

Lost on the edges of empire: John Stapylton Grey Pemberton's expedition to Darjeeling and the "snowy ranges"

By Martin Beattie

Introduction: scientific rationality, self-control and its loss

In popular as well as traditional scholarly opinion, the encounters that took place during European expansion were so often determined by motives and goals contained in (and therefore controlled by) scientific reason.¹ Victorian travel writing was largely embedded in the objectivist ethics of the new sciences of anthropology, archaeology, botany, geography, cartography and planning. According to Mary Louise Pratt, "Natural history asserted an urban, lettered, male authority over the whole of the planet; it elaborated a rationalizing, extractive, dissociative understanding which overlaid functional, experiential relations among people, plants, and animals."²

Johannes Fabian states that, "[t]ypically, the traveller was depicted as an individual, often solitary agent, fully in control of himself and others."³ Self-control required 'other control,' which above all meant maintaining distance from the country to be explored by its people. This distance was kept with the help of varying degrees of withdrawal. For Fabian, "Self-control called for 'abnegation,' an ascetic virtue, fuelled by the knowledge that exploration in all its respects must be subject to the norms and injunctions of science."⁴ Rules of self-control also applied to the explorers' sentimental and emotional inner life as well, measures that were designed to promote psychological equilibrium and a clear mind.

However Fabian also points out that there is overwhelming evidence that scientific explorers and travellers met their hosts in a state where they were suffering "with extreme fatigue, fear, delusions of grandeur, and feelings ranging from anger to contempt."⁵ Emotions literally burst out at moments of stress, displacement, or the fracturing of identity, caused by direct cultural exchange between the coloniser and colonised, in the area Pratt calls the "contact zone."⁶ These moments often involved a loss of control for the traveller or explorer, an inability to follow plans or carry out schemes. Ann Laura Stoler argues that the "political rationalities" of colonial authority "were grounded in the management of such affective states, in assessing both appropriate sentiments and those that threatened to 'fly out of control.'"⁷ At issue was the emotional economy of empire, and how colonial states intervened in shaping which feelings mattered, who had a right to them, and how they were politically framed.

This chapter foregrounds these private feelings where events were out of control, and explains how these emotions coalesce around and within certain places. In the course of this account I argue that emotions are produced in relations between and among people, and places. I analyse the emotional life of a Victorian traveller, John Stapylton Grey Pemberton. In a letter to his father, written in March 1887 from the steamer "off Penang" (now modern-day Malaysia), Pemberton recounts an "expedition" made a few weeks earlier with his friend Harry Barton, to Darjeeling and along the Nepalese border, to view Kanchenjunga and Everest, or what were picturesquely referred to as the 'snowy ranges.'⁸ Pemberton's trip to Darjeeling and the snowy ranges did not go smoothly, was conducted at a hectic pace, and at the wrong time of year. In the end, he caught only a few glimpses of the mountains "owing to the mists."⁹ A key moment from the trip was when his friend Barton got lost in the jungle and Pemberton appeared uncharacteristically out of control. Although a seemingly insignificant moment, Pemberton's anxious state of mind highlighted a temporary dissolution of his own identity, and points to the complex space and ambiguities in which colonial travellers lived their lives.

Masculinity, colonial discourse, and emotional lives

On 12 November 1886, three months before the expedition to Darjeeling, Pemberton met two friends, Thomas Brassey and Douglas McLean in Southampton, aboard the steamer *Assam*, bound for Colombo, Sri Lanka. All three knew each other from Eton School and Oxford University.¹⁰ Pemberton aged 25, had left his training as a barrister in London, to start an 18-month world trip.¹¹ Brassey and McLean were both 23 at the time, and after graduating from Oxford in the summer of 1886, had just travelled back from a hunting trip in the American Rockies.

In mid-June 1886, Pemberton first mentioned his thoughts about travelling with Brassey, in a letter to his father.¹² It seems likely that his father was, in part at least funding the trip, and it is clear from the letters that

he did not fully approve of it, concerned whether it was advisable “from the Bar point of view of . . . being away so long.”¹³ John Pemberton was having doubts about a career in law himself. He wrote to his father, “I realize very well that I must work at it & make something by it; but I only wish I felt more certain of doing so.”¹⁴ It seems that Pemberton’s motivation for his journey was, in part at least, to escape the everyday routine of his life, so that he could think about his professional future.

