Imperial Mindscapes

Notions of the Wilderness in Late Nineteenth Century British Travelogues on Northeastern India

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Image title page: Elizabeth Sarah Mazuchelli, from: *The Indian Alps* (1876), page 168.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research topic

Ideology heavily influences the way that we look at the world and vice versa. This also applies to the way we view the physical world; a landscape, for example. To paraphrase Robert Macfarlane: we do not *see* landscapes, we *read* them.[1] This thesis focuses on imperial ideology in particular. One of the most comprehensive academic discussions of the last fifty years with respect to imperial ideology is the debate on orientalism. In this debate, however, the fundamental work of Edward Said, like-minded scholars, and that of their critics are mostly focused on human culture rather than on the physical landscape.[2]

I myself have written about that human part of orientalism as well: about the ways in which Asian women were portrayed in paintings by Dutch and French painters, about what kind of words were used to characterise indigenous women in European travelogues, and how the mechanism of othering functioned in British travel literature on Egypt.[3] For the first two, I was specifically zooming in on gender. And for the latter, I was focussing (on top of gender) on the topics of culture, society, and politics. However, there is a very prominent geographical dimension in the word 'orientalism' itself: the Orient is a specific physical place (according to Said, the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia). In this thesis, I therefore explore this notion of physical space in the concept further and argue that landscape as an entity in itself is also an important factor in these imagined geographies, not only the people that inhabit them.

To incorporate the element of physical space in this debate, I put the landscape of the wilderness central. First of all, because it allows me to step away - as far as that is possible - from the factor of human culture (given that wilderness in a physical sense is something that stands

[1] Robert Macfarlane, *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination* (London: Granta Publications, 2003), 18.
[2] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1978; repr., London: Penguin Books, 2003); Linda Nochlin, *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991); John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
[3] Ydwer Hoekstra, "Het Portret van de Oriënt: Het gezicht van de Aziatische koloniën in de Nederlandse en Franse schilderkunst, ca 1880-1950" (essay, University of Groningen, 2018); Ydwer Hoekstra, "Images of an Indigenous Woman: Representations of Native Women of the Andean Region in British and French Travel Literature, ca. 1860-1890" (essay, University of Groningen, 2020); Ydwer Hoekstra, "A Modernist's Oriënt: A Close Reading of E.A.T.W. Budge's *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Egyptian Sûdân* (1906) and W.L. Balls' *Egypt of the Egyptians* (1915)" (bachelor's thesis, University of Groningen, 2021).

outside of human culture). Second, because this is a topic particularly interesting to explore through a postcolonial lens: at the same time European imperialism reached its heyday in the second half of the nineteenth century (the period of so-called High or New Imperialism), Western thought about wilderness and landscape underwent significant changes.

1.2 Research objectives

Landscape has not been a completely absent factor in postcolonial theories. However, I think it should be developed further. Said himself seems to take landscape into account when discussing the concept of imaginative geography in his book *Orientalism*. These are geographies, not as they truly are, but as they are perceived or "ought to be" from the point of view of the Westerner.[4] However, in this conceptualization, landscape is only discussed in its connection with the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic aspects of the Orient.[5] He does not take into account landscape as a physical entity.

This thesis explores whether the main arguments of the orientalism debate can be developed further while taking into account the aspect of physical space and while moving beyond this highly human and cultural aspect. It does so by looking at a geography that is least connected to the human aspect of geography: the wilderness. The definition of this concept as used in this research is addressed in paragraph 1.3.

According to Said, Britain was the main nation (alongside France) that undertook orientalism on a very large scale.[6] Within the British empire, India was considered Britain's most valuable possession due to its strategic location and its rich resources. It was often referred to as 'the jewel in the crown.'[7] Because of this, this research focuses on British views on the Indian wilderness during the late nineteenth century, which I will position in the current academic orientalism debate. I chose to do a case study on northeastern India, as this is a landscape frequently written about by British travellers. This has brought me to the following research question: *how can visual and textual representations of the northeastern Indian wilderness in British travelogues be related to late nineteenth century imperial ideology?*

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[4] Said, *Orientalism*, 67-68.
[5] Said, 50.
[6] Said, 4.
[7] Roderick Cavaliero, *Strangers in the Land: The Rise and Decline of the British Indian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), xv.

1.3 Theoretical framework

1.3.1 The idea of the wilderness. The wilderness is something that has been fascinating humans for centuries. A good starting point to explore its history is *Wilderness and the American Mind* written by environmental historian Roderick Frazier Nash, initially published in 1967. Nash is one of the founding fathers of the field of environmental history and this book is considered one of the classics in the field.[8] This is why I cannot leave it unmentioned despite its focus on America. In the book, Nash discusses the origins of the word 'wilderness' itself. He states that it is a concept originating in Western thought, which basically embodied the opposite of civilisation. He argues that the root of the English word is probably 'will,' referring to something strong-willed, or even something that cannot be controlled. However, he points out that giving a specific definition of the concept is impossible because of the subjectivity that is integral to it.[9] He traces back the idea to European folk tales, in which uninhabited parts of the world became the scene for mythical stories and its creatures. According to Nash, the notion subsequently persisted through jewish-christian discourses.[10] When taking a closer look at references to the wilderness in biblical verses, it becomes clearer what Nash is aiming at here. In the books of Mark and Matthew, wilderness seems to be the place where you are tempted by the devil.[11] With respect to landscape, it is often described as a dry and harsh area. In the book of Isaiah, we can very clearly recognise the idea of the wild being an antithesis of civilisation: "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord; make straight in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be lifted up, and every mountain and hill be made low; the uneven ground shall become level, and the rough places a plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed."[12]

There are different connotations attached to this idea of wilderness. In his article "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature" (1996), environmental historian William Cronon argues that those connotations of the word 'wilderness' have evolved over time. He states that over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the connotation of the idea underwent a major transformation - being completely reversed by the end of the century.

[8] Bryan McDonald, "Considering the nature of wilderness: Reflections of Roderick Nash's Wilderness and the American Mind," *Organization & Environment* 14, no. 2 (June 2001): 188.
[9] Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 5th ed. (1st ed. 1967; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 1.
[10] Nash, 8.
[11] For example: Matthew 4:1-25, Mark 1:12-13, and Matthew 4:1.
[12] Isaiah 40:3-5.

According to him, the idea of the wilderness went from something that was bad and chaotic (in line with the explanations of Nash) to something that was actually resembling the garden of Eden.[13] Cronon states that this transformation, on both sides of the Atlantic, came forth from the movement of Romanticism, which - to some extent - rejected Enlightenment ideals, like rationality, idealisation, and order. This movement caused the reassigning of values and symbols to the wild: it became a place for experiencing religion, emotion, and beauty.[14] Cronon relates this to two things: the concept of the sublime and the frontier movement. The latter is mainly American, so I will not address that here. The former, however, is of British origins which became a transatlantic concept.[15]

The sublime is a doctrine that was first written about by the Irish British philosopher Edmund Burke in the eighteenth century. His work *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* was published in 1757 and it was groundbreaking. His use of the word sublime conceptualised what a wild landscape could make you feel. According to him, something awful, like terror or pain, was inherently the cause of the sublime: "indeed terror is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently the ruling principle of the sublime."[16] With this, Burke means that a sense or idea of fear or pain would lead to feelings of passion. When you see an ocean for example, which is "an object of no small terror" according to Burke.[17] He explains how the sublime distinctly differs from the beautiful. He argues that beauty has qualities like smoothness or sweetness.[18] The sublime, on the other hand, possesses for example vastness, magnitude, and infinity.[19] The main factors of the sublime can be summarised as scale, danger, and dreadfulness.

The sublime was a prominent concept, but another construct that gained popularity during the same time - and was closely related to the concepts of beauty and sublimity - was the picturesque, something that Cronon does not address explicitly but that I would like to add here.

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[13] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 1996), 9.
[14] Cronon, 9-12; Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "Romanticism," accessed March 10, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/art/Romanticism.
[15] Cronon, 13.
[16] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757; repr., Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2017), 58.
[17] Burke, 58.
[18] Burke, 151.
[19] Burke, 72-76.

The cultural construct was introduced by the English artist and author William Gilpin. The picturesque was, according to him, a certain type of beauty. "A species of beauty," as he put it himself.[20] According to Gilpin, beauty is subjective (it is in the eye of the beholder), but the picturesque is something real. To the picturesque, he attributes the properties roughness and ruggedness.[21] So, picturesque beauty is an irregularity and something that is unusual or curious. In this conceptualisation the wilderness fits in perfectly. It also relates closely to the above-mentioned rejection of idealisation and order in the movement of Romanticism.

As this study focuses on north-east India specifically, which encompasses a part of the Himalaya, mountainous areas play an important role in the wildernesses that are to be found here. The Himalaya plays a leading role in the three sources used for this research. So, this aspect deserves a little more attention. Although much intertwined with conceptualisations of the wilderness, the history of views of the mountains is a particular one. In *Mountains of the Mind: A History of a Fascination,* one of his earlier works, Macfarlane dove deeper into those views and how they have developed over time. In the eighteenth century, he states, cultivated landscapes were considered appealing and mountains were uncultivatable and dangerous.[22] Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, Macfarlane states, this fascination with mountains grew vastly.[23] This was around the same time as notions of the wilderness in general started to change according to Cronon. Macfarlane argues that this was strongly linked to the ideas of the sublime and the picturesque, as mountains fit in perfectly with the love for dangerous places and things with irregular forms. Other factors that have played a role in the growing fascination for mountainous landscapes are the Romantic movement and the Victorian pursuit of fear and masculinity. These developments will be discussed in chapter 2.

Looking at the broader historical context of these major developments in Western thought about the wilderness, another interesting development takes place: Western imperialism reaches its peak. This so-called New Imperialism was a period of significant increase of imperial expansion by European nations during the second half of the nineteenth century until the start of the First

[20] William Gilpin, "Essay I. On Picturesque Beauty," in *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape*, 2nd ed. (London: R. Blamire Publishing, 1794), iii.
[21] Gilpin, 4-7.
[22] Macfarlane, 14-15.
[23] Macfarlane, 16.

World War in 1914.[24] To look at the subject of the wilderness through a postcolonial lens, it is interesting to take into account the perhaps most prominent debates in postcolonial theory and explore the nature of its relationship with the development of perceptions of the wilderness: the orientalism debate.

1.3.2 The orientalism debate. Orientalism in its most basic definition refers to the Western practice of researching, depicting and describing Oriental cultures.[25] Since the 1970s, there has been a heated academic debate about the subject. It is safe to say that the scholar who has ignited this debate is literary critic Edward Said. In his 1978 work *Orientalism*, he argues that within the practice of orientalism, subjective views of the Orient were presented by orientalists (academics, artists and writers) as if they were part of objective knowledge. He even takes a step further in his argument by stating that this supposed knowledge supported imperial ideologies. He defines the concept of orientalism as the following: "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[26] He argues that "the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience."[27] By depicting eastern cultures as the feminine, emotional, and ahistorical counterpart of male, rational, and progressive Western cultures, the Orient was represented as backward and the Occident as superior.[28]

In the following decades, multiple scholars have built on Said's work. An important researcher is art historian Linda Nochlin, who wrote her book *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society* in 1991. In this work, she builds on Said's argument by diving deeper into orientalist art. The chapter "The Imaginary Orient" discusses how stereotypes about the Orient were established and reinforced in orientalist artworks. She takes several of Said's arguments and shows how they are present in famous orientalist artworks. For example, paintings made by Western artists would almost never depict the violence that was exerted by the colonial powers, but they would depict - on the other hand - violent practices of the Oriental cultures

[24] Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "New Imperialism," accessed February 22, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/topic/New-Imperialism.
[25] Encyclopaedia Britannica, s.v. "Orientalism," accessed January 20, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/science/Orientalism-cultural-field-of-study.
[26] Said, 3.
[27] Said, 1-2.
[28] Said, 7.

towards their own or other Oriental cultures.[29] The same goes for Said's argument about representing Oriental cultures as ahistorical. Nochlin takes the artwork *Snake Charmer*, painted by Jean-Léon Gérôme around 1879, and shows how the scenery is timeless: traditions stayed the same in the Orient, there was no historical progress in it, no improvement.[30]

Not all scholars agree with Said's concept of orientalism. A famous example of a critic of his work is John M. MacKenzie. According to him, Said's argument needs much more nuance. He states that orientalism is not only about 'othering,' the practice of understanding another person or group as being different (and inferior) to yourself or to your own group. He introduces the concept of cultural cross-reference in the subject: "European artists project on to the East not only the fantasies and fears of the West, but also aspirations, renewed values and wished-for freedoms."[31] In his view, sincere "admiring fascination with characteristics their own society had repressed," was also possible - and even very much present - in the practice of orientalism.[32] As an example MacKenzie uses the morals and values of chivalry, a topic often depicted in products of orientalism. According to him, this represented a (wished-for or renewed) European mentality that was projected onto cultures from the Orient.[33] Extending this line of thought, orientalism could also facilitate cultural self-reflection and ultimately function as a means of cultural (self)-critique.

1.3.3 Incorporating the notion of the wilderness into the orientalism debate. I move on now to introduce my own model, in which I connect the changing views on wilderness during the late nineteenth century to the development of imperial ideology into high imperialism. In this thesis, I start out with a very basic definition of wilderness, based on the Cambridge Dictionary: a landscape that is uninhabited and uncultivated.[34] This includes soil, vegetation, landforms, and natural phenomena occurring in them such as the weather, sunsets, or earthquakes. With that, I use a conceptualisation that all authors discussed above fundamentally seem to agree upon: the wilderness is something that contrasts human culture. Subsequently, this research zooms in on

[29] Nochlin, 52.
[30] Nochlin, 35-36.
[31] MacKenzie, 55.
[32] MacKenzie, 65.
[33] MacKenzie, 55-56.
[34] *Cambridge Dictionary*, s.v. "wilderness," accessed January 17, 2023, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/wilderness.

precisely that subjectivity attached to the word - as pointed out by Roderick Frazier Nash - by relating it to cultural-political ideology.

If we follow Edward Said's argument on orientalism, we would expect a notion of the wilderness as either being something dangerous, emotional, or something primitive. Something that would be shown by portraying the wilderness as a fantasy, a backward and therefore ahistorical place. If we follow the line of thought of John M. MacKenzie, we would expect very different imagery and language representing the wild: we would see the wilderness as something admirable and exemplary, something that the West regrettably had lost. We would expect the wilderness to be a European value, or mentality, projected onto an Indian landscape.

1.4 Sources and methodology

In order to answer the main research question, three travelogues have been researched. Travel literature is, as defined by Encyclopaedia Britannica, a form of nonfictional prose that describes places that are visited. In this, the experience of the traveller plays an important role, which makes it a suitable source for researching perceptions.[35] For this thesis, I selected Joseph Dalton Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* (1854), Elizabeth Sarah Mazuchelli's *The Indian Alps* (1876), and Laurence Austine Waddell's *Among the Himalayas* (1899). These works have been chosen because of several reasons. First, their authors are all British travellers who wrote about northern Indian wilderness, which makes the sources suited for comparison. Second, these sources are a combination of text and image, which is necessary in order to conduct mixed-method research. Third, their publication dates are somewhat spread over the course of the late nineteenth century, which offers the opportunity to detect any developments as the literature discussed in the theoretical framework suggests. Lastly, these authors pay sufficient attention to the wilderness to gather a substantial amount of data from.

In this research, two types of sources have been selected (literary and visual) and two different types of methodologies have been applied. The first methodology is so-called close reading, which has been performed with the texts of the three travelogues mentioned above. This method is a form of inductive reasoning, and it consists of two steps. First, a careful observation of the designated text needs to be done, paying attention to all the details. In this stage, the data is

[35] Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Nonfictional prose," accessed January 20, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/topic/nonfictional-prose/Dialogues#ref505246.

gathered. Second, that data needs to be interpreted. This data has been coded into themes. By that, all the individual observations are combined in a conclusion.[36]

The close readings were performed in structural linguistic tradition. This particular school of thought is researching human experience by studying language in a systematic way. Structuralists assume that underlying structures organise our world. When they research an individual phenomenon, it is only to learn more about the structure that is underneath it which connects those singular phenomena to each other.[37] Historian of ideas Babette Hellemans states that these structures are created within a cultural framework, which she defines as the "value systems, myths, traditions, and symbols within a culture," stressing that this can vary within a country and even amongst individuals.[38] Taking this principle as a starting point for the close readings, we can assume that an author is always working from an underlying paradigm, so their cultural framework needs to be understood first before interpreting their words.

Another fundamental idea from the school of structural linguistics, is the notion of binary oppositions. This is a concept developed by philosopher Ferdinand de Saussure. Central to it, is the idea that people tend to understand the world in opposites. In language, this has the implication that any unit of language (a word or a phrase, for example), is accumulating meaning in relation to what it is not. Linguist Sorcha Fogarty explains that the mechanism of binary opposition stems from Western tendency for creating hierarchical orders.[39] Following that line of thought, value judgements - either good or bad - are intrinsic to language. In the close reading, oppositions like these, specifically targeted at description of the Indian wilderness, have been detected and assessed in the light of the orientalism debate.

As per example, let us take a look at the first phrase from my datafile, in which Hooker describes a plant growing in the Sundarbans:

[36] Patricia Kain, "How to Do a Close Reading," Harvard College Writing Center, geraadpleegd 17 januari 2023, https://writingcenter.fas.harvard.edu/pages/how-do-close-reading.
[37] Babette Hellemans, *Understanding Culture: A Handbook for Students in the Humanities* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 65-67.
[38] Hellemans, 74.
[39] Sorcha Fogarty, "Binary Oppositions," The Literary Encyclopedia: Exploring literature, history and culture, February 15, 2005, accessed February 17, 2023, https://www.litencyc.com/php/stopics.php?rec=true&UID=122.

> "It is a plant of no interest to the common observer, but of much to the geologist, from the nuts of a similar plant abounding in the tertiary formations at the mouth of the Thames, and having floated about there in as great profusion as here, till buried deep in the silt and mud that now forms the island of Sheppy."[40]

If we look closely, Hooker makes a comparison between the Indian wilderness and his homeland. He sees a plant that grows in the Sundarbans, which also grew in Britain, but then millions of years ago. Hooker feels as if, by being in the Indian wilderness, he is getting a sense of how the landscape of England must have looked like back in the Tertiary period. This phrase portrays the Indian wilderness as an old landscape, where you can walk on and through history, juxtaposing it with Britain, where history has passed by and changed the landscape. This notion fits in with Said's argument of the Orient being an ahistorical space.

The second methodology, applied to the visual sources mentioned above, is the commutation test. This is a method used in the field of semiology, which is the study of signs and symbols in sources that are not of a linguistic nature. It researches the ways in which meaning making takes place in those signs and symbols and it is a useful tool to explore the element of ideology in visual representations in a systematic way.[41] The commutation test is an analytical tool used by semioticians and it helps you evaluate the meaning of certain units of an image by hypothetically removing it and subsequently replacing it by an alternative of a similar nature. Factors that are taken into account in this research are framing, positioning, focus points, and uses of colour. Then, the meaning and significance of this particular unit can be evaluated.[42]

This analysis has been done in structuralist semiotic tradition. Here again, the notion of the cultural framework is key to get more insight in the meaning making processes of the visual sources. In semiology, an image is not understood as something that merely sends a message to a passive viewer. Instead, semiologists research how meaning making takes place within the interaction between an image, an individual, and other socio-cultural elements.[43]

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[40] Joseph Dalton Hooker, *Himalayan Journals, or, Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1854), 1-2.
[41] Hellemans, 170; Giorgia Aiello, "Visual Semiotics: Key Concepts and New Directions," in *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*, ed. Luc Pauwels and Dawn Mannay (London: SAGE, 2020), 368.
[42] Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics. The Basics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), 102-104.
[43] Brian Curtin, "Semiotics and Visual Representation," *The Academic Journal of the Faculty of Architecture of Chulalongkorn University* 1-2551: 51.

For example, in figure 1 (the first image from the datafile), we can recognise several units. We see a landscape getting cultivated in the front, a wilderness in the back. We see soft edges and the use of soft pastel colours. In the front we see humans and some rams. If the artist would have chosen a different colour scheme for the wilderness (darker, for example) as opposed to the foreground, he would have created a sharp contrast between the cultivated and the wild in the image. The same goes for choices in technique, like harsher colour transitions and lining. If the people would have been depicted in a different relationship with their environment or the animals, they whole would also have had a very different appearance. If they were actively chopping down the trees, for example, or herding the animals, they would appear much more aggressive towards the landscape. Evaluating these choices, the image is conveying a message of harmony between wilderness and cultivation, between human and environment, and human and animals.

