the metropole while also helping to shape and create histories and iconographies for both New Zealand,⁴² and Australia,⁴³ and recasting the identities of those who resided there.⁴⁴ This goes

³⁸ Ibid., at page 86.

³⁹ Luciana Martins and Felix Driver’s numerous articles relating to Rio de Janeiro has shown in a detailed fashion how this process of picturesque appropriation and the development of an imaginative geography of tropical travel was developed.

⁴⁰ Steve Hoelscher, ‘Imaginative Geographies’ in Barney Wharf (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (London: Sage Publications, 2006), at page 244.

⁴¹ Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993).

⁴² Earle’s creation of imaginative geographies of New Zealand and the tensions that exist in his depictions of New Zealand Maori’s has been analysed extensively by Leonard Bell, see in particular Leonard Bell’s, ‘To see or not to see’; ‘Augustus Earle’s *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi*’ and *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840-1914* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1992). See also Hamish Keith, ‘Augustus Earle in New Zealand’, pp. 88–91.

⁴³ By using European norms of visibility, Earle’s artwork linked the colony of New South Wales to the metropole while also linking distant parts of the colony to Sydney. This can be seen by the lament of a contributor to *The Monitor* regarding the inability to establish a ‘journey of discovery’ inland during Earle’s time there as a lost chance to advance geographical knowledge of the interior through Earle’s sketches. Earle’s sketches, the contributor felt, would provide a just representation of the new lands seen rather than the ‘miserable sketches of travellers’ in other expeditions that were ‘inadequate to a just representation’. See *The Monitor*, Thursday 25 October 1827, at page 8.

⁴⁴ The use of Earle’s artwork to develop particular identities for different members of colonial society and the creation of an iconography of the noble frontiersman and ‘the bush’ in Australian identity can be seen in Bernard Smith’s analysis of Earle’s *A Bivouac of Travellers in Australia, in a Cabbage-tree Forest, Day Break* in

some way towards explaining the rush to claim Earle as ‘national artist’ in these colonies during a time of flux in their identities at the end of the colonial era. In much the same way as Earle’s artwork and texts created imaginative geographies of New Zealand and Australia that helped link these colonies to the metropole, his work on Tristan da Cunha would have a similar impact on that island and its inhabitants.

3.2) Creating an imaginative geography of Tristan da Cunha

Martins and Driver (building on the work of Leonard Bell and Nicholas Thomas) have argued that visual images “should be conceived not so much as “projections or snapshots – petrified proofs of a way of seeing – but as tools of knowledge, crafted at particular moments, in particular places and in particular ways”.⁴⁵ The utility of such an approach can be clearly seen in the work of Augustus Earle. Although only a small portion of his work was displayed during his lifetime, by tracing the images that were displayed, we can see how his artwork relating to Tristan da Cunha was changed in particular moments in particular ways by either himself and/or the publisher, editors, lithographers, and engravers who reproduced his texts and artwork.⁴⁶ The lithograph of William Glass that appeared in the Tristan portion of Earle’s *Narrative* would play an important role in building an iconography for the island and establishing the identity of its inhabitants, but was itself a composite image.

The first iteration of this image seems to have been two watercolours displayed in the gallery that Earle established during his time in Sydney. The first was titled *Government House at Tristan D’Acunha* (of which no copy exists today), which a reviewer, ‘A.B’, described as follows:

This was the common name for the hut in which Glass, the seal fisher, resided with his family. The picture is neat and tasteful, but is more valuable on account of the scenery of this solitary island than as the residence of a Governor.⁴⁷

Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, at page 266. See also Susan Lawrence, ‘At home in the bush: material culture and Australian nationalism’ in Susan Lawrence (ed.), *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of identity in Great Britain and its colonies 1600–1945* (London: Routledge, 2003), at page 212.

⁴⁵ Luciana Martins and Felix Driver, ‘John Septimus Roe’, at pages 64–65.

⁴⁶ Examples of such changes can also be seen in Earle’s art relating to New Zealand. Nicholas Thomas and Leonard Bell both show how there is no direct relation between text and image in the New Zealand section of Earle’s *Narrative*, while Bell has gone on to show how various iterations of Earle’s art saw the artists vision diluted as the image was changed to suit the demands of the metropolitan audiences these new iterations targeted. This resulted in images that provided a very different tale to that of the original image on which they were based. See Leonard Bell, ‘Augustus Earle’s *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi*’ and Nicholas Thomas, ‘Tabooed Ground’, at page 156.

⁴⁷ A.B., ‘On the State of the Fine Arts in New South Wales’ in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Thursday, 30 July 1829.

At the very least, it seems, Glass and the two children were absent from this image. The second image was *Governor Glass and Associates at Dinner in Government-house, Tristan D'Acunha* (Figure 3.2), which provided a representation of the adult inhabitants of the island in 1824.⁴⁸ The ability of a contained image such as this (contained in the sense that it incorporated only the interior of a rural cottage and did not include any aspects of the island that signalled alterity) to create a sense of similarity between Tristan da Cunha, the metropole, and the other colonies of the empire is clearly shown by A.B.'s review of the image. According to 'A.B.' the painting was:

valuable for exhibiting exact portraits of the personages, and amongst others of Mr. Earle, the painter. It is true to nature. [The interior of the cottage] is quite English in its character and accompaniments [...] The subject is interesting, as an exhibition of manners in a rude solitary state of existence, where the prospect of gain induces the hardy Briton to undergo every danger.⁴⁹

'A.B.'s' belief that *Governor Glass and companions at Tristan De Acunha* captured an image of the 'hardy Briton' who undergoes every danger where there is the prospect of gain is clearly meant as a compliment and was no doubt an attempt on the part of the reviewer to suggest that all those who left the metropole in search of the prospect of gain remained Britons. The reviewer urged for more artists to be sent to the colonies as he felt that the images produced by Earle of the peripheries of empire emphasised the 'Englishness of these colonies and their display in the metropole would bind them more closely together to the social body of the metropole.'⁵⁰

⁴⁸ It is listed in Earle's Sydney Gallery as *Governor Glass & his Companions, Tristan D'Acunha*, though it is clear from the reviewer's description of the watercolour that he was referring to the same image.

⁴⁹ A.B., 'On the State of the Fine Arts in New South Wales' in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Thursday, 30 July 1829.

⁵⁰ Views such as this were not unique to 'A.B.', as Crowley points out that the viewing of imperial spaces in the media of fine arts "helped both colonists and metropolitans to maintain their identity and self-respect as civilized and civilizing Britons". See John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes*, at page 2.



National Library of Australia

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Figure 3.2: Augustus Earle, *Governor Glass and companions at Tristan De Acunha*.⁵¹

⁵¹ Watercolour, 17.4 x 26 cm, Rex Nan Kivell Collection; NK 12/6, Australian National Library.



National Library of Australia

nla.pic-an2818132-v

Figure 3.3: Augustus Earle, *Government house, Tristan De Cunha*.⁵²

⁵² Watercolour, 17.5 x 26.1 cm, Rex Nan Kivell Collection; NK 12/2, Australian National Library.

Of course, it is unclear how the reviewer could have known whether the painting of Glass and his companions were ‘exact portraits of the personages’ unless he assumed that if the image of Earle himself was true to nature, then the images of the others represented would also be ‘true to nature’. This shows how Earle’s insertion of himself into the image played a part in strengthening his credibility as a witness to the scene depicted. Earle added further explanatory details on the reverse of the image where he marked out which of the men in the painting was Glass (the man lighting his pipe). This suggests an intention to use the image as a template for any future paintings in which he may have wished to incorporate Glass and it is possible that this is the template he used for the image of Glass in *Government house, Tristan De Acunha* (Figure 3.3), the image from which the lithograph in his *Narrative* was built.

However, Bell has shown that Earle was not averse to using particular ‘types’ to represent particular personages in his artwork. In his analysis of Earle’s *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi, Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 1827* Bell persuasively argues that the figure of Hongi himself was not based on Hongi’s likeness, leading him to conclude that:

we the viewers of the painting, accept the figure as Hongi because the artist has deemed him to be so, because the figure has been so labelled by the artist. The pictorial Hongi, however, was an invention of Earle’s – made for the occasion of the painting and the purposes to which it was going to be put.⁵³

Sarah Thomas’s analysis of Earle’s images of seamen yields similar conclusions and she suggests that “Earle’s subjects were not designed to be recognizable as individuals despite the artist’s close attention to character, but rather, [as] exemplars of type”.⁵⁴ There is nothing to suggest that Earle’s images of Tristan da Cunha were any different.

Earle (and/or his publisher/lithographer) had a variety of images that they could have chosen to use as a companion his Tristan da Cunha Journal. While we cannot be sure when each of Earle’s watercolours relating to Tristan da Cunha were painted,⁵⁵ a review of paintings present in his Sydney Gallery in 1829 show that by this point at least six were completed.⁵⁶ *Solitude, watching the horizon set, in the hopes of seeing a vessel, Tristan de Acunha in the South Atlantic* would have better

⁵³ Leonard Bell, ‘Augustus Earle’s *The Meeting of the Artist and the Wounded Chief Hongi*’, at pages 246–247.

⁵⁴ Sarah Thomas, ‘The Artist Travels’, at page 71.

⁵⁵ The different spellings Earle uses for ‘Tristan da Cunha’ suggests that his paintings were not all made at the same time.

⁵⁶ The six images in question are: *Government House at Tristan D’Acunha; Governor Glass and Associates at Dinner in Government-house, Tristan D’Acunha; Killing Penguins; Killing Sea Elephants; Solitude; and Views of Survey in Tristan D’Acunha*. See A.B., ‘On the State of the Fine Arts in New South Wales’ in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Thursday, 30 July 1829.

captured the natural landscape of Tristan da Cunha and closely shadows the isolation Earle felt by the end of his stay while also drawing on the popular iconography of solitude and the castaway.⁵⁷ Another image that could easily have been used was *View on the Summit at Tristan De Acunha* or *Tristan De Acunha*,⁵⁸ which was described by 'A.B.' as being "of the most romantic character",⁵⁹ and would have closely aligned with Earle's descriptions of the sublimity of the mountain he experienced upon scaling its peak.⁶⁰ This view of the mountain sublime would have tapped more deeply the Romantic sublime that had become so popular in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁶¹

Considering the fact that these images would have catered to a metropolitan desire for images that displayed the exotic and sublime and emphasised Earle's status as a Robinson Crusoe, it is perhaps a surprise that the only companion image for Earle's Tristan da Cunha Journal was a picturesque one that stressed the rural idyllic rather than the sublime. Seeing as there was no lack of images to choose from, one has to conclude that this was a conscious decision on the part of Earle and/or his publisher. This image deliberately constructed a very particular metropolitan imaginative geography of the island and settlement in very particular ways that are worth further analysis.

3.3) Hardy Briton's inhabiting a rural idyll

It is indicative of the effectiveness of Earle's insertion of himself into his images as a form of proving their 'truth' that his work has often been treated as if it were documentary and offered a 'true'

⁵⁷ Hackforth-Jones suggests that this image captures Earle's "desolation and frustration"; however, I would suggest that the image captures a sense of 'waiting' rather than desolation. The theme of 'waiting' was itself common in various forms in early nineteenth century art and could take on a variety of registers though it seems to be an under-researched topic in the field given the ways in which Ghassan Hage's edited volume on the theme of waiting (which focuses on the twentieth century) has opened up interesting new avenues of research. See Ghassan Hage (ed.), *Waiting* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2009).

⁵⁸ This was in all likelihood one of the images (or perhaps a composite of similar images) that was reviewed by 'A.B.' under the title *Views of Survey in Tristan D'Acunha*.

⁵⁹ A.B., 'On the State of the Fine Arts in New South Wales' in *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, Thursday, 30 July 1829. The image is itself also likely a composite as the topography of Tristan da Cunha makes it unlikely that such a view was possible (something that is indicated in the description of the summit in his narrative).

⁶⁰ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of A Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand in 1827; Together With A Journal of a Residence in Tristan D'Acunha, an Island Situated Between South America and the Cape of Good Hope* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1832), at pages 325–327.

⁶¹ See, for example, the way in which the views of mountains such as that on Tristan da Cunha had shifted from the unsympathetic descriptions that prevailed in the eighteenth century to the praise of mountain splendour in the early nineteenth century, a shift that can also be seen in the changing perceptions of Tristan da Cunha described in Chapter Two. See Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1974), at page 72. For more on the representations of mountains and the intellectual shifts in these representations see Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (New York: Norton, 1963).

description of the landscape and peoples he painted. Earle made changes to each iteration of *Government house, Tristan De Acunha* and kept aspects that appealed to his audience and stressed the Englishness of the inhabitants and their residence rather than aspects that signalled the potential alterity of Tristan da Cunha's landscape. The final iteration of the image was the lithograph *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D'Acunha* that appeared in his *Narrative* produced by the lithographer J. Stewart.⁶²

Bernard Smith suggests that when lithographs and engravings were made, the images produced were altered "still further in the direction of European pre-conceptions", with the anthropological and ethnographic intentions of the artists often being diverted in order to fulfil the tastes and demands of the consumers in the metropole.⁶³ What is striking about the lithograph *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D'Acunha* (Figure 3.1) is not only the choice of this particular image for the publication, but also the fact that only minor (but important) changes were made in the lithograph from the source image (*Government house, Tristan De Acunha*, Figure 3.3).⁶⁴ The wooden tub on the right of the cottage as well as the dog in the bottom left foreground (most likely Jemmy, Earle's dog that often acted as a stand-in for Earle in his images) were removed, the result being that Glass and the cottage that frames him became the sole focus of the viewer. Changes such as these made in lithographic reproductions of original paintings have led Sandra Klopper to suggest that lithographs "are thus more a reliable record of the aesthetic concerns, cultural assumptions and imperialist aspirations of [the artist/lithographer's] own society than they are a document of the people they purport to depict".⁶⁵ In this case, we are left with an image that is a collection of typologies. We have the tamed landscape and symbols of the rural idyll, we have the cottage which acts as a symbol of the English rural household, while Glass himself seems more than likely to have been a 'type' rather than a recognisable likeness of the man himself.

⁶² This in all likelihood was James Stewart (1791–1863). For more on his career, see: *The Edinburgh Annual Register for 1816*, Vol. 9, Parts I and II (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1820), at page 480; Freeman Marius O'Donoghue, 'James Stewart' in *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1885–1900, Vol. 54; and Susan Sheets-Pyenson, 'War and Peace in Natural History Publishing: The Naturalist's Library, 1833–1843' in *Isis*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (Mar., 1981), pp. 50–72.

⁶³ Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, at page 113.

⁶⁴ Lithographs often produced images of varying quality, while lithographers themselves sometimes made changes to the images that were reproduced in print. These changes were sometimes so great that it could be argued that the print produced was actually as much an original work of the lithographer as it was the work of the artist on whose painting the print was based. As a result of this lithographs have been separated into the categories of 'reproductive prints', which refers to the reproduction of an existing work, and 'non-reproductive prints' that consisted of the lithographers own original work. Often, however, lithographs straddled these two categories, as was the case with the lithograph of William Glass in Earle's *Narrative*. For further details on the lithographic process and the history of lithography see Antony Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An introduction to the history and techniques* (London: British Museum Press, [second edition] 1996).

⁶⁵ Sandra Klopper, 'George French Angas' (Re)presentation of the Zulu in *The Kafirs Illustrated* in *South African Journal of Cultural and Art History*, Vol. 3 (1989), pp. 63–73, at page 63.

While Elisabeth Fraser notes how the text and images in travel narratives often worked on different registers and had different functions,⁶⁶ here (unlike in the New Zealand Narrative) the lithograph echoes many of the textual views Earle penned of Tristan da Cunha. Earle continually speaks of his gratitude to and in some ways admiration for William Glass. Glass housed him, clothed and fed him, and Earle's textual treatment of 'Governor Glass' portrays him as the humble coloniser on whose back empire was being built. When we consider what Bronwen Douglas has referred to as the text/image relationship between Earle's *Narrative* and the lithograph, we can see how depictions of Glass in both the text and the image mutually reinforce one another.⁶⁷ The image of the cottage builds on the first description Earle gives when he comes into Falmouth Bay, "we saw several houses under the hill; and upon one of them was hoisted the British flag, a welcome sight to an Englishman!"⁶⁸ Earle then goes on to describe the houses as being "a complete proof of the nationality of an Englishman, and his partiality for a comfortable fire-side".⁶⁹ This is presented in the form of the smoke coming out of the chimney. The Anglicisation of the cottage is significant considering that none of the other aspects of the sublime and wild nature of Tristan da Cunha that is so prominent in many of his other watercolours of the island (none of which seem to have circulated within the metropole) are visible in the image. J.B. Jackson has suggested that in landscape images, "the individual dwelling [acts] as the primary landscape element and the prototype of the larger world in a culture".⁷⁰ So here, the Anglicised rural cottage represents a link to the metropolitan culture and suggests that Glass had successfully tamed the land to turn it into a rural 'farm'.

The presence of the fence also carried ideological weight. Casid has highlighted the importance of landscaping and the idea of the husbandry of nature in order to transplant the metropole onto other spaces, thus integrating them into imperial imaginaries as agrarianism was the dominant discourse of the 'Second British Empire'. She suggests in her analysis of the imagery present in the frontispiece of Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* that although the image does not contain signifiers of husbandry and the fence (what she refers to as "that sign of

⁶⁶ Elisabeth A. Fraser, 'Books, prints, and travel: Reading in the gaps of the orientalist archive' in *Art History*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2008), pp. 342–367, at page 350.

⁶⁷ Bronwen Douglas, 'Art as Ethno-historical Text: Science, Representation and Indigenous Presence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Oceanic Voyage Literature' in Nicholas Thomas and Diane Losche (eds.), *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), at page 91.

⁶⁸ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 290.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, at page 322.

⁷⁰ See Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), at page 35 and Dana Arnold (ed.), *Cultural identities and the aesthetics of Britishness*, edited by Dana Arnold (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2004).

European landscaping as enclosure”) does not enclose or protect anything of value in the image, it in fact serves the ideological function of staking out European space and as a signpost of domestication thus showing how the land had visibly passed into a European framework and that alien terrain had been assimilated into European aesthetic categories.⁷¹ Earle’s husbanding of nature is reflected by the presence of that most domesticated of farm animals, the chicken, while the presence of two children in the image suggests reproduction more broadly thus signalling the sustainability of Glass’ settlement in terms of both the agrarian and human reproduction that was never accomplished by Jonathan Lambert. This fact is also highlighted in the text as Earle describes how there were children “in abundance, all healthy and robust, and just one year older than the other”,⁷² developing the trope of a ‘healthy island’ that would be repeated in many of the subsequent texts relating to Tristan da Cunha.

These symbols of the domestication of the terrain and the sustainability of the settlement do not, however, suggest that it was economically productive. In fact, one of the characteristics of the Picturesque was that while it may have presented landscapes that were aesthetically pleasing, these landscapes were not economically productive.⁷³ The rise of the Picturesque itself occurred as a result of increasing land enclosure, post-war depression following Waterloo, and the drastic economic and demographic changes that resulted from the increasingly economically productive orientation of agricultural land and urban industrialisation that led to the erosion of paternalistic relationships with wage-mediated relationships.⁷⁴ So the rustic nature of this image draws on what Deborah Poole has termed “the glorification or aestheticization of the peasant and ‘the land’ at a time when industrial culture threatened both traditional agrarian economies and the nature of artistic production”.⁷⁵ The rural idyll, which was fast disappearing in the industrialising metropole, began to be recast in this period as the countryside came to be seen as an object of consumption rather than as a means of production.⁷⁶ This could explain Earle’s decision not to add any of the agricultural productions of the

⁷¹ See Jill H. Casid, *Sowing Empire*, at pages 95–114.

⁷² Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 297.

⁷³ Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), at page 66.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, at page 75.

⁷⁵ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), at page 186.

⁷⁶ For an engaging and thorough analysis of this shift and of representations of the rural idyll in Britain see Jeremy Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change in England since 1800* (London: I.B. Taurus Publishers, 2002).

island, that he so keenly suggested passing vessels should take advantage of when he first arrived in Hobart, into the image.⁷⁷

Those who consumed the image would no doubt have learnt to ‘read’ images of the rural in a particular way, and they would also be able to closely ‘read’ the individual type portrayed in the lithograph. Earle’s text was produced at a time when the study of physiognomy was becoming increasingly popular in Europe, as can be seen by the flood of popular physiognomic handbooks and texts on phrenology published in Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁸ Although physiognomy and phrenology did not gain a lasting scientific status, they managed to attain a significant level of mass popularisation in the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ This increasing interest in physiognomy was itself a result of the increased urbanisation and geographical mobility of the period as physiognomic discourse provided an interpretive framework for the categorisation of people and allowed them to maintain some sense of control over their changing social and spatial environment and to mediate an unprecedented volume of interactions.⁸⁰ These rapidly changing social and spatial environments also led to the rise of ideologies of the nation state in the nineteenth century and Pearl argues that the use of physiognomy to characterise particular groups was part of a broader Victorian trend that saw people thinking of themselves as part of a larger whole, which in turn saw them creating exclusions of those that did not belong.⁸¹ Thus, for Twine and Pearl, physiognomy helped promote the idea of a generalised national physiognomy and character type that aided in the creation of community and contributed to the creation of consensus.⁸² This consensus, Deborah Poole argues, meant that physiognomy acted as “one of the most important channels through which racial discourse took hold of the European social and aesthetic imagination”.⁸³ Poole goes on to point out that nineteenth-century racial theorists “literally saw (or

⁷⁷ Augustus Earle, ‘Letter to the Editor’ in *Hobart Town and Van Diemen’s Land Advertiser*, Friday 18 February 1825.

⁷⁸ The most influential of these texts was Johann Lavater’s *Essays on Physiognomy*, which was first published in Leipzig in 1774–8 and by 1810 there had been fifty-five editions of the book, with twenty editions in England. See Mary Cowling, *The Artist and Anthropologist: The representation of type and character in Victorian art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), at page 19.

⁷⁹ Richard Twine, ‘Physiognomy, Phrenology and the Temporality of the Body’ in *Body and Society*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2002), pp. 67–88, at page 67.

⁸⁰ See Richard Twine, ‘Physiognomy, Phrenology and the Temporality of the Body’, at page 67 and Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), at page 24.

⁸¹ Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces*, at page 4.

⁸² See Richard Twine, ‘Physiognomy, Phrenology and the Temporality of the Body’, at page 74 and Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces*, at page 6.

⁸³ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race and Modernity*, at page 161.

read) a person's 'racial' identity (and hence history) from a set of visible signs inscribed on the body's surface.⁸⁴

Physiognomy thus also filtered into the world of art and in many ways facilitated the narrative possibilities of paintings as consumers expected paintings to not only communicate the appearance of the individual subject, but also to illuminate their character and their position vis-à-vis and/or within the social body of the metropole. In order to achieve these aims, artists often referred to physiognomic techniques and manuals,⁸⁵ and physiognomic discourse allowed for the creation of a common visual language between the artist and audience.⁸⁶ It is this common language that forms the focus of Mary Cowling's *The Artist and the Anthropologist*, where she argues that physiognomy, along with phrenology, led to the cranium being seen as the prime index of mental capacity and racial identity, and artists and illustrators would have called upon a whole system of physiognomical clues in their images that would allow viewers to recognise 'types' within the image.⁸⁷

Cowling shows how the nose, as the most prominent facial feature, was invested with a great deal of significance and was the foremost feature by which an individual's status was usually determined. The nose had developed particularly strong class connotations, with a snub nose suggesting a man with no sound qualities while a reasonably shaped one (such as Glass' in *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D'Acunha*) "was seen to be at the very least a safeguard against the worst vicissitudes of life".⁸⁸ Glass's lips in the image also seem to be well proportioned and thus avoided the unwanted feature of a predominant lower lip, while his chin lies somewhere between plane and concave, avoiding the connotations of "brutality, coarseness and like qualities" of the convex chin.⁸⁹ While the shape of the body and limbs were considered important (and there seems to be no hint of disproportionate limbs in the depiction of Glass, though this is difficult to tell due to the formless nature of the clothing he is wearing), the most revealing feature after the face in determining the character and social class of a person were the hands.⁹⁰ This is perhaps exemplified by the release, in

⁸⁴ Ibid., at page 164.

⁸⁵ Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces*, at pages 84–85.

⁸⁶ Richard Twine, 'Physiognomy, Phrenology and the Temporality of the Body', at page 72.

⁸⁷ Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, at pages 40 and 365.

⁸⁸ The *Illustrated London News* had the following to say regarding the large-nosed man, "[Even if] he does not always rise in the world, [he] very seldom sinks into the lowest current of society; his nose keeps him always floating above. He is generally, at least, decent, and frequently highly respectable in his character and conduct". See Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist*, at pages 145–149.

⁸⁹ Ibid., at page 297.

⁹⁰ Ibid., at page 337.

1843 (followed by a second edition in 1865), of Richard Beamish's *The Psychonomy of the Hand*.⁹¹ In this text, Beamish suggests that large hands "are indices of physical force" while small hands suggested "higher psychological development".⁹² Earle's representation of Glass's hands, while not portraying them as being abnormally large, does not show them to be small and dainty. This perhaps alludes to the physical force required to work the land and flense elephant seals on Tristan da Cunha.

If one reads the image/text relationship, these physiognomic features closely match up. Earle describes Glass as a man who showed him every kindness and claims that he had "an air of truth and candour [...] probity and honour" and describes him as being a man "of general good character" and "good sense".⁹³ This echoes the description of Glass that he gave upon his arrival in Hobart where he described Glass as "a very respectable and honest man, and has a wife and large family whom he strives to bring up in a religious, orderly manner".⁹⁴ Though, Earle also made it clear in the text that those who formed part of the settlement on Tristan da Cunha were not his social equals. This was echoed in his initial description of the small community on Tristan da Cunha when he first arrived in Hobart when he explained how, although he had five (male) companions on the island, "our situations in life being so widely different, they were but little calculated to alleviate the mortification of my situation [being marooned on Tristan da Cunha]".⁹⁵ Earle also describes the sailor who was left ashore with him (Thomas Gouche) as being "perfectly happy; he finds himself in the society of his equals",⁹⁶ which of course suggests the same wasn't the case for Earle himself.

However, despite clearly differentiating himself from the others on the island in terms of class, Earle makes no suggestion of racial distinctions. While his narrative mentions that Glass's wife was a "Cape creole" and the wife of one of the other inhabitants (Stephen White), was "a half-cast Portuguese from Bombay",⁹⁷ his painting *Governor Glass and companions at Tristan De Acunha* (see

⁹¹ Richard Beamish, *The Psychonomy of the Hand; or, the hand an index of mental development according to MM. D'Arpeintigny and Desbarrolles, with illustrative tracings from living limbs* (London: Frederick Pitman, [second edition] 1865).

⁹² Richard Beamish, *The Psychonomy of the Hand*, at page 20.

⁹³ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at pages 305, 307 and 308.

⁹⁴ Augustus Earle, 'Letter to the Editor' in *Hobart Town and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, Friday 18 February 1825.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 295.

⁹⁷ For more on Stephen and Peggy White, see Alexander M. Greig, *Fate of the Blenden Hall, East Indiaman ... bound to Bombay, with an account of her wreck, and the sufferings and privations endured by the survivors for six months, on the desolate islands of Inaccessible and Tristan d'Acunha* (New York: W.H. Colyer, 1847) and Irene Schaffer, *The Sea Shall Not Have Them: narrative of Stephen and Margaret White, who were shipwrecked*

Figure 3.2) suggests no difference in his portrayal of himself and that of Maria Magdalena Leenders (William Glass's wife) and 'Peggy' White (Stephen White's wife). 'A.B.'s review of the image also makes no mention of the race of the women in the image and instead stresses the 'English character' of the image and those who are in it. Although these women are barely mentioned by Earle in his text, this seems to have more to do with a dismissive attitude towards women rather than because of their race. The lithograph in Earle's *Tristan da Cunha Journal*, and the painting on which it was based, contain no obvious signs of racial type for the two children either.

Of course, bodily features were not the only means of reading race and class in images. Clothing could often be an indicator of these things and in *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D'Acunha*, while Earle's clothing suggests nothing that can portray him as anything other than a member of the rural classes, the Tam o' shanter cap does stand out as marking Glass as a Scotchman. Earle describes Glass as being born in Roxburgh and ties him to the famous 'Waverly novels' by Sir Walter Scott, by suggesting he could never get Earle to reveal whether his aunt, a snuff and tobacco vender, was the same woman described in Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian*.⁹⁸ The Tam o' shanter cap links to Earle's description of a scene within his narrative where Earle asked Glass, who he described as "an experienced tailor, as well as an excellent operative in various other trades", to make him a full dress suit out of a tartan cloak he had.⁹⁹ Earle relates how a few days later Glass told him that:

*I really cannot find in my heart to cut up that bonnie tartan. I have had it out several times, and had the scissors in my hands, but I cannot do it, Sir; it is the first tartan that ever was landed on Tristan d'Acunha, and the first I have seen since I left Scotland; and I really cannot consent to cut it up into pieces [emphasis in original].*¹⁰⁰

That clothing as a sign of class and status was important to Earle can be seen by the fact that the first thing he did when he was finally rescued was to shed the most prominent outward sign of his status

near Tristan da Cunha on the Blenden Hall in 1821, and their arrival in Van Diemen's Land 1832 (Rosetta: Irene Schaffer, 2010).

⁹⁸ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 304. For more on the development of highland culture, see Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 15–42. Scott's picturesque representations of Scotland in his *Waverley* novels played an important role in linking Scotland to the metropole. Sir Walter Scott himself was an important figure in the development of the 'highland culture' and was an active member in the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, and his work contributed to the view that the changes caused by commerce, industry, and urbanisation meant that there was an urgency to retrieve and record these disappearing pasts. See Peter Claus and John Marriott, *History: An introduction to theory, method and practice* (London: Routledge, 2013), at pages 58–59.

⁹⁹ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 350.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, at page 351.

as a castaway, his clothing. Earle describes how he had been forced into wearing clothes put together by Glass, which consisted of “Cossacks” (the front of which consisted of sail cloth and the back of dried goat’s skin, the hair outside), which Earle refers to as his ‘Robinson Crusoe habiliment’, along with ‘odds and ends’ that the others could spare him.¹⁰¹ When he was finally rescued by the *Admiral Cockburn* he states, “[t]hough my personal appearance must have been truly deplorable, no sooner was my sad story made known, than [...] every one opened his chest to accommodate me with clothes of every description, and I was soon completely new rigged”.¹⁰² It is therefore significant that even in terms of dress, Earle becomes the only one who has to shed this layer of identity while Glass manages to actively maintain it and (as can be seen in the tartan episode) actively protect markers of his British identity.

From all of the above, we can see how the lithograph of William Glass acted as a site of ideological intervention as the various iterations of the print that appeared in the Tristan da Cunha portion of Earle’s *Narrative* actively constructed – and with each iteration heightened – the depiction of the small community on Tristan da Cunha as a transposition of a fast disappearing metropolitan rural idyll on to an island in the South Atlantic Ocean. A physiognomical reading of the image also suggests the ways in which Glass (and by extension the settlement he represented) was framed as being a member of the social body of the nation, even though he was portrayed as a lower class member of this body. The success of Earle’s *Narrative* meant that it was this particular view of the settlement on Tristan da Cunha that would become entrenched in the metropolitan geographical imagination and, as will be seen in the chapters that follow, was drawn upon and repeated by others. But whereas the narrative told by the lithograph *Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D’Acunha* created a rural idyll in the South Atlantic populated by hardy Britons, Earle’s *Journal* of his time on Tristan da Cunha did not contain the same narrative unity within the *Narrative* as a whole, and it is the binaries and contradiction within Earle’s *Narrative* that I wish to briefly turn to next.

3.4) Travel into print

Like all travel narratives that were published in the metropole, Earle’s text would have had to go through what Keighren et al have termed ‘travel into print’ as work in the field needed to be turned into manuscript form and then brought together with other paratextual devices for publications.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid., at pages 351 and 356.

¹⁰² Ibid., at page 370.

¹⁰³ Gérard Genette argues that the paratext (things like prefaces, dedications, and other seemingly ‘peripheral’ items) are not just supplements to the text, but are intimately connected to its meanings and effects. See

The first step in the move from travel into print was turning ones field notes into a manuscript and then finding a willing and suitable publisher. Earle's *Narrative* was published by Longman's,¹⁰⁴ an unsurprising choice considering it was a well-established firm for whom travel narratives were an increasingly important sector of their publications. Travel narratives themselves were an important and growing metropolitan market and over the first half of the twentieth century trailed only religion in the British book market.¹⁰⁵ While travel narratives were an important element in the Longman's list of publications, the firm was best known for being intimately involved with the fortunes of 'romanticism' through the publication of a canonical group of British Romantic writers.¹⁰⁶ William St. Clair has argued that the widespread publication and dissemination of Romantic texts by firms such as Longman's played a strong part in inventing imaginary pasts and helped create a pastoral/bucolic myth that saw country life as more authentic than town life.¹⁰⁷ It could perhaps have been the potential for Earle's manuscript to play the dual role of piquing the public's interest through the use of exotic others in the narrative of his time in New Zealand while also playing on the Romantic sensibilities of the pastoral/bucolic that his journal of Tristan da Cunha opened up that made the link between Earle and Longman's a logical one at a time when the British book trade was depressed (in the 1830s not more than one in fifty books published recouped their cost of production).¹⁰⁸

Even at the best of times the manuscript that was sent to the publisher was subject to a regime of regulatory practices. In their study of the publications of travel narratives published by John Murray, Keighren et al suggest how manuscripts were changed in order to pass through filters of technology and taste.¹⁰⁹ We have seen above the ways in which the lithograph that formed part of Earle's Tristan da Cunha Journal went through various iterations that made it more suitable to particular metropolitan tastes, and even though I have not been able to locate any copies of a manuscript or early draft of Earle's *Narrative*, it would be naïve to assume it was not subjected to similar processes as the *Narrative* made the journey from travel to print. This may be particularly true at a time when

Gérard Genette (translated by Jane E. Lewin), *Paratexts: Thresholds of interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁰⁴ Longman's had a range of partners over the years, but for the sake of expediency I will simply refer to the firm as Longman's.

¹⁰⁵ See Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at page 5 and Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and Their Books, 1724–1990: Longevity in Publishing* (London: Oak Knoll Press, 2008), at pages 143–144.

¹⁰⁶ Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans*, at pages 147, 152 and 282.

¹⁰⁷ William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), at pages 424–425. St. Clair goes on to argue that it was only after World War Two, when shifts in the publication industry meant that the margins between reprinting old texts and images (such as the Romantic canon) and investing in new titles was more neutral, that new mentalities were created in the reading public.

¹⁰⁸ Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at page 24.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, at pages 175–208.

the depressed nature of the book trade would have made publishers even more wary of texts that may be unmarketable because they did not align with metropolitan tastes and expectations. The fact that Earle left on the *Beagle* Expedition before the publication of the *Narrative* would also suggest that he may not have had much say in any changes made after his departure or on the final format in which the text appeared.

The depressed nature of the book trade may also account for why the text was so sparsely illustrated considering the multiple paintings made by Earle of his travels, though he may have held some images back as he planned to publish a more ambitious text upon his return from the Expedition.¹¹⁰ Another more likely reason for the scarcity of prints in the *Narrative* was the fact that Earle's text may have been rushed to publication in order to take advantage of his position as artist supernumerary on the *Beagle* Expedition. Its first surveying voyage (1826–30) was well publicised upon its return to England (partly as a result of the suicide of the Captain of the *Beagle* along the Patagonian coast and the arrival of the four Fuegians it carried to England), and before the *Beagle* left on her second surveying voyage a book had already been commissioned of a narrative of the voyage.¹¹¹ Earle's publishers would have likely tried to benefit from the publicity he had received as a part of this Expedition. The fact that the author is listed as 'Augustus Earle, draughtsman to His Majesty's Surveying-Ship 'The Beagle'' certainly suggests that there was an attempt to maximise the publicity generated by the *Beagle* Expedition to drum up interest in Earle's text and upon his *Narrative's* publication, the text was widely reviewed and disseminated across the empire.¹¹² Earle's *Narrative* was published just over a year after his return to England (a quick turnaround time for the period), and the poor quality of the engravings may be explained by the fact that producing engravings required a substantial amount of time and were also expensive. One reviewer suggested "[w]ith the exception of one representing Glass and his government house [which was a cheaper

¹¹⁰ Before his death, Earle seemed to be preparing a more substantial publication, *Voyage Round the World*. This is mentioned in the original manuscript list that accompanied his paintings in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection. See Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist*, at page 45 and Paul Moon, *Augustus Earle in New Zealand* at page 48.

¹¹¹ For more on the arrival of these Fuegians see Nick Hazlewood, *Savage: Survival, Revenge and the Theory of Evolution* (London: Sceptre, 2000).

¹¹² The speed and extent of its dissemination can be seen by the fact that Charles Darwin, who was part of the *Beagle* Expedition and who, before Earle was forced to leave the Expedition through illness had formed a close friendship with him, managed to obtain a copy of the text during the *Beagle's* circumnavigation of the world. For more on the links between Earle and Darwin, see: Mark W. Graham, "'The Enchanter's Wand': Charles Darwin, Foreign Missions, and the Voyages of H.M.S. *Beagle*" in *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (June, 2007), pp. 131–150; Leonard Bell, 'Strange Attractors'; Leonard Bell, 'Not quite Darwin's artist' and Angela Gregory, 'Artist might have influenced Darwin' in *New Zealand Herald*, Saturday 3 May 2008 (accessed at http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10507722 on 22 February 2015).

lithograph, not an engraving]¹¹³ they are executed in a style which must be sufficiently mortifying to an artist-author".¹¹⁴

The use of Earle's position on the *Beagle* Expedition was not just a paratextual device for promotional purposes; it also acted as a truth claim for the text to follow by establishing the position of the author. The title page, argue Keighren et al, also played a key role in orienting the reader as to how the text should be read and served to give a unity to the work through the use of the long title. The long title gathered together the different parts of the book and declared the purpose of the narrative and therefore created a certain expectation among readers by giving a sense not just of the genre of the work. Earle's title, 'A Narrative', pointed towards a general and descriptive text rather than a personal or anecdotal one (usually signalled by titles such as 'A Personal Narrative', or 'Letters') or the more explicitly objective account (signalled by titles such as 'History of').¹¹⁵

However, the title of the text immediately hinted at the potential lack of narrative cohesion in the *Narrative*. Rather than the text consisting of the tale of a whole voyage that began and ended in the metropole, as was the norm, it was made up of two separate events: firstly, his travels in New Zealand, and secondly his marooning on Tristan da Cunha. These events that occurred three years apart, had little thematic unity and no chronological logic (seeing as he was marooned on Tristan da Cunha first and stayed in New South Wales before travelling to New Zealand) despite the title's use of 'together' suggesting this would be the case. This view was contradicted within the text itself. The abrupt ending of his New Zealand narrative being followed by a page consisting solely of the title 'Narrative of a Residence on the Island of Tristan d'Acunha, in the South Atlantic Ocean' followed by a blank page and then the repetition of this title before the journal begins. The switch from the 'Journal' advertised in the title to 'Narrative' itself suggests two separate tales with little to link the two together other than being penned by the same author and being bound within the same book.

That the readers saw it as two separate texts can be seen from the reviews it received. Some reviews praised the text,¹¹⁶ with the *Monthly Review* describing it as "one of the most extraordinary

¹¹³ In general, however, lithographs were a cheaper but generally aesthetically less pleasing reproductive process.

¹¹⁴ *The Quarterly Review*, Volume XLVIII, October and December, 1832 (London: John Murray, 1832), at page 165.

¹¹⁵ Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at pages 140–142.

¹¹⁶ See, for example: *The Athenæum: Journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts*, London, Saturday 16 June 1832, pp. 379–381; *The National Standard, and Journal of Literature, Science, Music, Theatricals, and the Fine Arts*, No. 16, Saturday, 20 April 1833, pp. 243–245; 'Earle's Wanderings in the South Sea' in *The Monthly Review*, from May to August inclusive, Vol. II, 1832 (London: G. Henderson, 1832), pp.

narratives of personal adventure which have fallen within our observation for some time".¹¹⁷ Others, however, did not take kindly to Earle's representations of New Zealand missionaries and the reviews were far more negative.¹¹⁸ Yet the negative reviews were consistently more complimentary when it came to "this little colony of his [Earle's] countrymen" described in the *Tristan da Cunha Journal*.¹¹⁹ This suggests how the journal of his time on the island struck a particular chord in the metropolitan imagination that cut across the reading publics of each of the periodicals that reviewed it. This view of the two being separable texts is perhaps best shown by the fact that the *Tristan da Cunha Journal* was dropped completely from the 1909 edition of Earle's *Narrative*, at a time when Earle's depiction of Tristan da Cunha as a rural idyll was being rapidly eroded by the narratives of the *Challenger Expedition* and the resident missionary who was posted on the island at the time (on which more will be said in Chapters Four and Five).

Eric McCormick, in his 1966 edition of Earle's *Narrative* suggested that the *Tristan da Cunha Journal* was merely "a makeweight". I wish to suggest, however, that Earle and/or Longman were attempting to not only maximise the potential interest in his text by providing information on two remote and undescribed (at least in metropolitan Britain) areas of the world, they deliberately chose not to publish anything relating to his other travels as these two texts formed a useful binary. While Earle's 'ultima Thule of the south' (as the *Quarterly Review* put it) certainly did display the limit of travel and discovery by artists, it also actively constructed New Zealand and Tristan da Cunha as opposites.¹²⁰ Two islands almost exactly on opposite sides of the world, the one narrative focused on depictions of alterity that catered to the metropolitan taste for the exotic and critiqued European presence there (of which the missionaries were a symbol), while the other depicted a rural idyllic. This binary of idyllic versus alterity was highlighted by the images chosen to accompany the New Zealand Narrative and the *Tristan da Cunha Journal*. While the lithograph of 'Governor Glass' stressed similarity and a rural idyllic, those in the New Zealand Narrative catered to the widespread taste for the exotic with the frontispiece containing an engraving, *Aranghie. The Tattooer of New*

364–379; and *The Westminster Review*, Vol. 17, Jul.-Oct. (London: Robert Heward, 1832), at pp. 311–334, whose review of the text was reprinted across the Atlantic in New York.

¹¹⁷ 'Earle's Wanderings in the South Sea' in *The Monthly Review*, from May to August inclusive, Vol. II, 1832 (London: G. Henderson, 1832), pp. 364–379, at page 364.

¹¹⁸ For some of the negative reviews of Earle's text see: *The Quarterly Review*, Volume XLVIII, October and December, 1832 (London: John Murray, 1832), pp. 132–165; *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal for July 1832, ... January 1833*, Volume LVI (Edinburgh: Adam Black), pp. 333–349 and the publication of a forty-eight page pamphlet of *The Protestant Journal*'s scathing review of the text, *Review of Earle's "Narrative of a residence in New Zealand, in 1827"* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1833).

¹¹⁹ *The Quarterly Review*, Volume XLVIII, October and December, 1832 (London: John Murray, 1832), pp. 132–165, at pages 156–57.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, at pages 132–33.

Zealand, which consisted of the image of a Maori male with a Moko, something already seen in Europe as a sign of the exteriorisation of an inner deviancy.¹²¹

The representation of typecasts in the text – the savage Maori as opposed to the Englishman of good character on Tristan da Cunha – was repeated in the descriptions of each given within the text. This was part of what Keighren et al have described as an attempt to produce visual ethnographic catalogues of the different cultures and peoples encountered, thus creating a hierarchy with the white migrant Britons clearly placed above the New Zealand Maori.¹²² New Zealand was portrayed as a land of noble savages and cannibals, while Tristan da Cunha was depicted as a Romantic rural idyll containing a British community that was transposed onto the South Atlantic and provided a mirror of what the metropolitan society expected from their fellow countrymen in the colonies. The narrative of New Zealand on the other hand is, in many ways, an attempt by Earle to capture a people and culture that were fast disappearing in the face of the missionary assault and the virgin soil epidemics and war that followed in their wake. Meanwhile, the Tristan da Cunha Journal provides a uninhabited landscape that has been tamed and cultivated by the ‘Englishmen’ that had colonised it, suggesting the Englishman’s ability to thrive and spread across the world, even in its most desolate spots.

Earle’s description of his arrival in Tristan da Cunha was a direct contrast to the one he gave of his arrival in New Zealand. When he arrived in New Zealand, he describes ‘savages’ climbing aboard the ship to trade, later followed by a dance which consisted of furious stamping that led Earle to fear they would stove in the decks and as the dance proceeded each man began to strip himself naked.¹²³ In comparison, upon arriving on Tristan da Cunha, Earle describes how “we saw several houses under the hill; and upon one of them was hoisted the British flag, a welcome sight to an Englishman!”¹²⁴ He describes how “[t]he houses, and all around them, had an air of comfort, cleanliness, and plenty, truly English; and which was highly gratifying to my feelings, from the contrast it formed to those I had lately seen in South America”,¹²⁵ and how the land near the settlement had been tamed and cleared to produce vegetables on what he terms ‘Glass’s farm’. The description of Tristan da Cunha also highlights cultural similarity rather than alterity and quickly

¹²¹ H.L. Malchow, *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), at page 191. This theme of alterity continued in the other engravings. For example, one consisted of a Maori man in the process of being tattooed while another depicted a Maori war dance with bare-breasted women watching in the crowd.

¹²² Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at page 211.

¹²³ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at pages 10–11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, at page 290.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, at page 292.

removes any potential contrasting descriptions between cultures that are rife in his narrative of New Zealand where he highlights Maori strangeness and barbarity at one moment while in the next celebrating them, or attempting to rationalise them.¹²⁶

This binary extended into the realm of motion. Lydia Wevers has noted how travel narratives record movement not stasis, and that they are characterised by their onward motion.¹²⁷ Earle's *Narrative* of his time in New Zealand and his *Tristan da Cunha Journal* both open in mid-motion but this forward motion only continues in his *New Zealand Narrative*. There, the motion is ceaseless, with Earle never at a loss to find new things or people to describe. His *Tristan da Cunha Journal* on the other hand quickly becomes characterised by stasis, which is best signalled by the irregular and at times long jumps between journal entries during Earle's time there. Stephen Pyne has suggested how, in Antarctica, the traditional travelogue soon turns inward as there is no contrast between cultures and no biotic environment to speak of and Earle's *Tristan da Cunha* narrative quickly follows the same path.¹²⁸ The lack of cultural difference in Earle's *Tristan da Cunha Journal* quickly leads Earle's journal entries to turn inwards and they begin to focus more and more on the melancholia he felt due to his isolation on the island. Time in Earle's *Journal* seems to pass in fits and starts with only the odd event or appearance of new biota (such as albatross or penguins) being noted. His *Tristan da Cunha Journal* has progressively fewer narrative stop-off points (marked by journal entries) as he essentially begins to run out of things to describe. Earle's melancholia gets noticeably worse as he begins to run out of paper, thus leaving him deprived of the opportunity to sketch (which was his primary purpose for being on the island to begin with) or to even record his "melancholy thoughts upon".¹²⁹

Earle's *Tristan da Cunha Journal* is not only hampered by a lack of paper and objects/events/people to describe, it also suffers from a lack of narrative destination. Landow has suggested that similar patterns can be seen in other travel narratives. He claims that "[o]nce the goal has disappeared, the journey becomes irksome and even grotesque rather than heroic", and that once a visit becomes a (at least temporary) permanent exile "what had been picturesque, now seems sordid; what had been a condition of adventure, now seems an unending cause of boredom".¹³⁰ This leads Earle's text to suffer from rapid shifts with depictions that highlight the Englishness and comfort of the

¹²⁶ Nicholas Thomas, 'Tabooed Ground', at page 146.

¹²⁷ Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809-1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002), at pages 70–79.

¹²⁸ Stephen Pyne, *The Ice*, at page 92.

¹²⁹ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 349.

¹³⁰ George P. Landow, *Images of Crisis: Literary Iconology, 1750 to the Present* (Boston, London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), at page 51.

settlement on the one hand, to depictions of desolation and the sublime that echo Earle's melancholy. For example, Earle writes:

Our house is (and all are built nearly after the same model) a complete proof of the nationality of an Englishman, and his partiality for a comfortable fire-side. Though the latitude is temperate, each room is furnished with a noble fire-place; and in what we call "The Government House," we meet every night, and sit round a large and cheerful blaze, each telling his story, or adventures, or singing his song; and we manage to pass the time pleasantly enough.

Looking out from my abode, no spot in the world can be more desolate; particularly on a blowing night. The roar of the sea is almost deafening; and the wind rushing furiously down the perpendicular sides of the mountains, which are nearly nine hundred feet high, and are masses of craggy rocks, has the most extraordinary and supernatural effect.¹³¹

These two paragraphs, which immediately follow one another, could be a description of two completely different places, the one a rural idyll, the other a site of the Romantic Sublime. The same narrative stop-off point needed to fragment in order for Earle to both describe what he sees and what he feels, as well as to make the most of one of the few narrative stop-off points available to him in the second half of the *Tristan da Cunha Journal*. Yet this almost schizophrenic description of a view of and from the same house, seemingly at the same point in time, is suggestive of Earle's mental state as a result of his stasis – of his inability to leave the house he finds himself in.

Earle's oscillations from the rural idyllic to the sublime were partly due to his seeing the world through an itinerant artist's eyes, an artist whose work would need to sell and appeal to the general public in order to survive. While the text relating to New Zealand stressed alterity, that on *Tristan da Cunha* catered to a different market and stressed (at least before the melancholy set in) similarity. But the binary nature of Earle's *Narrative* and the fragmented nature of his *Tristan da Cunha Journal* with its oscillations between depictions of the rural idyllic and melancholic have been, by and large, ignored by all those who have analysed the text in relation to *Tristan da Cunha*. Upon publication its reviewers, instead of focusing on *Tristan da Cunha's* isolation and the eccentric nature of a tiny settlement being set up on the island, instead saw it as an example of the success of the spread of British colonialism and order, of the ability of the hardy civilised Briton's capacity to survive as well as tame and make productive even the most desolate places in the world. This was compared to the

¹³¹ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 322.

descriptions of savagery, cannibalism and supposedly failed missionary interventions that the reviews of the New Zealand narrative focused on.

However, despite the relative stasis and progressive decline in the number of narrative stop-off points in Earle's Tristan da Cunha text, these stop-off points exist nonetheless, and Michel de Certeau (in his analysis of Jules Verne's *Les Grands Voyages et les Grands Voyageurs*) has argued that narrative stop-off points lead to "multiplying descriptions of landscapes and customs. The necessity and urgency of geographic discovery (what Verne calls the 'labor') is suspended by narrative stopovers (designated 'depictions'). History is a combination of 'labor' and 'depictions.'" ¹³² Earle's detailed descriptions of the island, despite its rapid shifts from portraying it as a rural idyllic to an example of the Romantic Sublime, provides a certain semantic intensity to the text (that is heightened by the image of William Glass that accompanies it). If history is, as de Certeau claims, a combination of 'labour' and 'depictions', then Earle's *Narrative*, the first widely disseminated text relating to Tristan da Cunha and the newly founded settlement on it, provided Tristan da Cunha with a history.

These depictions of Tristan da Cunha would soon see the island make an appearance in popular fiction, most notably in Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* (1838). Poe's popular text contained a four page description of the island as the vessel the titular character was travelling aboard stopped at the island to revictual. This description of the island consisted partly of plagiarised information relating to Tristan da Cunha published in sailing directories, while the remainder consisted of an exaggerated portrayal of Earle's depiction of the settlement as a rural idyll. In Poe's narrative, the settlement had not only rapidly expanded in numbers, but had also extended to a smaller settlement being established on neighbouring Inaccessible Island. The settlement itself was described as containing "almost every kind of refreshment which we required" as well as "sheep, hogs, bullocks, rabbits, poultry, goats, fish [and] vegetables [which] were abundant", thus echoing Earle's flattering descriptions of the products of Glass's 'farm'. ¹³³

Thus, in effect, Earle's *Narrative* became the founding text of the island. The images and descriptions of the island contained within it provided a template through which the metropolitan mind

¹³² Michel de Certeau (translated by Brian Massumi), *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, [1986 third printing 1993]), at page 148.

¹³³ Edgar Allan Poe, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym, of Nantucket, North America: Comprising the Details of a Mutiny, Famine, and Shipwreck, During a Voyage to the South Seas; Resulting in Various Extraordinary Adventures and Discoveries in the Eighty-Fourth Parallel of Southern Latitude* (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1838), at pages 166–169.

conceptualised the island and were reproduced repeatedly over the years to come. Over time, they were used to corroborate the textual inquiries of other writers, particularly those that had never actually seen the settlement such as Douglas Gane who, as we shall see in Chapter Six, drew liberally from Earle's Tristan da Cunha Journal in his own depictions of the island as Earle's text made the transition from print back into travel.

3.5) Print into travel

Bell has suggested how travel narratives "catered for the widespread taste for the exotic and the picturesque",¹³⁴ yet for the narrative of his stay on Tristan da Cunha, Earle (and/or his publisher) chose to use the image that displays the least alterity (and was at the very least racially neutral), and suggested a strong attachment between Glass and the metropole. In fact, Glass is often referred to in the literature as an 'Englishman' rather than as a Scot, which suggests that the generalised view of English cottage in the lithograph managed to override Glass's primary identity. This was Earle's only widely disseminated image of Tristan da Cunha and the highlighting of similarities with the metropole rather than any sense of alterity are heightened through the device used in the *Narrative* of portraying Tristan da Cunha as a binary of New Zealand. Through this image and his *Narrative*, Earle managed to represent Tristan da Cunha as a socialised space – in other words his image helped to turn it from a space to a place through his creation of an imaginative geography of Tristan da Cunha for metropolitan consumption. In the process it fixed a popular conception of the island and its inhabitants into the metropolitan imagination against which they would be judged in the future.

In much the same way as Rod Edmond describes Cook becoming 'a myth-image' in the founding of a new national and cultural identity in Australia and New Zealand,¹³⁵ the paintings by Augustus Earle of Tristan da Cunha played a similar role and had had a similar effect judging by their constant reproduction in texts relating to the island. While Earle created a Romantic iconology for Australia by focusing on the outdoor life and exploration of virgin territory, this option was not available in Tristan da Cunha as the island was so small that there was little virgin territory to explore, which in part accounts for the lack of entries in Earle's journal during his time there. The difficulty for Earle was that Tristan da Cunha was an even more recent settlement than Sydney. There were no ruins, no artefacts, and no history. However, as Yi-Fu Tuan has argued, "[t]he cult of the past calls for illusion rather than authenticity".¹³⁶ Earle achieves this in *Government house, Tristan De Acunha*, and

¹³⁴ Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs*, at page 17.

¹³⁵ Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, at page 47.

¹³⁶ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*, at page 195.

Governor Glass and his residence at Tristan D'Acunha the lithograph made from it, by presenting an idyllic rural scene that was rapidly disappearing in England itself. In effect, the lithograph of Tristan da Cunha in Earle's *Narrative* transposed rural England onto the island, thus turning it into an example of what was rapidly becoming England's past while at the same time tying its inhabitants to the social body of the metropole.

However, this image also echoed the stasis of Earle's *Tristan da Cunha Journal*. Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that perspective landscape paintings, through various devices, show time 'flowing through space' by offering paths down which the eye can travel.¹³⁷ The lithograph of Glass, however, does not. It is an image of time captured and made to stand still, an aspect heightened by the lack of perspective offered in the image. There are no paths down which our eyes can travel. We cannot see what lies in front of or behind the cottage, we do not know what frames the cottage, even the smoke from the chimney is cut off, leaving no glimpse of where it is blowing towards or at what point it dissipates. In this way, Earle managed to portray Glass, and therefore also those who were on the island, as a rural peasantry unaffected by the passage of time (mimicking the stasis evident in the *Journal*) and the rise of industry. They became contemporary practitioners of a fast disappearing rural past. Earle gave Tristan da Cunha a history deeper than the mere experience of those who had founded the colony by inserting them into the far longer history of rural Britain. The crofter's cottage was transposed onto the South Atlantic and this became, and remains, the iconic image of Tristan da Cunha.

This stasis, however, would come back to haunt the settlement. The Picturesque itself, Bermingham notes, had a transitional character. Unlike the categories of the beautiful and the sublime, "with time, all things become picturesque, and with more time, picturesque things become 'deformed' [...] the picturesque allowed for, depended on, and was finally undone by time and its changes".¹³⁸ While the iconology of the noble frontiersman and the bush that Earle developed for Australia only remained a worthy ideal because it disappeared with the progress and development of the colony, the stasis on Tristan da Cunha was often not seen as the preservation of the picturesque, but as its deformation due to the perceived lack of development on the island (and possibly even degeneration). This saw them being repositioned vis-à-vis the social body of the metropole, as will be shown in greater detail in Part Two of this thesis.

¹³⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*, at page 124.

¹³⁸ Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, at page 69.

In the period following the release of Earle's *Narrative* until 1856, when William Taylor printed an account of the island during his stay there (on which more will be said below), the only other texts that may have received widespread circulation were those relating to the wreck of the *Blenden Hall*.¹³⁹ This shipwreck occurred before Earle arrived on the island but many accounts of the wreck were published after he had left.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, since Earle's *Narrative* was published in 1832 until 1856 (the publication of Taylor's text), the University of Auckland's 'Early New Zealand Books' repository lists the publication of 124 texts on New Zealand, many of them illustrated travel narratives.¹⁴¹ A further 138 texts dealing with New Zealand were published between 1857 and 1869, when *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea, Captain H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, K.G., in 1867-1868*, which was the next widely disseminated metropolitan text dealing with Tristan da Cunha. Earle's text and image thus became more than a simple repository of geographical knowledge and an unmediated representation of the settlement on Tristan da Cunha, but rather a key site of epistemic construction. In fact, the disappearance and reappearance of Earle's Tristan da Cunha Journal in new editions of the *Narrative* and the use of the lithograph within it is itself indicative of changing representations of Tristan da Cunha over the years.

Claus and Marriott point out that while Romanticism grew out of the Enlightenment, as a phenomenon it also ran counter to it. The Enlightenment, they argue, allowed for the possibility to think that human societies were on a path of perpetual progress, and this confidence formed an

¹³⁹ See, for example: Tristan da Cunha: Account of the Loss of the Ship *Blenden Hall*, on Inaccessible Island; 1821' in *Memoir, Descriptive and Explanatory to Accompany the new chart of the Ethiopic or Southern Atlantic Ocean with the Western Coasts of South America from Cape Horn to Panama* by John Purdy (London: 1822), at pages 221–222; 'Shipwreck of the *Blenden Hall*', *The Asiatic Journal*, August, 1822 at pages 119–126; 'Shipwreck of the *Blendenhall*', *Chambers Edinburgh Journal*, No. 240, Saturday, September 3, 1836, at pages 252–253; Captain Alexander Greig, *Fate of the Blenden Hall, East Indiaman, Bound to Bombay: With an account of her Wreck, and the sufferings and privations endured by the survivors for six months, on the desolate islands of Inaccessible and Tristan da Cunha* (New York: William H. Colyer, 1847); 'The Wreck of the "Blendenhall," at Tristan d'Acunha', *Cape Monthly Magazine*, Wednesday, July 01, 1857, at pages 16–25 and continued in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, Saturday, August 01, 1857, at pages 95–101; Ralph D. Paine, *Lost Ships and Lonely Seas* (New York: The Century Co., 1920), pp. 76–106; J.G. Lockhart, *Blenden Hall: The True Story of a Shipwreck A Casting Away and Life on a Desert Island* (London: Phillip Allan, 1930).

¹⁴⁰ The large majority of these narratives of the wreck of the *Blenden Hall* provided complimentary descriptions of the islanders and the aid they provided in rescuing the survivors of the wreck from Inaccessible Island and providing for and housing them until they were removed from Tristan da Cunha by a passing vessel. The one exception to this was Alexander Greig's *Fate of the Blenden Hall*. Greig, the son of the captain of the *Blenden Hall*, only published his narrative in New York in 1847 and produced a far more negative portrayal of the islanders that both racialised and animalised them. This text does not, however, seem to have widely circulated within metropolitan Britain and I have found no direct reference to it in any of the nineteenth century textual productions relating to Tristan da Cunha, with the possible exception of Jules Verne's work (on which more will be said in Chapter Five). This perhaps suggests the possibility that the American construction of the island may provide a very different narrative arc than the metropolitan British views of the island.

¹⁴¹ See 'Early New Zealand Books', <http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/browse.php> (accessed on the 23 June, 2015).

integral part of the ideals relating to modernity.¹⁴² Romanticism, on the other hand, attempted to “retrieve a world that existed before the voraciousness of industrialisation”.¹⁴³ It is perhaps no surprise then that the first metropolitan British text to actively challenge Earle’s depiction of Tristan da Cunha as a site of the Romantic and a rural idyll was a result of that other child of the Enlightenment and modernity, the Christian mission.¹⁴⁴

Tristan da Cunha came to the notice of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) after a visit to the island in 1848 by Rev. John Wise while en route to Ceylon.¹⁴⁵ In the years between Earle’s visit and that of Wise, the number of settlers on Tristan da Cunha increased as more British seamen arrived as well as women and children from St Helena.¹⁴⁶ These settlers were one small drop in a vast tide of British migration over the course of the nineteenth century,¹⁴⁷ and part of a wider trend in European migration into colonies that were essentially non-European spaces.¹⁴⁸ This ‘global settler revolution’, as Belich puts it, was accompanied and propelled by an ideology that reformed settler colonies from places where

¹⁴² Peter Claus and John Marriott, *History: An introduction to theory, method and practice*, at pages 93–94.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, at page 66.

¹⁴⁴ Brian Stanley, while warning that many of the patterns of Protestant Christian missions also drew on older, pre-Enlightenment traditions, persuasively argues that they appropriated the intellectual legacy of the Enlightenment and became “active apostles of modernity”, and applied Enlightenment understandings of the civilising process to missionary work. Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 2001), at pages 1–8. Though Susan Thorne notes that at least in the early days of the movement tensions between these two views existed. Most mission candidates in the early nineteenth century came from Europe’s lower middle and upper working classes, who were more likely to have anti-industrial and anti-modern sensibilities and often saw foreign missions as a chance to escape the pressures of emergent industrial capitalism by escaping to missions that were often framed as rural idylls. Their operations, however, were financed and controlled by the middle and upper-middle classes who were industrial modernity’s chief agents and beneficiaries, and who had editorial control of much of the mission texts that were published in the metropole. See Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), at page 67.

¹⁴⁵ William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth: Some account of the settlement of Tristan D’Acunha in the South Atlantic Ocean* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1856), at page 51.

¹⁴⁶ These women, as well as many of the new settlers that arrived on Tristan da Cunha were brought by Captain Simon Amm, a regular visitor to the island who was also the same man that marooned Earle on the island. See Robert K. Headland, *Chronological List of Antarctic Expeditions*, at page 131.

¹⁴⁷ In Eric Richards’ long term study of British migration, he suggests that in what he terms ‘the classic age of emigration’ (1815–1930) an estimated 18.7 million people may have emigrated from the British Isles. Bridge and Fedorowich estimate that the number was even higher, 22.6 million Europeans from 1815–1914, dwarfing the estimated 4 million Europeans that had migrated to the New World during the time of the First British Empire. See: Eric Richards, *Britannia’s Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (Hambledon and London: Cambridge University Press, 2004), at page 6; Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, ‘Mapping the British World’ in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003), at page 4; and Robert Grant, *Representations of British Emigration, Colonisation and Settlement: Imagining Empire, 1800-1860* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), at page xi.

¹⁴⁸ Radhika Mohanram suggests that over the course of the long nineteenth century (1820–1914), one fifth of the population of Europe moved to the colonies. See Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2007), at page 151.

‘rebarbarised’ demi-savage Europeans lived to sites where ‘neo-Britains’ were transplanted and where migrants could transfer into societies with familiar cultural values,¹⁴⁹ and into spaces that many felt “provided the opportunity for racial and moral renewal in a pristine and cleansing rural context”.¹⁵⁰ The cultural glue that held this British world together, Bridge and Fedorowich argue, was not only shared institutional values, but also a plethora of networks, ranging from family and community connections to those provided by religious, educational, scientific and professional associations not to mention the circulation of a range of itinerant workers.¹⁵¹

Following Wise’s visit, he was moved by the expanding settlement’s anxiety regarding the educational instruction of their children.¹⁵² Upon arriving in Ceylon, Wise (supported by the Bishop of Colombo) called for educational texts and a teacher who had received Holy Orders to be sent to the island. As a result of this call, an anonymous benefactor provided the funds to send a resident missionary to the island.¹⁵³ Soon after being ordained as a deacon and priest,¹⁵⁴ William Taylor was sent to the island as its first resident missionary and remained there from 1851–57 and a narrative of his time there, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*, was published in 1856 by the SPG.¹⁵⁵

Taylor’s text,¹⁵⁶ although not as negative regarding the condition of the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha as his successors would be provided a far more sobering view of the community than Earle

¹⁴⁹ Lorenzo Veracini, ‘Introduction’, at page 4 and Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, ‘Mapping the British World’ in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World*, at page 3.

¹⁵⁰ For a more detailed analysis of this discourse and the shifts within it over time see Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Carlton-South: Melbourne University Press, 2002).

¹⁵¹ Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, ‘Mapping the British World’, at page 6.

¹⁵² When Wise visited the island, Tristan da Cunha’s population had risen to 102 persons.

¹⁵³ Thorne notes that such donations in the early nineteenth century were not uncommon as the SPG was originally supported by a small circle of wealthy and largely aristocratic sponsors. See Susan Thorne, ‘The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable: Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain’ in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), at page 245.

¹⁵⁴ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1701–1900*, Vol. 2 (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1901), at page 897.

¹⁵⁵ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G*, Vol. 1, at page 322.

¹⁵⁶ Although I refer to it as ‘Taylor’s text’ it is clear that mission texts such as these tally closely with Adriana Carciun’s notion of the aggregate author. Craciun argues that the narratives that were a result of naval scientific voyages and voyages of discovery published by John Murray were in fact the product of a “radically de-individualized aggregate author”. Although the text bore the authorizing name of the captain of the voyage, the final published narrative required the cooperation of numerous agencies and agents in addition to printers, editors, compositors, pressmen etc. In similar ways, while Taylor was listed as the author, it seems unlikely that Taylor would have had the relevant material to write up the early history of the island and it is even more unlikely that he had any editorial control over the text, which was published while he was still stationed there. The hybrid nature of mission texts and the heavy editing they underwent has led Anna Johnston to state that, due to the chain of potential editors, “the relationship between the missionary *ur*-text

had. Taylor seemed convinced of the inherent degenerative tendencies of humans if left to themselves without the Gospel (a view shared by Bishop Gray of Cape Town who visited the island in 1856).¹⁵⁷ The increasing number of visits by whalers led to what he felt was an increase in vice.¹⁵⁸ This, along with Taylor's pessimism regarding the long term viability of the settlement, led him to agitate for the evacuation of the island. In the end, he managed to convince about forty people (roughly half the population at the time) to leave with him in 1857 to the Cape Colony and he was bitterly disappointed that he could not remove them all.¹⁵⁹ This pessimism is captured in the reworked version of the lithograph of William Glass that had appeared in Earle's *Narrative*, which was used as the frontispiece for Taylor's text titled *House of Governor Glass, Tristan D'Acunha* (Figure 3.4).