At the beginning of December 1886, Pemberton, Brassey and McLean arrived in Colombo, where they met three more friends from Eton - Harry Barton, Gerald Loder and John Baring. Pemberton was part of a Victorian travelling elite from the relatively hermetic and masculine social context of the English public school. John Tosh states that by the 1880s, these schools “vigorously recruited boys for colonial careers, and they laid their claim to the role of educator for empire *par excellence*.”¹⁵ This was the realm from which Pemberton and his circle of bachelor friends emerged, a world where, according to Jonathan Rutherford, “the language of ‘pulling together’ and the almost religious espousal of loyalty to house and school formed the micro-language of loyalty to race and nation.”¹⁶

More than most areas of national life, empire was seen as a projection of masculinity. As Joanna de Groot has put it, “manliness and empire confirmed one another, guaranteed one another, enhanced one another, whether in the practical disciplines of commerce and government or in the escape zones of writing, travel and art.”¹⁷ Unsurprisingly Pemberton’s letters frequently describe this male world, the dominant perspective in colonial histories, travel memoirs and novels of the period. The extent to which travelogues of this period promoted imperialist ideology has been examined by Pratt, and others.¹⁸

Of course reinforcing the masculine world of empire is the absence of women from colonial accounts. Feminist historians have long sought out creative ways of demonstrating how, what Bonny Smith aptly dubbed, “male prowess,” shaped archival production, the initiation rites of historiography, and the absence of agentive histories of women excised from documents and excluded from subsequent texts.¹⁹

Pemberton’s account of his trip to India is no different in its exclusion of women, with one exception. Over the summer of 1886 and at the start of his travel correspondence from India, he describes fairly candidly his feelings towards his cousin, Janet “Jeannie” Maude Marshall, who he intended to, and would eventually marry on his return. In June 1886, Pemberton wrote to his father, setting out his feeling for Jeannie at length:

“one can’t be indifferent to people one respects and there is no reason to hide from you what you must have seen that I cultivate Jeanie’s acquaintance [decidedly?] and because I am very fond of her. Still I am nothing to her except a cousin of whom she is fond at present; . . . I am not exactly in love with her – because I don’t allow myself to be so, but I wld. not hide the fact that if I heard of her engagement to some one else, the motive I now have for working at the bar wld. no longer exist, and I should after being called to go abroad indefinitely since that is the life I like . . .”²⁰

The week before boarding the ship at Southampton for Colombo, Pemberton stayed in a house in Beaumaris, Anglesey, close to where Jeannie lived. Pemberton still seemed torn about leaving her, and whether he should ask her to marry him, saying to his father, “I mean as soon as I come back to ask her - & in fact it is only the length of time I should have to ask her to wait, which prevents me doing so now.”²¹ He admitted that Jeanie had not said “anything at all definite; tho’ probably – I should not have been able to start perfectly free if she had done otherwise.”²²

These then were the emotional entanglements and interior life that Pemberton inhabited shortly before leaving – a man clearly with doubts about his professional direction and personal life, and about whether he should actually be travelling at all.

Arrival in Darjeeling

After travelling through Sri Lanka and India, Pemberton spent a week in Kolkata in mid-February 1887, taking part in celebrations for Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee. Writing from there, he mentioned to his father that he was ready for “retired ease” in Darjeeling, a comment which highlights its place as a landscape of health and leisure.²³ Darjeeling was established in the 1830s to provide a place of rejuvenation for British troops and civilians away from the heat and dust of the plains of Northern India.²⁴ It also served as the administrative

capital of the Government of Bengal, which moved from Kolkata to Darjeeling during the summer months. (Figure 1)

From the early part of the nineteenth century onwards, naturalists, missionaries, and adventurers, as well as border commissioners crossed the Himalayas in attempts to explore and map them. According to Ann C. Colley, by the mid-1850s, “most of these mountains had been named and numbered, and their heights defined trigonometrically.”²⁵ By the mid to late nineteenth century, Darjeeling had become a popular tourist resort as well. The attractiveness of a place of solitude in a natural state (i.e. India with only a few Indians) drew tourists just as it had interested earlier explorers. Although photographic albums of Darjeeling appeared during the 1880’s, written tourist guides for the area only started to appear at the very beginning of the twentieth century.²⁶