Figure 1: Kinchin-junga from Mr. Hodgson's Bungalow, from: Himalayan Journals, title page.

1.5 Research design

Before analysing the sources is possible, one sub question has to be answered first: what did the cultural framework of the creators of the sources look like? This is necessary to perform close

readings and commutation tests in structuralist tradition. This question will be answered in chapter 2 on the basis of a literature review. It addresses the broader historical context the authors operated in and discusses the personal context of the writers.

After the data is collected, it has been coded. From this process of finding common themes within the data, four themes have been distilled which each are discussed in a separate chapter. This led to a thematic structure of the thesis. Chapter 3 discusses the sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful in the sources, chapter 4 explores comparisons between the wilderness and landscapes that are cultivated and inhabited, chapter 5 zooms in on the experience of time in the wilderness, and finally, chapter 6 expands on supernatural experiences in the wilderness. For each theme, I ask three subquestions. First, how is the wilderness represented in the travelogues? Second, where on the spectrum of the orientalism debate can we place the idea of the wilderness as represented in the textual samples from the travelogues? And third, where on the spectrum of the orientalism debate can we place the idea of the wilderness as represented in the visual sources from the travelogues? The latter subquestion is not alway applicable to every theme, as some themes - like the experience of time - is a subject too elusive to interpret from images, which would not make a strong enough argument. In the seventh and final chapter of the thesis, the results are drawn together in a conclusion, after which they are positioned in the academic debate.

Chapter 2. Cultural framework(s): historical context and individual lives

In order to answer the first subquestion (*what did the cultural framework of the creators of the sources look like?*), this chapter discusses the wider historical context in which the sources were created and the personal context the creators of the sources operated in. It provides a frame of reference for the close readings and commutation tests implemented in the next four chapters. This cultural framework existed of certain values, myths, traditions, and symbols. This chapter first addresses the main topics relevant to the research themes of this thesis: empire, Victorian society, Romanticism, travel, and prevalent views on nature and landscape. After that, matters of significance on an individual level are addressed per source, chronologically ordered by the publishing date of the source used.

2.1 Empire

2.1.1 Colonialism and imperialism. The origins of the British Empire lie in the sixteenth century and started with a primary focus on the Americas. Overseas exploration and expansion had an incentive that was economic by nature: European nations were looking for new trade routes. As a result of colonisation, landscapes in these overseas regions were altered by the building of settlements, which were created mainly to secure raw materials. Moreover, agricultural systems were restructured by the colonisers. Varied farming areas had to make way for a monocultural system of plantations in order to make an economic profit. This process of colonisation, however, did not only expand the European economy, but it also broadened political and cultural horizons, fundamentally changing the ways in which European societies were structured.[44]

From the sixteenth century onward, the building of the British Empire had started. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the overseas expansion reached an unprecedented form: the New Imperialism. It differed essentially from previous expansion because of its scope and its focus

[44] Anne Gerritsen and Anthony McFarlane, "Expanding Horizons," in *The European World 1500-1800: An Introduction to Early Modern History*, ed. Beat Kümin (London: Routledge, 2014), 169-170; "Colonization and the role of agriculture in a nutshell," WRM Bulletin 85, August 28, 2004, accessed June 8, 2023, https://www.wrm.org.uy/bulletin-articles/colonization-and-the-role-of-agriculture-in-a-nutshell.

on Asia and Africa (while previously its focus had been on the Americas). It was a phenomenon that gave a boost in confidence and became characteristic to European society. In the British Empire in particular, which was the largest and richest one of all the European empires. A key concept in understanding imperialism is the myth of the 'white man's burden.' This phrase, derived from a poem by Rudyard Kipling, embodied the European belief that it was the duty of the Western white man to civilise the people living in the colonies, whom they found inferior.[45]

2.1.2 India: the jewel of the crown. Britain first started to consolidate its power in India in 1639. In the first instance, they established a few trade ports, from which the East India Company (EIC) would trade in products like textiles and coffee. During the same period, the existing Mughal Empire collapsed. This was a Muslim dynasty that had ruled over a large part of India for over two centuries. The collapse of this power in the middle of the eighteenth century gave way for the EIC to consolidate and expand its power. At first, this was in order to facilitate trade. In order to upscale the production of tradeware, monocultural plantations were established for rice, cotton, coffee and mainly tea production. However, in the course of the eighteenth-century Britain started to play an increasingly political role in India in addition to its economic role. By 1773, a British governor-general was appointed.[46] In 1858, Queen Victoria announced that she would be taking over the ruling of India from the EIC completely. In 1876, she was declared empress of India.[47] The period following 1858 was called the British Raj. During this period, India was ruled in an increasingly centralised government by British politicians and viceroys in the name of the queen.[48]

The position of India within the British Empire was rather unique. It was often referred to as 'the jewel in the crown.'[49] The fact that India was so highly valued, not only by Britain but by most European nations, stemmed - besides from its strategic location - from centuries of precious trade

[45] Thomas F.X. Noble, Barry Strauss, Duane J. Osheim, Kristen B. Neuschel, Elinor A. Accampo, David D. Roberts, and William B. Cohen, *Western Civilization: Beyond Boundaries*, 7th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2013), 684-687.

[46] Gerritsen and McFarlane, 177-178; "Colonization and the role of agriculture in a nutshell," WRM Bulletin 85, August 28, 2004, accessed June 8, 2023, https://www.wrm.org.uy/bulletin-articles/colonization-and-the-role-of-agriculture-in-a-nutshell.

[47] Shashi Tharoor, *Inglorious Empire: What the British Did to India* (London: Hurst & Company, 2017), xv.

[48] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "British raj," accessed June 2, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/event/British-raj#ref343745.

[49] Cavaliero, xv.

throughout history, in for example cotton, gemstones, black pepper, and perfumed oils.[50] Due to this, the possession of India had a certain prestige to it. This is illustrated well by the statement of historian Roderick Cavaliero about the final Indian independence: "when India left the empire, the heart went out of Great Britain."[51]

2.1.3 Anti-imperialism. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the first major anti-colonial expressions arose. Some anti-British revolts, like the 1857 Rebellion (a popular Indian uprising against the regime of the EIC), took place. There is still some debate about whether these can be called the first signs of Indian nationalism or one of the first independence wars, but they were nonetheless firm expressions of disagreement with respect to imperial relations.[52]

Back in England, anti-imperialism was not completely absent in British society either. Disagreement with respect to colonialism and imperialism had been around ever since the beginning of the overseas expansion but reached its climax during the late nineteenth century. Especially during the 1860s, anti-imperial sentiment grew. Politically and economically, the Empire was seen as a burden by some people. This was a significant tendency, and for a while it looked like the Empire would be dissolved. Goldwin Smith, a British historian and anti-imperialist, wrote a series of letters for *The Daily News* between 1862 and 1863, in which he stated: "it is time that we should recognize the change that has come over the world."[53] However, anti-imperialist sentiment was more focused on reforming the current structures of the Empire than on decolonisation. From 1870 onwards, this sentiment faded away significantly due to the victory of the conservatives in the 1874 general elections.[54]

[50] Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977), xiv-xv; Cavaliero, xv.
[51] Cavaliero, xv.
[52] Sumit Sarkar, "Nationalisms in India," in *India and the British Empire*, ed. Douglas M. Peers and Nandini Gooptu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 137-138.
[53] R.L. Schuyler, "The Climax of Anti-Imperialism in England," *Political Science Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Dec. 1921): 538-539.
[54] Schuyler, 559-560; Faisal I. Chaudhry, "British Twentieth Century Imperialism and Anti-imperialism in South Asia," in *The Palgrave encyclopedia of imperialism and anti-imperialism*, ed. Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021).

2.2 Victorian society

The Victorian era was a period in Britain during the reign of Queen Victoria between 1837 and 1901, which had some distinctive characteristics. About the Victorian values and practices whole books have been written, but a few points of interest are valuable with respect to this thesis. One of these aspects is the attraction to dreadful things. We see this in multiple aspects of Victorian society. For example, a lively debate which discussed the psychological and physiological nature of fear originated and gothic literature emerged.[55] In this context, this notion is inseparable with the sublime as discussed in paragraph 1.3.1. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, the experience of fear and aversion was considered desirable by Victorians.[56] As Robert Macfarlane has pointed out, the pursuit of experiencing fear is closely related to the attraction to mountains. He shows how the mountains were pre-eminently the place to look for this fear, overcome it, and become a better person because of it, as long as you could get close enough to dangers without actually being in danger.[57] In close relation to this, Victorians developed a certain preoccupation with death and the Romanticisation of it. According to historian Pat Jalland, this can be explained by the high mortality rates in Victorian society due to diseases and the ideal of the "good death" that was important to Evangelicans.[58]

Another predominant aspect of the Victorian system of values were gender roles, which were increasingly diverging. The ideology of separate spheres excluded women from the working class and restricted their roles to the domestic spheres.[59] As a consequence of that, certain virtues were considered to be feminine and some masculine. For example, virginity was considered to be an important virtue for women.[60] Masculinity on the other hand, characterised by being strong and self-sustaining, was something that a Victorian man could prove by climbing a mountain and facing its dangers.[61]

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[55] Pamela K. Gilbert, "Dreadful: Aesthetic Fear in Victorian Reading," in *Fear in the medical and literary imagination, medieval to modern: dreadful passions*, eds. Daniel McCann and Claire McKechnie-Mason (London: Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2018), 80.
[56] Gilbert, 90.
[57] Macfarlane, 74-77.
[58] Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3-6.
[59] Donald M. Macraild and Avram Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 111-113.
[60] Carol Engelhardt-Herringer, *Victorians and the Virgin Mary: Religion and Gender in England, 1830-1885* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 26.
[61] Macfarlane, 91.

2.3 Romanticism

The Western intellectual movement of Romanticism of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, already mentioned in relation to Cronon's work in the previous chapter. According to Larry H. Peer, professor of comparative arts and letters, Romanticism resulted into a new conception of what the mind was; it abandoned Enlightenment rationality - which understood external reality empirically - by placing the human spirit as a power that could understand that reality through multi-level interactions between the self and the other.[62] This led to the love for individualism, for the emotional, for the past, and for excess. A newfound appreciation of gigantic things, like landscapes that were vast, or mountains that were huge, emerged.[63]

With the longing for the past and the resistance towards modernity also came a feeling of nostalgia. This referred to, for example, a nostalgia for mediaeval times but also ages that were longer ago. In European literature, primitivism became prominent as a reaction to an increasingly civilised, technologised, and urbanised world. This was a fascination for life before civilisation, which was directed towards indigenous peoples living in the colonies dominated by Europe.[64] An archetype that was prevalent in this type of literature (but also in other forms of art) was the so-called noble savage. This was the person living in this pre-civilised world, untouched by society, and therefore considered a dignified and noble person. Although the concept had existed for a longer time, it gained significance during the Romantic period.[65]

The urbanisation of Britain - which led to large numbers of people living in one place - but also the Enlightenment ideal of being sociable, brought a newfound interest in solitude during eighteenth and nineteenth century Romanticism. Escaping society, being alone, and discovering oneself became a prominent theme in the Romantic arts, especially the solitude one could find when being alone in nature.[66]

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[62] Larry H. Peer, *Transgressive Romanticism* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle upon Tyne, 2018), 4.
[63] Macfarlane, 54; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Romanticism," accessed May 14, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/art/Romanticism.
[64] J.A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, s.v. "primitivism," 742-746.
[65] J.A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, s.v. "noble savage," 588-589.
[66] David Vincent, *A History of Solitude* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2020), 18-19.

2.4 Travel

2.4.1 The tradition of the Grand Tour and the rise of modern tourism. From the eighteenth century onwards, travel became an important part of British culture. It was a means to expand your mind. From the late seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tradition of the Grand Tour developed. This entailed the travelling of Europe by bourgeois British adolescents as a part of their maturing.[67] After Burke's work on the sublime and the beautiful had been published in 1757 and had gained popularity, as discussed in paragraph 1.3.1., young men making their Grand Tour would increasingly prefer visiting sublime landscapes with, for example, mountains and waterfalls.[68]

The increasing popularity of travel and the emergence of mass tourism during the Romantic period had two main causes. According to environmental literary critic Onno Oerlemans, this was due to the Romanticist quest for reality, motion, and deep experiences.[69] Literary historian James Buzard points out that technological developments in the field of transportation also contributed to the emergence of mass tourism.[70] For example, the major extension of railway systems led to the connection of large Indian cities to the hinterlands. This led to a growing number of travellers in its broadest sense immensely. In 1886 the first modern car was introduced, which made it easier for travellers to travel by themselves. Progressively, the journey itself became important, rather than the destination.[71] Travel was increasingly commercialised. The nineteenth century saw the emergence of companies like Thomas Cook and Son in Britain, which organised pre-planned travels and published books for tourists.[72]

2.4.2 Travel literature. Travelling was rather expensive, and therefore only a reality for the rich. Travel literature was an interesting medium for those staying at home to get to know the rest of the world. It became a popular genre amongst the British reading public. The practice of travel writing itself functioned, according to Inderpal Grewal - researcher in amongst others the fields of

[67] James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37-38.
[68] Buzard, 43.
[69] Onno Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2016), 151.
[70] Buzard, 48.
[71] Prokopis A. Christou, *The History and Evolution of Tourism* (Wallingford: Cabi, 2022), 85-86.
[72] Buzard, 48.

transnational feminism and postcolonialism - as a discourse exploring the relationship between the self and the other.[73]

During the era of high imperialism, one specific type of travel literature became popular: the exploration narrative, in which the protagonist was a heroic figure. This came forth from the desire of traversing unknown regions, opposing mass tourism.[74] During this era, also female travellers published their stories, pushing the boundaries of the separate spheres ideology.[75]

2.5 Nature and landscape

Another characteristic of Romanticism is the growing interest and desire for nature, opposing an increasingly urbanised and industrialised landscape in Britain. The physical world, and the documentation of it, drew much attention.[76] In the arts, people were looking for the hidden powers of nature, trying to get that force - which the civilised human world was lacking - back. These ideas about civilisation and modernity led to the emergence of the nature conservation movement. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, the industrialised city represented productivity, wealth and enlightened society.[77] This changed, however, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, in which the simpler life close to nature became an alluring alternative to build a better, more balanced life, rebelling against the prevailing trends in society of urbanisation and industrialisation.[78]

The relationship between man and nature became a progressively popular topic and the middle of the century saw major philosophical works on the theme. An influential British work was John Ruskin's *Modern Painters,* which - in the first place - aimed to defend the landscape paintings of British Romantic painter William Turner. In the third volume of this work, he makes some statements about the importance of nature in the chapter "The Moral of Landscape." According to Ruskin, the proudness that was felt for the industrialisation, or "the great mechanical impulses of the age" - were just temporary and the most valuable thing in the world were things

[73] Inderpal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire, and the Cultures of Travel* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 4.
[74] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 53-54.
[75] Thompson, 55.
[76] Oerlemans, 148.
[77] Peter C. Gould, *Early Green Politics: Back to Nature, Back to the Land, and Socialism in Britain, 1880-1900* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1988), 5.
[78] Gould, 15-16.

"that God gives us for nothing - sun, air, and life."[79] He argues that the love of nature is "precisely the most healthy element which distinctively belongs to us; and that out of it, [...] results will spring of an importance at present inconceivable; and lights arise, which, for the first time in man's history, will reveal to him the true nature of his life, the true field for his energies, and the true relations between him and his Maker."[80] He argues here that nature is superior to industrial and urban society, and in it, man is able to find truth and God.

British socialist writer and artist William Morris felt the same aversion towards modern cities. In his speech "Art and Socialism," delivered in 1884, he argued that the system of labour in industrialised society was a form of war. He considered "decency of surroundings" as a necessity for good citizens, which included plenty of space and beauty in your environment.[81] According to him, modern cities suppressed life and urbanisation had eliminated "hope and life in the lesser towns."[82]

As a result of these developments in thought about nature and landscape, the urge to conserve the nature that was left emerged. With respect to policies in India, these views had a major impact. Mahesh Rangarajan, historian of colonialism and environment, states that the second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of conservationists who increasingly urged decision makers to incorporate more conservationist views and actions in their policies.[83] This resulted in the Forest Laws of 1865 and 1878. The former law allowed local governments to appoint certain parts of land that would be for trees and jungles. The latter was more elaborate, and also stated rules for protection and punishment.[84] An important note here is that these laws also came from the idea that Indians themselves were not able to preserve nature, and that they, as Neena Ambre Rao states, "lacked sense of conservation."[85]

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[79] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters vol. 3* (1856), 330.
[80] Ruskin, 330.
[81] William Morris, "Art, Socialism and Environment," in *The Green Studies Reader: From Romanticism to Ecocriticism,* ed. Laurence Coupe (London: Routledge, 2000), 32-35.
[82] William Morris, "Art, Socialism and Environment," in *The Green Studies Reader: From Romanticism to Ecocriticism,* ed. Laurence Coupe (London: Routledge, 2000), 34.
[83] Mahesh Rangarajan, "Environment and Ecology Under British Rule," in *India and the British Empire,* ed. Douglas M. Peers and Nandini Gooptu (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 218.
[84] Neena Ambre Rao, *Forest Ecology in India: Colonial Maharashtra, 1850-1950* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2008), 65-80.
[85] Rao, 64.

This sense of conservation that the British became preoccupied with, was closely related to the past of the landscape. This past gained a new dimension with the publication of the Scottish geologist Charles Leyell's *Principles of Geology* between 1830 and 1833. This work made the notion of 'deep time' popular among a large audience. Deep time entailed the sense that the earth was unimaginably old, much older than Christian time had allowed for the earth could not be older than when God created it.[86]

2.6 Travel writers

This paragraph discusses the individual background of the authors of the sources that are used in this thesis.

2.6.1 Joseph Dalton Hooker. The first travelogue discussed in this thesis is from the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century: *Himalayan Journals, or, Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountains*, written by the British botanist Joseph Dalton Hooker. Hooker was born in 1817 at Halesworth and came from a highly educated family. He was the son of the famous botanist Sir William Hooker, and his mother was interested in science as well. She wrote a lot, and her texts were widely read.[87] His parents were both evangelicals and they brought up their children according to religious morals and values.[88]

Hooker was educated at Glasgow University, starting his courses in 1832 and focussing on botany and entomology, next to taking Greek and mathematics.[89] After his studies, he would travel a lot. Before travelling to India, he had seen a lot of places, including Tasmania and Antarctica. In November 1847, he left England and set sail for India.[90] In January, he arrived at Calcutta, the capital of British India which is located in the northeast.[91] Before reaching the Himalaya, the journey covered in *Himalayan Journals*, he travelled through the continent, including the Kymore

[86] Macfarlane, 26, 44-45.
[87] Leonard Huxley and Joseph Dalton Hooker, *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 8-16.
[88] Huxley and Hooker, 16-20.
[89] Huxley and Hooker, 24-25.
[90] Huxley and Hooker, 223.
[91] Hooker, xi.

hills and the Khasia Mountains. From June 1848, he would be based in Darjeeling and undertake several expeditions from there across the Himalayas.[92] He went back to England in 1851.[93]

On his travels, Hooker had a clear goal. The aim of these expeditions was to map the botanical species growing between the humid valleys and the white peaks of the Himalayas.[94] Writing a travelogue was not his primary objective.[95] However, he wrote about his travels in hindsight and *Himalayan Journals*, counting 408 pages, was published in 1854 by John Murray, a London-based publisher. He dedicated the work to his friend Charles Darwin. The maps and illustrations are based on his own drawings and Hooker claims to have created them with "a strict adherence to truth."[96]

2.6.2 Elizabeth Sarah Mazuchelli. The second travelogue that is investigated in this thesis is *The Indian Alps and how we crossed them: being a narrative of two years' residence in the eastern Himalaya and two months' tour into the interior* by Elizabeth Sarah Mazuchelli, also known as Nina Mazuchelli. The work was published in 1876. Not much is known about this author, but we do know that she was born in 1832. She took the name Mazuchelli from her husband Francis Mazuchelli (whom she refers to as F— in her work), after they got married in 1853. It is unknown what her name was by birth.[97] We do know that she grew up in a well-to-do family that could afford to travel around Europe, specifically through the Alps. In the introduction to *The Indian Alps*, she states that the Swiss Alps were her first loves.[98]

In 1858, Mazuchelli and her husband moved to India as her husband was a chaplain for the British army. Eleven years later, they were relocated in Darjeeling, from which Mazuchelli was able to explore the Himalayas bit by bit. Her and her husband went on an expedition into the interior of the mountains for two months, which is described by her in *The Indian Alps.*[99] She was the first

[92] Huxley and Hooker, 248-249.
[93] Hooker, xvi.
[94] Huxley and Hooker, 251.
[95] Huxley and Hooker, 255.
[96] Hooker, xviii.
[97] Margo McLoone, *Women Explorers of the Mountains: Nina Mazuchelli, Fanny Bullock Workman, Mary Vaux Walcott, Gertrude Benham, Junko Tabei (Short Biographies)* (Mankato, Minnesota: Capstone Books, 2000), 9.
[98] Elizabeth Sarah Mazuchelli, *The Indian Alps and how we crossed them: being a narrative of two years' residence in the eastern Himalaya and two months' tour into the interior* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1876), 6.
[99] McLoone, 9-10.

woman to explore the eastern part of the Himalayas.[100] Mazuchelli wrote most of the texts over the course of several years in India, and they were meant primarily for her family members in England, to whom she sent them. When she returned to England, she made them into a book with illustrations, which was published by Longmans, Green & Co in 1876. All the images were made by herself; she drew and painted them *in situ* "with frozen fingers" and later made them into the chromolithographs and woodcuts that are included in the book.[101]

2.6.3. Laurence Austine Waddell. The last travelogue that is part of this research is *Among the Himalayas* by Laurence Austine Waddell, published in 1899. Waddell was born in 1854 in Scotland. He was the son of dr. T.S. Waddell, who was an author and schoolmaster. He was educated at a private school and subsequently studied medicine at the university of Glasgow. In 1880, he started working for the Indian Medical Service in northern India. He was appointed professor at the Calcutta Medical College and later he worked as Assistant Sanitary Commissioner under the British Raj, joining several military operations.[102]

Besides his work in the field of medicine and sanitation, he was much interested in archaeology, ancient history and religion. As a nonprofessional archaeologist, he carried out excavations at Pataliputra in 1895, an ancient Indian city.[103] Waddell was well-known in Great Britain: his published works about topics like archaeology and ancient history were quite popular.[104] *Among the Himalayas* was only one of his first works published.