The degeneration in the quality of this image echoes Taylor's belief that the islanders themselves were degenerating. In Taylor's reproduction of Earle's image, the figure of Glass has shrunk into his clothes and he has even shrunk in relation to the cottage behind him. All signs of successful cultivation, both animal (the chickens) and human (the children) have been removed. Tufts of unkempt plants to the right and in front of the seated figure in the foreground suggest that the 'farm' is now being overrun by nature. The theme of being overrun continues if one looks at the background that is added to the image. An indeterminate grey mass looms over the cottage, waiting to envelope it.¹⁶⁰ Here, we can see Earle's image being revised in Taylor's text, which began to question the wisdom of such a small colony on such a remote island.

and its subsequent manifestations is always uncertain. See Adriana Craciun, 'Oceanic voyages', pp. 170–196 and Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), at pages 32–33.

¹⁵⁷ Robert Gray, *Three Month's Visitation, by the Bishop of Cape Town in the Autumn of 1855: with an account of his voyage to the island of Tristan D'Acunha in March, 1856* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1856).

¹⁵⁸ Taylor referred to increasing cases of drunkenness on the island and his fear that the island would become, as Loudon put it, "if not a brothel, at least a notoriously easy lay for visiting whalers". Taylor also expressed fears regarding the number of men who left the island on these whaling vessels never to return and the gender imbalance this caused. See J. B. Loudon, 'Early Travellers to Tristan da Cunha' in Meyer Fortes and Sheila Patterson (eds.), *Studies in African Social Anthropology* (London: Academic Press, 1975), at page 151 and William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*, at page 38.

¹⁵⁹ These evacuees were resettled in the Cape Colony and Taylor would remain with them in Riversdale from 1856–66 and then Mossel Bay from 1872–89. See C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, Vol. 2, at page 890.

¹⁶⁰ The title has also been subtly changed. What is captured in the image is now a 'house' (defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as "a building for human habitation"), rather than a 'residence', defined by the OED as "the place where a person resides; the dwelling place or home of a person (esp. one of some rank or distinction)". Instead of the title referring to 'Governor Glass and his residence', which suggests domination over other things as well and serves to make Glass the main subject of the image, the title has become 'House of Governor Glass', suggesting that this is all he possesses and shifting the focus of the image away from him and towards the figure in the centre foreground (who may be a stand-in for Taylor himself).

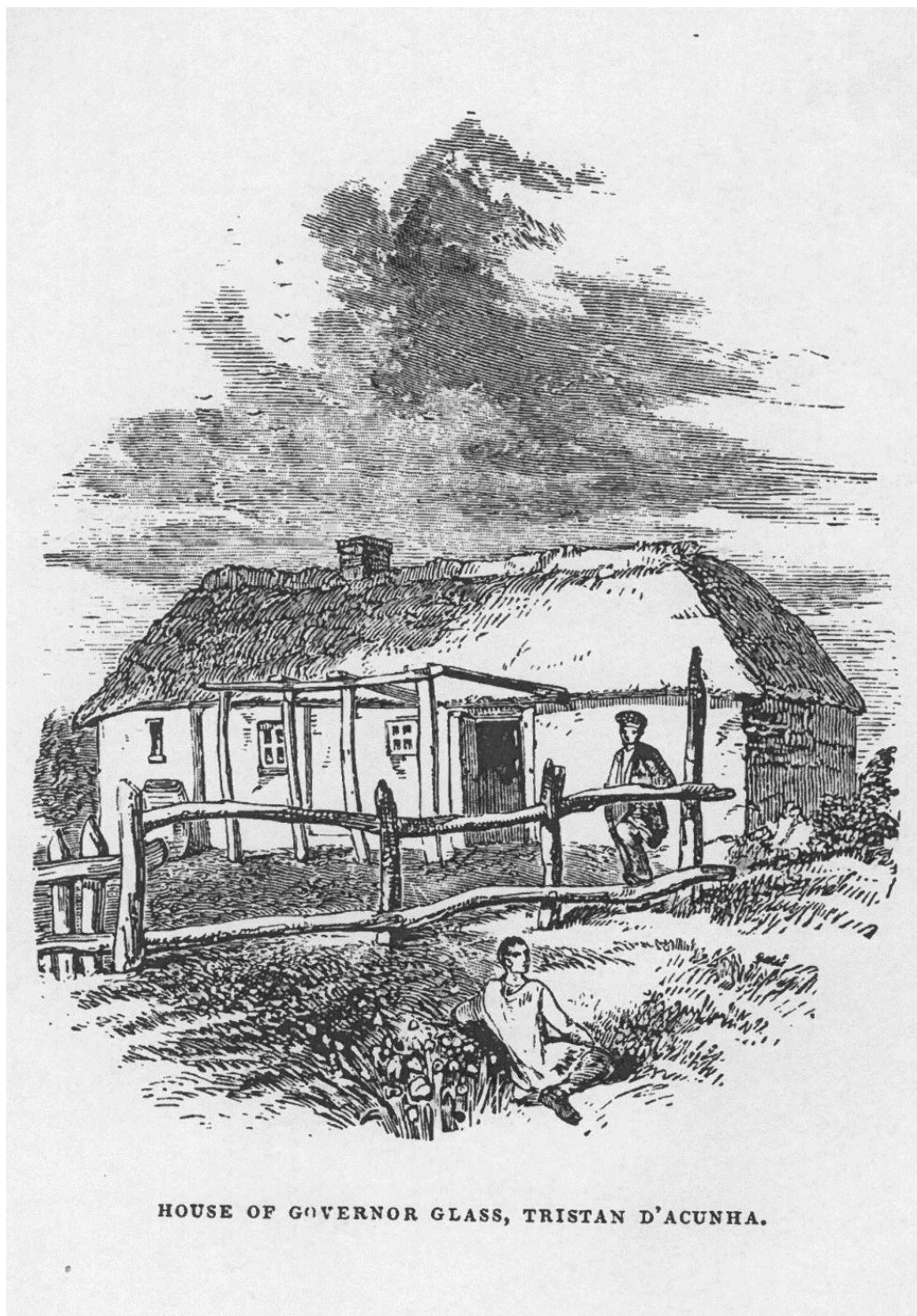


Figure 3.4: *House of Governor Glass, Tristan D'Acunha.*¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*, at page 1.

As will be shown in the chapters that follow, in the years after the publication of Earle's *Narrative* authors looking at Tristan da Cunha often focused on, and uncritically recycled and reproduced Earle's vision of the settlement as a rural idyll. On the other hand, the resident missionaries that were sporadically sent to the island by the SPG over the course of the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century focused on the stasis of the island and developed a very different view of it and its inhabitants and constantly agitated for their removal. While Taylor's attempts to unsettle the island involved a metaphorical unsettling by subverting Earle's image of William Glass, the succeeding texts produced by the resident clergymen of their time on Tristan da Cunha would ignore Earle's *Narrative* and its depiction of Tristan da Cunha altogether.

Earle's text thus created the potential for two contradictory and concurrent depictions of Tristan da Cunha to exist, the one stressing its place as a rural idyll in the South Atlantic, the other stressing its stasis and representing the island as a sign of primitivity and degeneration and it is the divergence between these two strands that are the subject of the next chapter, which analyses the narratives of the H.M.S. *Galatea* (under the command of the Duke of Edinburgh) and that of the H.M.S. *Challenger*.

Chapter Four

From the Romantic to the ethnographic: representations of Tristan da Cunha in the wake of Her Majesty's Ships

In the previous chapter we saw how Earle's *Narrative* was widely read and introduced Tristan da Cunha into the popular British consciousness. The visits of the H.M.S. *Galatea* in 1867 and H.M.S. *Challenger* in 1873, and the narratives of the time they spent on the island, were also published in various newspapers and texts. As a result of these voyages, Tristan da Cunha remained in the metropolitan popular consciousness. These visits also led to increased government interest in the island and the period from 1876 until 1904 saw naval vessels being sent to the island on a regular basis and reports of these visits published in the British Parliamentary Papers under the title *Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan da Cunha*.¹ However, this is not to suggest that these depictions of Tristan da Cunha were consistent over time.

After the initial establishment of the settlement on Tristan da Cunha by William Glass with the active assistance of the British Navy, very little interest was paid to the island by the latter and only two warships visited the settlement between its establishment and 1852.² In the half-century that followed, thirty-five Royal Navy vessels visited Tristan da Cunha, the majority of these visits (twenty-six) occurring after the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* in 1873. Along with the *Challenger*, perhaps the most famous of these visits was that of the H.M.S. *Galatea* in 1867 during its world tour to the colonies under the command of His Royal Highness Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh.

Although these visits to Tristan da Cunha, particularly that of the Duke of Edinburgh, are often cited in the literature relating to the island the context of the visits and how this affected their

¹ While this material has been cited by various authors, it has generally been used with the aim of tracing the demography of Tristan da Cunha (for just one example of this, see D. F. Roberts various articles on the topic). Royle has gone so far as to claim that these sources "[enable] the island's life to be recreated" for the period in question, see Stephen Royle, 'The inside world: Tristan da Cunha in 1875' in *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1997), pp. 16–28, at page 18. As useful as these Parliamentary Papers relating to Tristan da Cunha may be, these authors – as this chapter will show – have often ignored the context of their production, which I would argue tells us far more about the island (and particularly metropolitan views of the island) than their substantive content

² These vessels were the H.M.S. *Forrester* in 1834 and the H.M.S. *Herald* under Henry Mangles Denham. For an annotated list of the naval vessels that visited Tristan da Cunha between 1852–1904, see Ian R. Stone, 'Royal Naval visits to Tristan da Cunha 1852-1904: an annotated list' in *Polar Record*, Vol. 47, No. 241 (2011), pp. 156–164.

representations of the island has remained unexamined. Adriana Craciun has warned that although inscriptions in the field are typically seen as the first step in the emergence of travel accounts, she suggests that the motive behind the travels would affect the experience of travelling and that the significance of travel accounts “does not rest exclusively in the printed record but also in what precedes it”.³ This has also been stressed by Scott Ashley who, in his attempt to explain the various accounts of Cook’s death produced by his crew, urges us to think who the texts were written for and why, a perhaps banal comment but one that his analysis clearly shows is far too often ignored, and an observation that is also true of histories of Tristan da Cunha.⁴

The visit of the H.M.S. *Galatea* on a world tour of the colonies was part of a broader attempt to not only tie an expanding empire together, but also to create a new function, purpose, and justification for monarchy at home and abroad during a period of rapid political change.⁵ The visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* on the other hand formed part of a scientific circumnavigation of the world whose aims were not only to fathom the oceans, but to photograph and catalogue the people encountered on their travels. While the narrative of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* faithfully reproduced of the romantic pastoral that had been created by Augustus Earle thirty-five years earlier, the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* five years later saw a shift in how the island was represented in both metaphorical and physical terms as for the first time photographs of Tristan da Cunha taken during the *Challenger* expedition began to circulate in the metropole.

The changing optic and shifting lens through which the islanders began to be seen inaugurated a rapid increase in the number of naval vessels sent to the island for the express purpose of looking into the conditions of the inhabitants of the island and led to a shift in focus from the island body of Tristan da Cunha to a deeper concern with the island bodies that populated it. This resulted in an increasing divergence between the concurrent yet contradictory depictions of Tristan da Cunha referred to above – that of the rural idyllic and that of the island as a site of stasis and degeneration. Through the two vignettes of the visits of Her Majesty’s Ships *Galatea* and *Challenger* (and the narratives and images produced by their visits) we can trace this divergence and the impact it would have on the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha.

³ Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at page 61.

⁴ Scott Ashley, ‘How Navigators Think: The Death of Captain Cook Revisited’ in *Past and Present*, No. 194 (Feb., 2007), pp. 107–137, at pages 109–110.

⁵ Charles V. Reed, *Royal tourists, colonial subjects and the making of the British world, 1860–1911* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

4.1) In the wake of the *Galatea*

The very act of the H.M.S. *Galatea* stopping at Tristan da Cunha as part of its world tour was significant in and of itself. After the 1832 Reform Act curtailed the monarchy's political role in Britain, the British crown needed to widen its social appeal.⁶ This was, however, easier said than done. During the early years of Queen Victoria's reign (1837–1901) there was a crisis of royal unpopularity due to charges of 'unEnglishness' made against her husband Prince Albert, whose German nationality had been a source of criticism since his arrival in England with the *Sunday Times* labelling him "a new foreign specimen of royalty, with foreign tastes, foreign habits, foreign preferences, and connections" that led to a natural dislike of 'the German Prince'.⁷ There were also rumours that he was a Catholic, which some felt would undermine the Protestantism so integral to the national character.⁸ This unpopularity extended to the heirs to the throne and although the death of Prince Albert in 1861 removed one of the reasons for charges of foreignness to be made against the crown, in many eyes the Royal Family was still seen as German, a view not helped by the marriage of several of Queen Victoria's children to German princes and princesses.⁹

The visit of Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, as commander of the H.M.S. *Galatea* to Tristan da Cunha formed part of a broader strategy to tie an expanding empire together more closely as well as to reposition the role of the Monarchy itself within the metropole.¹⁰ His was one of many Royal Tours undertaken in the second half of the nineteenth century, which were themselves made possible due to improvements in communications technology and increased British naval dominance.¹¹ The movement of Royals during these tours were widely disseminated by Britain's expanding culture of print, and the portrayals of Tristan da Cunha it resulted in, would shape the imagining of Tristan da Cunha in the popular metropolitan consciousness.

⁶ Frank Prochawska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), at page 75.

⁷ Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown: Public discussion of the British Monarchy in the reign of Queen Victoria* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1997), at pages 158–159.

⁸ The extent of the unpopularity of 'the German Prince' is well sketched out by Richard Williams in *The Contentious Crown*, pages 159–166.

⁹ David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820–1977' in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), at page 110 and Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown*, at page 167.

¹⁰ The blending of the royal and imperial occasion was a key feature of the *Galatea* cruise in an attempt to 'rebrand' the monarchy both in the colonies and for domestic audiences in the metropole. A similar argument has recently been made by Gordon Pentland, though he focuses almost exclusively on Prince Alfred's sojourn in Australia. See Gordon Pentland, 'The Indignant Nation'.

¹¹ Charles V. Reed, *Royal tourists*.

The timing of the Duke's round the world voyage was not coincidental, taking place in the same year that the Reform Acts of 1867/8 were passed in Britain. While the first Reform Act of 1832 had enfranchised a select few, the 1867 Act radically changed the electorate and extended the vote to men who were household heads and had been in residence in rented property for a minimum of twelve months (and were therefore not dependent).¹² Although the vote remained an exclusively white male prerogative, this 'manly citizenship' was radically extended with nearly a million new voters being added to the electorate and increased the potential for the destabilisation of the monarchy.¹³ The Reform Acts also made race, gender, property, labour and the purported level of civilisation key determinants in deciding who was included in the political nation and how particular groups belonged to the social body of the metropole.¹⁴

The choice of Prince Alfred being sent on this world tour was also not coincidental. Alfred had joined the navy at the age of fourteen partly in order to separate him from the poor influence of his elder brother and partly to keep him from staying in court in England or Germany, as if he were to 'be made German' it would be difficult for him to succeed to the British throne if required.¹⁵ As part of this process of 'becoming British' Prince Alfred was made the Duke of Edinburgh in 1866 and was soon after given the command of the H.M.S. *Galatea*.¹⁶ That the voyage of the Duke may have been a rapid response to these events is perhaps best shown by the fact that the tour had been set up quickly, and the itinerary of the H.M.S. *Galatea*, even after the decision was made to have the tour, was far from clear.¹⁷ By the end of his life, in terms of distance travelled and places seen, Prince Alfred would rank with the greatest Victorian adventurers.¹⁸

4.1.1) *Carved by the Galatea*

Cannadine has compellingly traced how various forms of pomp and circumstance were used to create a modern monarchy based on the ceremonial, and has suggested that this was difficult to do before the tail-end of the nineteenth century as the prevailing state of transport technology

¹² Catherine Hall, 'The nation within and without' in Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (eds.), *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and The Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), at page 228.

¹³ Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and the Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), at pages 21 and 426.

¹⁴ Catherine Hall, 'The nation within and without', at page 233.

¹⁵ See John van der Kiste, *Alfred: Queen Victoria's Second Son* (Stroud: Fonthill Media, 2013), Chapter Two.

¹⁶ T.A. Heathcote, *The British Admirals of the Fleet, 1734-1995: A Biographical Dictionary* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 2002), at page 10.

¹⁷ Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour, 1867-68* (London: Hale, 1971), at pages 9–10.

¹⁸ Charles V. Reed, *Royal tourists*, at page 15.

“contained monarchy within society rather than elevated it above” as there was “nothing particularly anachronistic, romantic, or splendid about the way in which English royalty travelled”.¹⁹ The H.M.S. *Galatea* was perhaps an exception to this rule. Named for the Greek Goddess, the H.M.S. *Galatea* also carried two small steam-powered launches,²⁰ and rather than being anachronistic, she was “the most modern of Her Majesty’s ships”.²¹ The *Galatea* (seen below in Figure 4.1 with the H.M.S. *Challenger* in the background while they were both in Sydney in 1867) was a screw frigate that could carry 450 men and was launched in 1859 at a cost of £129,991 as part of the build-up of Britain’s navy and was recommissioned for the Duke’s world tour in 1867.²² After her refit, she was one of the fastest and best equipped ships of the time, part of a modernising navy whose adoption of steam would play a vital role in the spread of the British Empire.²³ But, due to its hybrid sail and steam nature, the H.M.S. *Galatea* could also capture the romantic ideal of the sailing vessel upon which British wealth and expansion had in part been built.²⁴ Judging by the accounts written in places visited by the H.M.S. *Galatea* as part of the Duke’s world tour, the vessel was an impressive sight and was the largest warship seen in many of the ports in which she anchored, acting as a powerful example of British naval strength.²⁵ Upon the Duke’s visit to Victoria, John George Knight suggested that “it may be affirmed with safety that no ship of war like the *Galatea*, either British or foreign, has ever visited these waters”.²⁶ Knight described her ‘majestic proportions’, ‘imposing armament’ and ‘extensive array of munitions of war’ (which he went on to describe as ‘unusually formidable’ and ‘nearly altogether new’) and 800 horse-power engine that allowed her to travel at thirteen knots.²⁷

¹⁹ David Cannadine, ‘The Context, Performance’, at page 111. See also John Plunkett, ‘Restoring the Popularity of the Monarchy’ in Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliams (eds.), *The Victorian Studies* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 398–409, at page 398.

²⁰ These were named for the suitors of Galatea, Acis and Polyphemus. See Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour*, at page 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, at page 3.

²² See David Hill, *Australia and the Monarchy* (Sydney: William Heinemann, 2015), at pages 31–32 and Rif Winfield, *British Warships in the Age of Sail, 1817–1863: Design, Construction, Careers and Fates* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2014) and David Lyon and Rif Winfield, *The Sail & Steam Navy List: All the ships of the Royal Navy, 1815–1889* (London: Chatham Publishing, 2004).

²³ Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour*, at page 5.

²⁴ Due to the lack of coaling stations and lack of space aboard vessels to store coal, the hybrid use of both wind and steam was used in order to provide a continuous and reasonably economical journey. For more on the rise of steam propulsion in the Atlantic over the nineteenth century, see James E. Vance, *Capturing the Horizon: The Historical Geography of Transportation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), Chapter Six.

²⁵ Cindy McCreery, ‘Neighbourly Relations: Nineteenth-century Western navies’ interactions in the Asia-Pacific region’ in Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (eds.), *The Routledge History of Western Empires* (London: Routledge, 2014), at page 201.

²⁶ John George Knight, *Narrative of the Voyage of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Colony of Victoria, Australia* (Melbourne: Mason, Firth, 1868), at page 35. The vessel was designed to be capable of great speed (through a combination of a high powered engine and great length) while carrying the heaviest armament, see Norman Friedman, *British Cruisers of the Victorian Era* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2012), at pages 60 and 70.

²⁷ John George Knight, *Narrative*, at page 35.



Figure 4.1: The H.M.S. *Galatea* in Sydney, 1867. In the background is the H.M.S. *Challenger*, at that time the flagship of the Royal Navy's Australia Squadron.²⁸

While Cannadine suggests that the period between the 1820s and Queen Victoria's coronation as Empress of India in 1877 was one of "ineptly managed ritual, performed in what was still preponderantly a localized, provincial, pre-industrial society",²⁹ the act of undertaking a world tour to the colonies in a naval vessel such as the H.M.S. *Galatea* – a shipboard space that was heavily imbued with the performance of ritual that would become such an important aspect of the modern monarchy – perhaps suggests that there is an argument to be made for the *Galatea* voyage being a precursor to the highly staged ritual that would come to define the monarchy in the late nineteenth and twentieth century's. This trans-continental voyage not only showcased the monarchy in the form of the Duke, he was also met with pomp and circumstance wherever he anchored while satisfying settler and merchant demands in various colonies for greater naval protection from the home government.³⁰ McCreery, in a series of articles on the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea*, shows

²⁸ <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/28427> accessed on the 5 March 2015.

²⁹ David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance', at page 108.

³⁰ Cindy McCreery, 'Neighbourly Relations', at page 201.

how it was part of an active program to visibly affirm Britain's commitment to empire and promote the monarchy's reputation as a beneficent ruler in the colonies and at home.³¹ While the voyage was about tying empire together and highlighting the Britishness of those in the settler colonies, much like the rest of his family, the Duke himself needed to 'perform Britishness' and he did so by drawing on the Highland Scots culture, a connection that was further entrenched when Prince Alfred was made the Duke of Edinburgh.³² This connection itself was further affirmed with his visit leading to the settlement on Tristan da Cunha being renamed 'Edinburgh'. The Duke's voyage was thus as much about demonstrating the royal family's Britishness as it was about establishing the Britishness of the places that he visited.³³

The process of tying the empire together through his voyage was also an attempt to reshape the views on the monarchy itself. McCreery has shown how the voyage helped to consolidate 'Britishness' in the Cape Colony and produced a hybrid tradition that, Reed notes, "appealed to both local and imperial narratives of belonging".³⁴ This process of consolidation in Australia was significantly aided by the attempted assassination of the Duke by the Irishman and Fenian sympathiser Henry James O'Farrell at Clontarf beach on 12 March 1868. The response to this act swept republicanism aside in Australia and played a key role in the crown becoming an integrative symbol that allowed various ethnic identities to be subsumed under overarching identities of Australian and British.³⁵ Royal visits such as these, Reed notes, allowed those who were visited "to profess membership in the political and cultural community of empire" as his visits acted as "a symbol of diverse manifestations of imperial identity and citizenship".³⁶ Much like Britishness was consolidated in the process of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* to the Cape Colony and Australia,³⁷ the visit of the *Galatea* to Tristan da Cunha would also consolidate the Britishness of those on Tristan da Cunha and carve out links between them and the metropole.

³¹ Cindy McCreery, 'Telling the Story: HMS Galatea's Voyage to South Africa, 1867' in *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 61, Issue 4 (2009), pp.817–837, at page 819.

³² This connection between the Prince and Scotland continued while aboard the *Galatea* with Scottish dancing, for example, featuring prominently in the entertainments both aboard the vessel and on shore. See Cindy McCreery, 'A British Prince and a Transnational Life: Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Australia, 1867-8 in Desley Deacon, Penny Russel and Angela Woollacott (eds.), *Transnational Ties: Australian Lives in the World* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), pp. 57–74, at page 59.

³³ Cindy McCreery, 'A British Prince and a Transnational Life', at page 61.

³⁴ See Cindy McCreery, 'Telling the Story', pp. 817–837 and Charles V. Reed, *Royal tourists*, at page 14.

³⁵ See: Gordon Pentland, 'The Indignant Nation', at pages 65–67 and 74; Cindy McCreery, 'Rude Interruption: Colonial Manners, Gender and Prince Alfred's Visit to New South Wales, 1868' in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2013), pp. 437–454; and Michael Titlestad and D.J. Culpin, 'Introduction: Interrupted Itineraries' in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2013), pp. 349–354.

³⁶ Charles V. Reed, *Royal tourists*, at pages 14 and 18.

³⁷ Michael Titlestad and Pamila Gupta, 'Introduction: The Story of the Voyage' in *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (2009), pp. 673–679, at page 677.

4.1.2) *Representations of Tristan da Cunha in Milner and Brierly's 'The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea'*

When one considers that the purpose of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* was to tie empire together while simultaneously anglicising the monarchy, it is unsurprising that the section of the narrative of the voyage relating to Tristan da Cunha closely mimicked Earle's depiction of Tristan da Cunha as a rural English idyll populated by hardy Britons. Unsurprisingly, given the widespread coverage of the voyage and its potential importance for both empire and the monarchy, there seems to have always been the intention that the travels and experiences of the Duke on the *Galatea* voyage would be published.³⁸ This was done soon after its return to England in 1869 by the ship's chaplain, Rev. John Milner and the artist aboard the ship Oswald Brierly, though there were suggestions at the time of publication in a military service periodical that a considerable portion of the work was penned by Prince Alfred himself.³⁹ Milner recorded the itinerary and activities undertaken in the official account of the tour and fashioned the text by bringing together accounts from the Journals of various members of the crew as well as from information taken from various colonial newspapers and gazettes.⁴⁰ It was illustrated with images drawn by the official artist on the voyage, Oswald W. Brierly, an itinerant artist who had followed the path blazed by Earle.⁴¹ A freelance painter like Earle, he was involved in Admiralty surveys, and then went on to visit New Zealand, the Friendly and Society Islands, Chile, Peru, Mexico and Brazil before returning to England where he then joined the Duke on the *Galatea*.⁴² Following the return of the *Galatea* to England in

³⁸ John George Knight, *Narrative*, at page 1.

³⁹ The periodical in question was *The Broad Arrow: A Paper for the Services*. See 'Another Royal Author' in *The Natal Witness*, 27 November 1868, at page 3. There is no indication as to why Milner was chosen to write the narrative of the voyage, though it may have been in part due to his position as an alumnus of Queen's College at the University of Oxford and the fact that he had been published previously, namely *The Alcestis of Euripides* (London: 1860) and *The Antigone of Sophocles from the text of William Dindorf* (London: C. Lockwood and Co., 1862).

⁴⁰ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea, Captain H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, K.G., in 1867-1868* (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1869), at pages v–vii.

⁴¹ Brierly had visited and made a sketch of Tristan da Cunha from the sea (*The Yacht 'Wanderer' reefing off Tristan d'Acunha*) in 1842 during a planned (but uncompleted) circumnavigation aboard the yacht *Wanderer* under the command of Benjamin Boyd (who would go on to plan an important role in the development of New South Wales through his whaling interests). See John Newton, *A Savage History: Whaling in the Pacific and Southern Oceans* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2013), at page 147. For further details of Brierly's time in Australia: see H.P. Wellings, *Benjamin Boyd in Australia, 1842–1849* (New South Wales); Marion Diamond, *The Sea Horse and the Wanderer: Ben Boyd in Australia* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 1988); and F.J. Broomfield, 'The Romantic Career of Benjamin Boyd' in *The Sydney Mail*, Wednesday, 24 April 1907. For more on Brierly see I.L. Roget, 'Her Majesty's Marine Painter: Sir Oswald Brierly' in *Art Journal* (May, 1887), pp. 129–134.

⁴² These surveys were of Australia and its adjacent islands. For some further details of his voyages see Henry Keppel, *A visit to the Indian archipelago, in H.M. ship Meander, with portions of the private journal of Sir James*

1868, Brierly's sketches during the voyage were exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, and were used for the lithographs that appeared within the published narrative of the voyage.⁴³

While Brierly's images of Tristan da Cunha stressed the Englishness of the island so did the presence of a map of the track of the H.M.S. *Galatea* as a frontispiece to the narrative of the voyage (see Figure 4.2). Keighren et al point out that maps in travel narratives, particularly those that appear as frontispieces, were meant to be read alongside the text as aids to interpretation, as were the images that illustrated scenes described within the narrative.⁴⁴ Seeing as the purpose of the voyage was to make a tour of the colonies, the track of the H.M.S. *Galatea* and signs of stopovers (highlighted by the breaks in the dates that accompany the track of the vessel) highlight places of empire, while the listing of distances travelled each day suggested not only the distances between each of the different parts of empire, but also the speed with which the vessel travelled and its ability to travel unmolested over the oceanic spaces that connected this empire. This is unlike, for example, the map tracing the path of the H.M.S. *Challenger* in the Atlantic Ocean that appeared as a frontispiece in Wyville Thomson's *The Voyage of the "Challenger", the Atlantic* (see Figure 4.3) where the emphasis of the track is clearly not on the places visited but on the stations where soundings and ocean temperatures were taken. This theme of the connectivity of the *Galatea* voyage was continued in the exhibition of the art and collections made during the voyage at South Kensington where Brierly's watercolours (along with those of Nicholas Chevalier, who joined the voyage as an artist in Australia in 1869) were arranged chronologically in order to reproduce the narrative of the voyage.⁴⁵

Brooke, K.C.B. (London: R. Bentley, 1853). After the voyage of the *Galatea*, he continued to travel the world extensively and was appointed marine painter to Queen Victoria in 1874 before receiving a knighthood in 1886. See 'Obituary' in *The Times*, 17 December 1894. Though F.J. Broomfield, 'The Romantic Career of Benjamin Boyd' in *The Sydney Mail*, Wednesday, 24 April 1907, lists the knighthood as being given in 1885.

⁴³ 'Obituary' in *The Times*, 17 December 1894.

⁴⁴ Innes M. Keighren et al, *Travels into Print*, at page 165.

⁴⁵ For the list of watercolours, sketches and drawings made by Brierly in 1867–68 and on the following tour of the *Galatea* over the next three years along with N. Chevalier see *The Cruise of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, K.G., round the World in H.M.S. "Galatea," in the Years 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871: Catalogue of Water-Colour Sketches and Drawings in Illustration of the Cruise, expressly executed by Messrs. O.W. Brierly and N. Chevalier, together with selections from the objects of science and art, collected by His Royal Highness, and lent for exhibition in the South Kensington Museum* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1872).

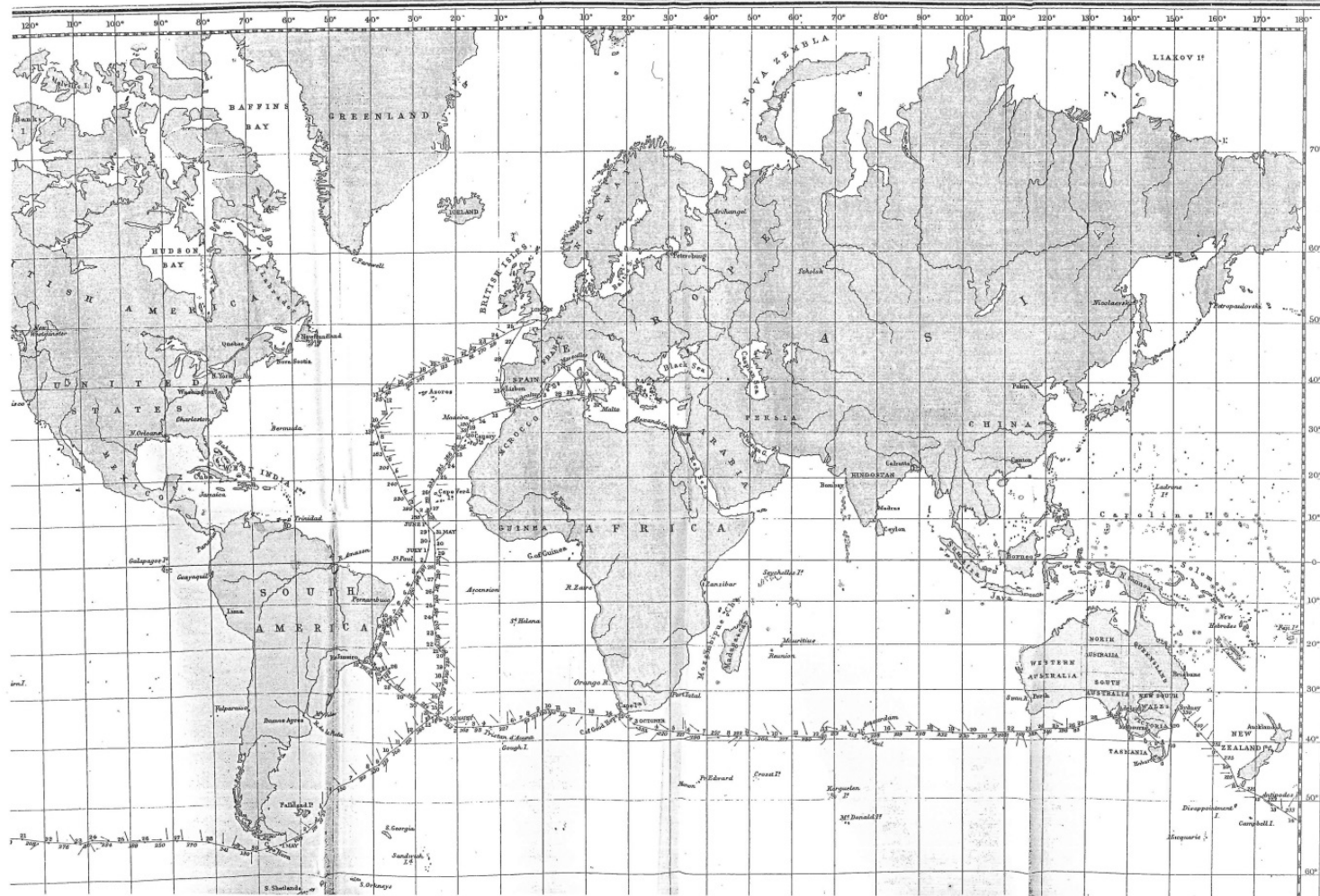


Figure 4.2: The path of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* on her 1867–68 voyage.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*.

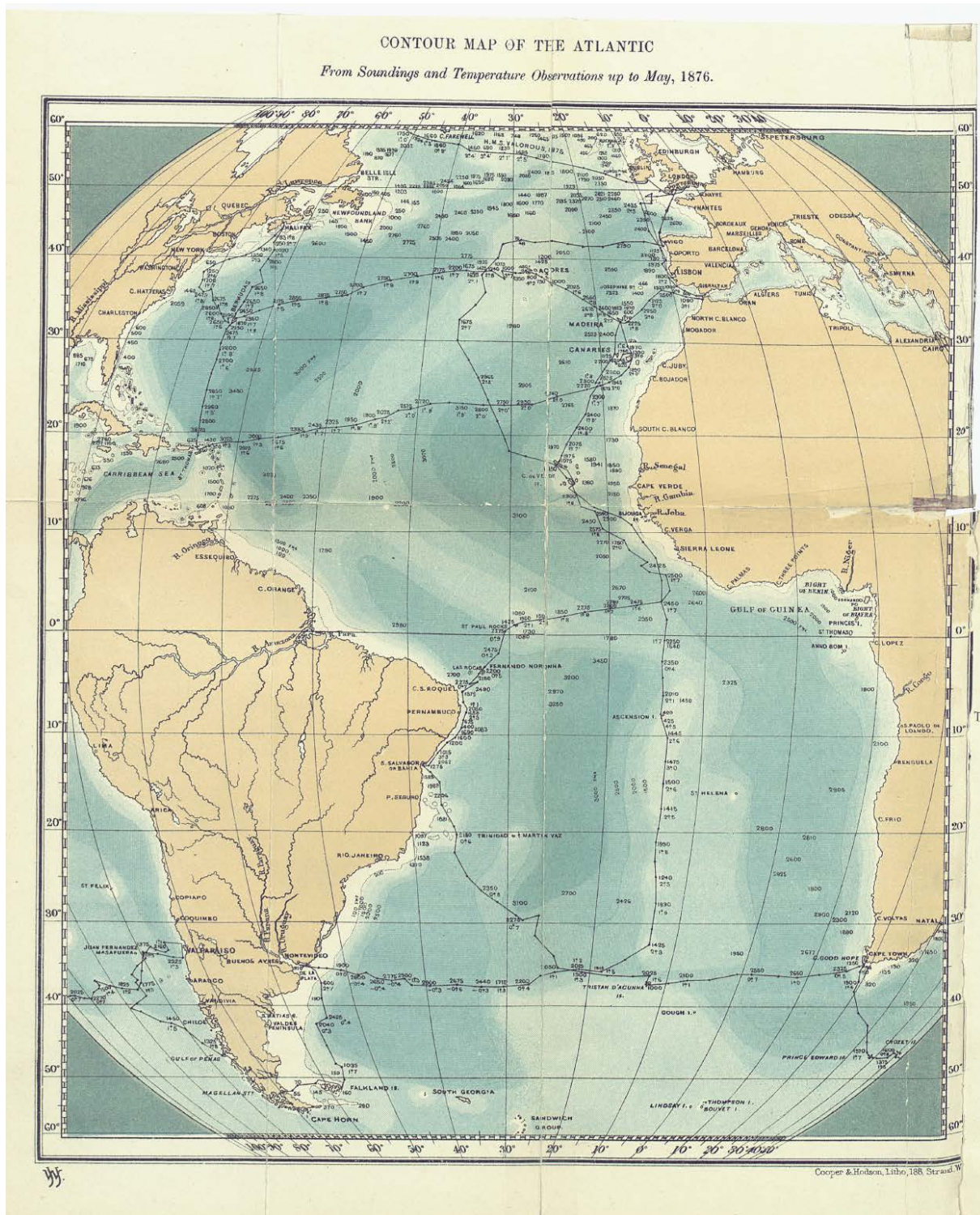


Figure 4.3: Frontispiece of Wyville Thomson's *The Voyage of the "Challenger", the Atlantic*.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ C. Wyville Thomson, *The Voyage of the "Challenger", the Atlantic: A Preliminary Account of the General Results of the Exploring Voyage of H.M.S. "Challenger" during the year 1873 and the early part of the year 1876*, Volume 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878).

The visit to Tristan da Cunha happened in the early part of the Duke's voyage. The *Galatea* stopped at Tristan da Cunha in August 1867, and a chapter of the text is devoted to the visit with a colour lithograph of the settlement also placed in the narrative (see Figure 4.4). This visit was to lead to a significant act of naming on the island as while the Duke and his entourage were ashore, the visiting monarch was told that the settlement on the island had no name and it was suggested that it be called 'Edinburgh' after the title of His Royal Highness. The islanders agreed to this, and the name Edinburgh was given to the settlement in Brierly's watercolour that was reproduced as a lithograph in the text, the name it carried from that point forward.⁴⁸ This act of naming linked the island more closely to the metropole through the appropriation of the Royal title and also allowed the Duke to leave a permanent marker of his presence on what was portrayed as a loyal British settlement.

As both Ian Barrow and Sumathi Ramaswamy have suggested, naming "is a parental prerogative" that conveys both a sense of ownership as well as an acknowledgement of responsibility.⁴⁹ Ramaswamy goes on to state that "[m]ore than any other activity, naming gives voice to vision; a name encapsulates our understanding of what we see [and] to name a space is to turn it into a negotiable place".⁵⁰ The act of naming and the acknowledgement of responsibility that went with it meant that for the Prince, the reproduction of Earle's view of Tristan da Cunha as a romantic rural English idyll would serve the purposes of both portraying the islanders and the Duke, who's title the settlement now bore, as British. In a time when Britain itself was being reconstituted by the 1867/8 Reform Acts, which also focused on the constitution of the nation's 'others',⁵¹ such descriptions would have played an important role in maintaining the position of the islanders as part of the social body of this reconstituted nation.

Milner begins the narrative of the visit to Tristan da Cunha by stating that "[t]hose who go down to sea in ships may, despite the usually prosaic nature of their calling, sometimes realize situations bordering upon romance, and encounter such facts as fiction is made up of", and goes on to suggest that Tristan da Cunha was such a place which 'the great romancer' Daniel Defoe might have used for

⁴⁸ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea, Captain H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh, K.G., in 1867-1868* (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1869), at page 28. In some of the literature it is also referred to as 'Edinburgh of the Seven Seas', but it is unclear when this addition was made. Schreier suggests that despite this act of naming, the islanders continued to refer to the settlement simply as 'the village', Daniel Schreier, 'Tristan da Cunha English' in Daniel Schreier, Peter Trudgill, Edgar W. Schneider and Jeffrey P. Williams (eds.), *The Lesser-Known Varieties of English: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), at page 246.

⁴⁹ See Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous geographies, catastrophic histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), at page 23 and Ian J. Barrow, *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India, c. 1756-1905* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁵⁰ Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Lost Land of Lemuria*, at page 23.

⁵¹ Catherine Hall, 'The nation within and without', at page 179.

the basis of *Robinson Crusoe*.⁵² This is a significant link considering the way in which the Crusoe narrative has often been seen as a key text in the formation of what it means to be English. Milner described the settlement on Tristan da Cunha as consisting of ‘an interesting English people’ whose manners were simple and had an excellent character.⁵³ Such a description immediately provides the template through which the rest of the narrative of the visit to Tristan da Cunha would be read. Milner follows this framing opening paragraph with a detailed history of the island, cobbled together from various sources ranging from the descriptions by Gower, Captain Patton, Lambert’s failed colonisation, the narrative of the wreck of the *Blenden Hall*, Taylor’s sojourn on the island, and the visit of Captain Denham in 1852 on the H.M.S. *Herald*, where the islanders were described as “English by association, though not by birth and parentage”.⁵⁴

This extensive borrowing from other literary sources was common in sea voyage narratives as those who kept journals, or who wrote retrospectively, would consult other accounts to learn about the place they were visiting and in order to provide readers with background information as well as helping themselves to make sense of their experiences.⁵⁵ Such authorised additions would not only lend additional force to the veracity of the account (as the weight of previous ‘facts’ authorised the ‘facts’ that would follow), they would also lead to both the reader and narrator having to fulfil the expectations raised by those particular accounts. This framing suggested not only the success of British colonisation (as opposed to Lambert’s failed colonisation) but also stressed the religiosity and Englishness of the islanders.

Upon his arrival at Tristan da Cunha the Duke invited Peter Green to breakfast on the *Galatea*. Green was a Dutchman born Pieter Willemszoon Groen who was shipwrecked on Tristan da Cunha in 1836 after which he chose to remain on the island and succeeded William Glass as the main representative of the islanders in the eyes of visiting naval captains after Glass’s death in 1853.⁵⁶ The

⁵² John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at page 28.

⁵³ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at page 29. This description of the island is taken verbatim from a previous account of the island that appeared in Alexander G. Findlay, *A Sailing Directory for the Ethiopic or South Atlantic Ocean including the Coasts of South America and Africa* (London: Richard Holmes Laurie, [fifth edition] 1867), at page 213.

⁵⁴ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at page 33.

⁵⁵ Helen Rozwadowski, *Fathoming the Ocean: The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2005), at page 27.

⁵⁶ Green was shipwrecked in Tristan da Cunha when the sealing vessel, the *Emily of Stonington*, was wrecked there in 1836 (according to Barrow while trying to steal the islanders’ sea elephant oil). See K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., pref. 1910). Pieter Groen and three others chose to remain on the island after which he married Mary Swain, one of Thomas Swain’s stepdaughters, who was born on St. Helena on 15 November 1815. He later began to refer to himself as Peter William Green. For more on Peter Green see Sandra Kornet-van Duyvenboden, *A Dutchman on Tristan da Cunha*.

invitation to Green to eat breakfast at the Duke's table allowed him to enter what Craciun has referred to as 'the mobile center of calculation' of the vessel and was itself significant.⁵⁷ Craciun here is referring to the purpose that the cabin played on John Ross's voyage of exploration for the Northwest Passage as the place where prior knowledge was catalogued in the ship's library and new knowledge was produced through the creation of maps, logbooks, and journals, which were checked and compared with these prior knowledge collecting exercises. The Duke's quarters also acted as a 'center of calculation', but one whose purpose shifted from a center of calculation for scientific and cartographic knowledge to one that helped decide and define who formed part of the British Empire and their position in it. Green's visit and acceptance in naming the settlement 'Edinburgh' led to both the inscription of the Duke onto the island's landscape, but also saw Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants become (re)inscribed into empire via the map and text that were in part produced in this center of calculation.

At this breakfast, the Duke enquired as to what would be most useful to the islanders in terms of clothing and provisions. Milner's narrative makes it clear that the Duke himself noted down the various things that Green mentioned and personally gave orders to the paymaster to supply them. Milner then assiduously listed both the items given to the islanders, and their value (£110).⁵⁸ Here we can see an example of the monarchy's increasing attempts to reshape itself as a benevolent monarchy with an increasing focus on philanthropic activities, which has led Prochawska to dub the monarchy of the mid-to-late nineteenth century onwards as a 'welfare monarchy' who carefully developed a 'cult of benevolence' that he feels played a key role in the reconstitution of the British monarchy during this period.⁵⁹ Each act of such benevolence not only helped to establish the new position of this 'welfare monarchy', it also suggested a paternal concern over the islanders which helped to (re)establish their claims to Englishness, albeit a reactionary feudal Englishness.

It is only once the narrative successfully framed the islanders as English and highlighted the Duke's philanthropy to his English subjects that the text moved on to descriptions of the settlement itself.

⁵⁷ Adriana Craciun, 'Oceanic voyages', at page 183.

⁵⁸ The goods given to the islanders are as follows: 34 yards of blue cloth, 80 yards of flannel, 40 yards of serge, 15lb. of tobacco, 9 gallons of rum, 9 gallons of vinegar, 50 lb. of sugar, 50lb. of tea, 330lb. of flour, and 240lb. of chocolate. See John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at page 37.

⁵⁹ Frank Prochawska, *Royal Bounty*. This would not be the only time that the islanders would benefit from this 'cult of benevolence'. In the years to follow, Tristan da Cunha received gifts of autographed pictures from Queen Victoria and her successors, with Queen Mary described as being "deeply interested in their welfare" and sending, amongst other things, a gramophone and records, nails, and the island's church harmonium while King George V sent to the island "a comprehensive and suitable range of school books with supplies of writing materials". See Allan Crawford, *I Went to Tristan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941), at page 38 and Percy A. Snell, *Tristan da Cunha: An Island of Compelling Interest* (Cape Town, 1939), at page 9.

Tellingly, the first of these descriptions focuses on Green's house and, much like Earle's narrative before, stresses the Englishness of the community on Tristan da Cunha:

Green's house stood high up the slope above the rest, and was distinguished by a large old red ensign, very ragged, and attached to a staff which came out of a chimney. He told us that it had originally been a Hanoverian flag, procured from a Dutch merchantman, but that he had, with laudable patriotism, cut the horse out of it and inserted the Union Jack in its place, which transformed it into an English red ensign.⁶⁰

This description, which highlights the supposed patriotism of the islanders, is emphasised in the lithograph of the settlement of Edinburgh (see Figure 4.4). The refashioning of the flag from a Hanoverian to a British one also metaphorically alluded to the potential of the island space to allow the reconstitution of the identity of those who inhabited it, such as Peter Green. This refashioning had already been stressed by Denham in 1852 when he described how "[t]hese fine, healthy, and robust fellows, clad and speaking as Englishmen, made us feel that they were from an island of Great Britain; even the Dutchman [Peter Green] had become English".⁶¹

⁶⁰ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at page 40.

⁶¹ Denham's description of the island was republished and further disseminated in the John Purdy *Sailing Directory's*. See Captain Denham, 'A Day at Tristan D'Acunha – Extract from the Journal of Capt. Denham, H.M.S Herald' in *The Nautical magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1853: A Journal of Papers on subjects connected with Maritime Affairs* (London: Sampkin Marshall and Co and J.D. Potter, April 1853, at page 183. See also, for example, John Purdy, *Laurie's Sailing Directory for the Ethiopic or Southern Atlantic Ocean; including the coasts of Brasil, etc., to the Rio de la Plata, the coast thence to Cape Horn, and the African Coast to the Cape of Good Hope, etc.; including the islands between the two coasts* (London: Printed for Richard Holmes Laurie [Fourth Edition, revised and corrected by Alex G. Findlay], 1855), at pages 122–124. The H.M.S. *Herald* stopped at the island on her outbound voyage as part of a scientific expedition to carry out surveys of the Australian coast and the Fiji islands, the results of which were to have a significant impact on oceanography and played a part in the decision to put together the *Challenger* Expedition twenty years later. See Henry Mangles Denham, 'Surveys of the H.M.S. 'Herald' in the Pacific, under the Command of Captain H. Mangles Denham' in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 6, No. 5 (1861–1862), at page 195. See also: Jane Samson, *Imperial Benevolence: Making British Authority in the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), pages 77–80; Jane Samson, 'Exploring the Pacific World' in Dane Kennedy (ed.), *Reinterpreting Exploration: The West in the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Andrew David, *The Voyage of the HMS Herald* (Carlton: The Miegunyah Press, 1995).

Once ashore, Milner baptised the children and the Duke spent some hours visiting the houses and the grave-yard to see the marble headstone of William Glass, sent by his children who had immigrated to the United States.⁶² The etchings in the headstone, which marked Glass as Scottish and thus strengthened the links between the new name given to the settlement and Britain, are given in full by Milner, as are those on the grave of Thomas Swain. Swain was born in Hastings, England, and Milner took the opportunity to point out that Swain was on the tender to the *Agamemnon*, commanded by Nelson while Taylor (a settler who arrived with Swain) was said to have served with Nelson in the *Victory*. Milner may not have repeated Swain's claim to have been the sailor to have caught Nelson as he fell, but by pointedly mentioning how two of the early settlers on Tristan da Cunha served with and flanked the man who had become an English legend at the moment of his death and greatest triumph, he created a link between the great Admiral and national hero and the Duke of Edinburgh who himself would go on to become Admiral of the British fleet,⁶³ as well as a link between Tristan da Cunha and Britain.

It is only once the islanders had been securely defined as forming part of the social body of the nation that any reference to the race of the islanders was made in the text. The men are described as "fine handsome fellows, with only just a perceptible mulatto shade, combined with a healthy red tinge on the cheeks". Two of the women are described as being black, with "several olive (some with woolly, others with straight black hair), and a few had no black blood in their veins at all", while the children are described as being "very fair, with light hair and blue eyes".⁶⁴ The final description as the Duke was about to heave off creates a final link between the island and Britain as Milner describes how "[w]hen our friends had pushed off, they stood up in their boat, and gave us three lusty cheers in the English fashion as we steamed away on our course for the Cape of Good Hope".⁶⁵

4.1.3) Oswald W. Brierly's 'Settlement of Edinburgh, Tristan D'Acunha'

Stephen Pyne has shown in his analysis of the Grand Canyon how "meaning depends less on the scenes physical geography than on ideas through which it can be viewed and imagined".⁶⁶ This can

⁶² Rev. H.W. Tucker, *Under His Banner: Papers on the Missionary Work of Modern Times* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel [seventh edition] 1886), at page 167.

⁶³ David Cannadine, 'Introduction' in David Cannadine (ed.), *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), at page 1. For more on the construction of the Nelson legend see Colin White, 'Nelson Apotheosised: The Creation of the Nelson Legend' in David Cannadine (ed.), *Admiral Lord Nelson: Context and Legacy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁶⁴ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at pages 43–44.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, at page 51.

⁶⁶ Stephen Pyne, *How the Canyon Became Grand: A Short History* (New York, Penguin Books, 1998), at page xiii.

be clearly seen in the ways in which the narrative preceding the appearance of Brierly's print in the text frames how it should be 'read', while the image also emphasises and highlights the claims made in the text. The lithograph foregrounds the image of a woman in European dress and behind her is a man in European dress standing outside a cottage. The significance of this is that clothes are, as Rod Edmond has pointed out, socially discursive and form part of a larger signifying system.⁶⁷ Taylor, in his *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*,⁶⁸ draws on the socially discursive and signifying system of dress. He describes the women on the island as dressing "just like those of their class in England – in cotton print, made always according to the latest fashion".⁶⁹ Loudon points out how, in the 1850s, this was what was thought suitable for respectable maid-servants when off duty.⁷⁰ The 'respectable' clothing highlights the 'simple' character of the people emphasised by Milner at the start of the chapter relating to Tristan da Cunha, and also allows a link to be made with the gifts of clothing made by the Duke to the islanders.

Our eye is next drawn to the British ensign constructed by Green from the Hanoverian flag, with the H.M.S. *Galatea* lying at anchor in the background, confirming the 'being there' of the vessel.⁷¹ In the same way as the voyage of the vessel left marks on maps creating connections between the places visited, the narrative the voyage resulted in also bound all those places together, creating a link with the imperial center.⁷² By extension, a link was also created between the island and the British Empire through the Duke of Edinburgh who was the Captain of the vessel that made the voyage. This link is accentuated by the title of the lithograph, 'Settlement of Edinburgh, Tristan D'Acunha'.⁷³

As has been shown by Steiner, the caption that accompanied pictures, particularly in the context of the reader's ignorance, played a powerful function as it "effectually determines the truth of an image. The reader compares the caption to the picture and either agrees or disagrees with the

⁶⁷ Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, at page 124. For the importance of clothing in shaping identity, see also Christopher Breward, 'Sartorial spectacle: clothing and masculine identities in the imperial city, 1860–1914' in Felix Driver and David Gilbert (eds.), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), and Christopher Breward, 'Clothing the middle-class' in Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliams (eds.), *The Victorian Studies* (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁶⁸ William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*.

⁶⁹ William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*, at page 84.

⁷⁰ J.B. Loudon, 'Early Travellers to Tristan da Cunha', at page 152.

⁷¹ See Luciana de Lima Martins, 'Navigating in Tropical Waters', at page 150.

⁷² Richard Sorrenson, 'The Ship as a Scientific Instrument in the Eighteenth Century' in *Osiris*, Vol. 11, *Science in the Field* (1996), pp. 221–236, at page 229.

⁷³ This image was also reproduced in *The Illustrated London News*, 15 October 1867. The narrative of the voyage was also reviewed by *The Illustrated London News*, 5 December 1868.

veracity of the label".⁷⁴ This image in many ways echoed those of Earle, creating what Steiner describes in his analysis of travel engravings as "[a] constant repetition of vaguely familiar scenes [which] engendered its own canons of authenticity and its own lexicon of visual emotion".⁷⁵ Just like Earle's images, it is unlikely that this watercolour was completed on the spot by Brierly. Much of it would have been drawn from memory and drew on the previous image in Earle's narrative (to which it bears a striking resemblance, a man framed by an English cottage in a pastoral rural idyll) as well as the need for the narrative to stress the ties between the colonies visited by the H.M.S. *Galatea* and the metropole. Thus, even though such images may not have been able to capture an immediate truth, they "drew on deep-seated sentiments and expectations shared by both their producers and their consumers".⁷⁶ In this sense, the foregrounding of the British ensign is important, as Lucy Bryson and Clem McCartney have shown:

Flags have practical uses, but their primary function has always been social communication. National flags in particular stimulate the viewer to feel and act in a calculated way. They represent or identify the existence, presence, origin, authority, possession, loyalty, glory, beliefs, objectives, and status of an entire nation. They are employed to honour and dishonour, warn and encourage, threaten and promise, exalt and condemn, commemorate and deny.⁷⁷

This can be seen in Earle's reaction to seeing the British flag in his *Narrative*,⁷⁸ and points to the recognition of the ability of the flag to conjure up a sense of metropolitan nationalism in the mid-South Atlantic, aided and nurtured by the visit of the Duke.

The lithograph also foregrounds the dwelling. These cottages are often described in the literature as resembling English cottages. Not only is the cottage directly attached to the British ensign, it also acted as a meeting point between history and national identity.⁷⁹ Sophia Cross argues that such buildings could assert social, political and religious beliefs and could act as a powerful means of illustrating allegiance as they reflected the culture from which they were created. They could also act as potent symbols of the cultural values that they were intended to represent, and as

⁷⁴ Christopher B. Steiner, 'Travel Engravings and the Construction of the Primitive' in Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (eds.), *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), at page 210.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, at page 224.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, at page 225.

⁷⁷ Lucy Bryson and Clem McCartney (eds.), *Clashing Symbols: Flags, anthems and other national symbols in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1994), at page 8.

⁷⁸ Augustus Earle, *A Narrative*, at page 290.

⁷⁹ Dana Arnold. 'Introduction', at page 7.

affirmations of ownership, territory and identity.⁸⁰ The enclosed garden also symbolised the ability to tame the landscape and make it productive. The man standing underneath the flag at the entrance to the cottage is thus imbued with the symbolism of these images. Tellingly, the lithograph does not include any sign of two houses that had been blown down in a gale a few months before the arrival of the H.M.S. *Galatea*,⁸¹ thus emphasising the solidity of the cottage and the Englishness with which it had been imbued, rather than suggesting the potential fragility of both.

The representation of the island as an idyllic, picturesque rural community is also visible in the lithograph. This representation of the island as being comparable to rural England is another example of a means of using aesthetics to tie the island to the metropole.⁸² Images and descriptions of the island, such as those mentioned above, were important in re-establishing the Englishness of the islanders. While most images and descriptions of (particularly Pacific) islands by Royal Navy (and other) vessels during this period emphasized cultural difference through a binary opposition of the foreign and the familiar,⁸³ a common strategy for translating foreignness into discourse and what became a naturalised method for ordering knowledge right through to the twentieth century,⁸⁴ these images and descriptions of Tristan da Cunha would, for the most part, emphasise familiarity.

The popularity and wide distribution of Earle's *Narrative* and the narrative of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea* would both heighten and reinforce the claims made by each of these texts in their discursive construction of the island as a Romantic rural English idyll (for example McKinlay claims that the Duke congratulated the settlers on "the comfortable *English* look of the farms and the whole community [emphasis in original]" and seems to muddle the Earle and *Galatea* narratives by suggesting that the 'chieftain' seen by the Duke was William Glass).⁸⁵ However, the *Galatea* narrative's portrayal of Tristan da Cunha, unlike those of Earle, would not remain undisturbed for long as less than four years after its publication the *Challenger* Expedition (the largest government-sponsored scientific expedition of the nineteenth century) visited the island and produced a slew of

⁸⁰ Sophia Cross, 'The country house is just like a flag' in Dana Arnold (ed.), *Cultural identities*, at pages 53–55.

⁸¹ John Milner, B.A., and Oswald W. Brierly, *The Cruise of the H.M.S. Galatea*, at page 40.

⁸² This device was still being used more recently in the case of the Falkland Islands. Klaus Dodds analysis of the Falklands Islands/Malvinas conflict has shown how the Falklands were consistently represented in the metropolitan political rhetoric as "a rural village of quintessentially British character". See Klaus Dodds, 'God save the Falklands: postcolonial geographies of the Falklands/Malvinas' in Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith (eds.), *Islands in History and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2003), at page 177–189 and Klaus Dodds, *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2002).

⁸³ Vanessa Agnew, 'Pacific island encounters and the German invention of race' in Rod Edmond and Vanessa Smith (eds.), *Islands in History and Representation* (New York: Routledge, 2003), at page 89.

⁸⁴ See Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600–1830* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), particularly page 48.

⁸⁵ Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour*, at page 15.

texts and images that provided a very different view of Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants. It is to these texts that we turn next.

4.2) Challenging the romantic rural idyll: the shifting representation of Tristan da Cunha in the final quarter of the nineteenth century

The voyage of H.M.S. *Challenger* from 1872–76 is remembered today for its role in founding the sciences of oceanography and marine geology.⁸⁶ It formed part a broader movement in the late nineteenth century by scientists to try comprehend and control large spaces through the development of sciences such as oceanography, terrestrial magnetism, and meteorology.⁸⁷ Control of large bodies such as the ocean was important for British trade and the expansion of colonialism. Efficient trade and the control of the ocean by the British Navy and merchant marine required the perfection of methods for determining longitude, the collection of correct soundings, tide tables and sailing directions which led to a coordinated effort to advance the science of the sea.⁸⁸ The voyage of the H.M.S. *Challenger* played an important role in this advance.

John Murray (an oceanographer who took over the publication of the scientific reports of the *Challenger* Expedition following the death of the marine zoologist and head of the civilian scientific staff, Charles Wyville Thomson in 1882), saw the voyage as a successor to earlier scientific expeditions such as those by James Cook and James Clark Ross.⁸⁹ But by the nineteenth century most major and minor landmasses had been discovered and surveyed, so the focus turned to the last great geographical unknown on earth, the ocean.⁹⁰ The expedition was sponsored by the British Government and organised by the Royal Society in collaboration with the University of Edinburgh and was manned with Admiralty officers and seamen who were accompanied by six scientists.⁹¹

⁸⁶ See Richard Corfield, *The Silent Landscape: The Scientific Voyage of HMS Challenger* (Washington D.C.: The Joseph Henry Press, 2003), at page xiii.

⁸⁷ Helen Rozwadowski, *Fathoming the Ocean*, at page 5. For example, another expedition was organised in 1874 to trace the transit of Venus at the end of that year, see Jessica Ratcliff, *The Transit of Venus Enterprise in Victorian Britain* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

⁸⁸ Michael S. Reidy, *Tides of History: Ocean Science and Her Majesty's Navy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), at page 7.

⁸⁹ Ann Savours, *The Voyages of the Discovery: The Illustrated History of Scott's Ship* (London: Virgin Books, 1994), at age 4.

⁹⁰ Tony Rice, *Voyages of Discovery: Three Centuries of Natural History Exploration* (London: Scriptum Editions, 2000), at pages 291–292.

⁹¹ See Philip F. Rehbock (ed.), *At Sea with the Scientifics: The 'Challenger' Letters of Joseph Matkin* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press), at pages 2–3 and Lee S. Dutton, *Anthropological Resources: A Guide to Archival, Library and Museum Collections* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), at page 75. For more on the organisation of the expedition see George Stephen Ritchie, *Challenger: The Life of a Survey Ship* (New York: Abelard-Schuman Ltd., 1958), at pages xii–xxi. The members of the expedition changed significantly over the

The voyage of the H.M.S. *Challenger* and the scientific reports produced from it was the largest government-sponsored scientific expedition and circumnavigation by a scientific vessel of the nineteenth century,⁹² and would be the last such government financed scientific undertaking for several decades.⁹³ The aim of the expedition was “to chart the depths, movement and contents of the seas, to scout the oceans for marine life, minerals, and clues to climatic phenomena”,⁹⁴ and to facilitate this, the vessel was refitted so that it was “as much a floating Victorian laboratory as a naval surveying vessel”.⁹⁵ The *Challenger* Expedition was also perhaps the first official scientific voyage to make use of telegraphy to send regular reports home to maintain interest in its progress back in the metropole,⁹⁶ and in a long list of other firsts, it was the first to photograph Antarctic icebergs, many sub-Antarctic islands,⁹⁷ and according to Derek Bousé, also produced the first wildlife photograph.⁹⁸ The expedition, as far as I have been able to determine, also produced the first photographs of Tristan da Cunha. These were all taken during a four day visit to the Tristan island group in October 1873.

So although the voyage lasted for four years (1872–76) and traversed 68,900 miles, through the Expedition’s use of some of these new technologies of modernisation popular interest in the expedition and its findings was maintained. Upon its completion it took a further twenty years to analyse all of the information gathered, the results of which were published in fifty volumes of

course of the voyage as of the *Challenger’s* initial crew of 243, a quarter deserted, seven died and twenty-six were invalided out of service or left at hospitals, Stephen Pyne, *Voyager: Exploration, Space, and the Third Great Age of Discovery* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), at pages 277–278.

⁹² James R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2013), at page 33.

⁹³ A.L. Rice quoted in Jessica Ratcliff, *The Transit of Venus Enterprise in Victorian Britain* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008), at page 131. Rehbock describes it as “probably the most lavish instance of government-sponsored ‘big science’ in the Victorian era”. It cost the Treasury £200,000, which was far more than had been anticipated. See Philip F. Rehbock (ed.), *At Sea with the Scientifics*, at page 2. Jon McKenzie has elaborated on the significance of the voyage, which he describes as “the world’s first foray into big science. The Expedition was the Apollo Program, the Human Genome Project, the Hubble Space Telescope of its day”. He goes on to trace the way in which the designation ‘Challenger’ has been repeatedly used in a variety of contexts over the course of the twentieth century. Jon McKenzie, *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (London: Routledge, 2001), at pages 205–207. For more on the *Challenger* Expedition’s position in the realm of ‘big science’, see Harold L. Burstyn, “Big Science’ in Victorian Britain: the *Challenger* Expedition (1872–6) and its Report (1881–95) in Margaret Deacon, Tony Rice and Colin Summerhayes (eds.), *Understanding the Oceans: A Century of Ocean Exploration* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003).

⁹⁴ See Eric Linklater, *The Voyage of the Challenger* (London: George Rainbird Ltd., 1972).

⁹⁵ Philip F. Rehbock (ed.), *At Sea with the Scientifics*, at page 4. See also Anthony Adler, ‘The Ship as Laboratory: Making Space for Field Science at Sea’ in *Journal of the History of Biology*, Vol. 47 (2014), pp. 333–362.

⁹⁶ Richard Corfield, *The Silent Landscape*, at page 7.

⁹⁷ Richard Ferguson, ‘Arctic and Antarctic’ in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2008), at page 71.

⁹⁸ This consisted of a photograph of penguins taken on Inaccessible Island in 1873. See Derek Bousé, *Wildlife Films* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), at page 40. Bousé defines a wildlife photograph as an image of real behaviour in a natural setting.

scientific reports.⁹⁹ By contrast, it was not long after its return to England that narratives of the voyage of the *Challenger* were produced by various members of the expedition for a fascinated Victorian public. The best known of these being, William J. Spry's *The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship "Challenger"*. First published in 1877, it went through twelve editions (six in the first year of publication), and remained in print until the 1890s.¹⁰⁰

The improved technologies of mechanical reproduction of texts and increasing literacy rates in the metropole, allied to the high level of interest and popularity in the *Challenger* Expedition means that these narratives are likely to have been the most widely read and distributed texts relating to Tristan da Cunha published up to this point.¹⁰¹ The popularity of the narratives of the *Challenger* Expedition, although partly due to the increasing number of literates, was also due to the changing conceptions of the ocean itself over the course of the nineteenth century. During this period more people than ever before were going to sea and saw the ocean as a potential space for adventure and leisure.¹⁰² This in turn led to a rapid increase in both the number and popularity of what Richard Foulke has termed 'sea voyage narratives'.¹⁰³

4.2.1) The "Challenger" Expedition as anthropological voyage

While the importance of the *Challenger* Expedition in the field of oceanography has been well-established, perhaps less well recognised was the fact that the mission instructions also required that "[e]very opportunity should be taken of obtaining photographs of native races to one scale".¹⁰⁴ It was thus also, in letter if not perhaps in practice, an anthropological voyage. These instructions were part of a broader drive to standardise the information that was being returned by a range of travellers to the metropole in order to facilitate the analysis of this information by armchair

⁹⁹ Richard Corfield, *The Silent Landscape*, at page xiii.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Corfield, *The Silent Landscape*, at page 250.

¹⁰¹ David Vincent's research into literacy rates in England suggests that in the middle of the eighteenth century under half the English population could write. Yet by 1874, as the *Challenger* Expedition began, literacy rates for those between the ages of 20–24 had risen to almost 70% and by 1894, the year before the final scientific report of the *Challenger* Expedition was published, that figure had risen to just under 90%. See David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), at page 27. Although such literacy figures are necessarily mere approximations and also fail to show the sometimes wide differences in literacy rates between gender and place, they do indicate a trend of rapidly increasing literacy across the metropole over the course of the nineteenth century.

¹⁰² For more on the changing conceptions of the ocean during this period see Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The discovery of the seaside in the Western world, 1750–1840* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994) and John Gillis, *The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

¹⁰³ For more on the rise of the 'sea voyage narrative' see Robert Foulke, *The Sea Voyage Narrative* (New York: Routledge, 2002) and Helen Rozwadowski's *Fathoming the Ocean*, which provides an excellent and succinct analysis of these processes in Chapter One 'Fathoming the Fathomless'.