Pemberton referred to his trip to see the ‘snowy ranges’ as “a most delightful tho’ laborious and exciting expedition,” although it followed a fairly well worn track. His route headed West from Darjeeling (7000 feet) to the three summits of Tonglu (10,774 feet), Sandukphoo (11,929 feet), and Phalut (11,811 feet), which was at the extreme north-west point of the British boundary of the Singalila range. Each of the summits was a day’s journey from the other. Percy Brown in *Tours in Sikkim and the Darjeeling District* (1922), describes Pemberton and Barton’s “tour” as a favourite, “for those only having a limited time at their disposal, and although ordinarily occupying a week, it can, if necessary, be accomplished without much effort in five days.”²⁷

Initially, Pemberton and Barton spent a day or two in Darjeeling. Pemberton had very little to say about the place, other than it “should be seen.”²⁸ Although he does not say what they were doing during this period, it seems likely that they spent time organising the trip. Solitary travellers, or pairs of travellers as in this case, never travelled alone.²⁹ As Fabian comments, “That such an indisputable fact should hardly have affected the mythical image is among the most glaring contradictions in travel writing . . .”³⁰ The number of required personnel was a function of variables such as the distance to be covered, the time available and the amount of food, and supplies that needed to be carried. Expeditionary personnel caught travellers in social networks that were highly structured and intricate, with a named hierarchy of functions existing within each group.

Firstly Pemberton and Barton would have hired a sirdar, or headman, who would have been responsible for making all the arrangements for porters, or ‘coolies,’ as they were colloquially referred to. It seems probable that they were accompanied by at least six to eight porters, who would have carried all their clothing, bedding, and provisions. They also had four ponies, in order that they could each ride one and have one rested. Each pony would have had a syce, or groom, to accompany them. Pemberton also briefly mentions that a guide accompanied them on the trip, and there would also have been a cook. In total the party, including Pemberton and Barton, may have numbered between 14 and 16 people.

Of course, what this retinue of servants hints at, is the social landscape in and around Darjeeling, which was mostly written out of Pemberton’s account. This absence only serves to define the superiority of the coloniser, and his indifference. Managed hearts were critical to colonialism’s political grammar. As Stoler states, “To whom one expressed attachment as opposed to pity, contempt, indifference, or disdain provided both cultural and legal “proof” of who one was, where one ranked in the colonial order of things, and thus where one racially belonged.”³¹

Pemberton and Barton’s porters would have been made up of a mixture of Nepalis, Bhutias and indigenous Lepcha people.³² (Figure 2) In a telling statement from *Newman’s Guide to Darjeeling* (1922), the author stated that the Bhutias and Lepchas, “when caught young, make excellent cooks and khitmutgars, and they have the advantage of no caste prejudices, and of being able to turn their hand to any kind of work.”³³ Newman continues, “Bhutias did not usually undertake Syce’s work, nor did Lepcha’s as a general rule, but the Nepalis would do so and looked after the ponies in their charge very well.”³⁴

How the British came to characterize the people who inhabited the environs of hill stations like Darjeeling formed a particular aspect of the larger ontological endeavour we now know as orientalism. The representation and reification of Indian castes, religions, laws, languages, and rituals was accomplished through census surveys, ethnographic inquiries, and other state sponsored projects. In their endeavour to classify, codify, and normalize these unfamiliar subjects, Cohn suggests that the British saw themselves in the role of “curators of a vast outdoor museum.”³⁵

Journey to the 'snowy ranges'

On 26 February 1887, at 10.30am, Pemberton and Barton departed Darjeeling on horseback for Tongloo. It seems likely that their caravan of porters, on foot, would have started much earlier, while they travelled independently of them. They rode 13 miles to a place called Jor Pokri through woods of Rhododendron trees along the side of a mountain. At Jorepokri they changed ponies pressing on for Tongloo, on the Nepalese border, some 10 or 12 miles further on. The journey was difficult and Pemberton complained about the state of the roads, which were "very steep & lastly much blocked by trees, so we had to walk most of the way and lead our ponies with difficulty."³⁶ He continued: "To crown all a thick mist obscured the view & dampened our spirits, while a heavy hail obstructed our progress & made the ground very slippery."³⁷ They arrived about dark at the Tonglu bungalow, "to see our coolies there with our beds & provisions; - & ate & drank & went to bed."³⁸ (Figure 3)