Among the Himalayas, although published in 1899, are descriptions of several stays in the Himalayan regions over the course of fourteen years. According to himself, he had travelled to the region almost every year, especially those areas that were scarcely visited. He would live there for four or five months and during those years, he took photographs and made sketches. *Among the*

[100] Mazuchelli, 183.
[101] Mazuchelli, vii-viii.
[102] F.W. Thomas, "Colonel L. A. Waddell," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 71, no. 3 (1939): 499, doi:10.1017/S0035869X00089577.
[103] Gabriel Moshenska, "'At Variance With Both General and Expert Opinion': The Later Works of Lieutenant-Colonel Professor Laurence Austine Waddell," *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (2010): 49-52, accessed May 7th, 2023, http://doi.org/10.5334/bha.20106.
[104] Moshenska, 49-52.

Himalayas was put together as a book in hindsight.[105] It was published by Archibald Constable in 1899, counting 429 pages.

[105] Laurance Austine Waddell, *Among the Himalayas* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1899), vii.

Chapter 3. The sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful oriental wilderness

The most prominent themes of this research are the sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful. They are undoubtedly the most used adjectives in all three sources and apply to most of the images. Respectively, this chapter will discuss notions of the sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful in the sources and position them in the orientalism debate towards the end.

3.1 The sublime

While scientific inventorisation and descriptions are Hooker's primary objective, he uses a lot of adjectives. Interestingly, he uses the word ‘sublime’ only once when he states that the Swiss Alps “barely possess[...] half the sublimity, extent, or height of the Himalaya.”[106] Mazuchelli deploys the word four times, which is not much considering either her love for adjectives throughout her texts. She uses the word as well mostly when speaking of mountains. Once, however, she applies it in order to describe the feeling of being totally alone in the wilderness: “There is something sublimely awful in the solitude and isolation of this great sanctuary of Nature.”[107] Waddell uses it twice, both times to describe a mountain. On Senchal, which is a peak around 1500 feet above Darjeeling, Waddell has a very good view as there are no clouds that day and he can see Kanchenjunga, Everest, Sandook-phu, Jannoo and Kabroo.[108] He writes: “It was sublime!”[109] The other time, he is describing the scenery of the mountains at night: “the view of the snows in the moonlight was sublime.”[110] However, the terminology of the three authors does point towards sublimity nonetheless multiple times throughout their texts, sometimes without using the literal word but by expressing scale, danger and dreadful things, the main characteristics described in chapter 1.3.1.

[106] Hooker, 123.
[107] Mazuchelli, 147.
[108] Waddell, 29.
[109] Waddell, 33.
[110] Waddell, 329.

3.1.1 Scale. With respect to the sublime, Hooker mainly focuses on the scale of the landscape. When he sees the mountains for the first time during this journey, he writes: "upon what a gigantic scale does nature here operate!"[111] Watching the mountains through the window of the residence of a friend who invited him to stay for the summer, near Darjeeling, he states:

> "The view from his windows is one quite unparalleled for the scenery it embraces, commanding confessedly the grandest known landscape of snowy mountains in the Himalaya, and hence in the world."[112]

In the whole work, he uses adjectives like "immense," "vast," "larger and loftier," "great," "big," "magnificent," and "enormous."[113] These are not only applied to mountains, but also to forests, trees, rivers and, for example, boulders "as big as the head," and stones "as large as the body."[114]

The scale of the landscape is also something that Mazuchelli emphasises. This is mostly with respect to the mountains. She starts out in her introduction by stressing how much the Himalaya, in their "vast magnificence," had impressed her with "their height, and depth, and length, and breadth."[115] She states that they were "grander than anything I had ever seen or dreamt of."[116] It made her feel "overcome [...] by its grandeur."[117] At the start of their journey, she sees the view from Darjeeling: "beyond all, bathed in sapphire, stretches a wondrous expanse of mountain, half filling the sky."[118] According to her, you are surrounded by "scenes of such surpassing grandeur" in the mountains, "from morn till eve."[119] Specifically Mount Everest, or Deodunga is impressive in Mazuchelli's eyes: "Deodunga's pyramid of ice and snow sparkle like a magnificent gem. From this spot it again shows itself as a superb pile of surpassing grandeur."[120] By choosing words that have both the connotation of something large and something stately, like 'magnificent' and

[111] Hooker, 104.
[112] Hooker, 122.
[113] Hooker, 40; 57, 79; 90; 379; 398; 103, 125, 401; 95, 395, 401.
[114] Hooker, 398.
[115] Mazuchelli, 6.
[116] Mazuchelli, 50.
[117] Mazuchelli, 50.
[118] Mazuchelli, 56.
[119] Mazuchelli, 221.
[120] Mazuchelli, 452.

‘grandeur,’ we can gather that Mazuchelli admires the scale of this landscape. In these passages on mountains, she tries to explain to her readers that the landscape is of a scale that is excessive and unimaginable: something wondrous, and something that she could not even have dreamed of. Even though she tries, she is not fully able to describe it. A scale that is beyond all imagination, creating both something to long for and something that is out of reach for her reading audience.

In order to emphasise the feeling that this scale summons, she exclaims: “what pigmies we all appear!”[121] Just before closing their journey, she once more emphasises the “Himalaya’s majestic solitudes - the most vast and sublime of the whole earth.”[122] This unimaginable vastness is only to be experienced here in the Himalayas, nowhere else on earth. In this place, sublimity reaches its peak, both literally and figuratively spoken.

Mazuchelli does not only discuss the scale of mountains. They rise up in a landscape of large forests and valleys. She travels through a “magnificent primeval forest,” and she notes the “tremendous precipice of Pundeem, with its dark castellated walls, standing out majestically against the vast glacial valley of Kinchinjunga.”[123] Looking down from the heights, she sees the “wondrous expanse of valley.”[124] Again, she uses words that express scale - “magnificent,” “tremendous,” and “expanse” - although the landscape seems a little bit easier for her to describe to her audience.

The scale of the landscape, and therefore one feature of the sublime, is also emphasised in her travelogue with images. For example, with figure 2, Mazuchelli illustrates the vastness of this landscape by choosing a very particular point of view. The viewer is placed somewhere in the middle, so both above and beneath heights and depths are visible. In the distance, we see a mountain peak towering over the landscape. The use of light colours and the lack of details in the mountain suggest distance. The outlook of the viewer is guided towards that point through a gorge, in which the extent is emphasised with differences in detail and darkness of the lines.

[121] Mazuchelli, 366.
[122] Mazuchelli, 609.
[123] Mazuchelli, 98; 274.
[124] Mazuchelli, 313.

Figure 2, from: The Indian Alps, p. 364.

In figure 3, this sense of scale is also related to humans. In this image, we see a part of Mazuchelli's travelling party trekking through the landscape. In the distance, we see the peak of Junnoo, standing out brightly against the dark sky. In the front, some rocks are visible which are drafted very detailed, emphasising the sense of depth in the overall picture as they seem pretty close. The people, walking in a long line, are almost emerged in the extent of the landscape.

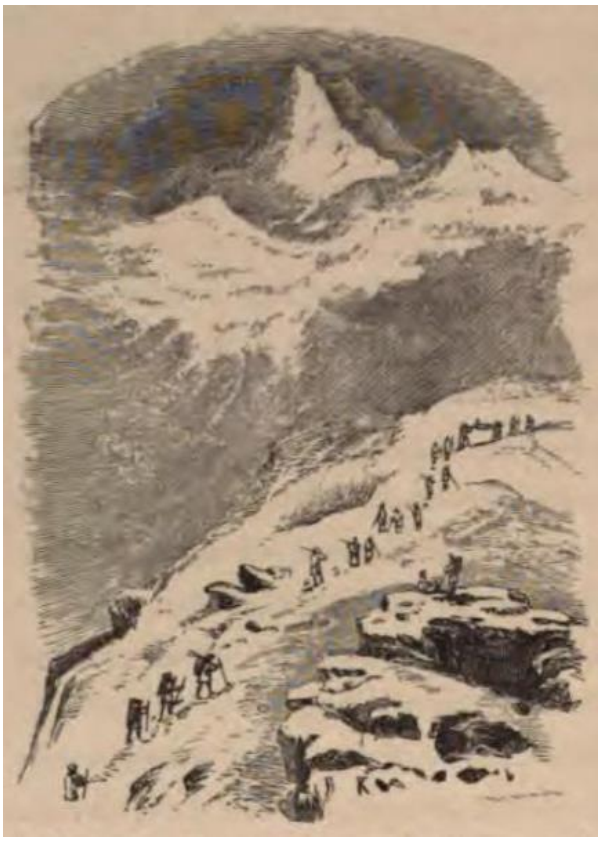

Figure 3, from: The Indian Alps, p. 406.

In figure 4, we see several techniques that Mazuchelli uses to illustrate the extent of the Himalayan wilderness. She layered this image, with differences in darkness and detail. In the front we see some dark and detailed trees, while in the distance light and undetailed mountains lie. She uses the same trick to show the depth of the landscape: shaded woods stretch out in the centre of the picture. She places some dark human figures in the front, standing by a dead tree that is now horizontal. The detailed trees in the front which are very large make it easy to imagine how big the forest down in the valley must be, filled with similar trees. The whole of the landscape looks unpassable.

Figure 4, from: The Indian Alps, 460.

Waddell mostly discusses scale when describing mountains. “a vast amphitheatre of dark shaggy mountains” rises “range over range up to the snows.”[125] In front of those, “a great gulf of valleys of stupendous depth.”[126] From the Senchal peak, he sees mountains stretching “round almost half the horizon, culminating in the mighty mass of Kanchenjunga.”[127] There, he finds “the vastness of this view, vast beyond that of any other spot of earth perhaps, [...] almost oppressive.”[128] Here, Waddell experiences a landscape so big, bigger than any other landscape in the world, that it is physically sensible.

[125] Waddell, 27.
[126] Waddell, 27.
[127] Waddell, 32-33.
[128] Waddell, 34.

In *Among the Himalayas*, Waddell emphasises the scale of this landscape with several photographs and illustrations. Like in figure 5 and 6, he uses both horizontal and vertical framing in order to show both extent and height of the landscape. In figure 5, clouds form the only point of reference for the viewer: the photographer is higher than the clouds. In figure 6, the trees form that point of reference.

Figure 5, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 3.

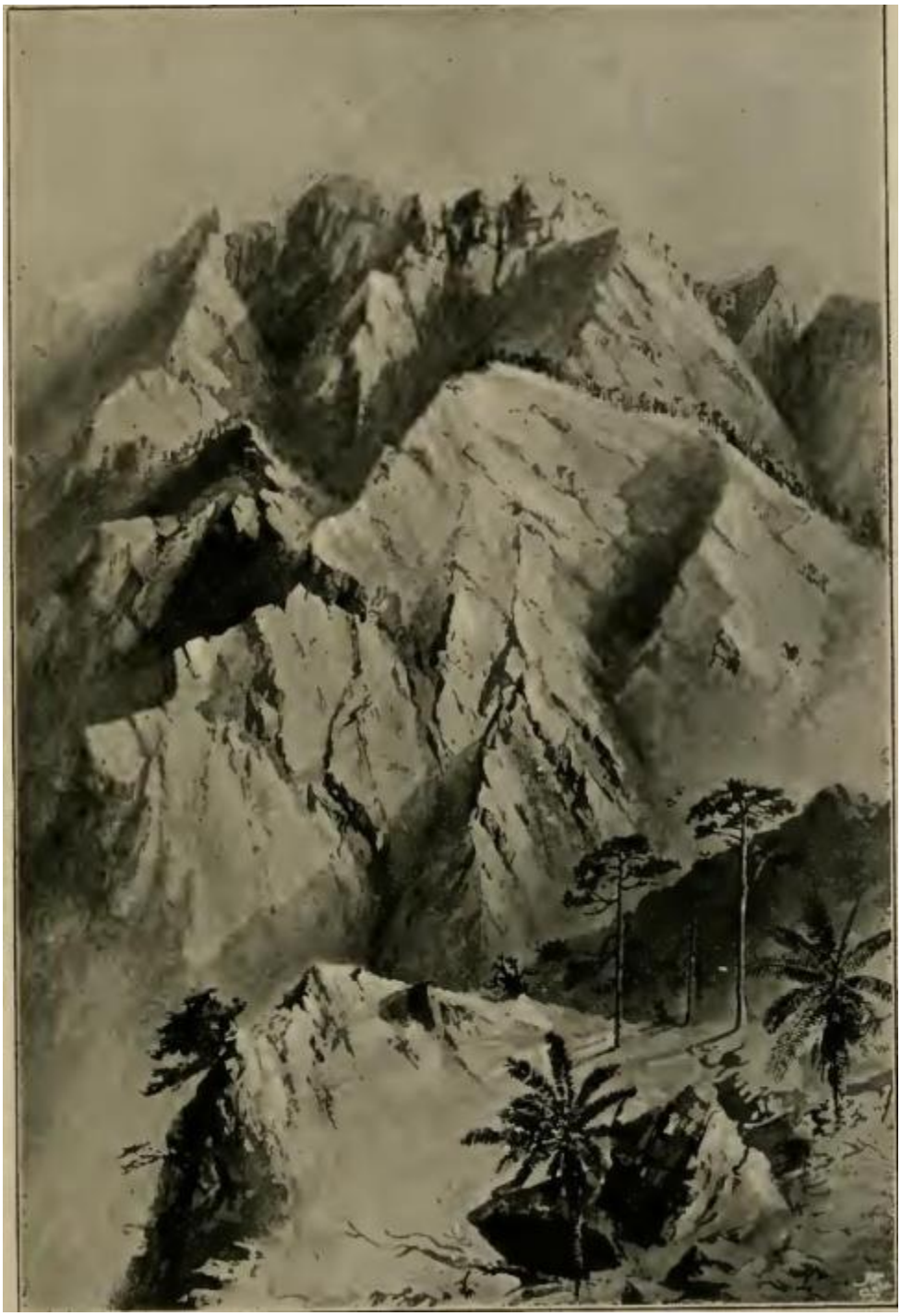

Figure 6, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 11.

In figure 7, we get a sense of the infinity that Burke has written about. The horizontal framing emphasises the extent of this scene. In the distance, the clouds seem to blend in with the sky, making it unclear where this landscape ends, or whether it ends at all. Waddell chose to position

the plateau he is standing on in the frame. This suggests that the photographer himself is even positioned higher than everything visible in this scene. On both sides, the deck of clouds is abruptly cut off, creating the illusion that they go on forever. The same framing technique is used in figure 8, the framed scene itself seems rather small or compressed, but it suggests a whole world of exactly the same landscape outside of it by cutting off the cloud deck on three sides.

Figure 7, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 321.

Figure 8, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 331.

Waddell uses layering to create a sense of depth and distance in his photographs. For example, figure 9 shows the mountain pass of Kang La. The stream of melting water beneath marks the absolute deepest point of this landscape, by framing it diagonally it creates a sense of distance. It is cut off at the bottom of the photograph, suggesting it goes on beyond that. While party snowy peaks lie in the horizon, a diagonally placed dark mountain slope is positioned on the right, while some even darker bits of rock fringe the bottom of the photograph, creating a sense of vastness of the landscape.

Figure 9, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 417.

1.3.2 Danger. Interestingly, the authors seem to attribute human-like characteristics to the dangers of the wilderness, which are hidden in several landscape features. For Hooker, the danger is especially in rivers. About the river Ganges, he notes that "the numerous shifting islets, and the long splits of mud betray the proximity of some very restless and resistless power."[129] When navigating through the junction between the river Ganges and Cosi, he writes:

> "Boats are caught in whirlpools, formed without a moment's warning, and sunk ere they have spun round thrice in the eddies; and no part of the inland navigation of India is so dreaded or dangerous, as the Ganges at its junction with the Cosi."[130]

This passage stresses how danger lurks everywhere and can surprise you any moment. Later on in his journey, he is sailing up the Teesta river, and they have trouble navigating it: "the steersmen straining every nerve to keep their bark's head to the current, as she impatiently swerved from side to side in the eddies."[131] From this it becomes clear that this sense of danger creates tension in every moment and that a continuous fear is imposed on you by this wilderness.

Mazuchelli too touches upon the dangers of the wilderness, giving the landscape human-like characteristics. For example, the river Ganges is a "mighty stream," and a mountain is "rearing its mighty crest into the very heavens!"[132] At Dumsong, "Nature is seen in her most savage mood,"[133] suggesting that the landscape has changing moods. In her text, she describes the mountains as powerful entities: "thousands of feet above, the rugged mountains are standing out boldly against the clear sky, now fast fading from blue to tender grey."[134] According to her, the hills have a look of "indomitable energy and irresistible force."[135] The mists that are floating in the valleys in between the mountains of the Singaleelah range "are heaving wildly like an angry sea."[136] And a

[129] Hooker, 95-96.
[130] Hooker, 96.
[131] Hooker, 397.
[132] Mazuchelli, 50.
[133] Mazuchelli, 156.
[134] Mazuchelli, 198-199
[135] Mazuchelli, 257.
[136] Mazuchelli, 302.

climber plant has a "cruel embrace" and a "mighty grip."[137] The landscape seems to be alive with threatening human traits in Mazuchelli's eyes. The mountains even appear to have fought wars:

> "From this spot we look down upon a chaos of upheaved rock, boulder upon boulder of gigantic dimensions flung together, each telling its own tale of wars and convulsions."[138]

Later, speaking metaphorically about a storm happening in the distance, we find a similar passage:

> "It was a glorious sight to sit and watch the warfare, and see them strike the mountain spur, which seemed to repulse and drive them back by the very force and recoil of their own fury."[139]

To her, the mountains seem "lifeless," yet they are "so cruel" and "maintaining such stolid indifference," characteristics of things that are very much alive.[140] They crush her soul, she states.[141] Even if these dangers are far away in the distance, it affects her emotionally.