¹⁰⁴ Lee S. Dutton, *Anthropological Resources*, at page 75.

anthropologists and gentlemen naturalists. An example of this drive for standardisation can be seen in the rise of anthropological guides to travellers such as *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*, which was reworked into six different editions between 1874 and 1951.¹⁰⁵ The Royal Geographical Society also produced a report titled *Hints to Travellers* (co-written by Earle's captain on the *Beagle*, Robert FitzRoy), which first appeared in 1853 and went through seven editions between 1865 and 1901, each progressively revised and expanded.¹⁰⁶ The purpose of these texts were to instruct travellers on how to observe the world and record observations in standardised forms using reliable scientific instruments in order to provide useful information for 'experts' in the metropole.¹⁰⁷

This standardisation of knowledge collection was also part of what William Ashworth has termed the activation of the eye of the state as the standardisation of these raw materials allowed for calculated decisions and action to be taken at a distance.¹⁰⁸ This attempt to standardise knowledge collection led to the publication of manuals such as John Herschel's *A Manual of Scientific Inquiry* that also went through multiple editions in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and aimed to standardise scientific data collecting by providing British officers (who were given copies of the text before departing for the colonial world) and travellers with an instructive guide on how to accumulate evidence, which could be interpreted by skilled specialists in the metropole,¹⁰⁹ thus turning them into an extension of metropolitan researchers' observational arsenal.¹¹⁰ These texts were particularly important for standardising scientific collection within the navy itself as the high turnover of personnel meant there was a constant need to train new men in 'how to see'.¹¹¹

In order to achieve these ends, the *Challenger* had an expeditionary artist (John Wild), and an official photographer,¹¹² who took hundreds of photographs during the voyage.¹¹³ For this purpose the ship,

¹⁰⁵ John Urry, "Notes and Queries on Anthropology' and the Development of Field Methods in British Anthropology, 1870–1920' in *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1972), pp. 45–57.

¹⁰⁶ See Felix Driver, *Geography Militant Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2001), at pages 49–67.

¹⁰⁷ Felix Driver, 'Scientific Exploration and the Construction of Geographical Knowledge: *Hints to Travellers*' in *Finisterra*, Vol. 65 (1998), pp. 21–30, at pages 23–25.

¹⁰⁸ William J. Ashworth, 'John Herschel, George Airy, and the Roaming Eye of the State' in *History of Science*, Vol. 36 (1998), pp. 151–178, at page 152.

¹⁰⁹ Efram Sera-Shriar, *The Making of British Anthropology, 1813–1871* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), at pages 72–75.

¹¹⁰ Felix Driver, *Geography Militant*, at page 66.

¹¹¹ Erika Behrisch Elce, "'Adapted for Travellers in General": en route with the 1849 British Admiralty's Manual of Scientific Enquiry' in *Journeys*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Jun., 2014).

¹¹² Caleb Newbold seems to have been the initial expedition photographer, though he abandoned the expedition in Cape Town. He was replaced by Frederick Hodgson, who deserted in Hong Kong and was replaced by Jesse Lay. See Eileen V. Brunton, *The Challenger Expedition, 1872–76: A Visual Index* (London: The Natural History Museum, 2004 [second edition]), at pages 16–17.

a steam/sail hybrid naval corvette that was converted for scientific service, was fitted out with a photographic work room that allowed for an official album to be maintained during the voyage to be shown to visiting dignitaries.¹¹⁴ This made the *Challenger* Expedition the first scientific expedition to embrace photography, a practice that became standard in all the expeditions that followed as photographs became the prime means used to record the journeys made and provide visual proof of what was seen.¹¹⁵ By the end of the century, photography had emerged as a new standard and symbol of scientific evidence bound up as it was with the emergence of new practices of observation ('how to see'), and record keeping.¹¹⁶ Technologies of modernisation, such as photography, led to the reshaping of the visual economy and geographic imagination of empire that would transform how space and time was experienced in the Western world.¹¹⁷

While the previous chapter has shown how Earle's work helped to construct an image of Tristan da Cunha as a rural idyll and inserted Tristan da Cunha into the visual economy of empire, Bell argues that with the rise of the illustrated travel narrative after the mid-eighteenth century and its rapid proliferation over the course of the nineteenth century, the European experience of other places was increasingly mediated by the visual,¹¹⁸ and the means by which this mediation occurred was increasingly through photography as the camera displaced art as the main means by which visual images were captured (particularly after the mass production of the first portable camera by Kodak in 1888).¹¹⁹ In the process, the pen illustration and print was replaced by photography as the visual analogue for truth and communicative value, and as photography came to be seen as evidence and

¹¹³ For the collection of these images, see Eileen V. Brunton, *The Challenger Expedition*.

¹¹⁴ James R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*, at page 33. See also Rosamunde Codling, 'HMS Challenger in the Antarctic: pictures and photographs from 1874' in *Landscape Research*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (1997), pp. 191–208, at page 191.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, the multiple expeditions made into the interior of Africa at the end of the nineteenth century and expeditions to the Antarctic at the turn of the century. For more see: James R. Ryan, *Photography and Exploration*; Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), particularly Chapters Four and Five; and Elena Glasberg, *Antarctica as Cultural Critique: The Gendered Politics of Scientific Exploration and Climate Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), Chapter Five.

¹¹⁶ See Jennifer Tucker, 'The Historian, the Picture, and the Archive' in *Isis*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Mar., 2006), pp. 111–120, at page 117, and *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), at page 1.

¹¹⁷ For more on the reorganisation of vision over the course of the nineteenth century, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (London: MIT Press, 1990) and Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, 'Introduction: Photography and the Geographical Imagination' in Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (eds.), *Picturing Place and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2003).

¹¹⁸ Leonard Bell, 'Seeing differently: shifts from the pictorial to the photographic in the shaping of the South Pacific' in *Journal for Maritime Research*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Mar., 2005), pp. 16–25, at page 19.

¹¹⁹ Michael Jacobs, *The Painted Voyage: Art, Travel and Exploration 1564–1875* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), at page 17.

authentication, it became both a tool of social knowledge and a weapon enabling social control by allowing identities to be constructed in new ways.¹²⁰ This suggests that the first photographs of Tristan da Cunha would have an important impact on metropolitan imaginings of the island and it is important to remember the fact that even though the *Challenger* Expedition was critiqued for the lack of standardised anthropological knowledge that it collected, such critiques suggest that it was being read for this information (by some at least) to begin with.¹²¹

4.2.2) Representations of Tristan da Cunha in the Challenger Expedition narratives

The first two narratives published after the return of the H.M.S. *Challenger* were those of the two Sub-Lieutenants on the voyage, Lord George Campbell and William J.J. Spry, which were both published in 1877. Spry prefaces his narrative with the suggestion that he was induced by friends to publish a concise and readable form of his daily journals as the “vast amount of information gathered by visits to distant lands rarely explored, render the cruise of the *Challenger* highly interesting and instructive to the British public”.¹²² He goes on to suggest that

the chief interest connected with this narrative will be the vast extent traversed in the pursuit of knowledge, which admits of the combination in this volume of the general outline of the manners and customs of nations and tribes rarely visited, and descriptions of scenery under every condition of temperature, from the fiery tropics to the ice-bound Antarctic regions.¹²³

Spry thus immediately frames his narrative as one that will, for the most part, ‘other’ the places visited and sets them up as sites of difference and alterity.

We can see this process at play in how he describes Tristan da Cunha. His initial observation upon arriving there was that he could not understand how anyone could choose to live in such an “out-of-the-way place [...] more remote from other inhabited places than any other settlement on the face

¹²⁰ See Gerard Curtis, ‘Shared Lines’.

¹²¹ See, for example, the famous American anthropologist George Dorsey’s scathing remarks about the results of the expedition in *Science* where he wrote that despite the instructions to the officers of the Expedition to take photographs of native races to one scale and make practical anthropological observations, “[f]rom an expedition which in its importance ranks only after that of Columbus and Magellan; which consumed years of time and cost the British government in round figures \$600,000—from this expedition the total contribution to the knowledge of the races of men were some notes by two of the officers, a few unsatisfactory photographs, a few bones of skeletons and sixty-four skulls! There is a serious side to such a neglect of opportunity as this”. George A. Dorsey, ‘Physical Anthropology’ in *Science*, New Series, Vol. 6, No. 135 (Jul. 23, 1897), pp. 109–120, at page 113.

¹²² William J.J. Spry, *The Cruise of Her Majesty’s Ship “Challenger”: Voyages over many seas, scenes in many lands* (Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1877), at page iii.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, at page iv.

of the globe”,¹²⁴ while Campbell’s narrative describes a woman who begged to be taken to the Cape as “she couldn’t bare to be there anymore”.¹²⁵ The only image of Tristan da Cunha in these two texts, Figure 4.5, heightens this sense of isolation. Although the image echoes that of Brierly seen in Figure 4.4, it is taken from a greater distance from the settlement. This has the effect of shrinking the size of the houses on the island while increasing the looming effect of what are now rough and jagged mountains, and removes all the signs of ‘Englishness’ that were present in Brierly’s image while also removing any aspects of the settlement (which is no longer labelled as Edinburgh) consisting of romanticised rural farmsteads. This image also came at the very end of Spry’s narrative of the time spent at the Tristan island group which, like Campbell’s text, described the islanders as being “not above trying to make a good bargain out of us, and consequently spoiled the market for themselves”.

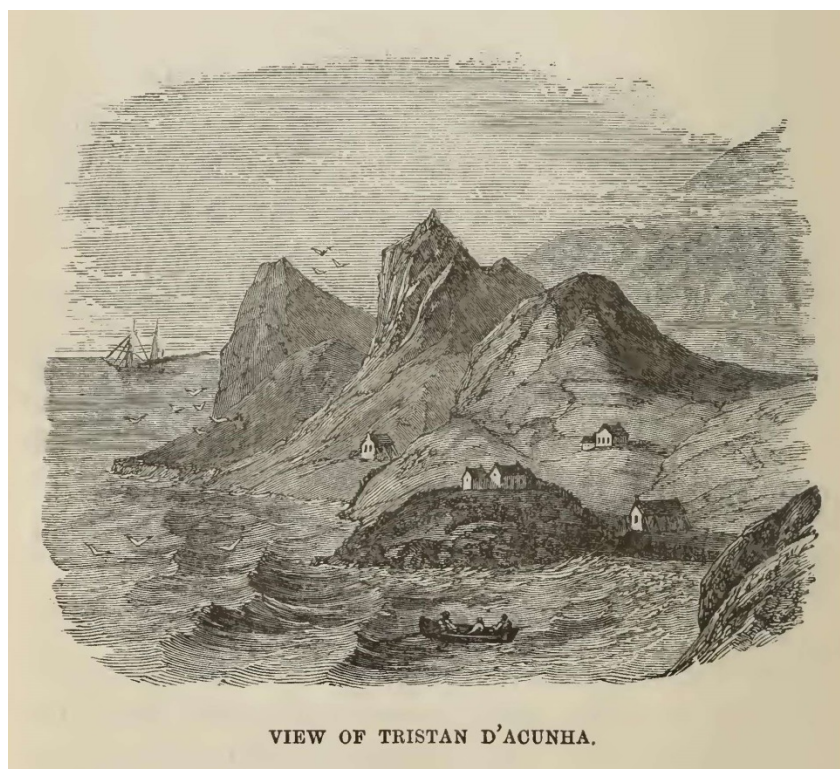


Figure 4.5: View of Tristan d’Acunha, from William J.J. Spry’s *The Cruise of Her Majesty’s Ship “Challenger”*.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Ibid., at page 94.

¹²⁵ George Campbell, *Log-Letters from “The Challenger”* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1877 [second revised edition]), at page 62. Matkin’s letters claim that this woman was Peter Green’s mother, though it is more likely that what was meant was that she was Green’s mother-in-law.

¹²⁶ William J.J. Spry, *The Cruise of Her Majesty’s Ship “Challenger”*, at page 110.

This view of the island and the islanders is also echoed in the naturalist Henry Nottidge Moseley's account (published in 1879) where he describes the Tristan group as 'barren and uninhabitable' with a 'terrible climate', while also referring to their ability to "charge full value for everything", including a number of specimens of penguins that were bought from the islanders by the naturalists.¹²⁷ Moseley's text however, goes further than the others and describes the islanders as "begging for all sorts of things".¹²⁸ The only example of individual interaction between Moseley and the islanders is when he was taken up the mountain by a Tristan boy who acted as his guide. He describes the child as being 'peculiarly taciturn' and, 'like all the Islanders, extremely curt'. Moseley goes on to suggest that "he seemed to have considerable difficulty in understanding what I said to him in ordinary English, and indeed often not to be able to understand at all".¹²⁹ This suggestion of the inability of the child to understand English, and by association the degeneration of the 'Englishness' of the islanders is echoed in the only photograph taken of an islander, Peter Green (see Figure 4.6).¹³⁰ Although not published in the narratives discussed here, the photographs of Tristan da Cunha, along with those of the rest of the Expedition, were entrusted by Her Majesty's Stationary Department to the printer Horsburgh for publication, with single copies costing a shilling a piece.¹³¹ Jennifer Tucker has also pointed out how the photographs made by the *Challenger* Expedition often found their way into other larger scientific collections.¹³² For example, the photograph of Green has been traced by Buxton in the collections at the National Museums of Scotland Library, the Mansell Collection, and the collection of the Hydrographic Office.¹³³

¹²⁷ H.N. Moseley, *Notes by a Naturalist on the "challenger", being an account of various observations made during the voyage of the H.M.S. "Challenger" round the world in the years 1872–1876* (London: MacMillan and Co. 1879), at pages 109, 112 and 114.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, at page 114.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, at page 113.

¹³⁰ Language has been seen as one of the main factors determining who forms part of the social body of the nation. See, for example, David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel (eds.), *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), at page x.

¹³¹ Eileen V. Brunton, *The Challenger Expedition*, at page 15.

¹³² Various photographs taken of Tristan da Cunha and Inaccessible Island appeared in the following collections: National Museums of Scotland Library; Universiteit des Saarlands; National Maritime Museum, Greenwich; the Hydrographic Office collection; Christ's College, Cambridge; the Carpenter Collection; Oxford University Zoology Department; Mansell Collection; Natural History Museum (London); Royal Society New Zealand. See Eileen V. Brunton, *The Challenger Expedition*.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, at pages 22 and 89. Images such as these, Elizabeth Edwards notes "became scientific ('ethnological' or 'anthropological') as they were collected and institutionalized by learned societies and universities". Elizabeth Edwards, 'Photography and the Making of the Other' in Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire and Charles Forsdick (eds.), *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, translated by Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), at page 245.

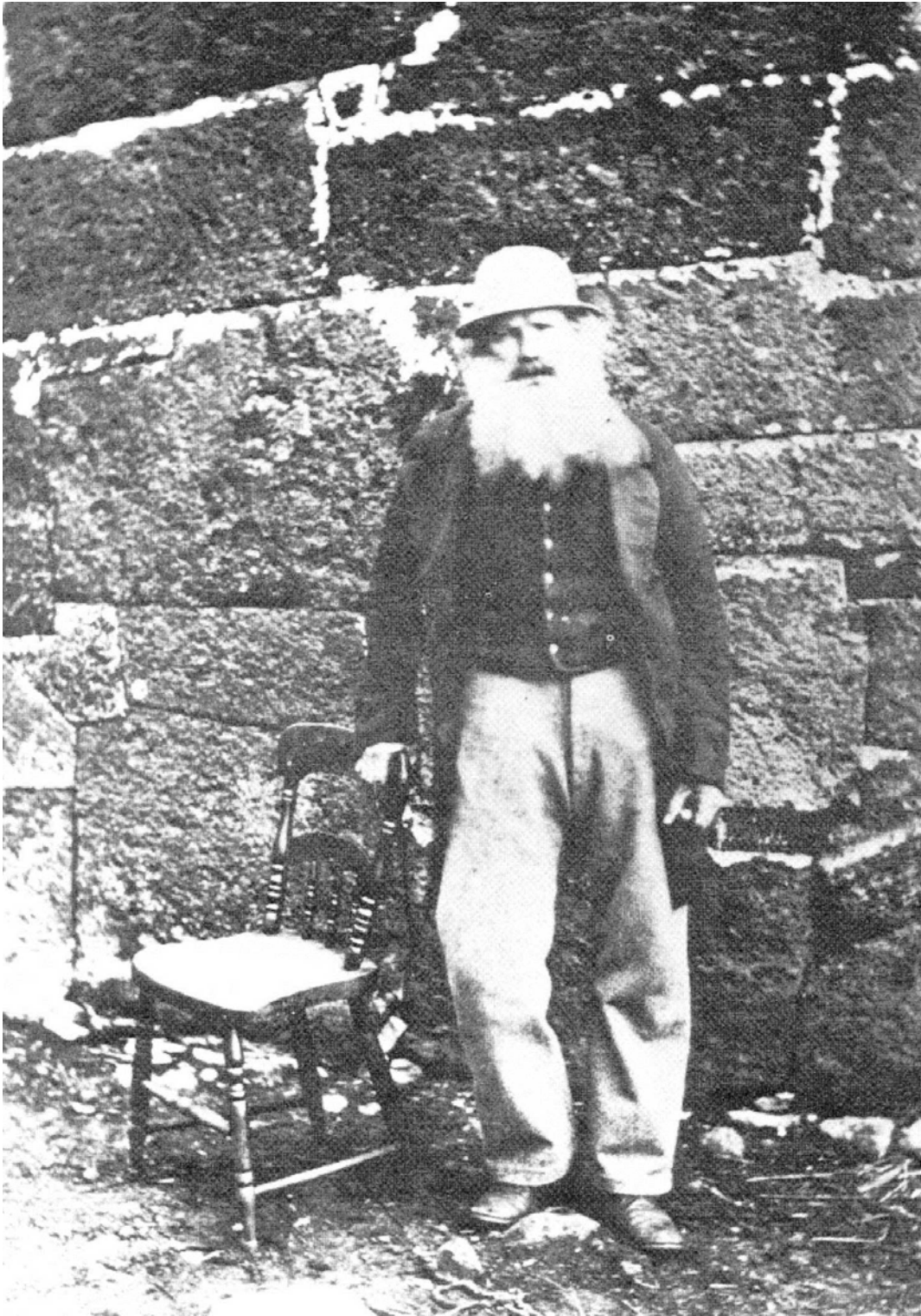


Figure 4.6: Photograph of Peter Green taken by a member of the *Challenger* Expedition.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Eileen V. Brunton, *The Challenger Expedition, 1872–76: A Visual Index* (London: The Natural History Museum, 2004 [second edition]), at page 89.



Figure 4.7: Photograph of the Stoltenhoff brothers with some of the crew of the H.M.S. *Challenger*.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Eileen V. Brunton, *The Challenger Expedition*, at page 88.

There is a contrast between the image of the Stoltenhoff brothers (the only other individuals photographed that were not members of crew while the *Challenger* was at the Tristan island group) and that of Peter Green (see Figure 4.7). Frederick and Gustav Stoltenhoff were two German brothers who chose to be castaway on Inaccessible Island in 1871–73 in an attempt to set up a sealing trade (this after Gustav Stoltenhoff had already been shipwrecked on Tristan da Cunha in 1870 when he was a seaman) and were rescued by the H.M.S. *Challenger*. The image taken of the Stoltenhoff brothers was titled ‘bluejackets’ (the term used for the non-scientific crew of the H.M.S. *Challenger*), and has the brothers surrounded by and photographed on an equal footing with the rest of the crew, with only their lack of a crewman’s uniform setting them apart. This is in direct contrast to the photograph of Peter Green, which echoes many of the ethnographic images taken by the *Challenger* Expedition of Aborigines in Australia, Pacific Islanders and Chileans. The visual context of this image is quite clearly the instructions given to the expedition to “photograph native races to one scale”.

While many authors have shown the close links between the nascent discipline of anthropology and the nascent technology of photography,¹³⁶ Elizabeth Edwards has shown how the most pervasive photographic data used by anthropologists was a form of portrait photography referred to as a ‘type’. These images aimed to represent the general form or character that distinguished a given group and/or the person or thing that exhibited these (or at least some of these) qualities.¹³⁷ Since the production of photographs of anthropological interest was not taken by armchair anthropologists themselves, attempts were made to standardise photography and men such as John Lamprey and T. H. Huxley argued for images to be taken of subjects unclothed and posed in front of a grid background or a plan with a plain background and measuring stick to provide scale. The lack of production of such images suggests the difficulty in getting subjects to agree to this (not helped by the fact that this was also sometimes seen as conflicting with the supposed civilizing role of British colonialism).¹³⁸ Instead, Edwards argues, “[t]he subject set against a plain background was the anthropologically accepted mode of photography in the eyes of the viewer”.¹³⁹ In describing how ‘types’ were photographed, Edwards states:

Photographically, the ‘type’ is expressed in a way which isolates, suppressing context and thus individuality. The specimen is in scientific isolation, physically and metaphorically, the

¹³⁶ See, for example, Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹³⁷ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photographic “Types”: the Pursuit of Method’ in *Visual Anthropology*, Vol. 3 (1990), pp. 235–258, at page 240.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, at pages 244–248.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, at page 253.

plain background accentuates physical characteristics and denies context. The meaning and “reality” of the subject can be given only by those who interpret the visual evidence [...] Through photography the specimens, ‘types’ were neutralized and objectified for scientific use to be interpreted and reinterpreted”.¹⁴⁰

In short, she argues, the subjects in these photographs shift to objects.¹⁴¹ Images such as these were themselves linked to large-scale structural changes in economic social formations that accompanied the expansion of the field of vision and played an important part in the visual ordering of the public domain that allowed bodies to be reconstituted and established within new and shifting hierarchies of values.¹⁴²

In this image Green, the representative of the community in the eyes of the crew of the *Challenger*, is detached from any framing context (such as that of the rural idyll used in the images of William Glass by Earle), thus making him easily compared to, and linked with, the other ‘nations and tribes rarely visited’. The brick wall behind Green mimics the grid pattern background championed by Lamprey, while the presence of a chair adds scale to the image, but also echoes other anthropological images that contained material artefacts as additional guides to interpret the image.¹⁴³ While this all suggests the anthropological undertones of the image, the caption in some of the collections heightened this, for example, that in the Hydrographic Office in Taunton simply has the caption ‘the oldest inhabitant’, removing any remaining trace of individuality from the image.¹⁴⁴ It is through the juxtaposition of specific representational modes and caption, Edwards argues, “that the ‘types’ are established or that an individual can become a generality”.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., at page 241. Edwards notes that while individually these photographs may resemble the conventions of Western portrait photography, “viewed as a group the individuality of each sitter becomes suppressed”. Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photography and the Making of the Other’, at page 246.

¹⁴¹ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Photography and the Making of the Other’, at page 246. See also: Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The creation of identity in nineteenth century photography* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2001); Anne Maxwell (ed.), *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the ‘Native’ People and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); and Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson (eds.), *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place* (London: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁴² For a detailed analysis of this process, see Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

¹⁴³ See Christopher Pinney, ‘Underneath the Banyan Tree: William Crooke and Photographic Depictions of Caste’ in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography, 1860–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), at pages 166–167.

¹⁴⁴ The caption in the Challenger Photographs Manuscript List at the Natural History Museum has the image labeled as ‘Inaccessible Island, Peter Green’. It is highly unlikely that the photograph was taken at Inaccessible Island as there is no suggestion in the narrative of the Stoltenhoff brothers that Green accompanied the *Challenger* there or that a stone cottage had been built there.

¹⁴⁵ Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Introduction’ in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography*, at page 11.

The photograph of Green was also produced and disseminated at a time when the rise of modernism had begun to lead to the separation of science and art as two different domains. This resulted in what Jones and Galison have termed a “binary production of knowledge”, in which science (through scientific methods inextricably linked with technology such as photography) ‘discovered’ while art ‘invented’.¹⁴⁶ The new binary in knowledge production allowed the previous images of Tristan da Cunha to be seen as ‘inventions’ while the photograph of Green could be viewed as a true (and at that point the only) likeness of the Tristan islander. The incorporation of the image into National Museum collections would not only have heightened its authority value (a value that would, Tucker has argued, have been attached to it based on the consideration of how it was made, by whom, and where it was exhibited), it would also have seen it become absorbed within the specific institutional agendas of description, function and usage of these institutions.¹⁴⁷ This would signal the image as one to be studied and closely looked at.¹⁴⁸ The image thus signifies a significant shift in focus from the fascination with the island body of Tristan da Cunha to a fascination with, and study of, the island bodies that inhabited it that would come to the fore in the twentieth century.

That a photograph of the Stoltenhoff brothers was also taken by the *Challenger* Expedition is not surprising considering the fact that their story is repeated in great detail across the narratives produced by Spry, Campbell, Wyville Thomson and Moseley.¹⁴⁹ Rozwadowski suggests that it was perhaps because of this rescue that the crew of the *Challenger* chose to write about Tristan da Cunha at all in their published accounts,¹⁵⁰ a view that seems to be confirmed by the fact that, with the exception of the first volume of the *Report on the Scientific Results* by Murray and Wyville Thomson (which was only published in 1885),¹⁵¹ the *Challenger* narratives spend only a few pages on the visit to Tristan da Cunha before focusing in far greater detail on the story of the Stoltenhoffs.

Each of these narratives follow the same template (with the exception of that of Spry, the only difference there being that he uses a first person account of the elder Stoltenhoff brother rather

¹⁴⁶ See Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison, ‘Introduction’ in Caroline A. Jones and Peter Galison (eds.), *Picturing Science Producing Art* (New York: Routledge, 1998), at pages 2–8.

¹⁴⁷ Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), at page 7.

¹⁴⁸ Jennifer Tucker, ‘The Historian, the Picture, and the Archive’, at page 117.

¹⁴⁹ William J.J. Spry, *The Cruise of Her Majesty’s Ship “Challenger”*; George Campbell, *Log-Letters from “The Challenger”*; C. Wyville Thomson, *The Voyage of the “Challenger”, the Atlantic*, Volume 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878) and H.N. Moseley, *Notes by a Naturalist on the “challenger”, being an account of various observations made during the voyage of the H.M.S. “Challenger” round the world in the years 1872–1876* (London: MacMillan and Co. 1879).

¹⁵⁰ Helen Rozwadowski, *Fathoming the Ocean*, at pages 28–29.

¹⁵¹ C. Wyville Thomson and John Murray, *Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. Challenger during the years 1873–76, Vol. 1* (London: Longmans & Co., 1885).

than his own voice). They describe how the brothers had decided to go to Tristan da Cunha to try and make their fortune by sealing, but the captain of the whaler taking them there doubted that they would get a good reception at Tristan da Cunha and convinced them to go instead to Inaccessible. After an initially cordial meeting with the Tristan islanders, relations between the two groups steadily deteriorated, with the islanders failing to bring cattle that they had promised the Stoltenhoffs. They later twice returned to Inaccessible over the next year and a half to kill all the goats on the island in an attempt to drive the Stoltenhoffs away. Upon their rescue by the H.M.S. *Challenger* the Stoltenhoffs burnt the hut they had built on the island such was their determination to ensure that nothing of theirs could be used by the islanders after they had left.

The story of the Stoltenhoffs captured the attention of the crew of the *Challenger*,¹⁵² and no doubt they felt that it would capture the imagination of those reading their texts. This may have been due to the fact that here was a real life case of a Robinson Crusoe tale.¹⁵³ In this reworking of the Crusoe tale, however, the Stoltenhoffs are cast as the heroes whereas the Tristan islanders (who arrived clandestinely on Inaccessible Island and endeavoured the whole time to not be seen before leaving again), are cast as the ‘cannibals’, hunting down the goats in an attempt to starve the Stoltenhoffs. Even Wyville Thomson’s narrative of the Atlantic portion of the Expedition, which by and large has the least prejudicial representation of the islanders, possibly because it may have been seen as a more ‘official’ account (in the official *Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of the H.M.S. “Challenger”* these negative portrayals are removed completely and only a history and account of the scientific information gathered at the island is given),¹⁵⁴ finishes his narrative of their stay ashore at the various islands of the group with the following extract:

The Tristaners of the present day have certainly not left the most favourable impression on my mind. They are by no means ill off; they are very shrewd and sufficiently greedy; and their conduct to the Stoltenhoffs, if their story be true, which I have never had any reason to doubt, in landing surreptitiously and killing the last of the flock of goats on Inaccessible Island, if not actually criminal, was, to say the least, most questionable.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² This much is clear from the letter sent home by Joseph Matkin, the ship’s steward’s assistant on the Expedition. After the rescue of the Stoltenhoffs, he wrote “[t]hey are translating their Log into English, & some of the Scientifics & officers, are already concocting a regular romance about it, for the newspapers [...]”. See Philip F. Rehbock (ed.), *At Sea with the Scientifics*, at page 109.

¹⁵³ The Crusoe tale well known to each of the authors as can be seen by their narratives when the *Challenger* arrived at Juan Fernandez, the ‘original’ Crusoe Island).

¹⁵⁴ C. Wyville Thomson and John Murray, *Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of the H.M.S. “Challenger”*, Vol. 1 First Part, at pages 237–274.

¹⁵⁵ C. Wyville Thomson, *The Voyage of the “Challenger”, the Atlantic*, Volume 2, at page 168.

In *Voyage of the “Challenger”, the Atlantic*, Wyville Thomson also mentions that “[t]he attention of the Lords of the Admiralty was for some reason or other attracted to the island” before going on to list some of the Royal Navy vessels that had visited the island since the visit of the *Challenger* Expedition in 1873. He seemingly says this without realising that it was most likely the interest generated in the island by the visit of the *Challenger* Expedition that led to this sudden interest. The *Challenger* Expedition narratives, along with the publication in December 1873 of the tale of the Stoltenhoffs in Cape Town after they had been deposited there by the *Challenger*,¹⁵⁶ and Wyville Thomson’s account in the popular magazine *Good Words*,¹⁵⁷ were all widely read and disseminated.¹⁵⁸ The apparent popularity of the tale even led to it being used as the template by John Conroy Hutcheson (a prolific British author of sea voyage narratives in the late nineteenth century) in his robinsonade *Fritz and Eric, or, the Brother Crusoes* (1886).¹⁵⁹

Although Wyville Thomson was perhaps overstating his case when he suggested that there was a ‘sudden interest’ in the island on the part of the Lords of the Admiralty seeing as there were sporadic visits by Royal Navy vessels to Tristan da Cunha before this point, the vessels that followed in the wake of the H.M.S. *Challenger* brought with them very different views of the island to those held by these earlier visitors. These views were no doubt partly shaped by the accounts of the narratives of the *Challenger* Expedition and also reflected the two contradictory discourses of the island that began in Earle’s *Narrative* and now began to diverge: that of the island as a rural English idyll on the one hand, and that of the island’s isolation leading to degeneration on the other.

¹⁵⁶ See ‘Two Years on Inaccessible’ in *The Cape Monthly Magazine*, December 1873.

¹⁵⁷ C. Wyville Thomson, ‘Letters from H.M.S. Challenger: VII.-Tristan da Cunha’ in Donald MacLeod (ed.), *Good Words for 1874* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1874), at pages 618–626 and C. Wyville Thomson, ‘Letters from H.M.S. Challenger: VIII.-Tristan da Cunha’ in Donald MacLeod (ed.), *Good Words for 1874* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1874), at pages 671–674. *Good Words* was a monthly periodical that Ellegard, in his detailed analysis of the mid-Victorian periodical press, describes as a “decidedly religious magazine, of some intellectual pretensions [that] appealed to the lower to upper middle classes of fair educational standard”. It claimed to have a monthly circulation of 160,000 in 1864, though this was likely an inflated figure, while Ellegard claims that it had a circulation in 1870 of 80,000, a significant readership considering that in the same year *The Times* had a circulation of 63,000. See Alvar Ellegard, ‘The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain: II. Directory’ in *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, No. 13, [Vol. 4, No. 3] (Sep., 1971), pp. 3–22, at pages 4, 20–22 and Donald Gray, ‘Review’ in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 141–144, at page 143.

¹⁵⁸ The view that the increased interest in the island was as a result of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Challenger* has also been put forward by Royle, see Stephen Royle, ‘Perilous Shipwreck’, at page 518.

¹⁵⁹ Joseph Conroy Hutcheson, *Fritz and Eric, or, the Brother Crusoes* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886). The most complete account of their tale was written by their nephew, Eric Rosenthal. See Eric Rosenthal, *Shelter from the Spray: Being the True and Surprising Story of the Brothers Frederick and Gustav Stoltenhoff, lately off Cape Town, their Various Adventures on a Desert Island and Elsewhere, their Love Affairs and Subsequent Fate* (Cape Town: Howard B. Timmins, 1952).

4.3) The shifting gaze: From island body to island bodies

Wyville Thomson and Murray wrote that “the geographical position of Tristan, long in doubt, was satisfactorily ascertained by Captain Denham in H.M.S. *Herald*, while that of Inaccessible was properly fixed after the voyage of the *Challenger* Expedition,¹⁶⁰ finally conclusively completing the process of fixing the island bodies of Tristan da Cunha, Inaccessible and Nightingale on the map. In addition to this, over the course of the nineteenth century the ocean that surrounded Tristan da Cunha was being tamed by the modernising processes of industrial capitalism. This was achieved through the greater presence of the Royal Navy, the increasing number and safety of vessels travelling upon it, and the greater understanding of what lay beneath it along with the laying of telegraph lines to physically and metaphorically connect the Atlantic world (a process undertaken and facilitated by the *Challenger* Expedition). With the fixing of the island body of Tristan da Cunha, there began a period where the attention of the navy vessels that were sent to the island became more and more focused on the island bodies that inhabited it.

While the Royal Navy vessels that visited Tristan da Cunha prior to the *Challenger* Expedition seem to have done so out of convenience as the islands lay in the track of longer journeys that had been planned for them (much as was the case with the H.M.S. *Challenger* and H.M.S. *Herald* who visited the island as part of their much broader scientific expeditions), those that came after the H.M.S. *Challenger* did so, more often than not, as a major and unwanted diversion in their journeys with the sole purpose of checking on the condition of the islanders and to deliver mail and stores.¹⁶¹ The captains of these vessels were expected to prepare reports of their visits, the majority of which were published in the British Parliamentary Papers,¹⁶² and these blue books form the biggest body of information relating to Tristan da Cunha in the period between the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* (and its published narratives) and the turn of the century. This shift in gaze that these reports signalled is perhaps best encapsulated by the fact that less than a year after the publication of the *Challenger* Expedition’s visit to the island, and before the Expedition had even returned to England, a detailed census of the islanders had been undertaken by the H.M.S. *Diamond* in October 1875.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ C. Wyville Thomson and John Murray, *Report on the Scientific Results of the Voyage of H.M.S. Challenger*, Volume 1, at page 242.

¹⁶¹ Ian R. Stone, ‘Royal Naval visits to Tristan da Cunha’, at page 156.

¹⁶² For a detailed list of Royal Naval vessel visits to Tristan da Cunha see Ian R. Stone, ‘Royal Naval visits to Tristan da Cunha’. See also J.B. Loudon, ‘Early Travellers to Tristan da Cunha’, who gives further information on some of these naval visits to Tristan da Cunha.

¹⁶³ G. Stanley Bosanquet, ‘Inclosure 3 in no. 5’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1876, at page 11.

While the concept that censuses (and the collection of other statistics for and presentation of census as well as other data), had the ability to both shape and construct identities has gained much attention in recent years,¹⁶⁴ these works have often emphasised issues of race, ethnicity and language that were embedded within the census categories.¹⁶⁵ None of these categories are present in the census of Tristan da Cunha conducted by Captain Bosanquet of the H.M.S. *Diamond* in 1875, with the categories used by him being limited to name, sex, age, place of birth, occupation, marriage status and a column for various other miscellaneous remarks. However, Oz Frankel has compellingly shown how government-sponsored investigations and publication projects in the nineteenth century (much like those that led to the collection of data for and printing by Her Majesty's Stationary Office of the 'Correspondence relating to the island of Tristan da Cunha'), which he terms 'print statism', was part of a process that allowed the state to be seen as an energetic gatherer and investigator of facts. But it also allowed the State to frame people or places captured in this fact gathering process as marginal to or outside the social body of the metropole.¹⁶⁶

The reports given of the island by these naval reports were often contradictory. For example, that of Captain Denham in 1852 published in the *Nautical Magazine* stressed the Englishness of both the island and its inhabitants and described a thriving island while that of Captain Nolloth in 1856, while also celebrating the Englishness of the islanders, painted a picture of ecological decline that led to the H.M.S. *Geyser* being sent a year later and (with the encouragement of the resident clergyman William Taylor) convinced forty-five islanders to leave for the Cape to 'prevent overpopulation'.¹⁶⁷ While some of the captains and/or medical surgeons on these visiting naval vessels were clearly perturbed by what they saw as increasing miscegenation and concurrent racial and physical degeneration of the islanders,¹⁶⁸ others stressed that the islanders were 'thriving', 'wealthy' and,

¹⁶⁴ See Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), particularly Chapter Six, 'A Statistical Representation of Work: *La Statistique de l'industrie à Paris, 1847–1848*'. For more on the capacity of the collection of statistics for and presentation of census data to shape and construct identities see, for example, Clara E. Rodriguez, *Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) and Martha Hodes, 'Fractions and Fictions in the United States Census of 1890' in Ann Laura Stoler (ed.), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), at pp. 240–270.

¹⁶⁵ Kathrin Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census: Envisioning the Multitude in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), at page 6.

¹⁶⁶ Oz Frankel, *States of Inquiry: Social Investigations and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the United States* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006). This process was aided by the promotion and wide-scale dissemination of government texts such as the blue books, a process traced by Frankel in Chapter One of his work 'Blue Books and the Market of Information'.

¹⁶⁷ M.S. Nolloth, 'Visit of the H.M.S. Frolic to Tristan da Cunha' in *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1856: A Journal of Papers on subjects connected with Maritime Affairs* (London: Simpkin, Marchall and Co. and J.D. Potter) August, 1856, pp. 401–415.

¹⁶⁸ See, for example: G. Stanley Bosanquet, 'Inclosure 2 in no. 5' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1876, at page 6; .U. Stopford, 'Respecting

despite having what some described as ‘a dash of the tar brush’ suggested that this mixing had “preserved the race in a satisfactory condition”.¹⁶⁹ Many of the other reports vacillated between these two extremes, often suggesting the islanders were well off but also suggesting fears for what the future may hold for them in both a racial and/or economic sense. For example Walter Reid’s medical report in 1887 pointed out how contented the islanders were (while also referring to racial types amongst them), and that even though they were healthy, they were becoming susceptible to virgin soil epidemics.¹⁷⁰ So while some saw the islanders as tainted by dark blood, others felt that racial admixture had preserved them. Some saw them as incapable of looking after themselves and in need of being removed for their own good, others saw an example of a thriving self-governing community. Some felt that inbreeding and other associated problems would inevitably arise due to the small size and increasing isolation of the community, while others stressed that this was not the case and they were in fact ‘fine specimens’. Some stressed the healthiness of the island and its inhabitants while others (sometimes in the same report) suggested they were becoming susceptible to virgin soil epidemics after being visited by outside vessels.

While Loudon has suggested that the differences in these descriptions of the island and its inhabitants may be partly to do with the different origins of the captains of the visiting vessels,¹⁷¹ I would suggest it was partly also due to the two potential views of the settlement that had been established by Earle that allowed it to (concurrently) be a English rural idyll in the South Atlantic while at the same time being an isolated island that over time had the potential to degenerate, a view that was gaining popularity as a result of discourses of progress and modernity that began to develop over the course of the nineteenth century. However, perhaps the most striking feature of these reports (particularly post-*Challenger*) is not the divergent and sometimes contradictory descriptions of these island bodies, but the intense interest displayed in them to begin with, no

Island of Tristan Da Cunha’, 19 December, 1889, in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1897, at page 3; and H.L. Watt-Jones, ‘Enclosure in Letter of Proceedings of 9th February 1903’, in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, June 1903, at page 13.

¹⁶⁹ See, for example: M.S. Nolloth, ‘Visit of the H.M.S. Frolic to Tristan da Cunha’ in *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle for 1856: A Journal of Papers on subjects connected with Maritime Affairs* (London: Simpkin, Marchall and Co. and J.D. Potter) August, 1856, pp. 401–415; Noel S.F. Digby, ‘Inclosure No. 1’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1876, at page 1; S. Rolleston, ‘Enclosure in No. 6’, 20 March, 1893, in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1897, at page 9; and W.S.H. Sequeira, ‘Sub-Enclosure 3’, 1 February 1904, in *British Parliamentary Papers: Further Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan da Cunha*, September 1906, at page 9.

¹⁷⁰ Walter Reid M.D., ‘Medical Report of Tristan d’Acunha’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1887, at page 5. See also Lindesay Brine, ‘Report upon the Island of Tristan d’Acunha’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1887, at pages 3–4.

¹⁷¹ J.B. Loudon, ‘Early Travellers to Tristan da Cunha’, at pages 153–155.

doubt partly a result of these officers being trained ‘what to see’ and ‘how to see’. The anthropological nature of these reports seemed self-evident to Loudon and his own analysis of them was in the context of a book on African Social Anthropology dedicated to Isaac Schapera, the social anthropologist famous for his ethnographic and typological studies of indigenous groups in southern Africa. This decidedly anthropological turn in the descriptions of the islanders is alluded to by Loudon when he suggests that there was a trend in these reports away from referring to those living on Tristan da Cunha as “settlers” or “inhabitants” towards them being labeled as “islanders” or “natives”.¹⁷²

Another interesting aspect of these naval reports is the fact that, unlike the texts relating to the island analysed earlier that were univocal in nature (even though they may have been the product of what Craciun refers to as ‘aggregate authors’), the *Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan da Cunha* in which the naval reports were published, like other Blue Book publications, is polyvocal in nature and reflects the large number of individuals and institutions involved in their making.¹⁷³ As a result of this polyvocality, they swing from providing historical information, to ethnographic descriptions and bureaucratic counting, from institutional formalism to subjective views and observations (sometimes these shifts themselves permeating the same report). Partly as a result of this no coherent narrative of the island could be formed within these reports and the archive in which they were housed.

Prior to 1875 reports on Tristan da Cunha were published in texts such as John Purdy’s *Sailing Directory’s* and the *Nautical Magazine*. The *Nautical Magazine* was developed and subsidised by the Admiralty as a means of disseminating information sent by naval vessels and the Merchant Navy to the Hydrographic Office. It became an organ for the dissemination and collection of useful knowledge that it was felt would improve the Royal and Merchant Navy and courted a wide readership in an attempt to create a well informed reading community that transcended class and nationality.¹⁷⁴ The same, it could be said, was true of Purdy’s *Directory’s*. So while the reports that appeared in Purdy’s *Directory’s* and the *Nautical Magazine* were part of a collective and connective enterprise – Purdy’s sailing directory of the Atlantic World, for example, by its very nature assumed connective voyages across this ocean while the *Nautical Magazine* collected information from various voyages in a similar way – the purpose of the Blue Book was to isolate and carve out

¹⁷² J.B. Loudon, ‘Early Travellers to Tristan da Cunha’, at page 156.

¹⁷³ Oz Frankel, ‘Instructing the Liberal Subject: Facts and Voice in Victorian Blue Books’ in Mordechai Feingold (ed.), *History of Universities*, Vol. XXVII/1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), at page 89.

¹⁷⁴ Megan Barford, ‘Fugitive Hydrography: The *Nautical Magazine* and the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty, c. 1832–1850’ in *The International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (2015), pp. 208–226.

particular spaces and issues in order mark them out as fields/sites of study that could make state activity (in this case via the Royal Navy) visible. Thus the creation of a series of correspondence relating to the island itself signaled it as a site of investigation and one that needed constant monitoring. So despite the differing views of the report writers, what they all implicitly show was that the islanders needed to be seen and reports on their condition written, sent back to the metropole, and published and disseminated through the Blue Books.

The fact that the vessels that collected this data on Tristan da Cunha were often sent out for the explicit purpose of checking on the wellbeing of the islanders following various reports during this period of crop failure and apparent starvation (which were themselves catalogued in the Blue Books), allowed the collection of census data and other naval reports and correspondence relating to the island in a set of Parliamentary Papers to immediately frame Islanders as marginal to the social body of the metropole. If, as Appadurai has claimed, “statistics are to bodies and social types what maps are to territories: they flatten and enclose”,¹⁷⁵ then this process of flattening (in conjunction with the increasingly rigid racial boundaries that developed over the course of the late nineteenth century and the increasing isolation of the island as the shift from sail to steam started to limit the number of vessels that stopped there) shrunk the conceptual space that had previously allowed the islanders to be constructed as a Romantic rural English idyll displaced into the South Atlantic.

Even though the census conducted by Bosanquet may not have explicitly listed race as a category and while the vessels that followed may not have provided statistical information relating to the island in table form like Captain Bosanquet had, there is a clear shift in gaze in these texts manifested by the creation of a series of Blue Books devoted to the island. There was a new focus on gathering information on the islanders: their numbers, the numbers of the stock they kept; what they grew; the number of vessels they had been able to trade with; the list of goods that had been given to them; their racial characteristics (which varied from report to report); and their physical and economic condition. This anthropological turn reached its apotheosis with the most detailed report on the island written by the self-taught anthropologist William Hammond Tooke (the Acting Secretary for the Department of Agriculture at the Cape) who was sent to Tristan da Cunha in January, 1904, to investigate the possibility of removing the inhabitants to the Cape Colony.¹⁷⁶ This

¹⁷⁵ Appadurai quoted in David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel (eds.), *Census and Identity*, at page 6.

¹⁷⁶ A report which the anthropologist William Hammond-Tooke (the son of the author of the report) has described as “one of the most valuable on the island and its inhabitants”. See William D. Hammond Tooke, *Imperfect Interpreters: South Africa’s Anthropologists 1920–1990* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University

desire to try and remove the islanders was in part a result not only of Tristan da Cunha's increasing isolation but also a response to the increased focus on, and concern with, the island bodies themselves. The unsettling of the previously secure images and descriptions of the islanders, was once more met with an (unsuccessful) attempt to unsettle the island itself.

4.4) Conclusion

Through an analysis of these visits to Tristan da Cunha by the H.M.S. *Galatea* and the H.M.S. *Challenger*, the widening divergence that was signalled in the previous chapter between depictions of the island as a Romantic rural idyll or as a site that needed to be closely monitored due to the potential degeneration of the island body(ies) can be more clearly seen. By tracing the origins and purpose of the Duke's visit to the island, we can better understand the decision to frame the island through the prism of the Romantic in the narrative of his Royal Tour. The attempt by the British monarchy to both portray themselves as British while also highlighting familiarity between the metropole and the colonial peripheries opened up the space for the islanders of Tristan da Cunha to attempt to actively frame themselves as members of the social body of the metropole (a view that was widely propagated and disseminated through reviews of this text and reproductions of the images included within it), which aligned with the broader aims of the Duke's voyage.

While this strand of viewing Tristan da Cunha through the prism of Earle's Romantic rural idyll would continue into the twentieth century and notably rose to the surface once more at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 (as will be shown in Chapter Six), the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* marked the beginning of a new era where the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha increasingly came to be viewed through a scientific lens with the aid of new technologies of observation and examination, which metaphorically unsettled these Romantic depictions of the island. The aims and composition of the *Challenger* Expedition was a reflection of the reorganisation of knowledge and the systemic shift in the makeup of vision that had been wrought by the rise of industrial modernity, while the directives to 'obtain photographs of natives to one scale' was a reflection of the hardening of racial boundaries over the course of the late nineteenth century as 'natives' were to be photographed, catalogued, and studied as an interchangeable 'other'. This 'unsettling' occurred in various ways. The *Challenger* narratives unsettled the previous positive portrayals of the islanders through their telling

Press, 1997), at page 11. Soon after writing the report, Hammond-Tooke would take up a position teaching social anthropology at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown. See Cornelis Plug, 'Tooke, Mr William Hammond (Anthropologist)', http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=2856 (accessed on 16 January 2016).

of the Stoltenhoff tale, while the images they produced and published of Tristan da Cunha unsettled those produced by Earle and Brierly. More importantly, the shift to photography being seen as the tool through which 'true images' could be captured (signalled by the presence of an expedition photographer on the *Challenger*) suggested that the previous painted images themselves were not to be trusted as a binary economy between art and science developed with the work of the artist being seen as inventive rather than mimetic. This reorganisation of knowledge and systemic shift in the makeup of vision over the course of the late nineteenth century allowed Brierly's image to be quickly overwritten by the new and rapidly developing technology of photography.

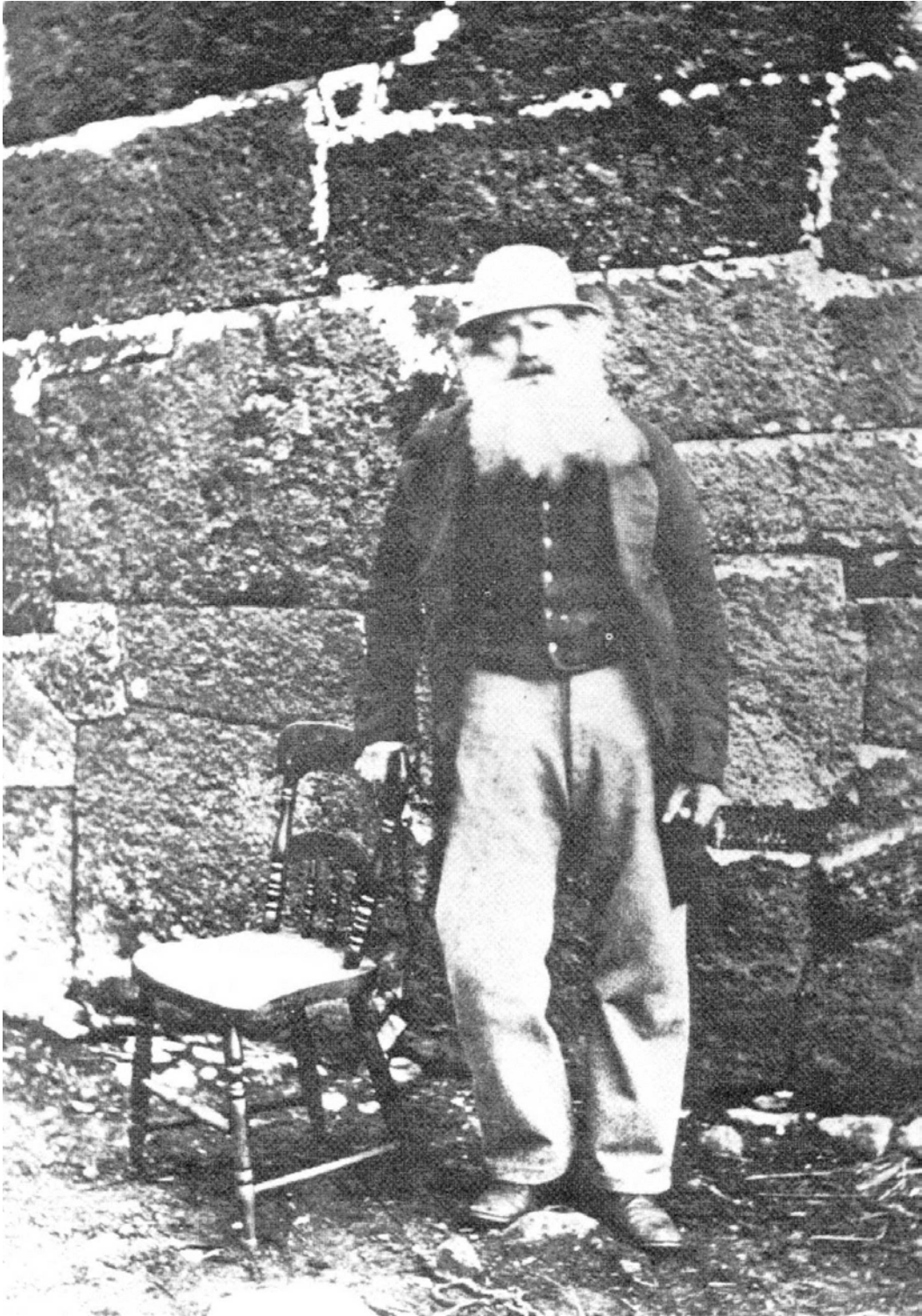
The first photograph of the island (in conjunction with the narratives of the *Challenger* Expedition and the naval vessels that travelled to Tristan da Cunha in its wake), introduced a new focus on the island bodies that would plug Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants into a very different set of discourses in the early twentieth century. While the new techniques of photographic reproduction would lead to a tidal wave of images being produced across the world, photographs of Tristan da Cunha would only re-enter the public eye with the publication of Kathleen Barrow's *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* in 1910 (which, as will be seen in the following chapter also framed the islanders as others). The image of William Glass (which was originally a celebration of hardy Britons populating the remotest regions of the world and a celebration of a rural idyllic) would come to stand as the defining image of the community, and symbolised Tristan da Cunha's increasing estrangement from the rapidly modernising metropole and the new circuits of empire that had developed by the end of the nineteenth century.

The transformation of how space and time was experienced in the Western world (as the rise of steamships, railways, and the telegraph made the world physically more accessible while photographs made it visually and conceptually more accessible)¹⁷⁷ saw the island become stranded outside these new circuits of empire. The island body came to be seen as a site/sight of degeneration and a troubling/disturbing counter-narrative to what David Johnson has referred to as the meta-narrative of British imperial progress.¹⁷⁸ Over the course of the early twentieth century these new discourses led to the (re)presentation of the islanders from 'Anglo-Saxon settlers' to 'natives' of Tristan da Cunha and it is this shift and some of the responses to it that will form the focus of Part 2 of this work.

¹⁷⁷ Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, 'Introduction: Photography and the Geographical Imagination' in Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan (eds.), *Picturing Place and the Geographical Imagination* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2003), at page 2.

¹⁷⁸ David Johnson, *Imagining the Cape Colony: History, Literature, and the South African Nation* (Claremont: University of Cape Town Press, 2012), at page 121.

PART TWO
THE ISLAND BODIES



Chapter Five

From an 'Out-of-the-Way' to an 'Out-of-the-World Spot': Vernian and Missionary (re)presentations of Tristan da Cunha at the turn of the nineteenth century

Part One of this thesis has focused on how Tristan da Cunha was drawn into various networks of empire and, through the production of texts and images by the likes of Earle, Brierly, and John Milner, the islanders were framed as forming part of the social body of the metropole. This is not to say that the framing of the island as an English rural idyll transplanted into the South Atlantic went uncontested (as can be seen by Taylor's attempts to unsettle the island) but merely to point out that it was only with the visit of the H.M.S. *Challenger* that the islanders' claims to being part of the social body of the metropole began to be significantly challenged. Part Two of this work aims to show how these concerted challenges led to new constructions of the islanders as natives of Tristan da Cunha rather than British settlers.

This chapter analyses some of the textual productions relating to Tristan da Cunha at the turn of the nineteenth century. In particular, it will focus on the appearance of Tristan da Cunha in two of the fictional works of Jules Verne as well as the texts produced by the resident missionaries sent to the island during this period. Through an analysis of these texts, this chapter will trace how depictions of the island and its inhabitants shifted from those of the rural English idyll to successive descriptions of the island as an 'out-of-the-way spot', then an 'edge-of-the-world spot', and finally, an 'out-of-the-world spot'. Each of these shifts were matched by a reframing of the island's inhabitants that saw them become further and further estranged from the markers that had initially allowed them access to the social body of the metropole.

Jules Verne was one of the most popular authors of the nineteenth century, but his work relating to Tristan da Cunha has remained unanalysed. This is a rather significant lacuna considering the popularity of his work and the fact that his representations of the island would, in all likelihood, have been the most widely read ones. This lacuna is particularly significant when we consider the fact that writers such as Richard Phillips and Patrick Brantlinger, have shown the various ways in which

adventure literature fed European geographical imaginations and the profound implications these had on both metropole and periphery.¹

While Jules Verne needs no introduction, the missionaries on Tristan da Cunha at the turn of the century are rather less known, though the first of them also had a link to the world of fictional literature. Edwin Heron Dodgson succeeded William Taylor and had two stints on the island between 1881 and 1889. While he has been described as being “solidly embedded” in the history of Tristan da Cunha,² outside the milieu of those familiar with Tristan da Cunha’s history he is merely a footnote in the history of his celebrated brother, Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, better known by his *nom de plume* Lewis Carroll, author of *Alice in Wonderland*. Dodgson was the product of a very different set of concerns in missionary thought in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which reflected in the training their missionaries received. As metropolitan mission societies professionalised their workforce, the Anglican Church also faced perhaps its greatest challenge during this era, that of adapting to the radical realignments that resulted from the introduction and rapid spread of Darwin’s theory of evolution in the metropole following the publication of his *On the Origin of the Species* in 1859. This resulted in a very different discourse in Dodgson’s textual productions, particularly regarding evolution resulting in him attempting to (unsuccessfully) evacuate the island.

The discourses of isolation and the potential for degeneration that were flagged by Dodgson were built upon by Kathleen Barrow, whose husband succeeded him as resident missionary in 1906. Upon her return to the metropole, Kathleen Barrow’s purported journal of her time spent on the island was published under the title *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*. This popular text (first published in 1910) became a key reference for all subsequent writers about the island. The context of Barrow’s writing, however, has been ignored and through a close reading of this context and the main themes embedded in her text, we can see a very different construction of both the island and its inhabitants which played an important part in the concerted effort by the resident missionary’s that followed Barrow to frame it as a mission station and its inhabitants as nativised others, a process elaborated upon in Chapter Seven.

¹ Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A geography of adventure*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) and Patrick Brantlinger, *Victorian Literature and Postcolonial Studies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). Martin Green has gone so far as to argue that adventure texts such as those produced by Daniel Defoe and the writers of robinsonades who followed in his wake “[were] the energising myth of empire”, see Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979), at page xi.

² Morten N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, Vol. 1 ca. 1837–1885 (London: Macmillan London Limited, 1979), at page 534.

5.1) An out-of-the-way spot: the Vernian travels of Tristan da Cunha

Phillips has suggested that while *Robinson Crusoe* remains the most important adventure book, Jules Verne was the most important adventure writer and he had a wide British following partly as a result of his penchant for creating texts that had British heroes and featured British imperial settings.³ The portrayals of Tristan da Cunha that were widely disseminated (such as Earle's *Narrative* and the narrative of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea*) as well as the regular recounting of its position and history in shipping directories (such as those of John Purdy) circulated widely enough for the island to come to the attention of Verne, perhaps the most popular author of the late nineteenth century. Tristan da Cunha made a brief appearance in two of his texts. The first, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, was published in 1868 (at the same time as the Duke of Edinburgh was completing his world tour) with an English translation produced in 1873 (*In Search of the Castaways* before being published in 1876 as *A Voyage Round the World*).⁴ The second was first published in 1897 as *Le Sphinx des Glaces* (with an English translation first published in 1898 with the title *An Antarctic Mystery*).⁵ These two texts, published thirty years apart, suggest a marked shift in the representations of the island, and signal the increasing isolation of the community and the change in metropolitan perceptions that resulted.

Both texts were part of the corpus that formed Verne's *Voyages Extraordinaires dans les mondes connus et inconnus* (Extraordinary journeys into the known and unknown worlds), described by Timothy Unwin as "[a] vast corpus of novels written over a forty-two year period from 1863 to 1905". This corpus, which he describes as forming "quintessentially a document about a changing world",⁶ consisted of eighty or so titles where travel and technology moved centre stage as Verne's texts were driven forward by machines with the power "to shrink the globe, enable communication, facilitate construction, or, in some cases, precipitate destruction".⁷ This series of texts, Andrew

³ Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, at page 129.

⁴ Jules Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant: Voyage autour du monde* (Paris: Bibliothèque et de recreation, 1868). The first English translation was titled *In Search of the Castaways: A romantic narrative of the loss of Captain Grant of the brig Britannia and of the adventures of his children and friends in his discovery and rescue* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1873), while it was later released as *A Voyage Round the World* (New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1876).

⁵ Jules Verne, *Le Sphinx des Glaces* (Paris: Bibliothèque et de recreation, 1897) and *An Antarctic Mystery* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1898).

⁶ Timothy Unwin, 'Jules Verne: Negotiating Change in the Nineteenth Century' in *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, A Jules Verne Centenary (Mar., 2005), pp. 5–17, at page 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Martin notes, seemed to encapsulate attempts in the nineteenth century for a final and total reordering of human affairs, and in its sheer scope, there was an echo of the *Encyclopédie*.⁸

The *Voyages Extraordinaires* was published by Pierre-Jules Hetzel, a French editor and publisher who worked closely with Verne, and many of the texts first appeared in a serial format in Hetzel's *Bibliothèque illustrée des Familles* (later renamed *Le Magasin d'éducation et de récréation*).⁹ Hetzel wanted the series of novels to be "strongly didactic, highly entertaining, morally wholesome, and appealing to young and old alike",¹⁰ and they were soon translated into English and often appeared in serialised version in papers such as *The Boys Own Paper*.¹¹ Soon after their publication in English, his texts were published in numerous cheaper series, such as Routledge's 'Every Boy's Library'.¹² In the preface to the first text of the series, Hetzel wrote that Verne's goal was to "to summarise all the knowledge of geography, geology, physics and astronomy that modern science has amassed, and to retell, in the attractive and picturesque way that is his hallmark, the history of the universe".¹³ Gracq notes how his texts covered the sea (*Vingt mille lieues sous les mers*), the air (*Cinq semaines en ballon*), the earth (*Voyage au centre de la terre*), the Arctic and Antarctic, all of the major regions of the planet, and, through 'intercontinental novels' such as *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*, or *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, he bound the corpus together into a coherent entity.¹⁴

⁸ Andrew Martin, *The Mask of the Prophet: The Extraordinary Fictions of Jules Verne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), at pages 29 and 183.

⁹ The Illustrated Family Library and the Educational and Recreational Magazine [my translation].

¹⁰ Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne: Exploring the Limits' in *Australian Journal of French Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2005), pp. 265–275, at page 267.

¹¹ Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne's English Translations' in *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, Jules Verne Centenary (Mar., 2005), pp. 80–104, at page 83.

¹² Alec Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), at pages 76–77. Routledge, for example, published several of Verne's texts in the Every Boy's Library series in the 1870s, and the same title was published in varying increments from 1s. for the Every Boy's Library series, to 3s. 6d. in the 'Reward Books' series, the difference in cost depending on the quality of the paper, the number of illustrations, and the style of binding amongst other things. See A. Fyfe, 'Copyrights and competition: Producing and protecting children's books in the nineteenth century' in *Publishing History*, Vol. 45 (1999), pp. 35–59, at page 36.

¹³ Quoted in Timothy Unwin, *Jules Verne: Journeys in Writing* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), at page 26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, at page 28.

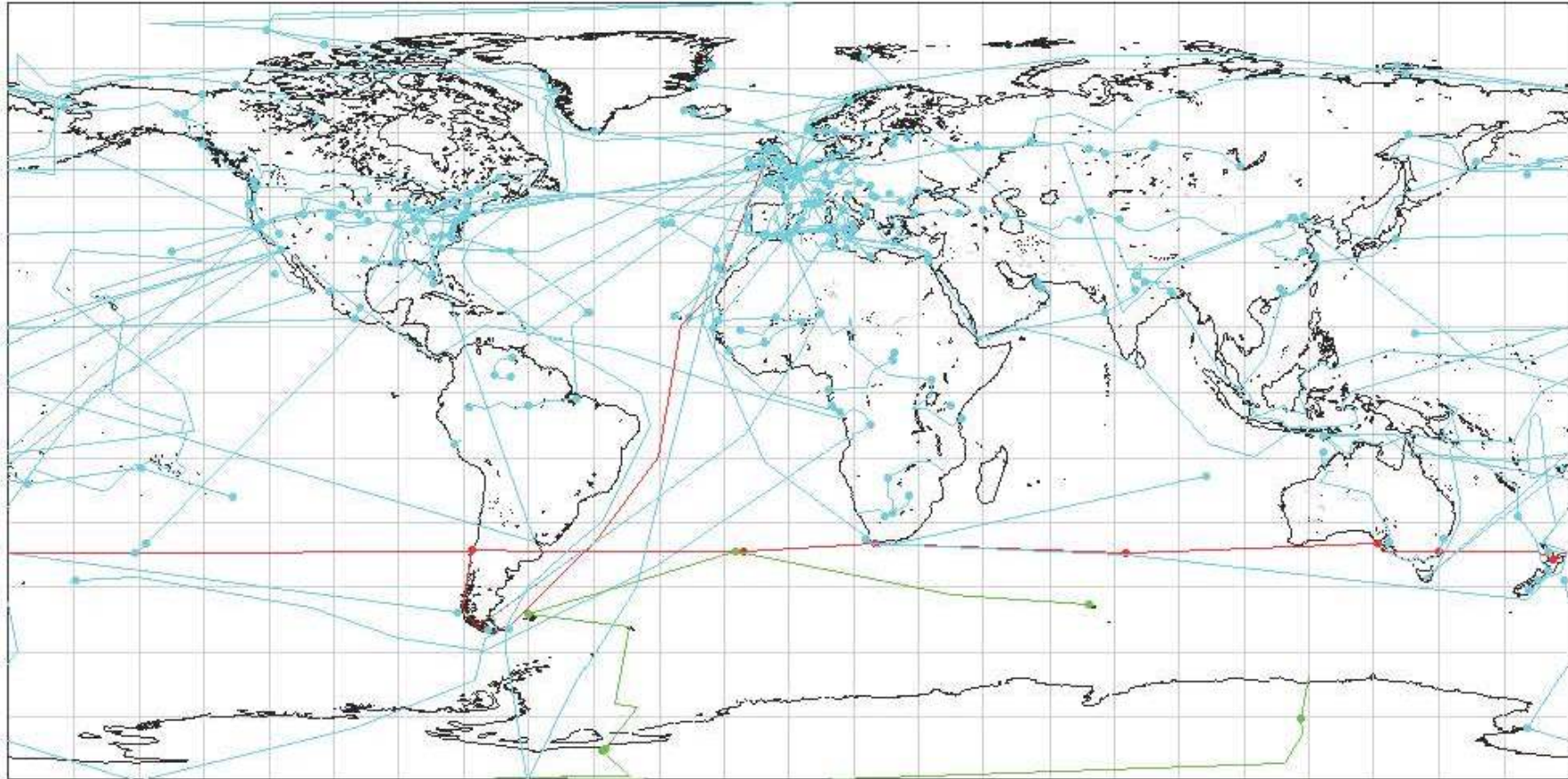


Figure 5.1: Map plotting the travels of the various protagonists in Verne's 'Voyages Extraordinaires'. The travels by the protagonists of *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* are marked by a red line while those of the protagonists in *Le Sphinx des Glaces* are marked by a green line.¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://verne.garmtdevries.nl/en/voyages/world.cgi>

While not every region of the globe is covered, his texts covered a substantial portion (see Figure 5.1) and by noting the geographical features and characteristics of the various regions, they disseminated an astonishing amount of information.¹⁶ By and large, Verne's corpus only visited most places once (though certain areas attracted return voyages such as the Poles and South America). This makes the places he did 'visit' twice all the more noteworthy, as with each visit Verne could (and did) provide substantial new amounts of detail and information as he integrated the massive influx of new information from returning voyages of exploration and scientific discovery as well as other scientific discoveries that were being produced over the half-century he was published.¹⁷ Through the use of newly emerging and rapidly advancing technologies (such as steam travel and telegraphy), Verne's texts and the characters within them travelled to and described the little known margins of nineteenth century European civilisation.¹⁸ Thus Verne's work drew Tristan da Cunha into the global textual geography of his *Voyages extraordinaires*.