Pemberton awoke the next morning, and described the view in a fairly matter of fact sort of way:

"we were repaid for our labours by a grand view of the Kanchenjunga part of the snowy range. It was a perfectly clear morning & the sunrise on the snows was most Beautiful. Snow had fallen in the night & it was freezing pretty hard at daybreak, which made everything look clean & fresh. One cld hardly imagine it was the same place as that which had been wrapt in damp mist the previous night. The bungalow where we slept looks over North to Kanchenjunga, & as there were not very high hills between it & the snows our view in that direction was not obstructed. Towards the N.W. however, the direction of Everest, high ground interrupted the view, & it was on this high ground that Sandakphu – our next goal – was situated."³⁹

This passage follows many early tourist guides' tendencies to orientate themselves solely towards the view, and to ignore any local presence, or knowledge. Pratt has demonstrated how the accounts of Victorian explorers frequently draw on picturesque landscape traditions, to construct what she calls "the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene."⁴⁰ Travel writing in this context largely meant converting local knowledge into European ideas of the picturesque, which were seen as a set of supposedly universal aesthetic values.

Of course while Pemberton was admiring the view, his servants at the bungalow would have had a very different routine, which Brown describes as follows:

"[The traveller] may then breakfast at 7.30 or 8, during which meal his bedding, etc, is packed up and passed to the coolies. By this time they are beginning to adjust their loads and make their preparations for beginning the march. It is useless attempting to get a section of them moving before the others, as their method is to leave practically all together, although during the day they may get straggling out considerably along the road. In the meantime the cook is preparing the tiffin-basket, and, as soon as breakfast is finished, the utensils, etc, are packed up and the caravan is ready to start off."⁴¹

Pemberton and Barton left Tongloo at 8.40am that morning, "having previously sent on coolies and 2 of the ponies."⁴² The 14 mile route along the Nepalese border to Sandakphoo first descended some 5000 feet to the base of Pemona Thumka, then ascended another 6000 feet. Brown describes the "first mile or more" of the journey as "a switchback of ups and downs, after which, in the distance, the triple crest of Sandakphu comes into sight. But much marching has to be done before this point is attained, mostly through bamboo glades."⁴³ Again Pemberton complained bitterly about the state of the roads, and after two or three miles from Tonglu recounts, "an insurmountable obstacle . . . appeared in the shape of fallen trees. Of course coolies as well as ponies had waited here for our arrival & we lost time."⁴⁴ He continues:

"As it was – we had to send back the 4 ponies & press on on foot the rest of the way (some 12 miles) to Sandakphoo – the road was awful – covered with snow and fallen trees for the first 3 or 4 miles - & then more fine fine snow but more obstructed by trees."⁴⁵

At 4.15pm, Pemberton and Barton reached the Sandakphoo bungalow, which Pemberton described as "beautifully clean."⁴⁶ Pemberton and Barton's evening did not go according to plan, largely because of the difficult day. Although the cook seems to have arrived between 7 and 8pm, Pemberton reports that the porters

“came in . . . hours after ourselves struggling in by ones and twos – 2 of them not till 1 a.m. in the night.”⁴⁷ While Pemberton was waiting for his porters to turn up, he seems to have spent some of the time admiring Kanchenjunga and Everest at sunset.

The return to Darjeeling, and the “flitting glance”

The next day, Pemberton and Barton left Sandakphoo at 7.30am, on foot, hoping to cover the 36 miles back to Darjeeling in one day. After the difficulties of the previous day, they had no ponies with them. Pemberton confidently thought they “should have done [this] comfortably & in time for dinner,” had it not been for Barton getting lost in the jungle near Tongloo. This is a key moment from the trip, which Pemberton describes as “a mishap,” where he appears uncharacteristically out of control:

“Barton took it into his head to try a shortcut when we had gone about half way from Sandakphoo to Tongloo & lost himself in the jungle – for 3 or 4 hours. I went on to Tongloo in case he had got in front of me - & then had to return with such help as I could raise by [series?] of signs – for the natives could talk no English while our guide was slowly returning from Sandakphoo. I was rather in a fix & naturally very anxious – thinking Joe B. must have had an accident, luckily however I met him after I had retraced my steps 3 or 4 miles from Tongloo . . .”⁴⁸

Up until this moment and like many colonial accounts of the time, Pemberton saw the Himalayan landscape as a blank space, and talked little about “the natives,” and his relationship with them. Of course indigenous peoples inhabited the country that Pemberton travelled through, and it was precisely at the moment when he was “rather in a fix & naturally very anxious,” that the local population came into the foreground of his account, and then remained there for the rest of the day. Was this moment when Pemberton seemed to forget his place in the colonial world and connect with the local population, a moment when we see past the façade of colonialism? Although a seemingly insignificant moment from the expedition, Barton’s mis-hap in the jungle near Tongloo, and Pemberton’s anxiety and collision with difference forced a moment of “uneasy recognition” from him.

For Stoler, rather than the studied surveillance and panoptic gaze that have come to characterize the collective posture of empire’s practitioners, these instances of “uneasy recognition” appear as “flitting glances,” or forms of “skittish seeing,” which “stops the reader short, puts a break on smooth passage. . .”⁴⁹ For Stoler, these moments refer “to acts of ignoring rather than ignorance, to inattention, to the shock of recognition . . .”⁵⁰ Fabian describes these occasions as “stepping outside” or “being outside” oneself – literally “beside oneself.”⁵¹ These moments are few and far between, transitory and seemingly inconsequential, hidden in often veiled and oblique statements. Perhaps cautiously I treat them, like Stoler, “as moments that disrupt (if only provisionally) a field of force, that challenge (if only slightly) what can be said and done, that question (if only quietly) “epistemic warrant,” that realign the certainties of the probable more than they mark wholesale reversals of direction.”⁵²

After Pemberton and Barton were reunited, they continued on to Tongloo, which they left at 4.00pm after seeing some “beautiful views,” and arrived at Jorpoku at 6.30pm, “it then being dark and by bad luck misty.”⁵³ Half an hour later after having some food, they proceeded in the dark and fog, onto Darjeeling. According to Pemberton the syces showed them, “the way with the help of occasional torches in the shape of blazing logs wh. we renewed at the various villages. In this fashion at first we cld. only go at a walk the track being obscure and rocky.”⁵⁴ As they neared Darjeeling, the road became more difficult and went along a precipice. Pemberton continues his story and describes how “It was most amusing to see the syce holding on to the ponies tails as they ran beside us – part of the way.”⁵⁵ This picture of the syces gives a clear idea of their place in the order of things, and Pemberton’s and Barton’s relative positions of privilege and power. Pemberton and Barton finally arrived back in Darjeeling at 10.30pm. On 1 March, Barton left Darjeeling for Kolkata, and Pemberton followed the day after.

Conclusions: dispositions of disregard

Davidson, Bondi and Smith write in *Emotional Geographies* that “In different ways, both ‘disordered’ and more ordinary emotional experiences highlight the permeability and fluidity of bodily boundaries. They also illuminate how emotions help to construct, maintain as well as sometime disrupt the very distinction between bodily

interiors and exteriors.”⁵⁶ The close connections between boundary-forming processes and emotions suggest that it may be more productive to think of emotions as intrinsically relational. Clearly interpretations of ‘external’ places are coloured by our ‘internal’ emotions, and vice versa, our emotions are coloured by the places we visit. Places, like people, can thus be understood as being constituted within an emotionally charged middle-ground, one that emphasizes relational, reflexive, and inter-subjective approaches.⁵⁷ However in the case of colonialism explicit connections need to be made from emotions and places to broader social systems of politics and power.