Once, Mazuchelli explicitly addresses that danger is ubiquitous in these areas: "I recall the events of the day, and think with a shudder of the precipices we have passed, and the unknown dangers we have escaped."[142] In this passage, she stresses that danger lurks everywhere in the wilderness, and when none seems to have crossed your path, you have no idea how close it might have been. For example, a cliff you could have fallen off of: "we reached the verge of a precipice, below which yawned a frightful gulf."[143] You never know what might happen: "but our danger, instead of lessening, increased each step, as the soil became saturated with moisture; and we rode on in silence, not knowing what might happen at any moment."[144] This not knowing and the possibility of danger seems to give her a thrill: she finds the storm "glorious" and "irresistible,"

[137] Mazuchelli, 571.
[138] Mazuchelli, 458.
[139] Mazuchelli, 581.
[140] Mazuchelli, 458-459.
[141] Mazuchelli, 459.
[142] Mazuchelli, 254.
[143] Mazuchelli, 317.
[144] Mazuchelli, 588.

while at the same time soul-crushing. Here, the notion of passion aimed at by Burke is clearly illustrated.

This sense of danger also comes to the fore in the illustrations that are included in *The Indian Alps*. In figure 10, we see an illustration of her and her husband on their ponies in a mountainous area. They are close to a ravine. Mazuchelli is looking downwards, which suggests the depth that must be underneath them. Her horse is awfully close to the ravine, and the slightly tilted pose of the horse suggests movement, and even almost falling down.

Figure 10, from: The Indian Alps, p. 155.

In figure 11, we see a similar illustration. A sparsely vegetated rocky height is shown - which is emphasised by the vertical framing of the image - and a person in front, who is about to climb this height. This person also gives the viewer a point of reference indicating how large this landscape is. The steepness of the landscape shows us the difficulty of climbing it, and how the danger of, for example, falling or rocks falling on top of you, is always ubiquitous.

Figure 11, from: The Indian Alps, 346.

Another danger in the Himalayan wilderness is bad sight. This is shown by Mazuchelli in figure 12. Here, she and her party are crossing a snow field. The framing of the picture is emphasising extent rather than height or distance. A vague outline of a mountain peak is suggesting distance, but it is not the main message of the picture. The horizon is blended in with the landscape and in the distance no sharp outlines are shown, as opposed to the rocks and people up front. How farther away the people are, how harder it is to see them, which suggests how easy it is to get lost in this landscape and lose any sense of orientation.

Figure 12, from: The Indian Alps, p. 414.

In *Among the Himalayas*, Waddell addresses the dangers of the wilderness too. Introducing the region is his preface, he is writing about "the strange inhospitable land beyond the mountains."[145] He explains that the next day, they will "plunge into the wilds of the mightiest alps in the world to explore their little-known regions, to camp among their breezy heights and thundering torrents."[146] The same human-like traits are coming to the fore in his text. Waddell and his party travel the first part by train. Through the windows he gets to see the first bits of wilderness. Similar to Hooker, he mainly focuses on rivers, "impetuous torrents," according to him.[147] They pass some rivers with the train:

> "One of the most dangerous of these torrents is the Pagla Jhora, or "The Mad Stream," so called from its being subject in its freshets to fits of fury, during which

[145] Waddell, ix.
[146] Waddell, 1.
[147] Waddell, 37.

> it swells up suddenly into a raging torrent that tears madly down the hill side and hurls great rocks headlong down the valley."[148]

This passage stresses the unpredictability of the landscape. When later on crossing a river by a dangerous bridge, by foot, he explains:

> "Spanning the yawning chasm about 300 feet wide, in whose depths the mighty river thundered along, sixty or eighty feet beneath us, in leaping waves, dashing over great boulders of gneiss the size of cottages, and scattering clouds of spray, and hurling uprooted trees like matchwood, this frail rickety structure seemed by aspect and surroundings to suggest the horrors ascribed by the ancients to the knife-edge bridge over the Styx."[149]

Here, Waddell compares this "mighty river" to the Styx, the river that separates the normal world from the underworld in Greek mythology. This suggests that death is very close in the landscape. A few pages later, Waddell expands on the feeling that crossing this particular Styx-like river brings out in him:

> "Ah, it was a creepy, ghastly feeling! One false step meant instant death in the raging gulf below. Still there was a fascination in it all, suspended at that giddy height over the rushing, swirling waters far beneath, the unceasing deafening roar, the bold rocky banks, and the rainbow tints of the clouds of spray rising from the boiling abyss below."[150]

In this passage, it becomes clear that Waddell does enjoy the dangers. He feels both horrified and fascinated by the idea that one wrong step could mean the end of his life. About another river he writes:

[148] Waddell, 22-23.
[149] Waddell, 123.
[150] Waddell, 126.

> "This river, the Dik-chu or Ryot, is a snow-fed stream which descends tumultuously, about 10.000 feet in a course of about twelve miles. Its Bhotiya name means "The Staggering or Reeling Water"; whilst its Lepcha name of Ryotoong means ''The Rapid Reckless Water" or "The Bristling Restless Water" — all of which names well describe the furious character of this torrent."[151]

In this passage, the river contains an anger that seems to be directed towards the traveller. The danger of rivers is also shown on the first page of Waddell's *Among the Himalayas*, even before giving the reader any context, this is what he or she first sees when opening this publication (figure 13). It immediately shows the sense of danger. The image is framed vertically, emphasising the depths of this torrent and the danger of falling into it. The blurred portrayal of the torrent suggests quick and powerful movements of the water. The decision of also framing the rocks in the front shows the viewer that if you would fall, it would probably kill you. The suggestion of danger is highlighted by the choice to also show the people crossing this river. They are in tensed positions, holding on to either the bridge or a tree. It immediately shows the viewer that crossing this river is a precarious action, and danger of falling, and of dying lurks.

[151] Waddell, 133-134.

Figure 13, from: Among the Himalayas, title page.

Rivers are, however, not the only source of danger according to Waddell. Disease is all around: "soon we reached the bottom of the gorge amongst whose rank vegetation and dark boulders "fever lurks in every brake.""[152] And in the forest, dead vegetation "suggested deadly malaria."[153]

[152] Waddell, 81.
[153] Waddell, 123.

"The dangers from the showers of rocks" are also something to look out for, Waddell writes.[154] Sometimes these are not even just showers, but a real avalanche: "further on we came to the wreckage of a tremendous avalanche. The whole side of a great mountain, that towered above us about three miles to our left, had broken away, and come thundering down some six years ago."[155] Once on their journey, when they are in Sikkim, this danger comes really close: "it was too dangerous to remain here long on account of the huge stones that were continually falling from the glacier."[156]

The result of such an avalanche of rocks is shown in figure 14. The danger of it is illustrated here by emphasising the height with vertical framing of the picture and a few people standing at the bottom of the avalanche. The enormous boulders around them make it easy to imagine how one could get killed by such a rock.

[154] Waddell, 156.
[155] Waddell, 198.
[156] Waddell, 234.

AN AVALANCHE OF ROCKS.

Figure 14, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 199.

The indigenous peoples living in villages that are surrounded by this wilderness, have to face its dangers all the time. About the Sikhimese Bhotiya, Waddell writes that “no one can be braver than

he is in facing danger in the forest."[157] Waddell expresses admiration here for the local people, whom he finds brave for withstanding the wrecking violence of nature: "his hard experience of the forces of nature, the storms and floods which wreck his home and scanty crops, and scatter desolation and death around him."[158]

This force of nature is clearly illustrated in one of his photographs (figure 15). This picture evokes a sense of horror. It is framed vertically, and the photographer positioned himself at the bottom of the glacier. These factors suggest a sense of incredible height and suggest movement moreover, even though this glacier is probably moving in front of their eyes. It is easy to imagine how this glacier could overrun you with great force. The force of nature that is much stronger than that of man.

[157] Waddell, 94.
[158] Waddell, 94.

Figure 15, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 378.

1.3.3 The charm of dreadful things. Another element of the sublime that we can discover in our sources, is that of dreadful things. Things that are awful and doomed, and yet keep us fascinated. Hooker finds this particular type of fascination when coming across some small sand deposits of the Ganges. Here, he finds "stalking pillars of sand, raised seventy or eighty feet high by gusts of wind, erect, stately, grave-looking columns."[159] Here, Hooker associates the landscape directly

[159] Hooker, 79.

with death as it reminds him of a graveyard. This is fitting in with the Victorian fascination for death.

The first time Hooker sees the mountains, his first impression also seems to be a doomy one:

> "Hitherto I had not seen the mountains, - so uniformly had they been shrouded by dense wreaths of vapour: here, however, when within eight miles of their base, I caught a first glimpse of the outer range - sombre masses, of far from picturesque outline, clothed everywhere with a dusky forest."[160]

He thinks of the mountains as "sombre masses," and moreover the forest is a little dim, which gives the whole a sinister feel to it. Especially at twilight, the mountains have this bleakness over them: "the ghastly pallor [...] succeeds with twilight."[161] The notion of doom here is implicated by the word 'ghastly.' In Soane valley, he sees "on the precipitous rocks the curious white-barked *Sterculia faitida* 'flung its arms abroad,' leafless, and looking as if blasted by lightning."[162] Here, a sense of death is also present, as this tree looks like it has died from a terrible lightning strike.

Where Hooker only seems to experience this notion with respect to mountains, Mazuchelli experiences it with several landscape elements. For example, in Bengal she travels through "a deadly looking swamp."[163] This swamp has "clumps of waving palm trees, standing out black against the afterglow like funereal plumes."[164] With respect to this swamp, Mazuchelli makes two references to death: 'deadly' and 'funereal plumes.' References of this type are made throughout *The Indian Alps* several times. For example, a forest at night "looks very ghostly" to her.[165] When they are at Mount Tongoo, having sight of Everest and Kanchinjunga, she finds herself "surrounded by a pale world of death" which makes her "shudder involuntarily."[166] Death seems ubiquitous in this area: "the saddened earth, mourning in secret, clothes herself in a sombre garb

[160] Hooker, 100.
[161] Hooker, 123.
[162] Hooker, 39.
[163] Mazuchelli, 13.
[164] Mazuchelli, 13.
[165] Mazuchelli, 149.
[166] Mazuchelli, 227.

of grey, and all colour is lost in the dark and silent valleys."[167] All life seems to be gone in this landscape, and even the landscape itself is feeling sad and mournful. When crossing a dead pine forest, another reference to death is made by Mazuchelli. She writes: "to my mind there is something inexpressibly touching in the sight of these once noble trees, upon which 'Ichabod' is now written."[168] Here, Mazuchelli refers to the biblical book of Samuel. 'Ichabod' refers to something of which the glory has been lost.[169] The biblical character Ichabod was named like this as he was born on the day that the glory had left Israel because the ark of God was taken away.[170] According to Mazuchelli this forest of dead trees represented the died out glory of a once glorious space.

Just like Hooker, the effect in the mountains is extra strong during sunrise and sunset according to Mazuchelli: "the passionate and pathetic effects of sunrise and sunset, whose contrasts of resplendent colour, and livid death-like stillness, appeal to the emotions chiefly."[171] Here, it is the contrast between lively colours and the death-like stillness that evokes a feeling of pity or sadness. Mazuchelli notes a certain sadness in the landscape more often. She finds it "bleak," "dreary," and "triste."[172] Watching the Singalila range, she states: "the very beauty of the scene made me afraid, it was all so supernatural, so pale, so still, so passionless."[173] About the mountains she writes:

> "These grim and lifeless mountains, so mute and motionless, so cruel, and hard, and passionless, maintaining such stolid indifference, alike to storm and sunshine, sorrow and joy, seem in these days to crush my very soul. Their silence, too, and mute unconcern, are almost unbearable when one feels as though the very stones should cry out as we pass."[174]

[167] Mazuchelli, 226-227.
[168] Mazuchelli, 262.
[169] *Merriam-Webster Dictionary,* s.v. "Ichabod," accessed June 5, 2023, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Ichabod#dictionary-entry-1.
[170] Samuel 4:22.
[171] Mazuchelli, 453.
[172] Mazuchelli, 169, 287.
[173] Mazuchelli, 277-278.
[174] Mazuchelli, 458-459.

In this passage, we clearly see that this sense of death and doom is both scary and attractive to Mazuchelli. She juxtaposes the feelings of sorrow and joy, and she compares a terrible storm to a pleasant sunshine. It crushes her soul.

This gloominess is visible in some of Mazuchelli's illustrations too. In figure 16, we see a gloomy forest in the foreground. Mazuchelli chose to capture some dead trees in the front and to add dark rocks. The green of the pines is almost pictured black here. The sky is dark as well, almost given the same colour as the rocks. In the front we see some dark shadows cast by the trees. This sense of horror is paired with the bright snowy peaks in the back, which stand out due to their colour and their detailed portrayal. As a result, these peaks are quite luring, while the rocks and forest in the front are more repelling. This captures the sublime perfectly: the scenery is awful and fascinating at the same time.

Figure 16, from: The Indian Alps, p. 168.

In figure 17, we get a very literal sense of how the sublime is something that evokes passion. The sharp contrast between something quite picturesque and something very dark and gloomy is fascinating. It appears to be the contrast between day and night. The sunset over the mountains is the last bit of daylight in the wilderness before it gets dark. Very dark, is what the front promises. The rock and dark birds lend a sense of gloominess to the scene. The valley beneath is filled with a dark and grey mist, making it uncertain what is beneath. The trees give a ghostly appearance with their dark irregular shapes casting shadows. The picture creates a promise of a dark night. Soon, the whole landscape gets as dark as the foreground and it will be a scary view, being far away from everything.

Figure 17, from: The Indian Alps, p. 552.

Waddell notices it too, this death-like sad ambiance. When describing the life of a Bhotiya, native to Sikkim who are living a "solitary life" within nature, Waddell notes that these people encounter the "hard experience of the forces of nature."[175] For example, "storms and floods [...] scatter desolation and death around him."[176] Here, we see the same notion of death we found in

[175] Waddell, 94.
[176] Waddell, 94.

Mazuchelli's text as well. Later on, when crossing an alpine valley, we see it again: "so stern, sombre, and solitary was this scene, that we seemed to have passed into a valley of distress, if not of death."[177] The feeling of death is so ubiquitous in the landscape that Waddell is willing to name it a 'valley of death.' It is caused by the unfriendly, sad, and lonely character of the landscape.

The sadness is also coming to the fore in a different form: gloominess. Waddell writes: "early in the morning, we descended the gloomy gorge of the rosying river, amid rank decaying vegetation which suggested deadly malaria."[178] Here, the dark character of the landscape (indicated by the word 'gloomy'), comes from notions of decay and the threat of disease. In a later passage, the gloominess originates from a notion of stillness and solitude, a "universal calm:" "the loneliness and fixed gloom were indescribable. Plato perhaps rightly said that "whose-ever is delighted with solitude, entirely and absolutely, is either a wild beast or a god.""[179] In this passage, it is clear from his quoting Plato that this sense of gloom has its attractions too according to Waddell.

This same dichotomy is captured by Waddell in a picture of Mount Everest (figure 18). The vegetated mountain the photographer is standing on seems rather close due to the positioning of a few of those trees in the front of the picture. This forms a tangible world, which is easy to imagine due to its sharp portrayal and the familiarity of the scene. Then, in the background, we see Everest. Its surface is shining bright, and it seems unreachable and unsurpassable. The two sceneries are divided by a mysterious misty deck of clouds. It is unclear what is underneath that deck, it could be a dark forest, a deep empty valley, or anything else. The picture evokes the passion that Burke describes. A feeling of horror, not knowing what is going to happen when one would ascend this valley. At the same time the peaks in the distance are smooth and bright, and alluring.

[177] Waddell, 215.
[178] Waddell, 123.
[179] Waddell, 216.

Figure 18, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 343.

1.3.4 The non visible sublime. As Burke has pointed out in his *A Philosophical Enquiry*, beauty as well as sublimity are not only visible; they can also be in sounds (and taste and smell). There is a difference between beautiful sounds and sublime sounds. A sublime sound would be, for example, sudden, loud, or intermittent, like music which evokes passion, while a beautiful sound is characterised by a clear and smooth nature, like soft music playing.[180] In Hooker's text, we can find one example of sublime sound. Navigating the Teesta river which is, as discussed above, dangerous to sail, he writes; "there was music in the waters to our ears."[181] This passage is gathered under sublime because of its context: they are in a boat, being in great danger and the sound of the water is very remarkable to Hooker; it evokes passion.

In Waddell's text, there is also a notion of the sublime in sound to be found. After a furious storm in the mountain - which was sublime as well -, everything falls quiet. Here, Waddell quotes, although without mentioning him, the British poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge: "after the storm, "the

[180] Burke, 82-83, 123.
[181] Hooker, 397.

mute still air was music slumbering on her instrument.""[182] This concerns a line from the poem "The Eolian Harp," which explores the relationship between humans and nature. As Esteban Buch, professor of the history of music, has pointed out, sublime sounds include sudden silence.[183]

3.2 The picturesque: unusual beauty

Hooker uses the word 'picturesque' five times in relation to landscape, mostly to describe the country, the woods and some rock formations.[184] Once, he uses it to state that the mountains are not picturesque at all:

> "Hitherto I had not seen the mountains,- so uniformly had they been shrouded by dense wreaths of vapour: here, however, when within eight miles of their base, I caught a first glimpse of the outer range - sombre masses, of far from picturesque outline, clothed everywhere with a dusky forest."[185]

In this passage, Hooker sees the mountains for the first time in his journey as he arrives at Siligoree. It had been foggy before, but now the mists cleared up and he saw the outer range of the Himalayas. Interesting here, is that he finds the mountains unpicturesque as opposed to the country which he does think of as picturesque.

In *The Indian Alps*, Mazuchelli uses the word 'picturesque' six times in relation to the landscape.[186] She does this mostly describing woods and the landscape in general: "all [...] picturesque surroundings."[187] Except for this general remark on the Himalayan area, she does not use the word for the mountains. This is similar to Hooker. Waddell too does not apply the word to mountains in *Among the Himalayas*. He uses the word 'picturesque' only once, when they have selected "a picturesque and sheltered spot" to camp.[188]

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[182] Waddell, 329.
[183] Esteban Buch, "The Sound of the Sublime: Notes on Burke as Time Goes By," *SubStance* 49, no. 42 (2020): 10-11.
[184] Hooker, 30; 50; 63; 90; 100.
[185] Hooker, 100.
[186] Mazuchelli, 57, 151, 196, 204, 210, 603.
[187] Mazuchelli, 603.
[188] Waddell, 183.

The picturesque is not only to be recognised in the literal word itself. As explained in the theoretical framework, picturesqueness is a special kind of beauty, one which is curious, unusual and irregular. This notion can also be discovered in Hooker's work, especially - being a botanist - discussing vegetation. In Soane valley, he spots "tick branches spread out somewhat awkwardly, each tipped with a cluster of golden yellow flowers."[189] About some mango trees he writes: "the young leaves are purplish-green, and form a curious contrast to the deep lurid hue of the older foliage."[190] From these passages, we can gather that Hooker is paying attention to the particular, the unusual, as he is using the words 'awkward' and 'curious.' Remarkably, this again does not apply to mountains.

In figure 19, we see a wood engraving from Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*. We recognise the ruggedness and irregular and varied shapes of the picturesque. The landscape makes a calm impression and looks very accessible. Men are crossing the river, man and nature being one.

Figure 19, from: Himalayan Journals, p. 47.

[189] Hooker, 53.
[190] Hooker, 61.

Mazuchelli has an eye for the particular as well. Here, it applies to the mountains once. While they first had been surrounded by tropical vegetation, she and her party now entered forest trees, "which clothe the mountains that surround us in confused masses on all sides."[191] With respect to a landscape, the word 'confused' has the connotation of something that does not contain order and therefore is irregular. She uses the adjective again when they are walking through riverbanks:

> "Our way now lies through banks clothed in a rich garment of lycopodia and ferns, tangled together in the most delicious confusion and abandon of nature it is possible to conceive."[192]

In this passage, she adds a second adjective: delicious. From this we can take that Mazuchelli clearly enjoys this confused character of the landscape and therefore categorises it as a very particular kind of beauty.

In the images as well, the picturesque is to be recognised. In figure 20, we see a lake view. Mazuchelli chose an enclosed, intimate viewpoint, emphasising irregular shapes with the tree in front, the three rocks pointing upwards and the rocky mountains in the back which are shadowed in a detailed way. The water is slightly coloured and mirrors some of the pointy mountain peaks. Everything in this sketch has a unique shape, but it forms a pleasant view altogether.

[191] Mazuchelli, 36.
[192] Mazuchelli, 94.