The first text to feature Tristan da Cunha was *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* and, as with most of Verne's oeuvre, it moves from events in a recent past to a narrative present that coincides with the actual moment of the book's writing.¹⁹ It is the story of a search for Captain Grant by his children along with the help of friendly benefactors, in a hybrid steam/sail vessel under a Captain Mangles (possibly a reference to Henry Mangles Denham, the captain of the H.M.S. *Herald*, which visited the island in 1852). Following the discovery of a container in a shark's belly containing three versions of a single text in different languages, the protagonists find that Captain Grant has been shipwrecked. However, damage to the text means that it can be interpreted in a number of ways and the only information available to the search party is that the wreck occurred on the 37th line of latitude (the line of latitude on which Tristan da Cunha lies). Thus follows a round the world tale of adventure along this line of latitude as the protagonists travel from Europe to South America, Tristan da Cunha, Cape Town, Amsterdam Island and Australia. Unwin and Mastro, amongst others, have noted how Verne's novels were geographically based as Verne began his texts by choosing a location first rather than characters. The same seems to be the case with *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* as this line of latitude contained islands well known for shipwrecks.

¹⁶ Ibid., at pages 27–28. In these texts, Unwin points out “[all] at once, science, travel, geography and technology loom massively in the frame”.

¹⁷ Julia Mastro, *Jules Verne's Textual Mapping: Plotting Geography* (Doctor of Philosophy: University of North Carolina, 2008), at page 41.

¹⁸ Timothy Unwin, *Jules Verne: Journeys in Writing*, at page 16. Kinane argues that texts Robinsonades such as these acted as “quasi-anthropological texts”, see Ian Kinane, *Theorising Literary Islands: The Island Trope in Contemporary Robinsonade Narratives* (London: Rowman & Littlefield International, Ltd., 2017), at page 6.

¹⁹ Timothy Unwin, ‘Jules Verne: Negotiating Change in the Nineteenth Century’, at page 6.

Josiah Blackmore has shown how shipwreck and the tales produced from and about them often undermined the master narrative of imperialism in its cultural, political and economic valences as shipwreck itself was a sign of failure (as the vessel never reaches its predetermined destination). Thus the symbolic imaginary of a controlled and forward-moving empire is ruptured.²⁰ Shipwreck was disruptive for imperial narratives emanating from the metropole and was seen as a disturbing moment when a series of power reversals had the potential to begin as the survivors were estranged from the home nation and its structures of power. This could, however, explain why the English edition of the text (*In Search of the Castaways*) chose to ignore Verne's listing of three shipwrecks that he claims occurred at the island group (the *Blenden Hall* in 1821, the *Primanguet* in 1845, and the *Philadelphia* in 1857).²¹ This decision was made despite the fact that the excision of all reference to shipwrecks on Tristan da Cunha made the island's appearance in the narrative superfluous and suggests an attempt on the part of the translator and publisher to keep Tristan da Cunha in the text while at the same time minimising its potential to be seen as a site of the failure of empire by being a site of shipwreck. Although the references to these wrecks was restored to the 1876 edition (*A Voyage Around the World*), this initial excision signals the ways in which Verne's texts were often the victim to radical changes in their English editions, including the titles themselves which often bore no resemblance to the original.²²

The English editions of Verne's texts were frequently abridged by the excision of the scientific and larger descriptive passages (according to Evans, up to 20%-40% of the original in many cases), the dilution of anti-British or anti-American references, new character names, the insertion of new scenes (and the deletion of others) and the relabelling of chapters.²³ The first English edition of *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant (In Search of the Castaways)* was the victim of what Evans considers the worst case of abridgement of Verne's oeuvre in translation. Ten of the seventy chapters were removed, the text was put together into one volume instead of three while the typography and page size were adjusted so that the book consisted of 620 pages and therefore seemed identical to the

²⁰ See Josiah Blackmore, *Manifest Perdition: Shipwreck Narrative and the Disruption of Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002). Blackmore is referring specifically to the case of Portuguese shipwreck narratives in the early years of the Portuguese empire but his analysis, I would argue, can be extended to the maritime based British empire as well and some scholarship that leans in this direction can be seen in Margarette Lincoln, 'Shipwreck narratives of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century: indicators of culture and identity' in *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 20 (1997), pp. 155–172.

²¹ While these two latter wrecks do not seem to have actually occurred, or if they did, they were not reported in Britain. The wreck of the *Blenden Hall* was well publicised and multiple texts relating to it were published over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century.

²² For example, instead of *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* being directly translated as 'the children of Captain Grant', it became *In Search of the Castaways* and then *A Voyage Round the World*. See Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne's English Translations', at page 90.

²³ Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne's English Translations', at page 80.

original Hetzel luxury octavo edition.²⁴ Such selective removal of text has led Evans to argue that this expungement was a result of ideological censorship as the texts were changed to promote a pro-Anglo political agenda with any perceived anti-British or anti-American content being removed.²⁵ Evans also notes how many references to Catholicism were removed if it was portrayed in opposition to Protestantism while portions deemed to be of dubious morality or bad taste met the same fate.²⁶ This was essentially a second layer of censorship as Hetzel often intervened in Verne's texts to ensure they reflected the social mores of French society,²⁷ as the *Voyages extraordinaires* coincided with, and were themselves part of, a broader attempt to generate support among French youth for empire.²⁸

The chapter of *In Search of the Castaways* dealing with Tristan da Cunha was also a victim of these excisions. The chapters on Tristan and Amsterdam Island were joined together and the amount of pages cut by almost half though the images from these chapters were retained.²⁹ The French edition contains a description of the history of Tristan da Cunha, describes the protagonists meeting William Glass, clearly identified in the text as a Scotsman, and visiting the village. The islanders are described as follows:

The population of Tristan da Cunha does not exceed more than 150 inhabitants. They are English and Americans married to negresses and Cape Hottentots, who leave nothing to desire when it comes to reports of their ugliness. The children of these heterogeneous households present a very disagreeable mix of Anglo-Saxon stiffness and African blackness.³⁰

Racist views such as these were not uncommon in Verne's oeuvre and he was himself heavily influenced by the ideas of Gobineau, which were common currency in France at the time he was writing.³¹ His texts often placed blacks in the same realm as animals.³² By contrast, the English

²⁴ Ibid., at page 84.

²⁵ This is perhaps best seen by Verne's critique of British rule in India being transformed into a testimonial of their 'civilising' influence. See Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne's English Translations', at pages 91 and 93.

²⁶ Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne's English Translations', at page 94.

²⁷ Arthur B. Evans, 'Jules Verne: Exploring the Limits', at page 268.

²⁸ Though Dine suggests this project never managed to impose a hegemonic meta-narrative in the same way that Richards suggests was achieved in Britain. See Philip Dine, 'The French Colonial Empire in Juvenile Fiction: From Jules Verne to Tintin' in *Historical Reflections*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring, 1997), pp. 177–203, at pages 178 and 182.

²⁹ Jules Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, at pages 227–244 and *In Search of the Castaways*, at pages 262–270.

³⁰ Jules Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, at page 227 [my translation].

³¹ See Peter Aberger, 'The Portrayal of Blacks in Jules Verne's *Voyages Extraordinaires*' in *The French Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Dec., 1979), pp. 199–206, at page 202 and Philip Dine, 'The French Colonial Empire in Juvenile Fiction', at page 184.

³² For example in one of his first *Voyages extraordinaires*, a horde of apes is mistaken for Africans, and he often referred to Africans as *singes* [monkeys]. For more on Verne's representations on Africans in his texts, see

version describes the island as being governed by “a British official from the Cape of Good Hope”, and the description of the meeting with the islanders is truncated to one paragraph and simply states “[t]hey [the crew] saw and were seen by the sparse population that subsist here, and in the afternoon of the same day the yacht left the islands and islanders so rarely visited”.³³

The images (which played a key role in Verne’s oeuvre) although common to both texts, are also subject to the ideological manipulation of the translators/publishers of the English edition.³⁴ Evans notes that the images (as is the case in *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* and *In Search of the Castaways*) generally preceded their textual counterparts by at least a page or two in order to arouse the curiosity of the reader and incite them to continue reading.³⁵ This of course also meant that these images would strongly shape the views of the place or action captured as it preceded the text. Georges Borgeaud has gone so far as to claim that “[it] is not the text which defines the illustration, but the illustration which defines the text”.³⁶ Evans goes on to note how the passages chosen for illustration had less to do with their importance to the storyline and more to do with “their intrinsic pedagogical value and/or their potential for enhancing the stories local color, verisimilitude, or metaphoric content”.³⁷ Their pedagogical value would have been particularly important considering Hetzel’s overall aims and the fact that not all the readers of the text would have been fully literate, and they therefore enhanced both the mimetic and didactic dimensions of Verne’s novels.³⁸

Peter Aberger, ‘The Portrayal of Blacks in Jules Verne’s *Voyages Extraordinaires*’ in *The French Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Dec., 1979), pp. 199–206.

³³ Jules Verne, *In Search of the Castaways*, at page 266.

³⁴ Images played a key role in Verne’s texts and are notable for their sheer number. Evans notes how each novel in the *Voyages extraordinaires* series had an average of over 60 illustrations, one for every 6–8 pages of text in the original in-octavo editions. Though despite this (or perhaps precisely because of their sheer number), these have remained virtually ignored in the field of Vernian criticism. See Arthur B. Evans, ‘The Illustrators of Jules Verne’s ‘*Voyages Extraordinaires*’ in *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 25 (1998), pp. 241–270, at page 241.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, at page 242.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, at page 247.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, at page 242.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, at page 247.

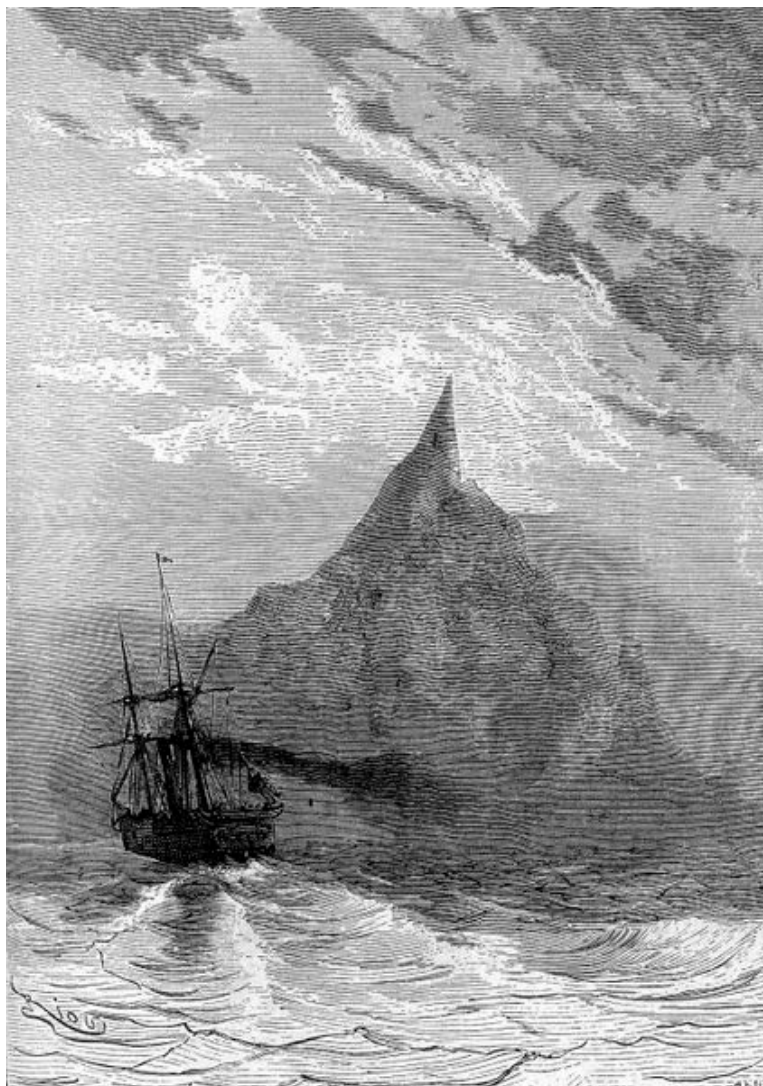


Figure 5.2: Image of Tristan da Cunha from *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* and *In Search of the Castaways*.³⁹

The first image of Tristan da Cunha (see Figure 5.2) appears in *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* with the caption ‘Tristan d’Acunha (p. 230)’ and is one that heightens ideas of the potential of the island as a site of shipwreck. The gothic spire and jagged edges as well as the dark lighting (in direct contrast to the previous images of Tristan da Cunha seen earlier by William Alexander for example) suggests the potential of the island to pierce soft wooden hulls and in fact directly contradicts the text, which clearly describes the peak as conical. This representation, it is safe to say, was not simply an error or lack of ability on the part of the artist,⁴⁰ but was purposefully drawn for its symbolic and didactic value in mind.

³⁹ Jules Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, at page 225 and *In Search of the Castaways*, at page 260.

⁴⁰ Although not a great deal is known about some of the artists and engravers who illustrated Verne’s text, we do know that the images in *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* were produced by Edward Riou – a landscape painter and painter of commemorative landscapes who was well known for his contributions to a wide variety

The textual description of the peak as conical is rather oddly highlighted in *In Search of the Castaways* where it is produced with the caption ‘At sunrise they saw the conical peak of Tristan, seemingly separated from all the rest of the rocky group – page 263’. By pointing this out in the caption the publisher may have been trying to mediate the symbolism of the image. Perhaps more interestingly, an image of the protagonists on Amsterdam Island (see Figure 5.3), which is clearly listed as such in the French edition as being situated in the chapter relating to Amsterdam Island has been reproduced in the English edition as being an illustration of Tristan da Cunha (the caption in *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* is ‘La maison était située au fond d’un port naturel (p. 242) [The house is situated at the end of a natural port] while the caption in *In Search of the Castaways* reads ‘Our friends found a few voluntary exiles on the former island, who, by means of seal-fishing, eke out a scanty existence in this out-of-the-way spot – page 266’). This also seems to have been an ideologically charged decision as the image is the only one that suggests any attempt at domesticating the island (the only other image in the texts is one of the crew hunting seals) and in the English edition all the textual information relating to the productions of the island had been excised. This image may thus have been reappropriated to act as a sign of the ability to domesticate untamed land and bring civilisation (albeit only a ‘scanty existence’) to an ‘out-of-the-way spot’.

The excision of much of the historical and spatial description from Verne’s text in the first English edition was not only a result of ideological choices but also due to a belief that much of this information consisted of ‘dead space’.⁴¹ The publishers and translators of these English editions failed to recognise that these were the moments when locations were ‘created’ and brought into popular circulation through the creation of textual maps in which Verne referenced the known world in order to move through the unknown world. These textual passages that read like maps, Phillips argues, allowed readers “to position and reposition themselves, to negotiate identities and geographies”.⁴² In the case of Tristan da Cunha, the excision of this material from the first English edition, despite the ideological interventions described above, simply left behind a description of a forbidding island with its inhabitants eking out an existence in an ‘out-of-the-way spot’.

of French books and popular magazines. See Arthur B. Evans, ‘The Illustrators of Jules Verne’s ‘Voyages Extraordinaires’ in *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 25 (1998), pp. 241–270, at pages 247 and 250.

⁴¹ Julia Mastro, *Jules Verne’s Textual Mapping*, at page 218.

⁴² Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire*, at page 142.

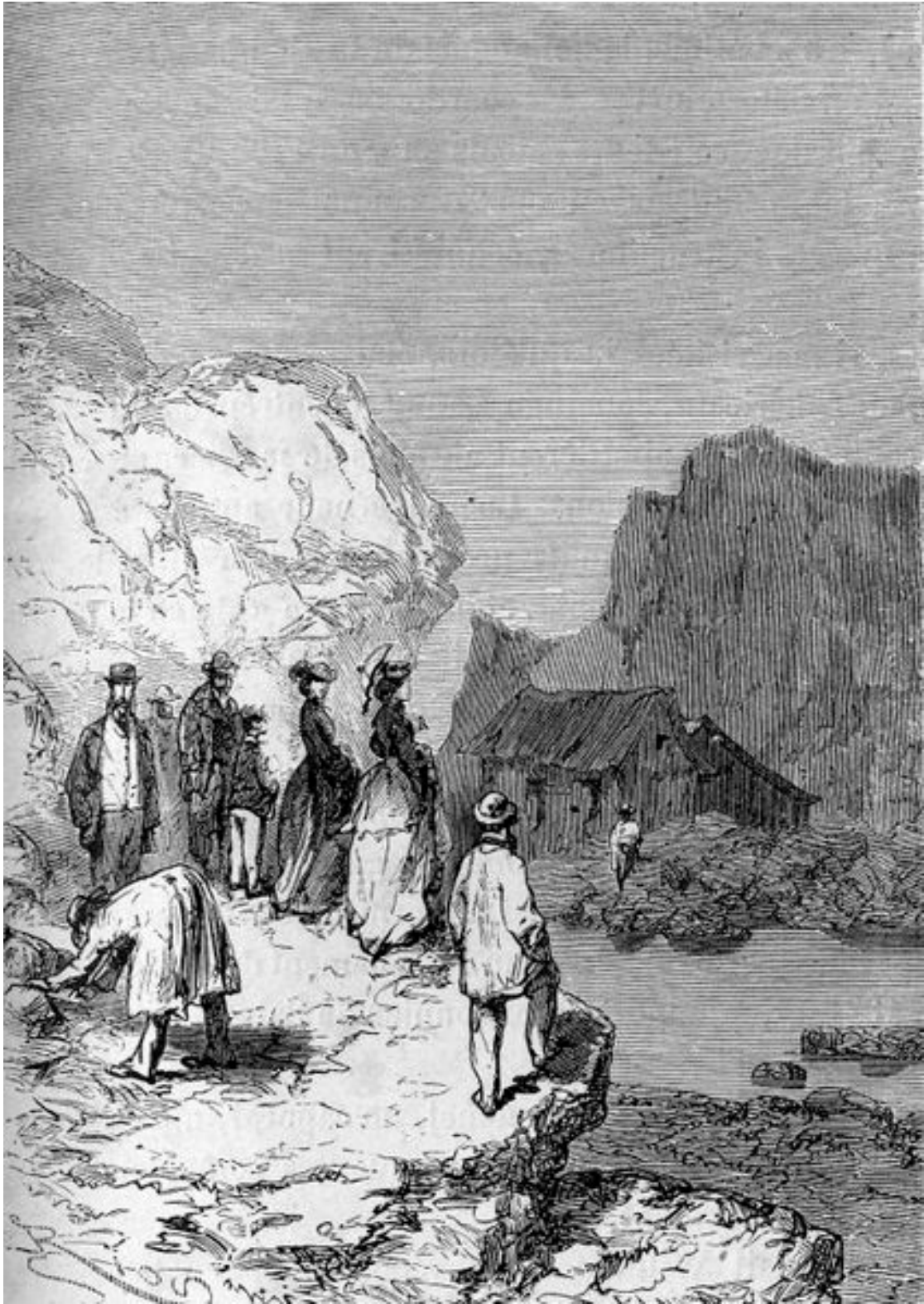


Figure 5.3: Image of Amsterdam Island in *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant: Voyage autour du monde* and *In Search of the Castaways*.⁴³

⁴³ Jules Verne, *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*, at page 233 and *In Search of the Castaways*, at page 264.

While much of this information was restored in the 1876 English edition (*A Voyage Round the World*), there are still some notable absences and significant ideological re-workings. For example, Verne's reference to the wreck of the H.M.S. *Julia* being lost with all hands [se perdit corps et biens] was excised. While this translation removed this reference to an embarrassing failure of the British navy, perhaps more significant was the descriptions of the islanders that remained in the text. The description of the islanders as presenting "a very disagreeable mix of Anglo-Saxon stiffness and African blackness" was kept in this edition. The reason for the re-emergence of this description may be due to the negative description of the islanders that filtered back to England following the voyage of the *Challenger* in 1874,⁴⁴ and via the naval vessels that followed in its wake.⁴⁵ The reference in Verne's text and the English translations claiming (falsely) that the island was governed by a 'British official from the Cape of Good Hope' had little significance in the first English translation but in *Voyage Round the World* the presence of the other references to the islanders now not only marked the island out as being under British sovereignty, but also marked the islanders out as being governed as natives. Here we can see the way in which new information being added to different English editions of Verne's text produced a very different view of the islanders. Much like the document found in the shark's belly that inaugurated *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant* could be interpreted in different ways depending on how the information was translated, so could Verne's fictional representation of Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants.

The heavy editing of Verne's work is also a feature of the second of the texts in which Tristan da Cunha featured, *Le Sphinx des Glaces* (1897) published in English as *An Antarctic Mystery* (1898). This text is perhaps one of the most interesting in Verne's corpus and was a continuation of Edgar Allan Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (1838). Poe was one of Verne's chief literary inspirations,⁴⁶ and Verne's continuation of Poe's text is set in 1839 eleven years after the events described in Poe's *Narrative*. Rather than the descriptions of the island, I wish to highlight the differences between this text and the rest of Verne's corpus and how this framed Tristan da Cunha at the turn of the century. Mastro has noted that when Verne returned to a place in his *Voyages extraordinaires*, he would

⁴⁴ While the narratives from the various members of the crew only began to be published after the H.M.S. *Challenger* returned to England, various reports from the voyage, including much of the information that made its way into the narratives relating to Tristan da Cunha were published in *Good Words* magazine. See in C. Wyville Thomson, 'Letters from H.M.S. Challenger: VII.-Tristan da Cunha' in Donald MacLeod (ed.), *Good Words for 1874* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1874), at pages 618–626 and C. Wyville Thomson, 'Letters from H.M.S. Challenger: VIII.-Tristan da Cunha' in Donald MacLeod (ed.), *Good Words for 1874* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1874), at pages 671–674.

⁴⁵ For example, Captain Bosanquet of the H.M.S. *Diamond* reported that Peter Green was the natural leader of the islanders as he was European while the rest of the community were "half-castes, and of more plastic materials". See G. Stanley Bosanquet, 'Inclosure 3 in no. 5' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1876, at page 6.

⁴⁶ Andrew Martin, *The Mask of the Prophet*, at page 5.

“bring new contours to his map” and added descriptions that would change his earlier representations of that place.⁴⁷ However, because *Le Sphinx des Glaces* is set in the past, his text cannot provide any information that could show any significant change on the island in the thirty years since he previously referenced it. Rather than providing new information, the island was pushed back in time and it is this temporal stranding, I would suggest, that is partly the reason for Verne limiting this text completely to the Southern Ocean.

Unlike most of Verne’s texts, which begin (and often end in) the metropole *Le Sphinx des Glaces* begins and ends in the Southern Ocean (see figure 5.1), and the places visited are seen as simply the last points on the map before the vessels enter an unknown and purely fictional world, thus acting as points of transition between the known and unknown (the end of the world) and between the factual and fictional.⁴⁸ Verne, described by Barthes as ‘the ultimate armchair traveller’ due to his use of a wide range of factual sources to establish the verisimilitude and factual accuracy of his descriptions, often blurred the boundary between fiction and reality and it is often impossible to tell in his texts where the factual world ended and the fictional world began.⁴⁹ The uncoupling of Tristan da Cunha from the geographical and historical information present in Verne’s French edition removed Tristan da Cunha’s anchor to the real world and in *Le Sphinx*, the island drifted from being an out-of-the-way spot to one that had been displaced onto the periphery between the known and the unknown, the real and the unreal, to being at the edge-of-the world. In many ways, Verne’s final line of his chapter relating to Tristan da Cunha in *Les Enfants*, that the vessel left Tristan da Cunha never to return (a phrase excised from the first English edition but restored in the 1876 edition) is also true for his own world. Although Tristan da Cunha appears in *Le Sphinx*, this was not a return to the island, but rather a travel back in time to an island no longer anchored in the present.

While Verne’s corpus as a whole often played an important part in shrinking the blank spaces on the map in the popular geographic imagination, this was often achieved through the use of new technologies of travel and communication by his protagonists. While Phileas Fogg, for example (who made his first appearance in English in 1873, the same year as *In Search of the Castaways* was published), encircled the globe and demonstrated the completion of a secure ‘chain of communication’ around the world, Tristan da Cunha’s increasing isolation as a result of these

⁴⁷ Julia Mastro, *Jules Verne’s Textual Mapping*, at page 198.

⁴⁸ Mastro notes how the texts located on islands in Tierra del Fuego often position these islands in a similar way. See Julia Mastro, *Jules Verne’s Textual Mapping*, at page 95.

⁴⁹ See: Julia Mastro, *Jules Verne’s Textual Mapping*, at page 4; Arthur B. Evans, ‘Jules Verne: Exploring the Limits’, pp. 265–275, at page 267; Timothy Unwin, *Jules Verne: Journeys in Writing*, at pages 10 and 54; and Timothy Unwin, ‘Jules Verne: Negotiating Change in the Nineteenth Century’, at page 11.

technologies intensified. So while Verne's travellers were, as Martin puts it, "permanently in transit" yet always connected to metropole via these new technologies,⁵⁰ Tristan da Cunha's inability to be drawn into these new networks of communication saw it become increasingly estranged from the metropole.

5.2) The 'nervous breakdown' of Tristan da Cunha

The broad sweeping changes in technology that were captured in Verne's *Voyages extraordinaires* were both a result, and driver of, cultural changes that yielded new modes of thinking about and experiencing time and space.⁵¹ The collapse of the Atlantic whaling trade in the late nineteenth century,⁵² coincided with a shift from sail to steam on the world's oceans as the application of steel and fossil fuels to transportation began to shape a new global economy by the end of the nineteenth century.⁵³ This shift meant the desertion of the mid-south Atlantic wind corridor past Tristan. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 accelerated its abandonment and undercut the sailing ship as a major freight carrier because vessels were now no longer required to go round the Cape of Good Hope to reach the Indian Ocean.⁵⁴ The rise of refrigeration in the second half of the nineteenth century and increasing speed of steam vessels also meant that vessels no longer needed to revictual en route as they used to at Tristan da Cunha.⁵⁵

The shift to steam also led to changes in the direction in which empire spread as steam ships required strategic points at which they could re-coal.⁵⁶ So as vessels once again began to hug the coast with the shift from merchant capitalism to industrial capitalism, Steinberg suggests that the area distant from coastal lands became idealised as "a *great void* outside society and insulated from social forces", and was constructed as the antithesis of society, "a space of *anti-civilization*"

⁵⁰ Andrew Martin, *The Mask of the Prophet*, at page 204.

⁵¹ For a comprehensive analysis of this process in a variety of fields and disciplines, see Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

⁵² See Lance E. Davis, Robert E. Gallman and Karin Gleiter, *In Pursuit of Leviathan: Institutions, Productivity, and Profits in American Whaling, 1816-1906* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

⁵³ Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), at page 18.

⁵⁴ See Max E. Fletcher, 'The Suez Canal and World Shipping, 1869-1914' in *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 18, Issue 4 (Dec. 1958), pp. 556–573.

⁵⁵ For the rise of refrigeration, see for example Susanne Freidberg, *Fresh: A Perishable History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), and Derek J. Oddy, 'The Growth of Britain's Refrigerated Meat Trade, 1880-1939' in *Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 93, Issue 3 (2007), pp. 269–280.

⁵⁶ David Killingray, 'Imperial seas: cultural exchange and commerce in the British Empire, 1780-1900' in David Killingray, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby (eds.), *Maritime Empires: British Imperial maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Boydell Press, 2004), at page 10. For more on the rapid increase in trade as a result of the rise of steam in Atlantic shipping in the nineteenth century, see Paul Butel, *The Atlantic* (London: Routledge, 1999), particularly pages 213–257.

[emphasis in original]”.⁵⁷ For Tristan da Cunha, the immediate result of this shift, which had been foreshadowed in the visits of sail/steam hybrids like the H.M.S. *Galatea* and H.M.S. *Challenger* (and in Verne’s fiction by the visit of the *Duncan* in *Les Enfants du capitaine Grant*), was not only a rapid decrease in the number of vessels that passed by the island and with which trade could be carried out, but the discontinuation of what had become the regular visits of British warships to the island in 1904 due to the increasing cost of doing so.

The rise of steam manifested in both the tremendous development of automobiles and airplanes and led to a proliferation in both the places and speeds at which people could visit new places (a shift that was popularly captured in Verne’s *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*),⁵⁸ while mass forms of travel and tourism played an important role in the reconfiguration of European identities that occurred in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁹ This was matched by an exponential increase in the rate at which information could be transmitted through the introduction of new technologies such as the telegraph and telephone.⁶⁰ This has led to what Gillian Beer has termed a “change of axes” in linkages between Britain and her empire from the horizontal axis of ships to a vertical axis under water and in the air with the development of the telegraph, the wireless, airplanes and submarines.⁶¹ The voyages of vessels such as the H.M.S. *Herald* and the H.M.S. *Challenger* in fact played crucial roles in the creation of telegraphic networks across the world. These new networks would become central to imperial expansion in the last half of the nineteenth century and also brought colonial peripheries into closer contact with imperial centres of power,⁶² while at the same time globalising ‘Englishness’. This enabled a commonality of racial and cultural unity in certain parts of the empire,⁶³ a process seen by the way in which the Duke of Edinburgh’s Royal Tour and the regular updates on his progress in the metropole helped to bind the metropole and colonial peripheries together.

⁵⁷ Philip E. Steinberg, *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, at page 112.

⁵⁸ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, at page 9.

⁵⁹ Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions*, at page 58. See also Hartmut Berghoff et al, *The Making of Modern Tourism*.

⁶⁰ For more on this process of time-space compression, see Jon May and Nigel Thrift (eds.), *TimeSpace: Geographies of temporality* (London: Routledge, 2001). It must be noted, however, that this radical reconceptualisation of time and space did not occur as rapidly as is sometimes suggested and was often felt unevenly.

⁶¹ Gillian Beer, ‘The island and the aeroplane: the case of Virginia Woolf’ in Homi Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (New York and London: Routledge, [first published in 1990] 2000), at page 273.

⁶² Iwan Rhys Morus, ‘The Nervous System of Britain’: Space, Time and the Electric Telegraph in the Victorian Age’ in *The British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 33, No. 4, On Time: History, Science and Commemoration (Dec., 2000), pp. 455–475, at page 455.

⁶³ Robert Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008) at pages 207 and 213.

At the same time as Edwin Dodgson and his brother were lobbying the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, to evacuate the settlement on Tristan da Cunha (on which more will be said below), Lord Salisbury himself was commentating on the simultaneity of experience made possible by the telegraph.⁶⁴ This erosion of spatial distance had led some to hope for a coming together of races and nations but, Murdock and Pickering argue, the collapse of geographical distance that was a result of the development of photography and the telegraph was in fact accompanied by the expansion of psychological estrangement rooted in a 'culture of distance' that objectified people and reduced them to data entries and typologies.⁶⁵ While we have seen earlier how the photographs produced by the H.M.S. *Challenger* played a role in constructing the islanders as sites of anthropological interest, with all the ideas of nativeness and separation from the metropole that this implied, their increasing absence and inability to maintain contact with a temporally shrinking empire had a similar effect.

These new technologies resulted in a revolution in perceptions of the relationship between time and space as intelligence was now simultaneously available at spatially distant points (thus acting as a panopticon that enabled the center to know what was happening at the peripheries). Morus has noted how in England the electric telegraph increasingly came to be seen as a metaphor for the human nervous system with the networks of cables acting as nerves carrying electrical messages to and from the brain (seen in this metaphor as the metropole), which governed the entire operation. The telegraph thus acted as the body politic's nervous system.⁶⁶ The popularised metaphor of the telegraph as body was being made just as Victorian physiologists began to see regulation as a key function of the nervous system, with nerves acting as conduits that conveyed the brain's authority throughout the body. It was felt that it was when information went astray, was lost, or took too long to arrive at its destination, that mental or nervous breakdown ensued.⁶⁷ This homology of the telegraph and nervous systems, Morus argues, "quite literally reconstructed the ways in which Victorians perceived their own bodies",⁶⁸ but it would also reconstruct the ways that they saw the bodies of those who now could not transmit information back to, or receive information from the metropole. 'Mental or nervous breakdown' thus ensued with regards to Tristan da Cunha's position within the empire.

⁶⁴ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, at page 68. Lord Salisbury noted in a speech given to the Institution of Electrical Engineers in 1889 that the great virtue of the telegraph was that it 'assembled all mankind on one great plane' and had "combined together almost at one moment upon the agencies that govern mankind, the opinions of the whole intelligent world with respect to everything that is passing at that time upon the face of the globe". See Iwan Rhys Morus, 'The Nervous System of Britain', at page 458.

⁶⁵ Graham Murdock and Michael Pickering, 'The Birth of Distance: Communications and changing conceptions of elsewhere' in Michael Bailey (ed.), *Narrating Media History* (London: Routledge, 2009), at pages 171–172.

⁶⁶ Iwan Rhys Morus, 'The Nervous System of Britain', at pages 457–458.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, at page 472.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, at page 473.

Thus the telegraph, Murdock and Pickering note, while leading to the 'death of distance' in some circumstances, was also responsible for the 'birth of distance' in others. New forms of metaphorical distance were born out of the drastic reduction in spatial distance, while other spaces were made more distant as a result of their failure to be captured within these new spatial networks of empire. These processes in turn led to new forms of constituting others on both a national and global level while these new technologies allowed for new forms of social control, objectification, and stereotyping of certain populations.⁶⁹ It is therefore no coincidence, Kanneh argues, that the grand temporal division of the world witnessed by the imperial creation of Greenwich Mean Time, which provided a universal grid through which newly transmitted intelligence could be measured,⁷⁰ coincided with the 1884 Berlin Conference at which the division of Africa into colonies of Europe containing primitive, heathen, and nativised others occurred.⁷¹ It is this process of objectification and classification that we can see at play with the regular visits of men-of-war to Tristan da Cunha as they were sent to monitor the inhabitants of the island, often with the specific purpose of establishing whether the tales of hardship and/or degeneration that made their way back to the metropole in drips and drabs were in fact true, something that could itself only be confirmed by sending a naval vessel out of its way to the island.

So while the telegraph and wireless had the potential to globalise Englishness and bind empire more closely together,⁷² partly through the instantaneous transfer of information that allowed empire to experience things simultaneously (such as the start of a war, the mourning of the passing of a monarch, or, as Kern has shown, the mourning of the loss of the Titanic) these technologies also prevented places and events (such as the loss of the Titanic) from 'being shrouded in secrecy'.⁷³ The opposite seems to have been the case for Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants however as their

⁶⁹ Graham Murdock and Michael Pickering, 'The Birth of Distance', at pages 178–179.

⁷⁰ Greenwich Time became the legally enforceable standard of measurement in Britain and Ireland in 1880, followed by it becoming the world standard time in 1885. For an overview of this process, see Iwan Rhys Morus, 'The Nervous System of Britain', at pages 462–470. For more on the results of these processes and their impacts, see Jon May and Nigel Thrift (eds.), *TimeSpace*, at page 109. See also William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), at page 79. Cronon gives a detailed analysis of the process of time-space compression as it occurred in Chicago and its surrounding areas and the impacts this had.

⁷¹ Kadiatu Kanneh, 'Place, Time and the Black Body: Myth and Resistance' in *Oxford Literary Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Jul., 1991), pp. 140–163.

⁷² Simon Potter had noted how the telegraph led to the development of networks of journalists and newspapers which played an important part in cultivating links between Britain and the colonies and these often helped to maintain imperial identities. See Simon Potter, 'Communication and Integration: The British and Dominions Press and the British World, c. 1876–1914' in Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (eds.), *The British World*, at page 191.

⁷³ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, at page 67.

increasing isolation saw events on the island increasingly shrouded in secrecy, a shroud that was only pierced by the periodic visits of naval vessels or the publication of the textual productions of the resident missionaries sent there by the SPG. This all occurred at the same time as a rise in English nationalism in the metropole,⁷⁴ which I would argue, was partly a result of these changes in perceptions of space and time and the ability of new technologies to monitor and redefine who formed part of the social body of nation and empire and what the relationship between empire and metropole would be.

It was during this period of increasing isolation described above that Edwin Heron Dodgson arrived at Tristan da Cunha in 1881 as William Taylor's belated successor. If the island's isolation was reflected in the fictional tales of Verne, it can also be seen in the fact that the post of clergyman for Tristan da Cunha, advertised since 1866, had remained unfulfilled since Taylor's departure in 1857.⁷⁵ Due to the dearth of textual productions relating to the island at the turn of the century, those of Dodgson and Barrow played an important role in various analyses of Tristan da Cunha.⁷⁶ However, these analyses have tended to be historically recuperative rather than analytic. What these analyses have failed to note is how these texts were themselves products of the changing ways in which Protestantism and the missionary endeavour were used as a discursive terrain that reconstructed British identity at the turn of the century.⁷⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, the ideological underpinnings of the SPG and evangelical mission as a whole had radically shifted and, in order to understand the ways in which the representations of Dodgson and Barrow would be read in the metropole, it is important to briefly trace these shifts.

⁷⁴ Julia Stapleton noted how there was a resurgence in English/British national consciousness from the mid-nineteenth century onwards which underlay the development of key cultural institutions such as the National Portrait Gallery (1856), the Oxford English Dictionary (1879), the Dictionary of National Biography (1882) and the Royal College of Music (1883). See Julia Stapleton, 'Political thought and national identity in Britain, 1850–1950' in Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young (eds.), *History, Religion, and Culture: British Intellectual History, 1750–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), at page 245.

⁷⁵ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, Vol. 1, at page 323.

⁷⁶ The textual productions by missionaries have been used in texts on the sociology of Tristan da Cunha (see for example the various writings by Peter Munch), genealogical reconstructions (perhaps best seen in the work of Alan Crawford), histories of the island (such as that of Daniel Schreier and Karen Lavarello-Schreier), linguistics (such as the work done by Daniel Schreier and Stephen Gray), environmental science (such as the work done by Martin Holdgate and John Cooper), as well as genetics and demography.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects* and Philip Dodd, 'Englishness and the National Culture' in David Boswell and Jessica Evans (eds.), *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999).

5.3) 'A middle-class domain serving middle-class ends': The professionalization and expansion of missionary evangelisation

British missionaries and the Protestant Christianity that they espoused played an important role in creating an imperial imagined community through the production of a common literature, a common geography, and a common time, through their textualisation of settler colonial spaces. Through the Bible, the sacred calendar they all shared, and the missionary networks they formed a part of, missionaries thus played an important role in displaying imperial peripheries to metropolitan audiences as well as in tying empire together.⁷⁸ For example, the SPCK and SPG were established in 1698 and 1701 respectively to supply the needs of British Christians in the North American settlements of the empire and, through the medium of religion, prop up ties and attachments to the metropole.⁷⁹ While the SPG was initially limited to providing for the spiritual needs of European functionaries of the joint stock companies through which British colonisation was pursued in North America, Asia, and Africa in the eighteenth century,⁸⁰ they soon expanded their activities to converting 'heathens' on an ad-hoc basis.⁸¹ The sheer mass of texts produced by these missionaries (and those of the numerous other mission societies) and their propagation within the metropole, meant that these missionaries "engaged and fashioned the peoples and spaces they encountered through the powerful transformative vehicle of the written text".⁸²

Missionary textual productions could thus mobilise sentiments of affinity through identification with the Christian British, or they could lead to estrangement and alienation from them.⁸³ In short, missionary textuality had the ability to frame the relationship to the metropole in significant ways, which has led Andrew Porter (one of the most prolific analysts of mission), to state that missionaries

⁷⁸ Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy C. Lutkehaus, 'Introduction: Gendered Missions at Home and Abroad' in Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy K. Lutkehaus (eds.), *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), at page 21.

⁷⁹ For detailed histories of the SPG see Margaret Dewey, *The Messengers: A Concise History of the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (London & Oxford: Mowbrays, 1975) and H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1950* (London: S.P.C.K., 1951).

⁸⁰ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), at page 28.

⁸¹ H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, at pages 6, 17 and 32 and Margaret Dewey, *The Messengers*, at pages 9 and 122.

⁸² Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths, 'Preface' in Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths (eds.), *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2005), at page x.

⁸³ Eliza F. Kent, 'Books and Bodices: Material Culture and Protestant Missions in Colonial South India' in Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths (eds.), *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2005), at page 72.

often became 'image-makers' for the English-speaking public.⁸⁴ In the process they reshaped the metropolitan societies from which they came through the knowledge they accumulated, the stereotypes they created, and the social attitudes they promoted through their texts.⁸⁵ Thorne goes so far as to state that in their efforts to mobilise volunteers and financial support for their foreign operations, "missionaries and their supporters constructed what was arguably one of the most influential organizational channels through which images and ideas, as well as people, travelled between Britain and its colonies for most of the nineteenth century".⁸⁶

While Taylor's mission to Tristan da Cunha was in many ways a product of the earlier impulses of the SPG, being sponsored by one wealthy individual and targeting male European settlers, the SPG was itself adapting over the course of the nineteenth century to shifting missiological and theological impulses. While missionary movements initially targeted European settlers and had only a cursory interest in indigenous populations the missionary movement of the late nineteenth century was far more ambitious in scale.⁸⁷ Over the course of the nineteenth century British Protestants alone sponsored twenty foreign missionary societies, each of which generated its own outpouring of missionary propaganda and established its own fundraising machines.⁸⁸

This process was partly a result of the shift in the British colonial project from promoting European settlement, often via the elimination and removal of indigenous groups, to the conquering and maintenance of political sovereignty over an indigenous majority colonial population.⁸⁹ As part of this process, close links between missions and empire were established, which have been analysed in great detail in a variety of contexts by numerous historians of mission.⁹⁰ The details of these debates regarding the extent and significance of these linkages between empire and mission need not concern us here, but what is important to note is that over the course of the second half of the

⁸⁴ Andrew Porter, 'Introduction' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880–1914* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), at page 12.

⁸⁵ Andrew Porter, 'Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise since the Late Eighteenth Century' in *Church History*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (Sep., 2002), pp. 555–584, at page 582.

⁸⁶ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 6.

⁸⁷ Susan Thorne, 'The Conversion of Englishmen', at page 245.

⁸⁸ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at pages 13 and 51 and Jeffrey Cox, 'Master Narratives of Imperial Missions' in Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths (eds.), *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2005), at page 5.

⁸⁹ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 33.

⁹⁰ In addition to the work of Andrew Porter and Brian Stanley, for examples of this process in the Pacific see the work of Niel Gunson, Jane Samson and Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). While good examples of this in the context of South Africa can be seen in the work of John and Jean Comaroff and Elizabeth Elbourne's *Blood Ground*.

nineteenth century the concurrent spread of mission and empire led to radical shifts in the funding and size of the missionary organisations as well as the training of those they sent out while the rise of these 'Low' societies (and the gravitation of many missionaries to them),⁹¹ left the SPG looking in Dewey's words "more 'High Church' than it intended".⁹²

The SPG (under whose auspices all the missionaries under discussion here were sent to Tristan da Cunha) experienced a rapid expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was in part a response to the Indian Mutiny of 1857 as well as anti-colonial revolts in Jamaica and Ceylon, which not only led to a hardening of racial attitudes in the metropole,⁹³ but also greater concern for the conversion of peoples overseas.⁹⁴ The missionary revivalism that swept through Britain during the second half of the nineteenth century stressed a more vigorous expansion of Christianity marked by militant metaphors such as 'the evangelisation of the world in this generation'.⁹⁵ These increasingly militant metaphors to describe the missionary movement suggests a link between the resurgence of the Protestant missionary movement and the rise of a new militant white imperialism and nationalism around the north Atlantic rim in the final decades of the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ It is therefore perhaps no surprise that what Andrew Walls has termed 'the high missionary era' between 1880–1920 coincides with that of high imperialism.⁹⁷ This concern with the conversion of

⁹¹ See Stuart Piggin, 'Sectarianism versus Ecumenism: the Impact on British Churches of the Missionary Movement to India, c. 1800-1860' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Oct. 1976), pp. 387–402, at page 398.

⁹² The 'Low Church' focused on the idea of spiritual commitment to evangelism rather than formal theological training and stressed the idea of being 'born again' and paid less attention to forms and hierarchies than the 'High Church', which stressed authority and good order and believed that distributing scripture without providing adequate education and guidance would only lead to misunderstanding and heresy, thus they often demanded tighter ecclesiastical control over missions than the Low Church CMS. See: T. O. Beidelman, 'Altruism and Domesticity: Images of Missionizing Women among the Church Missionary Society in Nineteenth-Century East Africa' in Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy K. Lutkehaus (eds.), *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), at page 116; Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014), at page 114; Dana L. Robert, 'Introduction' in Dana L. Robert (ed.), *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), at page 14; and Josef L. Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1989), at page 23.

⁹³ Andrew C. Ross, 'Christian Missions and the Mid-Nineteenth Century Change in Attitudes to Race: The African Experience' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 92. For an example of this process, see Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White* and Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects*.

⁹⁴ See H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, at pages 104, 110 and 227.

⁹⁵ Andrew Porter, 'An Overview, 1700–1914' in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), at pages 59–60.

⁹⁶ Clifton J. Phillips, 'Changing Attitudes in the Student Volunteer Movement of Great Britain and North America, 1886-1928' in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920* (Aarhus: Forlaget Aros, 1982), at page 131.

⁹⁷ Andrew F. Walls, 'British Missions' in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies*, at page 159.

peoples overseas and the increase in costs that resulted led to a rapid increase in funds raised, mainly through the collection of small regular contributions from large numbers of people across the spectrum of British society.⁹⁸ This personal investment of money, time and prayer in the missionary cause in turn made the missionary project “one of the most ideologically potent of the institutional channels through which the British public encountered the colonies and the colonized”.⁹⁹ It also allowed for a rapid increase in the scope and operations of societies such as the SPG.¹⁰⁰

The perceived failure of early nineteenth century missions, with low conversion rates and high rates of missionary defection to heathenism, prompted a greater emphasis on training. The training of missionaries in the first part of the nineteenth century tended to be haphazard and marked by what Hinchcliff has termed “romantic casualness”,¹⁰¹ and the SPG itself had nowhere to prepare applicants until the opening of St. Augustine’s College in Canterbury in 1848.¹⁰² The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a proliferation of theological colleges and standardisation of training between the various British missionary societies.¹⁰³ This uniformity was further entrenched by

⁹⁸ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 51.

⁹⁹ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 51.

¹⁰⁰ The number of SPG linked parishes rose from 290 in 1845 to 11,000 by 1901 and the number of overseas missionaries they supported rose from 180 to 939 over the same period. By 1899 the total number of British missionary’s active overseas numbered about 10,000, and missionary societies spent some £2 million annually. Ustorf notes that the number of missionaries was equal in magnitude to the number of accountants practicing at the time in Britain and was itself dwarfed by the total amount of missionaries working worldwide, which numbered some 62,000 working for approximately 600 foreign mission agencies. The amount spent annually was equivalent to almost two per cent of Central Government’s gross yearly outlay at the time, or as much as the entire annual cost of civil service salaries. See Margaret Dewey, *The Messengers*, at pages 50 and 84; Deborah Gaitskell, ‘Rethinking Gender Roles: The Field Experience of Women Missionaries in South Africa’ in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 148; Werner Ustorf, ‘Global Topographies: The Spiritual, the Social and the Geographical in the Missionary Movement from the West’ in *Social Policy and Administration*, Vol. 32, No. 5 (Dec., 1998), pp. 591–604, at page 592 and 602; Andrew Porter, ‘Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780–1914’ in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (1992), pp. 370–390, at page 372.

¹⁰¹ Peter Hinchcliff, ‘The selection and training of missionaries in the early nineteenth century’ in G. J. Cuming (ed.), *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), at pages 131–132.

¹⁰² Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India* (The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), at page 44. See also Hilary M. Carey, *God’s Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), at pages 271–286.

¹⁰³ See F.W.B. Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England in England and Wales from 1875 to 1974* (London: Home Words Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd., 1976), for more on the development of theological colleges. These colleges were also set up to produce more clergymen as the established universities such as Oxford and Cambridge struggled to cater for the rapidly increasing demand for clergymen, both for the foreign mission field as well as the home mission field, which required more clergymen to meet the demand caused by the rapid increase in population in Britain. See Harold H. Rowdon, ‘Theological Education in Historical perspective’ in *Vox Evangelica*, Vol. 7 (1971), pp. 75–87, at page 84 and David A. Dowland, *Nineteenth-Century Anglican Theological Training: The Redbrick Challenge* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), at pages 5–6.

regulations concerning non-Graduate students, who had to pass a Central Entrance Examination and then spend two years at College, thus producing nationwide control of missionary training.¹⁰⁴

This increasing standardisation and cost of missionary training and the professionalization of the clergy increased the already significant influence of the urban middle class within the missionary movement.¹⁰⁵ The majority of missionaries in the early nineteenth century were drawn from the lower strata of society,¹⁰⁶ and what Neale has termed ‘the middling class’,¹⁰⁷ for whom missionary work was an opportunity to gain recognition, respectability, and upward social mobility.¹⁰⁸ However, by the end of the century, missionaries were well educated and comfortably middle class men who saw themselves as professionals, and their careful selection and training was part of a broader drive by mission societies to recruit a ‘better class’ of missionaries.¹⁰⁹ This has led Thorne to conclude that by the latter half of the nineteenth century, missionary projects had become a distinctively middle-class domain that served middle-class ends,¹¹⁰ and what Stoler and Cooper have labelled “the embourgeoisement of imperialism” (which focused on the moral improvement of colonized individuals), was matched in the mission field.¹¹¹ Andrew Porter is undoubtedly correct when he suggested that “[m]issionaries departed for their fields with a good deal of metropolitan baggage, intellectual as well as material”,¹¹² and Dodgson brought not just his theological training, but hardening views about race as well as intense debates about the relationship between religion and science when he arrived at Tristan da Cunha in 1881. In fact, metaphorical baggage was all Dodgson

¹⁰⁴ F.W.B. Bullock, *A History of Training*, at page xx.

¹⁰⁵ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 62. This in turn led to a shift in the standards by which these missionaries were judged in comparison to the early years of the movement, see Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire: British Protestant missionaries and overseas expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), at page 248 and 255.

¹⁰⁶ See Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, at page 40 and Norman Etherington, ‘Introduction’ in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, at page 15. While there is no indication of what William Taylor’s class status was, the lack of archival traces he left suggest it was possible that he fitted this mould.

¹⁰⁷ See R. S. Neale, *Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972).

¹⁰⁸ Piggin has noted the wide range of potential motives for people entering the missionary enterprise, ranging from the quest for economic security (mission societies often provided education, a regular salary and a pension for those who had to retire due to ill health as well as benefits for widows and children, significant perquisites in a pre-welfare state age), the potential for respectability and prestige, romantic elements associated with the missionary enterprise, the cult of usefulness that was an integral part of the Puritan ethic, an imperialistic impulse and desire to spread the ‘benefits’ of western civilisation, eschatological motives, and often a devout belief in their duty to spread God’s word and the heavenly rewards that would be the result of their work. See Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India* (The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984), at pages 125–149.

¹⁰⁹ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at pages 68–69. See also David A. Dowland, *Nineteenth-Century Anglican Theological Training*, at page 7.

¹¹⁰ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 62.

¹¹¹ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), at page 31.

¹¹² Andrew Porter, ‘Introduction’ in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 4.

had with him as the vessel that brought him was shipwrecked at the island leading to the loss of all of his baggage.¹¹³

5.4) Through the looking glass and what Edwin found there

Dodgson is perhaps a stereotypical example of an end of the century missionary in terms of class and training. The youngest son born into an upper middle-class family, Dodgson attended one of the first examples of a preparatory school at Twycross and then went to school at Rugby, after which he trained as an accountant.¹¹⁴ By the end of 1871 he had given up accounting, and after deciding his 'call' was to enter mission work, enrolled at Chichester Theological College.¹¹⁵ This was a college in the Catholic tradition,¹¹⁶ and employed a syllabus that embraced both devotional training and practical work in the parish as well as theological study.¹¹⁷ Considering Dodgson's choice of theological college, it is unsurprising that his brother Lewis Carroll, himself a deacon, referred to Edwin as an 'extreme Ritualist' with High Church views that Carroll though were rather severe.¹¹⁸ No doubt as a result of these views, Dodgson's first venture into missionary work was to join the Anglo-Catholic Universities Mission to Central Africa as principal of St. Andrew's College in Zanzibar,¹¹⁹ though he only spent a few months there before contracting 'ague' and returning to England.¹²⁰

While there is no indication as to why Dodgson chose Tristan da Cunha as his next missionary foray, it is tempting to speculate that following his brush with tropical disease at what Henry Tucker (the

¹¹³ All that remained of Dodgson's belongings after the wreck were some of his clothes, the communion vessels, a stone font, and 100 copies of the *Mission Hymn Book*. See Margaret Dewey, *The Messengers*, at page 45.

¹¹⁴ According to his brother, Dodgson had hoped to gain a clerkship in the Board of Trade and according to his brother was planning on taking an examination for entry into the Savings Bank Department of the Post Office. See Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, Volume 2 (London: Cassell & Company, 1953), at pages 271 and 275.

¹¹⁵ Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, at page 307.

¹¹⁶ The Anglo-Catholic tradition stressed the Catholic elements of Anglicanism and emphasised the important place of the sacraments in Christian ritual, especially baptism and the Eucharist. See Julia Allen, 'Slavery, Colonialism and the Pursuit of Community Life: Anglican Mission Education in Zanzibar and Northern Rhodesia, 1864–1940' in *History of Education*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Mar., 2008), pp. 207–226, at pages 208–209.

¹¹⁷ Harold H. Rowdon, 'Theological Education in Historical perspective' in *Vox Evangelica*, Vol. 7 (1971), pp. 75–87, at page 84.

¹¹⁸ Morten N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, Vol. 2, 1886–1898 (London: Macmillan London Limited, 1979), at pages 815 and 1072–1073.

¹¹⁹ The mission was led at the time by the pioneering Swahili linguist and Bible translator Edward Steer. See Bengt Sundkler and Christopher Steed, *A History of the Church in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), at page 525.

¹²⁰ See: A. E. M. Anderson-Morshead, *The History of the Universities Mission to Central Africa 1859–1898* (London: Office of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, [second edition] 1899), at page 479; Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 378 and 385; and 385 and Morten N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 1072–1073.

Secretary of the SPG) referred to as his ‘former unhealthy station’,¹²¹ the temperate climate and descriptions of the healthy nature of the island played a part in his decision. The allure for an ‘extreme Ritualist’ to run their own church as they saw fit, something not possible under the close supervision of the metropole, may also have played a role in Dodgson’s choice.¹²² At Tristan da Cunha Dodgson would have a captive audience, and the lack of oversight would allow him to use the island as a religious laboratory where he attempted to fuse his scientific and theological ideas.

Maughan has pointed out that many in the Christian church saw colonies and mission stations as laboratories where they could work out radical reformulation of the metropolitan church.¹²³ Thus, although the view of islands as scientific laboratories has been well noted in recent literature, the rapid proliferation of missions in island locations (particularly in the Pacific) in the nineteenth century suggests that scientists were themselves simply drawing on an older church tradition of islands as laboratories for religious experimentation. The extent of Dodgson’s free theological hand on the island is evident in comments made by his brother after Dodgson had left Tristan and been sent to St. Vincent in the Cape Verde Islands. Carroll wrote how his younger sibling now found himself in the novel position of being a Nonconformist on an island run by Catholics but more importantly, unlike at Tristan da Cunha where “he was monarch of all he surveyed”, he could no longer do exactly as he liked when it came to ecclesiastical matters.¹²⁴

Dodgson initially seems to have taken a positive view of the island and its inhabitants. His first report from the island suggested that most of the islanders were ‘a sort of mulatto’, with ‘beautiful eyes and teeth’ who all spoke English and were “decidedly a *religious* people in their simple way [emphasis in original]”. He went on to state how he felt “as much at home as if I had been here twenty years” and that he was sure that if the “advantages and pleasantness of the island had been better known, many Clergymen would have been glad to come out here”.¹²⁵ Although he found the forty-eight pupils that he held school for every day initially undisciplined and “with very few exceptions totally ignorant”, he was soon reporting how he had gotten the school into tolerable order and wrote that “though the children have very little idea yet of using their minds, they seem

¹²¹ Henry W. Tucker, ‘Letter to the Colonial Office’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1887, at page 11.

¹²² Upon his return to England from the mission field in 1895, Carroll wrote that although his brother’s High Church views were rather extreme, there still may be some posts that were suitable for someone that held his views. This, of course, suggests that most posts were not suitable.

¹²³ Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, at page 113.

¹²⁴ Morten N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at page 815.

¹²⁵ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, 1701–1900*, Vol. 1 (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1901), at pages 323–324.

very fond of school, and as they are naturally bright, they are getting on very well".¹²⁶ This educational potential would no doubt have been important to Dodgson considering his previous position as Principal of St. Andrew's College in Zanzibar and the importance the High Church attached to the ability to read and understand the scriptures for oneself.

His initially positive views of the island,¹²⁷ however, rapidly dissipated. Although Dodgson wrote that the islanders were 'still as kindly as ever' and that he was well provided for in board and lodging, he was becoming despondent about the "mindlessness of the children", which he attributed to their isolation and had begun to pray that there was some way of getting everyone to leave the island.¹²⁸ Dodgson's rapidly shifting view of the mental ability of the islanders was matched by a shift in his views of the island as rapidly degenerating. This rapid degeneration was partly the result of a 'plague of rats' that invaded the island from a wreck in 1882. He later claimed that the increasing isolation of the island meant that it would soon no longer be able to maintain contact with the outside world.

The metropolitan metonym between telegraph and the nervous system described above physically manifested itself in Dodgson. The isolation he experienced at Tristan da Cunha led to reports in 1884 that he was in a 'very depressed state of mind' reaching Bishop Welby at St Helena via a whaling captain. He was removed late that same year by the H.M.S. *Opal* whose captain reported that Dodgson was "suffering in health [and] therefore anxious to leave".¹²⁹ While depression and/or ill health may have motivated Dodgson to leave, his anxiety to do so would have been heightened by the fact that in the bag of mails, papers and books sent to the island via the H.M.S. *Opal* was an SPG publication containing a letter written by Dodgson titled 'Us Sinners at Tristan'.¹³⁰ In this letter Dodgson advocated for the removal of the islanders and seemed to suggest that they were degenerating into the missing link between man and ape. Peter Green complained about Dodgson's publication to the admiralty:

¹²⁶ Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991* (Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1992), at page 204.

¹²⁷ Which he described as "much more beautiful than I had any idea of", see C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, at pages 323–324.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, at page 205.

¹²⁹ Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands*, at page 205 and Arthur T. Brooke, 'Report on visit to the Island of Tristan da Cunha, 1 January 1885' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at pages 31–32.

¹³⁰ Unfortunately I have been unable to trace this publication though from Peter Green's response to it in a letter to the Admiralty, we can piece together some of the information it contained. The publication did not appear in the SPGs most popular magazine and main organ of the Society' work, the illustrated magazine *Mission Field* (1856–1941), though there were a wide range of religious journals in this period – Altholz lists as many as three thousand such periodicals published between 1760 and 1900. See Josef L. Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain*, at page vii.

The said publication said that we are going to the devil, - that is our young men that ship in the, i.e. in whale ships [sic]. I would rather remain here as a British subject than to go and leave Tristan with the reputation of a Satanic subject. He says there are a few exceptions to this rule; but who is the exception.

We are going to make a new link in the Darwinian chain between the man and ape. I consider that me or mine claim no more of the monkey than Mr. Dodgson [...] if his theory about the apes is true, we may say eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we will be apes.¹³¹

With this letter, Dodgson attempted to draw the island into metropolitan debates surrounding religion, evolution, and degeneration. Darwin's theory of evolution had led to a great deal of debate in theological circles and by the time Darwin released the *Descent of Man* in 1871, he could offer no guarantee of human progress and the 'age of improvement' of the mid-nineteenth century was eclipsed by fears of degeneration.¹³² The Church adapted quickly to the threat posed by Darwin's theory, and the fact that the SPG chose to publish Dodgson's views at all suggests the extent to which theories of evolution had been accepted by the mainstream Church.¹³³

It is not surprising that Dodgson would be the first to try insert the islanders into these debates. He would have been exposed to debates around evolution in his youth through his brother,¹³⁴ and would have also engaged with these debates during his time at Rugby. Dodgson attended Rugby

¹³¹ Peter Green, 'Letter from Peter Green to the Admiralty, 29 December 1884' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 34.

¹³² Peter Claus and John Marriott, *History: An introduction to theory, method and practice*, at page 27.

¹³³ In fact, it was only at the turn of the century in America with the rise of Fundamentalism (which rejected the biblical scholarship of the late Victorian era), that the Church became known for its opposition to Darwin's doctrine of evolution. See David S. Katz, *God's Last Words: Reading the English Bible from the Reformation to Fundamentalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), at pages 312–313.

¹³⁴ Carroll had paid a large sum of money to attend the debate on evolution between Thomas Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce at the Oxford Museum of Natural history in 1860 and later wrote to Darwin and offered him a photograph for possible use in Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872). Views on evolution would also have filtered through to Dodgson via Carroll's writing as *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* showed a growing concern with ideas around Darwinism. Murphy argues that the text describes Alice's struggles with a choice between two visions of nature, "nature as a forum for physical, moral and religious progression towards perfection, or nature as a violent chaotic struggle for life in the face of extinction", while Lovell-Smith has suggested that the text reverses "the usual direction of the natural history gaze [and] insinuates that humans may not be superior to 'nature' but may merely be animals themselves". See: Jenny Woolf, *The Mystery of Lewis Carroll* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2010), at page 191; Ruth Murphy, 'Darwin and 1860s Children's Literature: Belied, Myth or Detritus' in *Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2012), pp. 5–21, at page 14; Ruth Lovell-Smith, 'Eggs and Serpents: Natural History Reference in Lewis Carroll's Scene of Alice and the Pigeon' in *Children's Literature*, Vol. 35 (2007), pp. 27–53, at page 28; Rose Lovell-Smith, 'The Animals of Wonderland: Tenniel as Carroll's Reader' in *Criticism*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (2004), pp. 383–415 and 'The Walrus and the Carpenter: Lewis Carroll, Margaret Gatty, and Natural History for Children' in *Australasian Victorian Studies Journal*, Vol. 10 (2004), pp. 43–69.

under Principal Frederick Temple, the first evolutionist to take Episcopal orders who welcomed evolutionary theory as evidence of the progressive nature of life on earth through the “perpetual improvement of the species”.¹³⁵ This view of ‘providential evolution’ was delivered at his Bampton Lectures in 1884.¹³⁶

This positive view of the linkage between evolution, religion and progress was not shared by all churchmen, some of whom feared that “societies often developed downwards, and regressed towards barbarism”.¹³⁷ Temple himself in his contribution to *Essays and Reviews* wrote that the development of children was in great part dependent on the society in which they found themselves, as if they were removed from good society “the faculties perish, and the child [...] grows up a beast and not a man; if the society be uneducated and coarse, the growth of the faculties is early so stunted as never afterwards to be capable of recovery”.¹³⁸ Dodgson’s failure to improve the learning of the children or to create any meaningful signs of progress on the island, linked to its increasing isolation (which was occurring at the same time as evolutionary anthropologists were mapping time difference onto geographical distance),¹³⁹ prompted Dodgson’s reflection on the well-publicised views of his one-time principal. It seems more than a mere coincidence that Dodgson’s views were published in the same year Temple delivered his Bampton Lectures.

¹³⁵ While at Rugby, Temple was denounced by some as being one of the ‘seven against Christianity’ for his contribution to *Essays and Reviews* (1860), which would become a watershed moment in English biblical studies. The text, which actively dealt with how Christian doctrine had to find new footings in a world of modern science, mesmerised the English-reading public of the time. Frederick Temple would go on to become Bishop of Exeter in 1869, Bishop of London in 1885, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1897. He is perhaps most famous for his views on providential evolutionism that were laid out in his 1884 Bampton Lectures which, in stark contrast to *Essays and Reviews*, was generally welcomed. See: David Night, ‘Response: Further Varieties of Christian Darwinism’ in Andrew Robinson (ed.), *Darwinism and Natural Theology: Evolving Perspectives* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), at pages 72–73; Katherine Sonderegger, ‘Creation’ in Kelly M. Kapic and Bruce L. McCormack (eds.), *Mapping Modern Theology: A Thematic and Historical Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), at page 112; and Tess Cosslett (ed.), *Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), at page 190.

¹³⁶ Gregory P. Elder, *Chronic Vigour: Darwin, Anglicans, Catholics, and the Development of a Doctrine of Providential Evolution* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1996), at pages 143–146. Providential evolution refers to the belief that there was a providential God who was involved in a creative process (by contrast to the idea of creation by fiat), a view captured in Temple’s argument that “God did not make things, we might say; no, but he made them make themselves”. See Peter Hinchliff, *Frederick Temple Archbishop of Canterbury: A Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), at page 185 and Gregory P. Elder, *Chronic Vigour: Darwin, Anglicans, Catholics, and the Development of a Doctrine of Providential Evolution* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1996), at page 158. See also Tess Cosslett (ed.), *Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), at page 190.

¹³⁷ David S. Katz, *God’s Last Words: Reading the English Bible from the Reformation to Fundamentalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), at page 278.

¹³⁸ Frederick Temple, ‘The Education of the World’ in *Essays and Reviews* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Brothers, [seventh edition] 1861), at pages 3–4.

¹³⁹ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How anthropology makes its object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

The increasingly racialised views that developed in the ‘heroic era’ of missionary expansion saw various texts produced by missionaries suggesting that non-European peoples were fixed at lower levels of evolution.¹⁴⁰ While it is tempting to conclude that Dodgson was merely relegating the islanders to a lower level on the evolutionary hierarchy based on their racial characteristics, I would suggest that Dodgson was making a very different argument. Anglo-Catholic missionary theory advocated the spiritual equality of the races and assumed that everyone had common human intellectual, moral and religious potential.¹⁴¹ Pascoe’s 1901 history of the SPG, in a table listing the mission fields worked by the SPG, had a section titled ‘Races and Tribes ministered to’ and listed Tristan da Cunha as consisting of ‘Colonists (mixed races) (Christians)’. By contrast St Helena was listed as having ‘Colonists (mixed races) (Christian and Heathen)’ as well as ‘Negroes (Heathen and Christian)’.¹⁴² I interpret Dodgson’s use of ‘Us’ in ‘Us Sinners at Tristan’ as rather an attempt to suggest that a metonymic linkage had formed between island and islander.

Dodgson thus began what was a long and ultimately fruitless effort to evacuate the islanders. The H.M.S. *Opal* (which retrieved him in 1884) reported that owing to an ‘invasion of rats’ the islanders could no longer raise any grain,¹⁴³ and that it had been suggested – no doubt by Dodgson – that the islanders be removed.¹⁴⁴ Even before he left, Dodgson (via his brother), had already begun to aggressively agitate for the removal of the islanders to a mainland British colony. In fact, the original idea to evacuate the islanders may have come from Lewis Carroll himself. Carroll wrote in his diary in 1883 that he had “[h]eard from Edwin, who strongly approves my idea of getting all the Tristan folk moved to the Cape”.¹⁴⁵ There followed a concerted but fruitless effort by Carroll to induce various government and SPG figures to act on his idea. Carroll’s diaries list visits with, amongst others: the Secretary of the SPG; the under-secretary to the Colonial Office; the permanent secretary to the Admiralty; the previous governor of the Cape; the sitting Prime Minister of the Cape; emigration agents for New South Wales, South Australia and New Zealand, as well as a range of other members

¹⁴⁰ Patrick Harries, ‘Anthropology’ in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, at page 240.