For Fabian there is an inherent contradiction in the identities of colonial travellers, for whom “identity requires control.”⁵⁸ He states,

“communication across cultural boundaries creates a problem of identity. Because action needs an agent, we must maintain our identity. And we must abandon it, because no action – certainly not the action of exploration and ethnography – is possible if we keep a rigid hold on our identity.”⁵⁹

The contradiction is resolved only when “we think of identity as a process rather than property or state . . .”⁶⁰ When Barton got lost, inevitably Pemberton ended up crossing cultural and ideological boundaries to find him, and affected his colonial identity, albeit temporarily. Why then did Pemberton, who clearly connected emotionally to some of the people and places he saw on his trip to Kanchenjunga and Everest, seemingly distance himself from so much of what he saw elsewhere in India? As I have already observed, breaches to the psycho-social boundaries of colonial travellers like Pemberton were relatively rare, and instead the emotional lives of colonizers were much more carefully managed.

Writing of French North Africa in the 1950s, Albert Memmi claims that there were really only two kinds of colonizers: those who turn their backs on what they know – who “self-censure” and live a feigned ignorance – versus those who could not bear the contradictions and left.⁶¹ I argue that affairs in the hearts of the colonizer were never this black and white, and a sliding scale of “feigned ignorance,” reflected more closely the confused reality of colonial lives, like Pemberton’s. Pemberton’s feigned ignorance, or colonial amnesia, was a necessary part of maintaining his sense of sovereign Englishness in India.

Stoler has referred to colonizers with contrived ignorance, as having “dispositions of disregard.” For Stoler “this ability to excuse oneself from wrought engagement, this refusal to witness and the almost legal legitimacy it confers, [cultivates] the well-tended conditions of disregard.”⁶² According to Stoler, in colonizers with such dispositions, “Ethics are not absent; rather they provide exemptions from what one need not do.”⁶³ Pemberton’s moment of panic in the jungle near Tongloo, only served to highlight his own disposition of disregard.

To what extent this disposition of disregard requires sanctioned ignorance, self-deception, “cognitive dissonance,” or the securely unflinching constraints of habit, is not a transhistorical issue.⁶⁴ The conditions of disregard are located in the implicit meanings people assign and reassign to their own acts and agency. For Stoler, “They manifest in how fully the macropolitics of a moment deepen or deflect the ethics of a self, train habits of attention, and harness the affective strands and strains of a life.”⁶⁵

Stoler has begun to sketch out a colonial history which accommodates this “politics of disregard,” or “the psychological and political machinations it takes to look away for those who live off and in empire . . .”⁶⁶ She suggests that it is one written, “in a minor key,” through a register that conveys the confused sensibilities . . . inflecting the collision and collusion between personal and public lives.”⁶⁷ Stoler has also called this “a “charmless” colonial history – one whose rough analytic edges resist the tempered distance of a seamless narrative.”⁶⁸ It would register the sustained oscillation between reason and sentiment rather than the final dominance of the one and their definitive severance.

¹ Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

² Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1991), 38

³ Johannes Fabian, *Out of Our Minds Reason and Madness in the Exploration of Central Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 7.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 3.

⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7. "A 'contact' perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travellers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power."

⁷ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2009, 59.

⁸ These letters form part of a larger collection of forty nine, written to his father, Richard Lawrence Pemberton, who was living in Seaham Harbour, County Durham, in the North East of England. (Newcastle upon Tyne, Tyne and Wear Archives (TWA), DF.PEM1/60/9/).

⁹ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF. PEM1/60/9/12.

¹⁰ John Pemberton was educated at Eton (1874-1880) and New College, Oxford, from where he graduated in 1884.

¹¹ As well as Sri Lanka and India, the trip also took in South East Asia, Australia, Hong Kong, China, Japan and Canada.

¹² John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, June 12, 1886, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/8/1.

¹³ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, January 5, 1887, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/9/4.

¹⁴ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/9/12.

¹⁵ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century Britain: Essays on gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 196.

¹⁶ Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England, Reflections on Race, Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997), 15, 16.

¹⁷ Joanna de Groot, "'Sex' and 'race': the construction of language and image in the nineteenth century," in Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (eds.), *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1989) 122.

¹⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (1991). Other important studies on travel writing include: David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Tim Youngs, *Travellers in Africa: British Travelogues 1850-1900* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Tim Youngs (ed.), *Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century: Filling the Blank Spaces* (London: Anthem Press, 2006).

¹⁹ Bonnie G. Smith, "Gender and the Practices of Scientific History: The Seminar and Archival Research in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review* 100 (4-5) (1995): 1150-76, quoted in Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 48.

²⁰ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, June 14, 1886, TWA, DF. PEM1/60/8/2.