Figure 20, from: The Indian Alps, p. 331.

Another example of Mazuchelli showing picturesqueness of the landscape, can be found in figure 20. This figure shows Everest bathing in sunshine. Although this aquarelle also has some characteristics of the sublime, like its vastness and the gloomy looking tree and rocks that fringe the image in the front, Mazuchelli also created a picturesque image here by choosing soft colours, making the mountains almost look like clouds. This colouring gives Everest a lovely and alluring look, rather than dangerous or dreadful. Mazuchelli chose alternating shapes and caught the ruggedness of the mountain range sharply, which made this image varied and irregular in its beauty. Another factor that contributes to the picturesqueness of it, is the oval framing of the picture, creating the illusion of taking a peek through a picture frame. The view of the landscape becomes a work of art with it: aesthetically pleasing, but unreal.

Figure 20, from: The Indian Alps, p. 358.

Similar imaging is found in figure 21, in which we see similar framing and use of colour we saw in figure 20. Here, Nursing Mountain is illustrated as seen from the Singlalilah range. Again, oval framing, pastel colours, varied shapes, and ruggedness are highlighted. The mountains are displayed very detailed, so they draw the attention of the viewer. Their ruggedness is clear, but softened colour transitions and a similar colour in the sky make the whole quite peaceful.

Figure 21, from: The Indian Alps, p. 520-521.

Waddell deploys the word ‘confusion’ when describing a tropical forest, but he seems to enjoy it less than Mazuchelli:

> “its wild confusion of fallen trunks and decomposing leaves, matted with thorny twiners and bamboo thicket, through which the tall trees struggle in the choking embrace of giant creepers; while other shoot aloft like tall masts, tied down by countless climber which creep along the ground, cling to every trunk and fling themselves from tree to tree, making the jungle quite impenetrable.”[193]

[193] Waddell, 18.

When finally leaving this "impenetrable" jungle, he states that "the landscape became more smiling" after all.[194] This suggests that he was not amused by this confusion in the jungle. He does seem, however, attracted to the peculiarities of the wilderness. He finds a valley that "presented a remarkably weird appearance" and in Sikkim they cross some snow bridges in order to get "some excellent photographs of these curiosities of nature's architecture."[195] And under the snows of the Kang La pass they see "a weird lake" of which the colours remind of the tail of a peacock which gives it a "peculiar appearance."[196]

Waddell also included a photograph that shows this unusual and rugged beauty that we can conceptualise as picturesque. In figure 22, we see the cascades of Lete valley. From his text, it was already clear that Waddell and his men find this valley a very attractive place. The beauty of it, however, is not in softness and smoothness. These cascades showcase rough shapes of irregular blocks with water tumbling over them in an irregular stream. The actual torrent is specifically visible in the front, where it falls down some boulders, suggesting movement in the picture. If you look closely, you can discover a person standing on some of the boulders on the left. He stands with his hands on his hips, taking in the view. He makes a calm impression. From that we can gather that this stream is not dangerous, and rather a nice place to be in.

[194] Waddell, 18.
[195] Waddell, 203; 234.
[196] Waddell, 402-403.

Figure 22, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 177.

3.3 The beautiful: gentle on the eyes

The adjective 'beautiful' seems to be one of Hooker's favourites. He uses it fourteen times in relation to landscape in his *Himalayan Journals.*[197] He uses it to describe woods: "we took a path through beautifully wooded plains," flowers: "individually the flowers are eminently beautiful," and the Teesta river: "it [...] was beautifully fringed on both sides with green *Sissoo*.[198] He is not the only one: Mazuchelli uses the word even twenty times, describing forests, snowy mountain

[197] Hooker, 16, 40, 52, 53, 54, 123, 125, 149, 375, 375, 394, 395, 396, 396.
[198] Hooker, 16; 52; 396.

peaks, valleys, and vegetation.[199] While travelling through the river landscape of the Teesta and Rangeet rivers, she realises: "what a beautiful world is ours!"[200] Waddell is a little bit more sparingly with the word. With respect to landscape, he uses it only twice. Once, to describe the "beautiful scenery" in Lete valley, and once to describe a "glacier which flows in a beautiful stream south-west from Kanchenjunga."[201]

Hooker uses several types of phrases to describe the beauty of the landscape, such as "remarkably pretty," which is about the location of several hot and cold springs.[202] When he sees the *Butca frondosa* flowering abundantly, he finds it a "gorgeous sight."[203] In a forest, he sees a 120 feet tall *Hardwickia*, "as handsome a monarch of the forest as I ever saw."[204] When he catches a downward view of a flat he states: "from the top, the view of rock, river, forest, and plain, was very fine, the eye ranging over a broad flat, girt by precipitous hills."[205] He finds a blossoming mango tree "a superb sight," alike the Soane valley during sunset.[206] The perpendicular Sal bank is "a very fine object" in Hooker's eyes.[207] The blooming Apocyneous climber was covering large tree trunks "with its splendid foliage."[208] Once, Hooker gets quite poetic for his style, which is apparently brought out in him by the Rujubbund, a small lake or 'tarn' in the Kymore hills:

> "Rujubbund (the pleasant spot), is a small tarn, or more properly the expanded bed of a stream, art having aided nature in its formation: it is edged by rocks and cliffs fringed with the usual trees of the neighbourhood; it is a wild and pretty spot."[209]

[199] Mazuchelli, 8, 50, 63, 64, 64, 94, 98, 98, 99, 102, 103, 131, 204, 210, 274, 277, 306, 314, 367, 480.
[200] Mazuchelli, 131.
[201] Waddell, 180, 421
[202] Hooker, 27.
[203] Hooker, 52.
[204] Hooker, 54.
[205] Hooker, 56.
[206] Hooker, 59.
[207] Hooker, 396.
[208] Hooker, 401.
[209] Hooker, 59; 62.

Hooker assigned different qualities to the specific place of this passage: it is pleasant, wild, and pretty. He compares it to a work of art, as if it were a nineteenth century Romantic landscape painting, which were very popular at the time.

Once, Hooker recognised beauty in the mountainous landscape: "this splendid view of the snowy range" and "the plains of India."[210] Although the word 'splendid' could also be used to describe something dazzling, and therefore would fit in more with the sublime, the word most often refers to something that is sumptuous, gorgeous, specious or fine.[211] As he uses the word in a passage describing both mountains and plains which are, as he states, "beautiful" and "magnificent," I interpret it with the latter connotation.[212]

Hooker too, depicted the beauty of the wilderness. In figure 23, he chose - being a botanist - to capture two flowering plants of the Soane Valley in a lithographic view. The plants are coloured while the background is in grey. We recognise beauty here in kind shapes, soft colours, gentle movement. The Kymore hills in the background are in grey and we recognise some ruggedness, but they are not depicted very dark or sharp, or obvious for that matter.

[210] Hooker, 125.
[211] *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. "splendid," accessed May 31, 2023, https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=splendid.
[212] Hooker, 125.

Figure 23, from: Himalayan Journals, p. 53.

Mazuchelli finds ways to describe beauty in other terminology as well. She uses the adjectives "wondrous," "exquisite," "fair," "loveliness," "splendour," "sweet," "superb," "gorgeous," "marvellously," "graceful," "dazzling," and "sweet."[213] For example, when she and her party are leaving the alpine areas and walking again where vegetation is in abundance: "the wondrous luxuriance and gorgeous colouring of the vegetation, all delight us anew."[214] On a Sunday (they have to stay put on that day), they have camped on a beautiful spot: "nor are we sorry, for the scene from our camp, looking in a northerly direction, is peaceful and lovely in the extreme, and we are

[213] Mazuchelli, 38, 99, 138, 169, 313; 43, 98, 261; 64, 194; 64, 131, 407; 65; 79; 156; 169; 476; 480; 521; 603.
[214] Mazuchelli, 169.

more than willing to linger in so fair a spot."[215] On Mount Tongoo, while looking in the direction of Nepal: "everything is exquisitely soft and dreamy."[216] She uses it to describe forests, vegetation, but also mountains.

Mazuchelli has captured the beauty of the wild landscape too in her images. In figure 24, we see how she captured it in a sketch. By choosing an enclosed point of view, she created an intimate scene, suggesting a safe and calm space. This sense is emphasised with her choices of soft and rounded shapes. The luxurious vegetation forms a contrast with the smooth water of the lake and the undetailed mountains in the back. These mountains, which seem to surround this place, function as a protective wall rather than a dangerous place. She chose to portray a few people from her party sitting at the shore. They give a calm and peaceful impression.

Figure 24, from: The Indian Alps, p. 87.

Waddell seems to apply the characteristics of beauty to mountain peaks, vegetation, valleys, springs and glaciers. For example, he finds Lachung valley a "lovely Alpine valley," and when

[215] Mazuchelli, 194.
[216] Mazuchelli, 227.

they found some springs, Waddell had “considerable difficulty” in getting his men “away from this attractive spot.”[217]

3.4 Conclusions

In describing the wilderness, a sense of the sublime, picturesque, and the beautiful are pre-eminently present. The sublime is especially prominent, which is the case in all three sources, for both mountainous landscapes as other types of wildernesses like forests and riverbeds. These authors find sublimity in the scale of the landscape, the danger of it, and its dreadfulness. They use adjectives like ‘enormous’ and ‘vast’ to express the scale of the landscape which contributes to its sublimity. Dangers are extensively described by the authors, and human-like characteristics such as ‘mighty’ and ‘cruel’ illustrate the power this landscape has to hurt you. Mazuchelli and Waddell enjoy the thrill they get from this sense of danger, while Hooker does not. The authors also write about how they feel fascinated by the dreadfulness of the landscape. For example, they find the landscape ‘sombre,’ ‘gloomy,’ and ‘death-like.’ At the same time, they enjoy it.

The sublime vastness of the landscape is shown in Mazuchelli’s and Waddell’s images with framing techniques and by layering the scenes. Something is positioned in the front in order to create a sense of depth, or the images are cut off on the sides at unexpected places, which creates the illusion of the landscape being endless. In both of these works, danger is also illustrated by placing human figures in the landscape which shows movement and tension. Also, movement of the landscape itself is emphasised. A river that is foaming, a mist travelling over the landscape, or rocks and glaciers falling slowly but powerful. The dreadfulness of the landscape is shown in dark and gloomy spaces contrasting bright mountains. For Mazuchelli, it is in the choice of dark colours which she set off against softer ones.

The authors find the picturesque in the unusual and the particular, such as ‘confusions’ of vegetation and ‘weirdness.’ They find it not in the mountains, but in other types of landscapes like forests and riverbanks. Beauty is ubiquitous for all three authors. They find it in flowers, forests, and springs. They use words like ‘fair,’ ‘lovely,’ and ‘gorgeous.’

In the images of Mazuchelli, the picturesque is present too. Certain scenes she placed in oval framing, using pastel colours and creating irregular and unbalanced compositions. Waddell has captured it in a photograph, emphasising the loveliness and calmness while putting the

[217] Waddell, 165; 203.

irregularities and unevenness of the landscape central. Hooker included a wood engraving with a similar message. We recognise the shapes of the picturesque, and he chose to emphasise the accessibility of the landscape and its peacefulness by portraying men working alongside the river and traversing it calmly.

In Hooker's and Mazuchelli's work we find two images embodying the beautiful with rounded shapes, soft colouring, smooth surfaces, and low contrasts. The images convey peacefulness and calmness.

As for the sublime, which is something that is enjoyed for its awfulness, we can find a sense of Said's orientalism. The landscape is detested, inferior to the cultivated and inhabited landscape, and at the same time it is enjoyable, almost like an attraction which you can enjoy for a while and marvel at. The picturesque and the beautiful, however, is something that is purely enjoyed by all three authors. With that, they express their admiration for the landscape numerous times. This fits in with MacKenzie's argument of true admiration for the Orient.

Chapter 4. Comparing the oriental wilderness to the familiar

Although comparing things unfamiliar to things that are familiar is done implicitly in every observation made according to structuralists, it happens (more) explicitly a couple of times throughout all three sources. In this chapter, we take a closer look at these comparisons where civilisation and wilderness are juxtaposed. This chapter focuses on solitude as opposed to life in society, wild lands as opposed to inhabited and cultivated lands, the notion of the Himalaya as an exceptional place on earth, and finally the notion of the Himalayan wilderness as a noble place.

4.1 Far away from society: Romantic loneliness in the wilderness

What all three authors emphasise is how solitary this landscape is in comparison to cultivated and inhabited landscapes. Hooker seems to enjoy it in Soane valley: "in the noonday solitude of these vast forests, our situation was romantic enough."[218] What we also see here is the explicit connection to Romanticism, discussed in chapter 2. Hooker finds the loneliness of the place romantic, which means that he is enjoying it in a specific way. 'Romantic' had the connotation of something that was inspiring and poetic and fitting in with the Romantic (literary) style.[219] When we explore our sources further, we find that the wilderness is the perfect place to find that Romantic loneliness for the other authors as well.

In the introduction to *The Indian Alps,* Mazuchelli invites her readers to join her to the "wildest solitudes" of nature, which are in the Himalayas.[220] These solitudes are to be found when, for example, surrounded by jungle - "a very lonely place," or in the interior of the Himalaya - a "great lonely land."[221] She seems to cherish deep admiration for these lonely places. In her chapter about the "happy valley," she discusses European and American tourists who are coming to simply "do" the Himalaya, a fact that she is mourning but not surprised about: "was it likely that these beautiful solitudes would remain uninvaded much longer?"[222] From her choice of the word

[218] Hooker, 57.
[219] *Online Etymology Dictionary,* s.v. "romantic," accessed May 31, 2023, https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=romantic.
[220] Mazuchelli, 5.
[221] Mazuchelli, 170; 362.
[222] Mazuchelli, 102.

"uninvaded" we can gather that she sees civilisation as a threat to the wilderness. A few pages later, she describes what this solitude means to her:

> "All is peaceful, and a feeling of intense tranquillity and happiness steals over us, in harmony with the surrounding scene, and the perfect solitude and absence of the din of tumultuous life."[223]

In this passage, Mazuchelli explicitly places the solitude of the wilderness in juxtaposition with civilisation. She finds the wilderness peaceful, tranquil, happy, and in harmony while civilisation is something loud to her, as opposed to this quiet wilderness.

Mazuchelli expresses her feelings about the desolation of the wilderness a couple of times, and her feelings seem to swift back and forth about it. This makes it a form of sublimity to be away so far from civilisation, as she experiences it both as nice and terrible. She writes: "there is something sublimely awful in the solitude and isolation of this great sanctuary of Nature."[224] It makes her feel "absolutely alone in the great heart of Nature," even though there are 70 people in her party.[225] When describing the essence of being a traveller, she states:

> "No solemn garden parties or funereal dinners, no weary conventionalities of society, follow us here. We are children of nature. Hungry and we eat, weary and we lay us down and sleep. All kinds of pleasant incidents occur on the way, and the fatigue and rough bits of road, which, as F— expresses it, are 'bone-wrenching' to climb, the frequent small vexations, the thousand-and-one things that will not run smoothly, are all alike forgiven and forgotten in this pure and exhilarating air; and in the lonely heart of nature, one's mind, somehow, becomes more open to tender and innocent enjoyment."[226]

In this passage, life in civilised society is juxtaposed with life in the wilderness. Mazuchelli finds the strict ways of society tiresome, calling them "weary conventionalities of society." With the

[223] Mazuchelli, 125.
[224] Mazuchelli, 147.
[225] Mazuchelli, 147.
[226] Mazuchelli, 245.

phrase “we are children of nature,” she points out that being in the wilderness is like being close to the origins of humankind for her. It is not, however, that she thinks life in the wilderness is more pleasant than life in society. On the contrary, it can be very hard and even “bone-wrenching,” but all of that does not seem to matter as it is all worth it. Being so secluded from civilisation brings you a great gift: it brings you joy from simple things. Moreover, this enjoyment is “innocent” according to Mazuchelli, implying that the joys of civilisation are not.

Enjoyment is not the only feeling this loneliness is bringing out for Mazuchelli:

> “Such scenes are an expression in themselves, and are more capable of being felt than spoken. I cannot describe it; but the waste of snows stretching away as far as eye could reach, their utter loneliness, the perfect stillness that reigned everywhere, and the desolation they presented, impressed me with a deep sense of terrible repose.”[227]

Here, loneliness is ubiquitous; Mazuchelli feels very far away from civilisation. The feeling, which is indescribable to her, has a great impact on her. It calms her down, so much that she is terrified by it. This is another notion that is closely related to the sublime. We see this more often in her text. On the one hand, she finds “pathetic solitudes” in the landscape.[228] But when leaving the area, their journey coming to an end, she calls them “majestic solitudes.”[229] In the latter phrase, the solitudes have some kind of dignity, while in the former, they appear to be something to be pitied. The solitude she experiences in the wilderness is something that is closely related to individuality. She writes: “turning our backs upon Himalaya’s majestic solitudes — the most vast and sublime of the whole earth — we become gregarious animals again.”[230] When returning into civilisation, they become once again part of the herd of society with all its conventions to adhere to.

This Romantic solitude is also emphasised by one of Mazuchelli’s illustrations. She has named figure 24 “the desolate heights of singaleelah.” Besides this picture being sublime, it also shows the utter loneliness of this landscape. She chose here, in contrast to a lot of her other landscape aquarelles, to portray a couple of small human figures (in the downright corner). It

[227] Mazuchelli, 274-275.
[228] Mazuchelli, 538.
[229] Mazuchelli, 609.
[230] Mazuchelli, 609.

makes it easy for the viewer to imagine walking around in this remote area, being far away from society, no one else around in this vastness. You can almost see yourself wandering this landscape without encountering any form of civilisation for hours, even days or weeks. She framed the picture vertically, emphasising the empty heights that tower above you.

Figure 24, from: The Indian Alps, p. 502-503.

In *Among the Himalayas*, Waddell perhaps explains that same dichotomy very well with a quote from Plato: "the loneliness and fixed gloom were indescribable. Plato perhaps rightly said that "whose-ever is delighted with solitude, entirely and absolutely, is either a wild beast or a god."[231] In this passage, he summarises both of the feelings that both he and Mazuchelli experience in this loneliness: it is divine and savage at the same time.

Discussing a region in the higher parts of the Himalayas, he writes: "so stern, sombre, and solitary was this scene, that we seemed to have passed into a valley of distress, if not of death."[232] The loneliness of the landscape here seems to contribute to a feeling of fear and even of death. We see a notion of the sublime here again, and the Victorian interest in things that are a little lugubrious. Waddell included a photograph of this "valley of distress" too (figure 25). He has framed the picture horizontally, emphasising the extent of this valley. Choosing to position the horizon quite high in the photograph, and not emphasising the mountains or the ridges on the side puts focus on the emptiness of the landscape, and creates a monotonous image.

Figure 25, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 215.

[231] Waddell, 216.
[232] Waddell, 215.

When describing a local - a Sikhimese Bhotiya - who lives close to the wilderness and is often vulnerable to its dangers ("the forces of nature"), Waddell states that "his solitary life in the peaceful depths of the great forests make him timid and shy of strangers."[233] The solitude makes the locals not very social, but this seems to equal some kind of peace to Waddell, as he uses the word "peaceful" in close relation to this solitude.

Waddell included a photograph of a view into Tibet (figure 26). It is a picture of a few of his men standing on snowfields of eternal snow. His choice for horizontal framing emphasises the extent of the landscape. His choice of making the whole bottom half of the photograph filled up with these eternal snows creates a sense of emptiness in the picture. The upper half is filled with sky in the same colour as the snow and grey mountain ranges, but the focus is not on them. In the centre, some people are placed which emphasises the loneliness of man in this desolate landscape. There is no doubt that no civilisation or society is near.

Figure 26, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 189.

[233] Waddell, 94.

4.2 Wilderness versus inhabited and cultivated landscapes

For Hooker, cultivation does not necessarily form a threat towards the wilderness. In a forest, he finds a very large *Hardwickia*, a native Indian plant, "which for a combination of beauty in outline, harmony of colour, and arrangement of branches and foliage, would form so striking an addition to an English park."[234] Here, both the artificial landscape and the wild landscape possess beauty and would even blend in well together. During his journey, Hooker appreciates views that resemble these parks. He writes: "occasionally park-like views occurred, which where diversified by the rocky valleys, resemble much the noble scenery of the Forest of Dean on the borders of Wales."[235] Here, it becomes clear that Hooker values park-like views over wild views as he finds the former to be noble.