¹⁴¹ Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, at page 127.

¹⁴² C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, at page 382.

¹⁴³ It does not seem as if grain was ever grown in significant quantities on the island even before the arrival of the rats on Tristan da Cunha. Taylor wrote in 1857 that “[n]othing but potatoes have ever succeeded, or are likely to succeed here”. See William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*, at page 88.

¹⁴⁴ Arthur T. Brooke, ‘Report on visit to the Island of Tristan da Cunha, 1 January 1885’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1887, at pages 31–32.

¹⁴⁵ Lewis Carroll, to Lord Salisbury, Christ Church, 12 December, 1885 in Morton N. Cohen (ed.), *The Selected Letters of Lewis Carroll* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, [Second Edition] 1989), at pages 158–159.

of government.¹⁴⁶ Carroll lobbied the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, warning him that the island was “swarming with rats, who eat all the crops. The people are on the verge of starvation, and it is a matter of urgency that some steps should be taken *at once*, to remove them to the Cape, or Australia, or somewhere they can live [emphasis in original]”.¹⁴⁷ Despite a personal audience,¹⁴⁸ the brothers were unable to persuade Lord Salisbury, who dismissed their idea of a forcible evacuation of the island as ‘entirely impracticable’ owing to the island’s inaccessibility, the cost of the move, the reluctance of South African colonial authorities to admit immigrants without means, and above all, because of the precedent such an action would set. “There are,” Salisbury wrote, “both in England and in Ireland great numbers of people who would gladly get across to the opposite side of the Atlantic if they had only the means of doing so,” but this was the duty of private enterprise not government.¹⁴⁹

Dodgson’s attempts to remove the islanders were revitalised by news that slowly filtered back to England of the death of fifteen Tristan men (the majority of the adult male population of the island) who were presumed lost at sea after attempting to sail out to trade with a passing vessel in late 1885.¹⁵⁰ While new communications technologies like the wireless meant that the *Titanic* could communicate to the metropole and let people know what had happened before it sank, the fate of these men remained ‘shrouded in secrecy’ and Munch suggests that many islanders remained convinced nearly a century later that the men had been shanghaied.¹⁵¹ Peter Green wrote to the Admiralty informing them of the incident on 28 November 1885, but it was months before the news reached Dodgson via an Australian newspaper. Green also voiced concern about how Dodgson would react to the news. Green wrote: “Our Minister [...] was going to break up this settlement. If

¹⁴⁶ See Lewis Carroll, to Lord Salisbury, Christ Church, 12 December, 1885 in Morton N. Cohen (ed.), *The Selected Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 158–159 and Morton N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, Vol. 1 ca. 1837–1885 (London: Macmillan London Limited, 1979), at page 609.

¹⁴⁷ Lewis Carroll, to Lord Salisbury, Christ Church, 12 December, 1885 in Morton N. Cohen (ed.), *The Selected Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 158–159.

¹⁴⁸ See Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, at page 440.

¹⁴⁹ Morton N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at page 614.

¹⁵⁰ The latter was likely a result of the boating disaster in 1885 in which fifteen men – the majority of the adult male population – died, turning Tristan da Cunha into ‘an island of widows and children with only four adult males left on the island, one of whom went insane after the accident with two others being very aged. See K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., pref. 1910), at page 3 and D.F. Roberts, ‘Migration in the recent past: societies with records’ in C.G.N. Mascie-Taylor and G.W. Lasker (eds.), *Biological aspects of human migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), at page 50. This is a notable exception to the situation in colonial societies in much of the rest of the fringes of empire, where men often outnumbered women. See for example Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), particularly Chapter Six and Adele Perry, “‘Oh I’m Just Sick of the Faces of Men’: Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality and Sociability’ in *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly* Vol. 105/106 (1995), pp. 27–44.

¹⁵¹ Peter Munch, *Crisis in Utopia: The Ordeal of Tristan da Cunha* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971), at page 141.

the boat's crew is lost it will be broke up with a vengeance".¹⁵² He was right to be concerned because immediately upon receiving news of the mass drowning in March, 1886, Dodgson began to again agitate for the removal of the island's inhabitants claiming that the loss of the adult male population would have left the island on the verge of starvation. So while Lord Salisbury stated at the end of the decade that the telegraph had "combined together almost at one moment [...] everything that is passing at that time upon the face of the globe",¹⁵³ Tristan da Cunha was more isolated and 'shrouded in secrecy' than ever before. The only way to verify the tragedy and its impact on the island was to send a man-of-war, which only arrived at Tristan in August, 1886, nine months after the event.

The H.M.S. *Thalia* was sent to the island and also carried on board Edwin Dodgson, who had put himself forward as the islanders representative and was determined to use the opportunity to secure their removal.¹⁵⁴ Dodgson wrote that their life on Tristan was "hopeless",¹⁵⁵ and "no longer possible [emphasis in original]".¹⁵⁶ He went on to claim that he could make "a much more reliable judgement as to the present state of things than any strangers going there for the first time" because the "peculiarity of the diction and modes of expression in vogue on the island, and also to the unique state of life" would otherwise give the naval officers "a false impression as to the real state of the case".¹⁵⁷ Dodgson and Carroll's claims about the island's degeneration were regularly contradicted by naval observers. For example, the H.M.S. *Sapphire* reported in May, 1883, that the islanders seemed "healthy, contented and prosperous", though the houses were described as being untidy and dirty with a "general appearance of neglect and indolence throughout the settlement", which Dodgson may have seen as a slight on his own work on the island.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Peter Green, 'Letter from Peter Green to the Admiralty, 28 November 1885' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 38.

¹⁵³ Speech given by Lord Salisbury to the Institution of Electrical Engineers in 1889. See Iwan Rhys Morus, 'The Nervous System of Britain', at page 458.

¹⁵⁴ See Edwin H. Dodgson, 'Letter from E. H. Dodgson to the Colonial Office, 19 April 1886', in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 42.

¹⁵⁵ Edwin Dodgson, 'Letter from E. H. Dodgson to the Colonial Office, 10 May 1886' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 51.

¹⁵⁶ Edwin Dodgson, 'Letter from E. H. Dodgson to John Bramston, 18 May 1886' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 52. See also Edwin Dodgson, 'Letter from E. H. Dodgson to the Colonial Office, 10 May 1886' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 51.

¹⁵⁷ Edwin H. Dodgson, 'Letter from E. H. Dodgson to the Colonial Office, 19 April 1886', in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 42.

¹⁵⁸ J. R. T. Fullerton, 'Report of the H.M.S. *Sapphire*, 5 May 1883' in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D'Acunha*, February 1887, at page 29

Dodgson was to be similarly disappointed by the master of the H.M.S. *Thalia* who reported by telegraph from Simonstown “inhabitants well, no sign of distress”.¹⁵⁹ While Dodgson seemed to have no intention of remaining on Tristan da Cunha when he returned on the H.M.S. *Thalia*, he rather surprisingly chose to remain on the island, a decision seemingly made without the approval of the SPG as for the remainder of his time there he received no stipend. He appears to have remained in an attempt to convince the islanders to evacuate to the mainland. H.M.S. *Rapid*, which stopped at the island a week after H.M.S. *Thalia* left, reported that the islanders were “in many respects, better off than the Scotch crofters, and incomparably so as regards the poor in the west of Ireland”, but that “Rev. Mr. Dodgson appears to have, in a few days, imbued the islanders with the idea that they would like to leave if given a 5*l.* gratuity”.¹⁶⁰ Meanwhile, back in England, Lewis Carroll continued to lobby Lord Salisbury for their removal.¹⁶¹ Referring to Tristan da Cunha as “that place of utter banishment from society”,¹⁶² Carroll reported in 1887 that his brother was “most anxious to get these poor people moved into the world, and to be free himself for mission-work in Africa. He is being simply *wasted* at present, in looking after these few dozen people, and living as a second Robinson Crusoe [emphasis in original]”.¹⁶³ Dodgson would eventually leave Tristan da Cunha for the final time in December, 1889 (along with ten islanders, six of them children), under medical advice.¹⁶⁴

The differing reports of the visiting naval vessels suggest that there was no monolithic way of seeing the islanders and although Dodgson does not seem to have espoused the racial assumptions of high imperialism,¹⁶⁵ his views continued a process of othering the islanders through the new scientific discourses of anthropology and evolutionism. Much like Alice, who stepped through the looking glass to enter an alternate world, Edwin Dodgson stepped on to Tristan da Cunha and found evidence not of the constant evolutionary progress that Frederick Temple believed in, but a site of

¹⁵⁹ ‘Telegram from Sir Hercules Robinson to Earle Granville, received 20 August 1886’ in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1887, at page 54.

¹⁶⁰ Rear-Admiral W. Hunt-Grubbe, “‘Rapid’ Reporting proceedings on arrival from Tristan d’Acunha, in *British Parliamentary Papers: Correspondence Relating to the Island of Tristan D’Acunha*, February 1887, at page 58.

¹⁶¹ This time he was in possession of a statement signed by the heads of families at Tristan obtained by Dodgson stating that they would be willing to leave the island if they could bring their cattle (which Carroll felt would fetch £10,000) to be sold to provide them with money for a fresh start. Lord Salisbury responded to this letter saying that he doubted they could undertake the expense of moving the islanders and that if the cattle were worth that sum, an arrangement should be made with some ship-owner at the Cape to undertake the requisite operations. See Morten N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 665–666.

¹⁶² Morten N. Cohen and Roger Lancelyn Green (eds.), *The Letters of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 1072–1073.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, at pages 665–666.

¹⁶⁴ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G.*, at page 324.

¹⁶⁵ Brian Stanley, ‘Church, State, and the Hierarchy of “Civilization”’: The Making of the “Missions and Governments” report at the World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910’ in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 59.

evolutionary degeneration that needed to be purged of its inhabitants. His textual production inserted the islanders into various metropolitan debates around evolutionary theories that focussed attention on the outskirts of the settler empire.¹⁶⁶ It was partly a result of Dodgson and Carroll's attempts to unsettle the island and their tales of starvation and degeneration that ensured a regular stream of naval vessels being sent to the island in the last decades of the nineteenth century that, as suggested in the last chapter, paid far closer attention to the bodies of the islanders.¹⁶⁷ The increasing focus on the island body(ies), and the metonymic linkage between the two, intensified with the island's increasing isolation. It is this increasing isolation that would be highlighted in the published narrative of Kathleen Barrow, whose husband succeeded Dodgson as missionary on Tristan da Cunha in 1906–09.

5.5) Three years in an 'out-of-the-world' place

Graham Barrow, his wife Kathleen, and their 'helper' Ellen spent three years on Tristan da Cunha from 1906–09 and Kathleen Barrow published *Three Years in Tristan* the year after their return to England. Barrow's (from this point forward any reference to 'Barrow' refers to Kathleen Barrow rather than her husband) text was the first widely distributed narrative relating solely with Tristan da Cunha published since Taylor's fifty years earlier and it became the urtext on Tristan da Cunha for over a generation. Unlike previous texts with their liberal 'borrowings' from their predecessors Barrow barely referenced any other texts and what little history of the settlement she provided was culled from the turn of the twentieth century African Pilot and Blue Books, not the older Romantic stylings of Earle. This signalled a clean break with the earlier Romantic imaginings of the island. However, while her text has been used as a key source on life on Tristan da Cunha at the turn of the century, insufficient attention has been paid to the context of its production in the metropole or the ways in which it reframed the islanders vis-à-vis the metropole as a result of its assembly within the discursive constraints of missionary textual production.

¹⁶⁶ Patrick Harries, 'Anthropology', at pages 241–242.

¹⁶⁷ Upon Carroll's death, George Baden-Powell (a member of Parliament who had known Carroll as an undergraduate) wrote that Carroll was what he termed an ardent sympathiser "with the, as he thought, ill-treated and deserted islanders of Tristan d'Acunha" as a result of the "graphic accounts and urgent demands for aid" sent home by his brother Edwin. At Carroll's instance Baden Powell brought the matter before Government and the House of Commons, which he claimed, led to "the frequent communication [that has] been held with the islanders, and material assistance [that has] been rendered them – thanks to the warm heart of 'Lewis Carroll'". See Roger Lancelyn Green (ed.), *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, at pages 420–421 and Stuart Dodgson Collingwood, *The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll (Rev. C. L. Dodgson)* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1898), at pages 344–345.

The very fact that it was Kathleen Barrow rather than her husband who published the narrative of their time on the island alerts us to some important shifts in the missionary movement at the turn of the century that built upon many of the changes discussed earlier. The close linkage that had developed between mission and empire strengthened in the early twentieth century and the link between the spread of civilisation and Christianisation was widely debated. The general trend was towards missions focusing on civilising the natives as a necessary precursor to Christianising them.¹⁶⁸ This shift is best exemplified by the views of H. H. Montgomery, the Bishop of Tasmania who became Secretary of the SPG in 1901 (a position he held until 1918). Montgomery had been drafted in as Secretary and given a mandate to 'remake the SPG'.¹⁶⁹ He felt that by promoting church work as part of an imperial mission, he could not only raise more money, but also expand the range of projects that the SPG could attempt while re-staking the claim that the Church of England was the Church of empire.¹⁷⁰ As a result, Maughan notes, the SPG became home to the most ardent missionary imperialists at the turn of the century and as part of his reorganisation of the SPG, special attention was paid to the integration of women into the organisation.¹⁷¹ Montgomery's ideal of 'imperial Christianity' (made clear in his *Foreign Missions*, written while en route to Britain to take up the position of Secretary of the SPG), although encouraging 'sympathy' towards other races, had an openly racist basis and expressed horror at the prospect of miscegenation, going so far as to propose a new 'Table of Prohibited Degrees' to police marriages between "races too far apart".¹⁷²

This rebirth of the SPG was, as with the original evangelical revivals of the nineteenth century, driven by a range of propaganda devices to keep the missionary cause before the public.¹⁷³ These texts were the prime means by which details of everyday life and illustrations of others were circulated in the metropole.¹⁷⁴ Their significance was heightened by the truth claims embedded in Christian witnessing, thus, Johnston argues "missionary publications asserted – and achieved – cultural capital

¹⁶⁸ For more on the tensions between these two processes in the mission discourse, see Andrew Porter, 'Commerce and Christianity': The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan' in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1985), pp. 597–621.

¹⁶⁹ Steven Maughan, 'Imperial Christianity? Bishop Montgomery and the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1895-1915' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at pages 33–38.

¹⁷⁰ Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire*, at page 102.

¹⁷¹ Steven Maughan, 'Imperial Christianity?', at pages 35 and 40. By 1914, the SPG had 1,366 missionaries on its list, 343 of whom were women. Deborah Gaitskell, 'Rethinking Gender Roles: The Field Experience of Women Missionaries in South Africa' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 151.

¹⁷² Steven Maughan, 'Imperial Christianity?', at pages 40–43.

¹⁷³ These included periodical publications, prayer meetings, sermons, itinerating preachers, tracts, pamphlets, hymns, and poetry. See Allan K. Davidson, *Evangelicals and Attitudes to India, 1786–1813* (The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1990), at page 96.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, at page 42.

beyond their individual value".¹⁷⁵ They formed a foundational and influential part of the expanding imperial archive and produced knowledge about the imperial world while also influencing how Britons saw themselves.¹⁷⁶ By the turn of the century, there were over nine thousand missionaries, sixty missionary societies and the CMS alone (the largest of the missionary societies) distributed 2.5 million magazines and 5 million papers and tracts in 1899.¹⁷⁷

The publication of Barrow's narrative of their time on the island was, no doubt an attempt on the part of the publishers to tap into the increasingly important role women were playing as both members and supporters of mission. Women offered the greatest financial support and were the major publishers of texts on missionary activity, which mainly presented a positive image of mission work for home consumption.¹⁷⁸ As a result, these texts were highly mediated before publication and Barrow's claim that her text consisted of her diary entries during her time on the island along with information from letters she had sent back home in order to, as she put it, "give a simple and true description of daily life among a very small community cut off from the rest of the world", should not be taken at face value. While a publisher would have been unlikely to publish a text that did not meet the demands of the market, Barrow herself admits in the preface to *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* of the help she received from her husband in revising the text. More importantly letters and diaries from the mission field had already by the mid-nineteenth century ceased to be private affairs and were assumed to be public documents that could be read aloud in social circles and missionary meetings or could make their way into the periodical press and were therefore crafted to appeal to

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., at page 43.

¹⁷⁶ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, at pages 3–4, see also Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). Thomas Richards has noted how nineteenth century empire was united not by force but by information, see *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993), while Nicholas Thomas has noted how the colonial state "turned upon inscription, upon the absorption of events into a prodigiously dispersed writing machine" and missionaries themselves (through the missionary societies they belonged to and which published their texts) functioned as writing machines, though with the aim of turning the objects of their attention into Christian converts. See Norman Etherington, 'The Missionary Writing Machine in nineteenth-Century Kwazulu-Natal' in Jamie S. Scott and Gareth Griffiths (eds.), *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2005), at page 37.

¹⁷⁷ Steven Maughan, 'Imperial Christianity?', at page 34.

¹⁷⁸ By the end of the nineteenth century, it has been estimated that that women contributed more than 70% of funding for foreign missionary operations. See: Susan Thorne, 'Missionary-Imperial Feminism' in Mary Taylor Huber and Nancy K. Lutkehaus (eds.), *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), at page 41; Rhonda A. Semple, 'Missionary Manhood: Professionalism, Belief and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century British Imperial Field' in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* Vol. 36, No. 3 (Sep., 2008), pp. 397–415, at page 404; Judith Rowbotham, "'Hear an Indian Sister's Plea": reporting the Work of 19th-century British Female Missionaries' in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (1998), pp. 247–261, at page 253; Sean Gill, 'Heroines of Missionary Adventure: The Portrayal of Victorian Women in Missionaries in popular Fiction and Biography' in Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock (eds.), *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture: Reassessing the Angel in the House* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), at page 173.

the sympathetic emotions of as wide a readership as possible.¹⁷⁹ The writing of journals was also rarely a private and personal act because their authors in the mission field were well aware of their potential publications.¹⁸⁰

The fact that Barrow's text was not published by the SPCK but by Skeffington and Son (a publishing house with a specialty in religion) shows the increasing popular interest in missionary narratives and their commercial potential. Such texts were increasingly commissioned by larger publishing houses, though their goal remained to produce 'wholesome texts' containing didactic messages that would reinforce conventional values while at the same time providing the inspired reading that would raise funding and attract recruits to the missionary enterprise.¹⁸¹ By the end of the nineteenth century mission presses rivalled secular presses when it came to output and in the process also adapted many of the secular presses' genres, forms, and discursive features.¹⁸² As a result, such texts were limited by the dictates of their genre and their purpose, which was to ensure donations to the missionary cause while simultaneously reinforcing conventional values in the metropole.

As a result, these texts often had a stereotypical nature and relied on the formulaic replication of evangelical and imperial pretexts and the endless recirculation of tropes.¹⁸³ Perhaps the most important of these tropes was the idea that societies were arranged in a hierarchy from primitive to civilised (after all the need to send missionaries out in this era was to both Christianise and civilise) and the civilised were assumed to reside in the place from which the writer came and to which they returned.¹⁸⁴ In this sense, Barrow's very presence on the island with her husband would have signalled the status of the islanders as 'others' as the decision by missionary societies to send married couples out was in part to prevent missionary men from 'going native' and to provide an example to the natives of a well-run 'Christian home'.¹⁸⁵

Despite Barrow's claims to the contrary (and the claims of those who have subsequently used her text as evidence), her text is not a mere chronicling of events on the island but is rather a highly

¹⁷⁹ Judith Rowbotham, "Hear an Indian Sister's Plea", at pages 251 and 254.

¹⁸⁰ Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in nineteenth Century Hawaii* (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1989), at page 59.

¹⁸¹ See Judith Rowbotham, "Hear an Indian Sister's Plea", at pages 251–253 and "Soldiers of Christ? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom" in *Gender and History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Apr., 2000), pp. 82–106, at pages 82–83.

¹⁸² Gareth Griffiths, "Trained to Tell the Truth': Missionaries, Converts, and Narration" in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, at page 154.

¹⁸³ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, at pages 81 and 203.

¹⁸⁴ Gillian Beer, *Open Fields: Science in Cultural Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), at page 58.

¹⁸⁵ See T. O. Beidelman, 'Altruism and Domesticity', at page 124 and Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*.

narrativised account. Peel has pointed out that although the journal form set severe limits on the realisation of overall narrative, this did not mean that such a structure was unattainable as incidents were often plotted wholes while the presence of certain themes that run throughout several entries allowed for a broader narrative structure.¹⁸⁶ While a certain sense of narrative structure and thematic unity would have been forced onto the text due to its association with the missionary enterprise, Barrow took the additional step of adding three expository chapters where the main themes that would run throughout her narrative were highlighted. These themes consisted of the island's isolation, the broken English and limited vocabulary of the islanders and environmental degradation and the failure to control and tame the environment (which extended to the failure to maintain middle-class levels of domestic cleanliness and hygiene). When we trace these themes across the text, we can see the important ways in which they reframed the islanders vis-à-vis the metropolitan audiences for whom the text was written.

Barrow's text begins with a long detailed description of how difficult it was to reach Tristan da Cunha.¹⁸⁷ The increasing speed of travel and communications at the turn of the twentieth century did not enable the Barrows to reach or communicate with the island and once there, they were struck by the slow 'speed of life' on the island. As a result of this, Barrow constantly referred to much of what she saw on the island as 'quaint', a term she uses to describe the houses, clothing, the inscriptions on the crosses in the cemetery, the bullock-wagons used by the islanders and the mats and bags of skin produced by the islanders for trade with passing vessels.¹⁸⁸ By highlighting the island's isolation and its 'quaintness' (a term she seems to sometimes use as a synonym for 'backwards'), Barrow was immediately signalling the potential for degeneration as the linkage between isolation and degeneration was one that had been long established in the missionary mind via the textual production of other missionaries and would have been searched for by the reader.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ J. D. Y. Peel, 'For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul., 1995), pp. 581–607, at pages 591–592.

¹⁸⁷ After a seventeen day trip to St Helena they were forced to go on to Cape Town as no vessels were travelling to Tristan. They spent a further two months in Cape Town attempting to find a vessel to take them to the island before eventually obtaining passage to the island on a steamer on the condition that if the weather was too rough to land they would have to continue on to Buenos Aires.

¹⁸⁸ Hobsbawm has argued how the acceleration of the speed of travel and communication intensified the relative backwardness of those parts of the world that used pre-industrial modes of transport. See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (London: Abacus, 1995), at page 77.

¹⁸⁹ MacKenzie notes, for example, how Livingstone had transmitted to many of his successors the belief that isolation and degeneration were intimately linked. The development of commerce was thus as much about eradicating isolation as it was about the support of mission expenses. See John M. MacKenzie, 'Missionaries, Science, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century Africa' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 121.

They would not have to search hard in Barrow's text which immediately went about eroding one of the key markers of metropolitan identity on the island, language.

Barrow repeatedly describes how work progressed slowly on the island and that her husband had to read and speak slowly to the islanders in order for them to understand what was being said. In her expository chapters Barrow states that "the language spoken is English, but their vocabulary is very limited",¹⁹⁰ and over the course of the rest of her text makes regular references to the broken English of Andrea Repetto (an Italian wrecked on the island in 1892 who was considered by many visitors as the headman of the island after Peter Green's death). Her descriptions of schooling the children often refer to the inability of many of them to read and write and some cases, even to recognise letters. This reference to language would have been read in the context of the various tropes of missionary texts, as missionaries believed that language played a crucial role in maintaining and monitoring cultural values and integrity, and possessed "a kind of microcosmic essence of Britishness".¹⁹¹ The erosion of spoken English on the island was highlighted at the same time as fears were developing in the metropole about the corruption of English, perhaps best seen by the development in 1913 of The Society of Pure English.¹⁹² The fear encapsulated by this society was not only of the 'infection' of English, but the ability of others to mimic English and that such imposters may gain undeserved entry into the social body of the nation.

Isolation structures much of Barrow's narrative. Diary entries are often sporadic and often entries are only written when this isolation is pierced by the outside world. Entries are often written describing how she and her husband dropped all activities (including schooling) in a rush to write letters or add post-scripts to those already written when a ship was in sight as they did not know when next a ship would pass by the island. Their inability to send information to the outside world was matched by an inability to get news from it. On one occasion Barrow relates how after the visit of a ship they had obtained sugar wrapped in a Birmingham newspaper from which they "did not extract much beyond the attempt on the Russian Premier's life". She then goes on to state sarcastically that "[w]e feel we have come quite in touch with the world again".¹⁹³ Here, we see how Barrow framed the island as not only being isolated but that this distance between island and

¹⁹⁰ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at page 11.

¹⁹¹ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, at page 133.

¹⁹² A tract published by the Society highlighted fears about how where English settlers lived alongside those from other communities, there developed "all kinds of blundering corruptions" that soon "infected therewith the neighbouring English". Philip Dodd, 'Englishness and the National Culture', at page 98.

¹⁹³ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at page 93.

metropole was also a journey back in time where news of the contemporary world meant very little at all.

Time, or rather the inability to keep and order time, is one of the recursive discursive themes of her text. The failure to keep and maintain time perturbed Barrow. She describes how two months after her arrival on Tristan da Cunha she discovered that the island was about fifty minutes behind Greenwich Time.¹⁹⁴ By July, 1906, they had again fallen forty minutes behind and by August, 1907, they had once again fallen behind (this time by sixty-five minutes).¹⁹⁵ A year into her stay, Barrow noted how “it is difficult to keep count of dates here”,¹⁹⁶ and her decision to use a diary format for her text suggests that the diary itself was an attempt on her part to keep time and a means of proving to the outside world that she had successfully managed to do so. The Barrow’s not only managed to keep time, they also tried to reorder time on the island by attempting to put their clocks back an hour in order to get an extra hour of daylight.¹⁹⁷ This plan was ignored by the islanders as “[t]he people got up no earlier and the result was that some of the boys and girls came to school without any breakfast”.¹⁹⁸ Barrow seemed to suggest that clocks themselves on the island sometimes served more as artefacts of modernity than timekeeping devices when she describes how William Repetto had bought a watch from the apprentice on a ship that visited the island. She went on, “I only hope it will go, but he does not seem to have any apprehensions on that score; it is a watch, and he possesses it!”¹⁹⁹ So while watches had become an important sign of a heightened sense of punctuality in the metropole and acted as a sign of the acceleration of modern life,²⁰⁰ in Barrow’s text it became a metaphor for the loss of time on Tristan da Cunha. This idea of the loss of time, and of the island itself being lost in time would become a recurring theme in twentieth century accounts of the island. Its increasing isolation led to a belief in the twentieth century that the islanders were unwilling or incapable of keeping time, during an era when the ability to ‘keep European time’ played a key role in forging European identities while those who failed to do so were increasingly seen as ‘time-less’ others.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., at page 42.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., at pages 67 and 155.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., at page 118.

¹⁹⁷ They were no doubt drawing on discussions relating to the introduction of Daylight Savings in Britain. For an account of William Willett’s attempts to introduce Daylight Saving Time see Ian R. Bartky, *One Time Fits All: The Campaigns for Global Uniformity* (California: Stanford University Press, 2007), particularly pages 163-176. For a broader history of Daylight Savings Time, see David Prerau, *Saving the Daylight: Why we put the clocks forward* (London: Granta Books, 2006).

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., at pages 192–193.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., at page 261.

²⁰⁰ Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, at page 111.

²⁰¹ For more on this process, see Giordano Nanni, *The colonisation of time: Ritual, routine and resistance in the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

By framing the island as isolated and lost in time, Barrow drew on and exacerbated the metonymic linkage highlighted by Dodgson of an isolated and degenerating island and its degenerating inhabitants. Although Dodgson never explicitly framed the islanders as natives, his tales of physical and moral degeneration along with the increased attention paid to the island body by visiting naval vessels clearly began to reframe them in this way. Barrow's text in turn drew on and highlighted this shift by drawing on the stereotypical themes in missionary texts describing mission station work amongst 'natives'. An example of this can be seen in Barrow's focus on, and dissatisfaction with, the condition of the island homes. Barrow wished that the islanders would expend more energy on cleaning their houses, only one or two of which she claimed were clean, while others were described as being "deep in mud and filth".²⁰²

Attempts to introduce ideal versions of the Christian (and by extension middle-class) home was a major aim of Protestant missions,²⁰³ where the key feature of the movement was attempts to reproduce middle-class social structures and values on the colonial peripheries.²⁰⁴ Barrow's concern with the homes of the islanders thus drew on a much longer tradition in mission textuality where the motif of darkness and filth mimicked binaries of Christian 'light' and heathen 'darkness'.²⁰⁵ The transformation of domestic spaces was thus seen as a crucial indicator of Christian success, and the struggle to create and maintain Christian homes on the peripheries of empire was a staple of missionary texts.²⁰⁶ In fact, one of the reasons why missionary narratives were increasingly being written by women at the turn of the century was a result of the fact that missionary wives and female missionaries could enter the private spaces of the home in ways that men often could not, and these women's ability to Christianise families through their more lengthy and intimate contact with the women and children was considered crucial.²⁰⁷ By drawing on such tropes in a text that was itself produced for other British women these stereotypes would mark the islanders as natives by highlighting the differences between British womanhood (represented by Barrow) and womanhood

²⁰² K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at page 26 and 175.

²⁰³ See Dana L. Robert, 'The 'Christian Home' as a Cornerstone of Anglo-American Missionary Thought and Practice' in Dana L. Robert (ed.), *Converting Colonialism*.

²⁰⁴ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, at page 53.

²⁰⁵ Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire*, at page 88.

²⁰⁶ Anna Johnston, 'Planting the Seeds of Christianity: Ecological Reform in Nineteenth-Century Polynesian London Missionary Society Stations' in Helen Tiffin (ed.), *Five Emus to the King of Siam: Environment and Empire* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), at page 156.

²⁰⁷ Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty*, at page 7.

on the island, marking not only Barrow's superior status, but the superior status of British women in general vis-à-vis the islanders.²⁰⁸

Barrow was painfully aware that her ability to maintain a Christian home (key features of which were cleanliness and order) would be judged according to the middle-class norms of the homes in which her text travelled.²⁰⁹ She clearly suggests that her home was one of the cleanest on the island. Despite this fact, however, she describes it as being constantly covered in dust and infested with wood lice, fleas and rats. The rats perpetually keep her awake, eat her food, are constantly being removed from various rat-traps laid by her husband, or are discovered drowned in pots of water, milk-pans and milk-jugs left out overnight, and she describes seeing them "popping in and out of holes when all is quiet".²¹⁰ In her expository chapters Barrow described how the inside of houses were very damp and often covered with a "green slime".²¹¹ She even describes the walls of the house as sometimes being "oozy with damp and the atmosphere very steamy",²¹² while attempts to whitewash the interior are thwarted by damp, which turned it to "an olive-green shade [a] hue that will not long remain".²¹³ During a day of heavy rain, she describes how water "came through the roof and ceiling in all directions", and in the kitchen was "pouring down the walls".²¹⁴

The house itself is at one point compared to "an Irish cabin, rain dropping through the ceiling, puffs of smoke coming down the chimney, and wind blowing through every crevice".²¹⁵ This is a distinct contrast to the 'Englishness' of the houses described by previous travellers to Tristan da Cunha and played the dual role of highlighting the difficulty to maintain cleanliness and order on the island while celebrating Barrow's diligent attempts to do so despite the conditions she encountered.²¹⁶

²⁰⁸ Grimshaw and Sherlock note how these women were often portrayed as being brave souls who sought the moral rescue through the provision of domestic education and basic literacy of these they were sent to be amongst, see Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, 'Women and Cultural Exchanges' in Norman Etherington (ed.), *Missions and Empire*, at page 179

²⁰⁹ See Dana L. Robert, 'The 'Christian Home'', at pages 145 and 153 and Mary Jean Corbett, *Representing Femininity: Middle-Class Subjectivity in Victorian and Edwardian Women's Autobiographies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), at page 81.

²¹⁰ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., pref. 1910), at page 206.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, at page 12.

²¹² *Ibid.*, at page 180.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, at page 106.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, at page 35.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, at page 54. This reference to the 'Irish cabin' seems a clear reference to the increasingly racialized discourses surrounding the Irish in England that were espoused over the course of the nineteenth century. For more on these racialized depictions of the Irish during this period, see L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971) and Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

²¹⁶ Of course, her ability to maintain the interior of her home was no doubt largely the result of her 'helper', Ellen. Ellen is only briefly referred to in Barrow's text and is completely erased from the textual productions of

Thus her text (as was the case with many such missionary narratives) was as much about creating a symbol of the lengths to which a good wife (both in the mission field and in the metropole) should be willing to go to maintain a Christian home.²¹⁷ If, as Leonardi has pointed out, the worst sign of failure of a missionary enterprise was to have weeds growing inside the sacred space of the church,²¹⁸ then a failure to keep the outside world out of the home and the maintenance of cleanliness within it was a close second as the home itself was the one place in which missionaries had control of their private space.²¹⁹ The focus on cleanliness ran across the missionary endeavour in an age that took seriously Wesley's exhortation that cleanliness was next to godliness.²²⁰ The moments where Barrow seems to temporarily fail to maintain a model household are framed as being the result of an environment run amok or a failure of the island house itself rather than a personal failure on her part.

Environment run amok was a constant theme of Barrow's text. In her expository chapters, Barrow refers to the "barbarous" way the islanders treat their scab infected sheep, and the "cruel" methods they used to kill their cattle. In fact, it is the poor treatment and condition of the cattle on the island that frames much of the first year of her journal entries. Over the course of 1906, Barrow closely catalogued large die-offs of cattle during the winter, a process she describes as leaving her "feeling ill" and "very sad and very angry".²²¹ She describes in great detail the suffering and death of about four hundred of the estimated seven hundred cattle on the island upon her arrival, often tallying how many cattle died on a particular day. The cattle are described as "so emaciated [...] their back legs seem hardly able to support their bodies",²²² and blame for the loss of so many cattle is placed squarely on the shoulders of the islanders who the Barrows maintained kept too many cattle and did not look after the pasturage.

her husband. Not only would Ellen's presence erode the narrative drive to celebrate Barrow's attempts to maintain the integrity of her home, Esme Cleall points out that we should also take note of the fact that the servant-employer relationship also generated anxieties about dependency and social order, which may in part help to explain Ellen's almost complete erasure from Barrow's text. Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, at page 66.

²¹⁷ Deborah Gaitskell, 'Rethinking Gender Roles: The Field Experience of Women Missionaries in South Africa' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 133. See also Susan Thorne, 'Missionary-Imperial Feminism'.

²¹⁸ Cherry Leonardi, 'Laying the first course of stones: building the London Missionary Society Church in Madagascar, 1862–1895' in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (2003), pp. 607–633, at page 624.

²¹⁹ These anxieties about the failure to maintain model households and exemplary families are a common trope in much missionary writing. See, for example, Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, 'Women and Cultural Exchanges', at page 181.

²²⁰ Judith Rowbotham, "Hear an Indian Sister's Plea", at page 257.

²²¹ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at pages 75–76.

²²² *Ibid.*, at page 65.

Even the soil is described as being diseased and infected because Barrow's repeated attempts to grow a garden (something which she claims "the people do not seem to care about") failed. The reason she gave for this was that there was "so much white mould in it [the soil] which rots the roots of the plants", and if the mould didn't kill them then roaming animals, wind or blight would.²²³ The presence of this mould was later also blamed on the islanders, with Barrow suggesting that a sample taken back to the Cape had been examined by an expert who claimed it was due to the ground not being worked.²²⁴ Barrow's insertion of her work on her failed garden into the published narrative once again tapped into broader stereotypes that regularly appeared in missionary texts. John MacKenzie has shown how Livingstone's repeated invocation of the garden in his texts turned it into "both a practical objective and a powerful environmental metaphor for all subsequent missionaries".²²⁵ The garden came to represent order and the ability to shape and manage the landscape, while individual plants were seen as metaphors for individual souls.²²⁶ Missionary texts thus created a stereotypical linkage between environment and mission, and Christian discourse became intertwined with environmental transformations. Grove also notes how, in the context of Darwinian debates, environmental failure "could be construed as symbolising an evolutionary failure".²²⁷

The linkage between environmental disorder, moral disorder and evolutionary failure had, as we saw earlier, already been flagged by Dodgson. Although Barrow did not make the linkage between environment and evolutionary failure as explicitly as Dodgson, by suggesting that the environment on Tristan da Cunha had the ability to prevent her from meeting middle-class civilizational standards she was of course also suggesting that it had already done the same to its permanent inhabitants. Barrow's references regarding the hygiene of the islanders was thus significant as hygiene itself was seen as consisting of the positive power to control oneself and one's environment, so the failure of

²²³ Ibid., at pages 11, 50 and 148.

²²⁴ Ibid., at page 210.

²²⁵ John M. MacKenzie, 'Missionaries, Science, and the Environment in Nineteenth-Century Africa' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, at page 109.

²²⁶ See John M. MacKenzie, 'Missionaries, Science, and the Environment'.

²²⁷ Richard Grove, 'Scottish missionaries, evangelical discourses and the origins of conservation thinking in Southern Africa 1820–1900' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1989), pp. 163–187, at page 180. In addition to John M. MacKenzie, 'Missionaries, Science, and the Environment' and Richard Grove, *Ecology, Climate and Empire: Colonialism and global environmental history, 1400-1940* (Cambridge: The White Horse Press, 1997), see James Beattie and John Stenhouse, 'Empire, Environment and Religion: God and the Natural World in nineteenth-Century New Zealand' in *Environment and History*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Nov., 2007), pp. 413–446 and Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

the one suggested the failure of the other.²²⁸ Even the water on the island the medium of literal and metaphorical cleansing (through its ability to wash away dirt and wash away sins via baptism) is treated with suspicion. In her expository chapter Barrow describes how a channel of water outside their home had, at the time of initial settlement, contained “the purest and softest water”,²²⁹ yet a matter of months later she refused to drink from this stream as “on its way to us it passes other houses, and we do not know what may go in it”.²³⁰

As part of her drive to introduce standards of hygiene and cleanliness amongst the islanders, Barrow introduced a scheme to have one of the younger girls from each family stay with them each week to bathe them, do their hair and “teach them ways of cleanliness and in other respects influence them for good”.²³¹ She also sent each girl home with “a new undergarment”.²³² The taking of children into the missionary home was a clear indication that the civilisational standards expected by Barrow (and by extension those who read her text) could only be met if these children were brought, however briefly, into a European domestic sphere and, by implication, be removed from the non-European domestic sphere they otherwise inhabited. As Barrow put it, “[i]t is surprising what a presentable appearance the people have, but we want them to have something more”.²³³ Such acts were of course common across the mission field,²³⁴ and part of the reason for despatching family units was to create a *cordon sanitaire* around the missionary which could be extended into the mission field by the work of missionary wives in the home and amongst the native.²³⁵

²²⁸ Johannes Fabian, ‘Religious and Secular Colonization: Common Ground’ in *History and Anthropology* Vol. 4 (1990), pp. 339–355, at page 345.

²²⁹ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., pref. 1910), at page 12.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, at page 64. This concern with the quality of the water (no doubt heightened by the lack of sewage facilities on the island), and cleanliness more generally, is not surprising when one considers that the period from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century is one that Joseph Amato has described as “the great cleanup” as dirt began to be associated with germs and disease. See, Joseph A. Amato, *Dust: A History of the Small and Invisible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), particularly Chapters Four and Five where Amato describes the processes that led to the rise of the “great cleanup” and the rise of germ theory. See also Arno Karlen, *Man and Microbes: Disease and Plagues in History and Modern Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), particularly pages 138–139. For a more detailed history of the rise of germ theory, see Robert P. Gaynes, *Germ Theory: Medical Pioneers in Infectious Diseases* (Washington DC: ASM Press, 2011), particularly Chapters Nine and Ten.

²³¹ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., pref. 1910), at page 156.

²³² *Ibid.*, at page 158. Whether this was to protect the skin from the clothes or to protect the clothes from filthy skin, which, until the nineteenth century was one of the main purposes of underclothes, is not clear. See C. Willett and Phillis Cunningham, *The History of Underclothes* (London: Michael Joseph, 1951), at page 15.

²³³ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at page 156.

²³⁴ This discourse was of course well established across the mission field and would find its apogee in the legislative sanctioning of the removal of children to be placed in European households in Australia and North America.

²³⁵ Sean Gill, ‘Heroines of Missionary Adventure: The Portrayal of Victorian Women in Missionaries in popular Fiction and Biography’ in Anne Hogan and Andrew Bradstock (eds.), *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture:*

The idea of hygiene, Fabian notes, referred not only to ideas of cleanliness and controlling one's environment but also ideas of maintaining health,²³⁶ which for missionaries would extend into the field of one's spiritual health. The piercing of Tristan da Cunha's isolation by visiting vessels not only led to bursts of writing by Barrow, they would also cause her consternation in the days that followed. Barrow relates how, whenever a ship visited the island, it was followed by a wave of colds that would sweep through the settlement (on one occasion, Barrow claimed, leading to the death of an elderly woman).²³⁷ Barrow also suggests that the return of a group of islanders to Tristan from the Cape in 1907 resulted in the arrival of diseases that affected much of the community and she blamed these returnees for the spread of ophthalmia and what she only describes as a "breaking out of sores".²³⁸ The intrusion of outsiders not only pierced the epidemiological bodies of those she now referred to as "our Tristanites", but also their moral body. Soon after these returnees arrived there were outbreaks of discord in the community and in the final year of her journal, Barrow writes continuously of events that signalled the moral degeneration of the islanders, best encapsulated by her descriptions of thievery and a rapid and sustained drop in church attendance.

These descriptions demonstrated how, for Barrow, the increased isolation of the island made the community not only more susceptible to virgin soil epidemics,²³⁹ but also to moral degeneration from exposure to the modern world (in what can perhaps be described as a virgin soil epidemic of modernity). Thus Barrow's text highlighted the islanders increasing isolation and the linkage between environmental degradation and moral degeneration but also signalled their physical degeneration, which is highlighted in her text not only through physical disease brought from the outside world, but through the threat of inbreeding on the island itself.

While the potential for inbreeding on the island was always denied in the naval reports, the threat of its potential occurrence was always an undercurrent in these accounts. Barrow on the other hand deals more explicitly with the issue in her text. Less than a week after arriving, she writes that "the people have so intermarried, and there are so many of the same name, that it is difficult to distinguish one person from another, but we are learning to do so gradually".²⁴⁰ While the term

Reassessing the Angel in the House (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), at page 181 and Judith Rowbotham, "Hear an Indian Sister's Plea", at page 258.

²³⁶ Johannes Fabian, 'Religious and Secular Colonization'.

²³⁷ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at pages 37 and 181.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, at pages 225 and 227.

²³⁹ Something that had been recognized by the visiting naval vessels who often gave the islanders inoculations while they were ashore.

²⁴⁰ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at page 22.

‘intermarriage’ here was no doubt referring to both senses of the term (marriage between people of different races and marriage between close relations) the threat of the results from such close marriages is immediately shown on the following page, where Barrow describes “a fat child of thirteen months that has something wrong with it, for it cannot sit up”, and a description of “a man with no forearms, but with terribly deformed fingers where the elbow would be”,²⁴¹ along with multiple mentions of ‘fits’ that he suffered from during her time on the island.²⁴² Later in her narrative Barrow describes how the youngest child of Henry Green should be sent to the Cape to see a doctor as he was nearly four years old and could still not walk yet,²⁴³ and refers to one of the children as suffering from night blindness with others on the island suffering from asthma.²⁴⁴

Barrow’s text thus highlighted what she perceived to be the environmental, moral, and physical degeneration of the island and its inhabitants. Her use of stereotypical characterisations framed the islanders as backward, primitive, and degenerating. More importantly, Barrow’s text, and the rhetorical devices she used within it, linked the text and Tristan da Cunha to the broader discursive world of missionary textuality that had radically shifted in its aims and affects since Taylor’s text half a century earlier. By the end of the nineteenth century, the missionary movement and missionary textuality had resulted in the working-class, middle-class and wealthy evangelicals combining to form a national community on the basis of a shared capacity to bestow the gift of mission onto those now framed as foreign others, a responsibility that was both generated and sustained by missionary publishing.²⁴⁵

5.6) The poisoned gift

Thorne has analysed in great detail how, over the course of the nineteenth century the popularity of foreign missions was used in an attempt to advantage the home field, which explicitly focused on the labouring poor, by suggesting an underlying similarity between the two.²⁴⁶ What Ruth Lindeborg

²⁴¹ Ibid., at page 23.

²⁴² Ibid., at pages 103, 149 and 228.

²⁴³ Ibid., at page 245.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., at pages 34, 50 and 68.

²⁴⁵ Anna Johnston, ‘British Missionary Publishing, Missionary Celebrity, and Empire’ in *Nineteenth-Century Prose*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (Fall, 2005), pp. 21–43, at page 31.

²⁴⁶ This linkage is perhaps most obviously seen in the work of William Booth’s *In Darkest England and the way out* (a play on Henry Morton Stanley’s popular *In Darkest Africa, or, the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria*, both published in 1890), which signalled an increasing concern with the social and moral condition of the urban poor, and was particularly concerned with a degenerate minority within the working class referred to as ‘the residuum’. Booth advocated bringing the ‘civilising mission’ back home by creating ‘city colonies’ and ‘farm colonies’ where the urban poor could be sent to rescue them from the ills of

has termed 'late-Victorian social exploration literature' focused on the threat of heathenism within the metropole and were marked by anxieties about racial and national identities as the new theories of evolution and new political geographies created by the rapid expansion of empire in the late nineteenth century led to a remapping of national and cultural boundaries.²⁴⁷ The comparison (and often conflation) between home and foreign mission, Thorne persuasively argues, led to metropolitan working-class resentment to being labelled heathen and to missionary intrusions into working-class homes and domains. However, this did not lead to working-class solidarity with their colonised comrades, but found voice "in racialized outcries on behalf of the audacity of middle-class philanthropists daring to compare free-born Englishmen of however humble a station to the heathen savages of empire".²⁴⁸ This rendered evangelical religious practice as the principal site at which conceptions of race entered metropolitan social discourse and in turn led to ideas about class that were exported back to the colonies that were themselves 'raced', and metropolitan ideas about class were transformed in the colonies into a discourse about race.²⁴⁹ This in turn led to increasing racial dissociation and the intensification of views regarding the racial difference between home and foreign mission.²⁵⁰

While a greater proportion of the working classes were acknowledged as part of the national body through the extension of the franchise in 1867 and 1884 (which expanded the electorate to two out of every three adult men), the support of mission allowed incorporation into the religious community for those not recognised by the Reform Acts. By entering this religious community class differences were diminished by a shared missionary agenda that was, Thorne notes, "predicated upon the racial exclusion of the beneficiaries of missionary operations abroad".²⁵¹ Working-classes in the metropole were thus invited to join the social body of the nation by bestowing the gift of mission on increasingly racialized others.²⁵² These shifts, along with the consequences of industrialisation led to the reconstitution of nation states and who would form part of the social body of the nation.²⁵³

urban life. For more, see Felix Driver, *Geography Militant*, at pages 170–198 and Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 120.

²⁴⁷ Ruth H. Lindeborg, 'The "Asiatic" and the Boundaries of Victorian Englishness' in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Spring, 1994), pp. 381–404, at page 383.

²⁴⁸ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions*, at page 129.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, at pages 241 and 253–254.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, at page 92.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, at page 92.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, at page 169.

²⁵³ This argument has been made by the likes of Anthony S. Smith and Ernest Gellner. See Anthony D. Smith, 'History and Modernity: Reflections on the theory of nationalism' in David Boswell and Jessica Evans, *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999).

The textual productions of Verne stressed the rise of these new technologies of industrial modernity while at the same time indicating the failure of the island to maintain its position within these shifting networks of empire. The English translations of Verne's texts show how the island's increasing isolation and the changing perceptions of the islanders highlighted by the narratives of the *Challenger* Expedition led to increasingly negative portrayals that framed them as natives rather than Anglo-Saxon settlers. Dodgson's creation of a metonymic linkage between degenerating island and degenerating islanders found its way to the Prime Minister himself and bled into some of the naval reports sent back to the metropole. These views were built upon by Barrow's *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*. Her text was part of a much broader process of increasing racial dissociation in the metropole as a result of late-Victorian social exploration literature and reaction to home missions. Texts such as Barrow's were also part of the rise of a print-community which, Anderson has argued, played an important part in reshaping who gained access to the social body of the metropole as literacy and mass education systems became a key feature of belonging.²⁵⁴ Tristan da Cunha began to fall foul of all of these major shifts which resulted in the passage of the Aliens Act in 1905, a piece of legislation that drew deeply from the racialized legislation that existed in many British colonies and signalled a definitive shift to a much more restrictive view of who formed part of the social body of the metropole.²⁵⁵

This remaking of English identity and national culture in the later years of the nineteenth century meant that there were new markers of Englishness.²⁵⁶ While the staunch Anglicanism of the inhabitants of Tristan da Cunha initially acted as a marker of Englishness, the shifts in the metropole now meant that the presence of an SPG missionary on the island marked it out as a mission station and its inhabitants as natives. The gift of a missionary had become a poisoned one as the initial ability of the Church to act as a "custodian and transmitter of English culture" rapidly shifted and the Church instead now acted as a gatekeeper preventing access to the social body of the metropole. This shift is clearly seen in Barrow's text, in which the islanders shifted from being described as "the settlers of Tristan da Cunha" at the start of her text, to being labelled "our [Barrow's] Tristanites" by its end.

²⁵⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006 [revised edition]).

²⁵⁵ Ruth H. Lindeborg, 'The "Asiatic" and the Boundaries of Victorian Englishness', at page 401. For more on the development of the Aliens Act of 1905 and its colonial origins, see Catie Gilchrist and Alison Bashford, 'The Colonial History of the 1905 Aliens Act' in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2012), pp. 409–437.

²⁵⁶ For more on this shift see Philip Dodd, 'Englishness and the National Culture' in David Boswell and Jessica Evans (eds.), *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Here we can see how the neat bifurcation between coloniser and colonised that has often been implicitly assumed in colonial studies was not fixed on Tristan da Cunha as the islanders slowly shifted from being represented as Anglo-Saxon settlers planting a 'neo-Britain' in the South Atlantic, to being nativised Tristanites. This does not, however, mean that this shift was permanent. While Chapter Seven will analyse in greater detail the way in which resident missionaries sent to the island by the SPG continued this process of nativisation, a second trend also emerged that drew on Verne's use of the island as a space pushed back in time. By becoming an 'out-of-the-world spot', as Barrow suggestively put it,²⁵⁷ the conceptual space opened up for the island to be seen not as consisting of degenerating natives, but as an example of a pre-industrial rural English idyll trapped in time through its isolation, and it is this view of the island that I wish to turn to next.

²⁵⁷ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at page 28.

Chapter Six

The two Tristans: exhibiting Tristan da Cunha

The previous two chapters have traced Tristan da Cunha's increasing isolation as a result of the shift from sail to steam and the concomitant shift from mercantile capitalism to industrial capitalism in the metropole. They also traced the ways in which popular fictional representations of the island as well as the textual productions of the missionaries sent to the island by the SPG increasingly framed the island an 'out-of-the-world place'. These evangelical discourses were a principal site of increasing racial dissociation in Britain. The support of mission diminished class differences by allowing access to a shared missionary agenda that was predicated on racial exclusion, a process that was key in the reconstitution of nation states at the turn of the century. This in turn reframed who would form a part of the social body in these reconstituted nations.

This process of reconstituting the nation was of course not limited to the sphere of evangelical outreach. This chapter will focus on one of the other key aspects of this process, namely the rise of exhibitions in metropolitan centres. In the previous chapter I suggested that Jules Verne's corpus could be seen as an encyclopaedic attempt to produce a global textual geography that documented a changing world and the ability of new machinery to shrink the globe. Werner Plum suggests that Verne's novels about extraordinary travels "might well be read as dramatized catalogues or prospectuses for the world exhibitions of the nineteenth century", and that in much the same way as science fiction was often didactic and promoted a teleological view of progress via industrialisation (a view held by both capitalists and communists), exhibitions played a similar role.¹ By the late nineteenth century, Hoffenberg suggests, "[e]xhibitions were the new Protestant churches; they forged national culture and civilized the masses", and contemporaries argued that they promoted national culture in the same way that Protestant churches did.² These exhibitions acted as both laboratories of – and temples to – modernity.³ Through an analysis of the representations of Tristan da Cunha at the only two exhibitions at which they were displayed (the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886, and the British Empire Exhibition of 1924) we can unpack not only how the representation of Tristan da Cunha shifted over time but also analyse, through a different lens, the

¹ Werner Plum (translated by Lux Furtmüller), *World Exhibitions in the Nineteenth Century: Pageants of Social and Cultural Change* (Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Hildesheimer Druck-und Verlags-GmbH, 1977), at pages 53 and 117.

² Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), at pages 209–210.

³ Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn, 'Introduction' in Robert W. Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn (eds.), *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), at page 1.

ways in which the rise of industrial modernity had an impact on metropolitan representations of Tristan da Cunha.

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 (commonly referred to as the ‘Colinderies’) and the British Empire Exhibition of 1924–25 (commonly referred to as the ‘Wembley Exhibition’) were just two of hundreds of exhibitions that took place between 1851 and World War Two.⁴ This ‘exhibition mania’ was triggered by the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations in 1851 which both drew on, and supplanted, earlier traditions of exhibiting peoples, objects, and places.⁵ The exhibitions that followed consisted of the largest gatherings of people of all time.⁶ The Colinderies attracted five million visitors while the British Empire Exhibition attracted twenty-seven million visitors over the two seasons it ran.⁷ In the process exhibitions became a central feature of European cultural history.⁸ By the early twentieth century, Hoffenberg notes, “the exhibition text [became] so thick that it had become self-referential” with exhibitions being held to celebrate previous exhibitions.⁹ Their impact also extended far beyond those who visited them. Many who did not attend read the brochures and catalogues produced to accompany the exhibitions or the postcards

⁴ Blanchard has calculated that over 400 exhibitions were held in forty nations with at least one major show being held every year between 1851 and World War One. See Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep, *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* (Arles: Musée du Quai Branly, 2011), at page 212 and Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 1. For a detailed compilation of the exhibitions, see John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *Encyclopedia of world’s fairs and expositions* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2008). For a comprehensive bibliography of materials relating to these exhibitions, fairs, and expositions see Alexander C.T. Geppert, Jean Coffey and Tammy Lau, ‘International Exhibitions, Expositions Universelles and World’s Fairs, 1851-2005: A Bibliography’ in *Volkenkuckucksheim: Internationale Zeitschrift für Theorie und Wissenschaft der Architektur* (Special Issue, 2000). Throughout this chapter I shall be using the term ‘exhibition’ interchangeably with that of ‘exposition’ and ‘fair’. It must be noted, however, that exhibitions and the French ‘exposition’ refers to the international display of goods whereas the American ‘fair’ carries the connotation of trade and commerce and imply the sale of goods at display. See Elfie Rembold, ‘Exhibitions and National Identity’ in *National Identities*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1999), pp. 221–225, at page 221.

⁵ For more on exhibition traditions prior to the Great Exhibition, see: Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978); Toshio Kusamitsu, ‘Great Exhibitions before 1851’ in *History Workshop*, No. 9 (Spring, 1980), pp. 70–89; and Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions* (London: The Studio Publications, 1951).

⁶ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), at page 1. The Exposition Universelles held in Paris in 1900 attracted nearly 50 million visitors.

⁷ John MacKenzie, ‘The Imperial Exhibitions of Great Britain’ in Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire and Charles Forsdick (eds.), *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, translated by Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), at page 261. The numbers attending fairs and expositions in France and the United States of America were often even higher. For more on the American fairs, see Robert Rydell’s numerous analyses on the subject.

⁸ Alexander C.T. Geppert ‘True Copies: Time and Space Travels at British Imperial Exhibitions, 1880-1930’ in Hartmut Berghoff, Barbara Korte, Ralf Schneider and Christopher Harvie (eds.), *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), at page 225.

⁹ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 269.

and other souvenirs produced for them, which often continued circulating long after the exhibitions themselves had ended.¹⁰ The exhibitions also often left museums behind in their wake, which often contained some of the exhibition displays and adapted the techniques of classification that had been used at the exhibitions themselves.¹¹

While it is impossible to untangle how each individual may have interpreted what was displayed at these exhibitions, if we consider them as “social ‘texts’ that were authored, or inscribed, by official and private commissioners and, in turn, ‘read,’ or consumed, by visitors”,¹² as Hoffenberg has compellingly argued, we can trace the exhibitionary codes, practices, stereotypes and tropes through which visitors would have ‘read’ what was placed before them. By attempting to discover the ways in which viewers ‘read’ Tristan da Cunha at the Colinderies and Wembley Exhibition we can get a clearer sense of how (once again) two concurrent, yet contradictory depictions of the island emerged. The one was of a static island inhabited by natives who required outside guidance in order to develop (which was latched on to by the SPG and will be developed further in Chapter Seven), while the other was of an island portrayed as an English rural idyll displaced into the south Atlantic (which will be developed further over the course of this chapter).

6.1) The thick exhibition text

Research into the ‘exhibitionary craze’ has flourished since the 1970s and has stressed that they were not a simple manifestation of the imperial age, but helped to produce the imperial ethos.¹³ Others, such as Timothy Mitchell, have stressed the ways in which exhibitions acted as signs, symbols, and stages of modernity and Penelope Harvey has argued that exhibitions were one of

¹⁰ See, for example, Rosemary Spooner, ‘Imperial Debris: Picture Postcards and the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, 1924–1925’ in *Ex Plus Ultra*, Vol. 3 (Apr., 2012), pp. 1–10 and Ashley Jackson and David Tomkins (eds.), *Illustrating Empire: A Visual History of British Imperialism* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), particularly Chapter Seven ‘Jubilees and exhibition’. There are numerous other articles that have dealt with the ephemeral traces of various particular colonies at these exhibitions. See, for example, Nicholas E. Roberts, ‘Palestine on Display: The Palestine Pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924’ in *The Arab Studies Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring, 2007), pp. 70–89 and Jonathan Sweet, ‘International exhibition postcards: tangible reflections of an ephemeral past’ in Kate Darian-Smith, Richard Gillespie, Caroline Jordan and Elizabeth Willis (eds.), *Seize the Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the world* (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2008).

¹¹ For a brief synopsis of the development of classificatory schema at international exhibitions, see John Allwood, ‘International Exhibitions and the Classification of Their Exhibits’ in *Journal of the Royal Society of the Arts* (Jun., 1980), pp. 450–456.

¹² Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page xvi.

¹³ This view has been stressed by Robert Rydell and represents the current dominant view on the issue. Pascal Blanchard had gone so far as to suggest that the displays of the exotic at these exhibitions and their antecedents in fact created the cultural conditions that made imperialism possible, see Pascal Blanchard, et al, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, translated by Teresa Bridgeman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008) and Pascal Blanchard et al, *Human Zoos*.

three modernist western institutions, along with anthropology and the nation state.¹⁴ Others, such as Tony Bennett, have analysed the impact they had on those who visited them arguing that they form part of an ‘exhibitionary complex’ that simultaneously ordered objects for public inspection while at the same time disciplining, training, and ordering the public that inspected them.¹⁵ While the focus of these viewpoints may be different and each viewpoint has been critiqued in a variety of ways, they all recognise exhibitions as playing an important role in the collection of information, its ordering, and its reordering to create what Thomas Richards has termed the fantasy of knowledge made into power as objects and information was brought together to form a three dimensional archive.¹⁶ By compressing space and time, something now possible as a result of the development of transport and communications technologies that not only allowed for goods and people to be transported to metropolitan sites but also radically altered how time, space, and distance were perceived in the Victorian world.¹⁷ These exhibitions recreated the periphery within the metropole forming what Carol Breckenridge has referred to as “a unitary, though not uniform landscape of discourse and practice, that situated the metropole and the colony within a single analytic field,” creating what she terms an ‘imagined ecumene’.¹⁸

In the process of enframing the world through the collection, transporting, arranging, and displaying of both the metropole and colonies at these exhibitions, it allowed for comparisons and contrasts to be made and hierarchies to develop.¹⁹ By allowing comparisons and contrast within a unitary field, distances between peoples in both physical and ideological terms were highlighted and racial and evolutionary arrangements were created, and often stabilised by, the rule-bound standards, styles,

¹⁴ Penelope Harvey, *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the nation state and the universal exhibition* (London: Routledge, 1996), at page 18.

¹⁵ See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995) and ‘The Exhibitionary Complex’ in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (eds.), *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

¹⁶ See Thomas Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire* (London: Verso, 1993). Tim Barringer uses the notion of the three dimensional archive in his analysis of the South Kensington Museum, but of course many of the museums in South Kensington were themselves the result of a desire to create permanent repositories for the objects displayed at the exhibitions (which were themselves often held at South Kensington). See Tim Barringer, ‘The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project’ in Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (eds.), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998), at page 11.

¹⁷ Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions: Exhibitions, Travel, and Collecting in the Victorian Age* (London: The Horniman Museum and Gardens, 2000), at page 11. For more on the compression of time and space at British exhibitions, see Alexander C.T. Geppert ‘True Copies’.

¹⁸ Carol A. Breckenridge, ‘The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs’ in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Apr., 1989), pp. 195–216, at page 196.

¹⁹ The term ‘enframing the world’ was developed by Thomas Mitchell in his seminal *Colonising Egypt*. For his analyses of the display of Egypt at European exhibitions, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), Chapter One.

and classificatory protocols that developed.²⁰ The taxonomies established at these exhibitions should not however be simplified as the differences they attempted to highlight were neither inherent nor self-evident. Rather, they were created and needed to be maintained and during this process, often shifting both how ‘others’ were viewed, and how those in the metropole viewed themselves.²¹ However, while meanings of displays may have shifted over time, an ‘aesthetic grammar’ for observation and consumption of this ‘imagined ecumene’ rapidly developed. This process was aided by the fact that a group of ‘cultural bureaucrats’ arose who became responsible for displaying both the colonies and the metropole at various exhibitions across the world, sharing objects and collections as well as exhibitionary practices in what became a trans-imperial network of knowledge and object exchange.²² This aesthetic grammar, although not fixing what was displayed in any permanent fashion, played a critical role in deciphering what was seen at the exhibitions and in order to analyse how Tristan da Cunha would have been ‘read’ at the Colinders and Wembley Exhibition it is important to unpack the main features of this aesthetic grammar.

6.2) Reading exhibitions: the aesthetic grammar of exhibitions

The exhibition that marked the beginning of the ‘exhibitionary craze’ in Europe and the USA was the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Exhibition, George Stocking has argued, was “a chronological frontier”, “a precipice in time”, and a space where “[s]uddenly, ancient and modern were brought ‘into absolute contact’, as in a geological fault”.²³ A response to the 1848 Revolutions,²⁴ the Great Exhibition produced long term legacies in the ways in which material culture was organised and also played an important role in reshaping both social and political relationships.²⁵ It acted, Paul Young argues, as an attempt to pin down, systematise, and render whole again a world that had become disoriented by the urban impact of modernity and was “a decisive moment in the formation of a

²⁰ See Curtis M. Hinsley, ‘The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893’ in Ivan and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), at page 357 and Carol A. Breckenridge, ‘The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting’, at page 213.

²¹ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 71.

²² See Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, particularly Chapters Two and Three.

²³ George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), at page 1.

²⁴ Greenhalgh describes the Great Exhibition as a ‘giant counter-revolutionary measure’. It was a particularly successful one as Purbrick notes that its use in many histories to summarise the mid-nineteenth century diminishes the significance of 1848, something that I am perhaps myself guilty of in this text. Louise Purbrick, ‘Introduction’ in Louise Purbrick (eds.), *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New interdisciplinary essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), at page 4.

²⁵ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 12.

world picture that became durably embedded in Victorian society, that was transmitted through the nineteenth-century world".²⁶

In its wake, Hoffenberg argues that exhibitions in the nineteenth century merged to create a mimicking and self-referential exhibition tradition, with its own sense of memory and history.²⁷ As a result, exhibitions formed "a densely-knit network containing single instances that imitated and quoted from each other".²⁸ So although the aesthetic grammar of exhibition culture was not static, certain facets of it did remain relatively stable over time. While some of the features of this aesthetic grammar may have predated the Great Exhibition, they coalesced around it and in the process developed three key features that would permeate the exhibition tradition until (and often beyond) World War Two, namely the development of: (a) commodity culture, (b) anthropology, and (c) the development of a reconstituted nation state.

6.2.1) *The aesthetic grammar of commodity culture*

The Crystal Palace (in which the Great Exhibition took place) has been described by Stocking as "a glass cathedral to the Goddess Progress".²⁹ It attempted to portray Britain as the most advanced and civilised nation on earth. Through the display of icons of the Industrial Revolution, the Exhibition played an important role in eroding and diminishing 'rural England' through the diffusion of mechanised goods into the countryside (as well as the colonies) in the process legitimising a new framework of industrial beliefs and behaviour.³⁰ At the same time, its emphasis on manufactured goods derived from colonial raw materials led to the colonies being imagined and evaluated in terms of the market and its functions.³¹

In the process of doing this, Thomas Richards argues, it helped consolidate capitalism's hold over England both economically and semiotically. As a result, it advanced "a peculiarly middle-class vision of restricted equality",³² where the national, cultural, and racial characters of the producers of the

²⁶ Paul Young, *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: The Victorian New World Order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), at page 7.

²⁷ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page xviii.

²⁸ Alexander C.T. Geppert 'True Copies', at page 224.

²⁹ George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, at pages 1–3.

³⁰ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 170.

³¹ Curtis M. Hinsley, 'The World as Marketplace', at page 362.

³² Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), at pages 4–5.

objects displayed were read in the increasingly raced language of the market.³³ It also, Richards goes on to argue, played a key role in developing a commodity culture. Here products were seen to create their own hierarchy and the rise of advertising that developed alongside it allowed not only for the mass marketing and clinical commodification of empire, but took explicit shape around the reinvention of racial difference, developing what Anne McClintock has referred to as ‘commodity racism’. This ‘commodity racism’, she suggests, went beyond the scientific racism that saturated written material (such as a variety of scientific journals and travel literature) by expanding its reach beyond the literate, propertied elite and thus distributed evolutionary racism on a hitherto unimagined scale.³⁴

This reinvention of racial difference at the Great Exhibition (and the permanent display at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham it resulted in) was encouraged by the juxtaposition between stasis and progress, a bifurcation that was established by juxtaposing exotic displays from purportedly inferior civilisations with those of the industrialisation and modernity of supposedly superior civilisations. This bifurcation was in fact a critical part of the exhibition as the notion of progress was dependent on the belief that others had not progressed.³⁵ This in turn led to a conceptualisation of space and time that did not recognise others as coeval. Rather than having their own histories and futures, these others, Massey notes, were considered to be “merely at an earlier stage in the one and only narrative it is possible to tell” and this in turn “obliterates the multiplicities, the contemporaneous heterogeneities of space. It reduces simultaneous coexistence to place in the historical queue”.³⁶ This was a view that was to play a critical role in the development of Victorian anthropology.