²¹ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, November 4, 1886, TWA, DF. PEM1/60/8/12.

²² John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, November 11, 1886, TWA, DF. PEM1/60/8/14.

²³ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, February 22, 1887, TWA, DF. PEM1/60/9/9.

²⁴ The un-healthiness of the Bengal plains, after the cholera epidemics between 1830 and 1860, became a convention of medical discourse in nineteenth century colonial India, despite evidence to the contrary. For more detail refer to: David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

²⁵ Ann C. Colley, *Victorians in the Mountains Sinking the Sublime* (London: Routledge, 2010), 218.

²⁶ G.S. Bomwetsch, *Before the Glory of the Snows A Handbook to Darjeeling* (Calcutta: Central Press, 1899); Percy Brown, *Tours in Sikhim and the Darjeeling District* (Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 1922); *Newman's Guide to Darjeeling and its surroundings, historical and descriptive: with some account of the manners and customs of the neighbouring hill tribes and a chapter on Thibet and the Thibetans* (Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 1900); George P. Robertson, *Darjeeling Route Guide with directions, plans, a map and a complete index for the instruction and guidance of visitors to the town, Darjeeling* (Darjeeling: Bose Press, 1913).

²⁷ Brown, *Tours in Sikhim and the Darjeeling District*, 71.

²⁸ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF. PEM1/60/9/12.

²⁹ Pemberton travelled through Sri Lanka and India with a personal servant who he referred to as "my Madras boy."

³⁰ Fabian, *Out of Our Minds*, 29.

³¹ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 40.

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- ³² For studies of the Lepcha, see Veena Bhasin, *Ecology, Culture and Change: Tribals of Sikkim Himalayas* (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications, 1989), and R.N. Thakur, *Himalayan Lepchas* (New Delhi: Archives Publishers, 1988).
- ³³ R.D. O'Brien, *Darjeeling the Sanitarium of Bengal; and its surroundings* (Calcutta: Newman and Co., 1883), 27. This statement recurred in later guidebooks. Khitmutgars waited at tables.
- ³⁴ Quoted in Aditi Chatterji, *Contested Landscapes: The Story of Darjeeling* (Calcutta: INTACH, 2007), 264.
- ³⁵ Bernard S. Cohn, "The Past in the Present: India as Museum of Mankind," unpublished paper, p.14. Also see Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command" in Ranajit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies*, vol.4 (Delhi, 1985), 276-329.
- ³⁶ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/9/12.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. See chapter 9, From the Victoria Nyanza to the Sheraton San Salvador, 'The monarch of all I survey, 201-208.
- ⁴¹ Brown, *Tours in Sikkim and the Darjeeling District*, 43.
- ⁴² John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/9/12.
- ⁴³ Brown, *Tours in Sikkim and the Darjeeling District*, 72.
- ⁴⁴ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/9/12.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 251. Stoler borrows the term "skittish seeing" from James Elkins, *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing* (New York: Harcourt, 1996), esp. chap. 3 "Looking away and seeing too much," 87.
- ⁵⁰ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 255.
- ⁵¹ Fabian, *Out of Our Minds*, 8.
- ⁵² Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 51.
- ⁵³ John Pemberton to Richard Pemberton, March 10, 1887, TWA, DF.PEM1/60/9/12.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi, and Mick Smith (Eds.), *Emotional Geographies* (London: Routledge, 2007), 7.
- ⁵⁷ O. Jones, 'An Ecology of emotion, memory, self and landscape,' in Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi and Mick Smith (eds.), *Emotional Geographies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 205-218; Gillian Rose, 'Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivity and other tactics,' *Progress in Human Geography* 21, 1997, 305-320.
- ⁵⁸ Fabian, *Out of our Minds*, 278.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon, 1967), 18, quoted in Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 247.
- ⁶² Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 256.
- ⁶³ Ibid.
- ⁶⁴ Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957) Human beings shape their perceptions according to their beliefs. "Cognitive dissonance" occurs when perceptions and beliefs are at odds with each other. In order to escape psychological stress human beings blank out, or reinterpret disturbing facts. Although Festinger never claimed it to be a universal law he thought it was a deep seated human trait. Argument borrowed from Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 256, footnote 39.
- ⁶⁵ Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 256.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., 51.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 246.