On the first page of *Himalayan Journals*, Hooker shows an image of the view on Kanchenjunga as from the lodge of one of his friends (figure 27). Features of this image point towards the beautiful: soft colours, softened shapes and rounded edges. Kanchenjunga in the distance is represented in a kind manner. In the background the wilderness is stretching, while in the foreground men are cutting down trees. Both wilderness and civilisation are represented here, but Hooker chose not to contrast them sharply. Both elements are painted in similar fashion: pastel colours, soft transitions, and soft shapes. Civilisation is not necessarily depicted as a threat to the wilderness here, but as something that blends well together and is able to coexist with civilisation in an arcadian manner.

[234] Hooker, 54.
[235] Hooker, 63.

Figure 27, from: Himalayan Journals, title page.

In figure 28, we see a similar composition but then as a wood engraving. A cultivated landscape in the front - a small house, a monocultural plantation - and wild vegetation on the sides and a wild landscape in the back with rounded hills and dense forests. It again gives an arcadian impression, the wild and the cultivated blending in well together, peacefully coexisting. No difference in use of shape, colour, and technique is to be found between the two elements.

Figure 28, from: Himalayan Journals, p. 105.

Mazuchelli clearly considers civilisation and cultivation to be a threat to the wilderness of the Himalayan areas. The idea that these areas might be affected in the future scares her:

> "Figurez-vous a troop of English engineers invading thy fastnesses, and the shrill practical whistle of a locomotive resounding through thy solitudes, which may heaven beneficent forfend!"[236]

The English engineers and the trains they build embody Western progress and technology in this phrase, juxtaposed with the solitary wilderness. Again, Mazuchelli uses the word "invading," which makes the former a threat to the latter. The fact that she specifically mentions that these invading engineers are English is important here, as she is explicitly making a critical note about her own homeland and its technological developments. She genuinely hopes that this invasion will not take place in the Himalayan areas, asking God poetically to prevent it from happening.

[236] Mazuchelli, 125.

This point of view comes to the fore several times in *The Indian Alps*. For example, when writing about the Lepcha people, who are indigenous to Sikkim and Nepal, Mazuchelli describes their practice of cultivating wild lands:

> "In some places the Lepchas are burning portions of the forest to clear the land for cultivation; and at night it was a wondrous and awful sight to see the flame stalking along like a hungry and insatiable demon, destroying all it touched, and with its eager tongue lapping up the goodly trees."[237]

Although the sight of the flames burning up the wild forest is also "wondrous," and thus in some way enjoyable, Mazuchelli seems to be in favour of the wilderness in this passage. She compares the flames with an "insatiable demon." Moreover, she chooses the words "destroying" for the act and "goodly" for the trees, from which we can gather that she finds it a shame that these woods are destroyed in order to cultivate the land.

On a Sunday, they set up camp in "so fair a spot."[238] Mazuchelli describes the view they have in different directions. In the south, Chakoong is visible. In that particular direction, Mazuchelli experiences the mountains "altogether unpleasing."[239] That is because of the numerous tea plantations that have been established here. She calls this trend a "fierce epidemic," which is "robbing these hills of so much of their beauty."[240] But when looking in the other direction, the scenery is much better according to Mazuchelli:

> "As the eye turns from civilization, that dire enemy of the picturesque, over in the direction of independent Sikkim, where Nature still holds her own, the scene changes completely, exhibiting picturesquely wooded mountains."[241]

In these passages, cultivation and the wilderness are sharply juxtaposed. Mazuchelli finds the cultivated grounds unpleasant to watch, and even compares cultivation to a disease that is

[237] Mazuchelli, 138.
[238] Mazuchelli, 194.
[239] Mazuchelli, 195.
[240] Mazuchelli, 195-196.
[241] Mazuchelli, 196.

spreading quickly. It takes away beauty and picturesqueness from the landscape. The latter is even described as the enemy of nature. In contrast with Hooker, Mazuchelli thinks of wilderness and civilisation as two things that exclude one another.

The wilderness also has an effect on the people being amongst it, according to Mazuchelli. This is the case for both the locals as for herself as a visitor. She compares the people living in the mountainous areas to those who live on the cultivated plains of India:

> "These mountaineers, surrounded as they are from morn till eve by scenes of such surpassing grandeur, possess natures bold, rugged, and incapable of the meanness and cowardice often seen in the dwellers of the plains, to whom they are in almost every respect infinitely superior."[242]

In this passage, Mazuchelli shows quite a strong geographically or environmentally deterministic point of view, as she links the character of the inhabitants directly to the landscape they live in. She shows much more respect for those who live in the mountains than those who live on the plains, whom she finds inferior. The latter are, according to her, unkind and poor-spirited. This all has to do with the presence and absence of mountains, which make one brave and kind in Mazucchelli's eyes.

In a later chapter, she comes back to this point of view, but then in reference to herself. This time, she is not talking about mountains specifically, but about the wilderness in general. She writes that they have been "living day after day in the heart of Nature," where all their "best impulses are fostered [...] far removed from the stern conventionalities of life."[243] The landscape does not only affect those who have been born there and have permanently lived there, but she also notices an effect on herself after having travelled through the wilderness for a longer time. The conventionalities of society seem "stern" now to her, and now in hindsight she sees how they have been holding her natural instincts back, something that she discovers in herself now being far away from society, in the very " heart of Nature."

One remark, however, stands out. Mazuchelli and her party stumble upon a primaeval forest that is on the verge of dying. She states: "without the timely intervention of man these grand

[242] Mazuchelli, 221.
[243] Mazuchelli, 435.

primeval forests will one day be extinct."[244] Then, they decide that they will contact the Forest Department as soon as they get back from their journey. In this passage, the wilderness is valued, but it needs a hand from humanity in order to survive. Although that is a different form of cultivation, and Mazuchelli finds it important that the wilderness survives, she values the hand of man here over nature itself.

In *Among the Himalayas*, the wilderness and civilisation are a sharp contradiction to Waddell. When his train leaves the city of Calcutta, driving him towards his destination, he writes: "how refreshing it was to escape from the vegetative artificial existence and steamy heat of Calcutta."[245] First, the change of scenery, from civilisation to wilderness, is reviving to him. Second, this choice for the word 'escape' makes it clear that he prefers the wilderness over the city, which he finds uncomfortably hot and where the vegetation is artificial as opposed to that in the wilderness. However, when actually having been in the wilderness and visiting a Mr. White in a British settlement, Waddell seems to find the civilisation refreshing as opposed to the wilderness he comes from: "our new Resident Mr. White [...] was creating an oasis of civilization in the wilds of Sikkim."[246] His choice of the word oasis metaphorically to describe a settlement in the middle of the wilderness has a positive connotation to it, as an oasis is usually referring to a fertile spot in a barren desert.[247] However, Waddell does not stay charmed by this civilised portion of land for long. In Bhutan, he criticises the monocultural landscape of tea plantations. The tea plants here seem to have been affected by a rust disease, but, according to Waddell, it is the fault of the planters themselves:

> "Many acres of tea-bushes through which we passed were shrivelled up with a rusty blight. The tea-planters suffer much in this way by having rudely disturbed the balance of Nature, in removing the great variety of rank forest growth, and substituting for it only one kind of plant, namely tea."[248]

[244] Mazuchelli, 262.
[245] Waddell, 2.
[246] Waddell, 242.
[247] *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. "oasis," accessed May 31, 2023, https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=oasis.
[248] Waddell, 250.

In this passage, Waddell expresses his preference for a wild or natural landscape, as that is a balanced one, according to him. Also note his capitalisation of the word 'nature' here, putting extra emphasis on the word. This capitalisation implies that he thinks of nature as an entity of its own, with its own agency, which is perfectly capable of staying balanced. The phrase "rudely disturbed" shows that Waddell finds the creation of the plantations an invasion or attack towards nature and puts down civilisation as a negative component. He explains how the tea planters suffer because of their own cultivation practices and in a way they have bit their own tails. This is an explicit critical note towards a specific agricultural system that was on a large scale imposed and/or scaled up in colonies by Europe, as discussed in the second chapter of this thesis. A couple of pages later, he describes the view they catch from the Jelep pass, at the border region between Sikkim, India, and Tibet:

> "This magnificent forest, which has been preserved by government, gives us some idea of the luxuriance of the virgin forest that once covered Darjeeling and its surrounding hills; but which has been ruthlessly swept away since Hooker's visit."[249]

Here, Waddell points out that since Hooker's visit, which took place between 1847 and 1851 (Waddell is familiar with Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*, as he refers to it a couple of times throughout his own text because the both of them partly cover the same area in their work), large parts of forest have disappeared around Darjeeling in only 35 to 50 years' time. Now, around the Jelep pass, they catch a glimpse of how that must have looked like. Waddell seems to find it a shame that it is gone, as he attributes the qualities of magnificence and luxuriance to it. He also calls it "virgin," which was considered a virtuous quality in Victorian Britain, so there is a positive connotation tied to that in this context. The disappearance of it happened in a rude manner according to Waddell, implying that he finds it quite offensive towards nature. Of this forest, Waddell included a picture (figure 9). This image is the opposite of civilisation, according to Waddell's text. We recognise the characteristics of beauty in it, as Waddell framed soft shapes luxurious vegetation. He chose to frame it vertically, which shows the height of the trees in relation

[249] Waddell, 256.

to the two people positioned below it. The people make a calm impression. Waddell also chose to catch some small portions of the sky in the picture, which gives the whole image a lighter character. It is easy to imagine the bright coloured orchids of this forest.

Figure 29, from: Among the Himalayas, p. 257.

Finally, from this last page we can gather that Waddell does not only have mixed feelings about the lonely wilderness (he is "either a wild beast or a god"), but also about civilisation. He writes: "In this free open-air life amidst magnificent scenery, we go on gathering fresh trophies and quaint experiences, till our tents are struck for the last time, and we return to the tyranny and comforts of civilization."[250] Civilisation seems both to possess tyrannic characteristics and comfortable ones. It is both a torture and a blessing.

4.3 The exceptional Himalayas: a place beyond compare

From the comparisons made between the Himalayas and other places in the world (which are perhaps more familiar to the reading audience at home), it seems that Mazuchelli and Waddell attribute some kind of exceptionalism to the Himalayan areas, indicating that this particular landscape was extraordinary and often superior to all other places, even to similar landscapes elsewhere in the world. Hooker does not seem to agree with this exceptionalism. For example, he states that in the Terai, the border region between India and Nepal, the scenery of "deep valleys no less strikingly resembles that of such narrow arms of the sea (or fiords) as characterise every mountainous coast, of whatever geological formation: such as the west coast of Scotland."[251] Here, Hooker argues that this area is not any different than other landscapes of a similar type in the world, and it can even be seen in Britain. When discussing the interior of the Himalayas, he does seem to admit that the Himalayas are by far much larger than the European mountainous areas, but he does not prefer it: "the Swiss Alps, which, though barely possessing half the sublimity, extent, or height of the Himalaya, are yet far more beautiful."[252]

Mazuchelli, on the other hand, does attribute the Himalayan landscape a certain superiority. In her introduction, she already makes this clear to her reading audience by stating that the "stupendous Himalaya" can impress you "as nothing else can."[253] She too compares the scope of the Himalayas to, among others, the Swiss Alps (after all - she named the whole book *The Indian Alps*). According to her, the Himalayas are grander than the alps of Switzerland, than the Andes, and than the Apennines. However, where Hooker seems not to choose it over other mountainous regions, Mazuchelli finds it to be the cause of her inability to describe the "awful

[250] Waddell, 429.
[251] Hooker, 379-380.
[252] Hooker, 123.
[253] Mazuchelli, 5.

beauty" of it.[254] According to her, not even those of her readers who have been in the mountains of Europe before, can understand the "almost fierce majesty and barren grandeur of Nature" of "this great lonely land."[255] She writes: "I have visited most of the mountainous districts of Europe, but they give not the faintest idea of the wild desolation of these regions."[256] This implies that the Himalaya is something beyond compare and can only be experienced when truly in this place. She underlines that notion later on in the book a couple of times. For example, she finds the interior of the Himalayas to be "the heart of Nature," and Everest "the culminating point of the earth's surface."[257] Here, the landscape in question is not only exceptional, it also takes up a central spot on earth, which is indicated by the use of the phrases 'heart' and 'culminating point.' Looking at Everest, she describes how "the mind is impressed with something [...], a something differing from aught else."[258] Here, not only the physical landscape itself but also the feeling it evokes is exceptional.

When travelling through a valley, Mazuchelli points out how different the seasons in the Himalayas are than those in England:

> "Even at this elevation there are far fewer deciduous trees than one sees in the winter in England, where it always strikes me as cruel and unlike nature to rob them of their clothing, just when they seem to need it most."[259]

In this passage, Mazuchelli juxtaposes the English winter landscape with the landscape of the elevated Himalayas, stating that the latter is greener than the former. With the phrase "cruel and unlike nature" she indicates that she perceives the Himalayan landscape as kinder and more natural than that of her homeland.

Waddell also makes some explicit comparisons with other mountainous landscapes. He states that the "splendid" Siniolchu Peak in Sikkim "lifts its glittering pinnacle about 7.000 feet higher than

[254] Mazuchelli, 50.
[255] Mazuchelli, 362.
[256] Mazuchelli, 362.
[257] Mazuchelli, 435; 452.
[258] Mazuchelli, 452.
[259] Mazuchelli, 317.

Mont Blanc, and surpasses the Weisshorn in boldness and grace."[260] Here also, the Himalayas are not only larger in scope, but also are more daring and elegant than these European mountains. Subsequently, Waddell emphasises a few times in his *Among the Himalayas* that the Himalayas are not only better than those in Europe, but they are unique to the whole world. This is in relation to scope: "the vastness of this view, vast beyond that of any other spot of earth perhaps, is almost oppressive."[261] But also the views are superior to those of any other landscape. For example, its "magnificent and varied scenic effects [...] are to be seen in no other part of the world."[262] At the Tibetan border, near Tso Lhamo Lake, he is overwhelmed by the view: "it is one of the most remarkable landscapes in the world."[263] About a hillside which is overgrown with rhododendrons for miles he writes: "this glorious sight is to be equalled nowhere else in the world."[264] About Mount Everest, he states: "the glories of the view were beyond all compare."[265] From these statements we can gather that Waddell also attributes an exceptional status to the Himalayan landscape, which is superior to any other place in the world in glory, in scenic effects and noteworthiness.

On the first page of *Among the Himalayas*, Waddell immediately makes it clear to his audience that the Himalaya is something different. Figure 30 is an illustration - functioning as an illuminated initial - in which several mountains are compared to each other. At the bottom, we see Snowdon, a mountain in Wales, which is 3590 feet high. Above that, we see Mont Blanc with its 15784 feet. Above these two European points of reference, tower Kanchenjunga and Mount Everest. Both European mountains are clothed with clouds, while the two Himalayan mountains are above that while the sun is shining on them. A person, looking like an explorer, is leaning against the capital T, looking upwards to Kanchenjunga and Everest, as if he is about to expand his horizon. This image conveys the message that what the reader is about to read and see, is nothing like what they know from Europe.

[260] Waddell, ix.
[261] Waddell, 34.
[262] Waddell, 9.
[263] Waddell, 225.
[264] Waddell, 319.
[265] Waddell, 390.

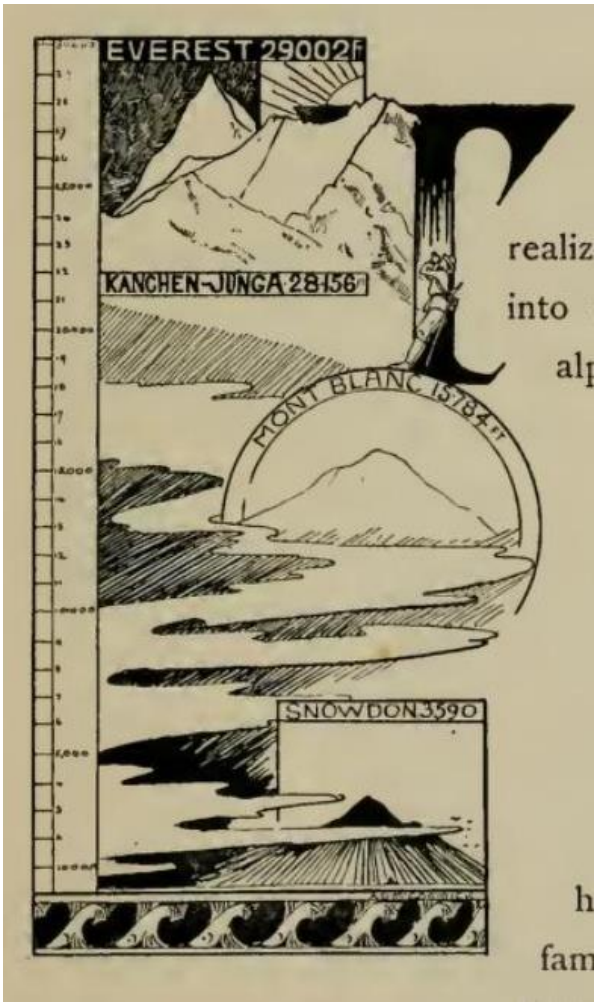

Figure 30, from Among the Himalayas, 1.

4.4 The noble wilderness, home of the noble savage

As discussed in chapter two, as a part of the historical context, the noble savage was a much-used archetype in Romantic literary works. The character of the savage man and his primitive lifestyle as opposed to civilised society is closely related to the environment they live in. In the texts of Hooker, Mazuchelli, and Waddell, it is striking that these characteristics of nobleness are also applied to the landscape and therefore it deserves some attention in this chapter. The deployment of adjectives like ‘noble’ and ‘majestic’ imply a certain dignity and a higher status being attributed to the nouns they are paired with. This is a recurring thing throughout all three sources.

Hooker uses the word ‘noble’ in order to describe several landscape elements in the Himalayan region. For example, he describes the Barkutta river, which is capable of moving heavy

rocks during the rains as "a noble stream during the rains."[266] From this we can gather that although the river can be quite dangerous during certain times of the year (and therefore also has a quality of the sublime to it), Hooker finds the river stately. He uses the word once more in *Himalayan Journals* to describe cliffs: "on the north the noble cliffs of the Kymore dipped down to the river."[267] About some sand pillars he writes: they are "raised seventy or eighty feet high by gusts of wind, erect, stately, grave-looking columns."[268] Hooker uses the word 'stately' here in a similar manner as the word 'noble:' it is something imposing.

Mazuchelli notices this quality in the landscape too in *The Indian Alps*, especially in the mountains. In her introduction, she introduces the region of her journey as "the noble, snow-capped Himalaya, the loftiest mountains in the world."[269] She finds them the "noblest works of God."[270] From Darjeeling she watches the view of this landscape that she will soon travel through: "looking upwards, the majestic Kinchin cleaves the very heavens."[271] With this, she implies that she finds that this peak has a dignified look.

Having started their journey, and traversing the "happy valley," "stupendous peaks" rise in the distance, which she finds "sheer, stately, and solemn [...] as though they were weary of their long watch over the sleeping world."[272] Amongst these peaks, she finds the Kinchinjunga to be "the centre and proud monarch of them all."[273] Mazuchelli feels like the mountains are watching over the world, as some kind of protectors, even comparing the Kinchinjunga to a ruler by using the word "monarch." The effect this view has on her is fitting with that last notion: "it was just the sight to awe one into silence, and after a start of surprise, we were involuntarily subdued by the majesty of the scene."[274] Here, she describes how she experiences becoming a subject to the landscape as they watch it. Later on in their journey, the Kinchinjunga rises up in their view again, and Mazuchelli has a similar experience:

[266] Hooker, 28.
[267] Hooker, 49.
[268] Hooker, 79.
[269] Mazuchelli, 8.
[270] Mazuchelli, 64.
[271] Mazuchelli, 64.
[272] Mazuchelli, 89.
[273] Mazuchelli, 89.
[274] Mazuchelli, 89.

> "In one long line, stretching away as far as eye can reach, peak rises above peak in 'spotless procession.' In the centre, as if guardian of the whole, Kinchinjunga, with a dignity not of earth, rears its glittering crest."[275]

With an unearthly dignity, Kinchinjunga again presents itself to Mazuchelli as a protector, a "guardian."