6.2.2) *The aesthetic grammar of anthropological thought at exhibitions*

The creation of what Massey refers to as the cosmology of ‘only one narrative’ of progress referred to above was heightened at the Great Exhibition and the Crystal Palace at Sydenham through the comparison of the same functional objects in variety of national forms. Even within one display objects were arranged to display improvement over time with the suggestion being the final object

³³ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 24.

³⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), at page 209.

³⁵ Andrew Hassam analyses in further detail the ways in which this discourse was implemented and imbibed at the permanent displays in the Crystal Palace after its move to Sydenham. See Andrew Hassam, ‘Portable iron structures and uncertain colonial spaces at the Sydenham Crystal Palace’ in Felix Driver and David Gilbert (eds.), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), at page 184.

³⁶ Doreen Massey, *For Space* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications Ltd., 2008), at page 5.

displayed was at the apogee. This technique was mimicked in the realm of bodies as at the Exhibition, exhibits “led one along a line of progress from the Tasmanian savage through the “barbaric” civilisations of the East, northwest across the European continent toward an apex in Great Britain”.³⁷ These features would be heightened at later exhibitions, perhaps most explicitly at the World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago (1893) where humans (categorised by the Fairs Department of Ethnology) were arranged along an evolutionary scale from primitive to civilised at the Midway Plaisance, which was itself kept separate from the ‘White City’ where the products of industrial modernity were displayed.³⁸

The Great Exhibition inspired the work and classificatory forms of anthropologists,³⁹ while the displays at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham would play an important role in the training of some of the most important anthropologists of the Victorian age.⁴⁰ The Great Exhibition therefore played an important role in developing anthropology in the Victorian era and Stocking argues that it played a key role in the formulation of the basic principle of the ‘comparative method’ of sociocultural evolutionism.⁴¹ This highlighted and reinforced the ‘cosmology of only one narrative’ and the racial marking that was attached to those portrayed as not being at the apogee of progress and civilisation. This feature also became embedded within the museum complex that developed at South Kensington, which was paid for by the profits from the Great Exhibition and whose seed

³⁷ George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, at page 5 and Andrew Hassam, ‘Portable iron structures’, at page 180.

³⁸ Sadiya Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), at page 249. This model was imported back to England by Imre Kiralfy (one of those responsible for putting forward the initial plan that would lead to the British Empire Exhibition) who developed his own version of the Chicago Exhibition at Earl’s Court before setting up his own ‘White City’ at Shepherds Bush.³⁸ By the time the Franco-British Exhibition was staged at Kiralfy’s ‘White City’ in 1908, anthropological theory permeated the exhibition as a whole and was an implicit organising principle. See Annie E. Coombes, ‘The Franco-British Exhibition: Packaging Empire in Edwardian England’ in Jane Beckett and Deborah Cherry (eds.), *The Edwardian Era* (London: Phaidon Press and Barbican Art Gallery, 1987), at pages 162–163. Coombes notes that at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908, displays such as ‘The Life of Primitive Man with Particular Reference to the Stone-Age Peoples Pre-historic and Contemporary’, which were examples of “the explicit evolutionism of the doctrine of ‘the past in the present’, with its resonant racism, [which] complemented the implicit racial hierarchy already operating on other levels at the exhibition”.

³⁹ For example, Stocking notes how Henry Christy began his study of primitive habits and customs as a result of a visit to the Crystal palace, while Pitt-Rivers began his collection at about the same time and also arranged his exhibits by groups in a series from simple to complex as was done at the Great Exhibition. See George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, at page 5.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Efram Sera Shriar, ‘Ethnology in the metropole: Robert Knox, Robert Gordon Latham and local sites of observational training’ in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2011), pp. 486–496, particularly the analysis of Robert Gordon Latham and ethnology at the Crystal Palace at pages 491–495.

⁴¹ George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology*, at page 6.

money and core collections were also provided by the Great Exhibition.⁴² The Great Exhibition thus played a key role not only in reorganising metropolitan space into one of imperial spectacle, but also in the reinvention of race, two factors that would in turn play a key role in the development of national identity over the remainder of the century.⁴³

6.2.3) *The aesthetic grammar of nation*

The revised nexus of race and economy, as well as the racialisation of hierarchies of progress played an important role in the reworking of fluid national and imperial identities. By laying out economic and social relationships in a navigable grid, the Great Exhibition and its successors played an important role in institutionalising the differences between settler and subject colonies by framing these colonies and their inhabitants in economic, social, and cultural terms.⁴⁴ Therefore even though exhibitions in Britain would increasingly emphasise the unity of empire, Burton Benedict notes that “this was not equivalent to turning the inhabitants of colonies into Britons”.⁴⁵ Nor would one’s position as Briton remain fixed as the representation of others at exhibitions would help to define (and redefine) Britishness through demarcation.⁴⁶

The teleological progress narrative and the ability to show one’s progress (and modernity) in comparison to others could be read in the spatial arrangement of displays and objects within them (as will be shown below in the case of Tristan da Cunha). These objects, Mitchell notes, were thus

⁴² The South Kensington Museum, which targeted the ‘working man’ as the ideal audience soon boasted a million visitors per year and became a model for museums in the US, Mexico, Germany, and France. The ideals of the Great Exhibition were also spread beyond South Kensington when a site at Bethnal Green (an area of working-class radicalism) was built to act as an experiment in the educative use of anthropology where evolutionism was shown as a succession of small, slow, inevitable stages, a model that justified the existing social order, while the sequential arrangement of artefacts there could be applied to racial as much as social progress”. See Andrew Hassam, ‘Portable iron structures’, at page 189 and Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), at page 199.

⁴³ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at page 16.

⁴⁴ See Roger Luckhurst, ‘Laboratories for Global Space-Time: Science-Fictionality and the World’s Fairs, 1851–1939’ in *Science Fiction Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 3, *Science Fiction and Globalization* (Nov., 2012), pp. 385–400, at page 389 and Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at pages xiv–xv.

⁴⁵ Burton Benedict, ‘International exhibitions and national identity’ in *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Jun., 1991), pp. 5–9, at page 5.

⁴⁶ Timothy Mitchell has noted how exhibitions actually played an important role in creating the idea of nationalism as the term ‘national’ only came into currency in Europe after the spread of the term ‘international’, which itself was only popularised in 1862 when the world exhibition held that year in London was named ‘the Great International Exhibition’. See Timothy Mitchell, ‘The Stage of Modernity’ in Timothy Mitchell (ed.), *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), at page 4. See the collection of essays in the Journal *National Identities* edited by Elfie Rembold for examples of this in other contexts as well as Marta Filipová’s edited collection *Cultures of International Exhibitions, 1840–1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015).

arranged before an observing subject into a system of signification and the objects thus became a signifier of something further.⁴⁷ This progress narrative, however, required the constant re-presentation of one's progress and modernity. This has led Mitchell to argue that modernity was "not so much a stage of history, but rather its staging [where] the modern occurs only by performing the distinction between the modern and the non-modern",⁴⁸ and the non-modern was often portrayed through highly visible stereotypes of cultural and racial otherness.⁴⁹

If one thinks of these exhibitions as 'social texts', we can see that they play much the same role Benedict Anderson has ascribed to print capitalism in his theories around the creation of national communities.⁵⁰ Attendance at exhibitions acted as a collective experience where simultaneity was not only imagined but experienced, in the process creating the sense of a Victorian public as a social body.⁵¹ These exhibitions also subsumed class difference through these collective experiences as significant efforts were made to ensure the working classes could attend.⁵² There thus emerged a national narrative that included the working class in the Progress narrative,⁵³ but did so by making them consumers of national spectacle.⁵⁴ At these exhibitions, Burton Benedict argues, "white British

⁴⁷ Timothy Mitchell, 'Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order' in Nicholas B. Dirks (ed.), *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), at page 295.

⁴⁸ Timothy Mitchell, 'The Stage of Modernity', at pages 22–23. See also Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden and Ruth B. Phillips (eds.), *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture* (New York: Berg, 2006), at page 16.

⁴⁹ Kylie Message and Ewan Johnston, 'The World within the City: The Great Exhibition, Race, Class and Social Reform' in Jeffrey A. Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (eds.), *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), at page 36. For examples of this see: Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions*; Claire Wintle, 'Model Subjects: Representations of the Andaman Islands at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886' in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (2009); and Ewan Johnston, 'Reinventing Fiji at 19th-Century and Early 20th-Century Exhibitions' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jun., 2005), pp. 23–44.

⁵⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

⁵¹ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at pages 3 and 247. The extent of this collective experience can be seen by the fact that the Great Exhibition attracted almost 6 million visitors, at that time almost one-third of the British population, while the British Empire Exhibition attracted twenty-seven million visitors at a time when the British population stood at forty-four million. Although many may have visited more than once or have come from abroad to visit these exhibitions, these figures suggest that a remarkably large percentage of the British population would have shared a collective exhibition experience, especially if one considers the large number of exhibitions held and the fact that certain exhibition displays were often taken on tour to the smaller centres of Britain.

⁵² For example, special 'shilling days' were set up to ensure working class individuals could attend the exhibition. This pattern was repeated at the Colinders in 1886 where four hundred thousand reduced fare tickets were provided to the working population of London and reduced entrance prices were negotiated for workmen and their families. See Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 214.

⁵³ Purbrick goes so far as to argue that the Great Exhibition marked as much an ending as a beginning as it "continued the project of state management of class affairs by concluding a phase of open warfare with cultural domination [and] demonstrated the completion [...] of English state formation", see Louise Purbrick, Introduction', at page 5.

⁵⁴ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at page 59.

workers could feel included in the imperial nation, the voyeuristic spectacle of racial ‘superiority’ compensating them for their class subordination”.⁵⁵

This process was aided by the development of what McClintock refers to as ‘panoptical time’ at exhibitions. By this she means that at exhibitions, “the image of global history [could be consumed at a glance] in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility”.⁵⁶ This invisibility, she goes on to note, in turn confirmed one’s separation from the world and therefore constituted a position of power.⁵⁷ Such a position of power could be attained if the spectator could afford (or was allowed) entry into the exhibition. By entering these ‘museums of modernity’ (as McClintock refers to the Great Exhibition) it allowed one to become modern, and partaking in a contemporaneous activity with others also allowed access to the social body of the nation.⁵⁸

But being able to consume global history (and one’s place in it) at a glance also required the spatialisation of time, something exhibitions and museums became increasingly adept at and is one of the features that Mitchell suggests characterises modernity.⁵⁹ But of course one’s progress and modernity could only be measured by the distance others lagged behind. Thus the creation of panoptical time also led to the invention of what McClintock refers to as ‘anachronistic space’.⁶⁰ Quite simply, this suggested that movement over space was matched with a concurrent movement back in time, and as an administrative and regulatory technology, this reached its height in the late Victorian era.⁶¹ This notion, however, was not limited to colonial others. It was also projected on the ‘residuum’ within the metropole by suggesting they were inherently out of place in the time of modernity (something perhaps best seen in the social exploration literature exemplified by William Booth’s *In Darkest England*). This evocation of anachronistic space in the industrial metropolis, she

⁵⁵ Burton Benedict, ‘International exhibitions and national identity’, at page 59. This of course is not to say that the Great Exhibition and those that followed it did not face contestations by people of various classes and races. For example, Deborah Hughes has shown how the British Empire Exhibition was undermined by an attempted Indian boycott of the event, while Sarah Britton has shown how the British Empire Exhibition also acted as a site of the critique of empire. See Deborah L. Hughes, ‘Kenya, India and the British Empire Exhibition of 1924’ in *Race Class*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (2006), pp. 68–85 and Sarah Britton, ‘“Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route!”: Anti-Imperialism and Exhibitions in Interwar Britain’ in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (2010), pp. 68–89.

⁵⁶ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at page 37.

⁵⁷ Timothy Mitchell, ‘Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order’, at page 306.

⁵⁸ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at page 57.

⁵⁹ Timothy Mitchell, ‘The Stage of Modernity’, at page 15.

⁶⁰ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at page 46.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, at page 40.

argues, became central to the discourse of racial science. Panoptical time and anachronistic space, she suggests, “found their architectural embodiment at the Great Exhibition”.⁶²

Exhibitions thus not only stereotyped and racialized ‘backward’ others, they also contributed to the reconfiguration of social spaces within the metropole that were often also made in explicitly exotic and racialized terms.⁶³ Thus in much the same way as the development of Home Mission societies racialized class discourses within the metropole, so did the exhibitionary discourse of modernity. However, in much the same way as the development of Foreign Missions provided a means of accessing the social body of the nation by spending one’s pennies on the foreign mission cause to save uncivilised others, spending one’s shillings visiting exhibitions would do much the same thing.⁶⁴ By allowing these different social groups to be part of the same task, exhibitions “suggested a momentary national integration across social, regional, political, and economic lines”, while the purchase of one’s entry ticket or of goods at the exhibition represented an investment or direct participation in empire.⁶⁵

While I do not wish to suggest that these ways of seeing and enframing the world were static (indeed the constant representation of modernity at these exhibitions meant that they could not afford to be), I do wish to suggest that by the time Tristan da Cunha made its first appearance in a metropolitan exhibition, the ways in which these displays were read would in large part be framed by the aesthetic grammar that I have briefly sketched here. This aesthetic grammar would have been particularly important in 1886 as Britain had only just extended the franchise in 1884, and following the split in the Liberal Party after the 1885 election, there were hotly contested elections in 1886. One of the results of all this was that the borders of the social body of the nation were being rapidly redrawn and its boundaries increasingly constricted just as Tristan da Cunha made its debut at a British exhibition.

⁶² Ibid., at page 56.

⁶³ Kylie Message and Ewan Johnston, ‘The World within the City’, at page 28.

⁶⁴ Missionary societies themselves used travelling ‘missionary exhibitions’ to similar effect, argues Esme Cleall, who suggests that those societies “wholeheartedly embraced the working class into the ‘viewing’ element of the exhibitionary dichotomy and thereby consolidated a sense of national unity”. See Esme Cleall, ‘The Missionary Contribution to Imperial Display: missionary exhibitions, 1869–1939’ (University of Sheffield: unpublished MA thesis), at page 54.

⁶⁵ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at pages 161 and 214.

6.3) 'A grand imperial stocktake': The Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886

The 'cosmology of one narrative' described above was an important feature of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 (the Colinderies), which aimed to both show the "development and progress [...] made in the various parts of the empire" as well as "[to place] for the first time before our fellow-countrymen a true and graphic representation what the British Empire really is".⁶⁶ This was an important consideration as many of the colonies gained as a result of the 'scramble for Africa' had never been displayed in the metropole before.⁶⁷ The Colinderies thus not only marked the fiftieth year of Queen Victoria's reign, it also acted as a 'grand imperial stocktake' that both displayed empire but also attempted to portray it as an inter-locking economic unit.⁶⁸ The exhibition thus acted as an opportunity to introduce the metropole to newly acquired colonies while also acting as a propagandistic defence of empire at a time when Britain's naval advantage and position as the leading industrial power were beginning to erode.⁶⁹

Taking place as it did at a time when ideas of social belonging were being radically reconfigured as a result of the Representation of the People Act of 1884 and the concurrent rise of a poetics of degeneration and discourses of social degeneration, the Colinderies would provide a new lens for looking at the empire incarnated at South Kensington.⁷⁰ It was also the first time many of these peoples and places were displayed to metropolitan eyes, and therefore played an important role in shaping relationships between the metropole and the periphery. Displays were arranged by

⁶⁶ *Colonial and Indian Exhibitions, Official Guide* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1886), at pages 5–6.

⁶⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, at page 58.

⁶⁸ John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), at pages 100, 107 and 118.

⁶⁹ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, at page 58.

⁷⁰ After the Great Exhibition, South Kensington was transformed into a matrix of imperial archives where exhibitions and the institutions that remained after they left had purviews which extended across the discursive spaces of art, design, material culture, natural history, and science and technology. South Kensington soon became one of the most important centres of the imperial archive and the locus of an exhibitionary complex where products and peoples from a distant empire were brought home and were absorbed into the very fabric of the modern city and through the exhibitions held there, Driver and Gilbert argue, the rhetoric of empire became fused with that of modernity. The close links between the exhibitions and the museums that remained in their wake and the sharing of exhibition commissioners across these exhibitions (as well as other exhibitions across the empire and in the USA and France) also led to the codification of certain practices that would have an important impact on how the Colinderies, also held at South Kensington, would be read. See Paul Greenhalgh, 'Education, Entertainment and Politics: Lessons from the Great International Exhibitions' in Peter Vergo (ed.), *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), at page 75. This is also the thrust of Greenhalgh's arguments in *Ephemeral Vistas*. See also David Gilbert and Felix Driver, 'Capital and Empire: Geographies of Imperial London' in *GeoJournal*, Vol. 51 (2000), pp. 23–32, at pages 23–24. See also Tim Barringer, 'Re-presenting the Imperial Archive: South Kensington and its Museums', in *Journal of Victorian Culture*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1998), 357–373, at page 368, and Tim Barringer's 'The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project'.

Exhibition Commissioners who, by combining and arranging the material world through the organisation of physical space and choosing particular classificatory systems (which were bound together in the handbooks and guidebooks that accompanied the Exhibition), created a visual language and taxonomy that both drew on and developed the codes, practices and aesthetic grammar discussed above. Being drawn mainly from the colonial administrative sector, these commissioners attempted to introduce a monologic hegemony to the displays,⁷¹ something that was also true for the display of Tristan da Cunha.

At the Colinderies, the Tristan da Cunha display was subsumed in the St Helena stand along with Ascension Island. Its Executive Commissioner was Lieutenant-Colonel Edmund Palmer, a colonial administrator who had spent six years on St Helena in the 1850s,⁷² but who seems to have never visited Tristan da Cunha. This could explain why the display for Tristan da Cunha was so sparse, consisting of a view of the island by Captain Carmichael, a view of the island from the *Challenger* Expedition, and photographs of the island taken during the *Challenger* Expedition. These were accompanied by Admiralty Charts of the South Atlantic Ocean, the Mouth of the Congo River, and of Tristan da Cunha, as well as a cross section of the bed of the South Atlantic Ocean.⁷³ Douglas Gane (on whom more will be said below) claims to have also provided objects that he had bartered from the islanders two years earlier during a stop at the island en route to Australasia. While none of the Colinderies catalogues listed these objects they are likely to have been the same objects he displayed at the Wembley Exhibition nearly four decades later, consisting of a pair of moccasins, an albatross skull and wingbone, a pipe fitted with a stem of albatross bone, a mat of penguin feathers, a 'native box', and a 'floating volcano stone'.⁷⁴ The Tristan da Cunha display would not have met one of the key purposes of the Colinderies, which was to provide a "practical demonstration of the wealth and the industrial development of the outlying portions of empire",⁷⁵ and although the Royal Commission attempted to curb direct competition between the colonies at the Colinderies, economic hierarchies were clearly developed through the spatial poetics of the Exhibition.

⁷¹ Nicky Levell, *Oriental Visions*, at page 67.

⁷² During this time Palmer produced a detailed military sketch of the island in in 1859 published notes to accompany the map in 1859 but there is no evidence to suggest that he visited the island again. See Edmund Palmer, 'Notes to Accompany the Map of St. Helena' in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 30 (1860), pp. 260–266.

⁷³ See *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886. Official Catalogue* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1886), at pages 322–323.

⁷⁴ *British Empire Exhibition, South African section: official catalogue* (1924), at page 111.

⁷⁵ Frank Cundall, *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1886), at pages 1–2.

6.3.1) *The spatial poetics of the Colinderies*

Although being physically present via its display at this ‘grand imperial stocktake’, Tristan da Cunha would disappear from many of the metaphorical displays of empire present at the Exhibition so the Colinderies acted as another forum where Tristan da Cunha drifted in and out of the representations of the world, highlighting once again its position as an ‘out-of-the-world place’ at the turn of the century. The most significant of these metaphorical representations of empire at the Colinderies was its architectural centrepiece (see Figure 6.1). This consisted of the figure of Britannia standing above a clock face proclaiming the time in Greenwich below which were clock faces showing what the time would be in Calcutta, Ottawa, Sydney, and Cape Town. Below this was a colossal diagram of the world with Britannia’s territories inscribed in red oil paint (from which Tristan da Cunha was absent) and below the map were statistical charts that detailed the area, population count, and economic values of imports and exports of various colonies.⁷⁶ The maps and tables displayed in this architectural centrepiece were complemented by the maps and tables produced in many of the handbooks printed for the Exhibition which tabulated in greater detail the area, population, and trade statistics of various colonies.⁷⁷ While these tables and statistics unambiguously illustrated the importance of each colony, this was further illustrated in the spatial poetics of the Colinderies through the amount of space allocated to each colony and their relative placement vis-à-vis one another (see Figure 6.2).

⁷⁶ Frank Cundall, *Reminiscences*, at page 6. The ability to produce charts such as this were in part a result of the Great Exhibition as it was there that visiting statisticians organised the preparation of the International Congress of Statistics, whose aim was to produce even and synchronised standards in order to provide comparative mass data (for example, by agreeing on the uniformity of national trade statistics). See Werner Plum, *World Exhibitions in the Nineteenth Century*, at page 86.

⁷⁷ Charts such as these, Neil Safier has argued, also allowed colonial officials to regulate economic and political relationships with various indigenous groups without fully incorporating them or erasing them from maps. See Neil Safier, ‘The Confines of the Colony: Boundaries, Ethnographic Landscapes, and Imperial Cartography in Iberoamerica’ in James R. Akerman (ed.), *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

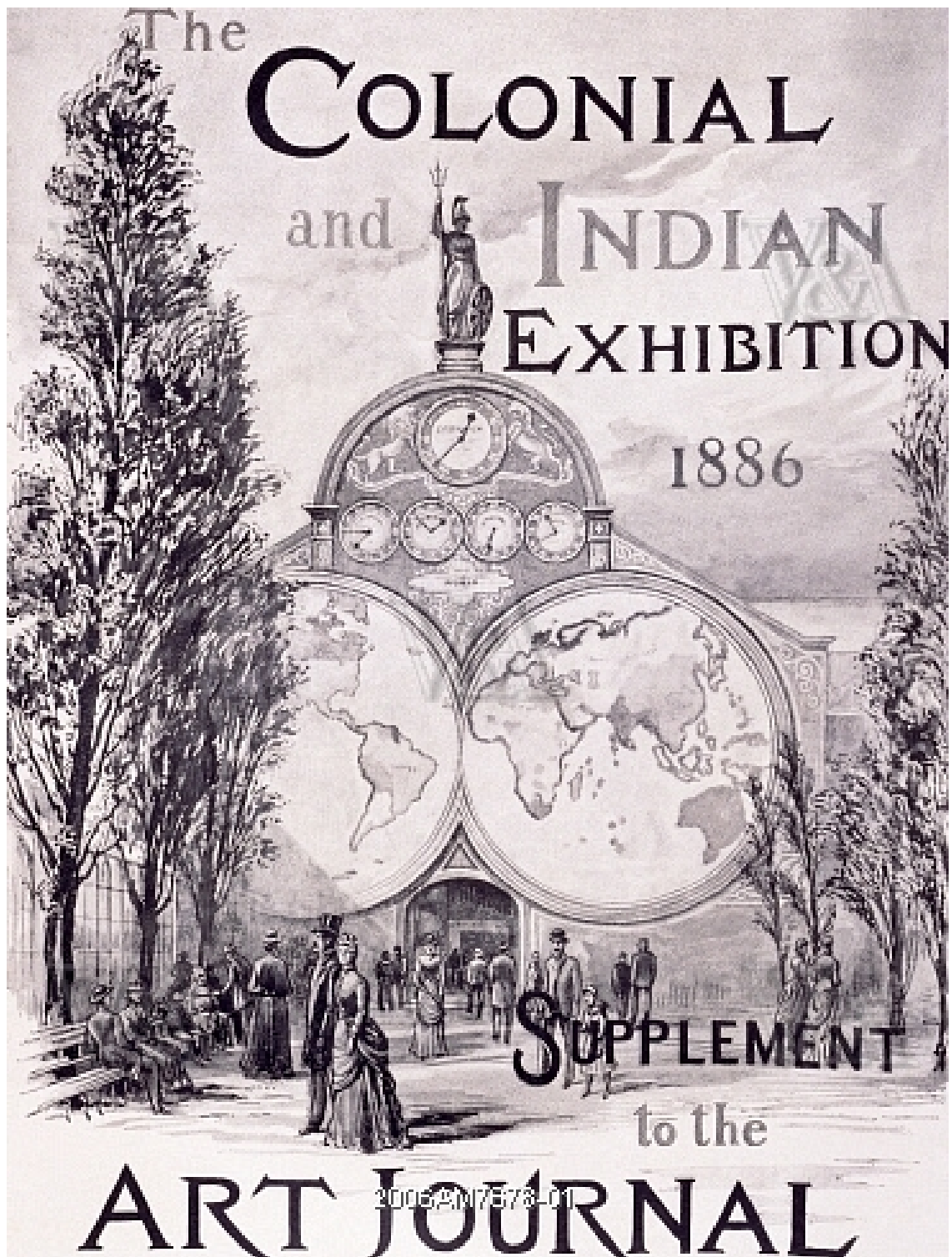


Figure 6.1: Frontispiece to the Art Journal, The Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886.

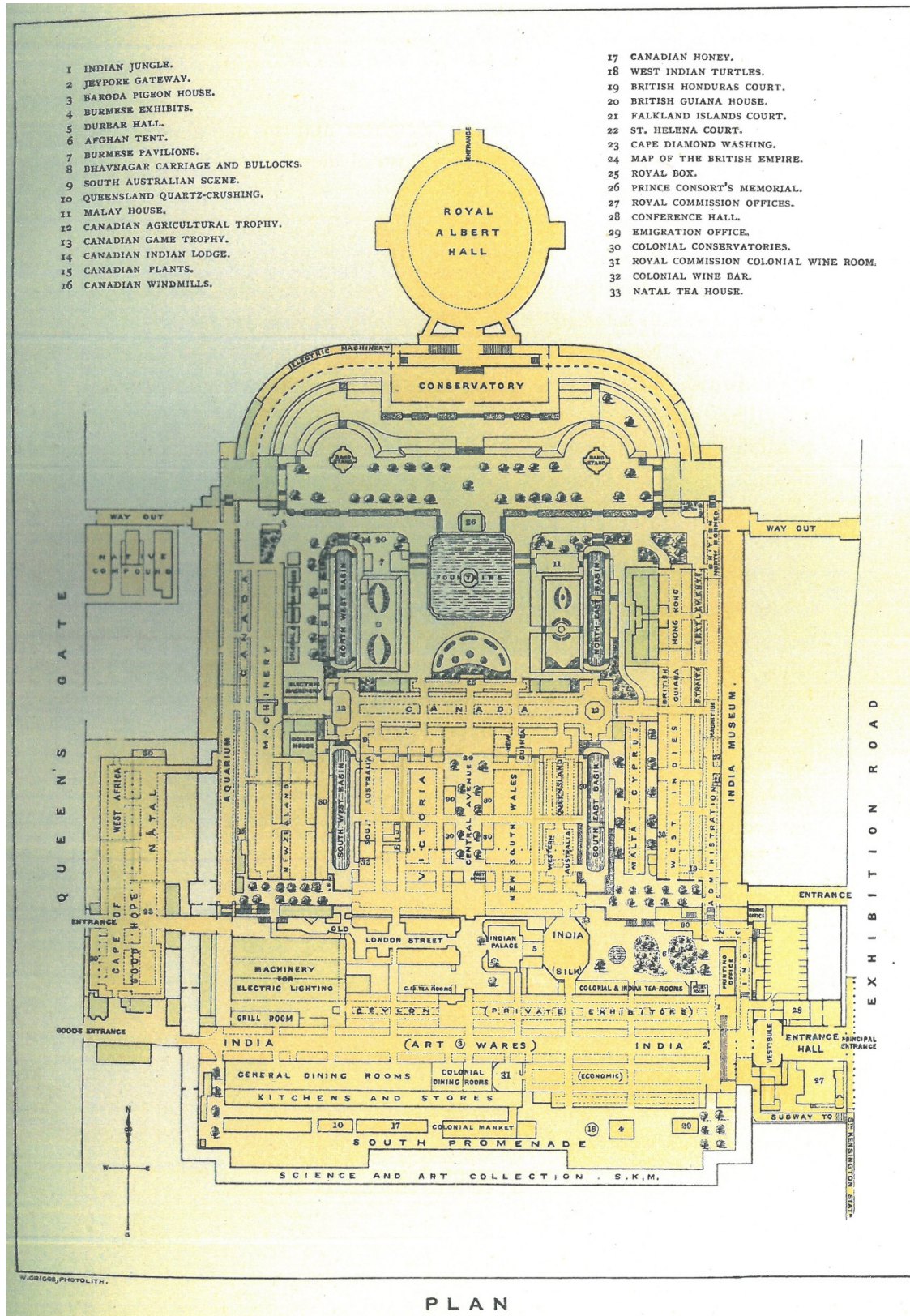


Figure 6.2: Plan of the layout of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Taken from Frank Cundall, *Reminiscences*.

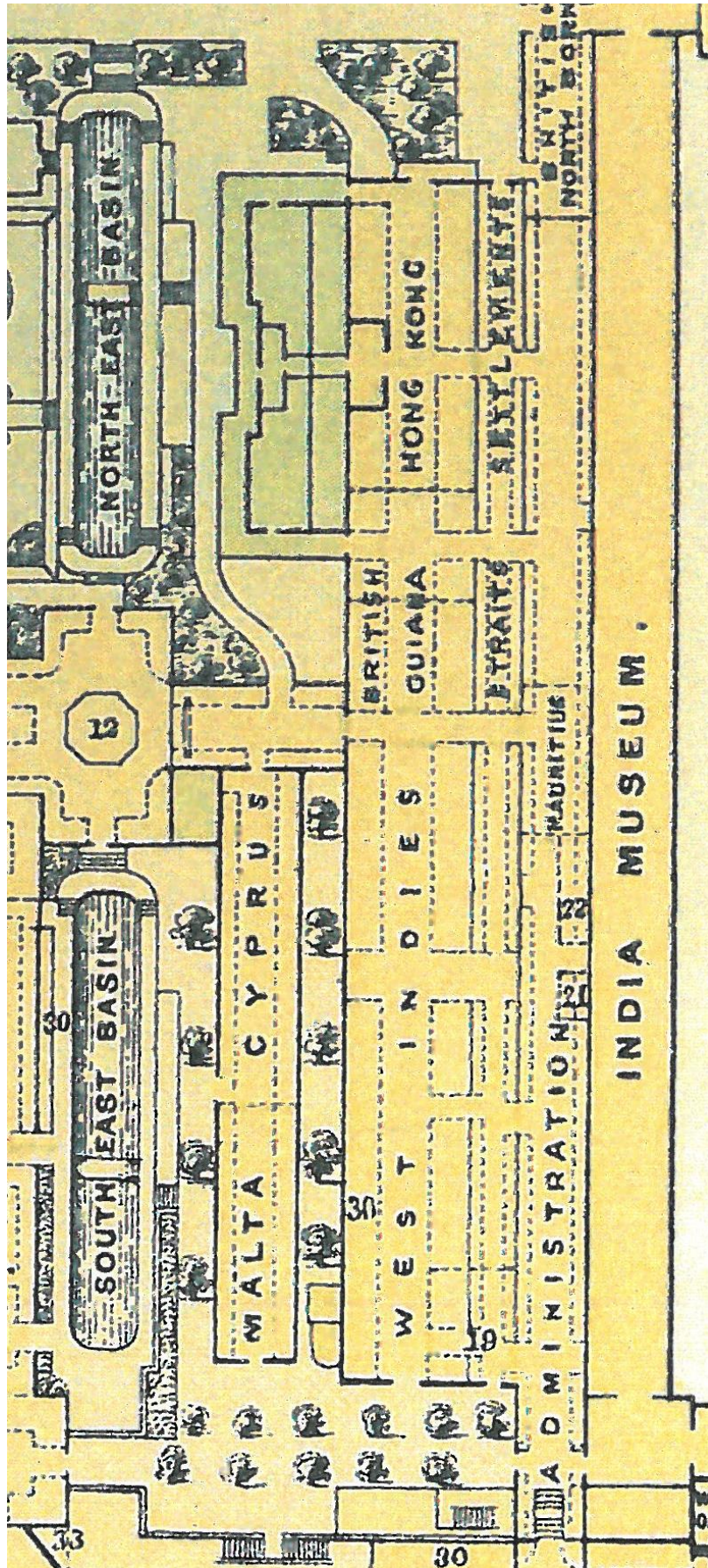


Figure 6.3: Enlargement of the East Arcade. The St Helena stand is marked as number 22.

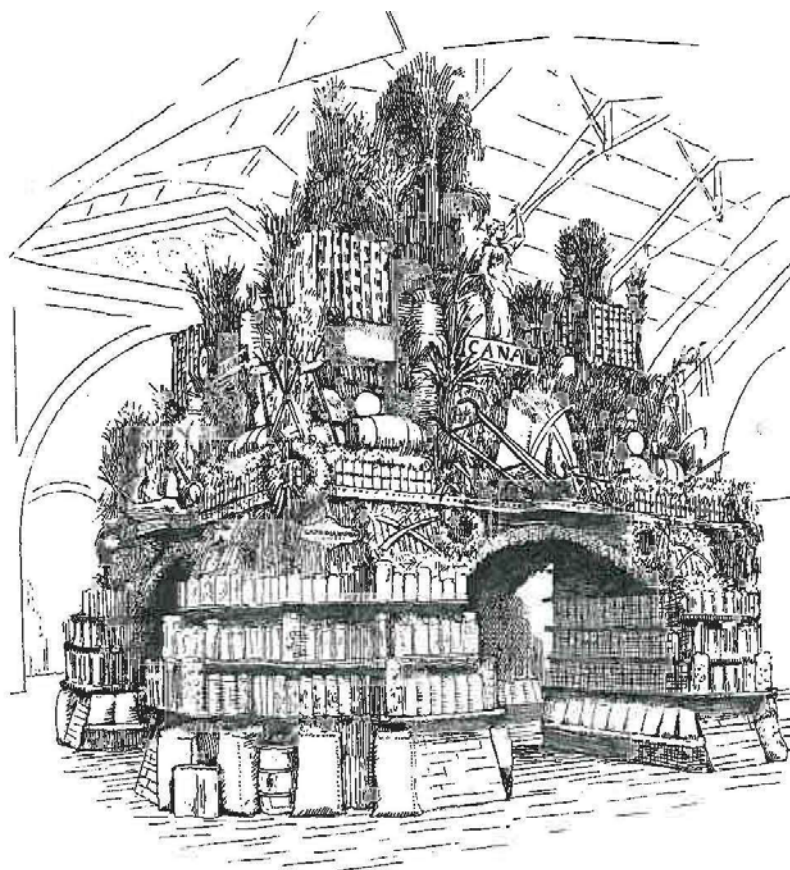
This spatial layout was a move away from the classificatory strategies of previous exhibitions, which had divided the exhibition space up according to broad categories (Raw Materials, Machinery, Manufactures, and Fine Arts) where every country would exhibit in each. Instead, the most economically important colonies took up the majority of the central exhibition space while Tristan da Cunha (although being placed under the 'Africa' section in the Exhibition guidebook), was placed in the East Arcade, which housed all of the smaller colonial islands with the exception of Fiji (see Figure 6.3).⁷⁹ This new layout meant that not only the products of different colonies would be compared, but the colonies themselves.

The linkages between economy and anthropology were thus no longer limited to specified anthropological courts and instead permeated and enframed the entire exhibition space and Francis Galton (during a Royal Anthropological Society conference held at South Kensington during the Colinderies) noted that the exhibition provided "an unprecedented opportunity [...] to become acquainted with [the empire's] native races, and of inspecting collections of high ethnological interest".⁸⁰ Such juxtapositions also occurred within the individual displays of colonies as the representation of 'backward' indigenous cultures were used to provide a contrast to 'progressive' settlers. The economic comparisons and contrasts were highlighted by the 'statistical trophies' (showing, for example, the amount of gold produced by each colony) and the 'agricultural trophies' that were placed throughout the exhibition space. As a visitor entered or left the East Arcade they were faced with the Canadian Agricultural Trophy, which was a literal shrine to agricultural productivity (see Figure 6.4).⁸¹

⁷⁹ The islands were also symbolically isolated from the rest of the exhibition space. Water features (the South East Basin and the North East Basin) isolated them from the central exhibition space, while to the north and south they were separated from the adjoining area by a green belt. This isolation was perhaps a symbolic manifestation of the perceived isolation of islands in general and of their inability to fit into the continental classificatory schema that the exhibition had adopted. The economic hierarchy described above was also visible in the textual productions of the exhibition. For example, in Frank Cundall's *Reminiscences*, his chapter on 'Africa' begins with the Cape of Good Hope and Natal before moving on to the West African Colonies, the Gold Coast, Lagos, Sierra Leone, the Gambia then St Helena (under which the sections dealing with Ascension and Tristan da Cunha were placed).

⁸⁰ Francis Galton quoted in Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 205.

⁸¹ This trophy was built from a collection of fruits, grains and grasses, images of Canadian scenery, agricultural implements, tinned fruits and meats, butter, lard, condensed milk, and meats, amongst other things. Displays such as these were themselves part of a fondness for gigantism at exhibitions as the pyramidal structure suggested bulk, height, achievement and aspiration, thus becoming a popular display device at nineteenth century exhibitions, while also epitomising control over the environment and its resources. See Louise Douglas, 'Representing colonial Australia at British, American and European international exhibitions' in *reCollections: Journal of the National Museum of Australia*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2000).



AGRICULTURAL TROPHY.

Figure 6.4: Canadian Agricultural Trophy.⁸²

The complete lack of any products of economic value at the Tristan da Cunha display not only suggested Tristan da Cunha's backwardness (in comparison to, for example, the nations that created ostentatious agricultural trophies), but also marked out the few objects that were displayed as ethnological specimens, to be compared and contrasted to the 'curios' and various ethnographic displays that were housed in the East Arcade.⁸³ This ethnographic reading of the Tristan da Cunha display may have also been exacerbated by the photographs collected there as well. While there is no indication of which photographs from the *Challenger* Expedition were displayed, given the limited number taken of the island by the *Challenger* expedition it is tempting to assume that they all were, including the photograph of Peter Green (discussed in Chapter Four). At the very least, the images would have highlighted the narratives of the *Challenger* expedition, which were being published

⁸² Frank Cundall, *Reminiscences*, at page 72.

⁸³ The Official Exhibition Guide noted: the "model of an Indian house and several specimens of Indian weapons, implements, utensils, furniture and clothing" in the British Guiana stand; the "collections of weapons and other native appliances" in the North Borneo stand; the "interesting" ethnographical collections in the Straits Settlements stand and models of Malay houses and collections of weapons and implements; the "picturesque specimens of native Indian implements, musical instruments, and other appliances" at the Honduras stand, and various similar descriptions for each of the West Indian Islands. See *Colonial and Indian Exhibitions, Official Guide*, at pages 42–49.

over the course of the 1870s and 1880s,⁸⁴ which I suggested earlier played an important role in sharpening the focus on the island bodies and inserting them into anthropological discourses and hierarchies. These discourses were themselves being highlighted less than two years before the Colinderies by Edwin Dodgson's claim that the islanders were degenerating down the evolutionary ladder.

Such a reading would not have been contradicted by any of the textual productions of the Colinderies either as they rarely exceeded a paragraph in length, and consisted mainly of attempts to fix Tristan da Cunha in space (something that was undercut by the maps accompanying these texts as will be shown below), with some giving a brief summary of the settlement's origins under William Glass. They thus provided no evidence of a different context through which to read the objects displayed. In fact, the one common trend in each of these guides and handbooks was the appearance of multiple maps (which was not surprising considering the fact that maps, as Cosgrove and Martins have argued, play "significant projective and proactive roles in the projects of modernity"),⁸⁵ where Tristan da Cunha was erased.

6.3.2) An out-of-the-world place: the erasure of Tristan da Cunha in the cartographical representations of the Colinderies

The first example of this erasure was seen above in the architectural centrepiece of the Exhibition and is repeated in the map that formed the frontispiece of the Colinderies consolidated handbook (see Figure 6.5). Here British possessions, including small islands that were not displayed at the Exhibition, were captured in the 'colonial pink' of empire while Tristan da Cunha was absent. This erasure occurred once again in the more detailed 'Map of the African colonies' (see Figure 6.6). This map compromises its spatial integrity in order to capture the Seychelles, Mauritius, and the Cape Verde Islands yet Tristan da Cunha is overwritten by an inset map of the Falkland Islands. Tristan da Cunha would, however, reappear on what was likely the most widely seen and distributed map of the British Empire produced as a result of the Colinderies, Walter Crane's 'Imperial Federation Map of the World' (see Figure 6.7).

⁸⁴ Thomson's narrative of the voyage published as Volume One of the *Reports of the Scientific Results of the Voyage of the H.M.S. Challenger* only being published in 1885.

⁸⁵ Denis Cosgrove and Luciana L. Martins, 'Millennial Geographics' in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 90, No. 1 (Mar., 2000), pp. 97–113, at page 99.

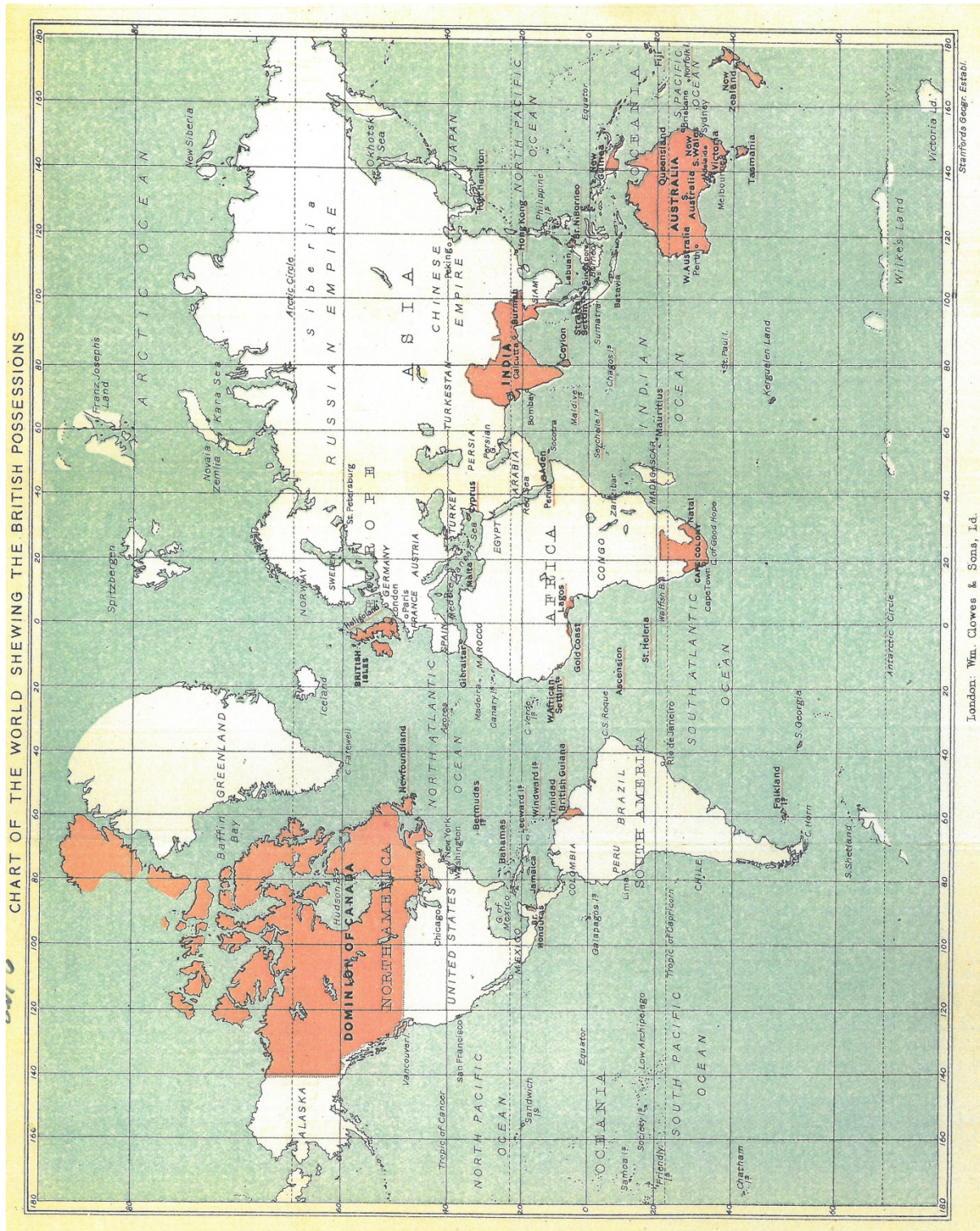


Figure 6.5: Chart of the World Shewing the British Possessions.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: Her Majesty's Colonies. A Series of Original Papers Issued Under the Authority of the Royal Commission (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1886).

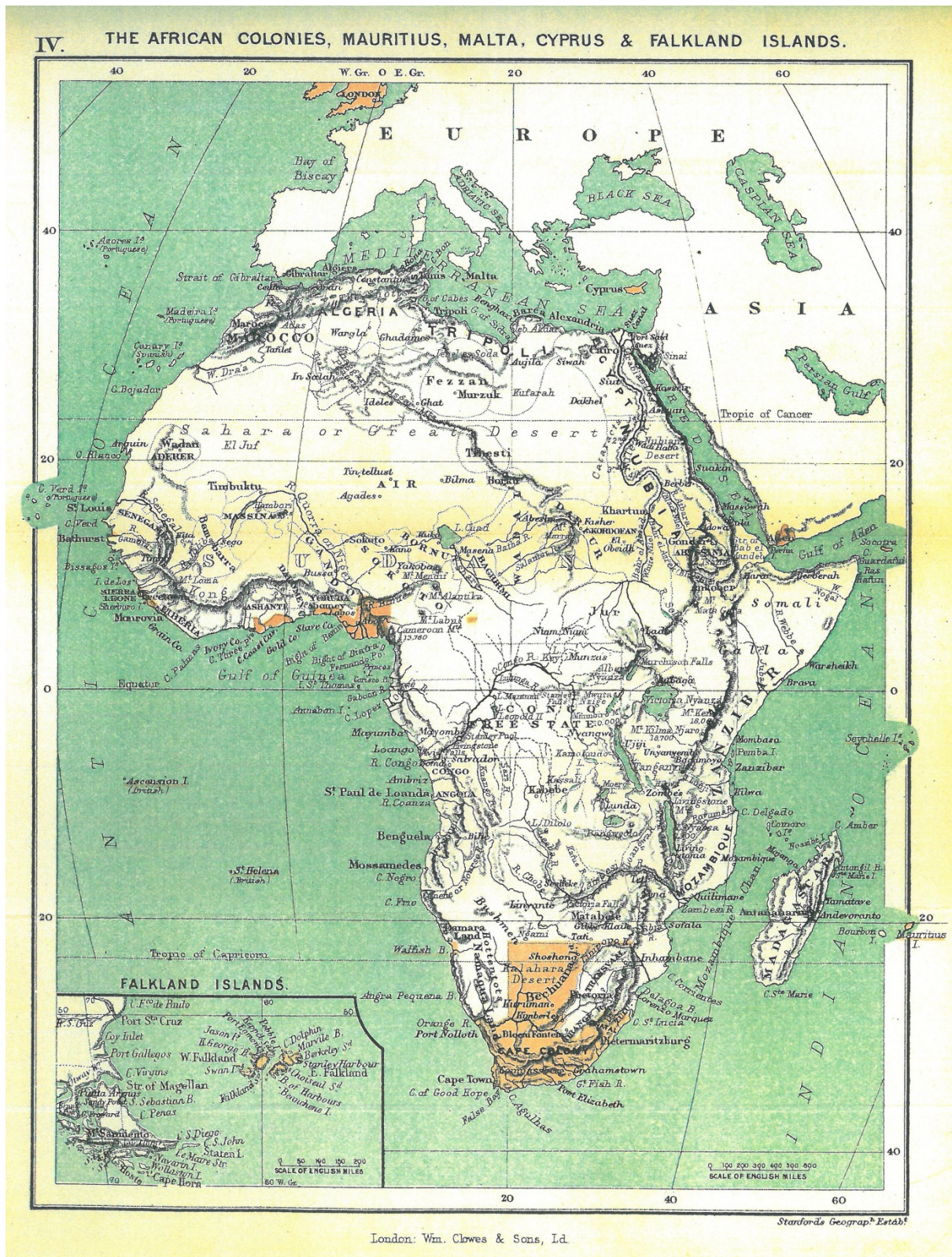


Figure 6.6: Map of the African Colonies, Mauritius, Malta, Cyprus and the Falkland Islands.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: Her Majesty's Colonies, at page 417.



Figure 6.7: Imperial Federation Map of the World Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886 by Walter Crane.

Crane's map was produced for the Imperial Federation League and was published on 24 July 1886 in *The Graphic* (an illustrated weekly London newspaper) as a large colour supplement to coincide with Queen Victoria's Jubilee and to celebrate the Colinderies.⁸⁸ It has become an iconographic example of 'the imperial map', maps that James Ryan has argued were enduring icons that helped to construct the British Empire in the Victorian imagination.⁸⁹ Felix Driver describes it as the leading contender for the exemplary imperial map that has become so ingrained in the consciousness of British imperial historians that it barely seems to require any examination. Driver goes so far as to suggest that the map "has become so associated with a certain vision of what empire was about that it has come to serve almost as a substitute for that history".⁹⁰ While this map may have included Tristan da Cunha, it put forward a very different narrative regarding the island than it did for the rest of empire, a narrative that has gone unnoticed as its ingrained position in popular memory has led to it remaining insufficiently examined.⁹¹

Driver and Biltcliffe both note how Crane's 'Imperial Federation Map' seems to encapsulate the culture of high Victorian imperialism. Britain is at the centre of the map and the Greenwich Meridian runs in a line from Britain to Britannia. Greenwich itself had only been established as the Prime Meridian two years earlier (1884) and thus marked out Britain as the point of origin for the measurement of both space and time.⁹² The colonies were joined to the metropole (and thus were suggested as being linked in both space and time to the metropole) through the conjoined infrastructure of empire, represented by both shipping routes and inset statistics. These statistical insets (which were provided for Canada, the West Indies, British West Africa, the Cape Colony, India, and Australia) showed the area, population, shipping entered and cleared, and imports and exports to and from Britain for the years 1851 (the year of the Great Exhibition) and 1886. Harley, in his seminal 'Maps, Knowledge and Power', used Crane's map to illustrate how maps not only charted

⁸⁸ The 78x60 cm map was itself based on the linen 'Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire in 1886' (which was sold at the exhibition), and the 'Howard Vincent Map of the British Empire', by T. B. Johnson (which was also produced by the Imperial Federation League). Pippa Biltcliffe, 'Walter Crane and the *Imperial Federation Map Showing the Extent of the British Empire (1886)*' in *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (2005), pp. 63–69, at pages 65–66.

⁸⁹ James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), at page 20.

⁹⁰ Felix Driver, 'In Search of The Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire' in *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (2010), pp. 146–157, at page 156.

⁹¹ That Walter Crane was the creator of the map was itself only discovered at the beginning of the twenty-first century by Pippa Biltcliffe.

⁹² David Gilbert and Felix Driver, 'Capital and Empire', at page 31; Denis Cosgrove and Luciana L. Martins, 'Millennial Geographics', at page 99; and Felix Driver and David Gilbert, 'Heart of Empire? Landscape, space and performance in imperial London' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 16 (1998), pp. 11–28, at page 24.

geopolitical relationships, but froze social interaction within charted lines,⁹³ something illustrated here by the way in which the map froze trade routes and colonial interactions, “disciplining the colonies through a discursive grid of Western knowledge and power”.⁹⁴

These chartered lines highlighted the way in which the colonies were connected with the metropole, once more illustrating the metaphor of the metropole as the ‘brain’ of empire with ‘nerves’ connecting it to the colonial peripheries. With the exception of Greenland, South Georgia, New Amsterdam and St. Paul – islands that had no permanent settler population – connections were shown to exist between the metropole and all of the rest of empire.⁹⁵ Tristan da Cunha was the only colony with a permanent population to remain completely unlinked to the metropole. This fact was unlikely to be missed by the casual viewer seeing as one’s eye would be drawn to the island which lay just above Britannia’s helmet, with Britannia herself acting as the focal point of the map with her trident thrusting upwards across the centre of it.

6.3.3) *The nervous breakdown of Tristan da Cunha, part two*

The metaphor of empire as nervous system was highlighted within the introduction to the *Series of Original Papers* (which acted as a consolidated handbook for the Exhibition) written by John Robert Seeley.⁹⁶ Seeley wrote that the colonies displayed at the Colinderies “are not self-contained, they are limbs, the life of which depends on the heart and a brain outside themselves” and went on to refer to the link between colony and metropole as “the vital connection”.⁹⁷ The maps in the handbooks and Crane’s map clearly marked the islanders out as being unable to maintain this link to the ‘brain’ of empire. Maps, Matthew Edney notes, establish, negotiate, and re-establish relationships between their readers and the territory(ies) they represent and during the Colinderies (which was itself meant to act as both a grand imperial stock take and a space where the social body of the nation could be redefined through demarcations by comparisons and contrasts with exoticised ‘backward’ others), the erasure of Tristan da Cunha from the maps acted as a metaphoric erasure from the social body of the metropole.

⁹³ See J. Brian Harley, ‘Maps, knowledge, and power’ in George Henderson and Marvin Waterstone (eds.), *Geographic Thought: A praxis perspective* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

⁹⁴ Pippa Biltcliffe, ‘Walter Crane and the *Imperial Federation Map*’, at page 63.

⁹⁵ This in itself can be seen as an act of imperial jingoism as Greenland became a Danish colony in 1814, while St. Paul and New Amsterdam had been claimed by France as early as 1843 (though this act of possession was only ratified in 1892).

⁹⁶ Seeley at the time was the Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge.

⁹⁷ *Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886: Her Majesty’s Colonies*, at pages xxiv–xxv.

Even the map of the island itself that was presented at the Tristan da Cunha display seemed to highlight distance from the social body of empire rather than a connection to it. Akerman has shown how the cartographic discourse of the nation-state, at least in theory, embraces the inhabitants of the places it maps, whereas imperial cartographic discourses (defined by Edney as being when the population of the mapped territory remain ignorant while another population is actively enabled and empowered to know the mapped territories), excludes them.⁹⁸ The map displayed (which was made by the crew of the H.M.S. *Challenger*), certainly fits this mould. This trend continued into the twentieth century as when Allan Crawford (who mapped the island as part of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition to the island in 1937–38) published an article in the *Geographical Journal* concerning the making of his map, he noted how most of the names given to topographical features in earlier maps of the island were completely unknown to the islanders themselves.⁹⁹ As Edney puts it, the ability to produce high resolution maps acted as a marker of difference, “Europeans make scientific maps, non-Europeans do not and indeed cannot”, instead relying on more ‘primitive’ topological geometries.¹⁰⁰ The inability of the islanders to map their territory or to display themselves once more marked out their disconnection from empire and in turn framed them as an ethnographic exhibit.

The effects of this estrangement from the metropolitan ‘brain’ can perhaps best be seen in the 1914 *Survey of the British Empire* (a text that acted as a stocktake of empire much like the Colinderies had), which described Tristan da Cunha as “no more than a derelict island”.¹⁰¹ The ability to construe the word ‘derelict’ here as both a noun and/or an adjective is suggestive. As an adjective, it notes the lack of utility to empire while also framing this as being a result of negligence on the part of the island’s inhabitants. As a noun, it suggests the abandonment of Tristan da Cunha by empire signalled in the maps described above. This was also metaphorically represented by the fact that, unlike the

⁹⁸ Matthew H. Edney, ‘The Irony of Imperial Mapping’ in James R. Akerman (ed.), *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), at pages 13 and 40.

⁹⁹ Allan B. Crawford, ‘Map-Making on Tristan da Cunha’ in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 94, No. 5 (Nov., 1939), pp. 410–413.

¹⁰⁰ Matthew H. Edney, ‘The Irony of Imperial Mapping’, at page 42. This discourse can clearly be seen on Tristan da Cunha even in the twentieth century as Allan Crawford, who would take on Douglas Gane’s mantle and become the main spokesman for the islanders in the second half of the twentieth century, would publish a range of texts that played an important role in representing the islanders after World War Two. Crawford literally staked out his claim as spokesman for the island by scientifically mapping the island during the visit of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition in 1937–38, and his work clearly insinuated that his ability to properly represent the island in cartographic form was also a sign of his ability to properly represent the islanders in textual form over the years that followed, with the map reappearing in all of his texts relating to the island: *I Went to Tristan; Tristan da Cunha and the Roaring Forties; Penguins, Potatoes & Postage Stamps; Tristan da Cunha Wartime Invasion; and Memoirs: North, South, East and West*.

¹⁰¹ *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, Volume VI (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), at page 66.

other islands in the East Arcade, Tristan da Cunha was not featured in the Imperial Institute at South Kensington after the Colinderies had ended.¹⁰²

The purpose of the Institute, according to its organising committee, was to promote a closer union between empire and metropole and “unite in a single representative act the whole of her [Queen Victoria’s] people”.¹⁰³ Upon the opening of the Imperial Institute, South Kensington was described as “a sort of nerve centre”,¹⁰⁴ and Bremner notes how words like ‘progress’, ‘development’, ‘civilization’, and ‘knowledge’ were frequently employed in the propaganda surrounding the Institute while the design of the Institute itself was considered to be both ‘progressive’ and ‘modern’ in order to reflect the aims and objectives of the empire itself.¹⁰⁵ The images of Tristan da Cunha were instead housed in the British Museum of Natural history (which was completed in 1881), across the road from the Imperial Institute. This in itself was significant as Crinson notes that while the Imperial Institute “displayed the bazaar of human products and their raw materials, the Natural History Museum “held the bric-a-brac of the natural world”.¹⁰⁶

The Natural History Museum was itself a product of the decision to alleviate overcrowding in the British Museum in Bloomsbury as a result of the increasing number of objects flooding it from the colonies.¹⁰⁷ As a result, what were designated objects of natural history were moved to a new site in South Kensington that was built on the remains of the 1862 Exhibition building.¹⁰⁸ Because of this move, however, a clear separation between the sciences and the arts (human artifact versus natural objects) developed, with natural objects being housed in the Natural History Museum. The housing of the objects from the Tristan da Cunha display in the Natural History Museum (and their absence

¹⁰² See *The Imperial Institute of the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India: Annual Report for 1893, and Appendices* (1893).

¹⁰³ Quoted in G. Alex Bremner, “‘Some Imperial Institute’: Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887–93” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Mar., 2003), pp. 50–73, at page 52.

¹⁰⁴ Sophie Forgan and Graeme Gooday, ‘Constructing South Kensington: The Buildings and Politics of T. H. Huxley’s Working Environments’ in *The British Journal for the History of Science*, Vol. 29, no. 4 (Dec., 1996), pp. 435–468, at page 464.

¹⁰⁵ G. Alex Bremner, “‘Some Imperial Institute’”, at page 67.

¹⁰⁶ Mark Crinson, ‘Imperial Story-lands: Architecture and display at the Imperial and Commonwealth Institutes’ in *Art History*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp. 99–123, at page 110.

¹⁰⁷ Nicolaas A. Rupke, ‘The Road to Albertopolis: Richard Owen (1804–92) and the Founding of the British Museum of Natural History’ in Nicolaas A. Rupke (ed.), *Science, Politics and the Public Good* (Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1988), at pages 63–64. For more on the development of the Natural History Museum see William T. Stearn, *The Natural History Museum at South Kensington: A History of the British Museum (Natural History), 1753–1980* (London: Heinemann, 1981) and Carla Yanni, *Nature’s Museums: Victorian Science & the Architecture of Display* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁸ Carla Yanni, ‘Divine Display or Secular Science: Defining Nature at the Natural History Museum in London’ in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Sep., 1996), pp. 276–299, at page 279.

from the Imperial Institute) marked them as being outside of and useless to the great interlocking economic unit of empire. It also clearly inserted the islanders into evolutionary discourses as when one entered the Natural History Museum, visitors were faced with an Index Museum where humankind was represented in the form of human skeletons that formed an ethnology display. Theories of evolution would have been heightened by the erection in 1885 of a statue of Darwin on the grand staircase of the central hall, which was unveiled by ‘Darwin’s bulldog’, T. H. Huxley, a man who was determined to make science – underpinned by ideas of Darwinian evolution – an integral part of education.¹⁰⁹ This placement of the objects from the Tristan da Cunha stand would have heightened the depiction of the islanders made by Dodgson just a few years earlier.

Although the island would find a place in the Imperial Institute after the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 at Wembley,¹¹⁰ this only occurred after the Institute changed the form of its displays by shifting its focus to techniques used at the British Empire Exhibition. Rather than housing a taxonomy of economic products the Institute switched to Wembley style dioramas, large relief maps and full-scale tableaux,¹¹¹ and it is at the Wembley Exhibition (described by John McKenzie as “the greatest of all the imperial exhibitions – in area, cost, extent of participation, and, probably, popular impact”),¹¹² that Tristan da Cunha would next appear at a British exhibition. This gap of almost forty years perhaps best encapsulates the ‘nervous breakdown’ of Tristan da Cunha.

6.4) The greatest of all imperial exhibitions: displaying Tristan da Cunha at the Wembley Exhibition of 1924–25

I have argued above that the display of Tristan da Cunha at the Colinderies would have been read through a revised nexus of race and economics. The display portrayed the island as being economically backwards, while the limited number of objects shown would have linked them to the ethnographic display of racialized natives that occupied much of the East Arcade where they were

¹⁰⁹ Sophie Forgan, ‘From Modern Babylon to White City: Science, Technology, and Urban Change in London, 1870–1914’ in Miriam R. Levin, Sophie Forgan, Martina Hessler, Robert H. Kargon and Morris Low, *Urban Modernity: Cultural Innovation in the Second Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2010), at page 99.

¹¹⁰ After Wembley, the natural history specimens from the Tristan da Cunha stand were sent to the British Museum of Natural History while the remaining exhibits, on a reduced scale, were sent to the imperial Institute to create a permanent display.

¹¹¹ Mark Crinson, ‘Imperial Story-lands’, at page 112.

¹¹² John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, at page 108. The publicity for the British Empire Exhibition far surpassed that of the exhibitions that had preceded it with tens of thousands of posters distributed in post offices and other public sites in Britain. See Daniel M. Stephen, ‘“Brothers of the Empire?”: India and the British Empire Exhibition of 1924–25’ in *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2011), pp. 164–188, at page 185.

placed. I have also suggested that the maps produced of the island also increasingly marked it out as an 'out-of-the-world place, a rhetoric that would have been heightened and reinforced by Jules Verne's depictions of the island in popular culture described in the previous chapter. However, while this depiction of the island as an out-of-the-world place had led to Barrow producing increasingly negative and racialized depictions of the islanders. Douglas Gane (the honorary executive commissioner of the Tristan da Cunha stand at the Wembley Exhibition) attempted to use this framing of Tristan da Cunha as an out-of-the-world place to suggest that it had in fact become an antimodern rural idyll where the social body could regenerate in a space insulated from the perceived ills of industrial modernity.

Gane was a London solicitor who, despite being made the honorary executive commissioner of the Tristan da Cunha stand at the Wembley Exhibition (which was based in the South African Pavilion) had never actually set foot on the island. As a twenty-one year old undertaking a 'Grand Tour' in 1884, the vessel he was sailing in en route to Australia had passed near enough to Tristan da Cunha for a group of island men to board the vessel in order to barter (and it is presumably these bartered goods that he claimed to have provided for the Tristan da Cunha display at the Colinderies). Following his return to England, he discovered that many of the men he had met had drowned when they disappeared at sea while trying to intercept a passing vessel, which led him to organise an attempt to have stores sent to the island. After World War One he began to write regularly to *The Times* to drum up support for supplies to be sent to the island via his Tristan da Cunha Fund (established in 1921 when a trust deed was drawn up between Gane and the Royal Geographical and Empire Societies).¹¹³ In his capacity as honorary secretary of the Fund, he remained the main spokesman for the islanders in Britain until his death in 1935 when he was replaced by his son Irving Gane.¹¹⁴

The British Empire Exhibition offered Gane an important opportunity to display the island and it is one he would not pass up as he built a Tristan da Cunha stand made up of the objects he had

¹¹³ There is a great deal of confusion in the literature as to when this Fund was formally set up. While some claim it was set up c. 1886, a 1929 article on Douglas Gane in *The African World* claimed his active interest in Tristan da Cunha only began in 1916. Allan Crawford suggests that after the boating disaster of 1885, Gane collected a yearly fund in an informal way until he set up the Tristan da Cunha Fund in 1926 when a Trust Deed was drawn up between Gane and the Royal Geographical and Empire Societies. Though the first Tristan da Cunha Fund Report runs from 1921–26, which suggests it was formally set up in 1921. See Allan Crawford, *I Went to Tristan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941), at page 65 and 'Tristan da Cunha Supplement' in *The African World*, Vol. 105, No. 1367 (1929), pp. i–viii, at page i.

¹¹⁴ His obituary, which appeared a day later in the *Times*, describes his "long and devoted services to the islanders of Tristan da Cunha", 'Mr. D. M. Gane,' in *The Times*, 25 March 1935, for which he was awarded the order of the British Empire in the same year as his death, see *The Solicitors Journal*, Vol. 79 (1935), at page 32.

bartered for half-a-century earlier, as well as various objects that were collected and created for the exhibition under the supervision of the resident missionary at the time, Henry Rogers. By setting up the Tristan da Cunha stand at the Wembley Exhibition, Gane could not only attempt to publicise the island, but could also strengthen his position as an ‘expert’ spokesman for, and on, the island, both of which he emphatically achieved. The South African Pavilion had upwards of 15,000 to 20,000 visitors per day,¹¹⁵ the majority of whom would have presumably seen Gane’s stand and as a result of his display “a keen and growing interest in Tristan da Cunha [was] created”.¹¹⁶

Due to the fact that the ability to collect and display people’s and places at exhibitions led to the illusion of cognitive control, Gane’s ability to build such a collection allowed him to present himself as an expert on Tristan da Cunha. This in turn allowed commissioners such as Gane to become ‘cultural bureaucrats’,¹¹⁷ a position Gane would embrace as he became the de facto representative of the island in the metropole, even acting as their representative in discussions relating to the island’s future with the South African Government over the course of the 1920s and early 1930s.¹¹⁸ Gane would use this position to craft and popularise his own particular vision of the island, which increasingly came to be referred to in the popular press as ‘the Lonely Island’.¹¹⁹ The culmination of this was Gane’s 1932 book *Tristan da Cunha: An Empire Outpost* where, building on his attempts at the Tristan da Cunha stand and in the *Tristan da Cunha Handbook* he produced to accompany it, he went about repackaging Earle’s representation of the island as an English rural-idyll inhabited by British settlers displaced into the South Atlantic.

¹¹⁵ ‘Great Imperial Service Rendered: Opinions of Oversea Representatives in London, How Wembley has Stimulated the Empire’s Trade’ in *The Times*, Tuesday, 30 September 1924, at page xii.

¹¹⁶ ‘Tristan da Cunha Supplement’ in *The African World*, Vol. 105, No. 1367 (1929), pp. i–viii, at page iii.