In the interior of the Himalayas, Mazuchelli and her party find themselves numerous times surrounded by "superb and majestic [...] snow-capped peaks," "lordly and eternal snows "and "lordly mountains."[276] She considers Everest to be a "majestic dome."[277] About Junnoo she writes: "Junnoo, clad in his glittering mantle, the one object above us, towered majestically heavenwards."[278] Nursyng mountain she finds not necessarily majestic, but important and proud: "the highest peaks [...] were visible, appearing within a stone's throw, Nursing, which greatly increases in importance from this spot, standing out proudly, in her dazzling mantle of newly fallen snow."[279] She finds the Singalila range noble: "I got up to see the sun rise above the noble Singaleelah range."[280] And Purdeem mountain is "majestically" standing out "against the vast glacial valley of Kinchinjunga."[281]

Not only the mountains, however, seem to subdue Mazuchelli. For example, the view of the broad river Mahanuddee "is very imposing."[282] When they leave the tropical vegetation, they meet with "noble forest trees, which clothe the mountains that surround us."[283] The river Rungheet too is "noble" to her.[284] She recognises the quality of nobleness as well in a dead forest, which exists of "majestic pines."[285] These "once noble trees" move Mazuchelli. In the same passage, she explains why she uses the word 'noble' in this context:

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[275] Mazuchelli, 224.
[276] Mazuchelli, 156; 258; 538.
[277] Mazuchelli, 453.
[278] Mazuchelli, 406-407.
[279] Mazuchelli, 521.
[280] Mazuchelli, 313.
[281] Mazuchelli, 274.
[282] Mazuchelli, 33.
[283] Mazuchelli, 36.
[284] Mazuchelli, 98.
[285] Mazuchelli, 262.

> "I have used the word 'noble,' not so much to express their stature, as — still regarding them as almost sentient things — to describe their exalted nature, typifying as they do such stern endurance, never bending to the blast, but only lifting their branches like giant arms in silent protest, and in their resistance."[286]

So, in this passage, nobleness does not refer to status, but to an admirable strength. Even nature itself is "grand, glorious, majestic."[287] It does not necessarily have to do with size, as even the small blue forget-me-nots, not imposing with their size at all, have a similar effect on her. She finds the flower "queenly in its beauty, and noble in its unsullied purity and grace."[288] Here, not the factor of scope but the quality of it being pure and graceful commands her respect for the landscape.

Waddell has similar experiences in this landscape. Especially the mountain Kanchenjunga, which "towers up majestically over all."[289] It rises "majestically above everything else."[290] And towards the end of their journey, they "had a noble view of the north-west of Kanchen."[291]
"The wildness and majesty of this panorama was awful."[292]

Other landscape elements seem to have this effect on Waddell as well. In the Terrai jungle, torrents from the mountains "now formed majestic rivers that creep sluggish along their winding way."[293] And in a forest, "tall tree-ferns [...] lift their graceful head like stately palms."[294] The words 'noble,' 'majestic,' 'lordly,' 'queenly,' and 'stately' all point at something that is considered to be in a superior position. All three authors use these adjectives, not only for mountains - which are of course literally above them - but also for other elements closer to earth like trees or rivers or cliffs.

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[286] Mazuchelli, 262.
[287] Mazuchelli, 356.
[288] Mazuchelli, 63.
[289] Waddell, 330.
[290] Waddell, 375-376.
[291] Waddell, 421.
[292] Waddell, 416.
[293] Waddell, 289.
[294] Waddell, 24.

4.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I showed how the wilderness is contrasted to the familiar (society and cultivated landscapes). This became clear in the notion of Romantic solitude, a longing to being alone in nature as a reaction towards industrialisation and urbanisation. It is a solitude that all three authors find pleasant. It is romantic, harmonious, calming, but – to Mazuchelli and Waddell – also dreadful and distressing, and therefore sublime.

In the images of Mazuchelli and Waddell, solitude is emphasised by compositions which highlight emptiness and monotony. They do place people in two of these three images, a composition that allows the reader to reflect on how it might feel to be present there, surrounded by nothingness. The images express a loneliness that is dreadful.

The authors compare the wilderness several times to civilised landscapes. From this it becomes clear that Hooker does not think of civilisation as an enemy to the wilderness as he thinks of certain elements of it as being interchangeable. He expresses a slight preference towards cultivated landscapes as well by emphasising its fertility and productivity. Mazuchelli, on the other hand, finds civilisation to be an invasion of wild landscapes, which she fears. Civilisation would form a threat to the solitude, the beauty, and the picturesqueness of the wilderness. Waddell's point of view seems similar, as he is critical of the Western monocultural agriculture that has been implemented in these once wild regions.

In Hooker's images the wilderness is stretching out peacefully behind cultivated landscapes. The contrast between the two of those are minimised, creating an arcadian landscape. Waddell included a picture of a wild forest, which is similar to the one that once was here but now has been cleared for cultivation. His framing and positioning show gracefulness and peacefulness.

By Mazuchelli and Waddell, not by Hooker who finds the landscape similar to that of other places on earth, a form of exceptionalism is attributed to the Himalayan wilderness. According to them, it is the most impressive, most vast, and most glorious landscape on earth. The notion of the Himalayas as an exceptional landscape is made clear by a figure that Waddell has put on the first page of his book. This illustration shows immediately that there is nothing vaster, and especially higher on earth than the Himalayas. Lastly, all three authors seem to attribute some kind of nobleness or majesty towards the wilderness.

The notion of Romantic loneliness carries the characteristics of the sublime, something dreadful to marvel at, which can extend the argument made in chapter 3. The exceptionalism and the

uninvaded wildness of Himalayas, untouched by civilisation, are thought of as superior to civilisation. This is fitting in with MacKenzie's orientalism. The nobleness of the landscape, which I have linked to the archetype of the noble savage, makes this tendency stronger. Hooker's work, which was written much earlier and with different objectives, is an exception to this.

Chapter 5. Old yet timeless lands: experiencing time in the oriental wilderness.

The topic of time, and the experience of it, is a recurring theme in all travelogues discussed in this thesis. There seem to be two sides of it: the realisation that these travellers are walking on very old grounds, in which time barely has passed, and on the other hand the experience of losing every sense of time and even moving beyond it.

5.1 Travelling on old lands: experiencing deep time

Hooker, being a scientist and explicitly undertaking this expedition in the name of science, only mentions his sense of time a couple of times in *Himalayan Journals*. The first one is at the start of his journey, on the first two pages, while travelling through the Sundarbans (which is a mangrove forest southeast from Calcutta in the delta of several rivers flowing from the north towards the Indian ocean):

> "Every now and then, the paddles of the steamer tossed up the large fruits of *Nipa fruticans*, a low stemless palm that grows in the tidal waters of the Indian ocean, and bears a large head of nuts. It is a plant of no interest to the common observer, but of much to the geologist, from the nuts of a similar plant abounding in the tertiary formations at the mouth of the Thames, and having floated about there in as great profusion as here, till buried deep in the silt and mud that now forms the island of Sheppey."[295]

Here, Hooker refers to the geological period of the Tertiary, 66 to 2.6 million years ago. In this passage, this time designation refers to the period in England, to what is now the island of Sheppey to be exact, not to the landscape he is actually describing in the passage. He is describing a certain type of palm, the *Nipa fruticans*, which is growing in abundance ("in great profusion") in the Sundarbans, just as it did millions of years ago, during the Tertiary, in England. This old palm, now not present anymore in England, covered with layers of time, does grow here in the

[295] Hooker, 10.

Sundarbans. Hooker emphasises here that this is an old landscape, in which you can get a sense of the vegetation that has been long gone in the homeland, creating a sensation of going back in time.

In similar fashion, he twice more makes remarks upon aspects of time in his text. When travelling through a forest of sal timber, he states: "the beauty of the jungle seemed to increase the further we penetrated these primaeval forests."[296] Here again, is the sense of travelling over very old land. The word "primaeval," quite in fashion in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, has the connotation of something that belongs to the earliest age.[297] Some pages later, when discussing the geology of Punkabaree, Hooker writes: "the plumbago and clay slates of Punkabaree [...] appear to repose immediately upon the carboniferous strata and sandstone."[298] He refers to the geological period of the Carboniferous, which started 358.9 million years ago and ended around 60 million years ago. This implies that, while in England history is buried deep underneath younger layers, here this very old layer is sitting at the surface, right under his eyes.

For Mazuchelli, writing her *Indian Alps*, time is a very important topic. Her experiences are partly similar to Hooker's. In what she calls "the happy valley," she finds a "magnificent primeval forest" with tropical vegetation, and like that she stumbles upon two more primeval forests and also an ancient one.[299] Even the shades that are cast in a certain valley she experiences as being old, dramatically addressing them in vocative mode: "O ye shades primeval!"[300]

Other passages as well point out that Mazuchelli experienced the old age of the landscape. In one of the ancient forests she and her party pass, they find some rock formations in which the passing of time is very much visible:

> "Wending our way steadily onwards through these grand and ancient forests, we come upon exquisite formations of cold grey rock, which time has painted with lichen stains, and the weather pitted with deep lines and hollows, just as the faces of the old get marred and wrinkled."[301]

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[296] Hooker, 395.
[297] *Online Etymology Dictionary*, s.v. "primeval," accessed May 31, 2023, https://www.etymonline.com/word/primeval.
[298] Hooker, 407.
[299] Mazuchelli, 98; 210, 262; 261.
[300] Mazuchelli, 125.
[301] Mazuchelli, 261.

The effect of time that passes is compared here to the ageing process of human faces. It is metaphorically, because the phrase "ancient forests" points out that the landscape is much older than a human lifetime. We can assume that Mazuchelli means that this is one of the older landscapes of the world.

Leaving the forested wilderness and moving into the mountainous areas of the Himalaya, this same sense of everything being of old age keeps being present. About the interior of the Himalayan region, she writes that there is an "antique mystery of all around" and the desolate landscapes "seem to tell of a withered past."[302] In these passages, the history of the landscape has not faded, it is still present: you can see it, and even feel it.

At the Singalila Ridge, the party passes through an "extravagantly wild and barren" landscape and Mazuchelli notices some lichens and rock plants, which she finds to be in odd contrast with the rest of the surroundings. This is because these plants are quite young while the landscape is "so very old and sad."[303]

Mazuchelli finds it hard to describe the landscape, and to imagine its formation, so she fantasises about its origins: "one cannot help fancying that giants in primaeval time must have rudely fashioned their Ideal, and then left it for successive generations to marvel at."[304] Here the landscape is placed in a mythical past, a past that is outside of the human sense of past and, moreover, one that is fantasised.

In these mountainous areas, Mazuchelli seems to feel like these landscapes represent the dawn of history. She writes:

> "from this spot we look down upon a chaos of upheaved rock, boulder upon boulder of gigantic dimension flung together, each telling its own tale of wars and convulsions, in the world's early history."[305]

[302] Mazuchelli, 362; 452.
[303] Mazuchelli, 304-305.
[304] Mazuchelli, 305.
[305] Mazuchelli, 458.

In another passage, she even finds herself thinking of the mountains as something that stands outside of history altogether: "Before history was, they were."[306] This fits in with the growing sense of deep time described in chapter two, which mostly applied to the geological traces of time you can find in rock formations of mountainous areas. However, in Mazuchelli's text we find the same sense of time when she talks about valleys, and the more forested regions of the Indian wilderness:

> "Is it [...] as on the first Sabbath of the world's history, when God rested from His labours, and 'behold, everything was very good'?"[307]

Striking is though that while everything is very old, ancient, primeval, and from the first day of God's creation, Mazuchelli's concept of time changes as soon as they visit a spot that plays a part in British history:

> "Here we are on historic if not classic ground, it being the precise spot where our English soldiers were treacherously attacked by the Rajah of Sikkim's forces, twenty times their number, whom they bravely withstood notwithstanding."[308]

Suddenly the ground is historic and perhaps even classic. So here history seems to have passed by, which changes the timescape immediately.

This sense of deep time is especially nicely illustrated by one short phrase Mazuchelli wrote about the interiors of the Himalayan region, after she just viewed Mount Everest in the distance: "how small appear even the destinies of nations."[309] Here, Mazuchelli obviously becomes aware of a time scale that is much larger than the one of humans or even human history, a scale that is almost impossible to imagine.

Waddell too, although he is not so preoccupied with his experience of time while travelling through the wilderness, notes the old age of the landscape two times in his *Among the Himalayas*. He and

[306] Mazuchelli, 258.
[307] Mazuchelli, 480-481.
[308] Mazuchelli, 575.
[309] Mazuchelli, 362.

his party travel the first part of their journey by train. Although they are not in the wilderness, he sees some wild landscapes from his window: "we passed through a bit of real "jungle" or primeval forest, with a wild luxuriance of vegetation."[310] It is unclear what Waddell means with "real jungle", and what he finds unreal jungles. However, it is clear that he thinks that a real jungle is a primeval, and therefore a very old forest. Later on in his text, we see that Waddell also experiences deep time in the mountains. When they travel into the interiors of the Himalaya and reach the Tibetan border, he notes that "this land would appear to have been raised in very early times."[311].

5.2 Moving beyond (human) time

Now and then Mazuchelli seems to lose all sense of time in the wilderness: as if she moved beyond it, stepping outside of it. Camping along a river, with woods on either side, she writes:

> "We seem to cut off alike from past and future, poised as it were in some intermediate present, that bears no part in our real lives."[312]

She feels like she has left regular time, and moved to a different sense of time, one that is balancing between past and future, but is different from the present: it is a vacuum in time. Moreover, she perceives it as outside of reality. She experiences something similar in the mountains later on. Being at Pundeem mountain, she states: "but these mountains, no less types of solidity and endurance beyond all Time, impress me."[313] Here again, time as usually experienced is not applicable to this landscape according to Mazuchelli; it is something beyond it. Also note her capitalising the word 'time' in the middle of the sentence, asking the reader to pay extra attention to the word, perhaps even personificating the idea of time, emphasising that it is human time she is referring to. Another interesting phrase is to be found in the same sentence: "solidity and endurance (beyond all Time)." This is another way of stepping outside of time: something that is resistant or immune to the effects of it. This aspect comes to the fore several times in Mazuchelli's book. At the beginning of her journey, for example, she describes the view from Darjeeling. She

[310] Waddell, 6-9.
[311] Waddell, 408.
[312] Mazuchelli, 125.
[313] Mazuchelli, 363.

poetically calls the higher regions in this view "cloudland," as they are surrounded by mist here.[314] For her, the hills she sees here have not been affected by time and she thinks that they will not be so in the future either. She writes: "very beautiful is it to watch the clouds float beneath these transcendent and eternal hills, and to follow the shadows they cast upon their lustrous surface."[315] Higher in the mountains, watching Pundeem mountain, she states: "a perpetual wonder to me are these stupendous Hills."[316] After descending Mount Singalila, being once again underneath the clouds instead of above them, they are travelling through a dense forest. She writes: "does Nature never decay in this fair Eden? Is it one perpetual burst of undying spring [...]?"[317] She notes here that time does not seem to pass by in this forest, not even seasons of flowering and decay. This sense of eternity is also a way of moving beyond human time.

Waddell too seems to experience this sense of eternity in the wilderness. Being in a pine forest, seeing the Kanchenjunga range in the distance in the moonlight after a storm, he observes: "in the fore-ground, fringing the ice-covered lakelet, the frozen "everlastings" projected from the snow."[318] This shows how he perceives the landscape as something that endures forever as well.

5.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, two main forms of experiencing time have been detected. In all three sources the sense of being in a very old land is present. For example, the authors note traces in the landscape of times long gone by and emphasise the idea that these lands have not been altered by humans and still look the same as they did many ages ago.

Mazuchelli expresses the feeling of moving beyond time in this landscape, and also Waddell notes the eternity of it. These notions might seem paradoxical with the idea of the old landscape, but they are compatible in my eyes: in the Himalayan wilderness everything has stayed the same for ages which makes you lose any sense of time. This implies a lack of progress and therefore of history.

[314] Mazuchelli, 61.
[315] Mazuchelli, 64.
[316] Mazuchelli, 363.
[317] Mazuchelli, 480.
[318] Waddell, 330.

The idea of an ahistorical oriental wilderness is in line with Said's notion of orientalism, as it is lacking the progress of Western history. Said's argument mainly centres around people, sticking with traditions and not improving society with, for example, science and technology. The idea that their surroundings do the same, underlines – in geographical deterministic fashion - that idea of an ahistorical Orient.

Chapter 6. The unearthly, mystic wilderness of the Orient

Experiencing the supernatural is another recurring theme in the three sources studied in this thesis. This mainly applies to Mazuchelli's work, mostly in relation to her Christian background, but she experiences the supernatural also in different, non-religious ways in the wilderness. Although a lot scarcer, there are some of the same types of experiences to be detected in Hooker's and Waddell's work.

Hooker, travelling as a scientist, does not express his religious sentiments in his *Himalayan Journals*, but once, he seems to be aware of "some very restless and resistless power."[319] It is, however, unclear if Hooker refers to a supernatural power or a natural power here. We do know that it is something with an extraordinary power and something unknown to him.

The supernatural experiences of mainly Mazuchelli and also Waddell are categorised in three subjects: the feeling of entering another world, the feeling of coming closer to God, and experiencing the immaterial aspect of the landscape.

6.1 Entering another world

Both Mazuchelli and Waddell have the feeling of being in another world in this wilderness, having left planet earth and moving beyond reality. For example, enjoying her view from Darjeeling and looking at what she calls "cloudland," she describes this wilderness as "an earthly paradise, and a world of wonder and aesthetic mystery."[320] Watching the floating clouds in the evening, when the sun sinks and casts a golden glow, the clouds are "almost unearthly in their splendour."[321]

When Mazuchelli and her party reach the "happy valley," - a valley that is bursting with life both on the ground and in the air - she writes that she feels like they have been "transported into fairyland, and all is more like an extravagant dream than reality."[322] Here, she makes a reference to folklore, feeling as if she had moved into the mythical land of fairies, or as if she was dreaming.

[319] Hooker, 96.
[320] Mazuchelli, 64.
[321] Mazuchelli, 65.
[322] Mazuchelli, 99.

In West Bengal, around Kalimpong, Mazuchelli states: "there is something sublimely awful in the solitude and isolation of this great sanctuary of Nature; we seem to be in some other, purer world."[323] In this passage, she attributes sacred characteristics to nature itself, calling it a sanctuary. Also, capitalising the word 'nature,' which she does quite often throughout the book, draws attention to it, and also depicts nature as a powerful entity. It makes her feel like they are in a world that is not earth, but purer. A world which is not defiled. In this same place, she loves taking a walk near the woods at night. She describes a striking phenomenon that takes place there:

> "In the dark portions of the forest where the moon's rays do not penetrate, our attention is arrested by a pale phosphorescent light, and perhaps this is one of the most singular phenomena of the Himalayas; a walk at night near the woods, which are sometimes a-glow with it, being sufficient to excite a sense of the supernatural, even in minds the most practical and prosaic, for the dead trees, which are scattered everywhere, are covered with this blue flame, which, increasing and decreasing with every motion of the wind, looks very ghostly in the 'stilly night.'"[324]

A natural phenomenon gives her the idea of being close to the supernatural. She argues that even those who are not spiritual or poetic at all ("practical" and "prosaic") would sense the supernatural here. With that, she emphasises that it is not just her character that fuels these experiences. In these lit up woods, she finds the view "ghostly," as if some supernatural beings, or spirits, were occupying the forest.

Moving into the mountains, Mazuchelli has similar experiences. She finds the mountain Kincinjunga to have "a dignity not of earth."[325] When they reach the Singalila range, she finds herself "gazing upon some world of enchantment."[326] The snows of this range were "shrouded in unearthly vapour."[327] It is "such a spectral and unearthly scene" that she cannot even start to describe it.[328] This view made her stand "entranced," for a moment losing her "own individuality,

[323] Mazuchelli, 147.
[324] Mazuchelli, 149.
[325] Mazuchelli, 224.
[326] Mazuchelli, 271.
[327] Mazuchelli, 279.
[328] Mazuchelli, 279.

feeling" like she "had almost entered some new world."[329] Pundeem mountain is a pile, according to her, that has "a purity not of earth," and below there is a valley "like some nether world."[330] The mountain Junnoo was wrapped in "unearthly shade."[331] This mountainous landscape does not seem to be of earth to Mazuchelli; it has a dignity, purity and beauty that seems impossible for earthly standards. She feels as if she is about to enter another world, one that is enchanted and in which she as an individual stops to exist. At the same time the underworld, the land beyond human life, seems to open itself below them. This reminds us of the dreadful aspect of the sublime. A similar remark is made towards the end of the book, however not sublime: "I watched the orient lights steal upwards, till the sky was bathed in an elysian glory."[332] The reference to Elysium (the place in the underworld in Greek mythology that was for heroes) is suggesting that the view is of something beyond human life.

Waddell describes some similar experiences in his *Among the Himalayas*. In the first chapter, he describes the view of the mountains in the distance which they will visit on their journey: "in the distance they looked as if they belonged to another world."[333] At the Tibetan border, he makes a similar remark:

> "one of the most remarkable landscapes in the world [...] produce such an effect as if one were gazing upon another world in which the order of this is no longer preserved, where a tropical desert is seen amongst snow-capped peaks, beneath the unnaturally clear atmosphere of the arctic regions."[334]

For him, it is the variety of types of landscapes seen together in one place that makes the landscape unearthly for Waddell. This other world has let go of all order of the world he knows. On top of that, the atmosphere is so impossibly clear that it seems almost artificial.

[329] Mazuchelli, 279.
[330] Mazuchelli, 367; 401-402.
[331] Mazuchelli, 449.
[332] Mazuchelli, 580.
[333] Waddell, 2.
[334] Waddell, 225.

6.2 Coming closer to God

Being a religious person, Mazuchelli feels very close to God and heaven in this wilderness. Travelling through the landscape, she poetically writes that they are walking in the "footsteps of angels."[335] Especially in a literal sense she feels close to God, as they reach very high grounds and come closer to heaven, but also in different ways. For example, she finds the forget-me-not growing of which the eye is "reflecting the blue of heaven."[336] And along the rivers Teesta and Rangeet, she writes: "I felt I could sit and breathe my very life away, it all seemed so heavenly."[337] This spot resembles heaven so much that Mazuchelli feels as if she could be on the verge of dying. She feels as if she is only one breath away from entering heaven, having a peaceful ending to her life.

Besides being close to heaven, Mazuchelli imagines herself to be in the biblical paradise of Eden. A primaeval forest is a "fair Eden" in her eyes.[338] Later on in a forest, they witness a blooming spring that is bursting with new life:

> "Does Nature ever decay in this fair Eden? Is it one perpetual burst of undying spring, as on the first Sabbath of the world's history, when God rested from His labours, and 'behold, everything was very good?'"[339]

Again, she feels as if they have entered paradise, the Garden of Eden. As if they are in God's creation as it was meant to be, in its purest form on the first day of human history. Quoting the bible - "everything was very good" - suggests that here, where nothing seems to die and the passing of seasons does not seem to exist, everything is peaceful, and no bad things exist. Interesting is to see how she capitalises the words that are in direct reference to God, but also the word 'nature' in the same sentence, equalising them, or even merging them. She emphasises that they are in God's creation and that God is his creation or embodies them. This message is underlined when she talks about the mountains as God's creations. She finds them "the fairest and noblest works of God,"

[335] Mazuchelli, 106.
[336] Mazuchelli, 62.
[337] Mazuchelli, 131.
[338] Mazuchelli, 211.
[339] Mazuchelli, 480-481.

created by "the hand of the great Architect and Artist."[340] According to her, the eternal snows "were laid flake by flake by the Almighty architect."[341] Again, she has the feeling of deeply connecting with God's creation. From the use of several metonymies in this passage - "Architect," "Artist," and "Almighty architect" - we can gather that she thinks this particular landscape, the Himalayas, is directly from God's hands and it is his best work.

In the altitudes of the landscape, Mazuchelli feels closer to God than ever before: "I feel in the living presence of the Infinite," she writes while encompassed with mountain peaks.[342] It is a revelation to her: "it is within the portals of these sublime mountains that one realises of a truth, and in a way unintelligible to those who have not lived amongst them, the Unseen and Infinite. He exists in their profound silence, and in the antique mystery of all around."[343]

Mount Everest is called "Deodunga" by the natives. Mazuchelli finds this name well chosen:

> "Well has it been named Deodunga, Mount of God; and as one gazes, the mind is impressed with something, even far beyond its beauty - a something differing from aught else, for the eye is resting on the culminating point of the earth's surface."[344]

Mazuchelli states here that it is not just mere visible beauty what she sees in the landscape of the Himalayan mountains, it is something more, something exceptional: it is God himself. As she calls Everest the "culminating point of the earth's surface," she seems to feel like she is near the centre of the earth, where everything comes together, here "upon the point of earth nearest to heaven."[345] She even finds Everest itself to be divine: "in vesture white, a veil of thinnest gossamer covering it like some goddess bride."[346]

But also when she is in lower parts of the landscape, she feels as if these mountains connect her with God and heaven:

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[340] Mazuchelli, 64.
[341] Mazuchelli, 258.
[342] Mazuchelli, 258.
[343] Mazuchelli, 362.
[344] Mazuchelli, 452.
[345] Mazuchelli, 448.
[346] Mazuchelli, 448.

> "Looking upwards, the majestic Kinchin cleaves the very heavens, and brings them down to meet it, whilst in everything the Infinite is unveiling itself to finite man, if he will but see it."[347]

In this passage, the mountains function as some kind of linkage between man and God or earth and heaven. A connection through which heaven descends to her. She makes this connection quite explicit when describing the Kinchinjunga: "there seems to be no separate earth or heaven, but both are joined in one."[348]

The wildernesses, mountains as well as forests and waters, seem to form a place to Mazuchelli that is in between heaven and earth, outside of human reality, where you are both alive and already dead. When Mazuchelli and her party are on Mount Tongoo, from where they have a viewpoint towards Everest and Kanchenjunga, she states that this view can only be understood by those who have seen it themselves, or those who have nearly died: "only those who have seen the sun set on perpetually snow-clad mountains, or stood in a chamber visited by the 'beckoning angel,' just when the soul has passed away, can imagine."[349] Here she compares the experience of this view, so close to God and heaven, to being in that transition from life to death, being called by the "beckoning angel" to approach heaven.

Besides being physically closer to God and heaven, Mazuchelli feels that she is maturing as a Christian in this wilderness. Travelling through the interior of the Himalaya, she states that she felt "as though, like Christian standing on the Delectable Mountains," she "saw the vision of the Celestial City."[350] This is a literary reference to *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World, to That Which Is to Come*, written by the English preacher John Bunyan in 1678. This concerns a narrative in which the protagonist Christian makes a pilgrimage from the world, the City of Destruction, to heaven, the Celestial City.[351] Mazuchelli deploys it here as a metaphor for her journey functioning as a means to become a better, more mature Christian. Nature itself plays an

[347] Mazuchelli, 64.
[348] Mazuchelli, 224.
[349] Mazuchelli, 227.
[350] Mazuchelli, 226.
[351] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "The Pilgrims Progress," accessed June 2, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Pilgrims-Progress#ref341525.

important part in this. It gave her the vision of heaven, the Celestial City, but it also teaches her (religious) lessons: "surely there never was such a grand old preacher as Nature."[352]

6.3 Sensescapes

Sometimes the supernatural is not in the physical landscape for Mazuchelli, but in something more elusive or insubstantial. She prepares her reading audience in her introduction for the experiences of a supernatural level that will be described in the rest of *The Indian Alps*: "the stupendous Himalaya [...] impress one as nothing else can, and seem to expand one's very soul."[353] This implies that a journey through this wilderness makes your conscience move beyond the level that is possible in the everyday reality of life. This notion gets reinforced throughout her book. For example, she uses the word 'ethereal' three times to express the spirit-like ambiance that hangs over the physical landscape of mountains and rivers.[354] She also applies the word 'spectral' three times in a similar manner to describe glaciers and the mountain range of Singalila.[355] The last word that falls within this category is 'transcendent.' Sometimes she uses this word to describe mountains, but then it seems to be used with its connotation for something that is physically rising up above or surmounting something. It can also mean, however, something that moves beyond (physical) boundaries.[356] She uses the word twice, not to describe, interestingly, the highest peaks of the landscape but the lower hills.[357]

For Mazuchelli, there is also something mysterious about the wilderness of the Himalayan areas, something that she cannot figure out completely. This mystery she finds in mountain peaks and its shadows. When the moon shines over the mountainous landscape, it "casts shadows deep and mysterious everywhere."[358] The mountain peaks, covered in eternal snow and surrounded by mist "looked mysterious and ghost-like."[359] She also finds it in the colours of the lights shining on the snows, when she takes one more look before they leave the Himalayas behind. "As we cast one glance behind us, the snows, catching the gleam of departing day, are seen to be bathed in a

[352] Mazuchelli, 580.
[353] Mazuchelli, 6.
[354] Mazuchelli, 98, 119, 367.
[355] Mazuchelli, 274, 278, 279.
[356] *Online Etymology Dictionary,* s.v. "transcend," accessed May 31, 2023, https://www.etymonline.com/word/transcend?ref=etymonline_crossreference.
[357] Mazuchelli, 64, 257.
[358] Mazuchelli, 242.
[359] Mazuchelli, 279.

glittering and tremulous mystery of rose, violet, and opal."[360] Even though they have travelled deep into the interior of the area, it is still a mystic land to her.

This insubstantial entity of the landscape also has an effect on the viewer as it only exists within the interaction between the landscape and a person. Mazuchelli writes: "our senses, too, under altered feelings, were suddenly kindled."[361] The ambiance of the landscape activates their senses and has the power to change their feelings within seconds. It becomes a sensescape. Although Waddell does not describe such experiences in his *Among the Himalayas*, he does seem to get a feeling of that sensescape too in the form of an enchanted fascination. About the mountain scenery of Senchal he writes: "it holds us spell-bound."[362]

6.4 Conclusions

This form of experiencing the wilderness has well-nigh only been detected in Mazuchelli's and Waddell's work. They both have the feeling of entering another world when they are in the wilderness. A world which is unearthly and even unnatural. Moreover, Mazuchelli experiences the presence of God in the wilderness, leaving earth and approaching a space that is close to heaven and paradise. Another immateriality of the landscape is its mystery and enchantment which both Mazuchelli and Waddell experience.

The mystification of the oriental wilderness fits in with Said's concept of orientalism. The geography is reduced to something unreal, a dream or a fantasy by setting it apart from the earthly world.

[360] Mazuchelli, 612.
[361] Mazuchelli, 480.
[362] Mazuchelli, 35.

7. Synthesis

This thesis has aimed to answer the following research question: *how can visual and textual representations of the northeastern Indian wilderness in British travelogues be related to late nineteenth century imperial ideology?* The data, gathered from close readings of three travelogues (written by Joseph Hooker, Elizabeth Mazuchelli and Laurence Waddell) and from performing the commutation test on the images in those same publications, has been coded into four themes: the sublime, the picturesque and the beautiful, comparisons between the wilderness and civilised landscapes, the experience of time in the wilderness, and the experience of the supernatural in the wilderness. These themes were chosen because of their prevalence in the sources and their direct relationship to the zeitgeist and landscape. For each theme, three subquestions were addressed. First, how is the wilderness represented in the textual samples of the sources? Secondly, how is the wilderness represented in the visual samples of the sources? Finally, where on the spectrum of the orientalism debate can we place the idea of the wilderness as represented in the sources? This has led to the following synthesis.

7.1 Conclusions

7.1.1 The sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful. The first theme discussed in this thesis is the notion of the sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful (*Chapter 3. The sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful oriental wilderness*). For all three authors, the Himalayan wilderness surpasses other parts of the world in sublimity. Especially in scale, it is considered beyond comparison. They also emphasised the Himalayan wilderness as an exceptionally dangerous and dreadful place. But it also possesses remarkable picturesqueness and beauty. In the images of all three sources, we saw that certain choices in framing, positioning, and colouring were used to highlight exactly those features. From these observations we can gather that both Said's and MacKenzie's conceptualisations are present in the sources. The sublimity, being something fascinating because of its awfulness fits the argument of Said, while the admiration of the authors for the picturesqueness and the beauty of the landscape point towards MacKenzie's statements.

7.1.2 Comparisons between the Himalayan wilderness and civilised landscapes. The second theme, discussed in chapter 4 (*Comparing the oriental wilderness to the familiar*), addressed comparisons that were made by the authors between the Himalayan wilderness and those

things familiar to the author. One of the themes encountered in this chapter was the notion of solitude as opposed to life in society. All three authors find this solitude pleasant, but for Mazuchelli and Waddell there is also a dark side to it, making the solitude a form of sublimity. In the images in Mazuchelli's and Waddell's work we see that notion of desolation in combination with dreadfulness in monotonous and empty compositions.

The second theme in this chapter is wilderness as opposed to a cultivated and inhabited landscape. Here again, a difference between Hooker on one side and Mazuchelli and Waddell on the other was striking. For Hooker, the two concepts of wilderness and civilisation seemed not to be complete opposites, as he often mentioned the interchangeability of elements from both. In his images, the two seem to peacefully coexist. For Mazuchelli and Waddell, however, they were opposites. Both of them preferred the wild landscape over the cultivated and inhabited ones and saw civilisation as a threat to wilderness.

The third theme, the notion of the Himalayas as an exceptional space, only applies to Mazuchelli and Waddell. For Hooker, the Himalaya was indeed vaster than any other he knew, but it did not impress him that much as it is similar to places in for example Scotland and Scandinavia. Mazuchelli and Waddell do find the Himalayan wilderness to be something exceptional, and moreover superior to any other place on earth in extent, but also in the way it looks. Waddell's image, placed on the first page, immediately makes clear that the Himalayas is surpassing everything else in height.

Finally, the notion of the noble wilderness is discussed in relation to the trope of the noble savage. All three authors noted this noble nature of the landscape, attributing it with some kind of dignity and superiority.

While the Romantic solitude, a sublime loneliness can be gathered under Said's argument, the exceptionalism and nobleness of the landscape fit in with MacKenzie's argument, as they point towards admiration and superiority in relation to civilised landscapes. Hooker's preference for cultivation also fits in with Said's argument as it attributes inferiority to the wilderness.

7.1.3 Notions of time. In chapter 5, *Old yet timeless lands: experiencing time in the oriental wilderness,* the experience of time in the wilderness is discussed. There were two themes to be recognised here: the sense of deep time and the feeling of moving beyond time. All three authors seem to experience deep time. They are all mentioning numerous times how old the landscape was and it seemed like barely any time had passed there at all.

The sense of moving beyond time was mainly present in Mazuchelli's text. She felt like stepping outside of normal time, being in a vacuum between past, present and future. Also, the landscape seemed eternal, so unchanging, to her, a notion also experienced by Waddell. These representations of the wilderness as an ahistorical place, that is still the same as many years ago and in which time is even not that present, fit in with Said's argument of Western cultures representing the orient as a place where no progression is made.

7.1.4 Supernatural experiences. In the final chapter, chapter 6, *The unearthly, mystic wilderness of the Orient,* I explored supernatural experiences the authors describe in their texts. The three themes found were the sense of entering another world, coming closer to God, and experiencing something immaterial in a material landscape. This only applies to Mazuchelli and Waddell, which can perhaps be explained by the scientific nature of Hooker's text. Mazuchelli and Waddell both feel like entering another world in the Himalayan wilderness and they notice a sense of mystery and magic in the landscape. Mazuchelli seems to feel close to God and heaven, as if she were somewhere in between life and death.

This portrayal of the oriental wilderness as something unreal and magical, this mystifications of the oriental wilderness, fits in with Said's argument of the orient being represented as something mysterious, a fantasy. Moreover, it is portrayed as something that is not rational, but emotional.

7.2 Main research question

The answer to the main research question - how can visual and textual representations of the Indian wilderness in British travelogues be related to late nineteenth century imperial ideology? - is, like the subject itself, complex. In the sources, both conceptualisations of orientalism can be found in representations of the wilderness. As MacKenzie has argued for a nuanced conceptualisation of orientalism, this thesis can substantiate his argument.

On the one hand, the oriental wilderness is used as a trope in orientalist discourses that supports imperial ideology as Said has argued. First, it is portrayed as something fascinating because of its awfulness. Second, it is presented as the land where time stands still: no progress, no change. Third, the sources paint a picture of a place that is unreal, it is a magical, mystic, unearthly place, a fantasy land.

The sources do show admiration for this wilderness too, which is in line with MacKenzie's argument, and a lot of aspects of it are considered superior to civilisation by the authors: its beauty, its picturesqueness, its unaffectedness by civilisation, and its noble character. It shows that the wilderness as a real place and as a trope can function as a landscape where conventions are challenged, a space where travellers are asked to reflect.

7.3 Positioning the answers

This research has shed some more light on the notion of place in the orientalism debate and on the relationship between imperial ideology and the changing ideas about wilderness. Following my own model, as introduced in the theoretical framework in chapter 1, this thesis has incorporated the notion of wilderness into the orientalism debate. Based on this (relatively small) research, I consider the wilderness to be a trope in orientalist discourses. This trope is used to define the West: in a self-critical way as well as in a way that restructured the Orient and reduced it to an inferior geography.

7.4 Validity

Based on only three sources, it is easy to fall into the trap of making generalisations too quickly. Therefore, I want to emphasise that in order to obtain more straightforward conclusions, a lot more sources need to be taken into account. Also, the fact that the objectives of the authors of the sources differ makes comparisons more difficult. Hooker's text, for example, is more focused on mapping the region, while Mazuchelli wants to write a compelling book, and Waddell wants to share his experiences and encourage adventurers to follow him. These differences are unavoidable, as every British author would be different. Performing the close readings and the commutations tests with a structuralist approach (as explained in chapter 1.4) and relating it to the broader historical context does make the results more reliable with respect to that, but general conclusions cannot be made (yet).

7.5 Recommendations for further research

Besides research in a greater quantity, in a perhaps more systematic manner, it would be valuable for further research to combine representations of the wilderness with the cultural aspects in travelogues to gain a more integrated picture. I can do that to some extent with my previous work,

but I do not want to fall into the trap of false analogies or make any overgeneralisations, since ‘the Orient’ is not one and the same place. Therefore, it could also be interesting to look at different types of wild landscapes within India as well. This would give a clearer picture of how this part of the British empire was perceived. This would also have the benefit that completely non mountainous landscapes are taken into account. Mountains have played a very specific role in western discourse over the years, and therefore it would be good to compare it to other types of wilderness as well. This research also took in account the landscapes that are not mountainous, but this aspect definitely could be explored further.

7.6 Valuable perspectives

Placing this research in a broader perspective, it illustrates very well how we have images in our head of how different parts of the world look (either when we have visited them or when we have not), not only their inhabitants but also their surroundings. This image is always influenced by ideology, and it is a valuable skill to be (increasingly) aware of that.

Abstract

This thesis aims to incorporate the idea of the wilderness in the orientalism debate, in order to further explore the notion of place in the concept of orientalism. It does so by researching late nineteenth century British travelogues on the northeast Indian wilderness. The main research question that is central to this thesis is the following: *how can visual and textual representations of the northeast Indian wilderness in British travelogues be related to late nineteenth century imperial ideology?*

In order to answer this question, three travelogues have been researched: *Himalayan Journals* by Joseph Hooker, *The Indian Alps* by Elizabeth Mazuchelli, and *Among the Himalayas* by Laurence Waddell. A mixed-method methodology has been applied to them, existing of close readings of their texts and commutations tests with their images, both in structuralist tradition. This data has been coded, from which four themes have been derived. The first theme exists of notions of the sublime, the picturesque, and the beautiful. The second is about comparisons between the oriental wilderness and the familiar. Third, the experience of time in the oriental wilderness is discussed. And finally, supernatural experiences in the oriental wilderness are addressed. For each theme is researched how the wilderness is represented in text and image of the sources, and where on the spectrum of the orientalism debate they can be placed.

The results show a combination of both extremes of the practice of orientalism. The conception of Said, who argues that the Orient is reduced to a fantasy, an ahistorical and emotional place by orientalist artists and scholars, is recognised in the sources of this thesis in sublimity, timelessness, emotion, and mystification. The orientalism of MacKenzie, who argues that there is true admiration in orientalist work stemming from an absence in Western society, is visible in the picturesque, the beautiful, exceptionalism, nobleness and the choosing of wilderness over civilised landscapes. The results showed that wilderness was used as a trope, both literary and visual, which was used to reduce the orient to a fantasy land, where time stood still, and awful things were to be seen. At the same time, now and then this cross-cultural referencing led to a critical reflection of one's own society, where wilderness was long gone, and social conventions were strict. To be able to find more general conclusions, research in greater quantity with varied case studies is recommended.

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