¹¹⁷ See Carol A. Breckenridge, ‘The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting’ and Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at pages 63–64. For a more detailed analysis of these cultural bureaucrats ability to produce and categorise imperial knowledge as well as their relationships with the state, see Chapters Three and Four of this text.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, SAB: GG Vol. No. 1075, Ref. 22/119. Tristan da Cunha. Question of Settling Certain Islanders in the Union of South Africa, 1927.

¹¹⁹ This term was repeatedly used to describe Tristan da Cunha in *The Times* during this period and was also used as the title of Rose Annie Rogers account of her time on the island with her husband (the resident missionary of Tristan da Cunha at the time of the Wembley Exhibition) and of Erling Christophersen’s (the head of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition) time there. See Rose Annie Rogers, *The Lonely Island* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1926) and Erling Christophersen, *Tristan da Cunha: The Lonely Isle* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1940).

6.4.1) *Creating the 'Lonely Island': rural idling and Tristan da Cunha*

Gane's attempt to reconjure Earle's Romantic vision of the island may seem out of place in an Exhibition that was long in the making,¹²⁰ and which attempted to highlight empire's stability after World War One while at the same time stressing the raw materials and commercial potential of empire as well as industrial, technological, and cultural advancements of the British Empire.¹²¹ However, Gane was trying to tap into a new feature of the aesthetic grammar of British displays at exhibitions that was well developed by the turn of the nineteenth century. While we have seen above how one strand of British exhibitionary culture foregrounded the idea and ideal of progress and modernity through the display of the products of industrialisation, there also developed over the course of the nineteenth century a strand that highlighted England's rural past. Rembold notes that the era of exhibitions (which he suggests lasted from 1851 to World War Two) can be divided into three periods. The first from 1851 to 1889 appealed through 'ingenuity and novelty in design', the second from 1893 to 1922 when exhibitions 'deliberately and consciously' harked back to history, and the third from 1925 when 'modernists and internationalists' dominated the scene.¹²²

This can be seen at various exhibitions where the portrayal of 'Merrie England' and recreations of 'English villages' became a recurring element of British displays and drew on the features of Elizabethan England, a period that marked the start of English imperial history as well as "the establishment of the Church of England, the maturing of the arts, the growth of the Royal Navy [and] of overseas trade and conquest".¹²³ This shift in British representations at exhibitions can be seen as early as the 1867 Paris Exposition Universelles, where a pre-Industrial revolution cottage was displayed. At the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia a "group of three structures in that picturesque, half-timbered style of Old England, so expressive of the English character" were displayed while Elizabethan and other period style buildings were displayed at the Expositions

¹²⁰ An imperial exposition had been proposed in 1902 by the British Empire League and the idea was revived in 1910 by Lord Strathcona, Imre Kiralfy and Sir and Sir Pieter C. Van B. Stewart-Bam (who was chairman of the General Executive of the 1907 South African Exhibition). It was scheduled for 1915 but was delayed by World War One. See Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), at page 141.

¹²¹ See John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, at page 108. This was explicitly emphasised by the Exhibition organisers who wrote in the *Official Guide* that the purpose of the Exhibition was "To find, in the development and utilisation of the raw materials of the Empire, new sources of Imperial wealth. To foster inter-Imperial trade and open fresh world markets for Dominion and home products. To make the different races of the British Empire better known to each other, and to demonstrate to the people of Britain the almost illimitable possibilities of the Dominions, Colonies, and Dependencies overseas".

¹²² Elfie Rembold, 'Exhibitions and National Identity', at page 223.

¹²³ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, at page 122. See also Peter Merrington, 'Staging history, inventing heritage: the 'new pageantry' and British imperial identity, 1905–35' in Susan Lawrence (ed.), *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of identity in Great Britain and its colonies 1600–1945* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Universelle two years later. By 1910, the Ideal Home Exhibition featured an English Tudor village as its main attraction while the 1911 Festival of Empire Exhibition contained both a 'Shakespeare-Land', a 'Tudor village', and half-timbered cottages displayed along with young women at work with spinning-wheels.¹²⁴

These portrayals were in part a reflection of the increasing reification of England's rural past, which built on the established iconography of the Romantic School.¹²⁵ Put forward by those on the right and left of the political spectrum, it "came to infect British popular culture into the twentieth century".¹²⁶ This nostalgia for, and idealisation of, the countryside permeated British society and allowed for the cultural redefinition of the countryside by men like Stanley Baldwin, who famously said in a speech in 1924 soon after becoming Prime Minister, "to me England is the country and the country is England".¹²⁷ This led to what Brian Short has termed 'rural idyll production' and a 'neo-pastoral impulse' that could be seen in the rise of various organisations created at the turn of the nineteenth century dedicated to the preservation of landscape, scenery, buildings, and wildlife.¹²⁸

This attempt to locate the 'real England' as being rural England has been attributed to the decline of British industrial, economic, and naval superiority during this period as well as anxieties around perceived physical and racial degeneration within urban England, which saw the countryside framed as a site "uncontaminated by racial degeneration and the false values of cosmopolitan urban life".¹²⁹ This in turn led to a cultural response from the 1890s across English art and letters, music

¹²⁴ See Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Britishness in Design, Material Culture and Popular Artefacts: From Empire to New Labour' in Alan Tomlinson and Jonathan M. Woodham (eds.), *Image, Power and Space: Studies in Consumption and Identity* (Maidenhead: Meyer & Meyer Sport, 2007), at pages 138–142 and Stephanie Rains, 'Colleens, cottages and kraals: the politics of 'native' village exhibitions' (2011).

¹²⁵ Simon Miller, 'Urban Dreams and Rural Reality: Land and Landscape in English Culture, 1920–45' in *Rural History*, Vol. 6, Part 1 (1995), pp. 89–102, at page 93.

¹²⁶ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, at page 124.

¹²⁷ See Stephen Baldwin, 'The Sounds of England' in B. McArthur (ed.), *The Penguin Book of Twentieth Century Speeches* (London: Penguin, 1999), at pages 94–96 and Helen J. Walker, *The Outdoor Movement in England and Wales, 1900–1939* (PhD Thesis, University of Sussex, 1987), at page 13. Though the fact that Baldwin himself made his fortune from iron (and the Tory party he led stressed focused on a project of creating an improving, modernising, urban nation that was industrial and productive) immediately alerts us to the romanticised nature of Baldwin's rural England, see Simon Miller, 'Urban Dreams and Rural Reality', pp. 89–102, at page 93.

¹²⁸ Brian Short, 'Idyllic ruralities' in Paul J. Cloke, Terry Marsden and Patrick Mooney (eds.), *The Handbook of Rural Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2006), at page 141 and Jeremy Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change in England since 1800* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2002), at page 92. Burchardt gives a detailed description of the rise of these organisations in Chapter Eight of his text.

¹²⁹ Alun Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England' in Robert Colls and Philip Dodd (eds.), *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880–1920* (London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1986), at page 69 and Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, at page 121. For more on the fears around perceived social degeneration in the metropole, see Richard Overy, *The Morbid Age: Britain Between the Wars* (London: Allen Lane, 2009). See also Richard Soloway, 'Counting the

and architecture, which reached its peak in the interwar years that produced a ruralist vision of a specifically English culture that consisted of harmonious communities living in a kind of classlessness,¹³⁰ all set within surroundings that were considered aesthetically pleasing.¹³¹ This ruralised view of Britain was also favoured in British displays at exhibitions as an emphasis on British technological progress was believed to highlight class divisions, divisions which could be erased if displays harked back to a pre-industrial period.¹³²

In many ways, Gane's display attempted to hark back to this classless pre-industrial rural past and in the process attempted to breathe new life into Augustus Earle's Romantic portrayal of the island, (whose painting of William Glass was reproduced in the *Tristan da Cunha Handbook*). The objects he collected highlighted tools of rural agricultural production and the *Handbook*, while describing Tristan da Cunha as an "out of the world spot", portrayed this in a favourable light. It suggested that by being insulated from industrial modernity, the islanders had maintained their health and vitality. The first half of the *Tristan da Cunha Handbook* consisted of a reworked article that Gane had published in the *Empire Review* in February 1923 titled 'Tristan da Cunha: Its place in the empire'. Here, Gane lauded the decision of the islanders to remain on Tristan da Cunha and suggested their presence there was perhaps a result of a "higher consideration that moves them, though they may be unaware of it". For Gane, this higher consideration was "the instinct of the [Anglo-Saxon] race", who had developed an empire with "the absence of conscious design on the part of the builders."¹³³

In the process of portraying the inhabitants of Tristan da Cunha as empire builders inhabiting a rural idyll free from the ills of modernity, Gane had to rewrite his previous depictions of them based on his only meeting with the islanders forty years earlier. In his *New South Wales and Victoria in 1885* he gave a brief (and inaccurate) history of the settlement. He described how the islanders led a

Degenerates: The Statistics of Race Deterioration in Edwardian England' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 17, No. 1, Decadence (Jan., 1982), pp. 137–164.

¹³⁰ Alun Howkins, 'The Discovery of Rural England', at page 75.

¹³¹ Brian Short, 'Idyllic ruralities', at page 145. This view of England was reinforced and heightened by the cultural reification of the countryside in texts such as *Country Life Magazine* (created in 1897), and the revival of country crafts and traditions (best seen in the rise of the Arts and Crafts Movement towards the end of the nineteenth century). For a good introduction to William Morris, the arts and crafts movement, and its impact on the architectural conservation movement in Britain, see Chris Miele (ed.), *From William Morris: building conservation and the arts and crafts cult of authenticity, 1877–1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). For an example of the 'anti-modern' tendencies of the arts and crafts movement, see Alan Crawford, 'Ideas and Objects: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain' in *Design Issues*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring, 1997), pp. 15–26. For more on the development of *Country Life Magazine*, see Roy Strong, *Country Life, 1897–1997: The English Arcadia* (London: Country Life Books, 1996).

¹³² Lisa D. Schrenk, 'From Historic Village to Modern Pavilion: The Evolution of Foreign Architectural Representation at International Expositions in the 1930s' in *National Identities*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1999), pp. 287–311, at page 293.

¹³³ Douglas Gane, *Handbook of Tristan da Cunha*, (London: Preedy's, 1924), at page 30.

“Robinson Crusoe kind of existence”, that they visited “the African coast, with the object of increasing their company by the addition of a number of Kaffir women” (these women in fact came from St Helena), and that only the two sons of ‘Sergeant [sic] Glass’ were ‘true British’ while “the rest were mulattoes”. He went on to state that “[t]he black blood is, at the present day, very conspicuous in the offspring of the original settlers; so much so that, in interviewing them, it is difficult to feel that Tristan d’Acunha is an English settlement”.¹³⁴

By the time Gane’s *An Empire Outpost* was published, this meeting had been radically revised. ‘Several’ of the islanders that boarded his vessel were now “English in appearance”, and while some displayed “an unmistakable dash of the tar brush due to the early admixture of St Helena blood”, they “spoke the mother tongue fluently”.¹³⁵ He had even replaced Joseph Beetham in his original narrative with Peter Green, the ‘headman’ of Tristan da Cunha, creating a link between himself and a symbol of authority on the island. Gane would later go further in attempting to obscure the racial origins of the women brought to the island as he used the discovery and purchase of the Glass family Bible to make a claim for the white origins of William Glass’s wife (who had been described in the previous literature as a ‘Cape Creole’).¹³⁶ This, Stephen Gray argues, was part of what he terms an attempt “to sort out the island’s foundational mythology, so as to proclaim it as always having been squarely British”.¹³⁷

Gane’s attempts to stress the health and longevity of the islanders as well as their physical prowess in the *Handbook* (something that would be further highlighted in his *An Empire Outpost* where he

¹³⁴ Douglas Gane, *New South Wales and Victoria in 1885* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1886), at pages 21–25. Gane’s stridently racist views were repeated in his descriptions of ‘John Chinaman’ in Australia, a topic to which he devoted a twenty page chapter (‘The Chinese in Australia’) to in his *New South Wales and Victoria in 1885*.

¹³⁵ Douglas M. Gane, *Tristan da Cunha: An Empire Outpost and Its Keepers with Glimpses of its Past and Consideration of the Future* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd; London, 1932), at pages 24–25.

¹³⁶ Ibid. This family Bible was purchased for the British Museum of Natural History with funds donated from various sources, including Gane’s Tristan da Cunha Fund. The discovery was part of a wider attempt by Gane to retrieve the early records of the settlement and this search resulted in the ‘rediscovery’ of other items, such as Lambert’s flag, the letter giving Glass permission to remain on the island (used by Gane to suggest that the settlement had an authorized origin), and the agreement which was drawn up between the initial three male settlers that set up the settlement. These documents were also acquired by the British Museum. For more on these records, see: E.H. Fairbrother, ‘Tristan da Cunha: Original Documents Illustrating its History and that of its ‘Flag’ in *United Empire* Vol. 20, No. 10 (1929); Douglas Gane, ‘The Settlement of Tristan: William Glass, Early Records in New London’ in *The Times*, 07 August 1933, at page 11; Douglas Gane, ‘Tristan da Cunha: Some Early Nineteenth Century Records’ in *The Times*, 25 March 1935, at page 10; Douglas Gane, ‘Early Records of Tristan da Cunha: The Discovery in New London’ in *United Empire* (1933), pp. 589–598 and Robin Flower, ‘Tristan da Cunha Records’ in *The British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (May, 1935), pp. 121–123.

¹³⁷ Stephen Gray, ‘A Small Colony of Persons: Tristan English and the Outside World’ in *Alternation*, Vol. 6 (2013), pp. 130–143, at page 134. This claim was made by Douglas Gane in ‘Tristan da Cunha: A Lonely Island and its Place in the Empire’ in *Empire Review* (1923), pp. 1–16.

had a forty page chapter titled ‘The Health perfections of the People’) can thus be seen as highlighting the regenerative qualities of the rural in both physical and racial terms. This view would be explicitly stated in *An Empire Outpost*, where Gane argued that Tristan da Cunha was an example of “the social purification that operates amidst small communities left to themselves”.¹³⁸ This formed a direct contrast to the urban underclasses that were being increasingly monitored by both Government and social purity movements.¹³⁹ The social exploration literature this monitoring produced used ideas of degeneracy in the metropole as a means of mediating the manifold contradictions in imperial hierarchy where “skin colour as a marker of power was imprecise and inadequate”.¹⁴⁰

By highlighting their isolation, rural lifestyle, health and vigour, as well as their moral piousness and Anglicanism in his *Handbook*, Gane attempted to frame the island as a rural idyll that captured Charles Kingsley’s idea that primitive vigour and character could be recovered in places where manly energy was unconstrained by modern life. Kingsley relocated this source of primitive vigour within pre-industrial Elizabethan England, a place where a dynamic Anglo-Saxon spirit coalesced with a nationalistic Protestantism to form a triumphant national identity.¹⁴¹ Thus while Dodgson and Barrow had created a metonymic linkage between the degenerating island and degenerating islanders as seen in the previous chapter, Gane’s *Handbook* and his epistolary journalism did the opposite. By attempting to portray Tristan da Cunha as a rural idyll that was insulated from the ills of modernity where, rather than degenerating, the social body could regenerate, a feature that was visible in his attempts to not only suggest their health and masculine vitality, but also in attempts to portray these Anglo-Saxon settlers playing an important role in maintaining an empire that was becoming increasingly fragile.

This view was however contradicted within his own text as the second half of the *Handbook* consisted of a description of the aims and purposes of the Tristan da Cunha Fund and contained images of the supplies that had already been collected and sent to the island being distributed amongst its inhabitants. This unabashed attempt to solicit aid for the islanders undercut the earlier

¹³⁸ Douglas M. Gane, *Tristan da Cunha*, at page 168.

¹³⁹ For example, the Council for the Promotion of Public Morality (established in 1899), and the National Council of Public Morals (established in 1916). For examples of such social purity movements and some of their work, see Nan H. Dreher, ‘The Virtuous and the Verminous: Turn-of-the-Century Moral Panics in London’s Public Parks’ in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Summer, 1997), pp. 246–267.

¹⁴⁰ See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at pages 46–56.

¹⁴¹ C.J. W.-L. Wee, ‘Christian manliness and national identity: the problematic construction of a racially “pure” nation’ in Donald E. Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), at page 68.

attempts in the *Handbook* to portray Tristan da Cunha's inhabitants as healthy, independent settlers, whose occupation of the island was a boon to empire rather than a drain on metropolitan resources. Despite this obvious contradiction, Gane's portrayal of the island as a rural idyll would strike a chord with some,¹⁴² and by the time his *An Empire Outpost* was reviewed by *The Times*, he was described as being "as responsible as any living man for constantly reminding people at home that the Tristanians are British people and that their island is an outpost of the Empire."¹⁴³ His view of the island as a rural idyll also filtered through to subsequent metropolitan visitors, who took on his mantle and kept alive this strain of representing the island as an English rural idyll.

However, at the Wembley Exhibition, this view of the island was eroded and overwritten by contradictions within the idea of the pre-industrial rural idyll as well as by the spatial poetics of the Exhibition where these arguments were being made. The English countryside that was idealised in the metropole was in fact created by a process of enclosure, gentrification, and through the evocation of 'Old English' architecture that attempted to create (rather than simply preserve) a rustic and historic atmosphere evocative of folk life.¹⁴⁴ These rural idylls were thus highly artificial and, as Marc Brodie succinctly puts it, consisted of an aesthetic countryside rather than a working one.¹⁴⁵ The idealisation of these created rural idylls, Lowenthal argues, were themselves the result of the demise of the previous functions of these landscapes as sites of agricultural production. They had become what Lowenthal terms "essentially a vast museumised ruin" and stripped of their previous functions, farmers became "scenic stewards for tourism".¹⁴⁶ Thus, much of the idealisation of the countryside was predicated on the belief that the rural world of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century had already vanished forever,¹⁴⁷ and the creation of these rural idylls can perhaps best be seen as attempts to conjure lost worlds. In one of the few texts that have critically

¹⁴² For example, Roy Campbell would draw on the Romantic view of Tristan da Cunha in his poem *Tristan da Cunha* (the most anthologised of Campbell's poems during the two decades following its publication in 1926). Winifred Holtby on the other hand would use a Tristan islander as the titular character in her satirical *The Astonishing Island: Being a Veracious Record of the Experiences Undergone by Robinson Lippingtree Mackintosh from Tristan da Cunha during an Accidental visit to Unknown Territory in the Year of Grace MCMXXX-?* (London: Lovat Dickson Limited, 1933).

¹⁴³ 'Tristan da Cunha' in *The Times*, Tuesday, 1 November 1932, at page 20.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Bunce, 'Reproducing rural idylls' in Paul Cloke (ed.), *Country Visions* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2003), at page 16 and Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [Second Edition] 2004), at pages 64–72.

¹⁴⁵ Marc Brodie, 'The politics of rural nostalgia between the wars' in Graeme Davison and Marc Brodie (eds.), *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in Twentieth Century Australia* (Clayton: Monash University ePress, 2005).

¹⁴⁶ David Lowenthal, 'British National Identity and the English Landscape' in *Rural History*, Vol. 2, Part 2 (1991), pp. 205–230, at page 217.

¹⁴⁷ See Brian Short, 'Idyllic ruralities', at page 140 and Patrick Wright, 'Traficking in History' in David Boswell and Jessica Evans, *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999), at page 123.

analysed the history of lost worlds, Sumathi Ramaswamy – in her analysis of Lemuria – postulates that

[the] preoccupation with the lost – and with the vanished, the disappeared, the hidden and the forgotten – is an inevitable, even irresistible, condition of modernity, [...] high modernity has not been merely preoccupied with progress and advance, but also with loss and disappearance. Correspondingly, loss is good to think in regard to what it means to be modern.¹⁴⁸

It was thus the ‘magic of historicity’ that gave these rural idylls their value, but Wiener notes that this value disappeared when these places actually existed rather than being sanitised and idealised recreations of them.¹⁴⁹

While Gane wished to maintain the conditions that allowed Tristan da Cunha to become an out of the world rural idyll (something he explicitly advocated in the *Handbook* where he stated that although his Tristan da Cunha Fund aimed to create more regular communications with the island it intended to “leave the general character of the settlement unimpaired”),¹⁵⁰ the romanticisation of the English rural idyll at exhibitions was itself employed not to celebrate the existence of the living rural, but a rural past to contrast with – and legitimise – the central idea of progress.¹⁵¹ As Peter Merrington puts it, “[e]arly twentieth century ‘modernity’ [...] depended as much on a sense of the imaginary recuperation of past ages as on a necessary sense of rupture with the past”.¹⁵² These displays of the past acted not only as a contrast between past and present, but also provided a reassuring sense of continuity between the two, and by supporting a story of progress confirmed the essential unity of past, present, and future.¹⁵³ This leads Forgan to refer to such displays as being Janus-faced, “ [t]he beauty of a picturesque past, the strength of the imperial present, and the modernity of a prosperous future could all be embraced at the same time”.¹⁵⁴ The Exhibition was itself built on a band of countryside outside north-west London popularised as ‘Metro-Land’. This Metro-Land was marketed by the Metropolitan Railways Publicity Department as a land of idyllic cottages (many built in a Tudorbethan architectural style) and wild flowers and as an area for leisure excursion travel from London, and also attempted to stimulate new residential development for

¹⁴⁸ Sumathi Ramaswamy, *The Lost Land of Lemuria: Fabulous Geographies, Catastrophic Histories* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), at page 1.

¹⁴⁹ Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit*, at page 69.

¹⁵⁰ Douglas Gane, *Handbook of Tristan da Cunha*, at page 37.

¹⁵¹ Katherine Smits and Alix Jansen, ‘Staging the nation at expos and world’s fairs’ in *National Identities*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Jun., 2012), pp. 173–188, at page 176.

¹⁵² Peter Merrington, ‘Staging history, inventing heritage’, at page 249.

¹⁵³ Sophie Forgan, ‘From Modern Babylon to White City’, at page 110.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, at pages 115–116.

middle class commuters.¹⁵⁵ Thus the very site of the Wembley Exhibition acted concurrently as a site of modernity and the constructed rural idyll, thus allowing for two concurrent modes of constructing national identity to exist side by side at the site.

But whereas the aesthetic rural could be embraced at these exhibitions, the living agricultural world – which signified stasis rather than progress – could not. This explains the paradox of the development of a timeless rural landscape as a national icon on the one hand, and a counter-pastoral undercurrent and antagonistic ignorance of life on the land on the other.¹⁵⁶ Whereas the aesthetic rural could be reified, the living agricultural world was seen as anachronistic and unsophisticated, while those who lived there were tainted by the stigma of primitive backwardness.¹⁵⁷ This leads Simon Miller to conclude that the rural was valued as a place, not as a people,¹⁵⁸ a view that in many ways helps to explain the contradictory portrayals of the island by Gane and the resident missionaries who lived there.

So while I suggested in Chapter Three that the picturesque Tristan da Cunha portrayed by Earle deformed due to the island's apparent lack of development over time, Gane's attempts to portray the islanders as being part of the social body of the metropole by framing them as inhabitants of a site that represented an iconographic English rural past would also founder as the stasis required of the rural idyll would mark out the lack of development of those who inhabited it. This view was highlighted at the Wembley Exhibition itself as it took place at the cusp of the shift in exhibition displays described earlier by Rembold. Rather than harking back to the past and using recreations of historic villages and monuments to create easily understandable iconographical symbols of the country's identity, exhibitions began to focus on displays that highlighted industrial and technological advancement.¹⁵⁹ There were no 'English villages' within the British Empire Exhibition grounds and instead of displaying any icons of a pre-industrial past, the main buildings in the

¹⁵⁵ For more on Metro-Land see: Oliver Green, *Metro-Land* (Harpenden: Southbank Publishing, 2015); Sophie Seifalian, 'Gardens of Metro-Land' in *Garden History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Winter, 2011), pp. 218–238; and Adam Forest, 'Metroland, 100 years on: what's become of England's original vision of suburbia?' in *The Guardian*, Thursday, 10 September 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/sep/10/metroland-100-years-england-original-vision-suburbia> (accessed on the 17 December 2016).

¹⁵⁶ Simon Miller, 'Urban Dreams and Rural Reality', at page 98 and David Bell, 'Anti-Idyll: Rural horror' in Paul Cloke and Jo Little (eds.), *Contested Countryside Cultures: Otherness, marginalisation and rurality* (London: Routledge, 1997), at page 91.

¹⁵⁷ Simon Miller, 'Urban Dreams and Rural Reality', at page 98.

¹⁵⁸ Simon Miller, 'Urban Dreams and Rural Reality: Land and Landscape in English Culture, 1920–45' in *Rural History*, Vol. 6, Part 1 (1995), pp. 89–102, at page 98.

¹⁵⁹ See Lisa D. Schrenk, 'From Historic Village to Modern Pavilion' and Katherine Smits and Alix Jansen, 'Staging the nation', at page 173.

exhibition grounds were built from that most modern of materials, reinforced concrete, which was advertised as “the latest material for a modern London”.¹⁶⁰

6.4.2) *The spatial poetics of the Wembley Exhibition*

The Wembley site itself symbolically replicated the relationship between London and its colonies.¹⁶¹ The British Government’s pavilion was located at the centre of the exhibition, and moving north to south from the main entrance one would first see the ‘Palace of Industry’ and the ‘Palace of Engineering’ the two largest buildings at the site (and at the time the two largest buildings in the world).¹⁶² These buildings not only symbolised Britain’s progress, but “[t]o juxtapose a Machine Hall with a native village”, Greenhalgh notes, “was to provide the clearest possible illustration of power relations in the world [...] For those who wished to see it that way, it also indicated relative positions on the social Darwinian scale”.¹⁶³ The Palace of Industry and Palace of Engineering were followed by the pavilions of the four most important colonies; Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and India. The southern portion of the venue contained the Wembley Stadium and the remainder of the colonies, including the South African pavilion where the Tristan da Cunha stand was housed,¹⁶⁴ displaced from the other Atlantic islands situated along the ‘Atlantic Slope’ (see Figure 6.8).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Leo Hollis, *The Stones of London: A History in Twelve Buildings* (London: Weichenfeld & Nicolson, 2011), Chapter Ten: Wembley Stadium.

¹⁶¹ For more on the spatial poetics of the British Empire Exhibition, see Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, Chapter Five.

¹⁶² Alexander C. T. Geppert, ‘Wembley 1924–1925’ in John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (eds.), *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions* (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), at page 233.

¹⁶³ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, at pages 107–108.

¹⁶⁴ There is no indication as to whether Gane had any say in the decision to house Tristan da Cunha in the South African pavilion. The linkage was one that made a certain amount of sense when one considers that the island was annexed as a dependency of the Cape Colony when the garrison was initially sent in 1816. Strong links had also developed with mainland South Africa due to the fact that many of those who had left Tristan da Cunha over the years had settled in South Africa since as far back as Taylor’s initial evacuation of the some of the islanders to the Cape. In the years following the Exhibition a Tristan Welfare Committee was also established in Cape Town.

¹⁶⁵ This spatial hierarchy was also emphasised in the exhibition handbooks (which gave suggestions on how best to go about viewing the various pavilions) while various posters also suggested the best way of perceiving it, such as Edward Bawden and Thomas Derrick’s poster for the London Underground, which depicted ‘an orderly phalanx’ marching from north to south. See Scott Cohen, ‘The Empire from the Street: Virginia Woolf, Wembley, and Imperial Monuments’ in *Modern Fiction Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Spring, 2004), pp. 85–109, at page 90.

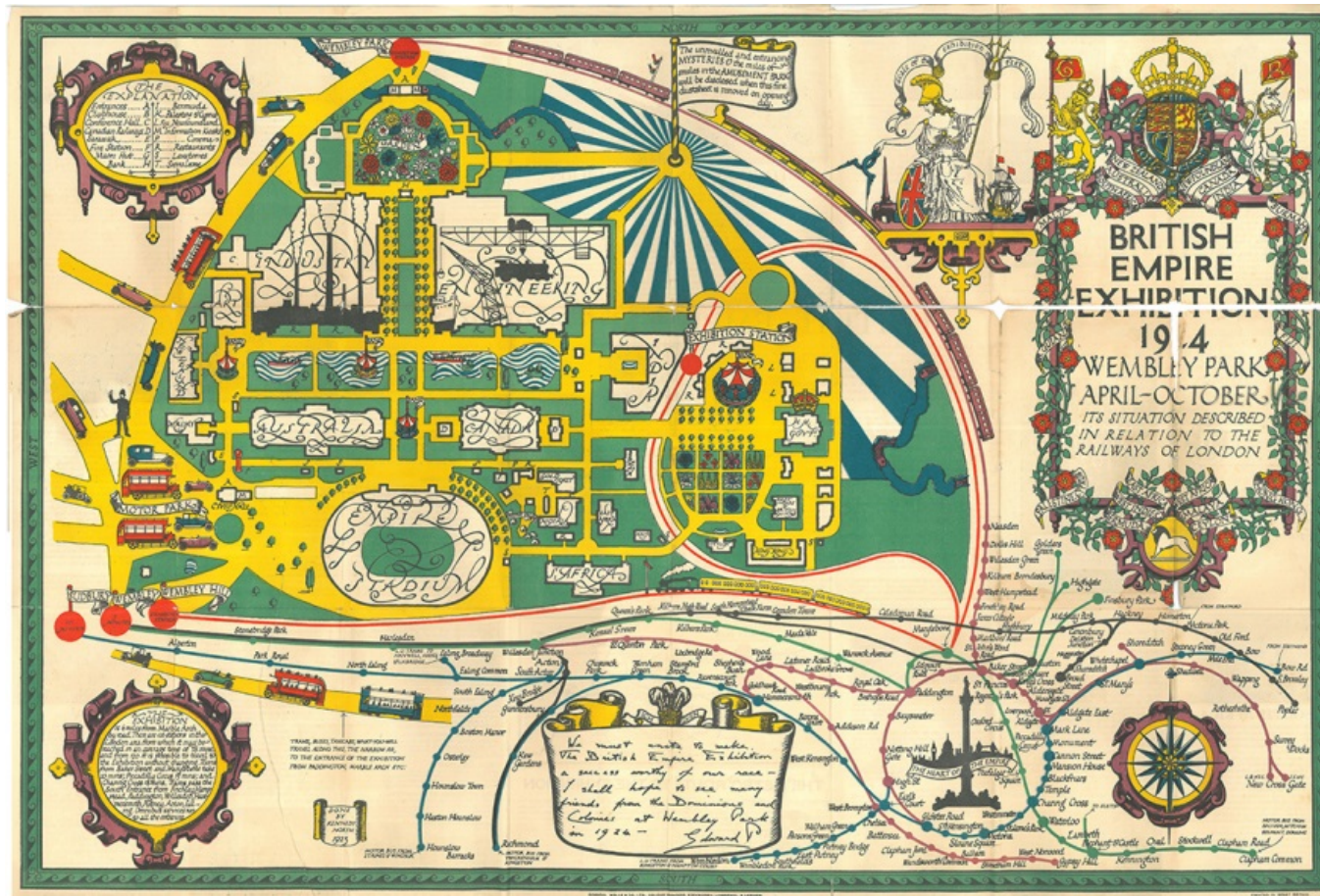


Figure 6.8: Map of the Wembley Exhibition grounds produced as a fold-out map at the back of the official guide for the British Empire Exhibition.

The Tristan da Cunha stand's position in the South African Pavilion would have in many ways shaped how visitors read the Tristan da Cunha display. The large majority of visitors would not have read the *Handbook* before visiting the stand (or would have not read it at all) so the spatial poetics of the South African Pavilion along with the overall aesthetic grammar of the Exhibition would shape the interpretations of the Tristan da Cunha display. The Wembley Exhibition was marketed as a "faithful barometer of mankind's progress" where the many "stages of civilisation" could be seen, from the "marvels of Western science", to the "simple fairs of primitive peoples".¹⁶⁶ This was echoed in the South African Pavilion, itself a self-contained structure that was juxtaposed with the native villages displayed at the Exhibition.¹⁶⁷ The Pavilion's purpose, according to the *Official Guide* for the Exhibition, was "to illustrate every aspect of the progress of the country" and the triumphs of modern endeavour and industrial modernity.¹⁶⁸ The Pavilion also highlighted these depictions of a modern industrialised colony by juxtaposing them with the display of 'native curios' of South Africa's subject races housed within it. The display of such curios compared to the display of industrial machinery marked a dichotomy between settler and subject. Colonial machinery was highlighted as a sign of settler progress, while hand labour was a sign of the primitive world and also became ciphers of racial character and social roles within the imperial system.¹⁶⁹

This dichotomy could also be seen in the *Official Catalogue* for the South African Section. Although the section relating to Tristan da Cunha (clearly written by Gane) described the islanders as being "an Anglican community" that were "of British origin, and, notwithstanding subsequent admixture, they preserve their British character, language, habits and attachments",¹⁷⁰ the objects catalogued for Tristan da Cunha would have immediately been compared to the images of South Africa's

¹⁶⁶ *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, 1924, First Edition), at page 9.

¹⁶⁷ Annie E. Coombes, 'The Franco-British Exhibition', at page 155. For more on these native villages, see David Simonelli, "'[L]aughing nations of happy children who have never grown up": Race, the Concept of the Commonwealth and the 1924-25 British Empire Exhibition' in *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring, 2009) and Daniel M. Stephen, *The Empire of Progress, West Africans, Indians, and Britons at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924-25* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013).

¹⁶⁸ See *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, 1924, First Edition), at page 71 and G. C. Lawrence (ed.), *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, [Second Edition] 1924), at page 70. This was represented by the presence of a De Beer's Company Plant for washing, cutting, and polishing diamonds. There were also displays of South African agriculture, such as an ostrich paddock as well as a flock of merino and angora sheep, along with displays of stuffed animals 'in their natural habitat'. For more on these agricultural displays, see G. W. Klerck, 'British Empire Exhibition: Representation of the Union's Agricultural Industry' in *Journal of the Department of Agriculture*, Vol. 7, No. 6 (Dec., 1923), pp. 593-594. See also the South African section of *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, 1924, First Edition), at page 72.

¹⁶⁹ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at pages 75, 130 and 134. Examples of this can also be seen in the displays of Aborigines and of Fiji at Australian exhibition pavilions, see Ewan Johnston, 'Reinventing Fiji' and Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1991).

¹⁷⁰ *British Empire Exhibition, South African section: official catalogue* (1924), at page 101.

factories that were placed amongst them as well as images of a brass foundry and iron and steel works that immediately followed the catalogue of Tristan da Cunha objects.¹⁷¹ This would not only create a contrast between industrial modernity, progress and stasis, but would also create a contrast between metal tools and wooden ones, a distinction that had a long history of marking progressive settlers out from ‘primitive natives’ at exhibitions.¹⁷²

The comparisons between native races is apparent in the *Official Guide* for the Exhibition, where the description of Tristan da Cunha immediately follows a description of the native curios, arts, crafts, and weapons displayed at the South African Pavilion. Rather than being inhabited by British settlers, Tristan da Cunha is described as “that strange, treeless, Robinson Crusoe island colonized by some shipwrecked people who lead a community life of the utmost simplicity and kindliness”.¹⁷³ By the Second Edition even this had been excised, and the island only appeared in a section titled ‘A Thousand and One Items of Interest’, which listed the “stuffed sea birds in Tristan da Cunha” along with items such as ‘The Queen’s Dollhouse’, ‘The Biggest Knife in the World’, ‘A Sphere of Wool’, and ‘The Oldest Cricket Bat in Existence’.¹⁷⁴ Tristan da Cunha is here displaced and turned into a simple curiosity barely worthy of mention, something that would itself carry embedded racial meanings when read through the revised nexus of economy and race that had been established at exhibitions. These signs of racial character and social roles within the imperial system would also have been highlighted for many before they even arrived at Wembley, not just through the already established aesthetic grammar of exhibitions, but also through more explicit methods as many would have read the *Weekly Bulletin of Empire*. This was produced as part of a special scheme of study that consisted of a twenty-four week curriculum on the history and geography of empire that left little ambiguity when it came to racial thinking and left no room for the ambiguities of racial mixing in the taxonomies it taught, thus transmitting ideas around race, nation and Britishness from exhibition to school and back again.¹⁷⁵

While the exact positioning of the Tristan da Cunha stand within the South Pavilion is not clear, we do know that it was joined in the Pavilion by Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, whose displays an article in *The Times* claimed, acted as “reminders of the trust the white race holds for the

¹⁷¹ Ibid., at page 111.

¹⁷² Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects*, at pages 145–146.

¹⁷³ *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, 1924, First Edition), at page 72.

¹⁷⁴ G. C. Lawrence (ed.), *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Official Guide* (London: Fleetway Press, [Second Edition] 1924), at pages 116–23.

¹⁷⁵ See Ian Grosvenor, ‘Teaching the Empire: the *Weekly Bulletin of Empire Study* and the British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924’ in Martin Lawn (ed.), *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and the Materiality of Education* (Oxford: Symposium Printers, 2009).

native".¹⁷⁶ Also included in the South African Pavilion was an ethnographic exhibition, described by Hermann Justus Braunholtz (who would later become keeper of the Ethnographical Department at the British Museum) as "a rich and varied collection of ethnographical specimens arranged in and above some dozen cases, and partly in a series of about 200 photographic studies of native life and crafts".¹⁷⁷ While an oppositional discourse of contrast (as seen above) was one trend in exhibitionary discourse (which was often heightened by the separation of tropical colonies, dominions, and the metropole in discrete pavilions), ethnographic exhibits displaying a typology of natives such as this one were part of a second exhibitionary discourse of comparison, which presented indigenous cultures in relation to each other, at the same time creating racial hierarchies between them. These typologies of race, Hoffenberg notes, were also illustrated according to "[who] could represent themselves in an active role [and who] were represented by commissioners and other experts in a generally passive form of display".¹⁷⁸ Racial typologies, Blanchard et al. note were also indicated when human beings were displayed not because of what they 'do' but because of what they 'are', a separation often materialised through physical spatial devices such as bars or screens.¹⁷⁹ By the same token, such racial typologies would have also been indicated when objects (which here acted as ciphers for an entire culture) were displayed for what they 'are' rather than what they 'do' and were placed behind a glass screen, as was the case with the Tristan da Cunha display. Such a display would have inevitably led to the viewers placing Tristan da Cunha on one of the rungs of such a racial hierarchy, and their position in this hierarchy would not have been aided by the objects that were used to capture their material culture.

We do not know the order in which the objects that formed the Tristan da Cunha stand were displayed, but by being placed behind glass cases donated by the British Museum and Natural History Museum,¹⁸⁰ they mimicked a similar though smaller display at the Cape Town Museum that had been built from specimens brought to the Cape by a merchant who briefly remained on the island during the Barrow's tenure as resident missionary.¹⁸¹ The objects displayed at the Wembley Exhibition were listed in the Catalogue as falling under two sections: 'Articles of Native

¹⁷⁶ 'South African Enterprise' in *The Times*, Wednesday, 23 April 1924.

¹⁷⁷ H. J. Braunholtz, 'Ethnographical Exhibition in the South African Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition' in *Man* (Sep., 1924), pp. 129–132, at page 129.

¹⁷⁸ Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display*, at page 244.

¹⁷⁹ Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boëtsch, Eric Deroo and Sandrine Lemaire, 'Human Zoos: the Greatest Exotic Shows in the West' in Pascal Blanchard et al, *Human Zoos*, at page 23.

¹⁸⁰ See Douglas Gane, *Handbook of Tristan da Cunha*, at page 7.

¹⁸¹ Allan Crawford, *I Went to Tristan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941), at page 68.

Manufacture',¹⁸² and 'Natural History Specimens',¹⁸³ with some objects (such as moccasins, and a mat of penguin-head feathers donated by Gane and Edwin Dodgson's sister) being present in both sections. While these objects claimed to reproduce Tristan da Cunha in microcosm, it has often been noted how the meaning of such objects metamorphose once they have been collected, categorised, and arranged in new venues where cultures are reduced to their objects.¹⁸⁴

For Tristan da Cunha, objects (such as penguin mats and model canvas boats and spinning wheels) that were made for barter to source industrial manufactured goods were instead displayed as part of their material culture meanwhile, birds and bird eggs formed an important part of the dietary requirements of the islanders but these meanings were lost as they were listed as specimens of natural history. In short, the functionality of these objects was lost. By placing these objects behind vitrines, like the other ethnographic objects displayed at the South African Pavilion, the objects (and by extension the island bodies whose material culture they claimed to represent) would have also been seen as an ethnographic display. The presence of objects such as Gane and Dodgson's moccasins from forty years earlier displayed alongside those produced for the exhibition also suggested a lack of change over time. So much like the objects trapped and marked as being 'of the past' by the museum display case, the islanders themselves were marked as a static society, being 'of the past' at a time when the 'cosmology of one narrative of progress' meant that being of the past also carried racial connotations.

Tristan da Cunha was thus displayed in a passive mode, the objects displayed were there because of what they were rather than what they could do, and the glass cases themselves acted as a screen between the objects and the viewer, while the objects showed no sense of change or development over time, had no semblance of utility value, and were there to display form over function. The exhibit also displayed sensory atrophy in comparison to the rest of the Pavilion, where things could be smelt, heard, touched, felt, tasted and bought, whereas the objects displayed for Tristan da Cunha (themselves reminiscent of the bygone age of the wunderkammer), could only be seen through a screen. Trista da Cunha's place within the social body of empire was thus eroded by the

¹⁸² The 'Articles of Native Manufacture and Produce' consisted of a wide range of objects and included: woollen socks, stockings and slippers; moccasins made from sheep skins; an oil, fat, and paraffin lamp; a sheepskin mat, bag and pouch; a wild cat skin bag; mats of penguin head feathers; potatoes; tussock grass; and a 'stick for taking eggs from eaglet's nests'. Also included were models made by the islanders listed as 'articles of native manufacture', such as a canvas boat; spinning wheel; ox wagon; bullock whip; ox-yoke; table; bucket; rake; and wheelbarrow amongst other things. For a full list of the objects displayed at the Tristan da Cunha stand see *British Empire Exhibition, South African section: official catalogue* (1924), at pages 101–111.

¹⁸³ The 'Natural History Specimens section consisted mainly of a collection 'geological specimens', birds, eggs, and shells.

¹⁸⁴ Carol A. Breckenridge, 'The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting', at page 196 and 202.

aesthetic grammar of display and the spatial poetics of the Exhibition and this erosion is perhaps best seen by the fact that the island was not displayed at all in the second season of the British Empire Exhibition.

6.5) The two Tristans

The British Empire Exhibition had a stuttered start at its opening by King George V on 23 April 1924 for its first season (which lasted 150 days) as eighty seconds after the King had declared the Exhibition open, a telegraph with this declaration had circled the globe. While the Exhibition created an experience of simultaneity in space by transposing the empire *en miniature* onto London, an experience of simultaneity in time was also created by this telegram. This simultaneity in time was highlighted by the fact that the final words of the King's declaration, "I declare this exhibition open", was also the first sentence transmitted live on radio by a head of state.¹⁸⁵ This, Scott Cohen notes, was a fitting way to open an exhibition that was "devoted to monumentalizing images of imperial unity and demonstrating the British Empire's global reach".¹⁸⁶ Neither of these messages were heard on Tristan da Cunha. Tristan da Cunha's simultaneity in space only lasted for one season before disappearing from the exhibition space and even this could not produce the illusion of contemporaneity in time. This asynchronicity was further highlighted by the spatial poetics of the exhibition space.

Exhibitions such as the Colinders and Wembley Exhibition were staged as a result of the need to contrast modernity with backwardness and to help demarcate belonging in the radically modernising metropolitan centres. The 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition underlined Tristan da Cunha's estrangement from the circuits of empire and in the process highlighted the view of the island as being an 'out-of-the-world place'. It simultaneously portrayed the islanders as not being part of the social body of the metropole due to the 'cosmology of one narrative of progress' and the revised nexus of race and economics that had become key features of exhibitionary culture. This would be exacerbated by the display of the island at the British Empire Exhibition.

While this marked Tristan da Cunha out as a racialised anachronistic space (where geographical distance across space is figured as historical distance across time), a space inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity,¹⁸⁷ Gane attempted to use this to portray the inhabitants of Tristan

¹⁸⁵ Alexander C. T. Geppert, 'Wembley 1924–1925', at page 233.

¹⁸⁶ Scott Cohen, 'The Empire from the Street', at page 85.

¹⁸⁷ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, at page 40.

da Cunha as pre-industrial Britons inhabiting a rural idyll. This discourse would in some instances racialise and mark the island body as degenerate. A metaphorical vitrine would drop over the island as its popularisation at the Wembley Exhibition as an island trapped in time led to it being seen by some as a museum (and laboratory) *in situ*. As a result Tristan da Cunha was visited by tourist liners and scientists who went to gaze at the islanders for what they represented rather than what they did.¹⁸⁸ However, by drawing on Earle's Romantic English rural idyll, Gane's display would also allow some to view the islanders as romanticised rural Britons of a bygone era.

An example of these discourses working at the same time is perhaps best seen by Derrick Booy's description of his visit to the island to set up a wireless station there in 1942 as part of the war effort. Before leaving for Tristan da Cunha, Booy educated himself on the island by visiting the display of Tristan objects at the Cape Town Museum and when he noticed the same oxhide moccasins being worn by an islander upon his arrival, he wrote:

[t]heir effect was a shock to me: suddenly the world evoked by the strange curios in the museum – a world only half believed in – had become real. It was as if we had landed at Deal and had been greeted by Britons in woad and skins [...] Everything seemed odd and still, unreal, as if suspended in time. The settlement was like a village that had died long ago, but of which the veiled shape, like a mirage, was preserved in the vapour of the sea [...] Its very existence is an anachronism".¹⁸⁹

Here we see the two Tristans side by side, an island populated by Britons lost in time, and an anachronistic space which, if one wished to, could be read with all the racial connotations that this term implied. The island body can here be seen as rural idyll, racialised anachronism, or a mixture of the two. Unlike the island they claimed to represent, these two discourses were never in a state of stasis and while views of the island as rural idyll would come to the fore by the end of the twentieth century, the period between 1924 and World War Two saw the second strand of representation being highlighted by the constant stream of resident missionaries that were sent to the island as it could now no longer be ignored as its popularisation led to fears that if the SPG did not send a missionary to the island a rival Christian sect would. These missionaries, perhaps partly as a result of the display at the Wembley Exhibition, saw the island as a target for the developmentalist discourses

¹⁸⁸ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Objects of Ethnography' in Ivan and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), at page 413. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett is here in particular referring to 'slumming' but her analysis can be extended to any place where the ethnographic gaze objectifies people.

¹⁸⁹ D. M. Booy, *Rock of Exile: A Narrative of Tristan da Cunha* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1957), at pages 16–17 and 196.

of industrial mission and scientific study and it is to these representations of the island in the years leading up to World War Two that I wish to turn to in the final chapter.

Chapter Seven

Reconstituting place: the nativisation and laboratorisation of Tristan da Cunha

We have seen in Chapter Four and Five how members of the *Challenger* Expedition and the resident missionaries at the turn of the century intensified the attention paid to the island bodies of Tristan da Cunha. This attention was in part a result of the island's increasing isolation, which saw it being framed as an 'out-of-the-world place'. This increasing isolation coincided with (and was partly a result of) the rise of industrial modernity in the metropole, which led to a substantial reconceptualisation regarding who formed part of the social body of the metropole. I have argued above that this resulted in the separation from the 'brain' of the metropole, leading to the 'nervous breakdown of Tristan da Cunha'. While some (such as Dodgson and Barrow) saw this isolation as resulting in the increased degeneration of both the island and the bodies that inhabited it, others (such as Gane) attempted to argue that Tristan da Cunha's isolation in fact protected these island body(ies) from the ills of modernity. By being an 'out-of-the-world place', Gane argued, the island was insulated from the perceived degeneration within the metropole that some felt had been the result of industrialisation and urbanisation. In the process of portraying Tristan da Cunha as a rural idyll displaced in the South Atlantic where it was protected from the ills of modernity, Gane reconjured Earle's vision of Tristan da Cunha, except the island was now displaced in both space and time.

Gane's ability to produce a Tristan da Cunha stand at the British Empire Exhibition was itself due to the fact that Rev. Henry Rogers and his wife were sent to the island as missionaries by the SPG (partly as a result of Gane's epistolary journalism) in 1922, where they remained until 1925. The Rogers' played an important role in organising the collection (and possibly also the production) of the objects that were displayed at Gane's Tristan da Cunha stand. Henry Rogers passed away soon after his return to England and his wife, Rose Annie Rogers, published a narrative of their time on the island (*The Lonely Island*) in 1926. The text which, as its title indicated, borrowed from Gane's popularised construction of Tristan da Cunha as 'the lonely island', had gone through four impressions by the end of 1928 and Rose Rogers became what Gane described as "an attractive

lecturer on the island”.¹ This newfound publicity of the island that was initiated by Gane’s epistolary journalism and was built upon by both his Tristan da Cunha stand at the British Empire Exhibition and by Rose Annie Rogers *The Lonely Island* can also be seen in the ‘Tristan da Cunha Supplement’ published in the 19 January 1929 edition of *The African World* (a London periodical). This periodical not only repeated verbatim sections of Gane’s *Tristan da Cunha Handbook*, but also wrote of the “keen and growing interest” in the island that had developed as a result of Gane’s display.² By the time Gane published his *An Empire Outpost* in 1932, *The Times* wrote that “the island of Tristan da Cunha, a volcanic speck in the wastes of the South Atlantic has been acquiring a bibliography which threatens to rival that of Pitcairn in the Pacific”.³

However, while Gane’s portrayal of the island at the British Empire Exhibition rekindled Earle’s portrayal of the island as a Romantic rural idyll, his Tristan da Cunha stand, while popularising the island, was read through the poetics of the exhibition space and the established aesthetic grammar of exhibitions more generally, which had the inadvertent effect of highlighting an ethnographical (and increasingly racialised) view of the islanders. The increased attention also led to the donation of funds required – and the public pressure to provide – for resident missionaries to be sent to the island on a far more regular basis. These missionaries, much like their nineteenth-century predecessors, saw the island as a mission station rather than a far-flung English parish. Like their predecessors, they also did not see the island as a Romantic rural idyll insulated from the ills of modernity. Rather, they displayed an increasing antagonism towards the pastoral and instead suggested that many of the metropolitan fears relating to degeneration such as disease, unsanitary conditions, overcrowded homes, and illiteracy were prevalent and exacerbated by the island’s isolation. In the process of attempting to ‘modernise’ the island, these resident clergymen rapidly eroded many of the symbols of Britishness highlighted in the nineteenth century by the narratives of Earle and of the voyage of the H.M.S. *Galatea*, and that Gane drew on in his attempt to portray Tristan da Cunha as a rural idyll inhabited by British settlers.

Gane’s portrayal of the island as a place that was insulated from disease and physical degeneration, and the islanders as long-lived settlers who only died in advanced old age, also increasingly attracted scientific interest. While naval surgeons routinely examined the islanders during their brief visits to Tristan da Cunha, a comprehensive census of both island body(ies) was only undertaken in 1937–38

¹ Douglas Gane, *The Tristan da Cunha Fund Report, 1926-1928*, at page 4. For example, she addressed the Geographical Society of Antwerp regarding the island. Douglas Gane, *The Tristan da Cunha Fund Report, 1926-1928*, at page 4.

² ‘Tristan da Cunha Supplement’ in *The African World*, Vol. 105, No. 1367 (1929), pp. i–viii, at page iii.

³ ‘Tristan da Cunha’ in *The Times*, Tuesday, 1 November 1932, at page 20.

by a Norwegian Scientific Expedition that spent three months on the island.⁴ This Norwegian Scientific Expedition was financed by a Norwegian whaling capitalist,⁵ and the expedition's leader (Erling Christophersen) was intrigued by the contradictory descriptions of Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants that were circulating in (and beyond) the metropole. On the strength of Gane's descriptions of the male islanders physique, strength, and endurance, Christophersen went in search of the reasons behind the supposed health and longevity of the islanders in the belief that this might uncover "the key to some of our own health problems".⁶ Christophersen also felt that the contradictory descriptions of Tristan da Cunha and its inhabitants made it a perfect site for a sociological study.⁷ He described the map of the island as being "blank as regards the interior and the coastline looked dubious",⁸ a description that could itself be seen as a metaphor for the island bodies that inhabited this 'blank space'. The expedition not only mapped these blank cartographical spaces, it also mapped out the 'dubious contours' and 'blank interiors' of the island bodies.

These two discourses (the missionary discourse and the scientific discourse), in mapping the blank spaces of the island body(ies) tore down many of the myths created by Gane. The missionaries attempted to nativise the islanders by portraying them as primitive and childlike in need of the guidance of the resident clergymen, while the results of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition revealed clear and unambiguous evidence of the islanders physical and genetic degeneration, in the process redefining the island bodies through the prism of racial typologies. These two discourses would meet on 30 November 1937 when the steamship *Anatolia* left Cape Town for Tristan da Cunha carrying on board the Rev. Harold Wilde (the returning resident missionary),⁹ and the members of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition. Their combined discourses recast the islanders as natives, not Britons, and attempted to fix their racial characteristics, discrediting Gane's earlier attempts to 'whiten' the islanders. While we saw in the Chapters Two and Three how Tristan da

⁴ The Norwegian Scientific Expedition was based on Tristan da Cunha from December 1937 to March 1938.

⁵ This whaling capitalist, Lars Christensen, had visited the island a few years earlier. For an account of his visit to the island, see Lars Christensen, *Such is the Antarctic* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935). For more on Lars Christensen see Peder Roberts, *The European Antarctic: Science and Strategy in Scandinavia and the British Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), particularly Chapter Three.

⁶ Erling Christophersen, *Tristan da Cunha: The Lonely Isle* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1940), at page 4.

⁷ Christophersen noted how some descriptions of the islanders portrayed them as "the world's most lovable population", but that this depiction of "insular lovability" had been contradicted by portrayals of the islanders being "a pack of beggars and thieves", a description made in the narratives released by members of the *Quest Expedition*.

⁸ Erling Christophersen, *Tristan da Cunha: The Lonely Isle*, at page 7. Christophersen may have been exaggerating here seeing as maps of the island had, to a certain extent, 'filled in' the island's interior. However, the map produced by Allan Crawford (who had joined the expedition as a surveyor), was far more detailed and accurate than any that had preceded it.

⁹ Who was returning after a short furlough in England.

Cunha was turned from space into place, this remapping of the island body(ies) could itself be seen as turning place back into space, and in the process the position of the island's inhabitants vis-à-vis the metropole was reconstituted. By the end of this process, Tristan da Cunha was re-presented as a mission station and scientific laboratory and its inhabitants as natives and racialised scientific subjects.

7.1) Turning place into space

As was suggested earlier, missionaries departing the metropole often carried with them a very particular world view. As Greg Denning has shown in his analysis of the Marquesan Islands, missionaries arrived convinced that they were the ones through whom God spoke and were therefore self-assured in their vision of how their and other worlds should be. Their vision was a special one Denning notes, "full of pressing commands and absolutes, of spiritual immediacies".¹⁰ Rather than brief visitors or interlopers, these missionaries saw themselves as emissaries of the civilised world who were answerable to the societies that sent them for their success or failure. By the nature of their calling, they did not wish to merely live amongst a community but also wished to change and convert them, while simultaneously finding themselves in the uncomfortable position of being entirely dependent on those among whom they lived.¹¹ This sense of spiritual superiority, however, was often easily transformed into a feeling of racial superiority,¹² and in an attempt to show visible signs of their work and to try and minimise their dependence on the locals, they often attempted to reorder villages in both a spiritual and spatial sense.¹³ While in New Zealand this took the form of changing the way houses were constructed and laid out, in Tristan da Cunha it initially took the form of building a church.

¹⁰ Greg Denning, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land Marquesas 1774-1880* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1980), at page 170.

¹¹ Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, at page 17 and Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), at page 75.

¹² Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), at page 112.

¹³ Damon Ieremia Salesa, *Racial Crossings*, at page 79. This is true for many mission stations across empire. For an example of this in Madagascar see Inger Marie Okkenhaug (ed.), *Gender, Race and Religion: Nordic Missions 1860-1940* (Uppsala: Studia Missionalia Svecana XCI, 2003). Examples of similar processes in Australia and South Africa can be found in Peter Reid, *Settlement: A History of Australian Indigenous Housing* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2000), Angelique Edmonds, 'Sedentary topography: the impact of the Christian Mission Society's 'civilising' agenda on the spatial structure of life in the Roper Region of northern Australia' in Mark Hannah (ed.), *Transgressions: critical Australian Indigenous histories* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2007), pp. 193–210 and Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Volume 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

The lack of a church and the complete dependence of resident clergymen in the nineteenth century on the islanders for food and shelter greatly perturbed Taylor and his successor Dodgson and both made concerted but futile efforts to have a church built. Taylor abandoned his effort because it jeopardised cultivation by removing scarce labour.¹⁴ Dodgson too failed,¹⁵ and when he was reassigned to the Cape Verde islands he made sure to bring a 'tin trunk church' with him.¹⁶ Graham Barrow's attempt to commission a church also floundered as a result of the islanders refusal to give up scarce labour to the onerous task.¹⁷

The desire to introduce building projects was common across the foreign mission field as European missionaries sought to act as 'agents of civilisation'.¹⁸ The act of building God's kingdom was made manifest through the construction of buildings.¹⁹ The desire of missionaries to reshape the built landscape was not only a sign of their church's intention to remain, but also its determination to remake the colonial world in the image of the metropole. Failure to do so created a fear among missionaries that they had 'gone native'. These fears were amplified by the discourse circulating in the metropole of European 'degeneration' in the colonies.²⁰ One way to avoid this fate was to maintain one's distance (both physically and metaphorically) from the locals and it is through this lens that we can understand attempts by the resident missionaries on Tristan da Cunha in the interwar years to undertake building projects on the island.

When Rogers arrived on Tristan da Cunha in 1922, he brought a house with him and his first act was to assemble his wooden parsonage so he and his wife could avoid living with one of the islanders. In an article to *The Times*, Rogers stated:

¹⁴ William F. Taylor, *The Utmost Parts of the Earth*, at page 75.

¹⁵ When his attempts to build a church were finally abandoned, the stone that had been collected was used as a wall for the cemetery, see K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha* (London: Skeffington & Son, Ltd., pref. 1910), at page 32.

¹⁶ H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, at page 590. 'Tin trunk churches' or 'tin tabernacles' were churches built from corrugated iron that became a common feature in overseas colonies. Cheap, easy to build, and a symbol of the industrial modernity of the metropole, they could be found across empire. But, as was the case with Rogers prefabricated house (on which more will be said below), they would not have been able to withstand the rigours of Tristan da Cunha's gale force winds. For more on these 'tin trunk churches', see Adam Mornement and Simon Holloway, *Corrugated Iron: Building on the Frontier* (London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), Chapter Three.

¹⁷ K.M. Barrow, *Three Years in Tristan da Cunha*, at pages 189–190.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Word Made Flesh: Christianity, Modernity, and Cultural Colonialism in the work of Jean and John Comaroff' in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108, No. 2 (Apr., 2003), pp. 435–459, at page 435.

¹⁹ Karina Hestad Skeie, 'Building God's Kingdom: The Importance of the House to 19th Century Norwegian Missionaries in Madagascar' in Inger Marie Okkenhaug (ed.), *Gender, Race and Religion: Nordic Missions 1860-1940* (Uppsala: Studia Missionalia Svecana XCI, 2003), pp. 175–204, at page 177.

²⁰ Rod Edmond, *Representing the South Pacific*, at page 61.

My parsonage, which is the first wooden house ever erected on the island, was put up by the men very quickly [...] but as it is probably the smallest parsonage in the world, having only two small rooms, each 10ft. long, it was decided to build a stone kitchen, which has been done, so now we have three rooms and a thirty-foot house. A stone wall as high as the house had to be built on three sides to protect the house from the violent winter storms, or we should all be blown to pieces.²¹

Despite the fact that the parsonage itself needed to be enclosed almost completely by Tristan stone, Rogers determination saw him attempt to live in his imported house even though it was unable to withstand the island gales and he only finally abandoned it for an island house after twelve months and used the wood in the construction of the church.²²

Rogers was sent to the island partly as a result of Gane's epistolary journalism, and popularisation of the island at the British Empire Exhibition ensured that the island had a resident missionary until the start of the Second World War, in stark contrast with their long absences over the course of the nineteenth century.²³ The last of the interwar missionaries, Harold Wilde, was described by the Norwegian Scientific Expedition's sociologist, Peter Munch, as wielding "an absolute authority which is certainly unique in the history of Tristan da Cunha" and he went on to criticise Wilde's reign in his doctoral thesis and denounced him as "a dictator *en miniature*" in his diary.²⁴ Wilde's authoritarian rule was made possible by the work of his predecessors since 1922 in reframing the islanders as natives of a mission station.

We have seen how the portrayals of the islanders, particularly by Dodgson and Barrow, had begun to reposition the islanders as native (with the associated racial connotations this denoted). Rev. Henry Rogers likely shared this view and before leaving England the Bishop of St Helena warned him that the islanders were of mixed race and that "[m]en of mixed race are not easy to deal with, they have no national or tribal ideals, and so no aim beyond their own standard of public opinion".²⁵ This view

²¹ H.M.C. Rogers, 'An Outpost of the Atlantic: New Missionary's First Impression of Tristan da Cunha' in *The Times*, Wednesday, 12 July 1922, at page 10.

²² Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands*, at page 208.

²³ The list of resident clergymen sent to the island by the SPG between 1922 and World War Two is as follows: Henry Rogers (1922–25); Robert Pooley (1927–29) who arrived with an assistant, Phillip Lindsay (a 'lay missionary' who remained until 1930); Augustus George Partridge (1929–32); and Harold Wilde (who had two stints on the island between 1934–40).

²⁴ Peter Munch, 'Sociology of Tristan da Cunha' in *Results of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition to Tristan da Cunha* (Oslo: Norske videnskaps-akademi, 1945), at page 249.

²⁵ Letter from William Arthur Holbech to Mr. Rogers, 7 January 1922, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports, Correspondence, Newspaper Cuttings, and other material relating to Tristan D'Acunha between the dates 1815 and 1933 Incorporated in the Archives of the Diocese of St. Helena housed at Bishopholm, St. Helena*, CD 44-101, CD 49A.

of the islanders seems to have been wholeheartedly embraced by Rogers as evidenced in his writings.

Rogers racialised depiction of the islanders is perhaps best seen in his contrasting descriptions of the islanders and his son, who was born on 21 September 1922 during their first year on Tristan da Cunha. The baby was described by Henry Rogers as “the first and only English baby ever born on Tristan”,²⁶ a claim that would be repeated a year later when Rogers wrote to *The Times* describing the celebrations for his child’s first birthday. He wrote how his son, “the one and only English baby ever born on the island” was supposedly treated to a fête that exceeded any ever held on Tristan da Cunha before.²⁷ This claim that the child was the only English baby ever born on the island was repeated in Rose Annie Rogers *The Lonely Island*, where the claim was followed by a comparison between her ‘white’ baby and some of the ‘dark’ islanders. The “vivid contrast” between child and islanders is heightened by the images in Rose Rogers narrative where her child, fair haired and smiling, is placed next to a photograph of the Repetto family, the matriarch of which Rogers described as “a big dark Tristan woman”.²⁸ There was constant anxiety among missionaries and their churches about the need to maintain ‘racial’ and ‘cultural’ purity, particularly of their more vulnerable children. For this reason, the Foreign Secretary of the SPG wanted to recall Rogers and his family by the start of 1925 because “[i]t seems to me that the little lady [Rose Rogers] has been long enough on the island, [...] it is about time now that the Child was brought to this country to be in the proper atmosphere for his early outlook upon life”.²⁹ The Bishop of St Helena subsequently also refused Rogers request to go back to the island later in 1925.³⁰

Despite its failure to withstand the harsh physical environment of the mission field, the Rogers’ parsonage played an important role in Rose Rogers’ visual representation of the island in her *The Lonely Island*. In this popular text, an image of the parsonage was placed alongside that of an island cottage (see Figures 6.1 and 6.2). Their juxtaposition invited a direct contrast between the two. The ‘modern’ metropolitan built home, with painted roof and windows along with a neat front garden, compared to the stone, apparently windowless island cottage with a skin nailed to the wall for drying. This contrast is heightened in her text as, despite stressing how small their home was and

²⁶ Henry M. Rogers, ‘Our Loneliest Island’ in *The Times*, Tuesday, 19 December 1922.

²⁷ Henry M. Rogers, ‘Tristan da Cunha “Baby’s Day”: An Island Celebration’, in *The Times*, Thursday, 20 December 1923.

²⁸ Rose Annie Rogers, *The Lonely Island* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1926), at page 96.

²⁹ Letter from Arthur H. Dolphin to Mr. Ranby, English Church House, 61 Burg Street, 6 January 1925, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 44-101, CD 67.

³⁰ See letter from Douglas Gane to the Rt. Rev. The Bishop of St. Helena, 26 August 1925, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 44-101, CD 78.

how little they had, she highlighted their efforts to import and utilise items of metropolitan material culture deemed integral to bourgeois domesticity. Their home was contrasted with some of the 'dirty' Tristan homes and descriptions that highlighted the emptiness of these homes and the absence of any of the material culture of interwar metropolitan domesticity, an absence also highlighted by the objects the Rogers' sent for display to the British Empire Exhibition. One can also see Figure 6.2 as an ethnographic image, with 'native women' lined up in front of the dark, windowless, gardenless Tristan home wearing 'outdated' clothing. Meanwhile Rose Rogers is stood in front of the 'modern' prefabricated parsonage wearing 'modern' clothing alongside Captain Frank Wild of the *Quest* Expedition, an emissary of the metropolitan world, with the absence of any islanders in the frame.

The building of a house and the planting of a garden (something which also took up an inordinate amount of space in Barrow's *Three Years on Tristan da Cunha* considering how unsuccessful her gardening was), Cleall notes, acted as a means of showing the overseas reconstitution of British Protestant family life as well as the reproduction of metropolitan domestic values.³¹ This "tiny frame house," with numbered boards for easy assembly,³² was a piece of the metropole that Rogers was unwilling to give up. Various authors have pointed out the ways in which missionary houses came to represent boundaries between 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' in missionary discourse.³³ Cleall goes on to note the way in which the permeation of these boundaries both literally and imaginatively often found their way into missionary narratives (as we saw in the case of Barrow's description of the permeable nature of the walls of their island home), and how this signalled the struggle to insulate their homes and bodies from the surrounding non-European world.³⁴ As Skeie has noted of missionary homes in the Madagascan context, "the culture was literally in the walls",³⁵ and the failure to maintain these walls was a warning not just of the fragility of the structures that had been brought to the island, but of the fragility of the social body of those that lived within it, which goes some way towards explaining Rogers desperate attempts to encase the structure in stone in a forlorn attempt to maintain it.

³¹ Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), at pages 32–33.

³² Rose Annie Rogers, *The Lonely Island*, at pages 43–44.

³³ See the work of Esme Cleall, Anna Johnston, Patricia Grimshaw, and Damon Ieremia Salesa for just some examples across various contexts.

³⁴ Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, at pages 62–63.

³⁵ Karina Hestad Skeie, 'Building God's Kingdom', at page 199.

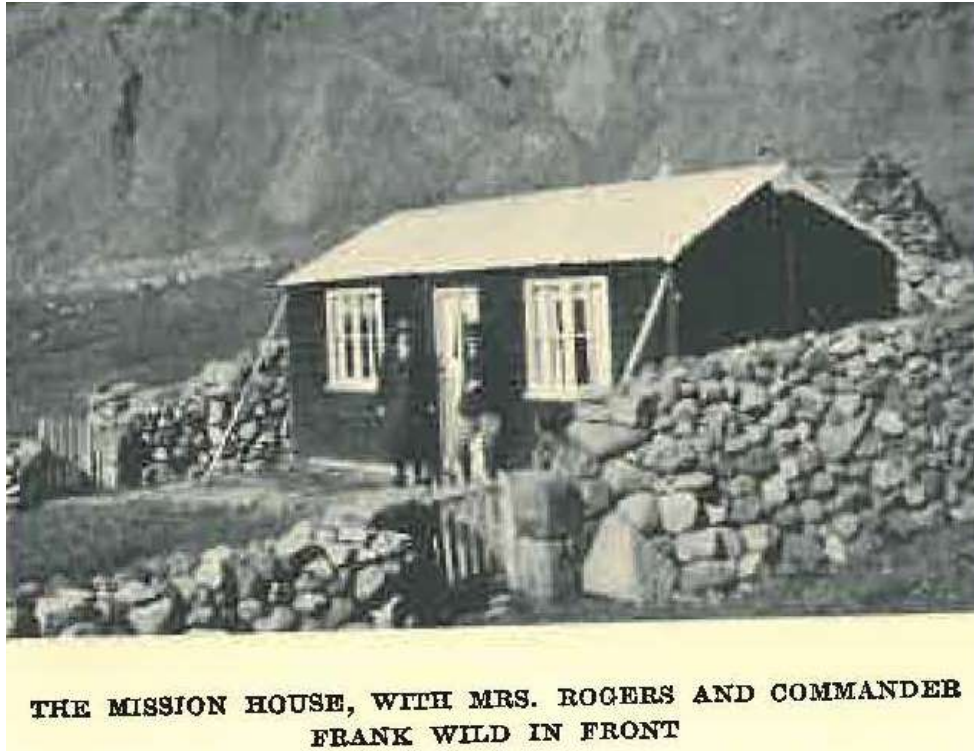


Figure 7.1: Photograph of the Rogers' parsonage taken from *The Lonely Island*.³⁶



Figure 7.2: Photograph of an island cottage taken from *The Lonely Island*.³⁷

³⁶ Rose Annie Rogers, *The Lonely Island*, at page 44.

³⁷ Rose Annie Rogers, *The Lonely Island*, at page 44.

The perceived need to maintain this division of course highlighted the view that the islanders were others and that a metropolitan space needed to be transposed onto the island to protect the metropolitan body of Rogers and his family from being contaminated by what they framed as the native island bodies. This view was further highlighted in Rogers correspondence to the SPG, where he argued for a complete break between the resident clergymen and the islanders. In this correspondence (which echoed the views displayed earlier by the Bishop of St Helena), Rogers wrote that the islanders did not “understand English ways”, were “unhygienic and insanitary in their ways”, and that both he and the islanders suffered from worms and dysenteric diarrhoea due to bad food. He was also dependent on the islanders for food, which he claimed fuelled resentment against him and he suggested that future missionaries to Tristan da Cunha:

ought to have enough stores to be independent of the people as they now feel it difficult to supply his family needs. He should have stores for 2 or 3 years clear of all edibles, clothes, boots, and other ordinary necessities of life [...] The missionary would have to provide wood and glass and all materials for a house as nothing left behind by the last missionary could be counted on for an instant. Nor should he count on any island things [...] He must bring a new [sic] absolutely everything he might require, as school books and materials, Church necessities, household furniture, bedding, crockery, lamp oil or candles, in fact simply anything and everything.³⁸

While this letter was marked “as a private and confidential report for the S.P.G. and not for publication [emphasis in original]”,³⁹ it painted a completely different picture to Gane’s just a few months earlier and the same sentiments are evident in some of the Rogers’ letters that did find their way into the metropolitan press. In a letter to *The Times* in April 1923, Rogers wrote that unless stores were sent it “would be impossible” for he, his wife, and new-born child to remain on the island “as we cannot eat the island food of sea-birds and their eggs”. He went on to describe how there was “a good deal of sickness” on the island,⁴⁰ and he suggested that “almost one quarter of the population [had] some disability or complaint”.⁴¹ He would repeat this view, writing in *The Friend* soon after his return to England in 1925 that the islanders were “half starved and nearly all of

³⁸ SAB: GG Vol. No. 1074 Ref 22/67. Tristan da Cunha: Private Memorandum furnished by Reverend HM Rogers to Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1925.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Henry M. Rogers, ‘Letters from Tristan da Cunha: Relief in the nick of time’ in *The Times*, 26 April 1923.

⁴¹ GG Vol. N. 1073 Ref 22/5 Part 1, ‘Tristan da Cunha: Question of Future of Inhabitants of, 1923.

them suffer from frequent sickness induced by bad and irregular feeding".⁴² The title of this article 'Exile on a Lonely Island' also portrayed the islanders as not being Britons.

It is worth noting that, unlike in his confidential reports, Rogers is here portrayed as being immune to the diseases that struck the islanders. The diseased European body was removed from Rogers letters for public consumption. Cleall notes how representations of ill missionaries were often excised from metropolitan accounts. Instead, it was those represented as racial others that were portrayed as 'sick and suffering' and "the numerous and graphic illustrations of their sickness were used to consolidate representations of the colonial 'other'", thus suggesting the way in which "discourses of sickness were racialized and othering".⁴³ This created a symbolic encoding that described Tristan bodies differently to European bodies on the island, and even though these descriptions were not explicitly racialised, descriptions of sickness in missionary discourse were used as signifiers of race and, Cleall notes, also acted as a compelling form of voyeurism for metropolitan readers. Such voyeurism (as seen in Barrow's text) extended to the diseases of the animals on the island.

This encoding of the island body(ies) as sick and diseased was highlighted by Rogers soon after his arrival when he called the island "the sick child of empire",⁴⁴ a portrayal that stood in dramatic contrast to Gane's portrayals of the healthiness and vigour of the island body(ies). Henry Rogers depictions of diseased island bodies would have only heightened his perceived need to insulate his family's body(ies) from those of the islanders. Rogers ultimate failure to maintain the integrity of his parsonage led him to place increasing emphasis on the building of a church. The church, which symbolically incorporated the wood from his abandoned parsonage not only staked out his domain on the island, it also acted as a permanent symbol of the SPG's presence and dominion over rival mission societies. Structures like the church (and the parsonage and storehouse added by Rogers' successors) were proof of the resident missionaries' ability to impose metropolitan norms of 'civilisation' on alien spaces. As Yi-Fu Tuan has suggested in a different context, civilised life requires making plans that project beyond the proximate future, and monuments, which act as clear markers of time both in the stages of their creation and the stages of their decay acted as proof of the introduction of such civilised life on the part of the resident missionary.⁴⁵

⁴² Henry M. Rogers, 'Exile on a Lonely Island: Ministers return from Tristan da Cunha: Years of Loneliness and Want' in *The Friend*, 16 February 1925.

⁴³ Esme Cleall, *Missionary Discourses of Difference*, at pages 116–117.

⁴⁴ *Rhodesia Herald*, 29 December 1922, at page 10.

⁴⁵ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Segmented Worlds and Self: Group Life and Individual Consciousness* (University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, 1982), at page 149.

The increasing symbolic importance of the church to Rogers helps to explain why, despite describing Tristan da Cunha as ‘the sick child of empire’, he still chose to draw labour away from the household economy to wall in his parsonage and build a church. Construction of Rogers’ church began with the stones prepared by Dodgson and a foundation was laid 15 metres long and 4 metres wide.⁴⁶ Work began in October 1922, and the church was dedicated in July the following year as St. Mary’s Church.⁴⁷ The church was built in the centre of the settlement as the strategic redoubt of the Anglican Church’s colonisation of the island.

The church itself became the most significant structure on Tristan da Cunha. By the time Munch arrived on the island in 1937, the church had a white roof, making it clearly distinguishable from the other buildings at a distance.⁴⁸ It was also, at the time it was built, the only structure to be roofed in zinc – a symbol of metropolitan industrial modernity.⁴⁹ The church, Munch suggested, was the best equipped house on the island. Mortar was used on the front wall, which was also plastered, and it was well equipped with wood procured through the SPG, and had relatively intricate interiors made by the resident missionaries or by the islanders working under their supervision.⁵⁰ While for the islanders and Gane, ‘the church’ acted as a link to the metropole, for the missionaries the construction of a church was a totem of their power over the island body(ies). It separated the resident clergymen from the islanders and this separation allowed the missionaries to focus on other interventions in the built landscape of Tristan da Cunha as further measures of their proselytising success on the island.

Skeie has argued that the intense efforts spent in works of visible construction in Norwegian missions in Madagascar were in fact a sign of the inadequacy of the missionaries as their ‘real work’ – that of saving souls – was something that could never be tangibly proven or measured. Construction projects and the various hardships associated with them were often portrayed as God testing the missionaries faith and the sincerity of their ‘calling’.⁵¹ In letters to the press, Rogers described how under his direction, there had been “a boom in boat construction, road repairing, and

⁴⁶ Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991* (Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1992), at page 209.

⁴⁷ Ibid. Rogers made sure to mention its completion in reports back home such as that published in the *Morning Post* of 1925 where he stated “[t]he people are very religious, I built a church of island stone, with a zinc roof, and here the inhabitants worship”, see H.M.C. Rogers, *Morning Post*, 17 March 1925.

⁴⁸ See Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 98.

⁴⁹ Later part of the store-house and an ‘all hands hut’ on one of the beaches would also be equipped with zinc roofing. Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 104.

⁵⁰ Ibid., at pages 112–114.

⁵¹ Karina Hestad Skeie, ‘Building God’s Kingdom’, at pages 177 and 197–198.

homebuilding [...] four new houses have been built and several others repaired and enlarged".⁵² This recoding and overwriting of Tristan space can be seen as an attempt by Rogers to turn Tristan da Cunha back from place into space and to reconstitute it as place again, not as the rural idyll of Earle but as a mission station.⁵³

The Rogers's depictions of the island show the paradox faced by the inhabitants of Tristan da Cunha. On the one hand, their constant calls for a resident clergyman could be seen as a way of advertising their position as Anglican (with all the connotations of Englishness that attached to it) and thus acted as an important claim of belonging to the social body of the metropole. On the other hand, the missionaries sent to the island increasingly saw, and represented, the settlement on Tristan da Cunha as a mission station which by definition comprised of natives that needed to be ruled and developed, thus eroding their claims to metropolitan belonging.

7.2) Building the Tristan type

As well as a church Rogers also oversaw new housing construction on the island to relieve what he denounced as chronic overcrowding. New houses were built over the course of 1922 and 1923 and were completed through metropolitan donations to the SPG. Such donations were often solicited by suggesting that the islanders were in distress. The cargo despatched by the SPG via the H.M.S. *Dublin* in 1923 consisted mainly of building materials.⁵⁴ In addition to despatching stores to the island, the H.M.S. *Dublin* had been sent to compile a "comprehensive report on the condition of life of the inhabitants, their mental capacity, and general physical development".⁵⁵ This was due to the unfavourable reports of the *Quest* in the metropolitan media, claims that the islanders were in distress, and Rogers reports to the South African government.⁵⁶ Rogers went on to tell a tale of

⁵² Letter from H.M.C. Rogers to the *Cape Times*, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*.

⁵³ Rogers building projects can themselves be read as a colonising project on the part of the SPG as, Veracini notes, settler colonialism "is, after all, a violent act against geography [it] turns someone else's place into space and then into place again". See Lorenzo Veracini, 'Introduction', at page 5.

⁵⁴ The H.M.S. *Dublin* delivered 16 cases of iron goods for building construction and domestic use along with what was labelled as 12 cases of miscellaneous donations and purchases. It may also have contained wood for building purposes that Rogers had requested from the South African government. See SAB: GG Vol. No. 190, Ref. 3/4343. Tristan da Cunha: Questions whether small quality of timber could be spared from Govt. stores at Cape Town to complete the construction of some cottages on the Island, 1923. See also Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991* (Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1992), at page 210.

⁵⁵ Allan Gordon Bee, *Rolling Home* (London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1936), at page 463.

⁵⁶ See SAB: GG Vol. No. 189, Ref. 3/4317, 'Tristan da Cunha: Representations by the Rev. M. Rogers with a view to annexation of Tristan da Cunha to the Union. Views of the Govt. regarding, 1923. The narratives of the members of the *Quest* Expedition described the islanders as a begging horde, see for example, James Marr's claim when he visited the island on the *Quest* in 1922 that the islanders would "pester one mercilessly for gifts – gifts of any and every sort", a claim that was also made by Frank Wild who stated that as soon as they were

ecological collapse on the island. He suggested that the island's climate had changed, that there was drought and that blighting wind had affected the island's staple potato crop, and that rats immune to poison "descend[ed] from the hill in predatory hoards [sic] and raid[ed] at night".⁵⁷ These descriptions of ecological collapse and the privation that supposedly followed mimicked the racialised depictions of indigenous groups on the mainland's whose use practices were portrayed as degrading their environment thus leading to calls for racialised forms of environmental stewardship.⁵⁸ The missionaries that succeeded Rogers attempted to conserve the island environment and modernise its agriculture production.⁵⁹

Rogers desire to build new homes tapped into metropolitan discourses about overcrowding, poverty, disease and degeneration affecting health as well as moral and racial order.⁶⁰ This led to increasingly racialised views of those afflicted by and/or thought responsible for such ills. These fears resulted in the publication of a burgeoning literature on slums and slum clearance campaigns in the 1930s.⁶¹ So for Rogers, his house building campaign was an important part in improving the moral, spiritual, and sanitary condition of the islanders, while also acting as a physical marker of his missionary work on the island. Rogers descriptions were written at a time when poverty and racial typology were becoming more and more closely aligned as beggars began to be seen as menaces to both the economic and political health of the nation.⁶² This cult of degenerationism in the late

aboard "they started at once to ask for things", a view echoed by Macklin. See James Marr, *Into the Frozen South* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1923), at page 200 and Frank Wild, *Shackleton's Last Voyage: The Story of the 'Quest'. By Commander Frank Wild, C.B.E. From the Official Journal and Private Diary Kept by Dr. A.H. Macklin* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1923), at page 204 for Wild's account and page 220 for Macklin's account.

⁵⁷ Letter from H.M.C. Rogers to the *Cape Times*, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*.

⁵⁸ See for example, Richard Grove, 'Scottish missionaries, evangelical discourses and the origins of conservation thinking in Southern Africa 1820–1900' in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1989), pp. 163–187.

⁵⁹ For example, Partridge (Rogers successor) wrote about his successes in controlling the dogs and establishing shepherd gangs to protect parts of the island from "the ravages of the sheep". Letter from Partridge to the Lord Bishop, 30 December 1932, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 102–122, CD 106.

⁶⁰ Dorothy Porter, "'Enemies of the Race': Biologism, Environmentalism, and Public Health in Edwardian England' in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Winter, 1991), pp. 159–178, particularly pages 159–164. These fears were not limited to urban environments, see for example the fears around high population density and 'economic congestion' in the Aran Islands. See Brian Harvey, 'Changing Fortunes on the Aran Islands in the 1890s' in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 107 (May, 1991), pp. 237–249.

⁶¹ In 1933, the national government stated that it aimed to rehouse 1.3 million slum dwellers by 1938 after various government and philanthropic initiatives to 'solve' the problem in the 1920s had failed, see Geoffrey Crothall, 'Images of Regeneration: Film propaganda and the British slum clearance campaign, 1933–1938' in *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1999), pp. 339–358, at pages 340–341.

⁶² Christopher Ferguson, 'The Political Economy of the Street and its Discontents' in *Journal of the Social History Society*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2015), pp. 27–50, at page 27. This racialized view of begging was building on previous discourses in the nineteenth century that portrayed the poor as a 'race apart', see for example Henry Mayhew's belief that 'street folk' might be closer to primitive tribes of African's or Asian's rather than British. This, Kavita Phillips argues, "reflected popular beliefs of the day regarding connections between dirt and

nineteenth and early twentieth century also led to the congruent belief that economic and environmental deprivation may compromise bodily, biological and hereditary existence.⁶³

This period of rapid house building inaugurated by the successful completion of the Church also led to extensive modifications in how the houses were built.⁶⁴ Rogers house building drive was referred to by Lawrence Green, a journalist for the *Cape Argus* who visited the island aboard the H.M.S. *Dublin*. Green stated how Rogers “found every cottage over-crowded when he arrived. His first work was to urge the people to build new houses, and now every family has its own dwelling, miserable though some of them are”.⁶⁵ The ‘miserable’ nature of these new houses was no doubt partly due to the fact that building a church or house on Tristan da Cunha was not a trivial undertaking due to a dearth of tools and wood. In the nineteenth century, stones would be blasted from the hill-side with dynamite provided by passing whalers and naval vessels, but in the twentieth century a lack of dynamite meant that the islanders had to break out stones with crowbars. This, Munch suggests, involved an increased amount of work to obtain stone and the stone quarried was also of a much smaller size than that obtained by the use of dynamite.⁶⁶ The quality of the houses built also suffered due to the lack of suitable wood on the island in the twentieth century as much of the woodwork in the nineteenth century island houses was cannibalised from wrecks.⁶⁷

Jan Rensel has shown how colonial governments and Christian missionaries spurred significant changes in housing styles throughout the Pacific.⁶⁸ This was part of a visible process of civilising the islands. Although the increasing number of permanent structures (particularly the church) suggested the success of the resident clergyman in doing the same to Tristan da Cunha, the quality of the new building was far inferior to those built in the nineteenth century. By the time Munch arrived on the island in 1937–38, he described how the Tristan architecture, which he suggested was originally

morality (‘cleanliness’ and ‘godliness’); among animals, savages, colonised peoples and the poor; and among scientific theories of race, class and nationality”. See Kavita Philip, ‘Race, Class and the Imperial Politics of Ethnography in India, Ireland and London, 1850-1910’ in *Irish Studies Review*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2002), pp. 289–302, at page 294.

⁶³ Bill Luckin, ‘Revisiting the idea of degeneration in urban Britain, 1830-1900’ in *Urban History*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Aug., 2006), pp. 234–252, at page 243.

⁶⁴ The lack of wood on the island for wood panelling (to prevent draughts) led to the walls being papered over with old newspaper and magazines fixed to the wall with a paste made from crushed potatoes and water. Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 108.

⁶⁵ Lawrence Green, ‘Tristan da Cunha: Life in Britain’s Strangest Colony’ in *The Straits Times*, 5 March 1924, at page 15.

⁶⁶ The islanders shifted to using what Munch referred to as ‘blue-stone’, which was of a poorer quality than the ‘soft-stone’ that they had previously used to construct their dwellings. Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 100.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, at page 106.

⁶⁸ See Jan Rensel and Margaret Rodman (eds.), *Home in the Islands: Housing and the Social Change in the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997).

based “on a genuine European tradition” with the form and construction of the houses being “true European, or rather English”, had degenerated.⁶⁹ He claimed there had been:

a considerable lowering of the standard, a simplification both in form, outfit, and workmanship caused by the increasing isolation and the consequent want of the necessary tools and material. Therefore, there is a great difference both in the quality and to some degree also in the form of old and new houses in Tristan, houses erected in later years being in every respect of a much poorer quality than those having been built before the end of the last century.⁷⁰

Munch went on to suggest that one could now speak of ‘a special Tristan architecture’,⁷¹ a point he emphasises in his ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’ by placing an image of a ‘typical Tristan house of more recent date’ next to Earle’s depiction of William Glass’s house (see Figure 7.3 and Figure 3.3), and comparing the two. We can see here what Munch and Lawrence Green saw and reported as the degeneration of the architectural style on Tristan da Cunha. What had initially been one of the quintessential markers of Englishness and social belonging on the island was now considered to have degenerated into ‘miserable’ homes that stood as markers of a ‘Tristan type’.



Figure 7.3: ‘Typical Tristan house of a more recent date’.⁷²

⁶⁹ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 98.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., at page 99.

⁷² Ibid., at page 102.

7.3) Reading (and) the ‘Tristan type’

If the development of the ‘Tristan type’ and the various discourses of degeneration Rogers used to describe Tristan da Cunha represented a process of nativising and racialising the islanders, this process was exacerbated by the low literacy rates on the island during this period. The lack and poor quality of literacy was a constant missionary refrain prominent in the texts of both the Barrow’s and the Rogers’. The missionaries provision of education was always the main attraction for the islanders of having a resident missionary. William Glass saw the presence of a clergyman as key not only to preserving religion and morality on the island, but also to maintaining the educational standard of the island’s inhabitants.

While Glass perhaps may not have seen education as being linked to the maintenance of Englishness, this was certainly the case by the twentieth century. Marilyn Lake has shown how literacy became a key factor in ‘the new religion of whiteness’, which was established in much of the empire through various strategies of exclusion (such as deportation and segregation) and was underpinned by state-based instruments of surveillance (such as the census, the passport, and the education or literacy test).⁷³ The introduction of the literacy test in the late nineteenth century became a key instrument of racial exclusion within the empire and led to the production of dichotomous categories of ‘white’ and ‘non-white’, in the process subsuming a wide range of earlier multiple classifications, leading to a binary racial logic.⁷⁴

This has led Lake to suggest that literacy in the twentieth century became “a code for whiteness”, while the literacy test became the “the instrument of whiteness *par excellence*”.⁷⁵ The isolation of Tristan da Cunha and the failure of the interwar resident clergymen to improve literacy on the island meant that the literacy rate on Tristan da Cunha was decreasing at the same time that literacy itself became ‘a code for whiteness’, leading to the islanders falling on the wrong side of the binary racial logic created by this new code. It is therefore no surprise that Munch claimed that the poor level of

⁷³ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (eds.), *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), at page 4.

⁷⁴ The use of literacy (or education) tests has a long history, but Lake suggests that the 1890 Constitutional Convention of Mississippi “marked a new departure in its recommendation of an education test as a means to effect racial discrimination”, and that these ideals were soon taken up not only in the rest of America, but also in Australia and in what was to become the Union of South Africa. See Marilyn Lake, ‘From Mississippi to Melbourne via Natal: the invention of the literacy test as a technology of racial exclusion’ in Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake (eds.), *Connected Worlds: History in Transnational Perspective* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2005), pp. 209-230, at pages 213–215 and 227.

⁷⁵ Marilyn Lake, ‘From Mississippi to Melbourne via Natal’, at pages 213 and 229.

education provided by the resident clergymen had led to education being transferred to the house, “with the parents trying to teach their children what little they knew”.⁷⁶

Robert Pooley, who replaced Rogers as the resident missionary on the island wrote to *The Times* soon after he settled into the parsonage he ordered the islanders to build for him stating that “there is teaching and governing, with all kinds of things to do to help the lot of these lonely 150 people”.⁷⁷ A decade later when Munch reached the island, he estimated that only 50% of women and 30% of men were literate while “practically none of the children had ever had any real practice in reading, and the handling of a pen or a pencil was completely unfamiliar to them”,⁷⁸ suggesting the missionary focus was on governing rather than teaching the islanders.

7.4) Governing the ‘Tristan type’

The discourses of mission Christianity led to the increasing nativisation of the islanders by eroding the previous markers of the English idyll and reorganising the landscape. As a result, the resident missionaries increasingly felt the need to rule over (rather than simply minister to) the islanders. Thus Rogers sought to formalise the authority of the resident missionary by making himself the head of a local assembly comprising the ‘heads of families’,⁷⁹ while Pooley appealed for the means to impose the “law and order” of private property on the island underclass.⁸⁰ But it was the third interwar missionary to the island, Augustus George Partridge, who imposed the mainland colonial practices of indirect rule on the island.

Unlike his predecessors, who were all novices in the mission field sent straight from England,⁸¹ Partridge was a colonial veteran having previously served in Brazil, East and South Africa (where one

⁷⁶ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 205.

⁷⁷ See: R. Pooley, ‘From Tristan da Cunha’ in *The Times*, Saturday, 08 December 1928, at page 13; Letter from Rev. Pooley to the Lord Bishop of St. Helena, 28 March 1927, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 44-101, CD 96; and ‘Tristan da Cunha: News from the Island’ in *The Times*, Wednesday, 21 March 1928, at page 12.

⁷⁸ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 56.

⁷⁹ Daniel Schreier and Dorothy Evans have suggested that before leaving for Tristan da Cunha, Rogers was appointed by Winston Churchill (the Colonial Secretary at the time) as Resident Magistrate of the island, though judging by Rogers writings during his time there this does not seem to have been the case. See Daniel Schreier, *Isolation and Language Change: Contemporary and Sociohistorical Evidence from Tristan da Cunha English* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) at page 56; Dorothy Evans, *Schooling in the South Atlantic Islands, 1661-1992* (Oswestry: Anthony Nelson, 1994), at page 264.

⁸⁰ ‘Letter to the Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary from R. Pooley, September 1928’, Cape Archives: GG 1076 Ref. 22/133.

⁸¹ With the exception of Dodgson, whose illness in Zanzibar ended his tour there before it ever truly began.

of the churches he was responsible for was described as ‘a church for natives’).⁸² He viewed the islanders as natives that needed to be governed in both a spiritual and temporal sense. Upon arrival he instituted a labour corvee for public works, appointed a puppet chief (headman), organised a native police and imposed a reign of terror with the sjambok in defence of private property.⁸³ He left Tristan da Cunha in January 1932, but returned at the end of the year for the anticipated arrival of the Brazilian Meteorological Expedition,⁸⁴ this time with the title ‘Island magistrate’.⁸⁵

According to a crew member of the H.M.S. *Carlisle*, who had twice visited the island, Partridge saw the islanders as a group of “natural people” and did not want to tear them away from their way of life.⁸⁶ Privately though Partridge informed the Bishop of St Helena that there was “no future but inevitable starvation and a progressive degeneration of the people” and advocated for their removal from the island to the South African mainland.⁸⁷ While Partridge was unable to effect this, he set up a ‘Council of Islanders’, with William Repetto as ‘Chief Man’ and Repetto’s mother Frances as ‘Chief of the Women’, and established a rudimentary native administration to superintend the islanders daily lives.⁸⁸ Munch dismissed Partridge’s reforms as nothing but a “marionette government” and claimed that it was abandoned after Partridge left,⁸⁹ while simultaneously reporting that both William Repetto and his mother continued to occupy their chiefly offices and exercise authoritarian powers over the islanders.⁹⁰

⁸² See Padre for Loneliest Island: Relieving the Present Vicar’ in *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 4 March 1929, at page 12 and ‘Flying Parson’ Gets New Post: Adventurous English Clergyman Takes Lonely Island Station’ in *The Spokesman Review*, 27 January 1929. For more on Partridge and his postings before Tristan da Cunha see Marjorie Hessell Tiltman, *God’s Adventurers* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1933), especially pages 210–216.

⁸³ See: Letter from Partridge to the Lord Bishop, 30 December 1932, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 102-109, CD 102; P. A. Munch (translated and edited by Cathrine Munch Snyder), *Glimpsing Utopia: Tristan da Cunha 1937-38: A Norwegian’s Diary* (Easton: George Mann Publications, 2008), at page 215; and Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991* (Shropshire: Anthony Nelson, 1992), at page 215.

⁸⁴ This Expedition was aborted due to the Depression.

⁸⁵ Gane claimed that this appointment was meant to be purely temporary in order “to give him [Partridge] a certain prestige in the event of a visit by a Brazilian Scientific Expedition”. However, Munch suggests that the decision to grant the missionary greater administrative powers was due to the belief that a recognised leader would make the island more self-supporting and less reliant on charity. See Letter to Douglas Gane from A.J. Dawe of the Colonial Office, 1 February 1933, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 102-122, CD 106 and Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at pages 46–47.

⁸⁶ P. A. Munch, *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 6.

⁸⁷ Letter from Partridge to the Lord Bishop, 30 December 1932, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*, CD 102-109, CD 102.

⁸⁸ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at pages 46–47.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, at pages 241 and 246.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, at pages 101 and 248.

Partridge's colonial administration enabled increasing missionary encroachment into the domestic lives of the islanders. Women who failed to keep their homes "ship shape" were punished in a pillory which Partridge set up outside the church so the victim could be ridiculed by those attending church services.⁹¹ Munch reported in his diary (but not his doctorate) how Frances Repetto's appointment as 'inspector of houses' extended not just to monitoring island homes, but also island bodies, and those guilty of 'uncleanliness' being forcibly washed.⁹² On another occasion, a recalcitrant's house was forcibly cleaned by Frances Repetto, and when the offender shouted insults at Repetto, the matter was brought before the Island Council and the offender sentenced to sit for a day in the pillory and excluded from church for three Sundays.⁹³ Her clothes, bloody from menstruation, were then placed on display outside of Partridge's house.⁹⁴

Mary Douglas has shown how the act of tidying and cleaning is an act of positively re-ordering our environment as "[d]irt offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organise the environment".⁹⁵ The excessive focus on cleanliness and the targeting of bodily appearance was common in many missionary outposts not only as a means of organising the environment, but also due to the conflation of morality with physicality, as interior morality was considered consistent with the outer body and was itself often inflected by racial discourses.⁹⁶ This can be seen as an example of 'development by sanitation', which highlighted the connection between hygiene and rule.⁹⁷ It also shows the importance of the need to be seen to be clean, orderly and industrious, a factor that often structured white policy and interactions with people at mission stations on colonial frontiers where the ability to produce the appearance of bourgeois civilisation was seen as a straightforward index of progress.⁹⁸ Dirt was closely linked to the idea of degeneracy,

⁹¹ P. A. Munch, *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 171.

⁹² *Ibid.*, at pages 171–172.

⁹³ D. M. Booy, *Rock of Exile: A Narrative of Tristan da Cunha* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1957), at page 62.

⁹⁴ P. A. Munch, *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 172.

⁹⁵ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An analysis of the concept of pollution and taboo* (London and New York: Ark Paperbacks, [first edition 1966] 2001), at page 2.

⁹⁶ See Richard Eves, 'Colonialism, Corporeality and Character' in *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1996), pp. 85–138, particularly pages 86–89 and 'Black and white, a significant contrast': Race, humanism and missionary photography in the Pacific' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 29, No. 4 (2006), pp. 725–748, at page 734.

⁹⁷ This connection between public health and governance, Alison Bashford notes, has been increasingly highlighted by both sociologists and historians. See Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).

⁹⁸ Jane Lydon, 'Seeing each other: the colonial vision in nineteenth-century Victoria' in Susan Lawrence (ed.), *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of identity in Great Britain and its colonies 1600–1945* (London: Routledge, 2003), at page 176. For similar examples in different contexts, see Kathryn Rountree, 'Remaking the Maori Female Body: Marianne William's Mission in the Bay of Islands' in *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Jun., 2000), pp. 49–66 and Richard Eves, 'Colonialism, Corporeality and Character' in *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1996), pp. 85–138.

and in the evangelical context, “signalled an offense against the moral design of the mission”.⁹⁹ Cleanliness, the Comaroff’s note, increasingly came to be seen as a religious duty and the “management of mundane bodily functions in the name of order, health, and cleanliness was a major feature of European social engineering throughout the nineteenth century – both at home and overseas”.¹⁰⁰ They argue that small sanitising gestures, such as the policing of domestic space in the name of cleanliness and public health, was one of the ways in which imperial movements took material form.¹⁰¹

Partridge’s successor was another colonial veteran, Harold Wilde, who extended the resident missionary’s control into the economic sphere. Munch called Wilde a dictator *en miniature* as he styled himself an officer of the SPG and British government and threatened the islanders with forced removal to the mainland to ensure acquiescence to his demands. The material basis of Wilde’s power lay in his construction of a storeroom as an annex to the church making it a symbol not just of the Anglicans spiritual and political power, but also their economic power over the island. Before the construction of the storehouse, supplies sent to the island were immediately distributed equally among the households, but Wilde’s position as a purported official representative of the SPG and British Government enabled him to claim such cargoes as public goods to be disbursed in weekly rations by the church. The storehouse inventory was kept secret,¹⁰² and the size and frequency of rations were decided by Wilde.¹⁰³ Wilde’s socialisation of the island’s external economy gave him unlimited power as he told the Norwegians “the way to rule Tristan is to have your storehouse full and keep the key”.¹⁰⁴

He also attempted to monopolise all island trade goods putting pressure on the islanders to hand over all curios they manufactured to him as representative of the SPG,¹⁰⁵ and tried to monitor intercourse with the outside world by accompanying the islanders to any vessel that stopped at Tristan. All letters sent to the outside world were also subject to his censorship in order to prevent so-called ‘indirect barter’ via the mail.¹⁰⁶ This meant that Wilde became the principal negotiator and

⁹⁹ John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of modernity on a South African Frontier*, Volume 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), at page 286.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, at page 336

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, at page 336.

¹⁰² See P. A. Munch, *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 16.

¹⁰³ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 252.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, at pages 209 and 252.

¹⁰⁶ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at page 252 and *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 30.

intermediary between Tristan da Cunha and the outside world,¹⁰⁷ and in the process often framed them as native others.¹⁰⁸ Although Wilde continued to demand the missionary's traditional food tribute from the islanders,¹⁰⁹ having the keys to the storehouse made him the first resident clergyman able to survive independently of them. Munch suggests that this allowed Wilde to regulate the lives of the islanders in every detail.¹¹⁰ With the construction of his storehouse Wilde completed the process of missionary colonisation of Tristan da Cunha. The resident clergyman now held control over the religious, political, judicial, domestic and economic spheres.

However, Wilde's new position as colonial overlord meant that he had an even greater imperative to civilise the island than his predecessors, as civilising projects were no longer just a part of a Christian mission. The latter required even greater tangible evidence that Wilde had modernised the islanders and weaned them off charity from the outside world (on which they were deemed to have become dependent) like any other indirect rule colony. This led to a spate of building projects on the island. Wilde had the islanders 'build roads' and erect a 'lighthouse',¹¹¹ but their measure was not utility but the tangible evidence they could provide of Wilde's supposed civilising of the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha.

Wilde also imposed agricultural improvement projects under the Orwellian slogan 'The Island of Opportunity'.¹¹² In addition to the enclosure and cultivation of additional fields on the main island, Wilde also attempted to implement a 'five year plan' for the colonisation of Inaccessible Island. In September 1936, Wilde led all the able-bodied men and thirteen "young pioneers" to the neighbouring uninhabited island with a portmanteau biota of sheep, cattle, pigs, seeds and

¹⁰⁷ See J.B. Loudon, 'Teasing and Socialization on Tristan da Cunha', at page 299.

¹⁰⁸ Much like his immediate predecessors, when Wilde arrived on Tristan da Cunha he certainly did not see the islanders as white Englishmen. Seligman, who visited Tristan da Cunha aboard the *Cap Pilar* in 1936 tells how, during a round of what Wilde seems to have considered horseplay, he kept emphasising how he and Seligman were 'Englishmen', the insinuation of course being that the islanders were not. See Adrian Seligman, *The Voyage of the 'Cap Pilar'* (London: Seafarer Books, 1939), at page 124. The voyage of the *Cap Pilar* itself achieved a certain celebrity as it was the first sailing vessel to carry mail from England for 30 years. See 'Mail by Barque: Cap Pilar's Mission Historic Event' in *Examiner* 19 October 1936, at page 7.

¹⁰⁹ Peter Munch, 'Sociology of Tristan da Cunha', at page 209.

¹¹⁰ See P. A. Munch, *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 17.

¹¹¹ Allan Crawford, *I Went to Tristan* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941), at page 73. For more on the greater symbolism and significance of lighthouses, see Kevin Blake, 'Lighthouse symbolism in the American landscape' in *FOCUS on Geography*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (2007), pp. 9–15 and John Gillis, *The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), at page 182.

¹¹² See, for example, Adrian Seligman's chapter on his visit to Tristan da Cunha titled 'Islands of Opportunity' in *The Voyage of the 'Cap Pilar'* (London: Seafarer Books, 1939), at pages 119–130. Also, see *The Children's Newspaper*, August 14, 1937, at page 7.

potatoes.¹¹³ This attempted colonisation failed as, according to Munch, the potato harvests yielded less than the seed planted. When the Norwegians visited Inaccessible in 1938, “the cultivation field was completely overgrown with tussock, and the potatoes were not bigger than plums”, while the house built by the ‘young pioneers’ was in ruins.¹¹⁴

Wilde’s attempted colonisation of Inaccessible may seem absurd, but it was mandated by Wilde’s urgent need for evidence of improvement. Following this failure he also unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the islanders to purchase the Norwegian Scientific Expedition’s ketch so that they could begin trading with Cape Town, all under his direction.¹¹⁵ While he could not obtain their vessel, Wilde did claim the Norwegian’s barracks for his new residence after their departure in 1938. His relocation to the most distant habitable structure from any islander’s residence confirmed the island’s colonisation. Whereas the Norwegians wished to maintain distance from their subjects of study, Wilde wished to increase the distance between himself and those he ruled, a significant act in a colonial context “where space and race are reciprocally related, spatial distance was often used to signify racial distance”.¹¹⁶ This is where Wilde would remain until he was ordered to leave the island by the SPG in 1940 “on their Medical Advisors opinion that prolonged isolation [was] likely to impair [his] health and judgment”.¹¹⁷

7.5) Primitive children in a modern laboratory

When Wilde was evacuated, he left behind a very different place in his wake. The attempts by the resident missionary to reorganise the space of Tristan da Cunha as the place of a colonial mission station eroded Earle’s rural idyll and Gane’s attempts to resurrect it. The resident missionaries made their mark not only on the page, with their very different portrayals of the island to those of Gane, but also on the physical landscape of Tristan da Cunha through their various development projects, which not only eroded the links to the social body of the metropole, but also marked the island body(ies) out once more as a site of degeneration. The marking out of the islanders as nativised others of the colonial mission station was both a result of, and led to, increasing intrusions into their spiritual, economic, political, and domestic lives.

¹¹³ See *The Children’s Newspaper*, August 14, 1937, at page 7. This attempted colonisation was celebrated by Irving Gane as ‘a fine achievement’, see Irving B. Gane, ‘Christmas on Tristan: Mr. Wilde’s Return’, in *The Times*, Friday, 29 October 1937.

¹¹⁴ Peter Munch, ‘Sociology of Tristan da Cunha’, at pages 110 and 123–124.

¹¹⁵ P. A. Munch, *Glimpsing Utopia*, at page 53.

¹¹⁶ Richard Eves ‘Black and white, a significant contrast’: Race, humanism and missionary photography in the Pacific’ in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 29, No. 4 (2006), pp. 725–748, at page 729.

¹¹⁷ Robin Taylor (ed.), *Tristan da Cunha: Volume 1, 1939-1942* (Cape Town), at page 38.

This increasing intrusion into the lives of the islanders led to them being increasingly portrayed in missionary textual production as ‘primitive’ and ‘childlike’. This tapped into a longstanding trend in missionary discourse of referring to natives as ‘child-races’ that required the benevolent paternalistic interventions and guidance of missionaries in order to reach adulthood, thus providing “justification for their [missionaries’] intervention through hierarchical paternalist metaphors”.¹¹⁸ For example, Rogers stated that the islanders “are not fitted to compete in a strenuous world, for they are a simple, uneducated, kindly race, like big children in temperament, and would surely fall prey to land sharks”.¹¹⁹ The Bishop of St Helena suggested that the missionaries sent to Tristan da Cunha should be praised as “[t]hey have to face isolation and the lack of any kind of equal companionship, and to take full responsibility amongst a primitive and childish community”,¹²⁰ while Munch constantly complained about how Wilde treated the islanders like children. Such descriptions also found their way into other texts relating to the island that were published in the metropole.¹²¹ The most striking of these is perhaps Partridge’s account of the islanders published in the *News Chronicle* in August, 1933, which described the islanders ‘civilisation’ as being “the most primitive in the world” and the islanders themselves as “almost as though they were a relic of the Stone Age”.¹²²

The depiction of the islanders as ‘natural people’ and ‘children’ who were ‘relics of the Stone Age’ in many ways used the same tropes that Gane had. Whereas Gane used this supposed stranding in time to try and resurrect them as Romantic pre-industrial Britons, in the missionary discourse this took on a very different meaning. By being stranded in time, the missionaries could frame the islanders as children in need of guidance in the modern world. But, as Nicholas Thomas notes, infantilisation was a tool used to suggest that these ‘children’ were being brought up and socialised for the first time.¹²³ The notion of the ‘primitive’ on the other hand projected a far more racialised view of the islanders as while the word originally referred to origins, and was not necessarily racialized, Goldberg suggests that by the twentieth century ‘the primitive’ had assumed synonymy

¹¹⁸ Richard Eves ‘Black and white, a significant contrast’, at page 740.

¹¹⁹ Rev. Rogers, *The Times* 27 May, 1926, in C.P. Lawrence, *A Resume of Reports*.

¹²⁰ C.C. Watts, *In Mid Atlantic: The Islands of St. Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1936), at page 59.

¹²¹ See, for example, A.H. Macklin in Frank Wilde, *Shackleton’s Last Voyage: The Story of the ‘Quest’. By Commander Frank Wilde, C.B.E. From the Official Journal and Private Diary Kept by Dr. A.H. Macklin* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1923), at page 224; and C.C. Watts, *In Mid Atlantic: The Islands of St. Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha* (London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1936), at page 59.

¹²² See Lars Christensen, *Such is the Antarctic* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), at page 242.

¹²³ Nicholas Thomas, ‘Colonial conversions: difference, hierarchy, and history in early twentieth-century evangelical propaganda’ in Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of empire, a reader: Colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), at page 316.

with the 'racial Other' and became a primary element of racist expression.¹²⁴ The idea of the islanders as 'primitives' seems to have become so ingrained, mainly through the letters and description of the missionaries, that when a Mrs. Seligman visited "the loneliest island in the world" with the *Cap Pilar*, she found "somewhat to her disappointment, that the people were not at all 'back of beyondish,' but really quite ordinary".¹²⁵

We can thus see how the resident clergymen sent to the island increasingly stressed a binary of the civilised/European missionary and the primitive/non-European islander as a means of strengthening their position on Tristan da Cunha. At the same time the cultural construction of the islanders as primitive gave them the justification that they needed to implement the building projects that were manifestations of their supposed success and justified their position (and that of the SPG) as a Christian civilising influence amongst primitives. The interwar resident clergymen did not see their role as being to preserve the rural idyll, but to reorder the lives of the islanders in an attempt to drag them towards modernity. It is partly the contradictions between these two constructions of the islanders – that of the Romantic rural idyll of Gane, which itself drew on Earle's depictions, and the portrayals of the degenerating island body(ies) described by the resident missionaries despatched by the SPG – that attracted the attention of Erling Christophersen, the leader of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition that visited the island from late 1937 to early 1938.

Gane's popularised portrayal of Tristan da Cunha as 'the lonely island' and the stress this construction placed on the island's isolation as having preserved its inhabitants as pre-industrial Anglo-Saxons seemed to be directly contradicted by the resident missionaries portrayals of the island. The latter saw the island and its isolation as resulting in a degenerating and 'primitive civilisation'. However, both of these constructions were built on the island's increasing isolation and its effect on the island bodies that inhabited it. In describing the decision to make Tristan da Cunha the site for the Norwegian Scientific Expedition, Christophersen wrote:

¹²⁴ See David Theo Goldberg, 'Racial Knowledge' in Les Black and John Solomos (eds.), *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), at pages 159–162. For more on the idea of 'the primitive' see: Adam Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society* (London: Routledge, 1988); Adam Kuper, *The Reinvention of Primitive Society: Transformations of a Myth* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005) and Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

¹²⁵ 'Sailing the Seven Seas: Barquentine Passengers, Tristan da Cunha Visited' in *The Age*, 27 May 1937, at page 9.

The isolated existence of the Tristanites was in reality a gigantic experiment, a century-old test under laboratory conditions, of which we only had to go and collect the results [...] Tristan was simply waiting for someone to go out there and have a good look round.¹²⁶

For Christophersen, Tristan da Cunha's isolation meant that the island body(ies) acted as a laboratory which could be subject to a range of studies that could fill in their 'blank interiors' and turn them into data. This data included extensive notes on the racial characteristics of the islanders, tabulating the colour and hair type, skin pigmentation, facial features, as well as measuring the skulls of the majority of the island's population.¹²⁷ The Norwegians also catalogued the genealogical history of the islanders which they described as "very complicated and difficult to disentangle",¹²⁸ and led the Expedition's physician to suggest that inbreeding had occurred to a significant extent – reflected by photographs and genealogical tables on the inheritance of deformed ears, asthma, migraine, hay fever, and allergic diseases.¹²⁹

Although the results of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition were only published after World War Two, they resulted in Tristan da Cunha increasingly being seen by the scientific world as a prime site for bio-medical studies relating to the impact of isolation and the potential for degeneration. These discourses would themselves often slip into less specialised scientific descriptions of the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha.¹³⁰ We can thus see that the resident missionaries and the missionary discourses they worked through not only eroded markers of Britishness on the island, but actively marked out the islanders as nativised others. These discourses were built upon by the scientists that followed in the second half of the twentieth century and placed a metaphorical bell jar over the

¹²⁶ Erling Christophersen, *Tristan da Cunha: The Lonely Isle*, at pages 4, 5 and 7. These views of Tristan da Cunha as an experiment under laboratory conditions which one only needs to visit to get results has been echoed over the course of the second half of the twentieth century. See for example W. Pensioners claim that "Conan Doyle placed his *Lost World* [part of his *Professor Challenger* series] on an inaccessible plateau somewhere in South America. The choice was biologically sound, for isolated valleys and mountain ranges are, like islands, places where evolution lacks the stimuli of change and selection, even if time does not stand still. Tristan da Cunha is as near an isolated island as students of human physiology are likely to get". Cliff et al, in their study of islands claimed that they "form natural laboratories in which processes can be observed which are too complex to track in the fast-interacting city worlds which dominate the crowded continents", and that Tristan da Cunha's remoteness and small population had led to considerable scientific interest, with a substantial quantity on research being conducted on the population's genetic and epidemiological characteristics. See Andrew Cliff, Peter Haggert and Matthew Smallman-Raynor, *Island Epidemics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), at pages 385–386, and W. Pensioners, 'Tristan da Cunha: Some Medical Aspects' in *British Medical Journal*, Saturday, 26 October 1963, pp. 1007–1008, at page 1007.

¹²⁷ Sverre Dick Henriksen and Per Oeding, 'Medical Survey of Tristan da Cunha' in *Results of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition to Tristan da Cunha, 1937-38*, No. 5, at page 38.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, at page 7.

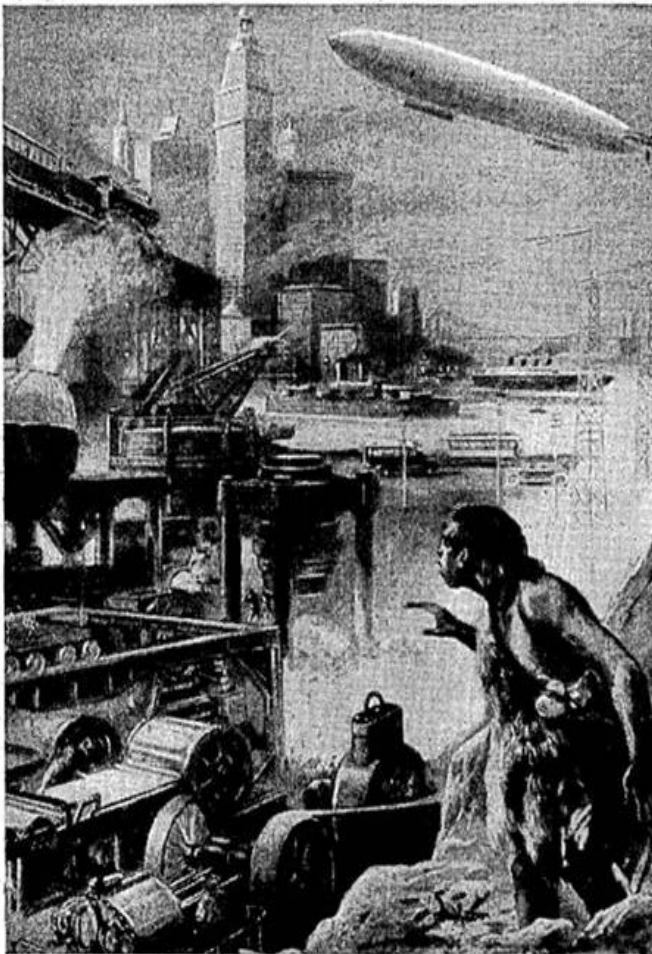
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, at pages 62–63.

¹³⁰ For an early example of this, see Norman Howell, 'Orphan Island: Lonely Tristan da Cunha May Become Weather Outpost of the Union of South Africa' in *Libertas*, Vol. 5 No. 10 (Sept., 1945), pp. 50–59 and 75–77.

island and extended the markers of difference to include the islanders very DNA. So while the hybrid landscapes described in Chapter Two played an important role in providing a framework that allowed the settlement on Tristan da Cunha to be established (and to be later portrayed as a Romantic rural idyll), the filling in of the 'blank interior' of the island body(ies) marked the islanders themselves as hybrid nativised others.

Chapter Eight
Concluding remarks

The Man Whom Civilisation Killed



A scout who came to London from Tristan da Cunha has perished from disease he was unable to resist. Years ago there rushed out of an inaccessible creek in California a wild man of a race still in the Stone Age, who, though taken care of, also perished of disease he could not resist. Here we see this Stone Age man startled by the wonder of the Scientific Age.

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**A NARRATIVE
OF A NINE MONTHS'
RESIDENCE IN NEW
ZEALAND IN 1827**

TOGETHER WITH A JOURNAL OF A
RESIDENCE IN TRISTAN D'ACUNHA

AUGUSTUS EARLE



CAMBRIDGE

The preceding chapters have shown that by the turn of the nineteenth century, two broad trends developed in metropolitan depictions of the island body(ies) of Tristan da Cunha. The one, established by Earle and which Gane attempted to breathe new life into at the British Empire Exhibition, was that of Tristan da Cunha as a Romantic English rural idyll inhabited by loyal British settlers. The other, was that of Tristan da Cunha as a site of degeneration as a result of its increasing isolation. This second discourse was driven by the resident missionaries sent to the island by the SPG who portrayed the inhabitants of Tristan da Cunha as mission station natives who were incapable of meeting the European middle-class sensibilities these missionaries encapsulated. The contradictions between these discourses in turn attracted the interest of scientists who themselves played an important role in reframing these island body(ies) vis-à-vis the metropole, thus highlighting what Nicholas Thomas has referred to as “the underlying ambiguities and contradictions of colonial projects”.¹

These ambiguities and contradictions can perhaps best be seen through the life and death of an islander by the name of Donald Glass, a direct descendant of the settlement’s founder William Glass. Donald Glass was born on 27 September 1908, the same year that his father, Robert Franklin Glass and his wife returned to Tristan da Cunha from the Cape.² Glass immigrated to South Africa in 1930 as a twenty-one year old, partly because of fears surrounding the long term sustainability of the settlement. Although he was classified as white, while his cousin (who travelled to South Africa with him) was classified as coloured,³ Glass’ attempt to immigrate to the mainland immediately encountered problems. A Cape Town journalist stated that the regulations for immigrants did not provide “for the sudden arrival of men from Mars, the Moon, or Tristan”.⁴ After initially being refused entry, he was eventually granted a Temporary Permit after an islander who had successfully immigrated to the Cape years earlier agreed to stand surety for him.

Described as a “superb physical specimen”,⁵ his arrival was soon exploited by the *Cape Argus* for publicity purposes in an article titled ‘We Show Him the Town: A Tristan Islander’s First Glimpse of Civilisation’. In this article the author attempted to show Donald’s ‘virgin mind’ civilisation in a day

¹ Nicholas Thomas, ‘Colonial conversions: difference, hierarchy, and history in early twentieth-century evangelical propaganda’ in Catherine Hall (ed.), *Cultures of empire, a reader: Colonizers in Britain and the empire in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), at page 299.

² KAB: PIO, Volume 54, Reference 4269E, Immigration Papers. Tom Rogers and Donald Glass.

³ KAB: PIO, Volume 54, Reference 4269E, Immigration Papers. Tom Rogers and Donald Glass.

⁴ C. Birkby, ‘We Show Him the Town, A Tristan Islander’s First Glimpse of Civilisation’ in *The Cape Argus*, 26 April 1930.

⁵ Marjorie Hessel Tiltman, *God’s Adventurers* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1933), at page 212.

by taking him up Table Mountain in the cable car, to a football match, the cinema, and city café's, amongst other things.⁶ The article went on to describe Donald Glass as coming from a community "still living in the age of Queen Victoria".⁷ In the years that followed, Glass struggled to maintain a regular job and repeatedly failed the language test for immigrants, but he was allowed to remain in South Africa due to the prohibitive cost of returning him to Tristan da Cunha.⁸ Glass then decided to go to England because, he claimed, "the competition of coloured workers is too keen for a white man like himself with no education and no vocational training".⁹ But he could not leave without a passport and South Africa refused to issue him one because he could not meet the conditions of the South African Immigration Act to become a citizen. Glass finally got his wish in 1935 when he was signed on as a member of the crew of a Canadian Pacific luxury cruise ship on a voyage to New York through the intervention of Douglas Gane, "the unofficial minister plenipotentiary and good fairy for Tristan".¹⁰ Glass worked his way to America and from there to England where, thanks to Gane, a job was assured to him.¹¹

Upon his arrival in England in April 1935, Glass worked at Ida Works, an iron manufacturer in Deptford, but he soon succumbed to illness and died on 22 March, 1937, aged 28. The epitaph on his tombstone describes him as "The First native Born Islander to Settle in England".¹² His death was reported by Irving Gane to *The Times* in an article titled 'Death of an Islander':

It is with regret that I have to record the death on the 22nd instant at St. John's Hospital, Lewisham, of Donald Glass. He was a direct descendant of William Glass the founder of the settlement at Tristan da Cunha. So far as is known he was the only islander who ever returned to the mother country [...] Glass came from a land where disease is practically unknown and the nature of his illness suggests that notwithstanding a perfect physique he lacked the necessary powers of resistance.

The untimely death of this young man at the age of 28 is to be deplored, and it should serve

⁶ C. Birkby, 'We Show Him the Town, A Tristan Islander's First Glimpse of Civilisation' in *The Cape Argus*, 26 April 1930.

⁷ C. Birkby, 'We Show Him the Town, A Tristan Islander's First Glimpse of Civilisation' in *The Cape Argus*, 26 April 1930.

⁸ KAB: PIO, Volume 54, Reference 4269E, Immigration Papers. Tom Rogers and Donald Glass.

⁹ 'A Man Without a Country, Donald Glass on Horns of a Dilemma: Why he cannot claim a passport' in *The Cape Argus*, 23 July 1934.

¹⁰ 'Tristan Islander Sailing in Luxury Liner: Donald Glass's Adventure to see New York and London' in *The Cape Argus*, March 1935.

¹¹ 'Tristan Islander Sailing in Luxury Liner: Donald Glass's Adventure to see New York and London' in *The Cape Argus*, March 1935.

¹² See <http://www.avah24.dsl.pipex.com/Brocklady/Glass.html> (accessed on the 13th June 2013).

as a warning to those who advocate the removal of the inhabitants from Tristan da Cunha".¹³

This report was quickly reproduced across the world,¹⁴ but news of his death would only reach Tristan da Cunha with Wilde's return to the island in December, 1937, along with the members of the Norwegian Scientific Expedition. Glass's death was followed two weeks later by a full page spread in *The Children's Newspaper* where he was compared to Pocahontas and Lee Boo, "a little black prince from the Pacific" who died of smallpox while in England and where he is clearly compared to a 'wild man of a race still in the Stone Age' (see Figure 8.1).

¹³ 'Death of an Islander' in *The Times*, Thursday, 25 March 1937, at page 15.

¹⁴ See 'A Lone Migrant: From an Isolated Isle, Death Reported in London' in *The Sunday Times* [Perth, Western Australia] Sunday, 26 March 1937 and 'Tristan Man Killed by Civilisation' in *The Straits Times*, 12 April 1937, at page 18. Similar sentiments were expressed in both Canadian and American newspapers that carried reports of Donald Glass's death, see for example, 'Outside World Comes to Tristan' in *The Ottawa Evening Citizen*, 22 April 1937, at page 26.

Children's Newspaper, April 10, 1937

The CHILDREN'S NEWSPAPER

AND CHILDREN'S PICTORIAL

The Story of the World Today for the Men and Women of Tomorrow

Number 942

Week Ending
APRIL 10, 1937

EDITED BY ARTHUR MEE

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THE STRANGE BOY OF 100 YEARS AGO

DONALD GLASS OF TRISTAN

THE LONELY ISLANDER IN THE GREAT CITY

Tragedy of the Simple Folk
Who Come To See the World

KILLED BY CIVILISATION

FROM Tristan da Cunha's lonely isle in the South Atlantic Donald Glass came a year ago to the land those islanders call home.

It was a second home to him, and meant to be a kindly one to this young fellow who was a direct descendant of the William Glass who founded the settlement there more than a century ago when Napoleon was a prisoner at St Helena and a garrison had been stationed on this more southerly island.

Contented Islanders

William Glass elected to stay there, and a few stayed with him. Lonely the island might be, but it was happy in the world forgetting, and being by the world forgot. It prospered in its modest way. God gave it health and increase, and today Tristan da Cunha has a population of 183, who devoutly believe that its future is improving. A recent letter from one of the islanders, Mrs Repetto, who says she has twenty grandchildren and one great-granddaughter, says they have plenty of food and are all working together. She mentions the old gun that used to guard Napoleon, and it is evident that these people live happily in their past and are happy about their future on this lonely island in the South Atlantic.

So content are they that none of Tristan da Cunha's happy family ever think of leaving their seagirt isle, bearing without envy or dismay of what happens in the restless world outside, and unmoved by any thought of seeking it.

The England of His Dreams

Until last year, when Donald Glass thought he would like to see the England of his dreams, he was the only islander who had ever come back to the land of his forefathers. He came, and was happy and delighted with everything he saw and heard, though not a little bewildered by it all. He found friends, for though his island is so remote it has a Penguin Patrol troop and he was one of the Scouts, so when he arrived in London, so nervous that he could hardly speak, Deptford Rover Scouts took him to their arms and made him feel at home.

For a time he was so delighted with everything that he declared he never wanted to go back. His new-made friends and his employers were alike in hoping that he never would. It seemed that the Motherland had adopted him as her own.

But while he was yet rejoicing in his healthy wellbeing the blow fell. He came from a place where diseases are 'unknown' and his 'physique' seemed

perfect; but because he had never met the disease germs of crowded communities he had not the power of resisting them. He fell ill, and he never got better. He passed away for ever from the land he had chosen, after living less than a year in it.

Not for the first time has this fate overtaken those who have come happily to our shores, confident in their welcome, unaware of any lurking danger to those who are not native to them.

Not so far from Deptford is Gravesend, where the Red Indian Princess Pocahontas rests. She came with her English husband John Rolfe, one of Raleigh's early settlers in Virginia.

A Welcome Visitor

She was a great lady in her own land, darling child of Powhatan, the Red Indian chief. England welcomed her, the Court of James the First made much of her, but she fell ill of consumption, and was seized with a longing for her Virginian home. It was too late. On the eve of her sailing from Gravesend she passed to where, beyond these voices, there is peace.

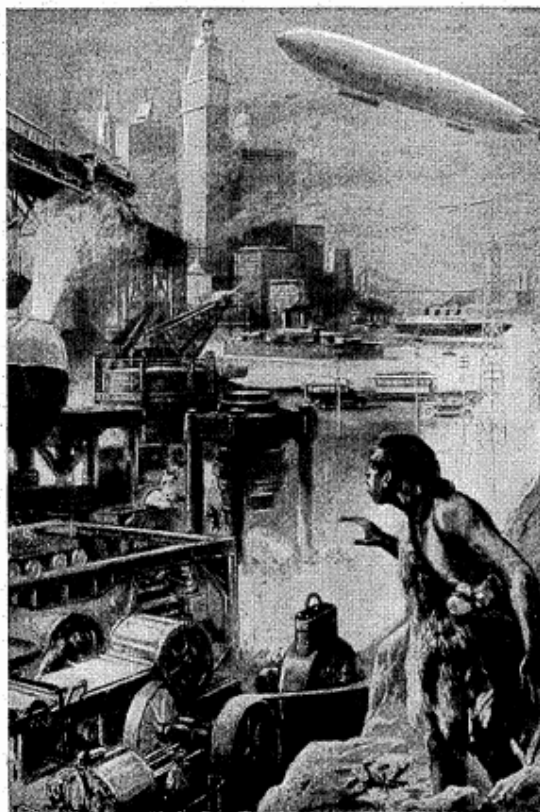
Two centuries pass and the story is repeated; again it is Thames-side that bears witness to it. On a stone not far from the river, in Rotherhithe, is the name of Lee Boo, a little black prince from the Pacific. One August night in 1783 the British frigate Antelope was wrecked off Coo-roo-ra, one of the Pelew Islands. Captain Wilson and most of his crew managed to swim ashore to safety, and the islanders proved friendly and hospitable. Captain Wilson in return offered to bring the local king's son Lee Boo to England.

Lee Boo's Ride To London

That was how little Lee Boo came to Portsmouth, and was, much to his astonishment, carried to London in a wooden box dragged by horses. He was soon to learn more about coaches, for in London everybody wanted to see him, and the East India Company offered to educate the little Prince. He might in his island home prove a valuable friendly ruler.

Alas for such visions! Prince Lee Boo went to the Rotherhithe Academy. People pointed to him as he walked the streets. But in the midst of his happy life he was seized with smallpox. He could not recover, but when he was so ill that he knew he would never see his island home again his one thought was about old Mrs Wilson, who had been a mother to him, and who was ill at the same time. He died, and Rother-

The Man Whom Civilisation Killed



A scout who came to London from Tristan da Cunha has perished from disease he was unable to resist. Years ago there rushed out of an inaccessible creek in California a wild man of a race still in the Stone Age, who, though taken care of, also perished of disease he could not resist. Here we see this Stone Age man startled by the wonder of the Scientific Age.

hithe had never witnessed a more stately funeral.

Again the years move on, and the scene shifts from England to California to form the background for the pathetic tale of Ishi.

Ishi was one of the Yana Indians who lived in the remote north-east of California, and who for sixty years had fought a losing fight with the white civilisation which strove to uproot them.

The branch of the Yana people known as the Yahis were the most persistent of all. When all the rest of this Indian people seemed to have been extirpated, the Yahis, a remnant of the Stone Age men who were their ancestors, clung to inaccessible gorges.

Rumours of their existence came to hand from time to time, and in 1911 one of them Ishi, came out into the light

of day, driven from his hiding-place by a forest fire.

He was picked up, given food and clothing, and for a time this man who had burst out of the Stone Age was confined as if he had been a madman. But the scientific men of California University were kinder and more far-seeing. They saw in him a link with lost tribes, lost customs, lost tongues. He was a museum piece. He actually became a museum helper, and he was indeed of great help to his new friends in working out their problems of dialects.

He was, they all said, happy in his last years. But these years were few, and Ishi passed away.

Civilisation, it would seem, is too much for the simple folk of faraway and lonely places. It gives us something to think about.

Figure 8.1: Article on Donald Glass that appeared in *The Children's Newspaper*.¹⁵

¹⁵ *The Children's Newspaper*, April 10, 1937.

This short vignette of Glass's life captures the entanglement of concurrent and often contradictory discourses described in the preceding chapters. Mere years after Gane's attempts to frame the island as a Romantic English rural idyll inhabited by Anglo-Saxons, and at the same time that his textual productions were attempting to 'whiten' the islanders, the descendent of the man who most symbolised Tristan da Cunha as rural idyll attempted to escape it. Ambiguity surrounded the racial status of Glass and his cousin, while his illiteracy blocked access to his acceptance as a white immigrant in South Africa, where he was initially fêted as a curiosity from a pre-industrial Victorian world.

Despite claiming to be British, Glass could only gain entry to the metropole following the intervention of the island's 'good fairy'. He left Tristan da Cunha due to fears regarding the impact of the island's increasing isolation, yet his death was decried as being a result of his attempts to break free of this isolation and the failure of his body to adapt to the biomedical present of the modern world. In Glass's obituary the latent tensions between Douglas Gane (and his son's) portrayal of the island, and those of the resident missionaries who attempted to unsettle the island, rise to the surface. Irving Gane described Glass in this obituary as the only islander to return to the mother country, while the epitaph on his tombstone described him as "the First native Born Islander to Settle in England". Following his death he was clearly framed in *The Children's Newspaper* as "a wild man of a race still in the Stone Age", echoing Dodgson's depiction of the islanders degeneration into the missing link and Partridge's description of the islanders as "relic[s] of the Stone Age". Meanwhile the report of his death would be carried back to the island by the vessel carrying men who, in the process of studying the island body(ies) in an attempt to find answers to modern medical issues, would intensify the focus on these bodies, in the process slotting them into typologies of race and marking out their dubious genealogical heritage.

While this scientific view of the island body(ies) would dominate for much of the period following World War Two, the shift to a postmodern world has seen Earle's Romantic portrayal of the island once more enter the ascendant, something perhaps best signalled by the fact that Earle's now iconic image of William Glass, after returning to Eric McCormick's 1966 edition of Earle's *Narrative* along with his *Tristan da Cunha Journal*,¹⁶ is now displayed on the front cover of the latest edition of Earle's *Narrative* released by Cambridge University Press in 2011, contradictorily as part of its 'Cambridge Library Collection – History of Oceania' series.

¹⁶ This was in all likelihood partly a result of the increased publicity surrounding the island after the temporary evacuation of the islanders to England following the eruption of Tristan's volcano in 1961.

While the preceding chapters separated these metropolitan representations and discourses relating to Tristan da Cunha out into various chapters, I hope that despite this artificial separation, this work has suggested the ways in which these discourses sometimes cut across one another, at other times reinforced one another, or sometimes diverged and cut across one another once again over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a result, the island bodies were at once both coloniser and colonised, Briton and nativised other, Anglo-Saxon and racialised other. The isolation of the island body(ies) meant that they were both insulated from the supposed ills of metropolitan modernity, or suffering 'nervous breakdown' and degeneration as a result of this isolation. These various registers of race and Englishness, across works of purported fact and fiction, coexisted and the island body(ies) seen in these metropolitan representations of Tristan da Cunha shifted and varied depending on the optic employed.

I hope to have shed some light on what might have been seen through some of the various lenses available, and while I do not wish to suggest that these were the only ones through which the island could be observed, this analysis shows how bringing the historical specificity of island body(ies) back into view across space and time can itself unsettle the static narratives that currently predominate the historical literature of the island. This work has taken seriously Stoler and Cooper's plea to analyse metropole and periphery as part of the same analytic field. Its refusal to focus on Tristan da Cunha's supposed insularity (a critique that can be made of much of the work in the field of Island Studies), along with a refusal to succumb to the flattening juggernaut of the theoretical and thematic narratives that dominate the literature surrounding the Atlantic world (which is often the case in the field of Atlantic Studies) opens up a frame that allows the historical specificity of these island body(ies) across space and time to dominate the narrative. By valuing this historical specificity, these two fields (metropole and periphery as well as Atlantic Studies and Island Studies) can themselves produce new entanglements that allow us to trace the polyphonic registers of race and Englishness that exist in metropolitan representations of Tristan da Cunha in ways that offer new insights not just on the island itself, but also on the metropolitan world in which these representations travelled.

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